

Spring 8-2024

Language Ideologies and Use Among Latine Children in a Dual Language Program in Southern California: A Qualitative Approach

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Language Ideologies and Use Among Latine Children in a
Dual Language Program in Southern California:
A Qualitative Approach

A Dissertation by

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Orange, CA

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

August 2024

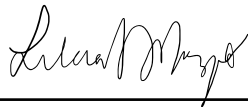
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April 2024

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many who helped me throughout this academic journey. I would like to take a moment to thank them. First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude and thank my dissertation committee. Dr. Lilia D. Monzó, my chair provided constant encouragement and was willing to assist in any way she could throughout the research project. Dr. Jorge F. Rodríguez and Dr. Anaida Colón-Muñiz who served as committee members for their feedback, knowledge, and support in helping me complete this research project. Also, I would like to thank Dr. Peter McLaren for helping me in this journey.

I wish to thank my friends, my parents, my colleagues, and cohort for their support and encouragement at time where I felt overwhelmed. Without your understanding and believing in me, I never would have made it.

Special thanks to Dr. Dawn L. Hunter for reaching out to me in a time when my health needed attention. Thank you for your words of wisdom and support during this tough time in my life that I know will pass and everything will be better.

Lastly, I am grateful to have worked with the participants in this research study as well as the families who opened their homes to share their personal experiences. Throughout the study, I enjoyed the conversations and seeing how cultural traditions and customs were revered.

We made it!

¡Lo logramos!

ABSTRACT

Language Ideologies and Use Among Latine Children in a

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A Qualitative Approach

by Xochitl Morales

Through a critical race and LatCrit framework, this research examined the language ideologies of young Latine children enrolled in Spanish dual-language programs. Specifically, I examined how and why the children chose to speak English and Spanish at home and school. A qualitative approach was used to understand the participants in their natural environment. The participants were five third-grade students (two males and three females), and their parents, five females and one male, and the student's third-grade teacher. The data collected included participant observations at home and at school as well as both formal interviews and informal conversations with students, their parents, and their teacher. The findings demonstrate that young Latine children enrolled in Spanish dual-language programs like to use English and Spanish. The students generally chose to use Spanish or English depending on the context, assessing the language needs of the other speakers and the social expectation of particular language use to within the context. However, their general perception was that English was to be used unless the speaker did not speak English or during the Spanish language component of their formal dual-language instructional day. When interacting with family members who do not speak English, Spanish is used to help communicate.

Nonetheless, primary language maintenance was understood by all participants as essential to help build cultural identity and strengthen cultural ties. The students, as well as the parents, held a strong value for the dual-language program, for developing bilingualism, and the

equal value of Spanish and English. These findings suggest that dual-language programs help foster bilingualism as an asset that contributes to maintaining primary language and academic success.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
BEA	Bilingual Education Act 1968
BCLAD	Bilingual, Cross-Cultural Language Academic Development
BILA	Bilingual Authorization
CSET	California Subject Examinations for Teachers
CLS	Critical Legal Studies
CRT	Critical Race Theory
DLI	Dual-Language Immersion
EL	English Learner
ELL	English Language Learner
ELPAC	English Language Proficiency Assessments for California
EO	English Only
ESL	English as a Second Language
HLS	Home Language Survey
IEP	Individualized Education Program
IFEP	Initial Fluent English Proficient
LatCrit	Latine Critical Theory
LAS-O	Language Assessment Scales-Oral
TK	Transitional Kindergarten
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
U.S.	United States

Chapter 1 Introduction

In the United States, immigration waves have brought people from around the globe together. The reasons for this migration are countless and vary depending on the individual or group's circumstances. Garcia-Preto (2005) identified economic depression and political revolution as the leading causes of migration. As new immigrants arrived, they brought their cultural traditions, religion, and language that reminded them of their native country (Ovando, 2003). Early immigrant communities formed enclaves to help maintain cultural beliefs. These close-knit communities provide human capital by teaching community members on-the-job skills, contributing to their economic growth when seeking better-paying jobs (Hagan et al., 2011). Enclaves consist of a cultural group that live together in a community and share economic resources. In Latine communities, members who lack English language skills face discrimination when finding a job outside their enclave. This categorizes them as “unskilled” with low levels of education (Hagan et al., 2011). Generally, more businesses in these communities are owned by members living within the community and sharing the same ethnic background. This connection facilitates employment and helps build ethnic solidarity and loyalty, which leads to job longevity (Aguilera, 2003). Building strong support networks helps immigrant communities exchange valuable resources that allow its members to achieve economic prosperity (Massey, 1999). In immigrant communities, language has played a crucial role in educating community members to help with access to resources and economic mobility.

The public seems to believe that bilingual education is a recent phenomenon. Yet, bilingual education has been a consistent aspect of ethnic enclaves. Primary language instruction in the United States, from 1890-1950s was offered predominantly through churches and other community organizations (Bryk et al., 1993) and has been an important recourse to policies and

ideologies that have developed to assimilate individuals into the dominant Anglo culture and language. Baker and Wright (2001) highlight that the fear of new foreigners called for immediate assimilation by addressing the lack of English as a source of political and economic concern. As immigration increased after the Civil War, reformers such as Horace Mann, the first secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, sought to create a uniquely American culture. American schools were targeted as tools of acculturation, inculcating young minds to American values through instruction (Simpson, 2004). All school-aged children were required to attend public schools through compulsory education policies aimed at assimilating students into democratic values and American culture (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). As education regulation increased, states and counties were required to adopt a common language that would represent American society, resulting in the regulation of English as the language of instruction. States that allowed other primary languages, such as Spanish, were not allowed to continue. Educators initially implemented transitional bilingual education programs to address the linguistic needs of immigrant children in the United States. While these programs offered significant support for immigrant students, they have been criticized for being subtractive and assimilationist, advocating for the rapid acquisition of English and neglecting home language development (Gandara & Escamilla, 2017).

Sociohistorical Context of U.S. Language Policy

Unlike the language of Indigenous and African peoples, European languages were tolerated, making language policy, access, and use a racialized phenomenon. Spanish language politics in the United States began during the era of manifest destiny when the Anglo colonizer presumed an inalienable right to conquer and took up the westward expansion into the former Spanish-conquered, Indigenous lands of what is now the Southwest U.S. (Lozano, 2018). The

founding fathers used and designed the ideology of manifest destiny to show power and imply that all land was free to grab. The shared vision was to conquer land not only land but also its people and force them to speak English and be governed in a unified American way (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2023). Federal policies attacked Indigenous systems of land ownership (Reyhner, 2018). This attack resulted in Indigenous people losing their lands to the American government. In the process, violence was required to achieve and colonize the new land. From a colonist perspective, the goal of conquering new land starts by eliminating Indigenous populations at all costs and clearing the land to make it available to new settlers.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in 1848 officially ended the Mexican-American War. This victory increased land and the size of the United States territory. With this victory, the Mexican citizens became second-class colonized citizens and struggled to keep their land grants (Lozano, 2018). As Anglos moved into the southwest, this brought economic and, in some cases, poverty to Mexican citizens (Estrada et al., 1981). Anglo control of economic sectors created exploitation of Mexican labor to satisfy the economic developments of Americans. Available jobs to Mexicans lacked fringe benefits, which equated to low wages. Wages paid were substantially lower compared to legal workers performing the same job (Rivera-Batiz, 1999). Mexican labor was performed by “unskilled” workers with low levels of schooling and limited English. The lack of skills served as a criterion for low-wage earnings.

Extreme poverty in Mexican and Latine communities affected other areas of life. Segregation of communities and schools was prevalent in California. The case of Mendez v. Westminster (1946) served as a catalyst to bring awareness to school segregation in California. Under California law, separate schools were allowed for people of color but did not include Mexicans. Mexican students were placed in “Mexican Schools” because they were Spanish

speakers, which was considered a handicap to their learning (McCormick & Ayala, 2007).

Linguistic segregation plays a role in the underachievement of Latine students, as families are often unable to speak to teachers who do not speak Spanish nor have access to resources or social networks that can inform them about the school system and how it works.

The further troubling prospect of educational success is not knowing how to advocate for their children (Gandara & Orfield, 2010). Segregation was unlawful and violated the Fourteenth Amendment, which guarantees equal protection by law to all US citizens (McCormick & Ayala, 2007). This case served as a foundation for *Brown v. Board of Education*, which ended legal segregation in schools in the United States in 1954. Minority- segregated schools include fewer educational resources, stability of enrollment, and lack advanced instruction (Orfield & Frakenberg, 2014). Minority- segregated schools are not only racially segregated, but poverty is evident in inadequate facilities, materials, and less qualified teachers (Gandara & Orfield, 2010).

Undocumented workers are a significant part of the US labor force to fill in the jobs American citizens do not want. Specialized programs like the Bracero were designed to supply agricultural labor and fair treatment (Rivera-Batiz, 1999). Unfortunately, as the increase of migrant labor took over, anti-immigration sentiments increased. Anglos blamed economic hardships on Mexican migrant workers and accused them of taking advantage of public welfare programs. Strict immigration policies like Operation Wetback (1954) and the creation of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) have used federal agents to deport undocumented individuals. These deportations affect families, causing trauma affecting adults and children (Lovato et al., 2018).

Gulbas et al. (2016) studied the effects of immigrant policies and practices on children of undocumented parents born in the U.S. Children of undocumented immigrants tend to hide their

parents' legal status for fear of legal action. The thought of not seeing their parent(s) causes depression, behavioral problems, and poor educational outcomes (Lovato et al., 2018). Similarly, in their study, Gulbas et al. (2016) identified additional effects in children, including the inability to communicate with friends, negative perspectives of Mexico, financial struggles, loss of supportive school networks, stressed relations with parents, and violence. In the case of adult teenagers, earning income becomes a priority as the household's economy is uncertain (Lovato et al., 2018). Education becomes less of a priority and causes low grades, low attendance, and dropping out.

