FAMILY VOICES IN TWO-WAY DUAL LANGUAGE EDUCATION

by

Claudia Kramer Santamaria, M.A.

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Council of
Texas State University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
with a Major in School Improvement
December 2020

Committee Members:

Melissa Martinez, Chair

Bergeron Harris

Minda López

Michael O’Malley

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DEDICATION

I am humbled by the voices of the 10 mothers I had the honor of meeting and learning from during this study. They, along with my own parents, are the reason for my lifelong commitment to honor and respect immigrant families. I hope my illumination of their voices captured the hopes, dreams, and struggles they faced in their support of their bilingual children. I am inspired daily in my work as an educator and a mother of two bilingual children when I see our family language and traditions not erased, but valued and celebrated. Our children should not settle for anything less than a transformative and equitable education experience that accepts and elevates their language, whatever language they may bring through the doors of our schools. ¡Si se puede!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I begin with a heartfelt thank you to Dr. Melissa Martinez, the chair of my committee. A steadfast advocate of public education, a powerful voice for Latinx equity and justice, and a true colleague and friend who picked me up when I thought I just couldn't finish. My road has been paved with your caring and compassionate stepping stones and therefore I have finished. Gracias.

I also thank my dissertation committee members who have supported my journey and whose mentorship has been invaluable. Your vision and leadership to improve education continue to inspire me.

Words cannot express my gratitude to my family, especially my "determined to get Claudia through" husband and editor Benjamin Kramer. He nudged me the many times I was stuck and became mamá and papá to our children for many years during this writing journey. Thanks Ben, I love you.

My children, Sophia and Fernando, for all the Saturdays they did not see me at their many school sports and dance events. Gracias a los dos por la paciencia y apoyo estos seis años.

My mother, Ema Santamaria and sister Vanessa Santamaria Dainton and her family – for stepping in when I could not. Brian for the edits and the almost daily "Are you finished with your PhD yet?" – reminding me that I was not solo at the finish line. This has truly been a family PhD.

I also want to thank all my beautiful neighbors, kind colleagues, and dear friends who have all been my cheerleaders along the way. I have stood on the shoulders of so many talented, dedicated, and passionate bilingual teachers for the past 28 years of my career. These teachers have made the work of teaching bilingual children their life mission and my inspiration. I hope the voices from these amazing mothers support and inform your TWDL journey as well.

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ABSTRACT

The Bilingual Education Act was passed in 1967, marking the beginning of bilingual education in the United States. The bilingual education models implemented by schools across the world vary in name, design, and outcomes. The focus of my study was on two-way dual language (TWDL), a bilingual model in which children of multiple languages and language proficiencies learn side-by-side with the goal of all children being bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural. I designed my qualitative phenological study to explore how 10 diverse mothers experienced the TWDL journeys of their children in a Central Texas public school district. I collected and analyzed data to uncover themes about participants' attitudes and views about language learning and what understandings the participants had about TWDL.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Arrival

My story begins when my mother, sister, and I exited the New York City LaGuardia airport in 1972 while on a layover to our fake destination, Canada, with only the few belongings we could carry. We left Montevideo, Uruguay, to reunite with my father, who had fled our country to settle in the United States because of the political unrest in Uruguay at the time. There was an urban guerrilla movement by *Los Tupamaros* aimed at shutting down government agencies, banks, and businesses in Uruguay and a number of other South American countries, and returning their wealth to the poor (Waldmann, 2011). My father and his brother, who were both very critical and active in this movement against the Uruguayan government, left Uruguay in 1970 fearing reprisal from assassinations, kidnappings, and unrest.

I was 4 years old upon our arrival in New York City, where we were quickly met by strangers at the airport and driven off to find my father and begin life as an undocumented family. Years later, my father was able to access a path to obtain a green card because of my U.S. born sister and our American life began in Queens, NY. My parents enrolled me in the first grade at Public School 29, an English-only school. My path to learning English was a painful one. I listened to people babble in a language I did not understand for the first 2 years of my education in U.S. schools. I had daily headaches and pleaded regularly for my mother to not make me return to school the next day. We later moved to an area of New York where many Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican families lived and I found friends who would translate for me. My grades in elementary school were hardly a measure of what or how I was learning. Teacher

comments on my report cards (which I still have) included, “Claudia is a nice girl. She is very quiet and behaves well.”

These statements were actually an accurate depiction of my schooling persona—I did not understand any academic content, I could not contribute, and I therefore remained silent and stayed out of trouble. I remember becoming a reader of English in fourth grade, a far cry from when we expect kids to read today, but I now understand why the lack of access to my home language, Spanish, in school delayed my academic development. My family now lived in a country that was safe and this dream took the front seat to concerns about my learning, or the lack thereof. My parents trusted the people in my schools and my mother walked my sister and me to school every single day for years to come. Walking to school became unsafe where we lived in Queens, though these were the places where my father could find work. I soon realized we would move to a place called Texas, known to be a safer place for raising young girls and a place that would provide my dad needed work in the construction field.

I began high school in Houston, Texas, where I was tracked into the minimum requirements for graduation while my friends took higher levels of science and math classes. I was placed in classes like home economics and office aid, while my friends were in trigonometry and physics. I vividly remember my high school counselor saying that instead of going to college to attain a degree, I could be a great secretary and could go to a trade school to become one because I was so helpful as the school office assistant in the fourth period. I am not sure whether my counselor knew I was from a Spanish-speaking home and I rode the bus to the poor side of town. I do not ever remember talking with her, or any adult in my high school, about my language, my home, or my

identity. People were all very kind to me and my parents were grateful for a safe place to live and work. I was so grateful to continue to learn English, to live safely with both of my parents, and to have an education that I did not worry about making connections to my first language and culture—I began to notice a separation from my parents. My first recollection of experiencing any sense of my identity as a Latinx was when I walked into my Spanish class at Cypress Creek High School. I did not connect with my two Spanish teachers because they were Anglo and did not take an interest in my background as a native speaker. The Spaniard Spanish they spoke was almost foreign to me and I struggled to read and write in Spanish for that class. During my senior year in high school, a friend told my dad about how kids who spoke English and Spanish could get their college paid for if they became teachers. There was a shortage of bilingual teachers in Texas and there were scholarships and grants available for college in the field of bilingual education. Before I knew it, I had a full scholarship to a teacher preparation program at St. Edward's University and my entire family moved to Austin, Texas. That was the only way, my father reasoned, for me to access higher education and remain under his watchful gaze. For the first time in my educational path, Latinx teachers were teaching in Spanish! I was in awe, but I quickly realized I did not read or write very well in academic Spanish. I also quickly realized my English reading and writing were very weak when I began to get lower than acceptable grades in my freshman writing class. I was required to take classes to learn to improve my writing and reading in English and enroll in learning support labs my freshman and sophomore years at St. Edward's. I struggled when required to take high-level classes in math and science as well because I had missed the foundation of these courses when in high school.

It took me years to understand my drive for teaching was motivated by my own struggles through the English-only school system in the United States. My gratefulness to learn English and be in a country that allowed my parents and sisters to be safe far outweighed any pride or commitment to Spanish. But thinking back, I remember how hard my parents tried to instill a Spanish only rule in our home and to censor the English television and radio in fear that we would not be able to communicate with them in Spanish. These restrictions began to make sense to me as a teacher as I listened to the same concerns shared with me from my students' families during the teacher–parent conferences I held. I began to consider the possibility that children new to this country would find themselves silenced as I had been for so many years, all the while their families struggled to keep alive the linguistic links to their heritage and, more critically, to themselves. Hearing the stories of my bilingual students and their families began to make me challenge and question the English-only systems that were at my disposal and I was required to implement in the Central Texas Independent School District (pseudonym) in which I worked. I saw myself in my students and I realized I had the power to change their English-only trajectory. I taught third-, fourth-, and fifth-graders at a school where the children were all of Latinx backgrounds and all were on free and reduced lunch. Leaders at this school allowed me the autonomy to teach in both English and Spanish in a bilingual program called *Late Transitional*, a program with the goal to transition all the Spanish-speaking children to English before they moved on to middle school (García, 2011).

My personal and professional experiences in the public-school system were what brought me to this point and greatly influenced my choice to focus my dissertation

research on bilingual education. First, my own journey as an immigrant and English learner; second, my 28-year journey as a bilingual teacher and administrator at the campus and district levels of a large urban Central Texas ISD; and last, my experience as a Latinx mother of two Spanish-speaking children currently enrolled in two-way dual language (TWDL) education. These experiences and positions give me unique perspectives into the world of bilingual learners and a strong commitment to my research.

Background

The year 2018 marked the 50th anniversary of the Bilingual Education Act, introduced by Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough, that called for the formalization of bilingual education and protection of children who were segregated or discriminated against based on their language and race (García, 2011). The bill proposed to:

> Aid school districts in establishing educational programs specifically for LESA (Limited English-Speaking Ability) students. Among the recommendations of this bill was the teaching of Spanish as a native language, the teaching of English as a second language, and programs designed to give Spanish-speaking students an appreciation of ancestral language and culture. Although this bill was limited to Spanish-speaking students, it led to the introduction of 37 other bills, which were merged into a single measure known as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) or the Bilingual Education Act, enacted in 1968. Title VII was the first federal recognition that LESA students have special educational needs and that in the interest of equal educational opportunity, bilingual programs that address those needs should be federally funded. (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988, p. 1)

This was a big step forward for Spanish-speaking communities that had been denied access to bilingual programs in their schools, especially in states such as Texas, which has a long and cruel history of establishing Mexican schools so Anglo children would not be negatively affected by “an inferior Mexican race” (Blanton, 2005, p. 275). In the 1960s and 1970s, continuous and numerous civil rights movements inspired by Mexican American/Chicano activists in Texas set the stage for their fight against the prohibition of speaking Spanish in schools and their lack of access to resources and opportunities both in their schools and communities (Blanton, 2005). Senator Yarbrough invited students from Crystal City High School in Texas to testify in Washington, DC, about the discriminatory practices in their school against Mexican American students (Flores, 2016). These high school students from Crystal City were prohibited from speaking Spanish and Mexican American quotas were set for their participation in extracurricular activities, such as their one-space quota in the cheerleading squad, although Mexican Americans represented a majority of the student body (Flores, 2016). This led to the largest civil rights walk out of students from a high school in Texas (Flores, 2016).

Ironically, 50 years later, in 2018, the 45th President of the United States proposed to deport all 11 million “illegal” immigrants, end birthright citizenship, triple the number of agents at the U.S.–Mexico border, and build a Mexican paid border wall (Arizmendi, 2017). Immigration patterns and political policies have and continue to influence bilingual education’s past and future in public schools, beginning in the 19th century and spanning through the present (Blanton, 2005; Flores, 2016; García, 2011). The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 at least provided legal guidance to leaders of school districts to solidify program options under the law (García, 2011). The variations of the

implementation of bilingual programs, then and now, continue to be broad. The models vary from language learning in an immersion fashion, 100% of the day in the non-English language, to learning in a setting with a minimum of 50% of the day in two languages (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Bybee, Henderson, & Hinojosa, 2014; Chin, Daysal, & Imberman, 2013; Collier & Thomas, 2004, 2012; Flores, 2016; García, 2011).

The Governor of Texas did not enact the federal bilingual legislation until 1973 (R. Rodriguez, 2010). The law mandated Texas school districts with more than 20 children who spoke a language other than English at any grade level to provide bilingual education, thus countering Texas's English-only law from 1918 (R. Rodriguez, 2010). In the 1970s, the Commission on Civil Rights reported Texas English-only laws justified years of accepted practices such as fining Mexican American children a penny for every word they spoke in Spanish, standing children who had uttered a Spanish word on a "black square" in the room, or requiring children to write "I will not speak Spanish" (R. Rodriguez, 2010, p. 1). In the case of *United States v. Texas* (1981), District Judge William W. Justice affirmed the presence of:

> "Pervasive, intentional discrimination throughout most of this century" against Mexican-American students. Prejudice and deprivation blocked equal educational opportunities for these children and produced a "deep sense of inferiority, cultural isolation, and acceptance of failure." (R. Rodriguez, 2010, p. 1)

Growth in the immigrant population and the number of U.S. born children of immigrants entering the public school system, especially since the 2000s has created a sense of urgency to examine the academic achievement of a subgroup of children who

were once a minority in schools and are now a majority (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). These children enter the nation's schools from homes in which they have been exposed to languages other than English because birth is on a continuous growth cycle, as are the jobs that require employees to speak multiple languages (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). In 2014–2015, the U.S. Department of Education reported 4.8 million English learners (ELs) attended the nation's public schools (U.S. Department of Education, 2017). According to the U.S. Department of Education (2017), the top school districts nationwide with the largest concentrations of ELs include (a) Los Angeles Unified School District with 145,983 (22.6%); (b) Dallas Independent School District with 69,944 (38.7%); and (c) Houston Independent School District with 57,712 (26.6%). National and local data show vast diversity in the characteristics of families whose children make up the defined EL label in U.S. schools. There are 12,755,000 parents of ELs in the United States compared to 26,588,000 parents of non-ELs. Of the 12.7 million parents with children labeled EL, 65% are foreign born (Park, Zong, & Batalova, 2018). The majority of these foreign-born parents have resided in the United States for more than 20 years and describe themselves as speaking English "less than well" (Park et al., 2018). Park et al. (2018) compared the languages spoken by U.S. born parents and parents who had lived in the United States for a minimum of 10 years to parents who had recently (less than 10 years from the data drawn) arrived in the United States and whose children were labeled EL in public schools. The results of their data analysis showed the top languages identified for the 10,444,000 U.S. born/10-year immigrants were (a) Spanish, (b) English, (c) Chinese, (d) Tagalog, and (e) Vietnamese, and for the 2,311,100 recent immigrants were (a) Spanish, (b) Chinese, (c) Arabic, (d) Hindi, and (e) Tagalog

(Park et al., 2018). These data support the efforts of leaders of school districts across the nation to institute bilingual education programs to address the needs of these language learners (Park et al., 2018).

U.S. schools have experienced growth in the number of students who speak languages other than English, which led to the evolution and increased variety of instructional models for implementing bilingual programs to teach English proficiency (Cummins, 1992, 2000; García, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2010). The models set forth by Texas law include transitional bilingual programs, dual language programs, and the English as a second language program (Texas Education Agency, 2012). The Texas Education Agency set guidance for the implementation of all bilingual models, which I expand upon later in this chapter. Spanish/English two-way dual language (TWDL) includes teaching English speakers and Spanish speakers in the same classroom. In TWDL, teachers are required to teach a minimum of 50% of the instructional minutes in Spanish from kindergarten to Grade 5 (Collier & Thomas, 2012; Texas Education Agency, 2012). Additionally, a teacher ensures close to half of the children in the classroom speak English and half speak Spanish (Texas Education Agency, 2012). This model affords English native speakers and Spanish native speakers the opportunity to learn from each other to meet the goal of a bilingual trajectory for everyone in the classroom (Collier & Thomas, 2012; Palmer, Martinez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014). This means that at the end of fifth grade, children reach the goal of being bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural (Texas Education Agency, 2012).

Problem Statement

Those implementing TWDL programs claim their goal is to honor and leverage students' home language of Spanish, in the case of the Spanish/English model, in order for students to attain listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills in both languages (Collier & Thomas, 2012). Concurrently, school and district accountability and academic pressures exist for teachers, students, and families to assimilate to the United States, causing those participating in TWDL to lose focus on the prestige and value of Spanish (Flores, 2016; García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Henderson & Palmer, 2015; Palmer, Henderson, Wall, Zúñiga, & Berthelsen, 2016). This tug and pull makes it challenging for teachers to meet biliteracy goals and for families to support their children in maintaining or learning Spanish alongside English (Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014). Though I found glimpses of freedom in all three of my professional roles—teacher, principal, and district administrator—to support students' pursuit of full fluency in Spanish and English, the literature indicates there still exist many challenges along the way.

One such challenge is the longstanding system of English hegemony that always finds a way to push back, making it difficult to promote students' home traditions and languages (Flores, 2016). For example, from their first steps inside the school doors, young students are tested and labeled *English language learners* or the pejorative *limited English proficient* (García, 2011). These labels are a far cry from those set by TWDL programs that consider all learners from the start as *emerging bilinguals* or *dual language learners* who are on a trajectory to remain bilingual through their elementary experience and beyond (Collier & Thomas, 2012). Family members' first encounters with how their

child is labeled ignores that they are endowed with the richness of a home language—whatever that language may be. Developers of TWDL programs pride themselves on not screening children for language proficiency at entry into the program (Collier & Thomas, 2012). At the same time, the norms for teacher preparation and professional development reinforce a monolingual English curriculum. There are also occasional celebrations when the translations of English resources are provided to teachers in Spanish (García, 2011; Palmer et al., 2014). However, these translations do not take into consideration the language proficiency of the students who speak Spanish and a simple translation of an English resource does not make the learning comprehensible for Spanish native speakers (Escamilla et al., 2014; García, 2011). Teachers do, therefore, find themselves frustrated in promoting a TWDL program when they are lacking resources and support in Spanish (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005; García, 2011; Palmer et al., 2014).

Another challenge noted in the literature related to the implementation of TWDL programs is the district, state, and federal expectation that children reach English fluency quickly so they can pass English administered exams at the early elementary level (Collier & Thomas, 2012; Palmer et al., 2016; Reardon & Umansky, 2014). There are varying definitions and uses of the terminology of dual language among practitioners, states, and countries. For example, many practitioners refer to the one-way dual language model as what used to be the late exit transitional model (Collier & Thomas, 2012). Others refer to all models of dual language as immersion programs (Collier & Thomas, 2012). Most practitioners agree that dual language acquisition takes time—an average of 6 to 7 years (Collier & Thomas, 2012; Escamilla et al., 2014; Howard et al., 2018). This means bilingual children, when compared to monolingual children, differ in their timeline

to reach reading and math proficiency attainment at each grade level, though schools and students are compared to each other regardless of their unique trajectory. Teacher training in the areas of math, science, language arts, and social studies has not evolved to prepare teachers for the multitude of languages their students bring with them—the curriculum and scope and sequence continue to focus on how monolingual, or one language students, learn content (Escamilla et al., 2014; García, 2011). Moreover, much of my career has taken place during the era of high stakes accountability and in this era student progress and proficiency in English tend to promote the transition to an all-English instructional model, rather than milestones for the continuation of a bilingual trajectory (García, 2011; Palmer et al., 2014; Reardon & Umansky, 2014).

Considering the challenges school leaders face in implementing TWDL, it is important to consider how families of TWDL students are navigating the same journey. One specific factor is how school staff view the family members participating in TWDL programs. I explored this more closely as part of my literature review. I viewed double messages about quickly reaching English proficiency and at the same time continuing on a bilingual trajectory as confusing. Upon enrolling in TWDL, families are informed that it may take 6 to 7 years for their children to attain biliteracy, yet teachers are under pressure for these same children to reach English proficiency in less time (Collier & Thomas, 2012; Palmer et al., 2014; Reardon & Umansky, 2014). Flores (2016) placed the challenges noted above in direct connection to:

> *Hegemonic Whiteness* . . . the common-sense ideal of what white identity should be . . . The widespread institutionalization of subtractive forms of bilingual education can be understood as a continuation of a long history of monolingual

hegemonic Whiteness, in that the home language of language-minoritized students is used solely to develop Standardized American English. (p. 14)

Language learning in schools. I saw great shifts from my perspective as a principal and as a district-level administrator in schools' relationships with families and school communities. This shift shaped the theoretical framework for my study, which was positioned in my belief that relationships between families and schools matter. In my literature review, I examined a broader view of language as it applies to parent engagement in schools and focused on TWDL. I found great gaps in the literature in terms of the use of democratic practices between staff and the communities they serve, especially when it comes to classroom practices and academic outcomes for Latinx children. Mapp, a lead researcher in the field of parent engagement in schools from Harvard, pointed to challenges in today's schools, especially for families of low-income and EL children who "face multiple barriers to engagement, often lacking access to the social capital and understanding of the school system necessary to take effective action on behalf of their children" (Mapp & Kuttner, 2013, p. 6; see also Shirley, 1997).

In my literature review, I explored the engagement of families in many studies, including in the Alliance Schools, or schools partnering with a local non-profit that are called "laboratories of democracy" because both school staff and families engage collectively in ways that promote civic practices (Shirley, 1997, p. 9). In these schools, all stakeholders are taught how to use community organizing tools such as community walks, home visits, and leadership assemblies to shape and share hopes, dreams, and actions to improve their schools and neighborhoods (Gold, Simon, & Brown, 2002; Mediratta, McAlister, & Shah, 2009). These strategies are planned and executed by

teachers and family members while keeping language in mind. All events are designed to be inclusive of families and executed in the families' language; in the case of my study, Spanish. I worked as a teacher and a principal in four of these Alliance Schools and experienced these practices firsthand (Gold et al., 2002; Levy & Murnane, 1996; Mediratta et al., 2009; Shirley,1997). Today, I see the spaces and value for these practices being erased by the demands of high stakes testing and top-down bureaucracy (Cummins, 2000; Elmore, 2011; Gold et al., 2002; Mediratta et al., 2009; Meier, 2000; Shirley, 1997). I highlighted studies that portrayed how families and school staff worked collectively to improve schools.

The studies captured in my literature review, although not all unique to TWDL programming, were conducted in schools with high numbers of EL students. Researchers have been critical about how schools engage teachers *with* and also *for* families (Comer & Haynes, 1991; Epstein, 2005; García, 2011; M. M. López, 2013; Shirley, 1997). Deficit thinking about family needs and sympathy related to poverty has had an adverse effect in a service-oriented relationship between school staff and families. Studies have shown that when school staff valued what families could contribute to school leadership and decision making, these schools had positive outcomes for children (Gonzalez et al., 1995; M. M. López, 2013; Valenzuela, 2010). Meier (2000) argued that when testing standards were imposed on a school without allowing for teachers, students, and families to connect learning to their real lives and world, the voices of those closest to the reform were left silent. Dual language (DL) program guidelines include components that examine equity and parent understanding of classroom and school systems (Howard et al., 2018). I explore these guidelines more closely in Chapter 2.

The literature also pointed to higher student attendance, attitudes, and achievement when families are involved in their child's education (García, 2011; Mediratta et al., 2009; Shirley, 1997). My literature review includes factors that are potential barriers to family involvement in schools, such as immigrant status, socioeconomic status, language and culture differences in homes, and the systems a school establishes for the participation of families (Czik & Lewis, 2017; Epstein, 2005; García, 2011). Although schools that promote DL claim to welcome families and all their language resources, my literature review pointed to the absence of school systems and practices that represent multiple languages and cultural norms (Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; Epstein, 2005; M. M. López, 2013; Norton, 2005).

Family and teacher attitudes and views. García (2011) identified a major deterrent to family involvement as "the beliefs that school staff hold about what families can contribute to their children's learning" (p. 93). A teacher's deficit thinking toward the lack of skills and knowledge possessed by non-English speaking families can eradicate the partnership that otherwise can exist between teachers and family members and can taint their beliefs and attitudes toward emerging bilingual students in their classrooms (Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006). Families who do not speak English often feel excluded from school events and meetings (García, 2011) and even teachers identify the inability of family members to speak English as a challenge during teacher conferences (Aria et al., 2008).

One large-scale study in my review was entitled *Listening to Teachers of English Language Learners* and reflected a collaboration among Policy Analysis for California Education, the Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning, and the University of

California Linguistic Minority Research Institute. The researchers surveyed 5,300 teachers from 22 large districts in California, with 4,000 of these teachers working with ELs. The results revealed the language barriers between teachers and families as causing the most frustration and challenges for teachers (Gándara et al., 2005). Without a doubt, this would also cause frustration and challenges for families. Results of interviews showed teachers felt they could not access resources in the languages of the families and parents did not understand much of their children's homework (Gándara et al., 2005). There were very few supports for teachers from the district level and therefore there was a decline in attendance at school events by family members who did not speak English (Gándara et al., 2005). The study results highlighted the top challenges teachers felt when asked about their interactions with families, both at the elementary and secondary levels. The number one challenge was the language barrier between them and the families, reflecting the inability of families to speak English and for teachers to speak Spanish (Gándara et al., 2005). To address the language challenge noted in this study and others, the growing phenomenon of DL programming took root in pockets across the country, including central Texas. The growth of TWDL education stood in stark opposition to English-only or transitional bilingual education (TBE) programs that only require an end goal of English proficiency for students. TWDL programs continued to grow nationally and advocates held to the notion that children's home language, regardless of income or race, must be valued in order to reach the goals of biliteracy in the program and that teacher practices must shift to accommodate family members who do not speak English (Collier & Thomas, 2012; Cortina, Makar, & Mount-Cors, 2015;

Gómez, Freeman, & Freeman, 2010; Howard et al., 2018; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010; M. M. López, 2013).

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of my dissertation research was to examine how youth and their families were received into the world of TWDL and how these families came to view their children as bilinguals. I designed my research questions in an attempt to understand the essence of the lived experiences of families whose children participated in English/Spanish TWDL education programs in a Central Texas ISD. My goal was to contribute to the field of bilingualism by capturing the motivations and stories of these families. My questions centered on the interactions among school staff, adult family members, and their children:

1. What are the attitudes and views about language learning of families whose children are in a two-way dual language program (TWDL)?

   a. How do these family members describe how they contribute to or influence the journeys of their children in TWDL?

   b. What do these families want to pass on to their children with regard to language learning?

2. What are the messages schools send about language learning to the families of children in TWDL?

   a. How are messages from schools about language interpreted by these family members?

   b. What are families' perceptions and understandings of TWDL programs based on school messaging?

3. How can the perspectives of families of students in TWDL regarding language learning inform school practice, policy, and research?

Brief Overview of Theoretical Frameworks

The theories underlying my work included those of Vygotsky, Noddings, and Epstein. I firmly acknowledge that children's learning is incomplete without the learning that occurs outside the school building. Vygotsky (1978), a Russian-Jewish psychologist and educator, was the founder of an unfinished theory, because of his early death, of human cultural and biosocial development known as the *social development theory* and he "conventionalized development as the transformation of socially shared activities into internalized processes" (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996, p. 2). He believed the construction of knowledge is based on the interdependence between individual and social processes and that *tools* and *signs* influence the learning of the self (Vygotsky, 1978). The social development theory emphasizes how learning becomes complete with the myriad social systems that surround a learner—language is found in the homes of all students and considered one of these tools and systems (Rieber & Robinson, 2013; Vygotsky, 1978). In my study, I explored how family members interacted with their children around language and collected the symbols and signs as artifacts and stories they told me. In Chapter 3, I examine Vygotsky's themes that supported the children's development, cognitively and linguistically, and how these were influenced by the interactions with adults in their lives (Vygotsky, 1978).

My research was also influenced by the theory of care ethics, developed by Nel Noddings, an elementary and high school teacher who later became an administrator from 1949 until 1972 in New Jersey public schools (M. K. Smith, 2016). Noddings held

the Jacks Professor Emeriti of Child Education at Stanford University, the A. Lindsay O'Connor Professorship of American Institutions at Colgate University, the Libra Professorship at the University of Southern Maine, and the John W. Porter Chair in Urban Education at Eastern Michigan University (M. K. Smith, 2016). The theory of care ethics reflects how adults, particularly those in schools, must be intentional and reciprocal in caring for their students (Noddings, 2013). Noddings (2013) emphasized the need to be critical of programs or messages that send deficit messages about children. Noddings believed interactions and messages between children and teachers come from an ethics of care beyond the curriculum of schools and instead from the interactions between teachers and children (Noddings, 2003, 2011, 2013). This theory influenced my belief that teaching a second language without regard to the language a child already brings can keep a child from fully becoming a confident learner. The literature indicates teachers in TWDL classrooms strive to create an environment where children feel safe and where their language is acknowledged. I also applied the theory of the ethics of care in the examination of the ways in which schools label immigrant families. Much of the literature showed evidence of labeling of families as being uncaring or unconcerned because of their lack of traditional involvement in schools (Epstein et al., 2002; G. R. López, 2003; Mapp & Kuttner, 2013). In my exploration of the history of public schools and bilingual education, I note ways in which school systems have operated without practicing care for language and racial minority children and their families (Blanton, 2005; Bybee et al., 2014; Epstein, 2005; Flores, 2016; G. R. López, 2003; Mapp & Kuttner, 2013; Noddings, 2002, 2011).

Last, I approached this study with the belief that families matter in the learning journey of all children. School improvement efforts and program deliveries without the voice and opinions of the families can fail to truly address the root causes of the challenges to success experienced by the children and their families (Comer & Haynes, 1991; Cummins, 2000; Czik & Lewis, 2017; Elmore, 2011; Epstein, 2005; Fradd, Pellerano, & Rovira, 1998; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Lemke, 2001; G. R. López, 2003; Noddings, 2002). I examined the interactions shared with me by family members between them and school staff in their TWDL schools, while keeping in mind the frames of parent involvement that Epstein developed, along with her theories.

Epstein is the director and creator of the Center on School, Family, and Community Partnerships and the National Network of Partnerships Schools in Baltimore Maryland. She founded the center to bring together practitioners and researchers to develop research-based programs to guide schools and families on how to work together (Epstein, 1986). Her work spans 40 years and addresses the critical support children need from all adults in their lives and how these adults can work collaboratively to support children's learning (Epstein, 1986, 1992, 2005). She is currently a research professor of sociology at Johns Hopkins University where she continues to connect research, policy, and practice between communities and schools (Epstein, 2005). Epstein's (2005) framework for engaging families in schools in ways that are authentic resonated with my experiences as a teacher, principal, and district administrator. I found that in schools where a majority of students are identified as ELs and with large number of low-income family populations, many teachers work in isolation from families, compared to in

schools that serve majority Anglo and higher economic status communities. From my informal interactions with teachers, I found that in most instances, teachers wanted to connect with family members, but they did not know how to engage them. Epstein identified different perspectives in practice and policy about families and schools: (a) schools and families are separate entities in which children develop behaviors unique to each location; (b) schools and families share the responsibilities for children and emphasize the connections of student behaviors; and (c) schools and families share in a *sequential* fashion the development of the child, close encounters with schools in the primary journey and later disconnections between parents and schools at the middle and high school levels (Epstein, 1986, p. 2; Epstein et al., 2002). I discuss Epstein's (1992) spheres of influence theory in more detail in Chapter II.

Brief Overview of Methodology

How do families perceive and understand messages about TWDL programs? Are interactions unique or similar to what we already know from the work done in the field about families and schools? In order to find evidence from families whose children were participants in TWDL, I conducted this qualitative study to glean how these family members described their interactions with teachers from their schools, particularly interactions about language learning. Qualitative researchers "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 3). Qualitative research allowed me to explore family members' understanding of TWDL programs while empowering these families to tell their stories (Creswell, 2013).

I sought a methodology that would enable me to gather with openness and accuracy the lived experiences of families whose children were participants in TWDL programs. Phenomenology is a philosophy as well as a research method (Creswell, 2013; Dowling, 2007; Finlay, 2008). The philosophers associated with phenomenology include Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer, Arendt, and Levinas and each had a unique perspective from which they defined phenomenology—these perspectives often contradict each other (Dowling, 2007). Phenomenology as a research method evolved from the study of the philosophies and was called by American researchers a new phenomenology (Crotty, 1998). Phenomenology enabled me to chronicle the lived experiences of these families in ways that captured the essence of their experiences honestly (Creswell, 2013). I contacted the bilingual specialist and parent support specialists at geographically diverse campuses to identify families who would meet my criteria for potential participation in the study. Criteria for inclusion in the study required families to have at least one child in an English/Spanish TWDL elementary program who had participated in the program for a minimum of 2 years.

Significance of the Study

The intent behind my study was to examine family members' understanding about their children's bilingual trajectory in TWDL so the results could better inform how teachers implement the model and ways in which TWDL can be improved. The goal of the study was to contribute to the current research on parent agency and voice in schools and identify specific ways in which these families supported the dual language journeys of their children, especially those students who are marginalized because of income, immigration status, race, or language. If, in fact, families supported their children's

journeys, I wanted to gain concrete stories and artifacts of how this played out and perhaps use these stories to inform practices between schools and homes.

My literature review revealed school improvement is generally conducted by those inside of schools and there is a need for more studies to show concrete ways in which family and community voices and actions can influence reforms, not just legally, but practically for schools and specifically for children in TWDL programs (Epstein, 2005; García, 2011; Logan, 1967; Mediratta et al., 2009; Shirley, 1997). Much of the work I have experienced with school improvement occurred with teachers and principals, absent of the participation of families.

Definition of Terms

The terms used in the study are defined below:

Biliterate – The ability to read and write in two languages (Escamilla et al., 2014).

Dual language (DL) – "An educational approach in which students learn two languages in an instructional setting that integrates subject content presented in English and another language. Models vary depending on the amount of each language used for instruction at each grade level" (Texas Education Agency, 2012, p. 1).

English learner (EL) – "A person who is in the process of acquiring English and has another language as the first native language. The terms English language learner and limited English proficient student are used interchangeably" (Texas Education Agency, 2012, Ch. 89, p. 1).

Hermeneutical phenomenology – A form of phenomenology in which research is oriented toward interpreting the "texts" of life (hermeneutical) and lived experiences (phenomenology; Van Manen, 2014, p. 284).

Latinx – "A gender-inclusive cultural identifier that aims to acknowledge the vast spectrum of gender identities, and to address the invisibility and oppression that lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people face within Latin American countries and their diasporas" (Scharrón-del Río & Aja, 2020, p. 1). Furthermore, the terms *Latina*, *Latino*, and *Hispanic* are included from the verbatim transcriptions of the participants.