Statement of the Problem

The history of bilingual education in the United States has always been under scrutiny by local and state officials. In the 20th century, bilingual education and civil rights activists pushed for language policy to create better learning opportunities and language retention for minority students. Bilingual education developed out of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Supporters of bilingual education questioned the role of schools in supporting English language learners (San Miguel, 2004). Research on bilingualism during this time found that bilingualism was an asset and not an obstacle, as previous research had indicated. As studies expanded in bilingual education, the findings showed that language- minority students could achieve academic success and maintain their cultural identity. Activists in the movement argued that discriminatory practices towards people of color, particularly Latines, were not only racial but also based on language and culture. This discrimination was evident in the schooling experiences of Mexican Americans in attaining academic achievement.

The Chicana/o movement also contributed to bilingual education policy. Its members opposed assimilation in public schools. They felt that schools victimized Mexicans and were not

interested in their academic success. They fought for political empowerment and cultural identity to excel academically and gain socioeconomic progress (San Miguel, 2004). Bilingual education was valued as a source to create change in policies, eliminate discrimination in schools, and preserve the Spanish language and Mexican culture.

Before this, immigrant students were usually placed in a regular classroom of English-only instruction, even when they spoke almost no English. Although students would acquire English, they often fell behind academically (Cummins, 2001). The first bilingual programs to be nationally implemented were meant to support bilingual students' academic achievement by delivering content matter in students' primary language and offering English development. However, the primary focus of these programs was the acquisition of English with the goal of transitioning to English instruction in the content areas as soon as possible. Here, the value for Spanish and other minority languages was merely to effectively support students transitioning into English.

A more robust approach attempts to challenge the hegemony of English by giving value to the native language and by extension, to the cultures and peoples who speak those languages. Dual-language programs emerged within the Cuban refugee community in 1963 in Dade County, Miami, Florida (Baker, 2006). The first school, Coral Way Elementary, established a Spanish-English program to help support the students' linguistic and academic needs. After the 1964 Civil Rights Act, there was a rebirth of instruction in languages other than English. Kim et al. (2015) traced the path of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (BEA) under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary. This act brought awareness of the need for bilingual education programs to better support students not fluent in English. This amendment allocated funds for establishing bilingual programs for English language learners. Research conducted in bilingual

programs showed that students who receive support in their native language could achieve significant academic success. Lindholm-Leary (2016) stated that previous studies (Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2006; Lindholm-Leary & Genesee, 2010; Lindholm-Leary & Howard, 2008) demonstrated that students in Spanish dual-language programs perform at or above grade level on standardized reading and mathematics tests.

The passing of Proposition 58 in California allows school districts to offer dual-language programs (“California proposition 58, Non-English languages allowed in public education (2016),” n.d.). This has encouraged minority community parents to enroll their children in these programs to help teach their primary language. Although many such programs have been developed nationwide, there is still a strong resistance to learning Spanish among younger Latine students. This resistance stems from parents’ lack of the benefits of home language maintenance (Eisenclas & Schalley, 2019). Another factor for U.S. Latine parents to question bilingual programs is rooted in their own negative schooling experiences in using Spanish (Bayley & Schecter, 2005).

Research Questions

As a kindergarten teacher in a Spanish dual-language program, I was thrilled to see Latine children learning their primary language. The model used is the 90/10 model, which consists of most of the instruction in Spanish (90%) and the remainder in English (10%). The make-up of the classroom consisted of English-only, Spanish-only, and bilingual students. What I started to observe within classroom discussions, student interactions, and lessons students was that students who spoke no Spanish questioned why they were learning in a different language and why the teacher was not using English. This was unexpected since all students are Latine and hear Spanish in some social contexts. Some students even shared that English was better

because they hear it everywhere and on TV. Listening to their opinions made me realize that Spanish and English are not valued equally and pushed me to inquire about why and how this happens.

This qualitative study aims to examine how language ideologies have impacted language choice among young Latine children. The aim is to uncover the messages children receive when using their primary language, Spanish, compared to using English at school and home. This study will address the following research questions: What are the language ideologies and practices of Latine children who are enrolled in a Spanish dual-language program?

- a. How do students use Spanish and English in schools, at home, and in the community, and what language ideologies do they demonstrate and/or hold?
- b. What are the sociopolitical and economic contexts of the community, and how do these influence students' language use and ideologies? Specifically, how are class, racism, and linguicism experienced among these students, and how do they influence their language choices?
- c. How do the dual language program and broader school community and policies support or hinder the value of Spanish?
- d. What messages do the school, community, and family convey about English and Spanish to the children? How do the children interpret these messages?

Description of Study

Methodology

This study followed a qualitative approach to understand the participants' lived experiences. Through these observed experiences, an in-depth analysis was used to identify patterns and innovative ideas that can contribute to the study's primary focus on language ideologies. Critical ethnographic methods will help critique current practices that affect young Latine students' usage of other languages, such as Spanish, in school and home settings. This critique in current practices can help transform the perceptions and help maintain or acquire the

primary language. Data collection consisted of field notes, interviews, and observations that required in-person visits to the setting(s) to see firsthand how the participant interacts and uses language to communicate in their natural environment. The interviews were used to discuss their language choices and gather information to understand the process involved in deciding which language is preferred. Alongside detailed field notes served as a companion to decipher themes that can help understand the study's purpose.

The study took place at a public elementary school in Southern California. The selected participants were bilingual Latine students enrolled in a dual-language program since the study calls for the use of Spanish and English language to communicate. The ages of the participants ranged from 8 to 9 years of age.

Theoretical Framework

Bilingual education is highly connected to relations of power and political systems in society (Baker & Wright, 2001). These relations are dictated by racist and nativist beliefs that one language and race are superior to all others. The systems in place tend to favor a false notion of “national unity” and “cultural integration” to avoid dealing with diversity, which is perceived as a threat to social cohesion. However, this false narrative, attempts to cloak the white supremacist foundation of society. Since the early history of California after the Mexican-American war of 1848, Spanish-speaking citizens continue to face systemic racism that has led to severe social, economic, and political inequalities (Lozano, 2018).

Critical race theory and LatCrit address the impact of race and how systemic structures sustain oppressive power. CRT and LatCrit can be used as a lens to uncover inequalities in educational opportunities for people of color in terms of curriculum, instruction, assessment, and funding compared to white students. The ability to speak another language has been historically

misunderstood as a disability, placing Latine students at a disadvantage (Davila & de Bradley, 2010). Ladson-Billings (1998) provides insight into how CRT can be used in an educational setting. The curriculum used in classrooms is dominated by the white narrative. This narrative overpowers all the knowledge and quality of information presented to uphold white supremacist ideas. The misrepresentation of other cultures is done by omitting important accomplishments that might overshadow the dominant voice. These omissions not only offend the existence of non-white citizens, but nullify the validity of the numerous contributions made by people of color for the betterment of society in America (Colon-Muniz & Lavadenz, 2016). This leads to the quality of instruction people of color receive from teachers who are always looking for the “right strategy or technique.” Ladson-Billings (1998) states that teaching people of color involves some aspect of remediation without questioning the strategy or technique. Thus, students are blamed for “failure” instead of the system that creates these conditions. Students designated as English learners are blamed for their lack of rapidly becoming proficient in English instead of changing the school structure to suit their linguistic needs better.

Critical race theory provides a lens to see how racism is evident in American society by recognizing that White supremacy and institutionalized racism are a source of educational inequity (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Race intersects with other attributes such as gender, class, sexuality, ability, language, and culture, forming complex human experiences and social structures (Kubuta, 2015). The linguistic ideology of language superiority and standardization establishes hostile conditions for immigrants and people of color (Von Esch et al., 2020). This ideology is maintained in institutions such as schools that influence language policies that promote English-only. Students who do not speak English enter school academically disadvantaged due to the lack of primary language support. Standard English in American

schooling creates different experiences for minority language children through the construction of raciolinguistic ideologies that deem other languages as deficient (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

Understanding language ideologies helps understand the relationship between language and power in schooling. These language ideologies drive language policies, curricula, teacher education, and classroom practice (McKinney, 2017).

In the United States, the experience of immigrants adopting this country as their new home has placed a system of oppression on those who do not speak the language. This experience is due to the historical perspective and English-only ideologies that have dictated non-English languages as unimportant academically and embraced monolingualism as a desired goal (Farr & Song, 2011). This ideology has caused many non-dominant groups to renounce their native language and learn English to feel that they belong to this English-dominant society and to achieve greater economic success. The usage of English as the majority language continues to overpower minority languages. As immigrants assimilate into American culture, their native language retention is jeopardized and eventually dies out due to social, cultural, and economic changes (Rumbaut & Massey, 2013). Extending on the ideology of English-only, it encourages immigrant populations to assimilate into the American mainstream culture to share freedom with all citizens (Sdonline, 2011). Programs like dual-language can challenge the internalized oppression of Latine communities and develop native language pride.

Through its focus on racism as a foundational structure of our society, CRT and LatCrit highlight the need to examine how racism (also in the form of linguicism) is embedded in all aspects of children's lives. Children's experiences with racism and the ways in which their language and cultures are represented, spoken about, and given (or not given) power and status

in society can leave a strong imprint on students' perceptions of their native language and cultures and influence their language choices.

What sets it apart from other studies?

This study is taking place during a time when bilingual education policy approves educational programs that target the home language of English learners. The most recent policy, is a result of the passage of Proposition 58, which allows school districts to create programs that provide instruction in two languages. The creation of dual-language programs has enabled students to develop both English and another language simultaneously without being pulled out, which was the custom of old English language learning programs. The benefit of students participating in current dual-language programs is the opportunity to become bilingual, bi-literate, and bicultural. Most school districts nationwide have implemented the Seal of Biliteracy award for all high school students who show proficiency in more than one language ("2020 Guidelines for Implementing the Seal of Biliteracy," n.d.), and many dual-language participants of benefited by becoming prepared in two or more languages. Recipients of this award are encouraged to use their plurilingual skills in job searching and college admission.