School transfer – A request made by a parent or legal guardian in the Central Texas ISD for their children to attend a school other than their assigned neighborhood school. The reasons for transfers include sibling, tracking, majority-to-minority, general, curriculum, and out of district. Some participants in my study applied for and were granted transfers to attend schools not assigned to them.

Spanish learner (SL) – A child participating in a Spanish TWDL program who speaks predominantly English at home and is learning Spanish (Texas Education Agency, 2012).

Two-way dual language (TWDL) – An implementation option within DL that includes children who speak either one of the languages in the model at home or both of the languages at home. For example, some students in a Spanish TWDL classroom speak Spanish at home whereas the others speak only English at home (Texas Education Agency, 2012, p. 1).

Organization of Study

In the beginning of Chapter 1, I shared my own personal story arriving in the United States at the age of 4 years old. I believe this experience has driven my hope and passion over a 28-year journey in education and this story continues to inspire my search

for equity for immigrant children in public schools. If a 50-year-old recalls vividly the fear and intimidation she felt while learning a second language upon her arrival in a public school, I have to believe many immigrant children and families share a similar story to mine. The memories of my struggle to become bilingual have strengthened my actions and have also influenced the journey I have sought for my own two U.S. born children. It is with strong conviction that I want them to be biliterate. Perhaps other immigrants have lost their first language as a result of similar arrivals and perhaps their U.S. born children have also lost the chance to be biliterate. Today more than ever, the political anti-immigrant climate around the nation bids for research action from Latinx and immigrant scholars. I want to contribute by speaking up about the value of the languages of immigrants and how language is a force to unify us rather than to divide us. I also believe families of immigrant children hold deep convictions about language and identity that are often not understood by school leaders and incorporated into the programs these leaders implement.

Chapter Summary

Chapter II presents a literature review of bilingual education and family involvement in schools. I organized the literature review by examining national studies and research on bilingual education and families in schools. I then narrowed the scope of the review to include state and local studies about TWDL education and about families in schools. I include an expanded discussion of my theoretical framework for the study in this chapter. In Chapter III, I provide an overview of my research design and details of how I conducted the study. In Chapter IV, I go into depth about the data I collected in

the study, and I conclude with implications for the study and recommendations in Chapter V.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There continues to be explosive national growth of ELs in urban, rural, and suburban school districts across the United States. Five million ELs bring with them a variety of language backgrounds and social and economic circumstances, although 75% speak Spanish at home (Wortham, Clonan-Roy, Link, & Martínez, 2013). In the Central Texas ISD in my study alone, there are 23,000 ELs and 89% of these children come from Spanish-speaking homes.

For this literature review, I examined the research related to DL programs in U.S. public schools to highlight multiple themes, including the history of bilingual education, the different bilingual programs and models and their effectiveness, and issues of social justice in bilingual education. I also delved deeper into the history of families and schools in the United States and in Texas as it relates to the education of Latinx and immigrant students and current understandings of the role of families in schools. The chapter concludes with a more extensive description of the theoretical framework I applied in the study.

History of Bilingual Education

In order to understand bilingual education, I provide a short history of language in the United States and in Texas, a state in which Mexican connections and history influenced a very unique trajectory of language policy and ideology.

United States history. In the 1700s and 1800s, there was tolerance or indifference toward diverse language groups coming to the United States and many immigrants held on to their language and cultural identities (Ovando, 2003). Havighurst's (1978) work followed closely the history of Native American children's

education and how these families were affected historically and politically alongside other language groups in the United States. During the 19th century, Havighurst noted a turn to "defensive pluralism," which he described as immigrant communities forming alliances to aggressively promote their language, religion, and cultural values and traditions for their children—a belief that allowed them to participate in the civil life of the nation while maintaining their ancestral ways of life (p. 16). These efforts influenced the passing of laws to authorized bilingual education nationally.

Ovando (2003) described the 1880s–1960s as the restrictive period of U.S. history (p. 4). The early 1880s historical context, which was anti-German, anti-Catholic, led to the creation of very restrictive immigration and linguistic policies (Ovando, 2003). Missionaries were deployed nationally to civilize and assimilate children and families and the American Protective Association promoted English-only school laws, which were adopted in 1889 by Illinois and Wisconsin (Ovando, 2003). There was also an intent to ensure immigrants were educated, as Ovando shared:

> The 1890s witnessed the founding of the Immigration Restriction League as well as early agitation for a literacy test that would require any immigrant wishing to settle in the United States to have the ability to read 40 words in any language. (p. 5)

European immigrants were the majority at this time in history and they used their power to ensure other immigrants did not dilute their language and culture and thus imposed their nationalist power on institutions such as churches and schools (Ovando, 2003).

In addition, World War I caused a shutdown of teaching German as a foreign language in all U.S. schools and in 1923 legislators called for English-only education in

34 states for all public and private schools (Ovando, 2003). Americanization classes were created alongside submersion or "sink or swim" methods of learning English for children at all grade levels in all schools (Ovando, 2003, pp. 5-6). Administrators and teachers did not take responsibility for linguistic and culturally responsive practices and blamed children for their learning failures (Ovando, 2003). Flores (2016) depicted how racism permeated early education policies, stating:

> In the 1920's Midwestern speech patterns were recognized as the Standard American English as a result of the xenophobic and racist movements of the early 20th century that saw New York and other large urban areas on the east coast as polluted with undesirable immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. (p. 6)

Although this time in history emphasized an attack on non-English mother tongues, debates, legal cases, and World War II opened what was to become the *opportunist period* (Ovando, 2003, p. 7). The National Defense Act influenced education's funding during the period between the 1960s and 1980s because of Russia's launch of Sputnik. This funding influenced the Education Act of 1958 to increase courses in schools in foreign language education, science, and math education (Ovando, 2003). Funding increases for foreign language learning were now in direct conflict with Nixon's English-only legislation and this legislation continued to slowly erode with the activism of the civil rights movement of the 1960s (Ovando, 2003).

The 1965 Immigration Act resulted in an increase in Asian and Latin American immigrants to the United States as it revoked the Naturalization Act of 1906, which required those who wanted to become citizens to speak English and ended the 1924 national origin quota system (Ovando, 2003). Ovando (2003) argued that the rebirth of

bilingual education was strongly connected to Fidel Castro's Cuban Revolution of 1958, which caused the largest exile by Cubans to Florida. The majority of children from these Cuban families, living in Florida, attended Coral Way Elementary school and parents with staff members created a Spanish/English TWDL program (Collier & Thomas, 2012; Ovando, 2003).

Texas history. Immigrant children in the United States have experienced complex and varied bilingual education journeys because states had much autonomy in setting educational policies (Bybee et al., 2014). Between the 1920s and 1960s, Texas had a history of teaching immigrant children by implementing English immersion, or "sink or swim" practices where children remained in the same grade level until they showed mastery of English, without any Spanish support (Bybee et al., 2014, p. 139). Thus, "English-only" policies remained the approach used in Texas until the 1960s when bilingual education issues became legally noticed at the federal level (Bybee et al., 2014).

A number of court cases and policies are relevant to note. For instance, in 1924, the *Meyer v. Nebraska Supreme Court* decision overturned an English-only law similar to that established in 1923 in Texas (Bybee et al., 2014). The law required English-only instruction in all private schools in Nebraska. The Meyer case pointed to this as a violation of parents' 14th Amendment rights to choose the language in which their children were schooled but it supported the English-only practice in public schools (Bybee et al., 2014). This opened up the door to the case by families in Del Rio, Texas, the *Independent School District v. Salvatierra* (1930, 1931), in which the court ruled that the segregation of Mexican students on the basis of race was illegal—but an appellate

court later ruled that "school districts could segregate according to special language needs" (Bybee et al., 2014, p. 139).

In 1948, the court in the Texas case of *Delgado et al. v. Bastrop Independent School District* found that segregating children by language was against the Texas Constitution and the 14th Amendment (Bybee et al., 2014). The public school system in Texas for Mexican Americans provided segregated schools with often-minimal facilities and a vocational curriculum (Allsup, 2018). Allsup (2018) noted the demographics of this time:

> The 1950 United States census showed that the median educational attainment for persons over twenty-five was 3.5 years for those with Spanish surnames and, by comparison, 10.3 years for other white Americans; about 27 percent of persons over twenty-five with Spanish surnames had received no schooling at all. (2018, p. 1)

Then, in 1968, Lyndon B. Johnson's administration passed the Bilingual Education Act specifically addressing the learning of students who were classified as limited English-speaking ability (LESA; Blanton, 2005). President Johnson had incorporated the Spanish language as a teacher himself in Cotulla, Texas, while teaching in a "Mexican school" in the 1912s (Blanton, 2005). The Act gave financial incentives in the form of federal grants to school districts that used approaches to teaching and learning that considered students' languages other than English (Chin et al., 2013).

In 1974, in the landmark *Lau v. Nichols* case, advocates of Chinese-American students argued before the Supreme Court that the students were not getting the needed support to allow them a reasonable opportunity to participate in school-based academics

(Chin et al., 2013; Cortina et al., 2015; Stevenson, 2014). This San Francisco case drafted the *Lau Remedies*, which outlined the specific definitions of how districts were to identify children who did not speak English and assessment recommendations (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). The court decision created a mandate for all U.S. school systems to provide language support for students who were identified as needing such support. Because each state makes its own interpretation of the law and because the law is not explicit about how the districts would offer support, the levels of support vary from state to state and among districts within states (Chin et al., 2013).

Though DL practices have existed in the United States since 1963, studies and research on associated programs and practices have grown significantly in the past 10 years (Chin et al., 2013). The research indicates this growth is connected to that of immigrant populations within U.S. borders and an increasing body of evidence to support that multilingual individuals may fare better economically and socially in diverse societies (Chin et al., 2013; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). The Pew Research Center's data on Hispanics in the United States indicated "between 1980 and 2000, immigration was the principal driver of Latinx population growth as the Latinx immigrant population boomed from 4.2 million to 14.1 million. Since then, however, the primary source of this growth has been U.S. births" (G. López & Bialik, 2017, p. 1).

Bilingual Program Models

The recent increase in TWDL programs is situated within the larger historical context of bilingual instruction in schools across the United States as well as within Texas (Howard et al., 2018). Most of the literature reviewed included brief overviews of bilingual programs and models. The models varied not only in implementation, but in

how they assessed student outcomes and also how they defined and carried out student participation in language learning (Chin et al., 2013; Cortina et al., 2015; Parkes, Ruth, Anberg-Espinoza, & De Jong, 2009; Stevenson, 2014; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010; Wortham et al., 2013). The National Educational Agency recognizes three forms of bilingual education models: transitional bilingual education (TBE), English as a second language (ESL), and dual language (DL; Chin et al., 2013; Cortina et al., 2015; Cummins, 2000; Escamilla et al., 2014; Gómez et al., 2010; Murphy, 2014; Parkes et al., 2009; Stevenson, 2014).

The intent within TBE is for students to reach English proficiency by using their Spanish language to support their learning of English. The end goal of TBE is for the child to speak, read, and write with proficiency in English only. TBE does not use the native language in content-based academic instruction in a consistent or determined manner (Cummins, 2000). TBE, often defined as *late or early exit* models, depends upon the decision to cease native-language instruction in the early elementary grades or in the upper elementary years (Collier, 1992; Cummins, 2000; Murphy, 2014). Teachers who teach in a TBE model must be able to speak the child's first language. TBE programs can start in kindergarten with heavy support in Spanish, but by fifth grade, there is English-only instruction with an exception for children just arriving in the United States.

In comparison, ESL programs never require the use of the native language and the ESL teacher instructs children in English only. ESL programs are implemented in many elementary schools where children speak languages for which certified teachers are not available or where the variety of languages makes native-language instruction impractical (García, 2011). Most secondary schools in the United States implement ESL for ELs as a

subject unto itself, along with forms of sheltered instruction in content areas—that is, adherence to standard curricula with specific modifications for ELs (Collier, 1992; Cummins, 2000; Murphy, 2014; Stevenson, 2014). The Texas Bilingual Education Act, passed in 1973, enacted a model very similar to ESL (R. Rodriguez, 2010).

The third kind of bilingual program is the emphasis of my research, DL education. There are two types of DL implementation models; one is a one-way model where only children who are labeled ELs can participate (Texas Education Agency, 2012) and the second is called two-way DL, in which classrooms include children who speak only Spanish at home, those who speak only English at home, and those who speak both or other languages at home (Texas Education Agency, 2012). The makeup of children who can participate is the only distinctive component between the two models. Although there is some variance in terms of how DL programs are organized or what they are called, the majority of the literature contains a focus on agreed upon key components of (a) program structures, (b) curriculum, (c) instruction, (d) assessment and accountability, (e) staff quality and professional development, (f) family and community, and (g) support and resources (Howard et al., 2018, p. 4). These principles were established by practitioners in the field of language policy, research, and practice over 10 years and include feedback and updates from those working in DL programs across 10 states (Howard et al., 2018). The Center for Applied Linguistics allows practitioners to reflect and plan for their programs by using the tools available on their website, including a rating system to determine whether their implementation of the principles above meets the mission and goals of the DL program according to this think tank of experts (Howard et al., 2018). Component six is explicit about family and community engagement in all

schools and specifically warns about balancing the voices of English dominant families with those of ethnic minorities within schools (Howard et al., 2018). One barrier noted in reaching this balance includes that the knowledge and perspectives of parents of English learners—regardless of the parents' English proficiency or length of residency in the United States—were less likely than those of native-English-speaking families to be incorporated into the curriculum and other school information (P. H. Smith, 2001).

There are unique principles that define DL nationally and are not found in the other bilingual models. One is the explicit demand that language minority equity be at the core of DL implementation:

> While important in all schools, equity is crucial in the dual language program model with its emphasis on integrating students of different ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Thus, effective schools had teachers and staff who were committed to equity. They demonstrated an awareness of the diverse needs of students, were trained in sociocultural understanding, used multiethnic curricular materials, integrated students' cultural values into the classroom, celebrated and encouraged the use of all home language varieties, invited students to think critically, engaged in learning activities that promoted social justice, and perhaps most importantly, believed that all children can learn. (Howard et al., 2018, p. 20)

The goal of biliteracy is another unique attribute of DL implementation. It is the only bilingual model where children exit the program with the capacity to read, write, speak, and listen in two languages (Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Collier & Thomas, 2004, 2014; Fradd et al., 1998; Gómez et al., 2010; Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014). DL is also

the first of the known bilingual models to emphasize the following sociolinguistic premises related to teaching for biliteracy:

- Spanish in the United States is a minority language within a majority culture
- Students use all of the languages in their linguistic repertoire to develop literacy
- Spanish and English are governed by distinct linguistic rules and cultural norms (Beeman & Urow, 2013, p. 5)

Teachers must understand that English is viewed as the *power language* in their classrooms and therefore they must learn how to teach in ways that elevate the power dynamics of Spanish (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Butvilofsky, Hopewell, Escamilla, & Sparrow, 2017).

Another unique attribute of DL implementation is the focus on families and the community. The expectations for an effective DL program according to the *Guiding Principles for DL* set nationally include:

> Making the school environment a welcoming and warm one for families of all language and cultural groups, where bilingualism is valued and there is a sense of belonging for students and their families. Parents of all ethnolinguistic groups are treated equitably, and, in two-way programs, English-speaking parents do not dominate the advisory committees . . . when parents come to school, they should see a reflection of the vision and goals associated with bilingualism and biliteracy—for example, signs that are in both languages and front office staff who are bilingual. (Howard et al., 2018, p. 108)

Some key points emphasized under this principle are that a school's infrastructure include a family liaison who speaks Spanish (in the case of Spanish/English DL) and that bilingual training is consistent and available for teachers and family members with an "equity, social justice, and access lens, and to practice in ongoing family conversations that always examine cultural proficiency, prejudice, bias, and various forms of privilege" (Howard et al., 2018, p. 121, 124). The research traced equity in the origins of TWDL to 1963 when Cuban families confronted the lack of equity in their children's learning and advocated for the first Spanish/English DL program in Coral Way Elementary, Florida. A Cuban immigrant family successfully prompted the school district to introduce DL programming so immigrant and American Cuban children could learn English but maintain academic Spanish for a hopeful return to Cuba (Fradd et al., 1998). In 1964, the superintendent in Laredo, Texas, launched the first bilingual program in Texas modeled after DL from Florida's Coral Way School (R. Rodriguez, 2010).

Effectiveness of Bilingual Programs

Though DL programs have been found to be astoundingly successful in comparison to other bilingual/ESL programs developed for English learners, variations in program design and the tests chosen to measure gap closure produce different results in terms of program effectiveness (Collier & Thomas, 2004, p. 4). Many studies contributed to the research on student achievement results from the varied bilingual models. I note three of the largest studies here to show the achievement of ELs in these bilingual models. Each study offered the same conclusion—students who participated in DL programs came closer to closing the opportunity gap between ELs and non-ELs in public schools (Collier, 1992; Collier & Thomas, 2004, 2014; Lindholm-Leary & Block,

2010; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Although DL included varying program design options, the issue that did not vary was the goal of the models: proficiency in using two languages, both as forms of communication and as vehicles for academic learning (Cummins, 2000; Gómez et al., 2010; Murphy, 2014; Parkes et al., 2009; Stevenson, 2014). The ability to read and write in two languages, known as biliteracy, was at the core of each DL's implementation (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014). The biliteracy trajectory in DL began in kindergarten and strived to continue through 12th grade in most U.S. schools (Collier & Thomas, 2012; Escamilla et al., 2014; Gómez et al., 2010). Three studies in DL are important to highlight here.

Study by Umansky and Reardon. Umansky and Reardon (2014) examined 12 years of data (5,423 student records) from a large school district to determine how timing, patterns, and barriers for the reclassification of Latinx ELs to "fluent English proficient" differed from English immersion, transitional bilingual, maintenance bilingual, and dual immersion (p. 2). Results showed children in DL programs, although they reclassified out of the EL status later, reached the same English reading outcomes as children who were in English-only programs (Umansky & Reardon, 2014). The researchers cautioned that ELs in English-only programs showed early academic gains but these gains decreased or plateaued as these same children reached the higher grades in their schooling:

> Many important educational outcomes—both linguistic and academic—may show very different patterns when looking at the short versus the long term. Current federal accountability systems including Annual Measurable Achievement Objectives (AMAOs) under Title III regulations may bias toward more favorable

> results in English immersion over two-language instructional programs despite evidence that two-language classrooms produce more beneficial results for more students in the longer term. (Umansky & Reardon, 2014, p. 29)

Although all children did similarly in their English learning despite the bilingual program, the academic achievement of children who participated in English immersion or TBE began to drop once these children entered the secondary grades whereas the achievement of DL participants continued on an upward trajectory (Umansky & Reardon, 2014).

Study by Collier and Thomas. A second significant research study involved the outcomes of the different bilingual or English-only program types through a K-12 longitudinal study of a cohort of three million student records in U.S. schools (Collier & Thomas, 2012). Collier and Thomas (2012) compared seven programs provided to students in five U.S. school districts: TWDL, one-way DL, early exit/content ESL, early exit/traditional ESL, content-based ESL, ESL pullout, and no services/programs. All children in the study participated in DL from kindergarten through fifth grade (Collier & Thomas, 2012). The results of the study indicated it took more time to reach grade level English literacy for children participating in DL because children were learning in two languages (Collier & Thomas, 2012). Children in bilingual programs with an emphasis on English instruction reached English reading proficiency early in their elementary journey. However, children who participated in DL programs continued to increase their English reading proficiencies through seventh grade and beyond whereas children who participated in English-only programs in the early years of elementary school lowered their gains in English reading in their middle school years (Collier & Thomas, 2012).

One key finding from the study was that it took 6 to 8 years for students to reach second language proficiency (Collier & Thomas, 2012). A second key finding from the data of this large-scale study was that additive bilingual programs influenced long-term reading results versus subtractive programs (e.g., early exit, ESL) that aimed to replace the native language with English (Collier & Thomas, 2012; Valenzuela, 2010). A third finding was that testing results in the first language could predict results in the second language and that there were serious problems with current federal legislation with the assumption (based on politics and not research) that ELs should be on grade level in English within 3 or fewer years of beginning their schooling (Collier & Thomas, 2012).

A critique of Collier and Thomas's (2012) study is that the researchers did not provide a control group, and although the data included only ELs in all programs, researchers did not desegregate the student data group by socioeconomics, and if they had done so, the achievement of poor Latinx and African American children in the data set would have been lower than for the White Native-English speakers in TWDL (Cervantes-Soon, 2014). As such, there is a caution to researchers to be transparent about a new distinction possibly being formed in TWDL between English and Spanish speakers participating in the program (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Calderón & Carreon, 2000). Another limitation in the study worth noting is the lack of clarity and variance from schools and districts when defining the term "well implemented" (Collier & Thomas, 2012). Despite these limitations, this study is popular among practitioners and Collier and Thomas continue in their multiple books and articles to classify all bilingual programs with the exception of DL as remedial programs because they remove a language resource from children (Collier & Thomas, 2004, 2012).

Study by Lindholm-Leary and Block. A third large-scale study involved an examination of data from 659 Hispanic children in four California schools to track their English proficiency (Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010). The schools were at least 80% Hispanic and had 66% of low socioeconomic status students (Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010). Researchers compared the scores of EL and EP (English proficient) students in fourth, fifth, and sixth grades on the California Standards Test (Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010). The researchers compared the students' scores on California's English achievement test for every subgroup and then compared their scores to the average state's Hispanic scores (Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010). The researchers examined the possible reasons for the gains made by students in DL classrooms versus those in main classrooms. They found that perhaps students in classrooms where teachers were highly trained to deliver instructional strategies in content and language learning fared better than those in English-only classrooms where these scaffolds were absent (Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010).

Summary. These three major studies show children in DL performed academically better than those not participating in DL, regardless of state or school. Other smaller studies showed similar promising results in student achievement and are referenced in the next section (Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Chin et al., 2013; Collier, 1992; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cortina et al., 2015; Cummins, 2000; Murphy, 2014; Palmer et al., 2014; Pearson, Wolgemuth, & Colomer, 2015; Wortham et al., 2013). Studies were consistent in finding EL students reached English proficiency between 5 and 7 years as participants in DL programs (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cummins, 2000; García, 2011; Palmer et al., 2014; Stevenson, 2014).

Many researchers also cited that children had the added benefit of reaching higher proficiencies of English while attaining and reaching similar proficiencies in Spanish (Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Chin et al., 2013; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cummins, 2000; Escamilla et al., 2014; García, 2011; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010; Marian, Shook, & Schroeder, 2013).

Social Justice in Bilingual Education

Themes around social justice, political implications, equity, and power issues related to DL models were evident within the literature (Adair, 2015; Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Chin et al., 2013; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cortina et al., 2015; Cummins, 2000; García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Henderson & Palmer, 2015; Murphy, 2014; Palmer et al., 2014; Parkes et al., 2009; Pearson et al., 2015; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010; Wortham et al., 2013). The power dynamics related to language and culture were the focus of Valenzuela's (2010) seminal book, *Subtractive Schooling*, that depicted the pain and struggle of Latinx youth. In her 3-year study of a Houston high school, she highlighted many systems of deficiencies, from academic tracking of Mexican American students to the absence of relationships between students and staff, to actions that divided students from staff socially, culturally, and linguistically (Valenzuela, 2010). In contrast, my review of the literature revealed high schools that implemented DL had a more additive and assets-based approach toward Latinx youth (Chin et al., 2013; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cummins, 2000).

Palmer's various research teams and studies in TWDL classrooms affirmed that language and identity are intertwined and researchers have highlighted how teachers use language as an instrument of power (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Mateus, 2016;

Palmer et al., 2014). Findings show examples of how teachers give importance, authority, and relevance to Spanish, which is typically given to the dominant English language (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017). Findings included a transcript of TWDL children reciting a play in Spanish. A Spanish dominant child changed the storyline in the play where a teacher corrected a child who referred to her as *teacher*. The child was allowed the use of *maestra* in Spanish in the play. The students and teacher knew *maestra* is a common term used by Latinx children and families as a sign of respect and the students were allowed to follow this cultural norm during this activity (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017). This study also showed ways in which instructional materials, activities, or teachers devalued Spanish and did not allow for both languages to coexist as equals in the classroom (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Mateus, 2016; Palmer et al., 2014). The findings from this 4-year study with children in TWDL revealed the sometimes-strict separation of English and Spanish due to the program design the district had adopted (Mateus, 2016). The program design did not allow for the translanguaging pedagogy, the use of both languages simultaneously to make meaning of what the child is learning, which is common among emerging bilinguals (Mateus, 2016). This is another example of the flaws in systems that do not fully account for the bilingual trajectories of children and impose policies and practices that go against natural language acquisition (Mateus, 2016).

The literature also showed teacher trainings are not always explicit in differentiating translanguaging from code-switching, or "moving from one language to the other," a "no-no" which teachers adhere to avoiding in bilingual classrooms (García, 2011, p. 49). There are unique positionings of language in TWDL classrooms because

students are encouraged to use their everyday Spanish and English or even a mix of both language practices and therefore these practices are in fact valued (Palmer et al., 2014). "Standards-based reforms in many Anglophone nations have been informed by monoglossic language ideologies that marginalize the dynamic bilingualism of emergent bilingual" (Flores & Schissel, 2014, p. 1). However, TWDL is intended to provide dynamic bilingual practices that promote and elevate the Spanish language and hold it as an additive asset in the journey to becoming biliterate (García & Kleifgen, 2010).

University of Texas at Austin professor, Dr. Jennifer Adair (2015), pointed to ways school practices and systems devalue the home language of immigrant children, starting with the "early childhood educator's drive to 'fix' the children; [this] too often sends the message that what these children's families and communities have offered them so far is not good enough" (p. 9). Palmer et al. (2016) also described a deficit theory as the "blame the victim phenomenon" that is pervasive in schools. If children of color are not succeeding in schools, staff blame the children's socioeconomic status, home language, families, or culture for this failure (p. 98). Adair and her team exemplified the deficit thinking surrounding immigrant and Spanish-speaking children in a recent study about the *word gap* with children who do not speak English at home (Adair, Sanchez, & McManus, 2017; Valenzuela, 2010). Adair et al.'s (2017) study included over 200 teachers, administrators, and children who reacted to an 18-minute video clip taken in Title I school classrooms where first graders were shown actively engaged in asking questions, making decisions, drawing conclusions, and working in ways that highlight student agency in their own learning. The video footage depicted children involved in the classroom lessons and was shared with teachers from other Title I schools to gather

their feedback about what they saw and how this related to their own classrooms (Adair et al., 2017). Researchers were surprised to find many of the teachers appreciated what they saw but voiced that their own students lacked the vocabulary to learn in the kind of ways demonstrated by the children on the video (Adair et al., 2017). Teachers stated their students lacked the vocabulary and home support the students in the video were assumed to bring with them and said their students needed to be taught differently from the children on the video. As noted in the study, the children in the video were more similar than different in demographics (e.g., ethnically, socioeconomically, language spoken at home, parent education) to the students in these teachers' very own classrooms (Adair et al., 2017). When the video was shared with first-grade children in the same viewing schools, they reacted in ways that criticized the way the children in the video were acting. Researchers conducted focus groups of first graders from similar socioeconomic status and demography as those in the video to talk about what they saw in the video:

> [The first graders explained] why the children in the film were not learning anything, a boy rather spontaneously interjected, "Keep your mouth zipped, eyes watching . . . and ears listening!" While he yelled this out, he made a gesture like he was zipping his mouth and cupping his ears. In another focus group, after watching a part in the video where a boy crossed the room to help a classmate, the interviewer asked if they did that kind of helping out in their classrooms. One child responded, "No, because the little kid went up to teach the kid. That's not right." Another added, "No, because our teacher gets mad. You need to raise your hand." All of the first graders in our study were alarmed by children in the

> film who were talking without permission, moving around the classroom, collaborating on one another's work, and making plans without adult assistance. (Adair et al., 2017, p. 311)

Researchers were alarmed to get these types of responses about the video from children. The researchers concluded that in aggregate, reflections from teachers and administrators about the video held consistent deficit descriptions and reasons for why their own immigrant children could not have the agency the children in the video displayed (Adair et al., 2017).

This study exemplified the deficit ideology about children from immigrant families found in many schools today and a need for outrage from the public community about the deficit practices and ideologies that are alive and well in schools such as those viewing the video (Adair et al., 2017). On the contrary, DL education has often been labeled as an "enrichment" program intended to eliminate deficient and remedial practices and as highlighting practices such as cooperative learning, project based learning, thematic unit based and inquiry approaches, and heterogenous student groups, among others associated more with a "gifted and talented" type of curriculum rather than a remedial one (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Collier & Thomas, 2012, 2014; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010; Park et al., 2018; Parkes et al., 2009).

Other social justice issues related to language in schools were evident in Calderón and Carreon's (2000) case study of 24 teachers in four schools implementing TWDL. The TWDL programs they studied included:

> Children of parents who didn't speak Spanish because when they went to the El Paso schools or other U.S. schools they were punished for speaking Spanish.

> They grew up convinced that Spanish was a liability rather than a resource. These parents now want their children to regain the Spanish language and cultural pride they once lost. Unfortunately, this sense of shame and loss of language and culture leads other Hispanic parents to fight desperately against bilingual programs. Although two-way bilingual education may not be the solution to a history of social inequalities, it can be a vehicle for reform which individual schools or school districts can implement, study, and continue to improve. (Calderón & Carreon, 2000, p. 7)

The researchers identified the ideological power struggles between the bilingual and monolingual English-speaking teachers in the schools they studied. The researchers described how the bilingual teachers saw continued actions by their partner teachers that considered and treated English as the superior language over Spanish (Calderón & Carreon, 2000). The bilingual teachers further experienced how the English-speaking teachers took control and made all the instructional decisions in the teacher teaming required for the implementation of the DL co-teaching model (Calderón & Carreon, 2000). The study pointed to evidence of how the privilege and power of English-speaking teachers overshadow the inclusion and decision-making power of the Spanish-speaking teachers (Calderón & Carreon, 2000). Researchers shared:

> From these two failed relationships, we learned that power relations between monolingual and bilingual teachers need to be addressed from the beginning as part of program implementation. The bilingual and mainstream teachers were in similar stages of their careers but the bilingual teachers had received more preparation and keener insights into the needs of the Latinx children. However,

they felt less powerful to make the necessary reforms in their classrooms and in their team relations. (Calderón & Carreon, 2000, p. 40)

In another study, Menken and Solorza (2015) set out to uncover why bilingual programs were being discontinued in the City of New York through a qualitative research study in 17 schools. In New York City public schools, a total of 438,131 students spoke over 180 different languages and the study brought to light the critical role principals played in ensuring a balance of language power in a school that implements bilingual education (Menken & Solorza, 2015). The researchers concluded principals had an enormous say in how they set language policies in their schools (Menken & Solorza, 2015). The chief methodology of the study included interviewing principals who had discontinued bilingual education in their schools and the reasons for doing so (Menken & Solorza, 2015). Interview results showed these principals wanted quicker results in English assessments and that they, themselves, had no formal preparation in the education of emerging bilinguals and therefore did not ground their decisions on research about bilingual education (Menken & Solorza, 2015). Research in this study highlighted that states such as New York, California, Massachusetts, and Arizona had adopted policies that restricted children from using their home languages in classroom instruction and how these political mandates were used to terminate bilingual education altogether (Menken & Solorza, 2015).

Cortina et al. (2015) examined policy issues related to DL from a social movement lens. Their study of a group of families in Manhattan who were denied opening a Chinese-English DL program because the family members did not speak Chinese at home shed light on how the criteria set for districts to implement DL programs

were poorly defined and highly subjective (Cortina et al., 2015). The decision to institute a DL program by a school community was affected greatly by social and economic demographic shifts within that community; similarly, nearly all Central Texas DL schools have experienced this phenomenon during a period of rapid gentrification (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Cortina et al., 2015; Mateus, 2016; Palmer et al., 2014). The school my own children attended was home to 90% of children on free or reduced lunch 10 years ago and today it serves 30% of this population as a result of large increases in housing costs in areas around the school. Families of high socioeconomic income bracket continue to demand DL in contrast to language marginalized families bilingual education was designed to protect from English-only or sink or swim programs (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Flores & Schissel, 2014; Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006).

A lack of consistent language policies at the local, state, and federal levels provides little support for school communities and stakeholders to safeguard their current DL programming or to even understand how to start DL programs in schools. The absence of native language assessment requirements in No Child Left Behind is a key example of how DL is undermined in reaching a long-term educational goal of biliteracy for participants (Parkes et al., 2009). Despite the absence of strong Spanish resources and assessments, many researchers in the field use a common term, "additive" versus "subtractive" bilingual implementation, when referring to TWDL. They stress that DL is intended to achieve a more balanced use of both languages as a bilingual education model and less assimilation to what was historically a goal to achieve only English competency (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Collier & Thomas, 2012; Fielding, 2015; Flores, 2016; García, 2011; M. M. López, 2013; Palmer et al., 2014; Valenzuela, 2010). In all

bilingual programs, with the exception of the DL model, educators take away the current language and culture by replacing it with English and the American culture, which is reflective of White, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon norms. DL is a unique example of the native language and English language existing on an equal playing field in the classroom (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Collier & Thomas, 2012; Fielding, 2015; Flores, 2016; García, 2011; M. M. López, 2013; Palmer et al., 2014). Many researchers have examined how English-only programs resulted in the erasure or subtraction of the native language and thus the inability for children to connect in meaningful ways to their heritage and families (Blanton, 2005; Cummins, 1992; Flores, 2016; García, 2011; M. M. López, 2013).

I chose to focus my study on the familial space of TWDL to address the gap in the existing studies and research on the authentic connections between schools and homes for families participating in TWDL. As a result, the next section of my literature review includes a focus on the history of families and schools more broadly, and then on family roles specifically in bilingual education and in TWDL.