Expected Contribution and Importance of the Study Findings

This study's contribution to education is to shed light on how language ideologies can shape Latine students' thinking about how and when they use their bilingual language skills, as well as inform how and why some families value the home language and cultural maintenance. As Latine children attend school, they become aware that language usage between English and Spanish differs, which causes some to prefer the dominant language. Making decisions about these choices challenges cultural identity and communication students may have with family members who do not speak English. This can lead to primary language loss in children who

abandon their home language over English. As part of the study's purpose, capturing the voices of young children are critical to help understand how they make sense of messages regarding language use. The student findings could also help us understand how the parents view the value of Spanish to help encourage bilingualism in their children. Educators can also learn about student perceptions about how and why students make different language choices. Most importantly, for Latine youth, the findings from this study can shed light on how language ideologies can shape their thinking and value Spanish language maintenance.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

As part of a Eurocentric society, race has been used to divide people into categories based on physical characteristics that originate from ancestral genetics. Race can also be labeled by external factors that are common within a particular group of people, such as skin color, facial features, language, and hair types, which are among the most common (McLeod, 2021). The U.S. Census Bureau poses the question, what is race? Then, it explains that racial categories determine race to reflect a socially constructed definition accepted in American society (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). It is important to note that race can include national origin or sociocultural groups. Based on this explanation of how race has been determined in the United States since the 1970s, scholars in Critical Legal Studies (CLS) were on a mission to reveal the role of law in the social production of class hierarchies (Gonzalez et al., 2021). Nevertheless, critical race theory scholars felt that CLS failed to critique the role of laws as biased towards maintaining the status quo to the detriment of marginalized groups. In addition, these scholars claimed that neutral language and institutions that apply the law mask relations of power and control (Gonzalez et al., 2021).

In this chapter, critical race theory and LatCrit theoretical frameworks will be used to analyze the impact of policies against minority groups in education, focusing on Latine children. Critical race theory has served as a foundation for other movements that criticize and want their voice to be heard. The literature review will provide a foundation on the importance of language acquisition, use, language ideologies in immigrant communities, and the outside forces that influence the language views of parents and Latine children.

Theoretical Framework

Using a critical theoretical framework, race is prevalent in the way individuals are stereotyped and segregated. The power structures that define White supremacy at the top of the class structure use racism as a form to discriminate and rank people in areas such as language, clothing, and cultural preferences as inferior. This type of discrimination is harsher and more prominent in non-white communities (Gans, 2005). Stereotypes act as social categorizations that place individuals based on race and social class into distinct levels. From a historical stance, race has been established as a marker of class and status in the United States since colonial times (Gans, 2005). Those who gained power and status automatically assumed that those who resembled their kind-whiteness ranked at the top of the class hierarchy. The bottom level was assigned to the most powerless, who at first were the Native Americans and enslaved people. In the U.S., more Blacks fall into the lower class than whites. As Blacks were introduced into American society as an underclass, it has reinforced the dominant view that Blacks were an inferior race, which led to lower status (Weeks & Lupfer, 2004). CRT brings race as the focal point to see how a white-dominated society reminds marginalized communities that they are inferior. Embedded racial inequities produce unequal opportunities for educational success. Systematic policies, practices, and stereotypes work against children and youth of color to affect their opportunities for achieving academic success (Weeks & Lupfer, 2004). We need to understand the consequences of these embedded racial inequities, how disparities are produced, and how they can be eliminated to ensure that all children have the same opportunity for educational success.

As an educator in public schools, I have witnessed inequitable educational opportunities that limit students of color access to the best resources due to the lack of funding. Students in

high-poverty, racially segregated schools are not exposed to high-quality curriculum as often as students in wealthier, predominantly white schools (Ladson-Billings, 1998). An example of this educational inequity is the low offering of advanced placement courses in schools that are predominantly Black and Latine compared to schools where white students are the majority are more likely to have greater options (Weeks & Lupfer, 2004). As a result, the schooling experiences of African-American and Latine students in the United States continue to be unequal (Darling-Hammond, 2001). Ladson-Billings (1998) states that the funding received in non-white schools is much less when compared to that of white schools. This discrepancy is due to socioeconomic status that places schools in affluent areas with high property taxes; thus, more money is given to schools. In lower socioeconomic neighborhoods with low incomes, insufficient money is given to schools, resulting in a lack of resources. Schools with high concentrations of low-income and minority students receive fewer instructional resources when compared to white students (Orfield, 2013). Low-income families struggle due to money issues, providing educational resources, and not understanding the school curriculum, find it hard to provide the necessary educational experiences their children deserve. According to Gans (2017), economic racialization plays a role in exploiting marginalized groups based on their race by keeping them in poor-paying jobs. Yinger (1995) points out that discrimination also exists in the housing market. This discrimination results from minority groups not having the economic capital to purchase a home in the desired neighborhood. The experiences for Blacks and Latines in being homeowners are slim and place them in deficient or overcrowded housing.

The same article by Ladson-Billings (1998) posed the following question: what is critical race theory doing in the field of education? This question deepens into how critical race theory can be used to analyze why students of color receive different educational experiences than their

white counterparts. From a theoretical perspective, the racial disparity experienced by communities of color must be exposed and challenged. Using CRT helps reveal practices of subordination that affect all aspects of life. For colored communities to experience and change social structures, DeCuir-Gunby et al. (2018) suggest using a critical race theory (CRT) framework to bring awareness and improve educational equity, racial issues, and school resources to serve marginalized communities. Using a CRT framework will also help examine practices of race, racism, and the maintenance of white supremacy (De La Garza & Ono, 2016).

Origins of CRT

In the United States, legal cases have been brought forward that show racial discrimination. In 1954, *Brown v. Board of Education* called for the end of segregation in public schools, which overturned the "separate but equal" ruling from the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision (Brown & Jackson, 2022). The *Brown* decision, since its passing, has led to political, economic, and educational measures to dismantle racist structures that oppress and continue to segregate. The court's decision failed to state why segregated public schools were illegal and did not devise a plan on how states were to desegregate schools. *Brown II* gave states the right to desegregate at their own pace based on public interest. Several states defied the law and segregated schools (Lopez & Burciaga, 2014).

Further actions taken by the government to eliminate segregation included the passing of desegregation laws such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which attempted to end discriminatory practices in public areas, housing, and employment practices ("Civil Rights Act (1964)," 2022). In the 1960s and 1970s, de facto segregation was influenced by real estate agents who convinced Whites that it was better to live with their race (Rothstein, 2019). Unfortunately, discriminatory practices are still present, such as de facto segregation in housing, which is one example of how

neighborhoods separate people. “White flight” and gentrification are two modern examples that show how Whites who hold economic power chose not to live among Black people. The rationale is that whites fear property values will decrease when Blacks move into their neighborhoods. The opposite happens when wealthy people move into low-income communities and longtime minority residents are forced out due to higher rents they can no longer afford (Longley, 2021).

Scholars like Derrick Bell did not consider *Brown v. Board of Education* a victory due to its implications that elite whites were the beneficiaries compared to blacks (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The purpose of *Brown* was to help desegregate schools. Richard Delgado, another prominent CRT scholar, stated that after its ruling, *Brown* failed to desegregate and placed black school children in segregated schools (Delgado & Stefancic, 1995). Whites did not accept the court decision since they considered it a threat to their racial privileges, which they were unwilling to give up. Large-scale desegregation was out of the question as whites refused to change the racial composition of their schools and neighborhoods (Carson, 2004). Crenshaw (2001) asserts that decades after, *Brown*, Black, and Latine students still attend schools that are ninety percent Black or Latine. This shows how schools serving communities of color have been resegregated and face inadequate funding (Ladson-Billings, 2006). Ladson-Billings (2006) confirms that even after *Brown*, white families have not been compelled to integrate schools fully. This is because society is consumed by hierarchical differences fused with power and racial dominance, and creating equality in separate settings is not feasible.

Critical race theory originated shortly after the civil rights movement during the early 1970s as a number of lawyers, activists, and legal scholars across the country realized that the civil rights era of the 1960s had stalled and, in many aspects, rolled back any progress made for

racial equality. These individuals were also motivated to understand how white supremacy and its subordination toward people of color were created and maintained in America (Brown & Jackson, 2022). Harvard black law students, in 1981, after the dismissal of Derrick Bell, demanded that the university hire a black professor. The university hired a white professor, so students protested and asked permission to create an alternate course (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The course aimed to feature professors of color who would share their experiences and examine race and law. In 1989, the first annual conference was held at a convent outside of Madison, Wisconsin. The Critical Legal Studies movement dedicated itself to examining how law and legal institutions serve the interests of the wealthy and powerful at the expense of the poor and marginalized. Critical Race Theory (CRT) grew out of criticism of Critical Legal Studies for their failure to acknowledge race as a component of the systems of law being challenged (De La Garza & Ono, 2016). After years of dissatisfaction with recognizing race, power, and racism issues, some members left Critical Legal Studies to form Critical Race Theory (Martinez, 2014). Some of the founders of CRT, such as Derrick Bell, Alan D. Freeman, Kimberle Crenshaw, and Mari Matsuda, began scholarly work that brought race as a focal point of law and a form of activism (De La Garza & Ono, 2016). As the scholarship increased in CRT, its founders saw the need to dismantle mechanisms that sustained white supremacist ideology. This was accomplished by studying and transforming the relationship between race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). To further this point, Roithmayr (1999) acknowledged that CRT offers a way to challenge racial power structures in education by producing counter-narratives that voice the struggles endured.

Tenets in CRT

Critical race theory's tenets were created under the notion that the systems and structures in place follow a White Eurocentric ideology in America. Within this ideology, the cultivation of white supremacy and privilege is upheld and permeates all aspects of life. This ideology entails that neutrality is not an option and that systems of oppression must be destroyed to ensure social justice. By taking a stance, dominant structures can be unveiled and allow people of color to share their knowledge through multiple methods that honor lived experiences.

Intersectionality

In 1976, a lawsuit against General Motors by several Black women who applied for jobs and were denied a position simply because the jobs available for women were for White women was dismissed under the premise that Black women could not combine gender in their suit. Crenshaw (2015) studied this case and saw that racial and gender were present forms of discrimination in this case and called it “intersectionality.” As a law professor, Crenshaw took intersectionality and applied it to racial and gender discrimination. Crenshaw concluded that feminism, anti-racist activism, and anti-discrimination law intersected in the workforce and other areas of life. Through the concept of intersectionality, the study of racial and gender oppression can be studied from multiple lenses to gain an in-depth understanding to advocate for societal change. From a societal stance, intersectionality can be used to analyze one's identity and its power relationship. Advocates for marginalized groups use intersectionality as a framework to bring to light their struggles and fight. Crenshaw calls to action to examine the structures of power that resist change. (Crenshaw, 2015)

Intersectionality starts with women’s concrete experiences of race and sex together in the lives of real people (MacKinnon, 2013). Intersectionality was intended to address the

experiences and struggles of women of color, which fell between the cracks of both feminist and anti-racist discourse. Crenshaw argued that theorists need to take gender, race on board and show how they interact to shape the multiple dimensions of black women's experiences.

Intersectionality provided a shorthand term for a more comprehensive and complex perspective on identity – one that would consider how individuals are invariably positioned through differences in gender, class, sexual orientation, ethnicity, national belonging, and more (Davis, 2014). Women of color do not share the same privileges as White women. Their experiences are neglected in feminist discourse and are a source of oppression (Crenshaw, 1991).

Interest Convergence

After the Brown ruling, black citizens demanded equal treatment. Most black children attended public schools that were both racially isolated and inferior (Bell, 1980). Black children have not experienced the decision's promise of equal educational opportunity. Racial segregation is a denial of equality to minorities. Bell argued that Whites might agree that blacks are citizens and are entitled to constitutional protection against racial discrimination, but few are willing to alter the status of whites (Bell, 1980). Thus, as defined by Bell, interest convergence can be achieved when it converges with the interests of whites. This convergence entailed that Whites were unwilling to give up their status and power. Silva (2017) stated that the interests of minorities were only recognized when they supported the dominant group's values. Bell suggested that *Brown* helped bolster the international image of democratic values during the Cold War. With communists choosing to highlight segregation in their propaganda, *Brown* helped legitimize the democratic rhetoric of equality and freedom. By mandating desegregation in public education, *Brown* represented America's commitment to equality on an international stage (Bell, 1980).

Driver (2011) criticized Bell's interest convergence theory. Bell failed to define what "black interest" and "white interest" mean. Silva (2017) argued that Bell described "black interest" as gaining racial equality. Regarding "white interest," Bell clearly outlined that these were measured on an international platform that helped promote democracy and equality. Driver (2011) also pointed out that Bell failed to pay adequate homage to racial progress. Silva (2017) acknowledges that there has been some progress, but blacks still lag behind their white counterparts.

Critique of Liberalism

Liberalism has failed to provide racial equality in the daily lives of minorities (Litowits, 1997). Liberalism constructs an image of a fair society based on merit, but fails to examine the causes of inequality that CRT scholars highlight (Zamudio et al., 2011). Color blindness is another form of racism. It asserts that there are no real problems with racism in our society. Color blindness serves as a defense mechanism for individuals with privilege who do not see the difference between themselves and others with less status (Burke, 2019). Bonilla-Silva (2006) provides tenets of colorblindness that show how racism is ignored. *Abstract liberalism*- regards each person as an individual with choices. *Naturalization*- explains racial matters because of natural occurrences or tendencies. An example is segregated communities believed to live with their own kind by choice instead of looking at it as a product of racist structures. *Cultural racism*- is used as a frame to argue racial inequalities experienced by people of color due to a lack of morals, values, efforts, or pathologies within communities of color. An example would be that blacks have too many babies; therefore, they are dependent on welfare. *Minimization of racism*—posits discriminatory acts as not affecting the current lives of people of color as they once were before Civil Rights legislation. People of color overreact or are sensitive to racial

matters. Overall, colorblindness ignores the fact that racism exists and does not see inequity or oppression as factors that affect the lives of minority communities.

Meritocracy

Meritocracy is a social system in which success and status in life depend primarily on individual talents, abilities, and effort. Meritocracy is a system in which people advance based on their merits (Crossman, 2020). However, structural inequalities and systems of oppression are embedded to limit opportunities based on class, gender, race, ethnicity, ability, sexuality, and other social markers (Crossman, 2020). Education is built on a merit system that uses testing for intelligence and bases the type of education on individual performance. Unequal access to resources directly affects the quality of education a child can receive. Littler (2017) identified five problems with meritocracy. The first problem with the contemporary meaning of meritocracy is that it endorses a competitive, linear, hierarchical system in which, by definition, certain people must be left behind. Meritocracy is a permanent state of competition with each other resting on the idea of a level playing field, conveniently ignoring systematic inequality. The second problem is that the contemporary logic of meritocracy frequently (though not always) assumes that talent and intelligence are innate: it depends on an essentialized conception of intellect and aptitude. In other words, it primarily takes an inborn ability and is either given a chance or not to succeed. The third problem with the contemporary idea of meritocracy is that it ignores the fact that climbing the ladder is much harder for some people than others. The top is out of reach, and some people are positioned at the bottom of the ladder with various disadvantages regarding ethnicity, education, and housing. The fourth critical problem with the contemporary ideology of meritocracy is its uncritical valorization of forms of status in the hierarchical ranking of professions and status as income disparity widens. The fifth fundamental

problem with the contemporary ideology of meritocracy, which moves us into the territory of considering why it has power, is that it functions as an ideological myth to obscure and extend economic and social inequalities.

Structural racism

Structural Racism in the US is the normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics, including historical, cultural, institutional, and interpersonal. It is a system of hierarchy and inequity, primarily characterized by white supremacy. The preferential treatment, privilege, and power of white people are at the expense of racially oppressed people (Lawrence & Keleher, 2004). The key indicators of structural racism are inequalities in power, access, opportunities, treatment, and policy impacts and outcomes, whether intentional or not. Structural racism is more difficult to locate in a particular institution because it involves the reinforcing effects of multiple institutions and cultural norms, past and present, continually producing new and re-producing old forms of racism.

Counter-storytelling

Counter-storytelling is a method of telling a story that exposes and critiques racial stereotypes by challenging privileged discourses (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Stories are a powerful tool for victims of discrimination by giving them a voice and the opportunity to share their experiences. Stories have the ability to call out any discrimination faced and find ways to fight it. A counter-story goes beyond the notion that those in positions of power can just tell the stories of those in the margins. Instead, these must come *from the margins*, from the perspectives and voices of those individuals. The effect of a counter-story is to empower and give agency to individuals and communities. By choosing their own words and telling their own stories, members of marginalized communities provide alternative points of

view, helping to create complex narratives to present their realities (Mora, 2014). These counter-stories can serve at least four theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical functions: (1) they can build community among those at the margins of society by putting a human and familiar face to educational theory and practice; (2) they can challenge the perceived wisdom of those at society's center by providing a context to understand and transform established belief systems; (3) they can open new windows into the reality of those at the margins of society by showing the possibilities beyond the ones they live and demonstrating they are not alone in their position; and (4) they can teach others that by combining elements from both the story and the current reality, one can construct another world that is richer than either the story or the reality alone (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001)

Social Construction and Differential Racialization

The social construction of race and races are products of social thought and relations. People with common origins share certain physical traits: skin color, physique, and hair texture. Elites are usually the official initiators. They define race, a rule which phenotypical and other characteristics determine, and codify the color or other schemes by which races are differentiated. Differential racialization is the idea that each race has its origins and evolving history (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Racialization is also a process that generally begins with the arrival of new immigrants, voluntary or involuntary, who are perceived as different and undeserving. It may be accompanied by self-racialization on the part of those doing the racializing (Gans, 2017).

Causes and Effects of Racialization. Newcomers are perceived to differ phenotypically from the racial dominants and are probably the first targets of the racialization process. Name-calling, blaming, demonization, and other forms of stigmatization are used to discriminate and

segregate whites from people of color. Nonetheless, the more compelling cause of racialization has been the perception of threat, imagined or real, by white people in the United States as they confront or come into contact with people of color. The perceived threats can include fear of loss of safety or security, and this at both personal or national level, and worries of downward mobility, especially those resulting from fears about newcomers taking their jobs and for lower wages. Existing stereotypes associated with the newcomers' country or origin can stimulate the expectation of threats before they even come (Gans, 2017).

Origins of LatCrit

CRT has expanded into different offshoots when examined by the lens of other races and how these are oppressed within the educational system. To help with the study of Latine, LatCrit is an offshoot that critically analyzes the experiences of Latines in the educational system and focuses on language and immigrant communities (Del Real Viramontes, 2022). Using CRT and LatCrit as frameworks emphasizes the importance of viewing policies and policymaking within a proper historical and cultural context that allows to deconstruct and challenge dominant narratives that disadvantage people of color (Villalpando, 2003).

The name LatCrit is the combination of the group it represents "Lat" Latine and "Crit" for critical theory (Valdes, 2005). LatCrit was born due to the first colloquium where Latine legal scholars addressed the historical and sociolegal invisibility of Latines in the United States (Gonzalez et al., 2021). The LatCrit movement was founded under the notion it needed to build an institutional structure to support scholarship that voiced the struggles of subordinated groups (Aoki & Johnson, 2008). One of the founding principles in LatCrit theory is anti-subordination, which challenges practices and policies to better identify structures of inequality for historically oppressed groups. LatCrit also includes theory, practice, and community-building to better

address these issues, which helps bring scholars who share similar principles, ethics, practices, and aspirations to create a community of scholars committed to social justice via law reform (Valdes, 2005). A distinguishing factor between CRT and LatCrit is the focus on different forms of oppression that include language, immigration, ethnicity, culture, and identity of Latines. (Salas, 2019).

LatCrit Functions and Guideposts

LatCrit scholars expanded their research by describing the foundations that support theory, praxis, and community by employing four functions: (1) *the production of knowledge*- confirms the commitment to the production not only to scholarship but to develop theory production, (2) *the advancement of social transformation*- aims to advance material and structural transformation to disrupt and dismantle historical patterns of subjugation, (3) *the expansion and connection of anti-subordination struggles*- a commitment to intersectional theory and praxis to help aid other anti-subordination theories and struggles, and (4) *the cultivation of community and coalition*- calls for scholars to produce work that is proactive and committed to nurturing anti-subordination communities (Valdes & Bender, 2021). These functions and guideposts were created due to Latines' social and legal needs at the time. These functions are intended to be interrelated, work together, and evolve as needed (Salas, 2019).