History of Families and Schools

> "The child is a faithful representative of his home sentiments," said one contributor to The Massachusetts Teacher in 1851. For the teacher to think otherwise "is a fatal mistake; nothing can be right, nothing can be safe, unless all is right and safe at home." (Cutler, 2000, p. 13)

The role of families within public education can be traced back to 1840 when the mothers of children enrolled in the common schools in Kensington, Connecticut, were encouraged by the superintendent to start the Female Common School Association

(Cutler, 2000). These mothers became members who met monthly to raise money for library books, make clothes for children who lacked clothing to attend school, and raise the salaries of the teachers (Cutler, 2000). As American schooling became more standardized in practice, so began the clashing differences between school learning and home learning. Despite the difference, three common elements existed between schools and homes in that the gender, ethnicity, and religion of the teachers employed in American schools in the 1940s were all in common with the mother in the American homes (Cutler, 2000). But even then, there was friction between German families who were concerned with only English being used and Irish Catholics who were critical of the use of the Protestant Bible in schools (Cutler, 2000). Social class and ethnicity also played a role in who attended school in this era. Middle class versus the working class differed in their access to schools and many New England immigrants chose work over school for their children (Cutler, 2000). "In the nineteenth century, the bureaucratization of public education facilitated and legitimated the divorce of school from the community and the subordination of families to professionals, as Michael B. Katz, among others, has pointed out" (Cutler, 2000, p. 19). A common point of view from the 1850s to the 1900s was that families were the enemies of schools. Families were blamed for a lack of interest in school, for the lack of intelligence of their children, and for the misbehavior of their children (Cutler, 2000). In fact, teachers complained that family members only added to the distress and ill-education of the students and that they were also in need of education. Thus, many middle-class mothers elected to keep their young children at home rather than send them to school (Cutler, 2000).

The European kindergarten movement began to influence New England schools and slowly transform the adversary role of families and teachers to one of the families supporting teachers (Cutler, 2000). Kindergarten classrooms were designed to mimic the home with fireplaces, windows, and curtains, for this was the transition of children from the home to the classroom (Cutler, 2000). Between 1900 and 1915, the home and school association originated in rural America but also spread to cities and suburbs in the Northeast (Cutler, 2000). Throughout the history of public schools, families were seen as both adversaries and advocates (Cutler, 2000). The literature surrounding the history of families and school examined this relationship then and now as a political one—when family members questioned school practices and theories, this tension could be positive or confrontational (Cutler, 2000; Elmore, 2011; Lunenburg, 2011; Mapp & Kuttner, 2013).

Current Understandings of Family Roles and Engagement

Various terms are used in the literature to describe the relationship between family members and schools and the roles family members play in schools, including involvement, volunteering, service, engagement, partnerships, and family–school connections. Mapp and Kuttner (2002) stated:

> More than three decades of research show that, regardless of economic, racial/ethnic and educational backgrounds, there is a strong link between educational benefits to children and various forms of family engagement such as encouragement to succeed academically, involvement in at-home activities such as help with homework, volunteerism in schools, and participation in governance activities. (p. 3)

Because of the wide range of forms of parent participation with schools, I focused my literature review on the different models and forms of parent engagement in U.S. schools.

Family members as models and motivators. My review of the literature from the 1980s and 1990s included studies and efforts led by Dr. James Comer, a researcher in the Yale Child Study Center who connected academics to the mental health and well-being of children (Comer & Haynes, 1991; Lunenburg, 2011). Comer was born to an African American working-class family in Indiana and was at the forefront of conducting studies with school districts with families like his own in Chicago, Detroit, Miami, Prince George, and others serving primarily youth of color (Lunenburg, 2011). The School Development Program (SDP), also known as the Comer Model, provided a space for families to participate in the governance and management of schools (Comer & Haynes, 1991). The model included 1,000 school districts nationwide and around the world and emphasizes the following components:

- Building positive interpersonal relationships
- Promoting teacher efficacy
- Fostering positive student attitudes
- Increasing students' prosocial behaviors
- Improving student academic achievement. (Comer & Haynes, 1991; Lunenburg, 2011)

A unique aspect of this model was that the coordinating teams created to implement this reform were inclusive of family members who would play a part in coordinating the direction of the initiatives alongside teachers and administrators (Comer & Haynes, 1991; Squires & Kranyik, 1996). In addition, parents made up membership in the school and

management teams, which replaced the popular top-down district-level coordination (Comer & Haynes, 1991; Squires & Kranyik, 1996). The achievements gained by schools that adopted the Comer Model, including Dallas ISD in Texas, were mainly attributed to the fact that stakeholders inside and outside the school made the improvements that influenced the practices and thus the culture of the schools (Squires & Kranyik, 1996). As Squires and Kranyik (1996) noted, "Schools need to help in breaking down the professional insularity that separates the functions of home and school in children's development" (p. 2). Shared decision making between school staff and families was a distinctive component of the Comer Model and later the model was unique in introducing parent assistants who would be paid to work side by side with teachers in classrooms (Comer & Haynes, 1991).

Family members as community and education organizers. Another notable model of family engagement is *community organizing* in schools done with community partners who trained organizers to work alongside school staff and family members:

> Nationally, it is estimated that more than 200 community groups are engaged in organizing for better schooling (Mediratta & Fruchter, 2001; Gold, Simon & Brown 2002). These organizing groups have responded to a variety of parental and youth concerns, including unsafe environmental and facilities conditions, overcrowded schools, dangerous school crossings, inadequate school funding, unresponsive administrators, and inexperienced teachers. (Mediratta et al., 2009, p. 4)

The researchers from a study at the Annenberg Institute at Brown University conducted a case study of schools in seven U.S. cities that adopted a community organizing approach

to school reform (Mediratta et al., 2009). All of the schools in the multiple case study had large numbers of Latinx children and families who improved student achievement at traditionally low performing schools as a result of their community organizing strategies (Mediratta et al., 2009). Over the span of 6 years, using mixed-methods, researchers examined non-profit organizing groups working alongside public schools in Austin, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, the Bronx, Oakland, and Miami (Mediratta et al., 2009). All of the Austin schools in this study served high numbers of children from Latinx backgrounds and low socioeconomic status and all had failing rates on the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills assessment measure (Mediratta et al., 2009).

The researchers sought to describe how members of the non-profit partners and these schools engaged in reforms together (Mediratta et al., 2009). I was a fifth-grade teacher and later a principal in four different schools that were part of this study during this time frame. The results showed that "when the organizing efforts were sustained at a high level of intensity, this organizing contributed to notable gains in student learning" (Mediratta et al., 2009, p. 2). The organizing efforts included:

- conducting home visits to listen to the concerns and hopes and dreams of families,
- conducting community walks to identify leaders in the community and follow up with them, and
- forming research action teams made up of teachers and families to gather data and insights on how the school could improve. (Mediratta et al., 2009; Shirley, 1997)

Family members were key stakeholders in the process of "reform" during the 6-year study in Austin schools. In this study, families and teachers were surveyed about their views of the reforms occurring in their schools (Mediratta et al., 2009, p. 38). The outcomes of the surveys conducted showed a significant amount of growth in trust among families and teachers as a result of the strategies implemented and the change in culture and climate that was critical to their improvements (Mediratta et al., 2009). The study focused on how teachers and parents gained capacity through the organizing tools they practiced to influence school environments and the role of parents in the school. These strategies included school staff breaking through typical barriers of blaming and building relationships with families by working with them to understand their worries, dreams, and hopes for their children through use of the tools in a community organizing model (Mediratta et al., 2009; Murnane, 1996; Shirley, 1997). One such tool was always pairing the English-speaking teachers with Spanish speakers so language was not a barrier to their interactions with one another (Mediratta et al., 2009). Other tools included holding individual one-to-one meetings between parents and teachers, parents and parents, and teachers and teachers to better understand people's stories. Another was conducting community walks to listen for ways in which the schools and the community could improve. The study pointed to many ways teachers and family members worked together to turn around these low performing schools (Mediratta et al., 2009). The work of community organizing affected the climate of the schools and created new ways for families to use their ideas and voices alongside school staff.

The second study included researchers from Cross City Campaign for Urban School Reform who published five case studies of schools in Oakland, New York,

Austin, Philadelphia, and Chicago that used community organizing tools to lead the improvements to their schools (Gold et al., 2002). Their action research shed light on indicators that contributed to the improvements in these schools, such as leadership development, community power, social capital, public accountability, equity, school/community connection, high quality instruction and curriculum, and positive school climate, most commonly known as community organizing strategies (Gold et al., 2002). All of these indicators were born out of the collective leadership of each school working together to identify together what issues they wanted to work toward, rather than the district-level leaders telling them what needed to be improved (Gold et al., 2002). This is a unique attribute of family members as community organizers. Families spent an extensive amount of time, along with teachers, identifying the hopes and dreams for their children, which then led to the reforms that addressed these needs or aspirations (Gold et al., 2002). Families became community organizers and learned to define and work with the power structures within their schools, districts, neighborhoods, and cities. They also learned how these power dynamics influenced the issues they identified (Gold et al., 2002). The literature surrounding community organizing in schools often used as a common marker of school improvement efforts termed *community power*:

> *Community power* means that residents of low-income neighborhoods gain influence to win the resources and policy changes needed to improve their schools and neighborhoods. Community power emerges when groups act strategically and collectively. Powerful community groups build a large base of constituents, form partnerships for legitimacy and expertise, and have the clout to draw the

> attention of political leaders and the media to their agenda. (Gold et al., 2002, p. 24)

The use of these community organizing practices built trust between teachers and families so everyone listened in order to understand, rather than blame each other. These practices also brought hope and a sense of agency for many family members who had only experienced defeats as a result of living in the shadows because of their immigration status, living without needed opportunities because of their life struggles, and living in isolation because of their lack of relationships with those unknown to them in their neighborhoods and schools (Gold et al., 2002). The research study showed 100% of the schools in the study had gains of +3.0% to +5.7% on the state's assessment (Gold et al., 2002; Mediratta et al., 2009; Shirley, 1997). These improvements in student achievement were attributed to the relationships and the collective leadership these families and teachers created together (Gold et al., 2002; Mediratta et al., 2009; Shirley, 1997).

Unfortunately, in the years to follow, many of these community organizing projects dissipated in response to the strict demands from No Child Left Behind legislation that added punitive accountability demands on schools with little time left for the practices of community organizing (Elmore, 2011; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Shirley, 1997). Tests are created and results are determined by district-level staff. Conversations that provide little dialogue between teachers and families reduce their ability to look for root causes of learning challenges or to consider ways to combat issues together (Adair, 2015; Elmore, 2011; Palmer et al., 2014; Shirley, 1997). At the core of community organizing was the belief that families and teachers have what is referred to as "metis"—the "know how" that people develop from living the day to day (Elmore,

2011, p. 1). The "metis" families bring about their children and their neighborhoods is a valuable tool to leverage ideas and possibilities for improving a school and is also referred to in the literature as "funds of knowledge" (Gonzalez et al., 1995, p. 6; G. M. Rodriguez, 2013). There is rich research in my literature review on this theory that immigrant, minority, historically marginalized families have value to contribute to schools (Gonzalez et al., 1995; G. M. Rodriguez, 2013). Teachers and families together can build strong alliances to overcome the many barriers that get in the way of children's learning (Elmore, 2011; Gonzalez et al., 1995; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; G. M. Rodriguez, 2013; Shirley, 1997). These studies about family members as community organizers shed light on the role of families within these many spaces in the studies conducted in my literature review.

Families in DL education. In combing the literature related to families and TWDL programs in particular, many researchers focused on trying to understand why families choose TWDL programs for their children (Elmore, 2011; García, 2011). The literature, overall, points to family–school partnerships as a key component in an effective DL program (Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cortina et al., 2015; Cummins, 2000; Czik & Lewis, 2017; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Gonzalez et al., 1995; Howard et al., 2018; Kim, Curby, & Winsler, 2014; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010). Despite this, findings from studies continued to highlight how many immigrants and linguistically diverse families were silenced and impeded from advocating for norms and practices in schools that better complemented their home language and traditions (Morales & Rao, 2015). A number of key studies provided the foundation for my study of the connections among schools and families. I especially seek to explore the family fund of language

passed on to children who walk into the doors of U.S. classrooms—this language fund can quickly be erased when entering bilingual or ESL programs that require English-only outcomes for learners.

Family members as advocates. Another way to frame families in their relationships to schools is families as advocates. Historically, since the inception of bilingual programs, family members had a stake in advocating for students' language rights alongside political and legal allies (Blanton, 2005; Boyle, August, Tabaku, Cole, & Simpson-Baird, 2005; Bybee et al., 2014; Fradd et al., 1998; M. M. López, 2013; Michael-Luna, 2015; G. M. Rodriguez, 2013; R. Rodriguez, 2010). It is important to note research that highlighted families as advocates in order to better understand this role and their relationship to schools. In Pearson et al.'s (2015) study of Martinez Elementary School, a DL campus in Colorado, White families in the study chose to remain in a school labeled as academically failing by the Colorado accountability system because parents wanted their children to be in a school that valued multilingualism. They stood firm in supporting the goals and timelines of their TWDL program. Despite this, many families removed their children from the school, and those who remained were able to advocate for the linguistic and academic gains that a state test did not measure but that the TWDL program did (Morales & Rao, 2015). The authors questioned whether this advocacy for the DL program would have been possible without the power of the White families at the school (Morales & Rao, 2015). This again was a caution about the imbalance that can occur in TWDL schools among two populations being served (Cortina et al., 2015; Morales & Rao, 2015). One population was composed of the English-speaking White families who made claims on the district they felt entitled to make. The

other population included the immigrant families who, like mine, were just grateful to get an education and who were the silent partners in the school (Cortina et al., 2015). Researchers have challenged practitioners to pay close attention to both populations and ensure all are actively involved in school reform as advocates (Cortina et al., 2015; García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Morales & Rao, 2015).

Another large study was conducted in a Southwest public school system in which the researchers surveyed 724 families of students enrolled in DL programs at seven elementary schools and one middle school (Parkes et al., 2009). Researchers asked participants why they had chosen DL and how long they would commit to keeping their children in the DL program (Parkes et al., 2009). According to the results of this study survey, the top three reasons for parents to choose DL education for their children were so they (a) could speak, read, and write in two languages; (b) could be successful in a global society; and (c) could be more successful in school (Parkes et al., 2009, p. 645). The value of bilingualism was the choice most frequently noted by all those in the study (Parkes et al., 2009). This study affirmed there was trust by families that TWDL would deliver biliteracy for the participants and therefore these families became advocates for their TWDL programs when there were district issues that affected the programs in their schools (Parkes et al., 2009). The study further highlighted ways in which the participants advocated actively for TWDL in their district (Parkes et al., 2009).

In these studies, there was a recurring theme about the need for school staff to create a careful balance that includes the voices and agencies of all families in TWDL schools. The need is especially critical with the abundance of involved middle- and upper-income families and with marginalized families of color and from lower income

backgrounds (Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Collier & Thomas, 2012; Cortina et al., 2015; Cummins, 2000; Michael-Luna, 2015; Morales & Rao, 2015; Pearson et al., 2015). Researchers have cautioned that marginalized families should take the front seat to the participation in TWDL and that attention be paid to the practices in schools that can shut out families who may not know or understand how to access the school systems. These same studies showed a correlation between families of high education and income and their access to school staff in comparison to families who had lower income status (Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Collier & Thomas, 2012, 2014; Cortina et al., 2015; Cummins, 2000; Michael-Luna, 2015). Therefore, careful attention must be given to those who are intended to be the main beneficiaries of these language resources: the native Spanish-speaking students (Pearson et al., 2015).

The Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) out of Washington, DC, is a web-based entity that provides recent research-based studies, resources, and policy analyses of language learning and teaching nationally. A group of researchers from the CAL collaborated with practitioners and identified strands needed for effective DL programing (Howard et al., 2018). Those in education concurred with research that showed school staff that engaged families and community had stronger partnerships for working together to support students in their academic journeys (Howard et al., 2018; Epstein, 1986, 2010; G. R. López, 2003; M. M. López, 2013; Noddings, 2002, 2015). DL programs emphasized a critical strand in their development that focused on family and community engagement as well. The researchers stated that when families were incorporated in schools, children demonstrated increased motivation toward school and an increase in

academic outcomes and positive behaviors in schools (Howard et al., 2018). Their research showed families from lower income status who spoke languages other than English received lower levels of district support than did White families of middle- and high-income schools (Howard et al., 2018). Howard and colleagues (2018) emphasized the need for authentic and valued family engagement in schools and especially with marginalized families. They stressed that engagement should promote cross cultural connections and experiences that mirror the goals of the bilingual and multilingual programs serving their children in the classroom (Howard et al., 2018). Some of these exemplary DL program community practices included having a school infrastructure that was responsive to families by including staff who spoke the language of the families and promoting a culture of positive interactions and outreach that was consistent to engaging families in the process (Howard et al., 2018, pp. 111-116). All of the research studies noted pointed to the value of linking families and schools. My research study was designed to show whether families who participated in TWDL indeed were making these kinds of connections to their schools.

Theoretical Framework

In order for me to bring families' voices and experiences to light in my study, I captured their experiences in order to share their knowledge about TWDL education (Creswell, 2013; Crotty, 1998). My understanding of families and schools and the connections to each other comes from intertwined theories, including Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, Nodding's care ethics, and Epstein's spheres of influence theory. Vygotsky and Noddings greatly influenced my thinking about the relationships between children and their families, children and their teachers, and teachers and families. The

lifelong work of all three scholars about the value of community and shared learning and connections among the adults surrounding the children aligned with my professional and personal experiences with children's learning journeys in public schools. Children are not empty vessels who enter a schoolhouse, they are filled with curiosity and wonder and although they are perhaps living in less economically affluent homes, they come with rich familial traditions, language, and culture that set them on a path to a continued learning journey once they enter the school doors (Budiman, 2020; Epstein, 2005, 2010; Noddings, 2002; Vygotsky, 1978). In addition to this perspective, I drew from Joyce Epstein's work with schools and families and the spheres of influence theory to conduct my study on families' experiences with TWDL.

Sociocultural theory. Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory indicates the foundation of learning is in the interactions of learners with others. Vygotsky proposed that "cooperative human activity" is pivotal to cognitive development because children grow up and live within large-scale social organizations—family, school, church, community center and neighborhoods—that influence their ongoing cognitive development (Lemke, 2001, p. 296; see also Vygotsky, 1978). A key concept of Vygotsky's work includes the interrelatedness of cognition with the world around us (Swain, Kinnear, & Steinman, 2015). His work included a "focus on the relationships between the individual's physiological aspects and the social and culturally produced artifacts that transform the individual's cognitive or mental functions" (Swain et al., 2015, p. xiv). Sociocultural theory points to how "our lives within these institutions (schools, homes) and their associated communities give us tools for making sense of that around us: tools such as languages, pictorial conventions, belief systems, value systems,

and specialized discourses and practices" (Lemke, 2001, p. 296; see also Vygotsky, 1978).

Rogoff (1990) expanded Vygotsky's social interaction principle by noting how children gained learning through guided participation with their Mayan mothers. Children gained thousands of nonverbal learning opportunities by participating and interacting with their mothers in routines and activities within their culture traditions (Rogoff, 1990). Mothers modeled the day-to-day work so children gained insights and knowledge about survival in the world (Rogoff, 1990). These tools and symbols/signs mediated actions and motivated people toward learning despite the artificially constructed educational settings called classrooms (Moll, 1992; Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky referred to school practices of "tracking, ability grouping, and practices imposed on learning as social creations and highly constraining of natural learning" (Moll, 1992, p. 15). I attempted to capture the interpretations about children's language learning from family members during individual and group interviews.

Ethics of care theory. My work was also strongly influenced by Nel Noddings's (2002) theory of the ethics of caring in schools. Her work emphasizes that schools have a responsibility to contribute to the moral life of students by being intentional about (a) dialogue between adult and child, (b) practices by the child and the adult, (c) confirmation of practices, and (d) modeling as a means of an effective practice (Noddings, 1995). Noddings (2002) viewed language, culture, and experiences that children bring from home as critical learning assets, in part because home experiences are, for the most part, steeped in loving care. These themes of care in schools are

carefully crafted in ways that bring teachers and families together to cooperate in students' activities and by sharing with each other their:

> Dreams and doubts and by providing in *care* the steady growth of the children in their charge. Personal manifestations of care are probably more important in children's lives than any particular curriculum or pattern of pedagogy. (Noddings, 1995, p. 2)

Noddings (2003) also referred to teaching as a *relational practice* rather than one centered on the content teachers teach and emphasized the need to extend the ethics of care found at home into the classroom (p. 248). She argued that teachers are responsible for addressing the development of the child as a whole person and noted the tremendous uplifting effects teachers can have on young children; effects children remember for a lifetime (Noddings, 2003). She stated:

> Not only must a teacher acquire and continually extend her store of broad cultural knowledge, but she must also be committed to establishing and maintaining relations of care and trust. Relations of care and trust also form a foundation for the effective transmission of both general and specialized knowledge. But relations of care and trust are ends in themselves, not simply means to achieve various learning. (Noddings, 2003, p. 250)

Noddings (2002) described what people are like when they engage in practices of care with one another. These encounters of caring occur naturally and ethically in schools. Noddings defined *natural caring* for someone as a spontaneous act of caring, "a sort of caring usually identified with care in intimate circles – with parenting and friendship" (p. 29), whereas *ethical caring* arises from the need to care, the responsibility

to care for the other. Education from the stance of caring includes actions by both the teacher and the student to model care, dialogue about care, intentionally practice care, and confirm that care is shared. These practices promote trust between the individuals that allows for this caring to happen (Noddings, 2013).

The guidelines for DL implementation promote the value for the languages that children bring to schools; this is translated into what Noddings (2002) referred to as practicing acts of caring for the child. The DL approach supports that English acquisition is made stronger when educators acknowledge, respect, and leverage the languages and cultures children bring to the classroom (Cummins, 2000). In my study, I explored how family members expressed actions in the context of their bilingual learners and how those expressions matched (or did not match) those of care, as well as the expected outcomes as related to DL education.

Spheres of influence theory. The final theory I used in my study came from the work of Joyce Epstein. Her work spans over 20 years with schools, districts, and community organizations as she examined the relationships between families and schools. She led the Center on Families, Communities, Schools and Children's Learning at John Hopkins University and was also the director of the National Network of Partnership Schools (Epstein, 1992, 2005, 2010). Her "theoretical perspectives on schools and families were based on the separate, sequenced, embedded or overlapping influence of each" (Epstein, 1992, p. 8). Though Epstein (1992, 2005, 2010) developed various models of parent engagement over the years, my work draws from her spheres of influence theory which:

Integrates and extends Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model, Leichter's

> (1974) educational insights of families as educators, Litwak and Meyees (1974) sociological perspectives on connections of professional and nonprofessional institutions and individuals, Seeley's (1981) emphasis on shared responsibility, and a long tradition of sociological and psychological research on school and family environments and their effects. (Epstein, 1992, p. 10)

The overlapping spheres of influence theory supports that there is a shared responsibility among the school, family, and community for children's learning and development (Epstein, 2010). Epstein has examined these types of influences on children's learning and development and how these interact with one another since the early 1980s. She defined the child as having an active central role in his or her development and as being at the center of the connections (Epstein, 1986). Children actively listen to the communications between their families and their schools and the mutual support that exists (Epstein, 1986, 2005, 2010).

The model includes forces that pull together or push apart, depending on the characteristics of the child (i.e., Force A), such as the philosophies or practices of the family (i.e., Force B), of the school (i.e., Force C), and the community (i.e., Force D). The model includes an assumption that exchanges and interactions among the four spheres occur in a spirit of mutual respect (Epstein, 1986). The characteristics of the child (i.e., Force A) evolve and flex depending on the child's stage of development. Therefore, according to Epstein (2010), this allows for different types of interactions between schools and families and communities for the support of the student. Forces B, C, and D are unique to the three spheres (i.e., school, family, community) and each

depends on the others in contributing to defining and connecting experiences, philosophies, and practices (Epstein, 1986).

Epstein (2010) noted in her work with many schools nationally that schools have the unique power to decide the frequency, quality, and type of communications they enact in order to generate a separation or a connection among the spheres. When families, schools, and communities act as overlapping organizations with shared responsibilities, respect is extended to families and teachers who recognize the need to cooperate to fulfill the shared obligations for the education of children and collaborate for the education and socialization of children (Epstein, 2010). Each sphere requires information about the goals and the work of the other, and each sphere contributes to student success not only in the role of a learner but also as a contributing citizen (Epstein, 2010, p. 14).

These three theories informed my approach to the study and my view of how these intercepted to support the child is noted in Figure 1.

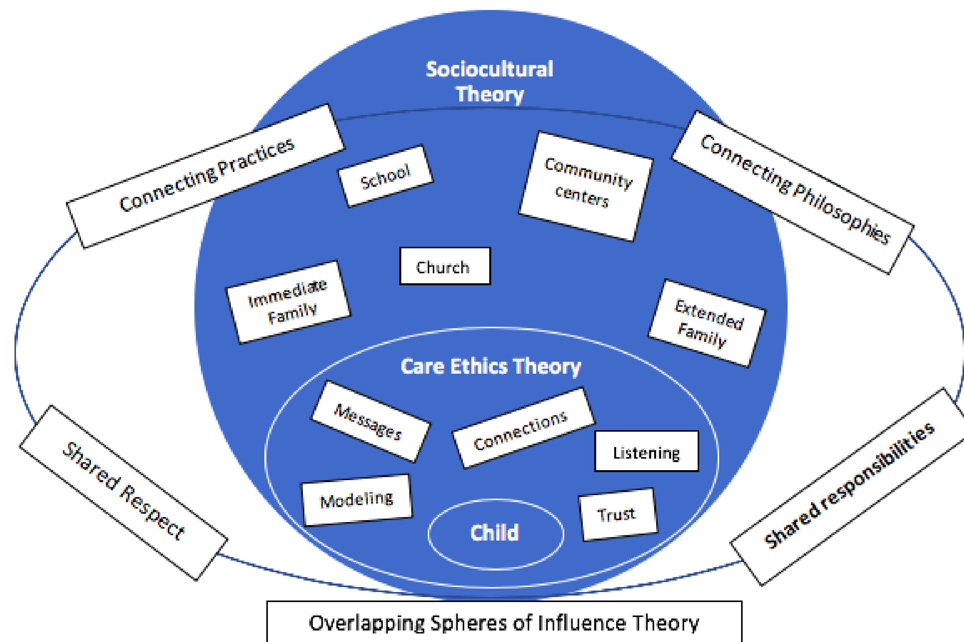


Figure 1. Conceptual framework.

I believe parent and community engagement is the foundation for effective DL implementation, especially because DL education involves listening, speaking, reading, and writing—all skills dependent on language use—at the core of the goals set by the program. Furthermore, I brought philosophical assumptions about social justice and equity for Spanish-dominant children and how these played out in school systems. As a bilingual teacher and administrator, as well as a parent of emerging bilinguals, my epistemological position regarding language acquisition theory and practice is grounded in my own personal experiences, those of my family, those of the communities in which I have lived, and those of the students from schools in which I have worked for a period of over 25 years. In brief, I am a strong advocate of bilingualism in schools and in society. I also hold strong a conviction that schools cannot improve, for the long haul, with efforts generated solely from those who are inside the schoolhouse. I have found, in my

experiences, many schools operate similar to islands, separate from families and the communities, and I also worked in relational and collective schools where business as usual included parent voices and actions in the majority of the practices developed and implemented in the school. In this study I examined how families of TWDL students in schools contributed to their children's bilingual capacity and whether this happened in collaborative, connected ways with schools or in isolation and disconnection.

Chapter Summary

My literature review provided solid arguments for the justification for bilingual education and the understanding of its history, implementation, and evolution. It also highlighted the need for additional studies to be conducted and data sets to be examined about the academic growth in bilingual children's abilities, not only in English, but also in the other language. There were abundant studies based on the English attainment and English proficiency of children in DL but few of Spanish outcomes for these same children. Many studies showed the impacts of children's biliteracy attainments in the classrooms, but fewer studies showed the correlations to the use of the home language and its impact on these attainments (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014). This led to my analysis of families and their roles in this biliteracy attainment. My review of the literature provided a starting point from which to argue that family members' contributions to their children's learning are needed and have value, even if their contributions remain disconnected from the efforts of those inside the school building.

I identified several gaps in my review of the literature. Parkes et al. (2009) also emphasized that more research is needed surrounding biliteracy and whether true bilinguals are academically ahead of their peers. Other researchers in the field identified

the need for more study in the areas of teacher and parent agency for bilingual education (Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Murphy, 2014; Palmer et al., 2014). Much of the review of the literature around the concept of families and schools was plentiful in the 1980s and 1990s. I noted a gap in studies of families' roles in schools in more recent years and especially as schools implemented DL education. Much of the gap is attributed to No Child Left Behind legislation that has, in the view of many researchers, shut out families from actively participating in school governance and reform (Cummins, 1992; Elmore, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Meier, 2000). I could not find schools recently involved in the Comer Project or the Alliance School Project in today's literature. There is a research space available to provide a means for families to voice how they view and understand the DL journey their children are undertaking now.

III. METHODOLOGY: PHENOMENOLOGY

Approach to the Research Process

The primary approach I used in my qualitative study was hermeneutic phenomenology (Creswell, 2013, p. 26). Hermeneutic phenomenology stems from the writings of Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), who was a follower of Husserl and contrasted many of Husserl's views of how to explore a phenomenon (Husserl, 2017; Laverty, 2003). Husserl first defined phenomenology as "a descriptive philosophy of the essences of pure experience" (Van Manen, 2014, p. 89). Husserl and Heidegger, as well as Gadamer, Arendt, Levinas, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, and Derrida, developed phenomenology as a philosophy but not necessarily as a research method, although their vast and diverse work has strengthened qualitative research (Kafle, 2011). Of those philosophers, Husserl comes closest to laying out a methodology of phenomenology; much like the approach I took in my study (Husserl, 2017).

At the same time, Heidegger (1977, 2010) rejected the idea that in phenomenology one can suspend personal opinions; he believed reduction (i.e., putting aside our own experience with the phenomenon being studied) is impossible and there are many interpretations that can be accepted of the phenomenon being studied. Heidegger (1977) further claimed "we cannot have a world, and cannot have life at a cultural level except through acts of interpretation" (Koch, 1995, pp. 829-830). Thus, the hermeneutic phenomenology school of thought sharply diverges from being able to put aside one's own "personal opinions" and accept "endless interpretations" of the subjective experience (Kafle, 2011, p. 186).

"While Husserl focused on understanding beings or phenomena, Heidegger focused on 'Dasein': 'the mode of being human' or 'the situated meaning of a human in the world' and interpreting the world that has already been understood" (Koch, 1995, p. 831). Hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with the life world or human experience as it is lived (Finlay, 2008; Laverty, 2003). The focus is toward illuminating details and seemingly trivial aspects within the experience that may be taken for granted in our lives, with a goal of creating meaning and achieving a sense of understanding (Koch, 1995; Laverty, 2003). Therefore, the stance about whether to separate as a researcher from the phenomenon being studied or to serve as a co-researcher with the participants and seek to be more personally involved in the study again depends on the philosopher the researcher wants to follow (Gibbs, 2007; Laverty, 2003).

Research Questions

My goal in this study was to unveil the lived experiences of 10 family members lived their young children participated in TWDL—to capture their subjective experiences as individuals and their also their voices as a group. Through this study, I attempted to learn how the family members understood the language journeys of their children and how this understanding could affect the implementation and the policies for TWDL in the elementary school setting. In an attempt to do so, this study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the attitudes and views about language learning of families whose children are in a two-way dual language program (TWDL)?

   a. How do these family members describe how they contribute to or influence the journeys of their children in TWDL?

b. What do these families want to pass on to their children with regard to language learning?

2. What are the messages schools send about language learning to the families of children in TWDL?

   a. How are messages from schools about language interpreted by these family members?

   b. What are families' perceptions and understandings of TWDL programs based on school messaging?

3. How can the perspectives of families of students in TWDL regarding language learning inform school practice, policy, and research?

I used my theoretical framework, as well as a critical lens, when analyzing the data to seek interpretations that challenged the practices and policies in schools and districts surrounding families and language learning. My process to gather data included an initial invitation, individual interviews, a focus group, and the collection of artifacts.

In line with a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, I also established a strong rapport with participants. I shared with each participant my roles as an immigrant, Latinx DL mother, and also as a staff member of the school district. These commonalities between myself and many of the participants allowed for them to share critiques and also challenges about their TWDL journeys. My attempt was not to be objective, in line with Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology, but to connect with the participants.

Site and Participant Selection

In the hermeneutic phenomenological approach to research, it is important to set the initial criterion that potential participants share a common experience with the

phenomenon, in this case the experience of being parents of children in TWDL (Creswell, 2013). I conducted purposeful sampling when considering the participants for my study. The participants I invited were family members of children who were currently enrolled in a TWDL program in one Central Texas ISD. This district offers DL programs to children as young as 3 years olf in their full-day head start programs. Some of the children in my study had participated in DL at the age of 3 years. I selected geographically diverse schools from the North, South, East, and West areas of the city. I contacted individuals in the district who I believed could assist me in the recruitment of participants. This included specialists in the bilingual department and a school staff member from each school. I met with these points of contact to explain the criteria for participants, which included (a) that their child participated in Spanish/English TWDL for a minimum of 2 years, (b) that their child was of elementary school age, and (c) that their child was currently enrolled and had no interruption in participation in TWDL.