In addition to the four functions, seven guideposts guide the collective and ongoing work of LatCrit scholars. These guideposts are: (a) ***recognize and accept the inevitable political nature specific to legal scholarship in this country***- this acknowledges that law is always political thus, legal scholarship reflects the politics of law, (b) ***critical outsider scholars must become academic activists both within and beyond our institutions, professions, or local situations***- this guidepost established anti-subordination praxis as a framework and theory to

action between teachers, scholars, and social actors; most important the relationship of our knowledge production to social action; (c) *building intra-Latine communities and intergroup coalitions*- focuses in collaborative and transformative practices to help create a democratic and egalitarian communities, (d) *finding commonalities while respecting differences*- puts effort in acknowledging sameness and differences to build collaborative opportunities to tackle controversies and find solutions, (e) *appreciating, incorporating, and applying the jurisprudential past to everything we undertake*- analyzing previous generational work and build on it to grow the scholarship and bring it to current times; (f) *a commitment to continual engagement in self-critique, both individually and collectively, both in programmatic terms and otherwise*- this guidepost calls for self- criticality to ensure that the work performed follows ethical and anti-subordination principles and values in ones work; (g) *recognize both specificity and diversity*- in implementing this guidepost calls for embracing diversity and specificity to help create inclusive and democratic work that will avoid false essentialisms within and beyond Latine populations (Valdes & Bender, 2021). These seven guideposts help researchers who engage in LatCrit reflect on their use of theory to better serve the community being researched. The mission is to expose and check how the law manipulates privilege while subordinating others.

Critical Race Theory and LatCrit in Education

Daniel G. Solórzano (1997) authored an essay in which critical race theory was examined in a way that sought to explain how race, racism, and racial stereotyping could be observed in teacher education. In the essay, Solórzano outlined five tenets that show critical race theory's essential perspectives. The tenets describe how the dominant discourse on race can be used to subordinate marginalized groups. The first tenet, **The Centrality and Intersectionality of Race**

and Racism states that race and racism are a permanent structure in American society that has at least four dimensions: 1. micro and macro components- policies, 2. institutional and individual racism, 3. conscious and unconscious elements, and 4. it has a cumulative impact on both the individual and group. The second tenet, **The Challenge to Dominant Ideology**, challenges the legal system's traditional claims to objectivity, meritocracy, color-blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity. As the name implies, the third tenet, **The Commitment to Social Justice**, puts critical race theory at the forefront to engage in social justice and eliminate racism. The fourth tenet, **The Centrality of Experiential Knowledge**, acknowledges the lived experiences of people of color through the implementation of methods such as storytelling, family history, biographies, and narratives, to name a few. The last tenet, **The Interdisciplinary Perspective**, urges the use of different fields to create curriculum, pedagogy, and research to find ways to eliminate racism and all forms of subordination in education.

Scholars of CRT and LatCrit have led their research to examine the social inequalities and lived experiences of people of color. In applying CRT and LatCrit in education, the focus turns to students' educational experiences. Solórzano and Yosso (2001) were among the first to use LatCrit to show the educational experiences of Latine students (Salas, 2019). This research garnered the interest of other researchers, such as Delgado Bernal (2002), to apply LatCrit as a theory in studying Latine students' educational experiences. Delgado Bernal (2002) used CRT and LatCrit to validate the epistemology of students of color in their experiences in school. A strong stance reinforces that the school's Eurocentric knowledge production has caused students of color's experiences, cultures, and languages to be devalued or omitted as valid ways of knowing. Thus, using CRT and LatCrit in educational research can help challenge the dominant

discourse in race, theory, policy, and subordination of ethnic groups to improve the educational learning experiences of colored students (Villenas et al., 1999).

Educational research that uses CRT as a theoretical lens seeks to find answers to inequalities in schooling that affect students of color. The findings provide an educational reform framework (Zamudio et al., 2011). For reform to occur, school practices such as school organization, curriculum adoption, and instruction must be analyzed on how they negatively impact minority students. Schools form a foundational component in instilling knowledge by disseminating dominant narratives as the truth. Due to this, marginalized groups are silenced without providing them with the tools necessary to share their knowledge (Zamudio et al., 2011; Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1998).

History of Immigration in the United States

Immigration is not a new phenomenon. Since the existence of humanity, people have moved to various locations to suit their living conditions better. The first modern migrations occurred in Europe from 1500 to 1800 due to conquering foreign lands, which led to colonization (Massey, 1999). Amongst the first immigrants, their background was agrarian, which benefitted the economic growth of colonized lands. Besides being an asset, this type of labor was considered "cheap" because it was reserved for low-skilled workers such as indentured servants and enslaved people.

In more modern times, with the modernization of technology and more skilled labor, immigration continues to be an international attraction for those seeking economic growth (Popescu & Grigore-Radulesco, 2020). As nations across the globe find ways to develop their means of production and support international political developments, immigration will continue to boost migration and contribute to the global phenomenon. Withol de Wenden (2009) defines

the global phenomenon as political, economic, social, and cultural, which leads to multiple networks that attract migrations worldwide. These networks include pull and push factors that attract groups of people to migrate for specific reasons (poverty, war, religious persecution, students or job opportunities), asylum seekers, illegal immigration, and free trade (e.g., NAFTA).

European Immigration

During the 16th and 18th centuries, the first wave of European immigrants originated from England. These immigrants' causes included seeking economic opportunity or religious freedom (Zong & Batalova, 2015). The immigrants coming to the United States during the 1840s and 1850s were unskilled and of poverty-stricken backgrounds. During the early 19th century, the United States saw rapid economic growth. This growth attracted many immigrants seeking to improve their living standards (Cohn, 2009). Most Europeans were of English descent, followed by Irish, German, Welsh, or Scottish.

In the early part of the 20th century, the U.S. government passed laws that limited immigration. In 1921, the Quota Act was passed, limiting immigration to 3 percent of foreign-born. This quota favored Western Europeans since their number of native-born surpassed that of other European countries. During the 1990s, immigration laws were revised, allowing family reunification but restricting unskilled workers and favoring working professionals (Cohn, 2009). Also, during this time, Eastern Europeans fled communist rule, which granted them asylum and advantages such as legal status, the right to work, and welfare benefits (Robila, 2008).

Chinese Immigration

The first wave of Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States around 1820 and mainly consisted of men. Push and pull factors were present based on the interest in participating in the California Gold Rush in 1849 and the desire to escape political instability in China due to

the Taiping Rebellion and Opium Wars that stirred government instability (Holland, 2007). The main labor attraction for Chinese immigrants was the construction of railroads in the 1860s. This labor required extraneous strength that only low-skilled workers were willing to endure. As a result, Chinese railway laborers were underpaid compared to their white counterparts. After completing the transcontinental railroad, the competition between Chinese and white cheap laborers became a problem, resulting in laws that banned the new entry of these immigrants (Holland, 2007). The Chinese Exclusion Act was the first of its kind to restrict the entry of a particular group into the United States (Hooper & Batalova, 2015). The law prohibited Chinese labor migration and Chinese residents from obtaining U.S. citizenship.

In the 1990s, Chinese immigrants differed from those in earlier years. This difference was based on the level of education and lifestyle. Immigrants in 1990 were highly educated and were employable in more profitable work sectors (Holland, 2007). The "model minority" label was attached to this group to signal their degree of success above the average native population. The model minority myth, as described by Yi and Museus (2015), was used to compare the work ethic of Chinese railroad laborers to their black counterparts at the time. This put immense pressure on Chinese immigrants to become model citizens and fit into American society. Yi and Museus (2015) further explain that this myth has created problems by reinforcing colorblind ideologies that ignore inequalities within the racial group. From an outsider's perspective, Asian Americans can be seen as problem-free and superior to other minority groups (Museus & Kiang, 2009).

Latine Immigration

The U.S. Census reports that the Latine population in the United States continues to increase. In 1980, when the term "Hispanic" in the Census was first used, the population was 14.6 million. In 2020, the Latine population was 62 million, an increase of about 48 million (Census Bureau, 2021). The initially recorded migrations of Latines to the United States occurred during the California Gold Rush or right after the U.S.- Mexican War of 1848 (Gutierrez, 2016). As the boundary between both countries was settled, not many Mexicans entered California. Mexicans were employed until 1882, when U.S. employers saw a need to fill a demand for basic manual labor, including agriculture, mining, construction, and transportation. Another factor in Mexican immigration was the 1910 Mexican Revolution. Government instability was a push factor, and employment became scarce (Gutierrez, 2016).

Another immigration wave between Mexico and the U.S. occurred during WWII due to farm labor shortage. This became known as the Bracero program. The program served as an agreement between the U.S. and Mexico to temporarily allow Mexican citizens to work as agricultural workers. These temporary workers were allowed to return legally between countries (Bracero History Archive| Home, n.d.). Braceros faced discrimination in their pay, living conditions, and treatment. Once they were no longer needed, Braceros were expected to return to Mexico. The capitalist system demands a cheap labor force, and Latines have historically served as this labor force (Catanzarite & Trimble, 2008). Racism and lack of economic opportunities have been key to maintaining this cheap labor force. As immigrant populations continue to grow, they have been blamed for economic downturns that are symptomatic of the capitalist system. A campaign of fear and hate has been created to blame Latine communities for taking jobs and

social services from "Americans," which has led to a significant rise in anti-immigrant and language policies that reflect nativist attitudes.

California is home to more than two million undocumented immigrants. This equates to one in ten workers being undocumented (Hayes & Hill, 2017). The introduction of immigrants into the labor force increases consumption, spending, and investment, which leads to an increase in the gross domestic product (GDP) (Lopez, 2020). Immigration generates growth and employment opportunities by increasing the total number of people in the United States. A larger population leads to increased consumption levels, higher demand, and more production (Varas, 2017). Working immigrants help contribute to the economy by paying taxes to support benefits they cannot receive, such as social security through payroll taxes (Lopez, 2020). State legislation aims to control illegal immigration by portraying immigrants as a threat to national security, economic security, and cultural security of distinct cultures, languages, customs, and religions (Stacey et al., 2011). As minority populations grow and compete with majority members for scarce resources, conflicts may increase, and discriminatory feelings from majority groups towards minority groups rise. As minority groups have gained political capital, majority groups have felt threatened as they see their political strength weakened (Stacey et al., 2011). This fear contributes to the rise in hate crimes as a way to socially control minority groups through intimidation, anxiety, and violence.

Studies focusing on immigrant workers in different labor market sectors show how hate crimes are enacted and their adverse effects on the well-being of immigrants. For example, Hsieh et al. (2015) studied the hospitality sector, which employs a high number of Latina women. Participants were twenty-seven Latina hotel housekeepers in the Southwest. The average annual income was \$8,400-19,200, which is below the poverty threshold. Discrimination is unfair

treatment because of race, color, religion, gender, national origin, harassment by managers, co-workers, or denial of reasonable working conditions. Hsieh et al. (2015) study documented mistreatment suffered by hotel housekeepers that included verbal, non-verbal, psychological, physical abuse, disrespect, humiliation, intimidation, or hostile environment. The women in this study expressed that not knowing English played a role in job assignments, with favoritism given to those who spoke English, which contributed to low wages and lack of health benefits or vacation benefits. This study found that immigration status was the main factor that kept these women silent about their negative experiences, including, in some cases, suffering verbal and/or sexual abuse from co-workers. The study concluded that Latine women in vulnerable positions would likely accept the abuses and discrimination in order to protect their jobs and livelihoods. In a study by Garza (1997), twenty-five undocumented household Latine workers were interviewed. Each interview was conducted in Spanish, and the setting varied to provide the participants privacy from their employer. In addition to the domestic worker, their employers were also interviewed. The results showed advantages and disadvantages for both the employee and employer. The undocumented housekeepers identified benefits such as job availability, the ability to support family, some families are caring, and overall environmentally safe working conditions. The disadvantages identified were similar to studies of Latine domestic workers, also showing that they, too, undergo hostile treatment from employers who threaten them with deportation when they refuse to do extra work or reject sexual advances. Garza (1997) adds that isolation from family due to long hours and no protection rights are factors used to exploit undocumented domestic workers. Employers from this study identified the advantages of employing undocumented workers as a source of cheap labor, flexibility in hiring and firing, and, most importantly, allowing the employer to work outside the home. The lack of speaking

English, being unskilled, and accusing these workers of stealing are some disadvantages employers identified. These studies show that employment security and lack of English proficiency are some factors in not reporting abuses.

A third sector that primarily attracts immigrant Latine workers is the restaurant industry. Wilson (2018) conducted an ethnographic study of two restaurants in western Los Angeles. Both restaurants were located in the white, affluent area of the city. The researcher worked as a server to observe closely and gather data using participant observation. What was depicted in this study was the divide in job placement between Latines and non-Latines. Latines were funneled to the low-wage manual labor positions categorized as “back of the house.” Also, lack of English proficiency and undocumented status were significant factors. A conclusion that can be drawn from these studies is that immigrant Latine workers have become an essential source of reliable hard labor that can be easily exploited to secure their source of income.

History of Bilingual Education

In the United States, bilingual education was welcomed as new immigrants arrived. New immigrant communities settled in specific areas to form cultural enclaves required using their heritage language to help acclimate. Places where the primary language was accepted include New Mexico and California- Spanish was allowed, and in the mid-west, the German language was used in schools (August & Garcia, 1988). Towards the end of the 19th century, language instruction was left in the hands of towns or districts that taxed parents through tuition in support of their local schools (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). An essential fact during this time was that teachers were recruited from the community they lived in to support the community's language instruction.

As foreign immigration increased, reformers such as Horace Mann, the first secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, sought to create a uniquely “American” culture that was white supremacist, patriarchal, and based on Western ways of being. American school children were targeted for this indoctrination under the assumption that educated young minds could easily absorb these American values through instruction (Simpson, 2004). All school-aged children were mandated to attend public schools to help with the assimilation into democratic values and American culture (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). As education regulations increased, states and counties were required to adopt a common language that would represent American society, resulting in the regulation that the language of instruction be English. States that had previously allowed other primary languages, such as Spanish, were not allowed to continue this practice.

Throughout American history, tolerance for European language use was evident. During colonial times, the practices of language usage were tied to the English legal system and schooling practices. Baker (2001) pointed out that linguistic diversity "was accepted and encouraged in all aspects of immigrant life such as religion, newspapers, and both private and public schools" (p. 183). Ovando (2003) pointed out that besides national experiences involving language usage, world events have impacted the view of bilingualism in America. During World War I, Germany was at war with the United States, "German hostility caused the United States to push for monolingualism and teaching of German as a foreign language was eliminated in most school districts" (Ovando, 2003, p. 5). Consequently, foreign language use in education was affected by these changes. Brisk (1998) mentioned that schools went from using the languages of the communities to using only English and considered foreign-born students a problem. In the

past, the sense of instability and threat from foreigners have used language as a means of retaliation by depriving English language learners of fully developing their native language.

The 1960s brought changes in education for minority language students. English learners were placed in classrooms that did not support their home language development. As a result, these students were left to "sink or swim" in a learning environment that did not support their language needs. Immigrant students, particularly Latine students, did not receive primary language instruction and were required to learn English at all costs by not acknowledging their cultural and linguistic needs (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). In 1964, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act. The Act forbade discrimination based on sex and race in hiring, promoting, and firing ("Civil Rights Act (1964), 2022). The Act also provided federal funds to create an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to report discriminatory acts.

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 was federal legislation introduced to the United States government to bring awareness of the linguistic needs of minority language speakers. Texas senator Ralph Yarborough introduced the bill. This bill aimed to provide school districts with federal funds to establish educational programs for students with limited English language skills (Ovando, 2003). Funding received from this Act also included resources for educational programs, teacher training, development of materials, and parent involvement projects (Kim et al. 2015). This Act called for government intervention to address how English instruction was to be imparted and support English language learners. Consequently, interest groups voiced their concerns that this Act violated the 1964 Civil Rights Act on the grounds of minority groups being discriminated against within the public- school system. The evidence showed no curriculum model designs for English learners to support their native language and second language acquisition (Ovando, 2003).

Lau v. Nichols (1974) brought awareness to the experience of Chinese students in the San Francisco Unified School District. Wiese and Garcia (1998) stated that this civil case focused on educational equity and access for English language learners to the curriculum but failed to address the need to develop their native language. The premise behind this case was that students were not achieving academically at the same rate as their English counterparts because they could not understand instruction from their English-speaking teachers and were denied equal access to an education (Gandara et al., 2004). Lawyers representing Lau argued that the school system's failure to provide supplemental English language courses violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Under the Office for Civil Rights view, they considered language discrimination was used as a means to exclude children from an educational program based on language as a determining factor for race, ethnicity, or national origin (Moran, 2005). This ruling urged the school district to design appropriate accommodations for Chinese-speaking students. Later, the Lau Remedies (1975) created by the U.S. Department of Education were a set of guidelines requiring schools to develop bilingual programs in elementary schools to address students' language needs (Crawford, 1996).

In 1994, California passed Proposition 187. Under this proposition, the children of illegal immigrants were not allowed to attend public schools and social and health care services were denied to illegal immigrants. Proponents argued that California had become a welfare magnet for illegal aliens through counterfeit documents, enabling them to access jobs and other social services destined for California taxpayers (Alvarez & Butterfield, 2000). The supporters of Proposition 187 wanted to end illegal immigration by tying the economic struggles of the state's poor economic conditions at the time to illegal immigration. In contrast to these views, opponents of the proposition stated that these actions were rooted in anti-immigrant sentiments

present during economic downturns and fear of job competition (Hovey et al., 2000). State economists declared Proposition 187 would cause more economic harm than good (Park, 1996). Federal money that comes to the state would be jeopardized and affect sectors such as education, hospitals, and other federal agencies. Opponents saw the long-term effects as affecting legal and illegal immigrants due to the dependency on cheap labor and further discrimination against people of color (Park, 1996).

In 1998, Proposition 227 passed in California, claiming that children placed in bilingual programs would not achieve academic success if they were not part of an English-only classroom (Gandara, 2012). A prominent figure supporting Proposition 227 was Ron Unz, a former businessperson from California. Unz argued that all children should receive English-only instruction to achieve academic success (Revilla & Asato, 2002). Proposition 227 blamed bilingual education programs for failing minority language students' low academic achievement (Ovando, 2003). English language learners under this law were given one year to transition from Structured English Immersion classes to English-only. Opponents of bilingual education have persuaded political and school authorities to redefine bilingual education, not how students can be taught two languages but how quickly students can attain proficiency in English (Brisk, 1998). Some school districts with well-developed bilingual programs before Proposition 227 could maintain their program. On the other hand, bilingual programs were discontinued in school districts with less developed or qualified staff to teach primary language (Gandara et al., 2000). Today, bilingual education has been significantly reduced in the number of programs as a result of Proposition 227. Although new developments in bilingual education have promise, as will be discussed later in the chapter, it is clear that bilingual education is an important site of political, racial, cultural, and economic struggle.

Proposition 58 repealed the English-only requirement imposed by Proposition 227 in California. Under Proposition 58 school districts have the right to create bilingual (dual-language) programs that provide English learners instruction in their primary language and English. English-only students can also benefit since they can enroll in dual-language programs and learn a second language. Supporters of Proposition 58 consider it a victory in removing barriers for students learning English in California. Students whose primary language is not English have the opportunity to develop their primary language and transfer those skills onto a second language. According to Californians Together (2024), California continues to lead the nation in recognizing the need and value in learning more than one language. As a result, multilingualism has re-gained acceptance and considered an asset to better serve the linguistic needs of minority communities.

Language Development

Humans have the innate capacity to possess the language to understand, create meaning, and communicate with other humans (Fromkin et al., 2003). Studying language involves many factors, from the basic sound to visual representation, eventually leading to word formation. This knowledge of the language is basic information based on our own experiences. When language is placed in a cultural context, new meaning is given. This context is called *cultural transmission* (Yule, 2006). As children are born, they acquire their first language from cultural exposure. Within this first encounter of language acquisition, children and people embrace a language that will tell their life stories. Cummins (2003) stated that students who receive instruction in their native language gain a deeper understanding of language and can use it effectively. This instruction allows students to develop elevated levels of literacy in their first language, which

can then support in transferring these skills to a second language. Through bilingual education, students can learn two languages and perform better in school.