I held a conference call with five specialists and contacted three others individually to provide an overview of the study and answer any questions they had in soliciting their help to recruit possible groups of family members with whom I could follow up. Each bilingual specialist sent me five or six names of families who fit the profile to participate in the study. I then followed up individually with each family member by phone to determine whether they were available to meet with me for an interview and to answer any questions they had about the process and the study. I attempted to have a balance among participants who spoke only Spanish at home, who spoke Spanish and English (bilinguals) at home, and who were only English speakers. The participants represented varied racial and ethnic backgrounds and geographic

quadrants of the city in which the study took place. Also, though participation was open to any and all parents (mothers/fathers) from the identified families, all participants identified as mothers. Table 1 captures the information about each participant and Table 2 provides information about each school the participants' children attended. I organized and introduced the participants in alphabetical order based on their pseudonyms.

Table 1

Information About Study Participants

Pseudonym	Language(s) spoken at home	Parent ethnicity	Nationality	Age (s) of children in TWDL	School
Adriana	Spanish & English	Latina	U.S.	6, 8	School 1
Barbara	Spanish	Latina	Honduras	6	School 2
Consuelo	Spanish	Latina	Mexico	5	School 3
Ester	English	Anglo	U.S.	7, 7 (twins)	School 4
Jennifer	English	African American	U.S.	5	School 5
Patricia	Spanish	Latina	Mexico	5, 13	School 6
Roberta	Spanish & English	Latina	Mexico	4, 6, 9	School 7
Tanisa	Spanish	Latina	Venezuela	5, 8	School 8
Whitney	English	Anglo	U.S.	5, 9	School 4
Wilma	Spanish & English	Latina	Mexico	4, 6	School 9

Table 2

Information About Schools

School	Student ethnicities	Other demographics	Student enrollment	DL whole school or strand	Transfer or home school
School 1	AA 3.1% H 59.4% W 33.0%	ECD 45.8% ELL 29.4%	579	Whole	Transfer
School 2	AA 5.7% H 73.3% W 12.0%	ECD 71.1% ELL 30.7%	914	Strand	Transfer
School 3	AA 4.7% H 71.0% W 18.6%	ECD 66.8% ELL 20.7%	575	Strand	Transfer
School 4	AA 5.3% H 59.3% W 29.0%	ECD 51.4% ELL 32.6%	568	Strand	Home
School 5	AA .4% H 91.8% W 2.6%	ECD 93.3% ELL 75.7%	268	Whole	Home
School 6	AA .5.3% H 87.8% W 5.3%	ECD 88.4% ELL 56.1%	551	Strand	Home
School 7	AA 1.6% H 64.2% W 22.2%	ECD 53.3% ELL 49.0%	257	Whole	Transfer
School 8	AA 4.3% H 50.6% W 32.4%	ECD 66.0% ELL 34.0%	506	Strand	Transfer
School 9	AA 5.5% H 73.3% W 14.1%	ECD 82.3% ELL 28.6%	419	Strand	Transfer

Note. AA = African American, H = Hispanic, W = White, ECD = Economically disadvantaged, ELL = English language learner (Central Texas School District Website); Strand program is represented by only selected TWDL classrooms per grade level; Whole school program includes 100% of the students receiving TWDL per grade level.

Data Collection Procedures

For this study, I collected the data in the natural places where participants experienced the phenomenon being studied; I interviewed all but one participant in schools (Creswell, 2013). I collected multiple forms of data from family members by using open-ended individual interviews, a group interview, and artifacts. There are conflicting views about how to capture data and the role of the researcher in the use of a phenomenological process. Phenomenology is "both a philosophical movement and a range of research approaches" that can contradict each other depending on the theorist a researcher chooses to follow (Kafle, 2011, p. 181). Because of the contradictions, I sought to identify common practices that could be drawn from different views of phenomenology and then used these practices in my data collection and analysis process (See Table 3 for a timeline of the data collection process). I completed the required Institutional Review Board (IRB) process for the university and was granted permission to conduct my research (See Appendix A). What follows is a more detailed description of each data source collected.

Table 3

Research Methods and Process

Methods	Timeline	# Conducted	# Participants
Met with school contact staff to set up the participant meeting process using phone calls and emails.	January–February 2019	5	10–15
Contacted potential participants to explain the study and gauge interest using phone calls, face-to-face meetings, and emails.	March–June 2019	15	15
Conducted individual interviews of participants at the location of their choice.	March–June 2019	10	10 family units
Conducted a focus group with participants.	June 2019	1	6 participants
Kept a researcher's reflective journal.	January 2019–May 2020		

Individual interviews. After the initial outreach to the school staff and the collection of names of those who met the criteria, I reached out to the families on the phone to gauge their availability. I was committed to using Glesne's (2006) applications in order to conduct effective interviews: "convenient, available and appropriate" (p. 86). I interviewed one family participant (one from each household) individually in a 40- to 60-minute session. The individual interviews were held in places convenient to the family members and places of their choice; the majority were held in their children's schools and one in the participant's workplace. The participants set their available times and dates for the interview and agreed to be audio recorded for the session, as outlined in the IRB protocols. I held individual in-depth interviews (See Appendix B) with each participant to explore how families had experienced TWDL and their understandings of

how their children were learning to become or maintain bilingualism (Creswell, 2013). I held these interviews in English or Spanish depending on the language of choice for the participant being interviewed.

Focus group interview. The focus group interview required a different type of preparation than the individual interviews. After the initial interview with each participant, I invited each participant to a focus group to further collect their experiences and understanding of TWDL. The significance of a focus group for this study was to provide an opportunity for participants to openly share and connect on possible similarities and differences with their experiences in TWDL. In this process, "The researcher now becomes the moderator or discussion facilitator who helps the group set up ground rules at the beginning and then may only have to pose or redirect a question from time to time" (Glesne, 2006, p. 103).

The location for the focus group was chosen by the participants; the group was held at a school in a central location for all to have easy access to attend. I audio recorded the focus group to ensure I would be able to actively moderate and listen to the participants. I also invited my sister to join the group session to assist with data collection and she took on the role of observer. I prepped her on how to jot down the first couple of words of each speaker with their associated names if they did not identify themselves while speaking during the recording in order to facilitate the associations of who said what in the transcription phase later. She was also prepped to jot down body language or any nonverbal cues the participants exhibited during the group interview (Glesne, 2006). Like the individual interviews, the focus group protocol included semi-structured open-ended questions to allow for a relaxed and relational atmosphere among

the participants (See Appendix C). Five of the 10 participants attended the group interview and the discussion lasted close to 2 hours. Adriana, Consuelo, Tanisa, Patricia, and Roberta attended the group interview.

Artifact collection. In addition to the individual and focus group interviews, I asked participants to share artifacts that demonstrated TWDL for them and I reviewed the websites of each of the nine schools represented in the study to capture messages related by the TWDL programs that families received through this medium (Creswell, 2013). I made a request for participants to take pictures of any work that came home or any things in their home that could showcase the learning of their children. Three participants provided artifacts that included student DL work samples brought home from their schools and photos from their homes they wanted to share to show how they supported DL through resources, such as books in Spanish (See Appendix D). These artifacts were shared by the participants taking a picture of them and sending them to me through text or email. Adriana also sent pictures of her family's trip to Mexico City, which I could not include in order to maintain her privacy.

Researcher's reflective journal. I used a reflective notepad journal throughout the process of collection and analysis of data as a way of capturing any assumptions, ideas, or questions I had before and after the interview sessions. In the spirit of Heidegger (1977), I attempted to use the journal to jot down as much of what I heard following each individual interview without applying my own understandings of TWDL programs. I used this note pad journal on the day of each interview to capture notes about my interactions with each participant and any closing thoughts from the interviews and I also carried this pad with me for weekly reflections about my writing. I also used

an electronic Word document to jot down notes and ideas I generated from readings or work situations regarding TWDL and I noted wonderings and reflections that came up during my data collection process. Ortlipp (2008) spoke to the debate surrounding the problem of bias in qualitative research studies and the use of reflective journals as a mode to create transparency in the research process:

> Rather than attempting to control researcher values through method or by bracketing assumptions, the aim is to consciously acknowledge those values. Keeping self-reflective journals is a strategy that can facilitate reflexivity, whereby researchers use their journal to examine "personal assumptions and goals" and clarify "individual belief systems and subjectivities." (p. 2)

Because I, as the researcher, was "the main instrument" of the data collected in this study that was mostly interview-based, the ability to keep a journal to note "thoughts, feelings, fears, desires" and the evolution of growth in my roles as researcher, interpreter, and interviewer was useful (Ortlipp, 2008, p. 703).

Data Analysis Strategies

I prepared and organized the data, reduced the data into themes through coding, and then condensed and presented the codes as findings in tables or discussion (Creswell, 2013). In a phenomenological approach, the researcher "highlights significant statements, sentences or quotes that provide an understanding of how the participants experience the phenomena" (Creswell, 2013, p. 82). Data analysis strategies can include sketching ideas, summarizing field notes, counting the frequency of codes, and reducing these to themes (Creswell, 2013, p. 181). Creswell (2013) captured the iterative nature of these analytics in an image of a spiral to indicate the researcher does not analyze the data

in a linear fashion, thus moving fluidly between the procedures such as “managing, reading, interpreting and representing” (Creswell, 2013, p. 183). I found myself in a constant back and forth with the data collected as I organized, drafted notes, created categories, and compared the data. First, I transcribed the audio-recorded interviews in Spanish and English from a voice memo application to secure Google documents. I did the same with the focus group interview. I included notes describing facial expressions or voice tones captured from the group interview and added them to the transcripts where applicable. Kafle (2011, p. 195) highlighted Laverty’s (2003) emphasis that in order to gain robust quality in the research, the hermeneutic cycle of data analysis includes reading, reflective writing, and interpreting. This aligns with Creswell’s data analysis spiral in which researchers move from these different levels of descriptions that become the interpretative process of the analysis. In the next section I explain how I took this approach with the two rounds of coding the data.

First round of coding. In the first round of coding, I used Google Keep, an electronic note taking tool that enabled me to describe and classify the information with the use of colors and labels. I began by assigning a color to each participant in my study (See Figure 2).

Figure 2. Color assignments to participants.

I selected verbatim quotes, observations, and summarized lines from the written transcriptions and added these to an individual note and color coded the note to the assigned participant. For example, as I read line by line through Adriana's transcript, I selected quotes and statements and added one statement per purple note in Google Keep (See Figure 3). Everything Adriana shared in her individual and group interviews was collected in purple for each question she answered.

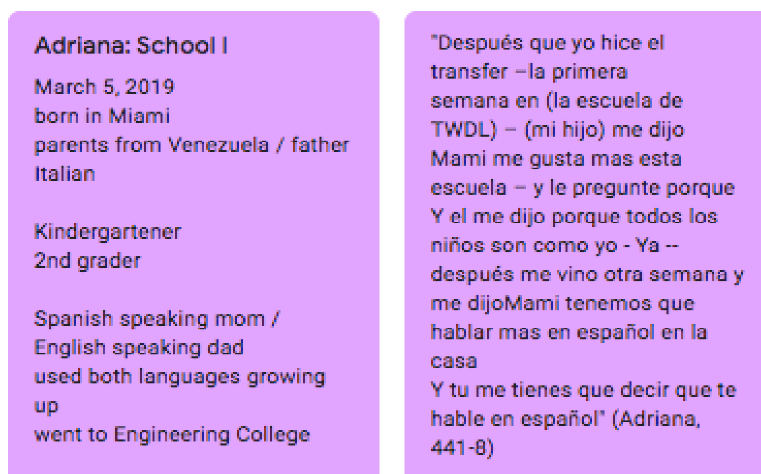


Figure 3. Google Keep one participant.

I then added labels (codes) to the bottom of each color note that captured the idea of the note. For example, Ester shared answers to the questions asked and as I added her words to the note, I jotted down the idea I gleamed from her sharing as a label(s) at the bottom of each note (See Figure 4)

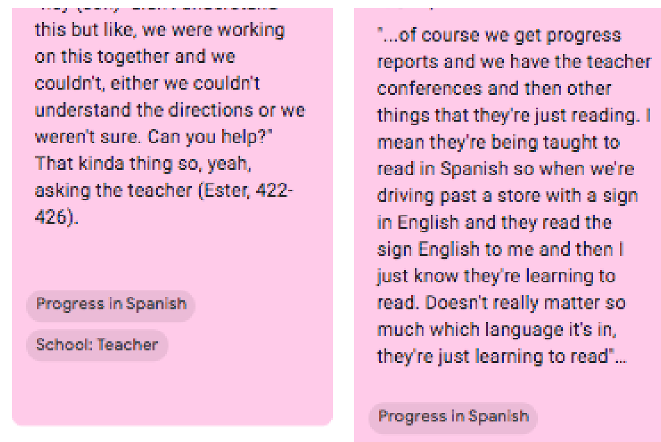


Figure 4. Labels as codes.

I also sorted all the notes by labels (codes). For example, I saw all the notes that shared the label *principal/directora* and I captured how many participants used the word and how. Then I grouped the notes that had these repetitive terms such as the word *principal/directora* and I noted in my research journal that this term was used in 18 instances by six of the 10 participants. I continued with this process to sort the labels I had defined from the first round of coding (See Figure 5).

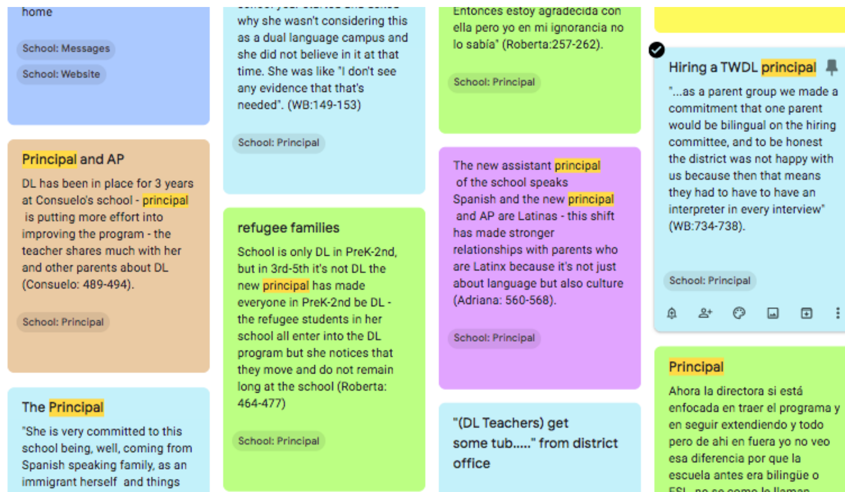


Figure 5. Sorting notes.

I grouped the data into labels that represented primary codes and developed a list of 42 initial labels (codes) of how the mothers described their TWDL journey; See Figure 6 for a sample of these labels (codes).

- Interactions: Span. & En...
- Knowledge about TWDL
- Leadership Supporting ...
- Loss of Spanish
- Loss of TWDL program
- middle school / high sch...
- Parent Agency
- Participant Bio
- Preferences over time.
- Rejection of the school ...
- results of gentrification ...
- school environment
- Spanish as a priority
- Spanish not allowed
- Strategies to elevate Sp...
- Surprises or insights ab...
- transfer to the current s...

Figure 6. Google Keep sample of initial labels.

Finally, I began to move notes that were not frequently representative of the group for future consideration. I used my reflective journal to make observations of the labels I had captured and those I set aside. I also noted insights I had when examining the labels.

For example, I noticed the majority of participants had transferred to their school in search of a TWDL program. I noted this in my journal and became aware that this theme would be important to capture as it represented so many participants' experiences.

Second round of coding. In the second round of analysis, I transferred the data from the grouped notes from Google Keep onto a Microsoft Excel sheet in order to sort by question in a clear fashion and to further analyze the broad initial labels I had assigned the data from initial coding in the Google Keep (Saldaña, 2013; See Figure 7). I moved the actual words/quotes of the participants and grouped these by research questions in the Excel sheet (Saldaña, 2013). Saldaña (2013) pointed out the importance of initial coding in qualitative studies "particularly for beginning qualitative researchers learning how to code data, ethnographies, and studies with a wide variety of data forms" (p. 101). Theming the data further allowed me to better connect the ideas and explanations shared by numerous participants (Saldaña, 2013). I made connections among the textural descriptions of "what happened" and a structural description of "how" the phenomenon was experienced.

Research Question	Interview Question	Theme	Sub-Theme	Quotes	Coding Categories	
How do these family members describe how they contribute to or influence the journey of their children in TWDL?	Q1. How did you find out about TWDL? Q1.a) Why did you enroll? Q6. What do you want to pass on to your children in regards to language? Q5. Describe how you contribute to your child's learning in DL?	Parent Actions = Agency	Helping at Home	"You know we try to go to community events that are bilingual that type of thing. Visit the Mexican-American Art and cultural center. We haven't done as many camps in the summer. We did one at Ridgetop that summer, it was amazing. It was a week when they were no other camps, maybe that was two years ago." (WB: 615-620).	community Events summer program	
				Mom shares of time that child was excited about a cartoon that was both in English and Spanish and that she and son watch Japanese speaking cartoons on YouTube that son finds fun (CC: 463-486) "Y la manera que he contribuido es cómo poniéndole música o comprarle libros bilingües también" (CC:499-500)	YouTube cartoons musica	
				"We try to get books all the time in Spanish, do a little Spanish tv, that type of thing. But I feel like we probably fail in that part, really." (WB:2333-235).	TV and Radio Spanish	
				Family has an exchange student from Mexico staying with them as part of the TWDL program at the school	exchange St	
				Creating "hora de la cena en Espanol"	Spanish dinner time	
				constant reminders to children to speak Spanish at home	reminders	
				Mom reads in Spanish to children every night and constantly asks them to speak Spanish. "Entonces yo le digo a (mi hijo) – si tienes que leer 30 minutos – 15 tienen que ser en español y 15 en	spanish speaking requests	
			Applying for a transfer to a TWDL school			
				mom is on transfer from P ES - P ES--her home school offers no DL	home school no DL	
				"Después que yo hice el transfer –la primera semana en (la escuela de TWDL) – (mi hijo) me dijo Mami me gusta mas esta escuela – y le pregunte porque - Y el me dijo porque todos los niños son como yo - Ya -- después me vino otra semana y me dijoMami tenemos que hablar mas en español en la casa - Y tu me tienes que decir que te hable en español" (Adriana, 441-8)	identity awareness	history repeats itself for Adriana
				Mom from YYschool has a transfer because it does not offer DL and she doesn't want all English instruction (Patricia; 785-805)	Dl not offered in home school	
				"(mi hijo) se sentia un 'outsider' y que el no		

Figure 7. Round 2 data analysis and collection in Microsoft Excel.

Textural descriptions included "what" the families experienced with TWDL "in verbatim examples" (Creswell, 2013, p. 193). The next set of descriptions focused on "how" the mothers experienced TWDL, the context of the experience, and vivid accounts that described the "dynamics of the experience, the conditions, feelings and thoughts" associated with the phenomenon of TWDL (Moustakas, 1994, p. 135). For example, participants all shared many ways of *helping* their children in DL, but I was able to then analyze further all the labels under *helping* to get at how this played out:

- helping to find the DL program for their child,

- helping to ensure it was taught with fidelity,
- helping at home with the work they had to complete.

I represented the idea of *helping* by a narration of the "essence" of the experience, included in tables, figures, and the collection of artifacts with descriptions of ways of *helping* (Creswell, 2013, p. 182). I used the Excel sheet to help me to differentiate between sub themes and main themes. I then returned to the Google Keep document, where I renamed many of the labels to assign them now under sub themes or main themes (Creswell, 2013). Below is an example of the evolution of the labels (See Figure 8).

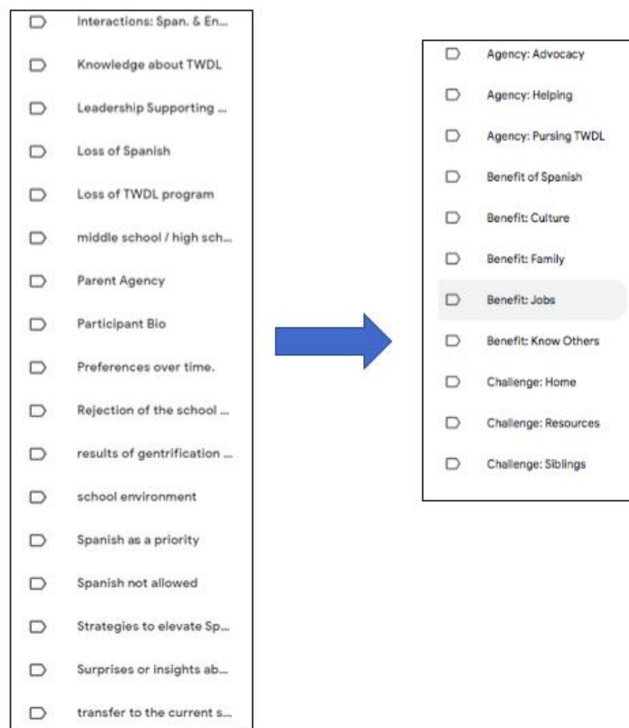


Figure 8. Second round of labels.

I then added titles to notes that were now under sub theme notes to differentiate these from the main themes. I pinned the main theme notes I would include in the chapter to highlight in my analysis (See Figure 9).

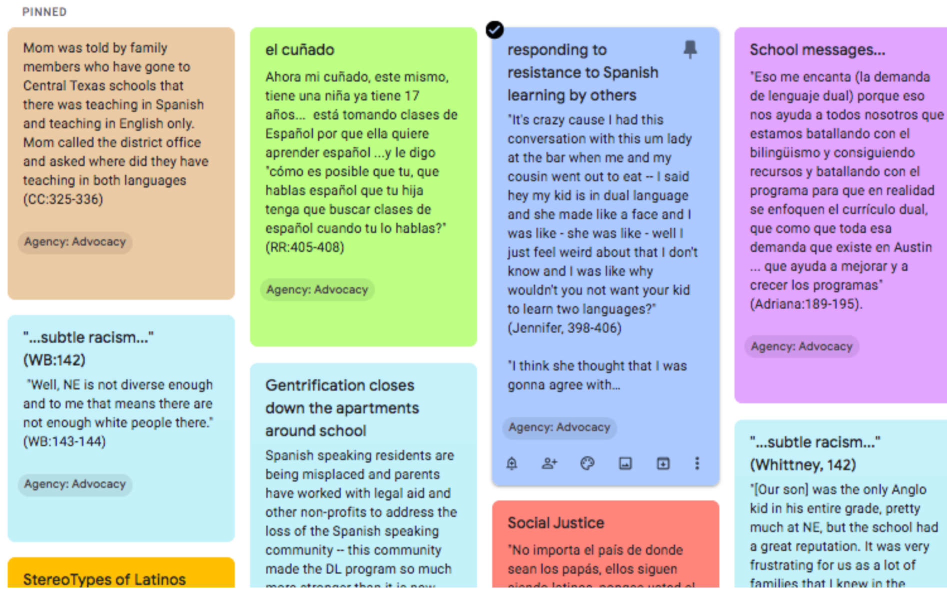


Figure 9. Pinned notes.

The above description illustrates my process in attempting to spiral with the data as Creswell (2013) suggested and to work with the data in nonlinear ways. Moving back and forth between the Excel sheet and Google Keep allowed me to see the data in different ways and to sort words and ideas more effectively. What resulted was four main themes with sub themes that are reported in Chapter IV.

My goal in applying hermeneutic phenomenology to this research study was to describe the stories these 10 family members shared with me about their children's participation in TWDL in order to unveil their understandings about language learning. In doing so there are two aspects of my interpretation of these voices about TWDL that are critical to examine, the quality concerns associated with phenomenology and the ethical concerns (Kafle, 2011).

Trustworthiness

Validity was born of the Latin word "validus" meaning "strong" (Van Manen, 2014, p. 347). This "criterion of strength" can be used when referring to the

phenomenological "acceptability and convincibility" of a study (Van Manen, 2014, p. 347). Answering, "did I get it right?" as a researcher involved looking into myself, the participants, and the readers of my work for the answer (Creswell, 2013, p. 243). Creswell (2013) outlined perspectives and strategies for validating the "trustworthiness," or "credibility, authenticity, dependability or objectivity" of a study (p. 246). Van Manen (2014) stressed that the validation of a phenomenological study answers the question, "What is the human experience like?" (p. 350). The replication of a phenomenological study can yield different results, unlike the reliability placed on measurable studies that are assumed to produce similar results (Van Manen, 2014). The evidence derived from my study generated understanding and meaning despite the external logic or generalizations that exist about bilingual education and the relationship between families and schools (Creswell, 2013).

Member Checking

A second step in assuring trustworthiness is member checking, a return of the transcripts to the participants for validation of what is captured so they can assert whether their stories are accurately portrayed (Creswell, 2013, p. 252). I sent participants sections of my analysis for them to review and provide me with feedback for accuracy (Creswell, 2013). For example, Esther and Adriana provided feedback on their introductions by adding the names and locations of the institutions they had attended for their own education. I also cut and pasted parts of the transcriptions that I had not been able to hear clearly and had Adriana add the missing pieces. Whitney also clarified information about her background, including where she had grown up and the length of time she had spent in the city in which this study was conducted.

Limitations and Delimitations

It was important to set boundaries for this study and to point out potential weaknesses. I did not explore the experiences of teachers or children in TWDL. I also did not explore how the school leaders or the staff implemented TWDL. I focused on the parent and family voices to show how family members experienced the learning journeys of their children and what understandings they had of how and why their children were participating in TWDL. I did not compare TWDL to other program models. Although there are many other bilingual programs offered, I chose to focus solely on TWDL at the elementary level. I also focused my study on children who were elementary aged, although some of the mothers described their middle school aged children as well.

Chavez (2008) shared insights on balancing the role of being an insider and outsider researcher and the advantages and disadvantages of both. I attempted to balance my role as an insider during the interviews by being forthcoming with the participants about my roles and by not agreeing or disagreeing with anything I heard. It was important to me to ensure there was a comfort level that would enable participants to engage in honest conversations about their experiences without the expectation that I would solve any challenges or issues for them given my position of power within the district in which their children attended schools. When participants asked me about what I thought about aspects of TWDL, I simply responded by saying, "Why don't you tell me more about your thinking—I want to capture your story."

Positionality

In each of my first encounters with participants, I shared my role in the school district and how this could add prejudice and bias toward my own experience as a mother

within TWDL (Creswell, 2013). Chavez (2008) shared methodological advantages and complications with "positionality, access and data collection /interpretation/ representation" (p. 6). I believe my shared role as a TWDL parent contributed to rather than hindered my ability to build a trusting rapport with the participants. Furthermore, I am of the same ethnicity (Latina) as some of the participants and I speak the same languages (Spanish and English). I found all of these positions to be advantageous in building openness during the interviews.

On the other hand, there could have been disadvantages to my positionality as a district insider, a DL content area expert, and a researcher. Chavez (2008) pointed out that insider researchers can be overwhelmed if participants ask for them to take sides on an issue that arises in the study, or if participants expect further direct involvement with them or their families. Chavez also explained how *access* can have advantages and disadvantages when a researcher is an insider. Advantages include easy reach to the participants and the ability to be present for participant activities (Chavez, 2008). Disadvantages emerged as I have varied social identities that could conflict with the political climate of the time. My role as principal could have influenced what participants said or did not say about the principals of their schools.

Bias

My extensive work with TWDL allowed me to better understand what was shared with me and the artifacts I collected. However, I took concrete steps to reduce bias; I ensured none of the participants in the study were families from schools in which I have worked as the supervisor. I stayed away from schools where I was formerly principal and I did not include the schools where my own children attend TWDL. I also captured the

voices of participants of different ethnicities, races, and nationalities. I had representation from schools in the four quadrants of the Central Texas ISD.

Confidentiality

I ensured the confidentiality of the families and children in my study as a critical component of the research process. I sought the permission of principals who implemented TWDL to allow their families to be invited to take part in the study. I was upfront about issues of confidentiality at the inception of my gatherings with families and included statements of confidentiality in the participation Spanish and English consent forms (See Appendix E and F). I assigned pseudonyms to the participants, the schools, the school district, and the city in my study. All the data and analysis documents were kept in a secured file in my Google Drive that was inaccessible to others. The research transcriptions, audio recordings, Google Keep document, and Excel sheet were all stored in a password-protected Google Drive.

Chapter Summary

I found the methodology of hermeneutic phenomenology related to my own motivation to conduct a study with the potential to influence my current work in the field of bilingual education and allowed me to reflect on how families experienced TWDL. I wanted to expand the knowledge in the field of TWDL by describing the lived experiences of these 10 families. In the next chapter I share the results of the data analysis to point out the essential understandings these families had of language and language learning for their elementary aged children.

IV. RESULTS

The participants in my study were 10 diverse and dynamic mothers whose children were in the TWDL program in a Central Texas ISD. My hope was that the sharing of their understandings and views about language learning and their stories about their children's bilingual trajectory would better inform the implementation of the TWDL model by school staff, leaders, and policymakers. Given my purpose, the research study was guided by the following questions:

1. What are the attitudes and views about language learning of families whose children are in a two-way dual language program (TWDL)?

   a. How do these family members describe how they contribute to or influence the journeys of their children in TWDL?

   b. What do these families want to pass on to their children with regard to language learning?

2. What are the messages schools send about language learning to the families of children in TWDL?

   a. How are messages from schools about language interpreted by these family members?

   b. What are families' perceptions and understandings of TWDL programs based on school messaging?

3. How can the perspectives of families of students in TWDL regarding language learning inform school practice, policy, and research?

I designed my interview questions to reveal the voices of these families to capture the learning journeys of their emerging bilingual children. In the analysis of the

interviews, I identified specific ways in which these families supported TWDL for their children. During the interviews and interactions with these families, I gathered concrete artifacts of how TWDL played out from the family members' points of view, thereby offering clues on ways to improve school and home connections. The theories underlying my analysis included Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory, Noddings's (1995) ethics of care theory, and Epstein's (1986) spheres of influence theory. Influenced by these theoreticians, I firmly acknowledged that children's learning is incomplete without the learning that occurs outside the school building. This learning, if supported by educators, adds to a successful home–school dynamic. My goal in this precarious time of nationalism and xenophobia was also to highlight the value of the languages of immigrants and to reveal how language is a force to leverage unity rather than to promote division. This research revealed families of immigrant children hold deep convictions about language as identity that are neither understood by school systems and programs nor harnessed for effective learning for all the youth they serve.

Introduction of Participants

I interviewed 10 mothers representing 10 unique families for my research study. Each mother participated in an individual interview with me and later was invited to attend a focus group, which was attended by five participants. Below are short introductions to each participant organized to reflect the order in which each participant completed their individual interview. The mothers shared personal and family stories that depicted lessons of the immigrant journey, of inclusiveness, and of community as they recalled their TWDL experiences.

Adriana. Adriana was born in Miami, Florida, and proudly told me about her Venezuelan born mother and her Italian born father, who were both raised in Venezuela. Adriana was raised in a Spanish only household and her school education was English only. At the age of 18, Adriana joined the Society of Hispanic Professional Engineers while in her first year at Georgia Institute of Technology; her interactions with international students from Argentina, Venezuela, and other Spanish-speaking countries made it clear to her how little Spanish she really knew in comparison to her college friends, given their ability to read and write Spanish. She shared in detail during her interview a story of when she applied for a position in Mexico to work for Nestlé and failed to fully articulate her answers during the Spanish portion of the interview with the company's recruiters. She passionately described what happened in her interview:

> ¡No me podía defenderme en español!—I couldn't defend myself in Spanish! Me acuerdo que yo llamé a mi Mamá y le dije "Mami, I can't believe that I can't speak Spanish, no puedo terminar ninguna oración en español—from now on—me tienes que hablar en español y yo tengo que responderte en español—¡y me tienes que ayudar!" [I could not defend myself in Spanish. I remember calling my Mami and saying, "Mami, I can't believe that I can't speak Spanish, I can't finish any sentence in Spanish—from now on—you have to speak to me in Spanish and I have to respond to you in Spanish—and you have to help me!"]

Adriana expressed an urgency to pass on the Spanish language to her two young children, based in part on her own linguistic struggles in her college experience and her lack of access to potential bilingual jobs upon graduation from the university because of her lack of Spanish acquisition. Adriana shared:

> Quiero criar a mis hijos bilingüe y que ellos sean mas bilingüe que yo—porque cuando yo estaba creciendo yo veía mis primitas que estaban en Venezuela yendo a un colegio americano y que se podían defender en los dos idiomas igual y yo me sentía incapaz de hacer eso. [I want to raise my children bilingual and that they be more bilingual than me—because when I was growing up I saw my cousins who were in Venezuela going to an American school and that they could defend themselves in both languages the same and I felt unable to do that.]

Later in life, she married and settled down in Central Texas in what she called a neighborhood with a "good school" but quickly noticed her son was an outsider in that school. There were very few children who looked like her son or spoke Spanish like he did.

Consequently, Adriana made a strategic decision to transfer out of that school, understanding that her bilingual home was not sufficient for her son to maintain his Spanish language and culture—just like her own home in Miami had not been enough for her. She told me her son had to be with others who shared his language in a school setting as well as his home, and she searched and found School 1 with the help of fellow Spanish-speaking mothers.

Almost 20 years later, Adriana heard her son make the same plea she had made of her own mother back in Miami:

> Después que yo hice el transfer—la primera semana en [la escuela de TWDL]—[mi hijo] me dijo, "Mami me gusta mas esta escuela"—y le pregunté porqué, y él me dijo, "Porque todos los niños son como yo." Después vino la otra semana y me dijo, "Mami tenemos que hablar mas en español en la casa, y tu me tienes que

decir que te hable en español" [gets teary eyed]. [After I made the transfer—the first week in (TWDL school)—(my son) told me, "Mommy I like this school more"—and I asked him why, and he told me, "All the children are like me." Then a week later he came to me and said, "Mami, we have to speak more in Spanish at home, and you have to tell me to speak to you in Spanish."]

Adriana shared a deep conviction to protecting her multilingual history and traditions for her children. For Adriana, her Spanish language was something valuable that she had to work to improve. Her steady and constant agency to pass on language to her two boys as dual language learners was evident in her testimony about TWDL. Adriana even created a Spanish phone app for caregivers to practice Spanish words at home with their children and continued to grow her blog and web-based resources for bilingual families.

Jennifer. Jennifer, an African American Central Texas native and mother of a first grader in School 5, met me early in the morning before the school bell rang at her son's school. She quickly shared with me that her school was becoming a 100% TWDL campus, and currently offered the program to all students in grades PK–2. We were off to an energetic conversation. Jennifer grew up in the Monroe neighborhood (pseudonym), a historically segregated Latinx and African American area, and attended Central TX schools from elementary to high school. Her demeanor told me she was comfortable in her son's school and she easily found the location of our meeting and smiled when the principal made the bilingual announcements on the school's loud speaker. She laughed often during our interview and told colorful stories that allowed me

insights into her passion for inclusivity and diversity. She learned about TWDL from a packet she received at the end of her son's kindergarten year from the teacher:

> The paper said, would you like your child to continue to learn Spanish?—I knew it was an initiative to try to save the school and set the school apart because they were having trouble with [student] enrollment—why would I not want my kid to learn Spanish?—it's so important—the packet came home and it was the perfect opportunity and I said, "Why not?! Why not?!" We were born and raised in Texas and I feel like you need to know Spanish in Texas—no if, and, or buts, no matter what people say—Texas is a Spanish and English area—you should know both.

Jennifer recalled her own school experiences, especially the self-segregation within her high school. She shared:

> I noticed the Black kids with the Black kids and the language separation among kids at my school—I hope he [her son] is the person that someone comes to and says like, "Hey—can you help us here? Can you translate? Can you do anything?" I hope he is the mediator.

She pointed out the changes in connections made among children of different languages and ethnicities during breakfast in her son's school from the start of the school year to April. Jennifer attributed this big change to having children all learning together:

> Sometimes at the beginning [of the school year] they [children] were sitting in like groups—they are young—you would think it would not be a thing—but it was you know—the Spanish kids are here, the English kids would all sit together—when I would sit with him [son] at breakfast. It doesn't seem like that anymore,

> they are mixing and mingling and I feel like they are learning together cause you know—they [Spanish only speakers] are still learning English too—it's not just one way here.

Her view of language learning as a connector came early on in our interview. As an African American woman raised in a Latinx community as a child, Jennifer placed value in knowing and learning from others around her:

> My great grandmother and grandmothers were both raised in Monroe, they were fluent Spanish—and they learned it from people around them—because we all grew up in Monroe—and they knew it [Spanish] from their friends and learned it and it was crazy to hear. [Now], I work with people like this redhead lady—she knows fluent Spanish and people don't expect—she is an older White lady—glasses—red hair—and then she will talk to people in Spanish and they kinda look at her like "what?" and my grandma was the same way—which is all about learning from people around them—which is amazing.

Jennifer shared many examples about how language learning served to unite and connect children of different ethnicities, languages, and cultural backgrounds at her son's school and in her own family experiences. Jennifer was excited about all the possibilities languages would bring to her son. In Jennifer's view, TWDL was a creative solution to unite the students in her son's school.

Roberta. Roberta brought her toddler, who played with puzzles during our interview. She guided him gently, as the pieces of the puzzle did not always quite connect the way he wanted. Roberta was born in Mexico and was a stay at home mother of four children, and Roberta and her Latinx husband had lived in the United States for

just over 20 years. She arrived in the United States at the high school level and found it incredibly hard to learn English, although with the help of her mom and dad, she attended school every day and eventually graduated. She and her husband spoke in both English and Spanish to their children at home. Roberta had a high commitment to her children maintaining their Spanish but more importantly a commitment to have them experience a learning journey that promoted empathy:

> Me imagino que eso [TWDL] las hace que sean como más conscientes de los problemas que hay en el mundo tal vez. Sobre todo ahorita, ya ve, ya sea racismo, hay mucha, como se dice—intolerancia a las cosas. Como que quiero que ellas tengan una mente más abierta, que no estén juzgando tampoco a nadie, como quien dice, poderse poner en el lugar de más personas y siento que el bilingüismo les va ha abrir muchas puertas, van a poder conocer muchas gentes, poder tener diferentes puntos de vista. [I imagine that (TWDL) makes them more aware of the problems in the world perhaps. Above all right now, you see, be it racism, there's a lot, how do you say- intolerance to things. I want them to have a more open mind, that they are not judging anyone, for example, being able to put themselves in the place of more people and I feel that bilingualism is going to open many doors, they will be able to meet many people, be able to have different points of views.]

Both of her children were labeled gifted and talented and joined after school language clubs each week to learn a third language at School 7. Roberta's elder daughter attended their neighborhood elementary, not School 7, from PreK through third grade and over this time Roberta noticed less and less student work coming home in Spanish. She

called the school district office to inquire about why this was occurring. She learned her neighborhood school moved children to English in the upper elementary grades, as it offered a transitional bilingual model. Upon her request for a bilingual model that did not stop teaching in Spanish, Roberta was given a list of schools near her home that offered TWDL. Roberta was initially skeptical of a teacher in her neighborhood school when this teacher noticed that Roberta was walking her 3-year-old to the school (School 7 does not offer a program for 3-year-old children), and asked her:

> "¿porqué no caminas a tus [otras] niñas para acá?" y le dije, "No, porque mis niñas ellas tienen el lenguaje dual—en la escuela 7 con un transfer." Y ella dice, "Aquí también lo ofrecemos." Le dije, "¿En serio?" y dijo, "Sí"—pero lo dijo como muy a la ligera y fue cuando dije que yo sepa, no lo ofrecen y no sé, creo que ella lo dijo no mas por decirlo. ["Why don't you walk your other girls here?" and I said, "No, because my girls, they have the dual language in the transfer School 7." And she said, "We also offer it here." I said, "Really?" and she said, "Yes"—but she said it very hurriedly and it was when I said that I know that they don't offer it and I don't know, I think she said it for the sake of saying it.]

Roberta made sure TWDL was implemented to guarantee her children would truly be bilingual and not lose their Spanish, so this experience she shared gave me a glimpse into how much she understood about TWDL. Roberta clearly understood that the goal in TWDL is to not discontinue Spanish throughout the program (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cummins, 2000; García, 2011; Palmer et al., 2014; Stevenson, 2014). She was thoughtful and took her time to answer the questions about TWDL during the interview. She shared that the children's day was made up of 50%

English and 50% Spanish instruction—both of her children were in DL in School 7, the PK4 child in TWDL and the fourth-grader in one-way DL. Roberta knew the TWDL program had more English speakers and shared that the school had only had the one-way DL program before the new principal arrived. She noticed the homework was more in Spanish and she was thankful for this because of the challenges she faced with the siblings speaking English at home as they got older. Because most of Roberta's family members lived in Central Texas, she shared frustration during her interview with the loss of Spanish in her own family:

> Ahora mi cuñado, tiene una niña ya tiene 17 años . . . ella está tomando clases de español porque ella quiere aprender español . . . y le digo "¿Cómo es posible que tú, que hablas español, que tu hija tenga que buscar clases de español cuando tu lo hablas?" Yo quiero que ellas [mis hijas] tomen otra clase, de francés, de mandarín, de otro lenguaje. [Now my brother-in-law has a girl who is already 17 years old . . . she is taking Spanish classes because she wants to learn Spanish . . . and I say, "How is it possible that you, that you speak Spanish, that your daughter has to look for Spanish classes when you speak it?" I want my children to take other classes, like French or Mandarin, other languages.]

Roberta had a celebratory nature about TWDL and its implementation. She stood out from the other mothers in her inquisitive nature about ensuring and understanding how her children were learning Spanish in TWDL. Roberta showed a loyalty and sincere happiness in how she described how her children were learning and as she described her school community.

Tanisa. Tanisa's paternal grandfather was originally from Holland and married her Venezuelan grandmother. Her mother was Italian and married a Venezuelan man, so Tanisa grew up in a home where Italian and Spanish were both spoken. Tanisa and her spouse had lived in the United States for 18 years, coming originally to the United States to learn English from Caracas, Venezuela. She was a soft-spoken mother of two children currently in the TWDL program at School 8. Her elder son, at the age of 4 years, entered PK4 in a school in a different city from where they were now, and they then realized that parenting responsibilities had taken a shift:

> Entonces cuando entendimos que iba a ser parte de nuestro "parenting" pasar el idioma, por lo menos con mi hijo grande porque el habló español únicamente hasta los 4 años, que fue cuando entró al preescolar. Y ya después de 2 meses [en la preescolar] lo perdimos [el español]. [So, when we understood that it would be part of our parenting to pass on the Spanish language, at least with my eldest son, because he spoke Spanish only until he was 4 years old, which was when he entered preschool. And after 2 months (at the preschool) we lost it (Spanish).]

Tanisa and her husband quickly noticed the city where they lived did not offer DL education in any of the schools and they searched for a school in Central Texas ISD. They came to find that the school near their new home did not offer TWDL and Tanisa met with a group of bilingual mothers who shared that Central Texas ISD schools allowed for any child to enroll into the TWDL schools, if there was room at the school, with a transfer. Tanisa found School 8 a short driving distance from home and enrolled her two boys in TWDL. Her fourth-grader had been in TWDL for 5 years and her first-grader for 3 years in School 8. Her biggest challenge was to motivate her children to

continue to use their Spanish because she shared that she noticed there was only English all around them when they walked outside their TWDL classrooms. School 8 had a strand TWDL model, meaning only one teacher per grade level taught TWDL, so the majority of the school environment was in English. Nevertheless, Tanisa gave examples of helping bring out the Spanish for her children at every opportunity she had:

> Bueno, tú sabes, Enrique Iglesias y Shakira [hablan español] . . . Claro por que entonces lo escuchan, comenzó con mi hijo diciéndome, "¿Mami, tú sabes que Pitbull habla también español?" Y digo, "¡Claro!" [Well, you know, Enrique Iglesias and Shakira, (they speak Spanish) . . . Of course, then they listen to him, it started with my son telling me, "Mommy, do you know that Pitbull also speaks Spanish?" And I say, "Sure!"]

Tanisa shared her struggle to identify with the Latinx portrayals in social media today:

> A veces me siento que la versión de latinos que nosotros vemos no es necesariamente la versión de latinos con la que yo me identifico o la que yo conozco. Entonces es como decir sí, bueno, los latinos en Estados Unidos tienen, "We have these issues" o somos víctimas de ciertas cosas, pero no quiere decir que esos somos todos los latinos o no quiere decir que eso es lo que somos. [Sometimes I feel that the version of Latinos that we see is not necessarily the version of Latinos that I identify with or the one I know. So it's like saying yes, well, Latinos in the United States have, "we have these issues" or we are victims of certain things, but it does not mean that's the case for all Latinos or it does not mean that that is what we are.]

Tanisa also shared her challenges with how to respond to the negative and many times deficit Latinx portrayals in the U.S. media with her children. She noted her frustration when people did not associate Spanish in a positive light. Later in her interview I got a glimpse of ways in which she tried to bring the positive values of being Latinx and being bilingual for her sons and these are explored later in this chapter.

Tanisa's immigration path also included the realization of the opportunities that learning languages could offer her and her family. She shared the urgency for others to learn languages as a way to have access to the world and how the dominance of monolingualism took over her young son when living in their former city. She cried during the interview as she expressed the urgency for all Latinx families to understand the positive value of being an immigrant and the opportunity, through accessing languages, of being able to choose wherever in the world they wanted to live:

> El otro día mi hijo me dijo, "¿Mami, tengo que pensar ahora dónde voy a vivir cuando sea grande?" Hay todo un continente lleno de gente donde uno puede ir y hacer tantas cosas y en general a veces siento que, no sé, vemos a la comunidad hispana de una manera tan diferente de la que de repente yo me la imagino. A lo mejor es que estamos huyendo de los problemas y no pensamos que regresar (a nuestros países natales) es una opción, pero puede ser un gran beneficio en nuestros países regresar con más idiomas. [The other day my son told me, "Mommy, I have to think now where I will live when I grow up?" There is a whole continent full of people where one can go and do so many things and in general sometimes I feel that, I don't know, we see the Hispanic community in a way so different from than I had imagined. Maybe we are running away from

problems and we don't think that returning (to our country of origin) is an option, but it can be a great benefit to our countries the languages that we bring back with us.]

Tanisa shared the courage to open the world for her sons and in doing so calling the painful truths about how speaking Spanish and being Latinx can also be negatively portrayed by the media. Tanisa shared unwavering examples from her point of view as an immigrant to this country. She also shared her realization that her children may not be able to return to Venezuela given its current political state. However, this pain allowed her to have an open heart to the possibilities that her children may nonetheless be world citizens through their bilingualism and all its benefits.

Wilma. Wilma was the mother of four children, and the youngest three children participated in TWDL in School 9. She met me at her youngest son's summer school site in early June. She was born in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, and moved with her family across the Rio Grande border to Laredo, Texas, at the age of 7 years. She attended U.S. schools in South Texas and remembered teachers who spoke Spanish to her, but vividly shared how in high school her classroom instruction became all English and some teachers would not allow the students to speak Spanish at all in the classroom. Wilma said being in an English-only classroom was not as hard for her, and she attributed her comfort in this environment to having had early schooling in both languages, but she noticed how new students entering her high school with very little English were frustrated with the little support they received in Spanish. She recalled that one year her school started several courses at her high school in Spanish and many of her friends signed up for them––this was the beginning of TWDL programming at this South Texas high school.

Today, Wilma and her husband live in Texas, where they had been for 14 years. He worked as a landscaper and she worked at an event planning center, where she and I met for her interview. Wilma's voice reflected excitement and she used many hand gestures with passion when I asked her why she had chosen TWDL for her children:

> Yo creo que cuando ellos miran alguien que habla los dos idiomas es una luz en medio de la oscuridad. La gente estará emocionada de saber que alguien los puede entender lo que necesitan. Por eso yo pienso que por eso es importante. [I believe that when they look at someone who speaks both languages, it is a light in the darkness. People will be excited to know that someone can understand what they need. That's why I think that's why it's important.]

When I asked Wilma what she would do if DL was discontinued at her school, she quickly shared her sentiment:

> Yo haría cualquier cosa si me dijeran, "Vamos a hacer marchas," yo lo haría, si levantamos firmas, las levanto. Yo no estaría de acuerdo. Sería para mi discriminación. Porque no solamente se discrimina a la gente por el color si no también por el idioma, hay muchas maneras de discriminar entonces para mi sería una discriminación. Yo creo que buscaría una escuela donde sí enseñan el español, movería a los niños, eso sí, sin duda alguna. [I would do anything if they told me: "we are going to march" I would do it, if we gathered signatures, I would gather them. I would not agree. It would be discrimination. Because not only are people discriminated against because of color but also because of language, there are many ways to discriminate—for me it would be discrimination. I think I

would look for a school where if they teach Spanish, I would move the children, of course, without a doubt.]

Wilma stated that no matter where the caregiver originated, all Latinx children should be given the opportunity to continue with their bilingualism. Wilma's own history of seeing the pain and injustices to others while she attended schools in South Texas made her more sensitive to the needs of language learners and the value of being bilingual.

Wilma was steadfast in her conviction that the preservation of a mother tongue should be a right for Latinx youth in public schools. She spoke emphatically of fighting for TWDL if it were taken away at her school. Wilma's perseverance and unyielding support of her children's education is her continuing journey for justice for not only her children, but all Latinx children whose families want them to continue the language traditions.

Patricia. Patricia met me outside School 6 on a sunny summer afternoon and our interview was held on the school's front bench underneath the June sun. She had resided in Central Texas for almost 13 years and all three of her children attended their neighborhood school, where all participated in TWDL. Her eldest son continued TWDL in middle school and Patricia shared laughingly that the baby she was expecting would also be in TWDL. Patricia had been a family member at School 6 since her first child was in PK and spoke confidently about the school's TWDL program. She shared that her eldest son was initially in the one-way DL program at the school and later the TWDL program was started by the founding principal (who has since departed). She shared a true commitment to the school and recalled details of many meetings and events. For Patricia, it was critical that her children speak both languages; she knew that without

English the opportunities would be limited for her children, as they had been for her. She remained deeply connected to family back in Mexico and insisted that her children travel there and continue relationships with their extended family. In her view, fluency in Spanish was required for these connections. She ascertained the strength of her children's Spanish fluency when she listened to the conversations that they had with their Spanish-speaking cousins.

Patricia made an unwavering choice to enroll her children in TWDL, even if it meant standing up to those who disagreed with her decision. She remained insistent that her children keep their connections to Mexico through language, family, culture, and travel. For Patricia, family could not exist without Spanish—it was the cornerstone of the relationships her children had with their grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins in Mexico.

Esther. Esther was a White woman and mother of five children, and hailed from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. She moved to Central Texas with her family about 10 years ago and both her and her partner spoke only English. The two eldest children did not participate in TWDL at School 4, her home school, but the three younger children were in TWDL at that school. Ester did not know what DL was or if it was offered at her school when they arrived from Pittsburgh. She moved to Central Texas because of its diversity and the affordability:

> We had language immersion programs in Pennsylvania but I didn't have a concept of what that meant and I wasn't interested. It didn't affect our decision, it just didn't really hit my radar until I had registered the kids online. So that was kinda when I realized that the space was in the dual language program. I was a

> little desperate to get the kids, to get the two of them in full day Pre-K that we could afford. So, I said yes, thinking, "What could it hurt?" It sounded great that they get to be in a bicultural classroom and be using two languages and the earlier you start stuff like that the better. Then we showed up the first day of school and the teacher was only speaking Spanish to the kids and I just kinda pushed my twin 4-year-olds into the room and was like, "Go with God." Cause I just had no idea, I literally had no idea what we're getting into.

Esther reflected on how there was not a need for Spanish where she had lived because there was a very small population of Spanish speakers in Pittsburgh:

> I felt like I didn't need to know [Spanish] and that's really, like selfish, insular, it was based on my experience—so I am trying to give my kids a different experience that shows them that they are not the rule and everyone else is the exception.

Even though Ester did not know exactly what TWDL was, her decision to send her 4-year-old twins to the unknown world of dual language came with an eye-opening benefit to realize and break the monolingual cycle in her family.

Ester shared openly her experience of sending her younger children into a very new cultural environment for the entire family. She took a risk by placing her young children in a TWDL program without really understanding what it meant at the onset. She was thrilled to see that her children found a more diverse and more equitable place to learn not just Spanish, but to be with children with whom they would not have had the opportunity to learn. Ester shared that she came to realize the challenges along the way,

but nonetheless supported this experience, which continued to affect her own family and other families at her school today.

Whitney. Whitney was a White woman and mother from School 4 who lived in the neighborhood for close to 20 years. She was the mother of three children, two of whom were at the time of our interview participating in TWDL. She grew up as a member of a military family primarily in the Virginia suburbs of Washington, DC, the Philippines, and Texas. She shared, with sadness, the great changes in the demographics of her current neighborhood over the course of her time there:

> [Our son] was the only Anglo kid in his entire grade, pretty much at School 4, and the school had a great reputation. It was very frustrating for us, as a lot of families that I knew in the neighborhood, when we saw little kids [in the neighborhood] who would never even step foot into School 4. They didn't even consider it. I heard, "Well, School 4 is not diverse enough" and to me this means there are not enough White people there.

Almost 10 years after her youngest entered School 4, he was now in middle school, and many Spanish-speaking residents were displaced due to the high rise in rent prices and the gentrification of homes around School 4. To combat this challenge, Whitney and other families at the school gathered and worked together with legal aid and other non-profits to try to stem the loss of the Spanish-speaking community. Whitney emphasized that "the [Spanish-speaking] community made the TWDL program so much stronger than it is now." She pointed out how much harder it was to really be a bilingual and bicultural environment after the shrinking of the Spanish-speaking families in the neighborhood:

> I've just spent my whole career trying to be in more diverse settings and . . . that's the one thing I can't teach my kids—my parents felt like they were giving me this incredible [military schools] opportunity . . . but it also was a very stifling environment . . . it was very segregated, it was not diverse at all. I always felt in my adult life very stagnated in terms that I couldn't speak Spanish and so I really wanted to give them an opportunity to connect with people at a different level and it also provides opportunities for them in the future.

Whitney made efforts to grow relationships and learn Spanish herself with the help of other mothers in the school. She shared that these mothers would meet for breakfast at the school to learn language from each other. Her commitment to maintaining the bilingual social fabric at School 4 was evident as she explained that when they lost their principal, the family group, in which she took part, made a commitment that at least one family member would be bilingual on the hiring committee, "and to be honest the district [staff] was not pleased with us because then that meant they had to have an interpreter in every interview session."

Whitney was an advocate for her school community. In her stories, Whitney demonstrated an understanding of her White privilege and social capital and she used these to create access for the Latinx family voices at the school, neighborhood, and district levels. Her journey included not only providing for TWDL for her children, but seeing and valuing the school's transformation into a welcoming home to all.

Consuelo. Consuelo had a unique upbringing in comparison to the other participants in my study, as she arrived in the United States at a very young age and her family soon returned to Mexico to work. She later returned to the United States at the

age of 12 to live with an aunt who enrolled her in Central Texas ISD schools, but she found that as she completed her first year in high school she had to again return to Mexico help her family economically. She shared her challenging journey to learn any language:

> [Para mi] es muy confuso estudiar dos idiomas al mismo tiempo que, como le explico . . . a veces las clases no son igual aquí [EEUU] o allá [México], y los métodos de aprendizaje. Hace 15 años que me vine, empecé yo a leer libros y música y trate de ir a clases de inglés y es como he aprendido hasta ahora. Lo que sé yo le trato de enseñar a mi hijo. [(For me) it was very confusing to study two languages at the same time, as I explained . . . sometimes the classes are not the same here (U.S.) or there (Mexico), and the learning methods. 15 years ago, I came here, I began to read books and music and I tried to go to English classes and this is how I have learned so far. What I know I try to teach my son.]

Despite her limited formal school education, Consuelo was unstoppable in her determination to ensure her boys had a solid language learning journey in School 3. She also shared with enthusiasm about her trips to the Mexican Consulate to get books in Spanish for her son: "En realidad yo como no estudie tanto pues a veces quisiera que él aprendiera más Español de lo que yo pueda ofrecerle. [Actually, since I didn't study much, I want him to learn more Spanish than I can offer him.]"

Consuelo spotlighted her dual life as an immigrant who traveled back and forth between the United States and Mexican border. Consuelo actively navigated these two worlds in order to grow up bilingual and to pass on the language and traditions to her children. She actively sought TWDL for her children and shared the many ways in which

she raised the value and use of the Spanish language in her home. Consuelo's own language learning journey influenced the choices she has made for her children today and solidified the need for her them to be fully bilingual.

Barbara. Barbara spoke with strong conviction in a firm voice about her difficult journey to the United States as a native of Honduras. She looked away, however, when sharing her parents' decision that a child could not raise a child, as Barbara became a young mother at the age of 16. Her mother and father sent her to Texas to live with an aunt, leaving behind her 2-month-old son. She shared that her hardships continued as she described her education in her U.S. high school:

> Yo cuando llegue aqui empece ha ir a un high school que en esos tiempos, ay Dios, era totalmente distinto por que hoy, yo siento que hay más ayuda para uno de Hispano cuando uno llega, y cuando yo llegue yo sentía que no aprendía nada, no había ni nadie que me ayudara a traducir o que me explicara en Espanol nada. Entonces fue muy frustrante, super frustrante . . . no pase los exámenes de STAAR pero si pude terminar la high school. [When I arrived here I started going to a (Central Texas) high school. In those times, oh God, it was totally different because today I feel that there is more help for Hispanics who arrive here, and when I arrived I felt that I did not learn anything, there was no one to help me translate or explain to me in Spanish nothing. So it was very frustrating, super frustrating but I finished, I didn't pass the STAAR exams but I finished high school.]

Barbara reunited with her son 2 years ago. In contrast to her, he attended an international high school where he was learning English. Barbara shared that he had

teachers who spoke Spanish and that he got help with translations of the materials he was learning. Once he learned enough English, she would move him to their neighborhood school. She was grateful that he had the language support she did not have in her own high school journey. Barbara married and had three children who attended a TWDL school. She actively pursued a transfer to School 2, a school where TWDL was available to her children, as she quickly noticed that her eldest, while attending her neighborhood school, was not writing and reading in Spanish.

Barbara shared her painful journey to the United States and how she had gained the courage to pass on her Spanish language to her children through TWDL. She had broken out of ways that made her conform to speak English and be American yet not lose her identity along the way. She sought to continue her courageous journey with her four children despite the challenges she had faced. Barbara had a sharp focus on the education.

Thematic Findings

An emphasis within social development theory is that learning becomes complete with the numerous social systems that surround a learner—language is found in all homes and is considered a tool and system that informs learning (Rieber & Robinson, 2013; Vygotsky, 1978). In my study, I captured how 10 family members interacted with their children around language. I collected narratives and artifacts that signified how family members experienced the TWDL journey alongside their children. Figure 10 depicts the main themes and corresponding sub themes I identified based on my analysis of the data collected.

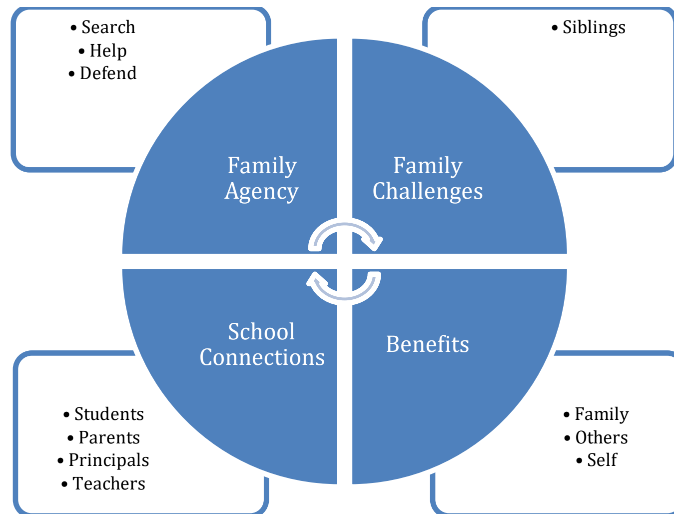


Figure 10. Themes from participant interviews.

Theme I: Family agency. Throughout my interviews with the 10 mothers, I noted the actions and decisions they actively made, with conviction, that represented their ongoing support of TWDL for their children in their schools. For many of them, their own life experiences shaped their views and attitudes toward Spanish language preservation and improvement, toward integration, and toward their understanding of the benefits that came along with being bilingual. Agency as it relates to children of color in schools of high poverty is defined as "children's ability to make decisions and influence how and what they learn so that they can expand their capabilities across academic, social, emotional, cognitive, cultural, and physical domains" (Adair et al., 2017, p. 313). I applied this same definition of agency to my participants. I found their actions and decisions made them influencers of their children's learning journeys in order to give their children a better and improved future. Participants gave evidence of their agency though the sub themes I captured in my analysis, which included searching for and pursing TWDL, helping children with their attitudes and academic learning at home, and advocating for bilingualism with families and strangers who often did not understand why they would place their children in TWDL.

***Busqueda*.** Under the main theme of family agency, the majority of the participants vividly recalled their active search for TWDL. Many answered why they had chosen TWDL for their children with the recollection of the loss of Spanish they witnessed for their young children upon their entry into an English-only PreK or kindergarten classroom. Many were also motivated by their own experiences with their own loss of Spanish or their experience with the overt separation of children who spoke Spanish and English in their school journey. Four mothers noticed that just after a short semester of enrolling in their English-only neighborhood school, their children resorted to speaking only English to them. Adriana shared the way her young son saw himself when he entered their English-only neighborhood school:

> [Mi hijo] se sentía como un outsider y el no quería ser el outsider el quería ser como todos los demás. Entonces necesitaba conseguir un ambiente que era más positivo—para que el sea bilingüe—o para que el se sienta orgulloso de ser bilingüe. Pasó el año [en la escuela de la vecindad] y me paro de hablar en español—Me decía que él no quería hablar español. [(My son) felt like an outsider and he didn't want to be the outsider he wanted to be like everyone else. Then he needed to get an environment that was more positive—for him to be bilingual—or for him to be proud of being bilingual. The year went by (in our neighborhood school) and he stopped speaking to me in Spanish—He told me that he didn't want to speak Spanish.]

Six of the 10 participants had applied and been granted a transfer to a school near their homes that offered TWDL. Adriana had done her homework and had visited a few schools she heard about from her bilingual parent social network. She met her group of

bilingual friends when their children were toddlers for playdates and socialized in Spanish with one another in order to raise their children bilingual. She shared that School 1 was close enough to her home to enable her to drive her son there and back every day. Transfer students did not get district bus transportation to and from the school, so parents needed to have the ability to transport their children to the school outside of their assigned neighborhood zone. Six of the 10 participants had an unexpected realization that their children's Latinx identity was eroding as a result of not accessing the Spanish language in the schools to which they were assigned. For example, Adriana's son soon regained the enthusiasm to be bilingual when Adriana found School 1, which offered TWDL. The unintended consequence of Adriana's neighborhood school's English-only curriculum was that it denied emerging bilingual children, like the ones in my study, access to their native language. Therefore, the mothers actively sought a transfer as the solution to remedy this potential subtractive impact on their children (Noddings, 2005, 2011; Valenzuela, 2010). I included in Table 2 the list of study participants who were on approved transfers to their current TWDL schools.

***Ayudar*.** Another sub theme that surfaced under the main theme of family agency reflected examples of the family members helping their children outside of the school setting. The artifacts in Figure 11 came from Consuelo's home. She was very proud of the collection of Spanish books she had been actively growing for her son, which included books she requested from the Mexican Consulate. Consuelo's Spanish workbooks are used currently in Mexican schools and are themed by grade level and subject areas such as math, science, history, and art. She was proud to show them to me as a way for her to add more Spanish materials for her children in her home.

Figure 11. Spanish books collected by Consuelo.

Consuelo shared that her motivation was grounded in the fact that she lacked a formal education and wanted more for her children:

> Y tambien otro motive que les apoyo en realidad, yo como no estudie tanto, pues a veces quisiera que el aprendiera mas español de lo que you pueda ofrecelerle. [And also, another reason that I really support them, as I did not study as much, because sometimes I would like him to learn more Spanish than I can offer him.]

Without hesitation, all participants were able to give me concrete examples of how they supported their children on their bilingual journeys at home. Even when the Spanish language was not spoken at home, the participants captured the ways they used

moments at home to see how much their children were learning Spanish. For example, Ester, one of the participants in an English-only household, said:

> For me as a parent too, [I] have that experience of really not knowing something that my kids know. Like, they really know stuff I don't know—so that's been really cool for me to just figure out how to use that to still help them and also have two-way flow of information between them and I. Then if I have a question, it becomes an opportunity to see if they are understanding, "Hey I don't know what that word means, can you tell me?"

She later said, "He [son] actually told us not to read out loud to him in Spanish because we don't know what we're saying and we don't know how to say the words [laughed]."

For participants who noticed their children did not speak Spanish at home, most took a strong stance to insist that their children practiced Spanish, especially if this was the language the family members could easily use to help the children at home. Participants gave examples of how powerful the influence of speaking English was for their children, citing television, radio, friends, and movies. These are social constructs that were all in English and therefore the effort to protect the Spanish space in the home for the Spanish-speaking families was constant. Roberta laughingly but seriously said:

> De verdad ya las amenazo les dije, si no hablan más español, vamos a parar de ver tanta tele en inglés y tanta radio en inglés y vamos a tener que ver más español. Por que ellas todavía no se dan cuenta de que tanto les puede ayudar el ser bilingües pero si trato yo de forzarlas la verdad. [I really threaten them, I told them, if they don't speak more Spanish, we are going to stop watching so much TV in English and so much radio in English and we are going to have to see more

Spanish. Because they still do not realize that being bilingual can help them so much, but I do try to force the truth.]

The literature review pointed to learning a second language as a social construct that requires much attention in DL schools, especially because English tends to easily take over the interactive spaces of classrooms and schools (Beeman & Urow, 2013; García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Mateus, 2016; Palmer et al., 2014).

Homework was another topic of discussion among the participants and they shared how the homework their children brought now was predominately in Spanish and how their actions supported the children with the learning. Adriana stated that when the teacher did not specify the language, she would try to balance the homework: "Entonces yo le digo a [mi hijo]—si tienes que leer 30 minutos—15 tienen que ser en español y 15 en inglés. [So, I say to (my son)—if you have to read 30 minutes—15 have to be in Spanish and 15 in English.]"

The majority of the participants shared examples of helping their children by supporting the children's use of both speaking and practicing the languages. Roberta shared how she helped her daughter with the writing that was assigned and Jennifer shared that she and her husband could see the progress their first grader made from the papers that came home. Participants helped their children by encouraging and supporting the child's enthusiasm for their teacher, school, and learning Spanish as Jennifer shared, "I can see it in his writing and the songs he sings in both languages. He understands the rappers on the radio when they sing in Spanish and English."

These mothers gave multiple examples of pursuing TWDL education and offering support to their children at home, which defies the stereotypes often held by school staff

that low-income, families of color, and EL children lack access to the systems needed in order to act in support of their children (Epstein, 2010; Mapp & Kuttner, 2013; Shirley, 1997). Are these mothers the exception to the rule? Or was language access so critical that these families would let nothing stand in their way of finding it and helping their children succeed in TWDL?