First and Second Language Acquisition

Krashen's (1982) work on language acquisition has served as a foundation for explaining how language is first acquired subconsciously. Like cultural transmission, learning a new language occurs through exposure and in natural settings without linguistic rules and having the ability to "pick it up." Another layer to language acquisition is learning grammatical rules, equating to explicit learning. When combined, the two examples fall under Krashen's Input Hypothesis, which states that language is acquired by meaning first, then structure. To better explain this concept (Krashen, 1982), learners progress in language knowledge when they comprehend language input "i." As the learner becomes more advanced, "+1," they are ready for the next stage of language acquisition.

Developing the primary or mother tongue in a child's early years allows them to build vocabulary and language use concepts that provide a solid foundation for learning (Cummins, 2001). Once the primary language is sufficiently developed, a child can transfer linguistic skills to their second language (Cummins, 2001; Bingjun, 2013). In contrast, when there is a lack of good strategies from the mother tongue, a child can struggle to make connections that can interfere with comprehension (Salmona-Madrinan, 2014). Salmona-Madrinan (2014) further stresses that a second language background must be built by using the first language as a bridge that allows students to see connections and construct new knowledge.

The transfer of skills is fundamental in reading acquisition. Phonological awareness is expected to be enhanced when students receive instruction in their primary language (Cardenas-Hagan & Carlson, 2007). First language use in the classroom enhances learning by creating a

comfortable environment where teachers build relationships (Schweers, 1999). Children who come to school with a solid foundation in their mother tongue develop stronger literacy abilities in the school language. Children's knowledge and skills transfer across languages from the mother tongue they have learned at home to the school language. Proponents of bilingual education argue that primary language instruction in the early grades is necessary to ensure that students understand academic content and experience successful schooling (Cummins, 2001). When children continue to develop their abilities in two or more languages throughout their primary school years, they gain a deeper understanding of language and how to use it effectively. They have more practice in processing language, especially when they develop literacy in both, and they can compare and contrast how their two languages organize reality (Cummins, 2001).

Language as Identity

Ethnic identity is part of an individual's membership in their ethnic group (Umana-Taylor et al., 2009). Identity is gaining membership in one's ethnic group and practicing and embracing cultural values. Language serves as a medium of acceptance into one's culture through interactions with members of the same ethnic identity aid in building communication bonds (Sanchez et al., 2012). Overall, these feelings of belonging to a given ethnic group help establish group membership that connects to cultural ties (Mu, 2015). The building of cultural bonds allows for appreciating one's cultural traditions. The studies conducted by (Sanchez et al., 2012) on intragroup acceptance and rejection examined whether the lack of Spanish-speaking ability threatens intragroup acceptance for Latines who do not speak Spanish and feel rejected by Spanish-speaking Latines. This rejection causes distancing from other Latines and makes them less likely that they will identify themselves as Latine. The first study used correlation to demonstrate how Spanish-speaking ability predicts lower Latine feelings of belonging and

rejection from the Latine community. Fifty-three psychology students taking an introductory psychology course at Rutgers University participated in this study. Their Latine generational status ranged from first-generation to third-generation and beyond. Each participant completed a questionnaire using scales ranging from most to least. Some sample statements were: “I feel that I do not fit in with other Latine/Hispanics” and “ I feel that I fit in with other Latine/Hispanic students.” Results showed that higher proficiency in Spanish was associated with less intragroup rejection, greater Latine membership, and indicated a greater similarity to other Latines.

Generation status in Spanish speaking ability was greater with first and second and less with later generations. Those who spoke less Spanish felt intragroup rejection and less similarity to other Latines and felt rejected. Intragroup rejection is likely to occur in later generations as part of the acculturation process of assimilation. In the case of Latines, the fear of being considered “too White” and not speaking Spanish well would threaten their intragroup acceptance. Latines who cannot use language to foster identification with other Latines may have more difficulty feeling accepted due to their inability to communicate as a cultural practice.

The second study by Sanchez et al. (2012) also used psychology undergraduate students from Rutgers University. This study examined whether hiding Spanish-speaking ability in an ingroup causes Latines who do not speak Spanish to report lower or less connectedness to other Latines and self-categorizing as Latine. Participants completed an initial prescreen survey. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (Spanish or English). In the Spanish condition, the experimenter gave the instructions for the session in Spanish. Participants under this condition were allowed to interrupt the experimenter’s instructions by notifying them they did not speak Spanish or wait after the instructions and answer they did not understand. This forced all Latine participants to reveal their Spanish-speaking inability to the Latine

experimenter. In the English (control) condition, participants only heard the instructions in English and never revealed their Spanish-speaking inability to the Latine experimenter. Some sample survey items: “I think that Latine people understand me better than other people,” and “ I connect best with people who are Latine.” Results showed that Latines who did not speak Spanish and revealed their inability were less likely to categorize themselves as Latine and indicated lower regard and connectedness to other Latines compared to Latines who did not reveal their inability to speak Spanish. This also shows how significant speaking Spanish is connected to Latine identity.

Lee (2006) further examined the attitudes of Latine students toward bilingual education and identity. This study examined Latine students’ views and attitudes about bilingual education and their preference for bilingual education. It also analyzed their cognitive, affective, and psycho-social development. Students were randomly selected from seven urban middle schools (grades 6-8) participating in bilingual education programs. The participants received a multiple-choice questionnaire written in English and Spanish. Their classroom teachers and research assistants administered it. The findings showed that two-thirds of students understood the objectives of bilingual education, and half responded that it helped develop English and Spanish. Regarding what language teachers should use to teach, two-thirds responded that teachers should use both English and Spanish. Regarding the participant’s perception of bilingual education, 90% felt it was supportive, and 71% said it supported their cognitive and emotional well-being. Sixty-three percent felt their Spanish development improved by being enrolling in a bilingual program. Overall, Latine students support using two languages in the classroom and that it did not interfere with their development of English.

Cultural identity can also be defined by the degree of proficiency in a language. Bedolla (2003) conducted 100 in-depth interviews of Latines in California, ranging in age from 16-68 years, on their relationship to the Spanish language and its influence on their ethnic identity. The study found that Spanish is an essential element of their Latine identity. The participants believed that their cultural identity was based on the degree of Spanish they mastered. The first generation felt closer ties due to their lack of English knowledge. This makes sense, given that linguistic assimilation occurs across generations, and over time, the exposure to English increases, resulting in the loss of the native tongue (Arriagada, 2005). However, Cummins (2001) has stated that these identities are not static or fixed but are constantly shaped through experiences and interactions.

Maintaining knowledge of one's primary language is the focus of a study by Arriagada (2005). The study analyzed the results from the National Education Longitudinal Study from 1988, focusing on the use and proficiency of Spanish among Latine children. Out of 2,736 children selected, 70% of children continue to use Spanish at home, and 30% speak English in their homes. The results illustrate that language and family context strongly influence Spanish usage and proficiency for Latine children regardless of generational status. Spanish-language use is more likely for children who have learned Spanish as their first language and less likely when parents have a greater proficiency in English. Native language use by parents, grandparents, and siblings has significant positive effects on Spanish proficiency. The language can be maintained if Latine students are surrounded by the Spanish language and have a family environment as support (Arriagada, 2005).

Dual-Language Programs

Dual-language programs have existed in the U.S. since the early 1960s. The first known was the Spanish-English Coral Way program in Florida and the French-English Ecole Bilingue in Massachusetts (Gomez et al., 2005). These programs were created to help meet the continued growth of speakers of languages other than English and become proficient in using two languages for communication and learning (Alanis & Rodriguez 2008). In addition, these programs benefit ELLs in retaining and developing their native language while acquiring English. Torres-Guzman et al. (2005) noted that dual-language programs have included white middle to upper-class students. This inclusion reflected the populations served as language-majority and language-minority students, whereas only ELLs were targeted for such programs in the past. This change creates a more equitable status and inclusion of all students to learn a second language and develop full bilingualism and biliteracy (Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

Most importantly, the negative perceptions of past transitional bilingual programs are eliminated by not segregating students learning a new language (Collier & Thomas, 2004). To analyze the positive impact of dual-language programs, Mora et al. (2001) defined dual-language programs as "True immersion programs take an additive approach to bilingualism" (p. 438). They further elaborated that students who attended these programs attained high levels of academic achievement and had better economic opportunities.

Mora et al. (2001) suggested that dual-language programs in the United States promote native language instruction while acquiring a second language-English. Programs like these are labeled as two-way bilingual education (TWI) or dual language immersion (DLI). These programs aim to produce bilingualism, biliteracy, and high academic achievement. As Baker (2006) described, the composition of such classes is as follows: 1.) Non-English language is used

for at least 50% of instruction; 2.) Only one language is used to teach content; 3.) Both English and non-English speakers are present in balanced numbers and are integrated with all lessons. Additionally, Torres-Guzman et al. (2005) stated that dual-language programs promote positive cross-cultural attitudes that create an equitable atmosphere. Montague (1997) explained the model 90/10 to be the most effective for minority language learners. This model provided instruction in the minority language (Spanish or any other language other than English) 90% of the day and 10% in English. As students passed on to the next grade level, instruction was adjusted as 80/20 in first grade and 70/30 in second grade until it reached the desired 50/50. In the 50/50 model, students received instruction in reading and math in Spanish or another language other than English and content area subjects such as science and social studies in English.