Defender. During the interviews, participants shared many stories of how they had to defend Spanish to others who challenged their choice to have their children in TWDL. This was a common sub theme for all participants and reflected how they demonstrated family agency toward defending TWDL with strangers, their own family members, and others. Jennifer, for instance, shared a relevant conversation she had while out socializing:

> It's crazy cause I had this conversation with this um lady at the bar when me and my cousin went out to eat—I said "hey my kid is in dual language" and she made like a face and—she was like—"Well I just feel weird about that—I don't know" and I was like—"Why wouldn't you not want your kid to learn two languages?" I think she thought that I was gonna agree with her and she was shocked that I was so offended—that you know—I asked her what was that supposed to mean? I don't understand.

Adriana's support of increasing Spanish interactions for her children also included housing an exchange student from Mexico in her home. She shared in disbelief that the first Spanish book she read was while in college while living in Miami. She knew only too well how challenging it was to regain her Spanish language. Similarly, Consuelo

shared her continued encouragement for her son to pursue his Spanish despite the resistance to TWDL from her very own relatives:

> Tengo una cuñada que es Americana, de aquí obviamente. Ella no está de acuerdo en esos programas [lenguaje dual] que hacen para las personas como nosotros, inmigrantes. [Ella] no está de acuerdo que su dinero de tasas sea gastado en estos programas . . . solo [en] inglés. Sí, queremos hablar con la sobrina de mi esposo pues tenemos que aprender Inglés. Bueno para mí no es problema, pues uno pierde más tiempo pensando en lo que las otras personas piensan. Entonces, como veo que mi hijo le va yendo bien, y lo animo, yo pienso que [es] bueno seguir adelante. [I have a sister-in-law who is American and from here obviously, she does not agree on these programs (dual language) for people like us, immigrants. She does not agree that her taxes be spent on these programs . . . only in English ones. If we want to talk to my husband's niece, we have to learn English. Well for me, it is not a problem because you waste more time thinking about what other people think. So, as I see that my son is doing well and I encourage him, I think it is good to continue moving forward.]

The mothers I interviewed validated the argument against the deficit perspective that Latinx families from marginalized groups, and other marginalized families, lack the tools or know how to support the learning for their children (Gonzalez et al., 1995; M. M. López, 2013; Valenzuela, 2010). These mothers built social networks with other bilingual families or with district and school personnel to seek and maintain language access for their children. They asked questions along the way to glean fidelity to the promises of balancing Spanish and English in the TWDL program and they were keenly

aware of the challenges they faced early on in many of their journeys. In Chapter V, I delve deeper into this theme of family agency and how the actions of family members to search, help, and defend can influence TWDL programs.

Theme II: Family challenges. I described above how the majority of the participants interviewed were able to defy the first challenge they faced in order to begin their TWDL journeys, which was the challenge of finding TWDL for their children if their neighborhood school did not offer such a program. In the deeper analysis of the data, when family members were asked about their experience with TWDL, many shared the common, ongoing challenge of keeping Spanish at the forefront for their children's use at home, even though they had a TWDL experience at school. The loss or the lack of use of Spanish use by their children at home was the greatest challenge for all but one participant, Jennifer. There were many examples of how these mothers saw and experienced the shrinking use of Spanish by their children, especially when the children interacted with their brothers and sisters in the home. During her interview Roberta shared in a frustrating tone, "pero les gusta mucho hablar ingles [but they love to speak English]". Perhaps because Jennifer's son was an only child, she did not see this dynamic play out in her home. Every other participant shared frustration when describing the need to keep the use of Spanish active among the brothers and sisters in their homes.

Despite the efforts of these mothers to keep their homes a protective space for Spanish, the interactions among the brothers and sisters in these homes posed a threat to its use. Vygotsky (1978) argued that learning has its foundation in the interactions of learners with others, so it would seem natural that language influenced the interactions

among the brothers and sisters in these homes. Tanisa shared how much easier the maintenance of Spanish was in her home when only her eldest attended school. Even though she and her husband spoke only Spanish to both boys, the minute both boys entered into the English space in school she saw a significant drop in the use of Spanish by the brothers at home. During the group interview, Tanisa spoke about the false assumption Spanish-speaking parents make because the adults in the home speak Spanish and they think the siblings with follow with the use of Spanish:

> Uno piensa que porque uno les habla en español a los niños, los niños van a crecer hablando español, y eso está muy equivocado. Ellos crecen hablando inglés, el español a lo mejor lo entienden, pero como dice [Adriana], no pueden ni hablar, no pueden escribirlo. [One thinks that because one speaks to children in Spanish, children will grow up speaking Spanish, and that is very wrong. They grow up speaking English, Spanish they may understand, but as she (Adriana) says, they can't even speak, they can't write it.]

During the group interview, Roberta chimed in that the changes in the demographics of the children in TWDL at School 7 also contributed to the decreasing use of Spanish among her daughters. She stated that when her eldest daughter attended School 7 there were many more Spanish speakers in the TWDL classroom and the sisters interacted more in Spanish at home. Now with the youngest at School 7, there were far more English-speaking children in her classroom and Roberta noticed how the two sisters spoke much more English with each other at home:

> ¡les estoy forzando a que me hablen en español, porque el niño chiquito, casi no me habla en español! Para serle sincera mi niña grande ella empezó pre-K como

> bilingüe y ella si ya tenía muchos compañeros hispanos y ella hablaba más el español. Entonces ahorita ella [en cuarto grado] lo habla más el español que la [hermana] que está en lenguaje dual ahora en Kinder . . . y empezó pre-k empezó con puros amiguitos que no hablaban español-entonces ella agarro el ingles muy rapido. [I am forcing them to speak to me in Spanish, because my little one hardly speaks Spanish to me! To be honest my big girl started Pre-K as a bilingual and she had many Hispanic friends and she spoke more Spanish. So right now, she (in fourth grade) speaks more Spanish than the one (sister) in dual language who is now in kindergarten . . . and it started in Pre-K because many more of her friends didn't speak Spanish in her class—so, she picked up the English too fast.]

Despite the fact that most of the TWDL models in which these children participated were majority Spanish instruction in the early grades (70% and 80% Spanish models), there continued to be a forceful pull toward speaking English by the children, as noted by 100% of the mothers. Epstein's spheres of influence theory helps to support this finding as the majority of the "experiences, philosophies and practices" of the influences from the community that surrounded these children were in English (Epstein, 1986, 2005, 2010). The mothers shared stories of the struggles to encourage, and even in some cases demand, that their children use their Spanish language at home. The loss of Spanish was the original motive for the Latinx mothers' pursuit of TWDL programs in schools when their assigned schools did not provide TWDL. The benefits they sought for their children's bilingualism were the motivation behind all participants supporting the acquisition of a language that for most was already present in their homes.

Theme III: Benefits. The third major theme derived from the interviews with the 10 participants whose children participated in TWDL was the benefits they saw for their children. All of the participants quickly shared reasons why being bilingual was a benefit for their children. These benefits of bilingualism were the fuel behind their search, help, and defense of TWDL. The sub themes associated with the benefits included the reconnection and connection to their *families* in Texas and back in their countries of origin. All participants made a connection to the need for their children to relate and speak to family members who spoke Spanish. For the non-Latinx participants, family was also a recurring theme as they referred to the ways they and their own families experienced Spanish as youngsters and the desire to want a positive and inclusive experience for their children. Another sub theme was the benefit of *knowing others* through the TWDL experience. The participants shared many examples of the value for their children to learn from others who were different from them. They attributed TWDL as the program that brought children and families together who did not have language in common; providing a shared space for learning and interaction. Finally, the last sub theme found in the majority of the experiences shared with me was the benefit of *knowing self* through accessing Spanish. Participants shared how they saw language learning not just as learning a set of skills but as a way for children to understand themselves and their families. Later in Chapter V, I explore the elements of my literature review that delved deeper into issues of language as identity in the history of Latinx learners and bilingual education.

Familia. In my literature review, I highlighted the work around the theory of funds of knowledge that detailed how families contribute to the education and identity

journeys of their children. The studies affirmed that this kind of knowledge transfer children experienced was done so only through their interactions with grandparents, cousins, and extended family members (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005). Many of the participants in my interviews gave concrete examples of the ways their children came into contact with their extended families, here and in their native countries. In fact, these interactions evidenced whether the children were learning in TWDL. For example, Roberta shared that her number one motivation to pursue and continue with TWDL for her children was so they could continue to connect with her extended family in Mexico who did not know how to speak English:

> Mas que nada por que los familiares de mi hijo cuando vienen, yo tengo una abuelita que viene, entonces es mas [para la] conviviencia con ellos. Hablan español y me daria verguenza que el hablara nada de español con ellos. [More than anything because of my son's family when they come, I have a grandmother who comes, so it is more for his coexistence with them since. they speak Spanish and I would be ashamed if he could not speak any Spanish with them.]

Another example of the family as a reason for TWDL came from Wilma as she shared:

> Tenemos mis papás que vienen para acá con frecuencia. Con ellos los niños es puro español, puro español; los abuelos no entienden el inglés, puro español. Los tíos, con mis hermanos, ingles y español por que hablamos todos bilingue. Con la familia de mi esposo, puro español entre los adultos por que obviamente no lo saben. Entre niños ya son los dos idiomas. [We have my parents who come here frequently. With them the children speak pure Spanish, pure Spanish; the Grandparents do not understand English, pure Spanish. The uncles, and with my

brothers, English and Spanish because we all speak bilingual. With my husband's family, pure Spanish among adults because they obviously don't know it. Between the children they are already speaking in two languages.]

The urgency for children to connect with and speak the language of their families was felt deeply by some participants as they became openly emotional when speaking about their extended families and the close ties they wanted for them and their children. In their sharing, many participants sought TWDL not simply as a skill they wanted for their children, but also as a way for the children to build strong, long-lasting relationships with their family members. Adriana cried during her interview as she mentioned the urgency for her children to be able to talk to her own Spanish-speaking parents:

> Yo quiero que ellos se sientan bien hablando con sus abuelos—mi mama esta agradecida que sus nietos puedan hablar con ella. Eso para mi es lo mas importante. [I want them to feel good talking to their grandparents—my mother is grateful that her grandchildren can talk to her. This is the most important thing to me.]

Every participant who was a native Spanish speaker or a bilingual participant chimed in about family connections as critical for their children and they believed that only through TWDL could these connections become a reality because their children would develop and grow their Spanish language in the program. Jennifer, the only African American participant, drew from the experiences of her own mother and grandmother, as speakers of some Spanish learned from living in a predominately Latinx neighborhood, to decide on whether to allow her son to be in TWDL in kindergarten. Jennifer saw learning Spanish as a means of building community with people from different backgrounds, like

she experienced growing up with Latinx neighbors. The sub theme of family also related to my literature review on the origins of TWDL education. Cuban exiles, wishing to return to family left back in Cuba, demanded that Coral Way School not erase their children's home language of Spanish, thus spurring the birth of TWDL education in the United States (Ovando, 2003).

Otros**.** As the participants shared examples of how beneficial it was for their children to connect to others, I took note of the frequency with which these mothers saw language as a bridge to people like and unlike their own children. All participants wanted their children to learn aside children who were different from them. Wilma, born and raised in the South Texas/Mexican border, described the fluidity in which she would flow back and forth between her English and Spanish worlds as a child. She also shared how she remembered being taught in a bilingual program in the primary grades but then in high school not having any teacher who taught in Spanish. She was critical of this as she saw her friends who knew very little English struggle through their high school courses and even being told to not speak Spanish in her high school. She recalled this experience when she described the desire for her bilingual children to be of help to those who are not bilingual:

> Yo creo que cuando ellos [otras personas] miran [que] hay alguien que habla los dos idiomas, es como una luz en medio de la obscuridad de la gente—estar emocionada de saber que alguien los puede entenderles . . . Por eso yo pienso que por eso es importante [ser bilingue]. [I think that when they (others) look at someone who speaks both languages, it is a light in the darkness for people—to

> be excited to know that someone can understand them . . . That is why I think that is why it is important (to be bilingual).]

She shared how the high school she attended was not supportive of Spanish-speaking children and how she felt sad to see how much they struggled as a result of not having this bilingual support. Tanisa shared during the group conversation about her reason for choosing TWDL for her children as a potential way to change the social message that she solely used English to assimilate:

> Siento que el hispano que no tiene el propósito de pasar el español recibe eso inconscientemente como un mensaje que necesitamos eliminar el español lo más pronto posible. Pero el Latino siempre va a ser Latino, sin importar qué lenguaje hables. Entonces seria tanto mas bueno que el Latino sintiera que el mensaje es que nosotros debemos de mantener el español—para que nuestros hijos puedan ellos tener esos puestos de líderes. Y no necesariamente pensar que es algo que el Americano tiene que hacer para liderar a los Latinos que no hablan el inglés. [I feel that the Hispanic who does not intend to pass Spanish (to their children) receives unconsciously as a message that we need to eliminate Spanish as soon as possible. But a Latino is always going to be Latino no matter what language you speak. It would be so much better if Latinos felt that the message is that we must maintain Spanish so that our children can have those positions of leaders and not necessarily think that it is something the American has to do—to lead Latinos who do not speak English.]

This statement made by Tanisa connected to the literature's key guiding principle of TWDL to strategically elevate the Spanish language because historically Spanish has

been viewed as the lesser language in bilingual program models (Beeman & Urow, 2013; García, 2011; Howard et al., 2018; Valenzuela, 2010). Both Whitney and Roberta expressed their desire for their children to be in TWDL so their children would be aware of differences in themselves and others as they related to the issues of bias and intolerance so prominent in the social fabric of their world. For many, the parental choice for their children to participate in TWDL was a way to resist the national political sentiments of a separatist ideology. Whitney shared:

> [in dual language] they have good friends who are of all races and cultures and to me that is so important in this world as we become more diverse in our country and in this current climate where there is so much fear and racism towards, especially immigrants.

Roberta added that she wanted her children to be:

> Mas conscientes de los problemas que hay en el mundo tal vez. Sobre todo ahorita, ya ve, ya sea racismo, hay mucha, como se dice? intolerancia a las cosas. Como que quiero que ellas tengan un a mente más abierta, que no estés juzgando tampoco a nadie, como quien dice, poderse poner en el lugar de más personas y siento que el bilingüismo les va a abrir muchas puertas, van a poder conocer muchas gentes. poder tener diferentes puntos de vista. [More aware of the problems in the world maybe. Above all right now, you see, be it racism, there's a lot, how do you say? intolerance to things. As I want them to have a more open mind, that you are not judging anyone, like, being able to put themselves in the place of more people and I feel that bilingualism is going to open many doors, they will be able to meet many people. Be able to have different points of view.]

Later in Chapter V, I explore more deeply the critical issues and implications about children being with "others" for TWDL practitioners in schools.

Yo. A third sub theme that was prevalent in the data analysis under the main theme of benefits of TWDL was *knowing the self*. Participants referred to how their children saw themselves and interacted with their home language. They also shared how now, as adults, they had made discoveries based on their children's bilingual journey, of the ways they grew up and were educated, either as monolinguals or bilinguals, and the implications of TWDL for their children and how they were becoming future bilinguals.

For many of the participants, language was an extension of the Latinx self of their children. The Anglo and African American participants declared that they wanted different paths for their children compared to what they had experienced in the very segregated school systems in which they participated as children. They were physically separated from or not at all connected to children who spoke Spanish, or any other language, in their education. The Latinx mothers in the interviews all noted traditions, music, and values they experienced at home and wanted to instill in their children through TWDL. Tanisa, the only participant from Venezuela, noted that only through the current Latinx children's education in TWDL could future generations of Latinxs be bilingual. Others in the group interview chimed in by nodding their heads as she stated:

> Si nosotros no les pasamos el lenguaje a nuestros hijos, que lo leen y lo escriben, cómo queremos que esa inversion sea para los que escriban los próximos libros, y hagan los próximos shows, y escriban los próximos mensajes en español. ¿Como cultivamos esa próxima generación de maestras y de todas las otras profesiones que queremos que nos hablen en español? [If we don't pass on the language to

our children so they can read and write it, how do we expect that investment in who will write the next books, and do the next shows, and write the next messages in Spanish? How we cultivate that next generation of teachers and all the other professions who we want to speak in Spanish?]

Ester also shared:

> I feel like my kids are getting an understanding of the world that I wouldn't have even dreamed of having probably until I was in college. Sometimes they like the same foods as I do (and sometimes they know about foods that I don't know about), they celebrate their birthdays and they have holidays too and all of those things that are just much more naturally acquired.

Adriana added:

> Yo . . . quisiera que ellos aprendan mas profundamente el español de lo que yo pude aprender. Yo soy nacida y crecida aquí, en los Estados Unidos, no fui a un colegio dual, entonces no tengo la academia ni la literacy. Es algo que yo quisiera para mis hijos por que yo siempre senti que me hacia falta para sentirme "full" bilingüe. [I . . . want them to learn Spanish more deeply than I was able to learn. I am born and raised here in the United States, I did not go to a dual school, so I do not have the academics or the literacy. It is something that I would like for my children because I always felt that I needed to feel "full" bilingual.]

Nelson Flores's work, as noted in my literature review, highlighted how language practices of bilingual and Spanish-speaking individuals in the United States were a threat to the integrity of the White races as early as the 1900s with the development of "Standardized American English" (Flores, 2016, p. 16). For this reason, even bilingual

programs were historically subtractive, reflecting efforts to get racialized communities to assimilate to White idealized language practices (Flores, 2016). In contrast, all of the participants in my study saw the greatness and power of being bilingual—through TWDL, they were creating inclusionary paths for their children and not succumbing to notions of assimilation. The primary theme of TWDL benefits was the participants' desired path to connect to their Latinx families, know others who were different from them and therefore show empathy and care for others, and know oneself more deeply by associating identity to language.

Theme IV: School connections. I captured the direct and indirect messages participants received from the schools their children attended. Schools are places where children spend as much or more time than in their homes, so it was important for me to hear how these mothers described how language, specifically Spanish, was experienced in schools. My literature review highlighted the expectations for an effective DL program according to the Guiding Principles for DL set nationally, which at their core include the school environment as a place that welcomes and values the minority language, in my study's case, Spanish (Howard et al., 2018). Therefore, I listened as participants described the environments of their TWDL schools. School connections was a main theme that arose when participants described the school environment and the messages that they received from their schools. According to these participants, their participation in TWDL served to create connections among students, families, principals, and teachers.

***Estudiantes*.** All participants gave many examples of how they saw their children interact with other children learning two languages in their schools, playgrounds, and

lunch rooms. Jennifer shared her insights of how her school was segregated with Spanish speakers eating breakfast together and English-speaking children eating together and how she had seen TWDL bring together children who would have otherwise not known each other. Her stance was that language was connecting her African American son to others who spoke Spanish and with whom he might otherwise never learn beside. She was proud in her description of how he had performed in a musical at School 5 in Spanish and English, describing him as "confident" as he knew all the words to the songs and moves to the dances. Her school environment promoted all children learning together and this was an important value to Jennifer.

Another example of how family members described students in TWDL came from Ester's comment that she "selfishly" wanted her children to have a second language and to have a chance to "talk to kids that they wouldn't normally necessarily get to talk to, I mean these are literally kids that they wouldn't be able to communicate with otherwise." She acknowledged and praised the fact that her children were learning from children who were not like hers:

> There is a respect for the transfer of information in both directions. Not just with the language but also with the culture and the behavior and the understandings and just the richness of what kids bring to the classroom when they get to keep some of, hopefully all of their language, and continue to use it and have that help them express themselves.

Both Roberta and Patricia had older children in a transitional bilingual model while their younger siblings were in TWDL. They both agreed that there was a higher confidence factor in their younger children with regard to Spanish based on their ability to read and

write in Spanish and also based on the fact that their young children shared stories of having to “help” their friends who did not speak Spanish in their classrooms. Both Patricia and Roberta shared, during their individual interviews, that their older children, who had participated in transitional bilingual programs, had very different interactions with their classroom peers compared to their current TWDL children. In TWDL, English-speaking children expected their Spanish-speaking peers to lead the Spanish learning more than they remembered hearing about when their elder children were in the bilingual program. This experience is consistent with bilingual education’s long history, as the bilingual models before TWDL separated children labeled EL from children who spoke English at home and grouped all Spanish-speaking children together to learn English. The implementation of TWDL completely turned this paradigm upside down as it invited children who speak Spanish at home with those who speak only English at home to learn both languages together in one classroom with the goal for all children to be biliterate (Texas Education Agency, 2012). Later in Chapter V, I explore this dynamic a bit further because it has implications for how EL students see their role in TWDL classrooms versus in other bilingual program models.

***Familias*.** A second sub theme noted in my data analysis under the larger theme of school connections among students, parents, principals, and teachers was parents. The participants depicted interactions and connections that families made with one another. Participants described the TWDL meetings and discussions in which they participated at their schools with other families. For some, this was a unique opportunity to mix and mingle with families who spoke another language. The majority of participants noted meetings were always held in Spanish and English and TWDL was a frequent topic of

discussion at many of their general school events. In the individual interview with Consuelo, she shared about a meeting in School 3 where TWDL parents heard from a community bilingual advocacy group:

> Hace poco tuvimos una junta en la escuela por parte de la organización "Hablando Bilingüe" y entonces nos estaban diciendo que estaban tratando de mejorar las clases que sean mitad y mitad por que antes solo era un poco de español, y la mayoría era inglés. [Recently we had a meeting at the school by the organization "Hablando Bilingüe" and then they were telling us that they were trying to improve the classes that are half and half because before It was just a little bit of Spanish, and most of it was English.]

She noted these events were common in her school and parents were encouraged to learn about why it was important for their children to continue learning both Spanish and English. Whitney also added in her individual interview that School 4 "did a really good job at doing presentations to try to show the TWDL research of showing that even for kids that are struggling . . . they can be in TWDL."

Ester, whose children were also at School 4, discussed an interaction with another parent at the school whose TWDL child was diagnosed with dyslexia and how they found school staff to talk through the decision to keep the child in TWDL. These school events and interactions offered opportunities for families in TWDL to interact with one another, build community, and garner support for the learning of their children, which they otherwise may not have experienced with other aspects of the schooling. Consuelo shared in the group interview that she had attended many meetings about what the DL program in middle and high school would look like for her children, and others nodded

their heads in agreement of also participating in similar meetings about continuing TWDL after elementary school. But these meetings, to the participants in the group interview, were more than just places to get information; they were spaces for interactions they might not otherwise have experienced with families who spoke their own language and especially with those who spoke a language other than theirs. Roberta shared an example of the type of interactions she had with other TWDL parents attending school meetings:

> Yo he encontrado que a veces los Americanos . . . que tienen a sus hijos en el programa de lenguaje dual, ellos tratan de hablar conmigo también en español. Luego hay veces que yo hablo con ellos en ingles, ellos en español y nos ayudamos. Me siento más a gusto con ellos, los Americanos, de hablar yo el ingles y ellos me hablan el español, y ellos me dicen: "¿Como se dice esto?" Entonces yo no tengo ningún problema, yo los apoyo a ellos. [I have found that sometimes Americans . . . who have their children in the dual language program, they try to speak to me in Spanish as well. Then there are times that I speak to them in English, they in Spanish and we help each other. I feel more comfortable with them, the Americans, when I speak English and they speak Spanish to me, and they say to me: "How do you say this?" So, I don't have any problem, I support them.]

According to Patricia, when she remembered her eldest son in what she called the "non-DL bilingual program," she recalled only having the class meetings with the Spanish-speaking families and the Parent Coffees with almost all Spanish-speaking families. She added that she found that when the school introduced TWDL, the makeup

of the events and meetings was more mixed. She also saw that Latinx English-speaking parents in the meetings wanted to speak in Spanish or learn Spanish. She shared:

> Yo también me siento a gusto hablando español porque pues ese es mi idioma, me encanta. Y como dice Roberta, los Americanos ellos quieren hablar español y pues se apoya uno con ellos, ellos se apoyan con nosotros por que ellos les gusta este idioma y pues uno aprende también. [I also feel comfortable speaking Spanish because that is my language, I love it. And as Roberta says, the Americans want to speak Spanish and because we support them, they support us because they like this language and because we learn too.]

Tanisa, however, shared a unique worry about the lack of connections she saw in School 8 despite the implementation of TWDL:

> Que [el español] no es un lenguaje único, [los papas] hablan Pashto, Árabe, otros que no me recuerdo que es, pero hay como 3 o 4 lenguajes diferentes en la escuela. Entonces, claro la escuela en los últimos años ha estado en cierta forma dividida. La gran mayoría los padres, están en las clases de inglés y la gran mayoría de lo son hispanos están en las clases de lenguaje dual. [That's the thing, that (Spanish) is not a unique language, (the parents) speak Pashto, Arabic, others that I don't remember what it is, but there are like 3 or 4 different languages in the school. So of course, the school in recent years has been somewhat divided. The vast majority of parents are in English classes and the vast majority of Hispanics are in dual language classes.]

Although Tanisa shared about events and meetings she had participated in about TWDL during her time as a parent in School 8, she had a growing concern that because so many

classrooms were not TWDL, the larger and more diverse family connections others shared during the group interview were not the kind of connections she was experiencing. Tanisa shared that only having one or two TWDL teachers at each grade level made the program not seem like a campus-wide priority as the majority of teachers and families were not experiencing the program.

In addition to the experiences participants shared with me and to provide a better understanding of each school's TWDL program and the types of messages relayed by the school about TWDL, I conducted a review of each school website, noting whether and how TWDL was mentioned (See Appendix G).

Table 4

School Website Review

TWDL schools	TWDL program					Spanish language		Latinx presence		Spanish resources	
	Schedules, grades served	Benefits of being bilingual	Vision & mission	Principal message	How to enroll	Google translated	Authentically written	Visual representations	Programming	Helping at home	Research
School 1 Adriana	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
School 2 Barbara						X					
School 3 Consuelo						X					
School 4 Ester Whitney	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X
School 5 Jennifer	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X
School 6 Patricia				X			X				
School 7 Roberta	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
School 8 Tanisa						X					
School 9 Wilma	X					X			X		X

The data showed the largest number of examples were shared during the interviews by Adriana (School 1), Roberta (School 7), Esther and Whitney (School 4), and Jennifer (School 6) of TWDL events, meetings, and activities at the schools their children attended. This was consistent with messages on the websites for their schools. School 6's website had many references to TWDL, how to apply, the benefits, and even who to call to set up family tours to visit the TWDL classrooms. Similar information about TWDL was included in Whitney and Ester's school (School 4). On the other hand,

Tanisa shared her worry about TWDL not being in the spotlight at her school, which was consistent with TWDL never being mentioned on her school's website.

There was great evidence from my data analysis that the Spanish-speaking family members felt empowered to ask questions and participate in the meetings and events in their schools. They had the confidence to navigate the school system in order to provide TWDL for their children. Ester and Whitney, the English-only speaking mothers from School 4, both shared examples of ways they were tuned in to the power dynamics of the changing demographics of their school and their attempts to advocate for the voices of the Latinx families in the school and neighborhood. They worried that the Spanish-speaking families at their school were being pushed out by gentrification and actively joined these families in their struggle to stay in School 4 despite the rising costs of housing around the school. Despite the majority of participants describing connections they had made with other family members in TWDL, Spanish-speaking participants referred to themselves as *us* and the English-speaking parents as *them* (and vice versa) in their references to the other language parent group. This view of us and them among language groups of parents in TWDL was a common theme in many studies captured in my literature review. I discuss this more deeply in Chapter V with regard to the implications of the power dynamics between English-speaking and Spanish-speaking families in TWDL.

***Principal/Director*.** In my literature review, I noted how principals have an enormous say in how they set language policies and practices in their schools (Menken & Solorza, 2015). In this study, the role of principals was no less significant in how they set policies and practices that shaped the TWDL programs on their campuses concurrent to the literature on the influence school leaders have in creating culturally responsive

schools (Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, 2016; Lucas & Villegas, 2011). In fact, principals were the most commonly mentioned members of the school staff by the study participants. The fact that I was upfront with all participants about my role as principal of a school at the time of their interviews might have shaped why the role of the principal was prominent in their responses. Nonetheless, there was a significant back and forth dialogue by participants during the group interview about their experiences with their campus principals.

For instance, Tanisa expressed her frustration with the newly hired Latinx principal at her school, who typically had someone translate into Spanish what she said in meetings and events. This was disappointing to her because of the power principals have to model their own bilingualism, despite their level of proficiency:

> Si eres Latina, habla español, no importa como lo hablas, nadie le va a corregir la gramática, pero es un mensaje directo. Entonces es difícil pensar que estas apoyando el lenguaje dual cuando lo tienes y no lo estas usando por pena quizas. [If she is Latina, she needs to speak Spanish, no matter how she speaks it, nobody will correct her grammar, it is a direct message. So, it is difficult to think that you are supporting dual language when you have it and you are not using it out of embarrassment perhaps.]

On the other hand, Adriana shared the benefits she experienced from the transition of having two former White administrators to now having one who was bilingual:

> Yo quisiera añadir que esta año tenemos una sub-directora que habla español . . . y eso ha ayudado a darla a alguien para la comunidad que solamente habla español para tener acceso. Entonces, no se, uno como Latino siempre se siente

> más cómodo con Latinos por el idioma—no?—la cultura, no sé qué es, algo mágico. Entonces como que ha atraído más a la comunidad junta. Entonces uno tiene la directora que es bilingüe pero es Americana y tienes la subdirectora que es bilingüe pero es Latina entonces tienes la representación en la administración que yo creo que es muy importante. [I would like to add that this year we have a new assistant principal who speaks Spanish, this has helped to give someone for the community who only speaks Spanish to have access. So, I don't know, as a Latinx, always feels more comfortable with Latinos because of the language—no?—culture? I don't know what it is, something magical. So, it's kind of has drawn the community closer together. So, you have the principal who is bilingual but she is American and you have the assistant principal who is bilingual but she is Latinx, so you have representation in the administration, which I think is very important.]

Not only was the presence of a bilingual administrator touted as an important attribute in a school that offered TWDL, the actions of the principals were critical to the existence of the program according to these mothers. Adriana shared that she saw first-hand the connections and the spaces that were created thanks to the erasure of the language barrier for the Spanish-speaking only families at School 1 and how this had brought many more Spanish-speaking only families to the school in comparison to before. Roberta attributed the birth of TWDL at her school to the newly appointed principal:

> Yo por ignorancia cuando mi niña grande entró a la escuela, yo no sabía que existían escuelas con la opción de lenguaje dual. Yo llegue a la escuela por

> accidente y gracias a Dios [después de unos años] entro una nueva directora que es la que implementó el lenguaje dual. Entonces, estoy agradecida con ella pero yo en mi ignorancia no lo sabía . . . mi hija grande esta en ingles solamente en los grados majores, la Chiquita ahora esta en 50-50 ingles y español. [I, out of ignorance when my big girl entered school, did not know that there were schools with the option of dual language. I came to school by accident and thank God (after a few years) a new principal came in who implemented dual language. So, I am grateful to her but I did not know it in my ignorance . . . My older daughter is in English-only in the older grades, the little one is now in 50-50 English and Spanish.]

School 4 did not offer TWDL when Whitney's eldest son was going to enter the school. She recalled how instrumental the decision of the principal was for the program offering:

> Actually, I had gone and talked to Ms. Principal before the school year started and asked why she wasn't considering this as a two-way dual language campus and she did not believe in it at that time. She was like, "I don't see any evidence that it is needed."

Whitney shared that she did not know what had happened to make the change, but continued to share:

> She is now very committed to this school being TWDL, coming from a Spanish-speaking family, as an immigrant herself and things then were in Spanish. She talks in Spanish to every child she sees, she knows every child's name in our school. She sees how being bilingual is a need for all children in our school.

In my literature review, researchers concurred that school leaders shared a great responsibility to find the balance between the many high stakes assessments that imposed English-only proficiency for all students, regardless of home language, and the time and resources emerging bilinguals needed to grow in both languages (Menken & Solorza, 2015). This meant principals had to buffer the high stakes pressures that particularly affected third to fifth grade teachers. It also meant they had to stand in resistance to many district mandates to move children quickly to English in order to score the highest proficiencies on state exams (Menken & Solorza, 2015).

Although in my study I did not delve into issues related to state accountability measures and TWDL, I did capture the messages these families received from their campus leaders through their testimonials about their experiences surrounding TWDL and also from the campus websites. Their experiences and the messages they received from their campuses via school websites assured them that TWDL would be implemented with fidelity. Every school website included a principal's message, but only three of the nine school's websites included the words of the principal supporting or highlighting TWDL in that education message (See Figures 12–14).

PRINCIPAL'S MESSAGE

Welcome to Elementary, proud home of the Pythons! We are committed to ensuring each student's academic and personal growth and development, and we provide a variety of engaging opportunities for our students to achieve to their fullest potential. With opportunities like dual language, ballet folklórico, and robotics, there's something for everyone at We invite you to learn more about our exceptional students, staff, and school through our website. Thank you for visiting our website, and we hope to see you at soon!

Bienvenido a la primaria orgulloso hogar de los pitones! Estamos comprometidos en asegurar el desarrollo y crecimiento académico y personal de cada uno de nuestros estudiantes, y proveemos una variedad de oportunidades interesantes para que nuestros estudiantes logren su máxima potencial. Con programas como lenguaje dual, ballet folklórico, y robótica, hay algo para todos en Le invitamos a aprender más de nuestros estudiantes, personal, y comunidad a través de nuestra página web. Gracias por visitarnos virtualmente, y ¡esperamos verlos aquí en pronto!

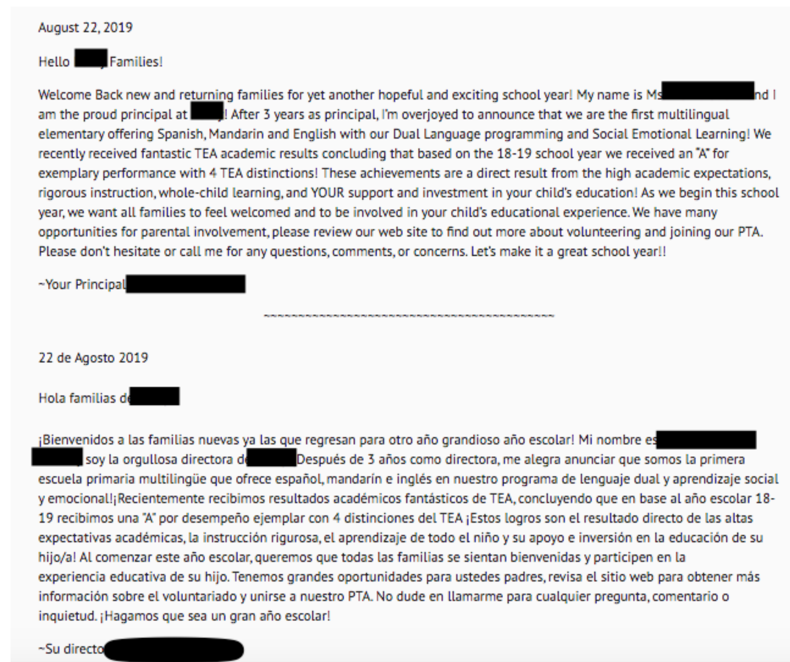
Figure 12. Principal's welcome message from campus website.

Interim Principal

I started my career as a bilingual educator almost 21 years ago after I graduated from Southwest Texas State University (AKA Texas State) with a Bachelor of Science in Interdisciplinary Studies and a minor in bilingual education. I have been part of the mmunity of learners since August 2007 where I have served as 3rd grade bilingual teacher at th grade math and science teacher at and Science Instructional coach at the campus and district level. After my tenth year teaching I was selected to participate in a bilingual teacher leadership masters program at The University of Texas at Austin, Proyecto Maestría, where I received a Masters in Education with a focus on Biliterate Bicultural studies. That program revived my passion for advocacy for bilingual education programs for English learners. Most importantly I learned about the power of two way dual language programs not only for English learners but for learners of English. After completing my masters, I discovered a newfound love to become a school administrator to further impact and ensure the benefits of bilingual education for students. After I completed an alternative principal certification program, I started my educational administration career at d my latest role was Academy Directo

In my journey of being a teacher leader and a school administrator, I also became a mother. My first born, Ethan, has been participating in two way dual language for five years a nd will continue to participate in the program this upcoming school year as a 4th grader. I am projecting my soon to be three year old, Andrew, to start pre-kindergarten a August 2020. Just as I ensure that my own children attain the 21st Century skill of being bilingual, I will continue to support your child(ren)'s journey in becoming bilingual, be self-confident individuals, who are motivated to be lifelong learners.

Figure 13. Interim principal's message from campus website.



August 22, 2019

Hello [redacted] Families!

Welcome Back new and returning families for yet another hopeful and exciting school year! My name is Ms [redacted] nd I am the proud principal at [redacted]! After 3 years as principal, I'm overjoyed to announce that we are the first multilingual elementary offering Spanish, Mandarin and English with our Dual Language programming and Social Emotional Learning! We recently received fantastic TEA academic results concluding that based on the 18-19 school year we received an "A" for exemplary performance with 4 TEA distinctions! These achievements are a direct result from the high academic expectations, rigorous instruction, whole-child learning, and YOUR support and investment in your child's education! As we begin this school year, we want all families to feel welcomed and to be involved in your child's educational experience. We have many opportunities for parental involvement, please review our web site to find out more about volunteering and joining our PTA. Please don't hesitate or call me for any questions, comments, or concerns. Let's make it a great school year!!

~Your Principal [redacted]

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22 de Agosto 2019

Hola familias d [redacted]

¡Bienvenidos a las familias nuevas ya las que regresan para otro año grandioso año escolar! Mi nombre es [redacted] soy la orgullosa directora d [redacted] Después de 3 años como directora, me alegra anunciar que somos la primera escuela primaria multilingüe que ofrece español, mandarín e inglés en nuestro programa de lenguaje dual y aprendizaje social y emocional!¡Recientemente recibimos resultados académicos fantásticos de TEA, concluyendo que en base al año escolar 18-19 recibimos una "A" por desempeño ejemplar con 4 distinciones del TEA ¡Estos logros son el resultado directo de las altas expectativas académicas, la instrucción rigurosa, el aprendizaje de todo el niño y su apoyo e inversión en la educación de su hijo/a! Al comenzar este año escolar, queremos que todas las familias se sientan bienvenidas y participen en la experiencia educativa de su hijo. Tenemos grandes oportunidades para ustedes padres, revisa el sitio web para obtener más información sobre el voluntariado y unirse a nuestro PTA. No dude en llamarme para cualquier pregunta, comentario o inquietud. ¡Hagamos que sea un gran año escolar!

~Su directo [redacted]

Figure 14. Principal's message from campus website.

The messages above offered personal insights about bilingual learners and enthusiasm for the possibilities of bilingualism and beyond by some of these campus principals. Especially during the focus group, participants all agreed that messages about bilingualism and actions in Spanish from the leader of the school mattered. They attributed the inception, improvements, and even the spotlight of the TWDL to the messages they received from their campus principals.

Maestros. Connections between the families and the teachers in TWDL were also included in the experiences these family members shared in the individual and group interviews. Teachers were, of course, a core part of my literature review for TWDL. I highlighted many studies in Chapter II that depicted the struggles of many TWDL teachers and how they maneuvered implementing the program in their schools (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Mateus, 2016; Palmer et al., 2014). The families in this study
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shared many examples of how they had regular contact with their TWDL teachers and how they understood the language learning of their children. Wilma shared:

> La maestra de el [hijo] de cuando iba ha entrar a pre-kinder me llamó y me dijo que el niño califica para estar en lenguaje dual. Ya luego ella me explico mas o menos de que se trataba y a mi me pareció muy bien. Siempre he querido que los niños hablen los dos idiomas. [His teacher, from when he (son) was entering pre-kindergarten, called me and said that he qualifies to be in dual language. Then she explained to me more or less what it was about and it seemed very good to me. I have always wanted children to speak both languages.]

During her interview, Adriana gave many examples of how the teachers at her school taught TWDL and supported the Spanish language in their program. She enthusiastically shared:

> La maestra me dice "no te preocupes por eso – yo lo hago" [enseñar el español] Pero yo pienso que debería tener tiempo [en la casa para el español]—que los dos idiomas se tendrían que tratar igual. Entonces yo le digo a mi hijo—si tienes que leer 30 minutos—15 tienen que ser en español y 15 en ingles en la casa. [The teacher tells me "don't worry about it—I will do it" (teach him Spanish). But I think I should have time (in the home for Spanish)—that the two languages should be treated the same. So, I say to my son—if you have to read 30 minutes—15 have to be in Spanish and 15 in English at home.]

Ester mentioned her appreciation for the teachers who were teaching her child to become bilingual:

Just knowing that they're not getting the support from us at home, as best as we can, that it's really taught me to appreciate the real professionalism of the teachers and the staff at schools that are doing their jobs.

Jennifer added that early in the school year the teacher told her, "you teach him English, school will teach him Spanish." This made her less anxious about the fact that neither she nor her husband could fully support their son in Spanish at home. All family members in the study described how their teachers were accessible to them and they actively described their children's actual use of Spanish with those around them. Not one participant said their child was learning Spanish from a test or a worksheet, although a couple of them did share completed worksheets that came home with their children, as found in Appendix D. Their knowledge of how they knew their children were learning Spanish and English came from observing and listening to their children use both languages with others. The Spanish language was indeed made visible in the majority of the TWDL schools in the study, as evidenced in the stories these mothers shared with me.

Chapter Summary

I highlighted the main themes and sub themes of my data analysis of 10 families whose children attended Central Texas ISD schools and participated in the TWDL program. In Chapter V, I present a discussion and implications of the research study, including key findings and how such findings can influence future research and theory as well as policies and practices in the field of TWDL education.

V. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Brief Summary of the Study

This chapter includes a discussion of the key findings and implications gleaned from the study of 10 families, specifically mothers, whose elementary age children participated in TWDL in a Central Texas ISD. The theories underlying my approach to the study included those of Vygotsky (1978), Noddings (1995), and Epstein (2005). Taken together, these theories framed the idea that children's learning acquisition of is supported by ethics of care and nestled within a communal landscape. I firmly believe children's learning is incomplete without the connections they make with other social structures outside the school building (Vygotsky, 1978). I also believe every adult who interacts with a child has an influence on that child's learning by how they respond and interact with the child and vice versa (Noddings, 1995). Finally, my approach to the study was rooted in the belief that learning is best supported when there are ongoing intersections of practices and values within the children's surrounding community, homes, and schools (Epstein, 2005). Effective learning can take place when the people within each of the three spaces are in respectful and interactive relationships with one another (Epstein, 2005. Figure 10 presented an overview of the three theories that served as the theoretical framework for my study.

I used a hermeneutic phenomenological methodology to capture the lived experiences of the 10 study participants with TWDL and to examine the following research questions:

1. What are the attitudes and views about language learning of families whose children are in a two-way dual language program (TWDL)?

a. How do these family members describe how they contribute to or influence the journeys of their children in TWDL?

b. What do these families want to pass on to their children with regard to language learning?

2. What are the messages schools send about language learning to the families of children in TWDL?

   a. How are messages from schools about language interpreted by these family members?

   b. What are families' perceptions and understandings of TWDL programs based on school messaging?

3. How can the perspectives of families of students in TWDL regarding language learning inform school practice, policy, and research?

Each participant was individually interviewed, with five of the 10 mothers participating in an additional focus group interview. Participants were also asked to submit pictures as artifacts related to the language journeys of their children. Finally, I reviewed the website for each campus for any additional messages about TWDL these families could receive from their school staff and leaders.

The representation of a diverse participant group (by race, ethnicity, and native language) was an important factor in capturing different voices and experiences associated with language learning. The 10 participants in this study shared their journeys to support their children as bilinguals from three racial/ethnic/linguistic points of view: (a) African American, (b) Anglo and Latinx adults who spoke English only in their

homes, and (c) bilingual homes and homes with adults who predominantly spoke and understood Spanish.

In documenting and analyzing the mothers' stories, I strove to depict how they understood the language journeys of their children and their attitudes about their bilingual children and the schools where their children attended TWDL. The Central Texas ISD where their children attended schools, and where some of the mothers attended school as children themselves, has operated since 1881, but only since 2010 has offered TWDL at the elementary level. There was a critical lens in my approach given the painful history of marginalized Latinx families in the U.S. education system, as policies and policymakers often segregated minority children and prevented children who did not speak English from attending schools with White English-speaking children (Allsup, 2018; Blanton, 2005; Bybee et al., 2014; García, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Ovando, 2003). This critical lens in my design and approach led me to challenge and inform current policy power structures and equity practices surrounding families and their experiences with their children as they related to TWDL. The nine schools the participants' children attended challenged the narrative of Spanish as a deficit by inviting children of different home languages to learn together in the Spanish/English TWDL classrooms.

Overarching Themes

I presented four overarching themes in more depth that emerged from the data analysis in Chapter 4 and these are represented again in Figure 10. The major themes all 10 participants had in common were family agency, family challenges, benefits of TWDL, and school connections. Under each major theme were sub themes that were

commonly repeated throughout the stories and anecdotes shared during the individual and group interviews.

Family agency. Throughout the history of public education, family members have participated in the schooling of their children in varying roles, including as models and motivators, community organizers, and advocates. Each of these forms of parent participation, whether in agreement with or against school policies and practices, requires agency. The specific actions of these mothers to act on behalf of their children's bilingual journeys were noted in the data analysis of Chapter 4. Seven of the 10 mothers actively searched for TWDL once they understood that their assigned school did not offer any DL model. For instance, Adriana, the mother who took a risk sending her kindergartener to an English-only program in the hopes that the Spanish her child was learning at home would suffice, quickly learned her son's Spanish dissipated after only 4 months in school. She then enrolled him in a TWDL program nearby. In addition, all 10 participants actively defended their children's participation in TWDL when family members and acquaintances questioned why their children would spend time learning Spanish in the United States.

Family agency was also denoted by how these mothers actively created relationships with other parents in their schools. The majority of the participants gave examples of their support of TWDL by describing their attendance at meetings, events, and sessions about TWDL. Three participants claimed they only spoke Spanish, but were able to navigate the English-only district system to find the closest school that offered their children a path to continuing to learn Spanish. Four of the other participants also refused to send their children to an English-only school by applying for student transfers

so their children could attend a nearby TWDL campus (see Table 2). Tanisa moved her family from another city to the Central Texas ISD in order to have her children attend a TWDL school, and six other mothers drove their children to and from their TWDL schools on a daily basis. The agency of these participants redefined parent engagement in ways that far exceeded attending meetings or helping with homework. This finding enhances the traditional parent involvement expectation found in many schools (Epstein et al., 2002; Gándara et al., 2005; García, 2011; Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006; Gold et al., 2002; Gonzalez et al., 2005). Family members in my study were actively engaged in their children's education before their children stepped into the doors of a school. I discuss how it is critical for school staff to leverage this commitment and enthusiasm of families later in this chapter.

Family challenges. The biggest challenge faced by all 10 mothers was keeping Spanish alive in the lives of their children outside of the school setting. The majority of the mothers spoke Spanish and used that language in the home consistently; only three of the mothers were native English speakers. Regardless of the predominant language of the home, the children in TWDL who had younger or older siblings quickly gravitated to using English in their day-to-day conversations at home and with peers in the communities in which they lived. This was not surprising to the participants as they fully acknowledged that English was all around their children via music, movies, television shows, and at places they frequented in their communities. For many of the participants, the challenge to preserve their children's Spanish created an urgency to ensure schools and teachers were following the Spanish components of the TWDL program. Participants were aware of the subjects taught in Spanish and some were critical if the

homework was not in Spanish, or they supplemented homework with their own demand to use Spanish. For example, as noted in Chapter 4, Adriana spoke of requiring her children to complete their 30-minute reading assignment by reading 15 minutes in Spanish and 15 minutes in English at home. This decision was driven by her worry that her children would not have enough Spanish reading.

Benefits of TWDL. When I asked participants why they supported their children as bilinguals, 100% (n = 7) of the Latinx participants shared personal stories of instances when their children, through their ability to speak and understand Spanish, were able to connect to extended family. These family connections often crossed geographic boundaries, as some of the participants' extended families lived in Mexico or South America and the participants shared stories of visits. Although economic and academic benefits were mentioned by the participants, the majority of the testimonies included an appreciation by their own children for the preservation of their Latinx roots and traditions in order to better understand themselves, others unlike them, and their extended families. For the non-Latinx mothers, there was a consensus that being bilingual opened spaces for diverse relationships that would otherwise not exist without Spanish.

The choice to have a child participate in TWDL was a personal decision for these mothers. They shared high levels of commitment and they saw bilingualism *as a way of being* for their children rather than bilingualism as simply a set of acquired skills. Data from the interviews showed attitudes and views about children's language learning were shaped by the family members' personal journeys and struggles. These life stories shaped what family members wanted to pass on to their children with regard to language learning. For some participants, their belief in language as a connector was a result of

their own understandings about their learning in schools as children. Four of the 10 participants shared examples of the disconnect among Spanish speakers and English speakers socially and academically in their high schools. All participants saw TWDL as paving a different path for their children that would allow them to move freely among different language groups and places in the world and provide a way to relate to people of other languages as well as of varying racial and ethnic backgrounds.

This new perspective of Spanish as a benefit was a counternarrative to Spanish as a deficit for these mothers. My data analysis from the voices of the 10 participants in TWDL, backed by an extensive literature review surrounding TWDL, revealed a shift in the premise that Spanish is a deficit language in U.S. school settings (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Cortina et al., 2015; Cummins, 2000; Escamilla et al., 2014). All the non-Latinx parents saw the social and relational benefits for their children as bilinguals before seeing an economic benefit. The evolving role of family members in schools was also highlighted in Chapter 2 and connects to the data analysis that supports the counternarrative these families created during this TWDL journey. They contradicted much of the literature that pointed to a disconnect or lack of participation among families of minority language or race in a large urban school system (Epstein, 1992, 2010; Flores, 2016; Gándara et al., 2005).

School connection. A fourth major theme in the analysis of the data was the common experience among the mothers about how TWDL created spaces in their schools where they could connect with others. All participants gave examples of how their children were learning alongside children whose languages and racial/ethnic backgrounds were different from their own, and how this was a value for everyone. In addition, many

participants compared how diverse the learning environments were for their children to the learning environments when they were students. All three native English-speaking mothers pointed to TWDL as a way for their children to learn alongside children with whom they would otherwise never learn, and noted this contributed to the sense of community they wanted for their children. Teachers and principals were also mentioned by all participants as school staff who played a vital role in connecting parents to each other and advocating for TWDL. The principal was consistently noted as one who was instrumental in supporting the bilingual culture of the school. Some school websites significantly highlighted TWDL and included a principal's message about bilingualism. These efforts were interpreted by the participants as a reflection of principals who were dedicated to TWDL and, correspondingly, schools with strong TWDL programs. Participants also shared the unique connections made between families who were English native speakers and those who were Spanish native speakers. Participants shared how they would not have otherwise connected with families who did not speak their language or look like them if not for their children learning side-by-side with these students. The connections among culturally and linguistically diverse families were a result of TWDL bringing their children together in one place to learn each other's languages.

Key Findings

I have presented the results of the study and now explore what they mean and emphasize why the findings matter. My intent was to describe the essence of how these parents experienced their children's bilingual learning journeys, and also to capture the commitment and buy-in by these mothers who might have been left unengaged by an English-only or fast track to English program. The bilingual programs based on the

expectation that children will quickly reach English proficiency were defined in the literature review as transitional and ESL programs and have existed far longer than TWDL (Collier, 1992; Cummins, 2000; Murphy, 2014). TWDL education stands in stark resistance to English-only hegemony as noted in the literature review and as reflected in the themes derived from the interviews with the participants in my study.

Recognition and value of the Spanish language. The idea of Spanish as a deficit in schools has existed since the 1880s nationally in the United States, as well as in Texas. It was chronicled in my literature review that children of Mexican descent were immersed in English-only environments with the goal of erasing their Spanish language for the purposes of assimilation (Bybee et al., 2014; Collier & Thomas, 2012; García, 2011; Havighurst, 1978; Ovando, 2003; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010; Valenzuela, 2010). The literature review also highlighted the social and political attitudes that grounded legislation that forced U.S. schools to open their doors to children who were considered non-White and non-English language speakers (Allsup, 2018; Blanton, 2005; Bybee et al., 2014; Chin et al., 2013; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). The sad reality is that linguistically and racially/ethnically diverse families, like those represented by the mothers in my study, continue to face the challenge of finding and keeping Spanish alive for their children.

As shown in my study, some of the Latinx mothers believed their Spanish-speaking children walked into the doors of school buildings with an asset, a resource that was quickly stripped away when they did not have any other choice but to place their children in the transitional bilingual model or the English-only model their neighborhood schools offered. There were also the mothers of the already bilingual children from

Latinx families who were often not included in TWDL programs as they entered PK because the children were screened as having English proficiency at 4 years old. The agency of the participants in my study challenged subtractive bilingual education and English-only education for Latinx children (Valenzuela, 2010).

According to studied TWDL models (also in my literature review), schools in which TWDL programs are implemented with a higher or equal amount of Spanish instruction showed higher academic outcomes for students, both on English and Spanish assessments (Collier & Thomas, 2014; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010; Reardon & Umansky, 2014). The need for this purposeful language design of TWDL was reinforced by the stories the mothers in my study shared and the literature that noted the abundance of English surrounding children inside and outside of schools in the United States (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Collier & Thomas, 2012; Escamilla et al., 2014; García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017). Beeman and Urow (2013) noted being a balanced bilingual is a rare commodity and could be a journey for a lifetime. Therefore, using the "target" language, in the case of this study, Spanish, in abundance at the beginning of the learning journey (PK–Grade 2) and then continuing with a minimum of 50% Spanish and 50% English through the fifth grade is the key for biliterate competence (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Collier & Thomas, 2012; Escamilla et al., 2014; Marian et al., 2013; Palmer et al., 2016; Palmer et al., 2014).

There was evidence, as expressed by these mothers, of the overwhelming amount of English outside of school via television shows, music on the radio, movies at the theater, and books in the book stores and neighborhood libraries—all in English—that left children with little opportunity, outside of the home, to use and practice their

Spanish. TWDL flipped the narrative that Spanish is a deficit that needs to be solved. The schools that implemented TWDL also sent the message to families, children, and staff that monolingualism was not the preferred method of education. This can be very intimidating to school staff who are monolingual themselves and it can also challenge them to reflect on their own biases surrounding language and teaching (Chin et al., 2013; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cummins, 2000; Gándara et al., 2005; Palmer et al., 2014; G. M. Rodriguez, 2013). This finding relates closely to my theoretical framework about the connections and trust needed in order to reach true learning for children. Language serves as the core to secure dialogue and build the relationships that are so necessary in the learning journeys of all children (Epstein, 2010; García, 2011; Gold et al., 2002; Gonzalez et al., 2005; Noddings, 2011, 2013, 2015). Schools that do not implement systemic systems of support for Spanish-speaking parents create a barrier to their voices and their support of their children's learning journeys because these parents cannot understand and communicate with school staff about their children (García, 2011; Howard et al., 2018; G. R. López, 2003; M. M. López, 2013).

A tool for diversity. Findings from this study show how TWDL can be used as a tool to integrate children from diverse neighborhoods and linguistic homes from the start of their learning journey. The Latinx population has increased over 300% since my arrival to the United States in 1974 and by 2025, it is projected that one in four children entering U.S. schools will be Latinx (Budiman, 2020; Krogstad, 2020). Unfortunately, the data also show Latinx populations in the United States often live in neighborhoods comprising individuals of the same race and socioeconomic status, meaning the schools assigned to these neighborhoods can also be segregated by race, ethnicity, language, and

class (Budiman, 2020; Ovando, 2013; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010; U.S. Department of Education, 2017). The increase in Latinx Spanish-speaking families has resulted in the expansion of TWDL. These families enter public schools at high rates and demand that their children's native language be developed alongside learning English (Gándara, 2018; Krogstad, 2020).

Therefore, TWDL can be a vehicle for families who want to pass on the Spanish language to their own children and can serve to connect children, families, and neighborhoods who speak different languages and come from varying cultural backgrounds. Six of the 10 participants in my study were steadfast in their decision to drive their children to schools further away than the schools in their own neighborhoods because they wanted TWDL education for their children. As the mothers of School 4 shared, the gentrification of their neighborhood affected their school and the TWDL experiences of the children and the teachers. The Spanish native speakers could not afford to live around the school, leaving a majority of English-speaking children in the program. As the literature reflects (Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; Beeman & Urow, 2013; Butvilofsky et al., 2017; Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Cortina et al., 2015), TWDL classrooms can be spaces for the authentic and natural use of language, like in the student's home. School leaders can take a great opportunity to assign school projects or assignments that also engage families of children to help elevate the value of Spanish for the children who may be resisting its use. This is also a way to have different families learn from each other and share the traditions and nuances of their home languages with one another. Like the mothers in my study experienced, TWDL connected different families to each other, as did the research that pointed to the discontinuation of separating

children and families by language in TWDL schools (Collier & Thomas, 2004, 2012, 2014; Cortina et al., 2015; Howard et al., 2018). This key finding also connects to my framework that a child learner must be nestled in the connecting spheres of community, home, and school—each valuing and respecting the norms, traditions, and values of each other (Epstein, 2005, 2010). My study results and the research cited in Chapter 2 support that TWDL helps promote diversity, inclusivity, and acceptance of all learners (Butvilofsky et al., 2017; Cummins, 2000; Howard et al., 2018; Kim et al., 2014; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010).

Workforce demand for bilingualism. The increase in the Latinx and Spanish-speaking population will also affect the demands of the needed workforce. The Latinx population has increased by 52% from 2010–2019, higher than any other ethnicity, and is projected to continue to increase nationally (Krogstad, 2020). There were practical reasons to which I can attest, based on my former perspective as Elementary Bilingual Education Assistant Director, as to why TWDL could not be offered at every elementary school in the school district in which I worked. One barrier to growing the TWDL programs was the lack of available bilingual teachers to fill the required positions of a large urban district. The participants in the study were actively searching for programs that were not available in their neighborhood schools because of the lack of bilingual teachers in this district. In addition, the TWDL program requires teachers to have a higher standard of Spanish proficiency, meaning they need to be biliterate and have the ability to read and write, not just speak, Spanish or the other language in the model (Collier, 1992; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Palmer et al., 2016; Palmer et al., 2014). In the school where I was principal, I would open every school year with a vacancy in a

bilingual classroom. Finding bilingual teachers was so complex that the district would recruit up to 20 teachers from Spain to work as exchange teachers because the bilingual jobs could not be filled locally. This practice has continued in the district for over 10 years. The challenge to securing bilingual teachers was an issue confirmed in my literature review by those in the field who noted the challenges to recruiting and maintaining quality TWDL teachers across the United States (Gándara, 2018; García, 2011; Palmer et al., 2014). But again, if we do not have the programs that graduate children from high school as bilingual and biliterate, the positions for these needed teachers will remain unfilled. Hence, why this study's findings are significant in that they reiterate the value and need for more TWDL programs; which, in turn, will allow us to fill the gap of a needed bilingual workforce.

During the study interviews, Tanisa and Adriana were clear in challenging the notion that this teacher shortage will never go away unless we graduate biliterate children from TWDL. Perhaps all schools in the district could offer TWDL so families would not have to drive their children to other neighborhoods if the teacher gap did not exist. There are implications of not increasing TWDL programs not just for schools, but for the economy as well. The need for employees to be bilingual is evident in the medical field, the legal field, and careers that provide service to diverse language groups of people (Gándara, 2018). In a study conducted in California, the top employing industries responded to the question of whether bilingual applicants would experience a hiring advantage in different fields of work. All of the respondents from the job industries in the study stated there would be a bilingual advantage to securing jobs in the fields for

which they were hiring. The industry jobs that held the top advantages for bilingual applicants included:

- Management, administrative, and support (100% answered yes/maybe)
- Retail (85% answered yes/maybe)
- Health care and social services (81% answered yes/maybe; Gándara, 2018)

Some of the mothers in my study spoke to the benefit of being bilingual in terms of opening up more and better careers and jobs for their children. Perhaps it was not something noted by the majority of the participants because of the young age of their children during the time of the study. However, I want to note this as a key finding because the need for bilingual teachers affected the need for more TWDL programs that these mothers were seeking. It is tied to a greater implication that unless we increase the number of bilingual teachers, we will not graduate bilingual children. I address ways to think about policies related to staffing TWDL later in this chapter.

School principal as a bilingual advocate. The data illuminated the connections these mothers made with other family members and also with staff members in their schools. Many of the participants specifically named their school principal as a key person who supported or lacked active support for bilingualism and the TWDL program at their schools. During the group interview, the mothers had an abundance of reactions surrounding how the principal of the school supported multilingualism and how the principals (who could) modeled Spanish during events, meetings, and on the school websites. The literature also showed that unlike other content areas in school (e.g., math or reading), TWDL can evoke a very positive or negative reaction by individuals based on their own ideology and political stance around language (Butvilofsky et al., 2017;

Murphy, 2014; Palmer et al., 2016; Reardon & Umansky, 2014; R. Rodriguez, 2010). The literature framed bilingual education within a sociopolitical landscape because of its association with immigration patterns, laws, and politics (Allsup, 2018; Blanton, 2005; Bybee et al., 2014; Chin et al., 2013; G. López & Bialik, 2017; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). Therefore, district and school leaders must balance the views of a diverse and often complex system of ideals with the views families may hold about race and language. School principals have a great opportunity when implementing TWDL to leverage the motivation and enthusiasm that many families, like my participants, hold. This commitment to TWDL and to language learning is one key way to engage these families from the inception of their children's education journeys. These same families can be the ambassadors and motivators for other families who may be misinformed or have negative information about TWDL at the school. The literature shows culturally relevant school leadership influences the implementation of bilingual programs and the messages teachers and families receive and believe (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014; Khalifa et al., 2016; Lucas & Villegas, 2011; Valenzuela, 2016). Mapp and Kuttner (2013) shared the overwhelming data in their work throughout U.S. school districts that the principal of a campus sets the tone for all things, including policies and procedures, that can result in family engagement or family exclusion. In addition to studies of schools that included families in community organizing efforts, these efforts were led and supported by the campus principals in all schools that participated in the community tools learned (Mediratta & Fruchter, 2001; Mediratta et al., 2009). The studies in my literature review, along with the stories shared by the mothers in the study, supported the importance of the Spanish language being the mode of engagement, thus

providing for authentic and collaborative two-way conversation among staff and families in Spanish (Epstein, 1992, 2010; Khalifa et al., 2016; García & Kleifgen, 2010; M. M. López, 2013; Lucas & Villegas, 2011; Mapp & Kuttner, 2013).

Mothers' caring as a potent force for school advocacy. My encounter with these 10 mothers began with their strong convictions about the education of their children. This strong value in education crossed socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, or language spoken by the participants. The tenacity and grit these mothers had for TWDL and their own children can be leveraged by school staff for broader reforms and caring systems change for their schools. Early on in my encounters with these mothers, it became evident they cared deeply for their children's language maintenance and learning. I connect the kind of caring the participants shared with me through their stories to my theoretical framework. Noddings (2002) explored caring further:

> By "natural" [caring] I mean a form of caring that arises more or less spontaneously out of affection or inclination. . . . [it] arises directly in response to the needs of the cared-for. No mediating ethical-logical deliberation is required. (p. 29)

Noddings continued by noting ethical caring elevates natural caring to an "I must" level (p. 30). The majority of the mothers in my study had an urgency of care about their children's language learning that fueled their agency toward finding and supporting TWDL. This type of conviction may or may not have been possible to demonstrate if schools were to just operate in a monolithic language system. Therefore, TWDL can be leveraged to recruit family members with similar aspirations for their children to remain or become bilingual in order to engage them in schools in ways that expand this support.

This connects to the research I included in Chapter 2 that indicated families are key to increased academic success for their children—in whatever educational program they participate (Epstein, 2010; Mapp & Kuttner, 2013). The motivation that drove these mothers to actively pursue TWDL for their children can be leveraged to invite them to leadership and engaging spaces for supporting their own and other children on the campus. The literature points to the challenges school staff often face in attempting to create spaces and systems in schools that support the authentic engagement of families (Epstein, 2010; Mapp & Kuttner, 2013). During the interviews, many of these mothers, even those who spoke only Spanish, shared ways they participated in school meetings and classroom events to continue to support their emerging bilingual children. Jennifer understood a letter writing campaign that introduced TWDL was a key to growing the enrollment of her school because it was such a popular program in nearby schools and her school did not have the program model. Wilma shared that if TWDL were taken out of her school by the principal, she would organize other parents to remove the principal. Adriana shared her awareness of how the Spanish-speaking only community at her school grew in their presence inside the school when her administrator mirrored their language and ethnicity. Whitney, a mother from School 4, rallied for the affordable housing around her school to remain so the Spanish-speaking families living in the housing complex would not be forced to move into another neighborhood. These mothers recognized the power structures, other than language learning, found inside and outside their schools that positively and negatively affected families and children.

Implications for Practice, Policy, and Future Research

My last research question directly addressed: How can the perspectives of families of children in TWDL regarding language learning inform school practice, policy, and research? Implications are those ideas that were not directly stated but that I was able to glean from the data analysis of these family members' experiences with TWDL. School practice and policy should be informed by all stakeholders, teachers, school staff, and families.

Implications for practice. In my 28 years serving as a teacher, principal, and district leader, I have experienced the conflicting messages given to schools about how to produce academic results for all the children who walk in and out of their doors. Mandates given to schools surrounding instruction, staffing, management, finances, and more can often be in contradiction to one another. One group of mandates may insist on one thing while another department directs something totally different. Sometimes policies and practices can be welcomed or rejected by members of the same school community and can be clearly understood or confusing to navigate for campus leaders. TWDL, as the literature showed, can be one of these program models that may come with many mixed elements to sort through, such as what to call the bilingual program and why, and who gets to participate in the program and how (Adair, 2015; Beeman & Urow, 2013; Blanton, 2005; Boyle et al., 2015; Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Collier & Thomas, 2012). The clarity of purpose and outcomes for all stakeholders, including children and families, teachers, principals, and district leaders, needs to be examined and reexamined often during the implementation of TWDL. Unfortunately, not all families in TWDL will enter the doorways of our schools with the passion and support the mothers in my study

offered their children and schools. As noted in their sharing, because language ideology can differ from teacher to teacher and family member to family member, constant and steady dialogue must be practiced by all stakeholders.

For children and families. The 10 diverse mothers in my study all sought or chose and supported TWDL for their children. Their challenges and successes were captured in real stories about their journeys, and they shared much in common as they saw language as a connector and an asset for their children. Based on my learnings from this study and the literature of bilingual education, families need each other in order to participate and face the challenges that come with language learning. Families need to challenge school staff to create ongoing learning sessions where families can interact and learn ways to support their TWDL learners. These learning spaces for families, just like the children in TWDL, need to always honor Spanish—the minority language—because English will always dominate in U.S. schools and society (Cortina et al., 2015; Cummins, 2000; Flores, 2016; García, 2011). Therefore, families must continue to advocate for systems that educate their children—from demanding that school leaders implement additive bilingual models to expecting that they hire and fund teachers to perform the hard work needed for children to graduate as biliterate learners.

For teachers. The level of Spanish skills needed to be a TWDL teacher may be considered by some teachers to be challenging to meet, especially in upper grades where students are reading and writing Spanish at higher academic levels. Teachers raised and educated in the United States in transitional bilingual or ESL programs did not develop their Spanish in school and they must work hard to regain their reading and writing skills in Spanish—as I have had to do. The teacher candidates needed for DL programs must

have a high level of proficiency in reading and writing Spanish. School districts across the nation face this staffing challenge and will continue to do so if school leaders do not implement bilingual programs with the goal of biliteracy (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Palmer et al., 2016). Teachers need support along the way as they work to improve and continue their own journeys as emerging bilinguals. Exchange or summer programs that are geared toward teachers practicing and immersing themselves in the Spanish language can be advertised or supported by school districts to assist teachers in improving their language skills. In order to support the gaps found in hiring bilingual teachers, district leaders can implement 50-50 programs in the upper grades of elementary school where half of the day is taught by an English-speaking teacher and half of the day is taught by a Spanish-speaking teacher (Collier, 1992; Collier & Thomas, 2004, 2012). These two teacher models require extensive planning and working together by the two cooperating teachers and should therefore result in stipends or some form of incentive pay. The flexibility in staffing for TWDL has the potential to assist in combating the gaps that may be present when bilingual teachers are hard to find. The mothers in my study were keenly aware of the teachers from Spain their children had and the value they brought to the program. They were also aware of the challenges faced when the teacher did not have a strong grasp of Spanish. Families, like these mothers, can be an immense source of untapped support for teachers who are struggling with Spanish proficiency. Inviting native Spanish-speaking family members to participate in the classroom can bring needed or additional native, authentic language into the classroom for children participating in TWDL.

For school principals. Principal preparation programs may or may not include courses or books about ways to engage families in schools. The studies and articles in my literature review noted the different roles family members have played from the inception of what we know as public education. The literature review also affirmed that non-English-speaking families can be excluded from participating in their schools because school staff do not speak their language and systems in the schools are not clearly understood by these families (Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; García, 2011; Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006; Valdés, 2006). Valdés (2006) cautioned practitioners of DL of the exclusion of minoritized children in the program due to the access of the dominant English-speaking families who understand the U.S. school system and can access them more readily to enroll in the program, thus leaving no space for the ELs the program was designed to serve. The deficit thinking toward families, especially those that are the most marginalized, displayed by teachers and staff members in schools is one common root cause for the inability of families to participate in schools as decision makers and partners—they are simply not invited to do so (Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; Epstein, 2002; Gonzalez et al., 1995, 2005; M. M. López, 2013; Mapp & Kuttner, 2013; Norton, 2005; Valenzuela, 2010). As noted by the literature and the participants of my study, the principal matters greatly in setting the culture of inclusivity in the schools they lead (García & Kleifgen, 2010; M. M. López, 2013; Lucas & Villegas, 2011; Mapp & Kuttner, 2013; Valenzuela, 2016). They model the behavior and are mimicked by front office staff, the custodians, and every single staff member of the school as they interact with family members. Valenzuela (2016) stated a school principal who is sensitive to the needs of the community inside and outside the school is "a voice that

courageously and intelligently stands up against injustice and does so from a culturally and community-anchored standpoint" (p. 5).

In addition, the strength of the TWDL program in a school weighs heavily on the principal's understanding of these types of program (Collier & Thomas, 2014). As a practicing principal, I had to relearn what I had learned about bilingual education in the 1990s. When I taught at the elementary level, I learned Spanish was used to achieve the learning of English. I learned, from the trainings I attended, that getting children to English quickly was the key to success and I did not instruct any Latinx child in my classroom in Spanish, with the exception of children who had just arrived in the United States from Spanish-speaking countries. I taught third through fifth graders with the transitional bilingual model—this was the model leaders of my school district expected me to use. Bilingual education has evolved since my teaching days in the 1990s and campus principals have a responsibility to learn the current pedagogy as it relates to bilingual education. Teachers look to their principals for the updates, the upgrades, the latest and greatest in the field. Unfortunately, principals are caught in an accountability system that is English skills focused and may not afford them the autonomy to promote long-term academic success—instead short-term results are the name of the game. I believe leadership means speaking up and out—leveraging community advocates to think together and figure out the challenges a principal alone cannot possibly solve. The mothers in my study were language advocates who can have a seat at the table when determining TWDL program adjustments or changes. They saw firsthand how their children acquired Spanish and English. They have much data to offer a principal for decision making. The research also revealed the importance for campus leaders to take

the time to hold ongoing planning sessions with teachers and family members about TWDL intentions and together create a "powerful vision of student success" that everyone can stand behind (Collier & Thomas, 2014, p. xiv; see also Howard et al., 2018; Palmer et al., 2016).

For district leaders. The Central Texas ISD in my study has written district policy about DL programming to support school implementation, but even then, continued support and guidance are necessary for school leaders to implement TWDL at the local level. District leaders have the enormous responsibilities of setting policies for curriculum and assessment standards and hiring and training principals. It is the responsibly of these leaders to "name, interrogate and transform" myths surrounding bilingual learners (Valenzuela, 2016, p. 43). District leaders, especially those writing curriculum for teachers who are teaching in a TWDL model, must differentiate the monolingual English standards, skills, and practices from those used in TWDL classrooms (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Howard et al., 2018; Palmer et al., 2016; Palmer et al., 2014). District leaders must examine already popular learning pathways and programs, such as science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM), project based learning (PBL), and social emotional learning (SEL), and examine the linguistic and culturally proficient norms and outcomes of these programs. Are these learning spaces embedded in diverse and understandable contexts to which all children and their families can relate? District leadership has the opportunity to leverage TWDL programs as a place to address a different social paradigm that elevates marginalized children rather than assimilates them to their English-speaking peers.

***For communication practices*.** School connections were made by the participants of my study through communication between home and school. Communication practices are vital to the relationships people develop with one another and are at the core of sociocultural learning—learning with others (Vygotsky, 1978). My study participants shared multiple examples of ways they navigated the messages about language learning they received. Their stories included communication they received from school staff that was clearly supportive of TWDL, whereas other examples seemed unclear and created mistrust among the participants and school staff. I also examined each school's website to determine what messages were sent more broadly to parents of each school or the greater community about TWDL.

School staff have the opportunity to use school events, meetings, and websites to showcase the benefits of being bilingual and of the TWDL programs that are housed in their schools. The majority of the participants in my study had schools with leaders who had worked to maximize the use of these avenues in order to recruit and support their TWDL families. The schools all offered TWDL through fifth grade, which showed a commitment to the model. A few schools had not updated or used their campus websites to their full potential in comparison to others. For example, schools where the principal had made a statement about bilingual learners on the website were also the schools were the participants shared that the principal was the cheerleader for TWDL. Social media is a powerful tool in today's world and a free way for school leaders to promote their students, families, and programs. Though TWDL was highly supported by my participants, ongoing public communication and a recommitment to bilingualism by

school staff and even through testimonies of families and students can be an effective way to sustain TWDL over time.

Implications for policy. A possible negative implication for TWDL can be that the program becomes overwhelmed by people with privilege who are interested in multilingualism as an asset for their children. Therefore, TWDL lacks room for Spanish native speakers or children who receive free or reduced lunch to participate (Calderón & Carreon, 2000; Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017). It is essential that those planning for TWDL at the district and policy levels clarify who TWDL has been created to serve and why. Once this purpose is established, a balance of the students enrolling in the program must also be monitored. A policy stating enrollment in a TWDL classroom requires that as close to 50% of the children are ELs would serve as a strong message to ground the program for those it was intended to serve, ELs. This would also honor the assets Latinx families, often marginalized ones, bring to the program. For students this means there are authentic Spanish language models who dominate the classroom conversation.

Another district or school policy that could potentially influence the quality and longevity of TWDL programs is one that contains the expectation that students continue participating through the middle and high school levels. During the group interview, all five mothers were committed to keeping their children in TWDL for as long as possible. The literature review included a discussion of key studies that showed the long-term positive effects of allowing children to continue their DL journeys past the elementary level (Collier & Thomas, 2012, 2014; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010; Reardon & Umansky, 2014).

Implications for future research. My intent in conducting this study was to highlight the voices of mothers whose children were participating in TWDL in a Central Texas ISD. These mothers shared stories about how they committed to their decisions to ensure their children became or remained bilingual. According to my literature review and the findings of my study, some areas of additional research include chronicling best practices used by school principals in developing and sustaining TWDL over time, and examining the experiences of children with dyslexia or other learning disabilities who are participating in TWDL programs. There is also a gap in studies that include fathers' voices or those of families who had to discontinue TWDL. I have experienced different decisions made by different schools and teachers pertaining to whether to discontinue TWDL for children diagnosed with dyslexia. Families are often left confused about ways to support their child's bilingual trajectory and get needed support for dyslexia at the same time.

Conclusions

TWDL programs produced a deep and enthusiastic level of commitment and engagement from the mothers in my study. They searched for and supported an education where their children would simultaneously learn Spanish and English. Latinx family members considered their home language as a foundation to a more expansive view of themselves and the world. Systems, however, continue to exist that push back—English hegemony, traditional views of language used in schools, traditional views of language used by family members, lack of sufficiently bilingual teachers, rigidity in language learning experiences, fears of testing, and questions such as, what does it mean to be American? My study showed these mothers were aware of some of these issues,

yet remained committed to TWDL because of the potential benefits offered to their children, their families, and even to themselves.

During my study, I reflected often about my own struggles to maintain and improve my Spanish and my English. English immersion did give me the basic speaking and reading skills to get me through an early education, but by no means prepared me for the rigor in either language, as I discovered in high school and college. Many would say a first-generation immigrant should be grateful to get an education and that the basics are what public education guarantees for all learners. Supporters of TWDL reject this ideology. Bilingual children are worth investing in as they will become the bilingual citizens of a multilingual world.

My parents were my first teachers and they taught me in Spanish. All of the mothers in my study were steadfast in their conviction that their contributions and support of their young children were valuable. Therefore, whatever learning these children have acquired from their homes—in whatever language—is valuable. These mothers also taught me that their voices matter and will continue to matter for their children. I am hopeful that their voices will be heard.

APPENDIX SECTION

APPENDIX A

IRB Approval Letter

In future correspondence please refer to 5874

October 19, 2018

Claudia Santamaria Kramer
Texas State University
601 University Drive.
San Marcos, TX 78666

Dear Claudia:

Your IRB application titled "Family Voices in Two Way Dual Language Education" was reviewed and approved by the Texas State University IRB. It has been determined that risks to subjects are: (1) minimized and reasonable; and that (2) research procedures are consistent with a sound research design and do not expose the subjects to unnecessary risk. Reviewers determined that: (1) benefits to subjects are considered along with the importance of the topic and that outcomes are reasonable; (2) selection of subjects is equitable; and (3) the purposes of the research and the research setting is amenable to subjects' welfare and producing desired outcomes; that indications of coercion or prejudice are absent, and that participation is clearly voluntary.

1. In addition, the IRB found that you need to orient participants as follows: (1) Informed consent is required; (2) Provision is made for collecting, using and storing data in a manner that protects the safety and privacy of the subjects and the confidentiality of the data; (3) Appropriate safeguards are included to protect the rights and welfare of the subjects. (4) Compensation will not be provided for participation.

This project is therefore approved at the Exempt Review Level

2. Please note that the institution is not responsible for any actions regarding this protocol before approval. If you expand the project at a later date to use other instruments, please re-apply. Copies of your request for human subjects review, your application, and this approval, are maintained in the Office of Research Integrity and Compliance.

Report any changes to this approved protocol to this office. All unanticipated events and adverse events are to be reported to the IRB within 3 days.

Sincerely,

Monica Gonzales
IRB Regulatory Manager
Office of Research Integrity and Compliance

CC: Dr. Melissa Martinez

Office of the Associate Vice President for Research
601 University Drive | JCK #489 | San Marcos, Texas 78666-4616
Phone 512.245.2314 | fax 512.245.3847 | WWW.TXSTATE.EDU

This letter is an electronic communication from Texas State University-San Marcos, a member of The Texas State University System.

APPENDIX B

Individual Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol: Family Voices in Two Way Dual Language Education.

Time of interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Position of interviewee:

This project seeks to describe the lived experiences of families whose children are enrolled in Two Way Dual Language Education at the Elementary level.

Questions (English):

1. How did you find out about TWDL?
   a. Why did you enroll your child in TWDL/
   b. What do you know about TWDL?

2. What languages are spoken in your home?
   a. How did you learn this language or languages?

3. Why do you want your child in TWDL
   a. How long will you keep him/her in TWDL? Why?

4. How do you know how he/she is doing in TWDL?
   1. How do you help him/her at home?
   2. Tell me more about the struggles he/she has.
   3. Tell me more about the growth you have seen in his/her language acquisition.

5. Describe how you contribute to or influence (support) the journey of your child?
   a. Tell me more about others who contribute.
   b. Does anyone not want your child in TWDL? Why?

6. What do you want to pass on to your children in regards to language?

7. How do you see bilingualism play out in your home and in school?

8. Can you tell me a memorable experience with your child around his/her language learning?
    a. About his/her TWDL journey?

9. Have all your children participated in TWDL?
    a. If others did not, and they are older, do you see differences in the learning of your child in TWDL and them?

10. What would you do if TWDL was discontinued in your school?

Questions (Spanish):

1. ¿Cómo se enteró usted del programa TWDL?
    a. ¿Por qué inscribió a su hijo en TWDL?
    b. ¿Qué sabe acerca de TWDL? (como supe usted de este programa?)

2. ¿Qué idiomas se hablan en tu hogar?
    a. ¿Cómo aprendiste este idioma o idiomas?

3. ¿Por qué quiere que su hijo esté en TWDL?
    a. ¿Cuánto tiempo lo mantendrá en TWDL? ¿Por qué?

4. ¿Cómo sabes cómo está él / ella en TWDL?
    a. ¿Cómo le ayuda en casa?
    b. Cuénteme más sobre las luchas/desafios que tiene.
    c. Cuénteme más sobre el crecimiento que ha visto en su adquisición del lenguaje.

5. Describa cómo contribuye o influye (apoya) en el viaje de su hijo.
    a. Cuénteme más sobre otros que contribuyen.
    b. ¿Alguien no quiere que su hijo esté en TWDL? ¿Por qué?

6. ¿Qué quiere transmitir a tus hijos en cuanto al lenguaje?

7. ¿Cómo ve el bilingüismo en tu hogar y en la escuela?

8. ¿Me puede contar una experiencia memorable con su hijo sobre su aprendizaje de idiomas?
    a. ¿Sobre su viaje TWDL?

9. ¿Han participado todos sus hijos en TWDL?
    a. Si otros no lo hicieron, y son mayores, ¿Ve diferencias en el aprendizaje de su hijo en TWDL y en ellos?

10. ¿Qué harías si se suspendieran TWDL en su escuela?

APPENDIX C

Focus Group Protocol

Interview Protocol: Family Voices in Two Way Dual Language Education.
Time of start and ending of interview:
Date:
Place:
Interviewer:
Interviewees:
1….
Position of interviewee:

This project seeks to describe the lived experiences of families whose children are enrolled in Two Way Dual Language Education at the Elementary level. I want to suggest that we give everyone a chance to speak, and of course you don't have to answer if you would prefer not to. I'd also like us to respect each other's' perspectives and agree that what we say here will remain confidential and not discussed with others outside this group.

Questions (English):

1. Can everyone introduce themselves by name, what school your children attend, etc.?

2. As all of you have children in TWDL, please share why you want your child to be bilingual?

3. What are your views and experiences about how your child is learning two languages?
   a. How do you view your child's learning languages?
   b. What messages have you received about your child's language learning?

4. How does your school support TWDL?
   a. How do you know?
   b. In what ways do you know this?

5. How are both languages represented in your school?
   a. your child's classroom?
   b. with your child's teacher (s) and other staff in the school?
   c. What are some examples?

6. Do you feel comfortable in your school?
   a. Do you feel you have a say in how the TWDL is being run?

7. What would you keep and change about TWDL?

8. Is this your home school or did you transfer into this school?
    a. If you transferred, why did you transfer to this school?

Preguntas:

1. ¿Su escuela apoya Lenguaje Dual Bidireccional?
    a. ¿Cómo lo sabe?
    b. ¿De qué maneras lo hacen?

2. ¿Cuáles son sus puntos de vista y experiencias sobre el aprendizaje de idiomas?
    a. ¿Cómo ve los idiomas de aprendizaje de su hijo?
    b. ¿Qué mensajes ha recibido sobre el aprendizaje de idiomas de su hijo?

3. ¿Cómo están representados los dos idiomas en su escuela?
    a. ¿El aula de su hijo?
    b. ¿Con el maestro (s) de su hijo?
    c. ¿Otro personal de la escuela?

4. ¿Ve y escucha ambos idiomas en la escuela?
    a. ¿En el aula de su hijo?
    b. ¿En su casa?
    c. ¿En su vecindad?

5. ¿Te sientes cómodo en tu escuela?

6. ¿Es esta su escuela en casa o se mudó a esta escuela?
    a. Si se transfirió, ¿porqué se transfirió a esta escuela?

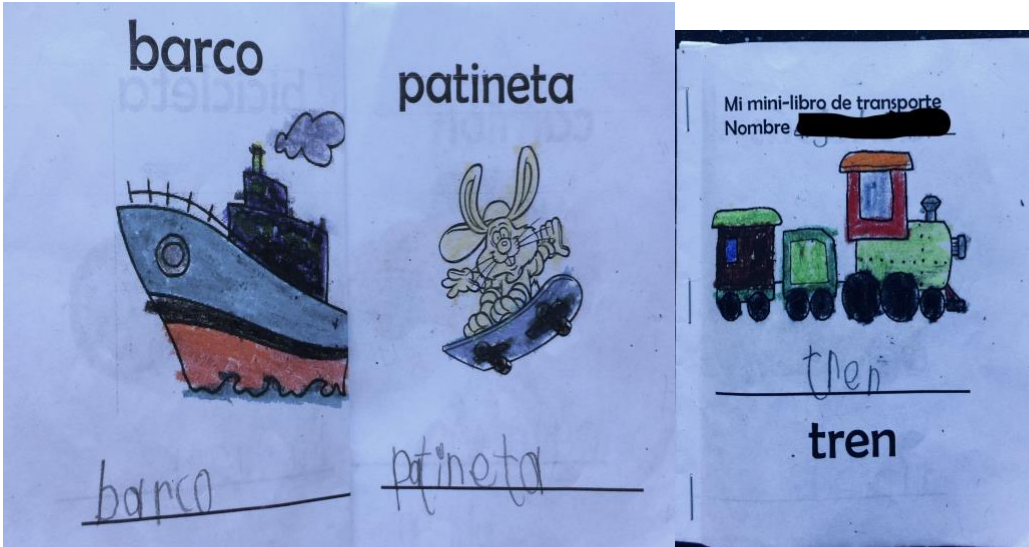
7. ¿Qué mantendría y cambiaría sobre lenguaje dual?

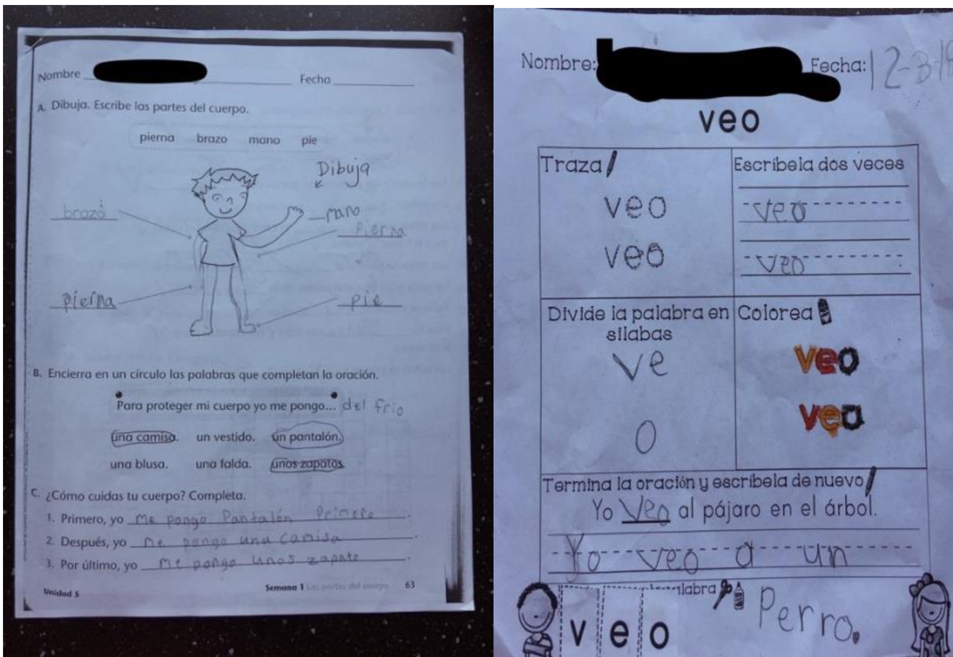
8. ¿Por qué quiere que su hija/o sea bilingüe?

APPENDIX D

Collection of Family Artifacts

Samples of student work





APPENDIX E

Consent Form (English)

Consent Form to Participate in Research

Title of Project: Family Voices in Two Way Dual Language Education

Principle Investigator: Claudia Kramer Santamaria
Email: ckramersantamaria@gmail.com
Phone: 512-922-9059

Faculty Advisor: Melissa A. Martinez, Ph.D.
Email: mm224@txstate.edu
Phone: 512-245-4587

This consent form will give you the information you will need to understand why this research study is being done and why you are being invited to participate. It will also describe what you will need to do to participate as well as any known risks, inconveniences or discomforts that you may have while participating. We encourage you to ask questions at any time. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and it will be a record of your agreement to participate. You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

PURPOSE:
You are being asked to be part of a research project. The study is about the experiences of legal guardians / caregivers / parents with children in the Spanish/English Two Way Dual Language (TWDL) programs. The goal of this study is to understand your views and experiences. This study will look at how you experience language and culture.

PROCEDURES:
If you volunteer, you will take part in 1-2 focus groups. They will take around 60 minutes. You will be asked to share your views and experiences with TWDL with other legal guardians / caregivers / parents. Questions include:

1) What memorable experiences have you had with your child and TWDL learning?
2) What do you want to pass on to your children in regards to language learning?
3) How do you see bilingualism play out in your home and in school?

You will also be asked to be part in 1-2 individual interviews. They will take around 60 minutes. You will be asked to share thoughts and examples about your dual language experiences. Examples include: school letters, student work, symbols, or other documents connected to dual language. All sessions will be audio-recorded.

You can also participate in an optional home observation along with or separate from the individual interview, which would take around 30-60 minutes. This would serve as a chance to observe your interactions in the home around two-way dual language learning.

RISKS:
You may become uncomfortable sharing unhappy experiences or memories. You do not have to respond to any question that you do not want to. There are no known risks with participating in this study.

BENEFITS:
You may not benefit from being in this research. This study may help educators understand how best to work with students and staff in two-way dual language.

COMPENSATION:
You will not be paid for taking part in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY:
Your name will never appear on survey or research form. Pseudonyms will be used to protect your privacy. No identifying information will be shared in the study. All materials and consent forms will be stored in a protected file. Your responses will be presented in written or oral form as a summary. Data will be shared only with the professor helping with this study. The researcher will keep materials for three years in a locked cabinet in her office. The audio files will be destroyed after getting professor feedback.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS:
A summary of the results of this research will be given to you, at no cost, if requested.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT:
I have read the above information and understand what is being asked of me. I also understand that my participation is voluntary. I may withdraw from the study at any time. Doing so will not hurt my standing with my school, the district, or Texas State University. I am willing to take part in this research project.

QUESTIONS:
If I have any concerns about participating in this study, I may call the researcher, Claudia Kramer Santamaria, at (512) 922-9059 or contact her faculty advisor Dr. Martinez, at (512)245-4587 or mm224@txstate.edu.

This project was approved by the Texas State IRB on [date]. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB Chair, Dr. Denise Gobert 512-245- 8351 – (dgobert@txstate.edu) or to Monica Gonzales, IRB Regulatory Manager 512- 245-2334 - (meg201@txstate.edu).

DOCUMENTATION OF CONSENT:
I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the project described above. Its general purposes, the particulars of involvement and possible risks have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand I can withdraw at any time.

______________________________ ____________
Participant's Signature Date

______________________________ _____________
Investigator's Signature Date

APPENDIX F

Consent Form (Spanish)

Formulario de Consentimiento para Participar en la Investigación

Título del proyecto: Voces familiares en la educación de lenguaje dual bidireccional.

Investigador principal: Claudia Kramer Santamaria
Correo electrónico: ckramersantamaria@gmail.com
Teléfono: 512-922-9059

Consejera docente: Melissa A. Martínez, PhD.
Correo electrónico: mm224@txstate.edu
Teléfono: 512-245-4587

Este formulario de consentimiento le proporcionará la información que necesitará para comprender por qué se realiza este estudio de investigación y por qué se le invita a participar. También describirá lo que deberá hacer para participar, así como los riesgos, inconvenientes o molestias conocidos que pueda tener al participar. Le animamos a hacer preguntas en cualquier momento. Si decide participar, se le pedirá que firme este formulario y será un registro de su acuerdo para participar. Se le entregará una copia de este formulario para que la conserve.

PROPÓSITO:
Se le pide que forme parte de un proyecto de investigación. El estudio trata sobre las experiencias de legales tutores/ cuidadores / padres con niños en los programas de Lenguaje Dual Bidireccional (LDB) en Español / Inglés. El objetivo de este estudio es comprender sus puntos de vista y experiencias. Este estudio analizará su experiencia con el lenguaje.

PROCEDIMIENTOS:
Si eres voluntario, participará en 1-2 grupos focales. Tomarán alrededor de 60 minutos. Se le pedirá que comparta sus opiniones y experiencias con LDB con otros tutores legales / cuidadores / padres. Las preguntas incluyen:

1) ¿Qué experiencias memorables ha tenido con su hijo y el aprendizaje de LDB?
2) ¿Qué desea transmitir a sus hijos en relación con el aprendizaje de idiomas?
3) ¿Cómo ves el bilingüismo en su hogar y en la escuela?

También se le pedirá que participe en 1-2 entrevistas individuales. Tomarán alrededor de 60 minutos. Se le pedirá que comparta pensamientos y ejemplos sobre sus experiencias de lenguaje dual. Los ejemplos incluyen: cartas escolares, trabajos de estudiantes, símbolos u otros documentos relacionados con el lenguaje dual. Todas las sesiones serán grabadas en audio.

También puede participar en una observación domiciliaria opcional junto con o por separado de la entrevista individual, lo que llevaría alrededor de 30 a 60 minutos. Esto serviría como una oportunidad para observar sus interacciones en el hogar en torno al aprendizaje bidireccional en dos idiomas.

RIESGOS:
Puede sentirse incómodo al compartir experiencias o recuerdos infelices. No tiene que responder a ninguna pregunta que no desee. No hay riesgos conocidos con la participación en este estudio.

BENEFICIOS:
Usted no puede beneficiarse de estar en esta investigación. Este estudio puede ayudar a los educadores a entender la mejor manera de trabajar con los estudiantes y el personal en dos idiomas.

COMPENSACIÓN:
No se le pagará por participar en este estudio.

CONFIDENCIALIDAD:
Su nombre nunca aparecerá en la encuesta o en el formulario de investigación. Se usarán seudónimos para proteger su privacidad. No se compartirá información de identificación en el estudio. Todos los materiales y formularios de consentimiento se almacenarán en un archivo protegido. Sus respuestas se presentarán en forma escrita u oral como resumen. Los datos serán compartidos solo con el profesor que ayuda con este estudio. El investigador guardará los materiales durante tres años en un gabinete cerrado con llave en su oficina. Los archivos de audio serán destruidos después de recibir comentarios del profesor.

RESUMEN DE RESULTADOS:
Se le entregará un resumen de los resultados de esta investigación, sin costo alguno, si lo solicita.

CONSENTIMIENTO VOLUNTARIO:
He leído la información anterior y entiendo lo que me piden. También entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria. Puedo retirarme del estudio en cualquier momento. Hacerlo no perjudicará mi posición con mi escuela, el distrito o la Universidad Texas State. Estoy dispuesto a participar en este proyecto de investigación.

PREGUNTAS:
Si tengo alguna inquietud sobre la participación en este estudio, puedo llamar a la investigadora, Claudia Kramer Santamaría, al (512) 922-9059 o contactar a la Dra. Martínez, asesora de su facultad, al (512)245-4587 o
mm224@ txstate.edu

Este proyecto fue aprobado por el IRB del estado de Texas el [fecha]. Las preguntas o inquietudes pertinentes sobre la investigación, los derechos de los participantes de la investigación y las lesiones relacionadas con la investigación de los participantes deben dirigirse a la presidenta de la IRB, Dra. Denise Gobert 512-245- 8351 - (dgobert@txstate.edu) o ha Mónica Gonzales, IRB Manager Regulatorio 512-245-2334 - (meg201@txstate.edu).

DOCUMENTACIÓN DEL CONSENTIMIENTO:
He leído este formulario y decidí que participaré en el proyecto descrito anteriormente. Sus propósitos generales, los detalles de la participación y los posibles riesgos han sido explicados a mi entera satisfacción. Entiendo que puedo retirarme en cualquier momento.

____________________________________ ____________ Participante
Fecha

____________________________________ _____________
Firma del investigador Fecha

APPENDIX G

Collection of Artifacts From School Websites

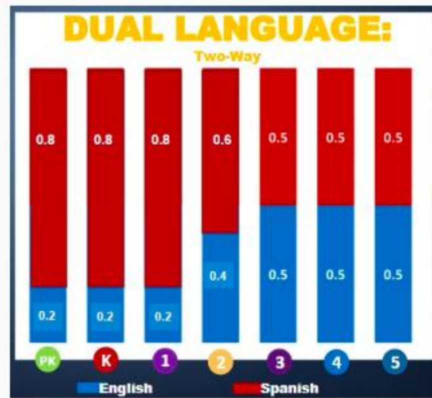
School 1 had numerous bilingual murals in the hallways of the campus and highlighted on their website.

School 1 included a Dual Language handbook

Students PreK-2nd grade will participate in the following model during the 2019-2020 school year:

In 2017, Blanton Elementary joined a cohort of schools within Austin ISD to further promote **biliteracy.** Blanton Elementary is now following an 80:20 Dual Language model.

Full implementation (K-5) will take place by the 2022 school year.



School 4 shared the grade level percentages of Spanish / English instruction for their TWDL program

Beyond bilingualism...

At [redacted] Elementary School we believe that when a student experiences the language and traditions of another culture that they will then develop positive attitudes towards cultures outside of their own. For this reason, we emphasize cultural experiences for all of our students whether they participate in the Dual Language program or not. We have bilingual morning assemblies. We celebrate Spanish language with guest readers from the community on Diez y seis de septiembre. We also infuse cultural studies througout our curriculum at every grade level. We believe that our students leave [redacted] Elementary School for middle school with a strong sense biculturalism.

School 6 highlighted the cultural experience in their TWDL program

DUAL LANGUAGE PROGRAM

- Ms[redacted] currently recruiting new and returning parents to become members of the 2019-2020 Dual Language Committee. As a committee we will meet monthly to discuss, review, and advocate for Dual Language programming, staffing, instruction, enrichment, community engagement, professional development, and future planning. Please contact Ms[redacted]y email during this summer time to indicate your interest!

[redacted] Dual Language students will develop a high academic and linguistic proficiency in two languages by participating in a rigorous academic program that enhances the development of bilingualism, biculturalism, and biliteracy so that students will graduate ready for college, career, and life in a globally competitive economy.

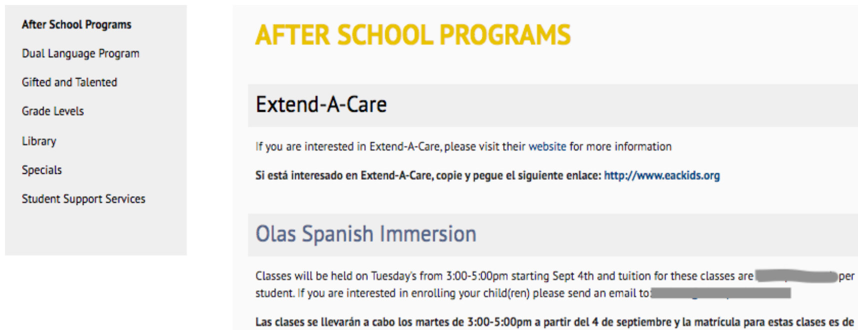
The goals of the program are:

- Students will participate in a rigorous academic program.
- Students will develop a high academic proficiency in two languages.
- Students will develop a high linguistic proficiency in two languages.
- Students will develop positive cross-cultural attitudes.

Dual Language: Two-Way Spanish

Two-Way Dual Language is a Spanish dual language program that includes instruction in both English and Spanish to help students excel academically while becoming bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural. A two-way program is intended for both native Spanish speakers and native English speakers.

School 7 encouraged families to join their Dual Language Committee



School 7 offered Spanish after school programs with a community partner

offers a world of educational opportunities inspired by its community—including Pre-K, dual language and service learning programs, as well as innovative digital strategies—to make lessons come alive for students as they prepare for college, career and life.

By learning subjects in both English and Spanish through the dual language program, T-birds are becoming bilingual, biliterate and bicultural. By connecting their classroom to the community through service learning projects, students are gaining real-world skills to address real-world issues.

School 8 highlighted their DL program

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