The success of dual-language programs can best be evidenced in a study by DeJesus (2008). This study claimed that dual-language programs that are well implemented could decrease the achievement gap and increase academic performance. De Jesus' study stated that dual-language programs promote equity for ELLs, which contributes to students' academic success in this type of program. This same study claimed that dual-language programs demonstrated success, which was measured by students (a) outperforming their English-speaking peers; (b) developing higher-order thinking skills that lead to improved performance; (c) becoming bilingual, biliterate and bicultural, and (d) outperforming Spanish-dominant students from traditional bilingual programs. Dual-language programs have demonstrated a positive impact on ELL's academic success. Krashen (1996) wrote that when children receive a quality education in their primary language, "We [teachers] give them two things: ...general knowledge of the world and subject matter knowledge" (p. 3). Krashen (1996) further elaborated that when

the content is presented effectively, minority language students become literate, and literacy skills are developed, which are then transferred to the second language-English. English learners who participate in dual-language programs demonstrate proficiency and achievement in English at a comparable or higher level than English learners in English-only programs. English learners in dual-language programs appear to close the achievement gap by late elementary or middle school. Collier and Thomas (2004) presented their findings from a longitudinal study of one-way and two-way dual language programs in the United States. Their study included 23 large and small school districts from 15 different states representing all regions (urban, suburban, and rural). The focus of their research was to analyze linguistic programs provided to English learners that would help close the achievement gap of these students. The findings proved that English learners participating in a 90/10 model close the achievement gap by 95% by the end of fifth grade. This is due to their ability to cross-language references. This ability is observed in literary contexts where students use literacy skills learned in their primary language towards English (Lindholm-Leary & Genesee, 2010).

Dual-language programs not only include Latine English learners. White students also benefit from learning a second language. At the same time the goal of bilingualism or multilingualism can be anti-oppressive because it gives value to all languages and, therefore, the particular linguistic communities, there can also be a political context for dual-language that retains the relations of domination that exist in society. Morales & Maravilla (2019) used CRT's interest convergence theory to analyze how dual-language programs prioritize the interests of one group over another in a position of power. They did a case study of a dual-language program in a southern California school that was located in a middle-class community that served White middle-class and Latine working-class families after the passing of Proposition 227 in California.

During the time of Proposition 227, bilingual programs were not allowed unless parents advocated and showed interest. In the participating school in this case study, the school administration was persuaded to create a dual language program not to serve the Spanish-speaking Latine families. Still, the white middle-class parents wanted their children to learn a foreign language. Dual-language programs are inclusive and allow all students to acquire a second language at no cost to their home language. For white students, attending a dual-language program increases their racial privilege and economic resources. The white parents in this community had the legal status and political knowledge to fight for this program compared to Latine families from this community, who were working-class. According to Gandara (2021), dual-language programs can become a “win-lose” where middle-income English-speaking parents overcrowd these programs and deprive English learners of the opportunity for primary language development.

Latine Language Ideologies

In addition to the language experience of humans, Fairclough (1989) places language in a social context. It is within this social context that allows for the examination of how people communicate to function within social institutions. As individuals move away from cultural and linguistic environments, the use of language garners power when it comes to social relations. Linguistic distinctions exist through interactions that manipulate the use of language to represent and uphold the interests of a particular group in society. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) emphasize language ideology as a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk. The linkage is tied to personal identity, morality, and epistemology. The standard language ideology supports the notion that privileged positions in society occupy language creation and usage while other non-speakers are excluded (Piller, 2015). When applied to American language

ideologies, this theory reinforces the dominant use of English as the only appropriate language that can be used for all aspects of life to gain success. The beneficiaries of speaking English are those who speak standard American English by reinstating a privileged position of success. Monolingualism in the United States is favored because English is the language for social harmony and national unity. Leeman (2012) further elaborated that monolingualism is an ideology that creates a universal norm that links multilingualism to cognitive confusion and intergroup conflict. This ideology portrays bilingual speakers and minority languages as unpatriotic. The ideology of a dominant language creates inequities and obstacles to those learning the language of wealth as minority language learners apply "standard or correct" ways of speaking the dominant language in the case of Latines- English. Non-standard English creates an academic handicap that labels individuals incapable of logical thinking (Cummins, 1996). This way of thinking results in the subordination of other languages and the people who speak them. With the use of "standard" and "non-standard" social dialects, there needs to be an increase in consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of marginalized communities due to the power exercised by those in privileged positions (Fairclough, 1989).

Bilingualism is a sought-after goal for Latine parents to help maintain Spanish and transmit cultural norms and value systems that set them apart from other groups (Lutz, 2007/2008). Language maintenance plays a crucial part in the development of values and identity. Latine caretakers know the importance of teaching and transferring cultural traits to their children. The cultural characteristics (Schechter et al., 1996) include maintaining bilingualism in Latine children, access to better job opportunities, and cultural identity, including personal enrichment and family connection. These characteristics indicate that maintaining a minority language requires daily language use experiences and, most importantly, being aware of

external factors such as school, neighborhoods, and family issues. Family-related issues such as relocation, divorce, and the arrival of a new sibling can impact desired linguistic outcomes.

Learning a second language and maintaining the heritage language can be challenging in the United States, where monolingualism is celebrated. For Latine families, the pressure to see their children succeed places great emphasis on learning English. A study by (Lutz 2007/2008) where forty Latine family members were interviewed focused on language use, preferences, and experiences at home, work, and community. The desire to maintain Spanish at home to transmit values and cultural traditions was evident. These families' challenge was keeping a balance in language use at home. Farruggio (2010) stated that language provides immigrant families with ethnic identity, respect, and cultural preservation. Language is used to communicate amongst the family in building relationships of trust.

In an autobiographical essay, Roca (2005) describes the importance of creating and maintaining a language-rich environment that encourages bilingual development. Roca and her partner see the advantages of two languages, especially living in Miami, Florida, where being bilingual is necessary. Bilingualism also provides economic benefits and enjoyment in culturally interacting with other Latines via music, food, business transactions, and conversations. The home language used in Roca's home is Spanish to help their child naturally learn Spanish and nourish cultural identity. The couple believes that their child will be able to acquire English at school and with their friends.

Personal stories shared by Latine mothers on how they feel regarding language use reflect a complex set of emotions (Relano-Pastor, 2005). Relano-Pastor (2005) collected 56 hours of audiotaped accounts of the language experiences of Mexican and Central American working-class mothers living in Los Angeles. At home, maintaining Spanish was considered a form of

respect that stemmed from fostering Spanish use and considering it a vital source to teach and preserve cultural traditions that inculcate pride in the family's ethnic identity. One of the interviewed mothers expressed that when her children forgot how to say something in Spanish, her job was to reinforce and encourage their child to repeat it in Spanish so they wouldn't forget. Their biggest fear is that their children will lose their Spanish language.

Relano-Pastor's (2005) study shows how Latine mothers see the hardships of navigating and understanding the school system, especially when they do not speak English. For some parents, the feeling of interacting with school officials has created feelings of frustration, anger, and disappointment. Nevertheless, the pride in Spanish maintenance prevails as parents challenge English-only ideologies. In one example, a mother explained that her child had felt embarrassed when she, speaking only Spanish, participated in a school event where the other parents spoke English. Yet the mother challenged her child by reaffirming that Spanish is her language and that being bilingual is an asset.

Many Latine families value bilingualism as a way for their children to communicate with family and stay connected to their culture while also learning English, which they recognize is necessary for the wider U.S. society. Nevertheless, some Latine families differ and feel that learning two languages might cause confusion. Bayley and Schechter (2005) conducted a study with six Mexican immigrant families from the San Francisco Bay area in California and San Antonio, Texas. The purpose was to illustrate the diverse ways language is used. All the families involved acknowledged the importance of English in academic success, along with preserving their Mexican heritage through the use of Spanish. Most families approved their children learning how to read, write, and speak Spanish. However, some parents elected not to pursue Spanish language education. They perceived that learning Spanish would hinder English

language development. For later second and third-generation U.S. citizens, their decision to not have their children learn Spanish was due to their own experiences of linguisticism, being punished or humiliated for speaking Spanish, and fearing that their children would experience similar discrimination. Other parents who chose not to enroll their children in bilingual programs felt that such a curriculum would impede their children's academic progress. They, instead, relegated the responsibility of maintaining and teaching Spanish to the parents.

Latine Language Practices in the U.S.

Language practices play a role in the language maintenance of minority groups. Latine communities in the U.S. use multiple linguistic systems that involve different combinations. One approach described by Garcia (2009) is *translanguaging*. Cen Williams first used translanguaging to describe how bilinguals switch from one language to another (Baker & Wright, 2001). Not to be confused with code-switching, translanguaging allows multiple discursive practices to help make sense of the presented content. An example of a child's translanguaging would be when they read in English but pray in their primary language, Spanish. In an ethnographic study of a second-grade classroom in San Antonio, Texas, Sayer (2013) used participant observation to identify how children use their home language to mediate academic content. The children were part of a transitional bilingual program. The data showed that students are unafraid of using their home language and English (translanguaging) when engaging in class discourse. Code-switching, mixing two languages (Casielles-Suarez, 2017), was evident and demonstrated language control. The teacher's role was critical to help create a safe space that encouraged students to use language to express their thoughts and better understand academic content. Members of this community consider language practices or translanguaging (Garcia, 2009) as an accepted way of speaking that helps create their identity.

In Latine households, the concept of language negotiation plays a crucial role in how parents and children communicate. Through conversations, negotiation occurs when certain words or ideas arise that a participant does not know or is unfamiliar with the context. According to (Swain 1985), through conversations where negotiation of meaning is required in the second language, the participants provide comprehensible input to reinforce meaning. In bilingual communities, translanguaging is essential among minority children who serve as translators for their parents. Young children who live with immigrant parents who do not speak English fall under the role of language brokers. In a qualitative study on language brokering, 25 Latine adolescents and their parents participated in semi-structured interviews. In this study, Corona et al. (2012) wanted to describe the feelings of youth in language brokering for their parents and other family members. The results showed that youth expressed feeling positive when translating content they knew. On the other hand, they felt negative when translating unfamiliar content, such as medical terms at a doctor's office. Parents reported feeling happy and proud when their children served as language brokers, perceiving it as a way to help the family. Like their children, parents also described feeling embarrassed, uncomfortable, and ashamed of relying on their children to translate in everyday situations.

A different type of at-home language practice that can be observed in working-class immigrant families is the use of directives. Bhimji (2005) conducted an ethnographic study on two Mexican working-class families in Los Angeles who used directives when communicating with their young children. Directives, as defined in the study, are verbal actions given by the speaker to another person (the hearer) to perform a given function. In the study, 650 directives were collected and fell under three categories: 63% explicit, where the action to be realized is provided in literal form such as "Dile, bye" (tell her "bye"), and 16% implicit, where the action

is determined by context “ Se dice, gracias” (one says, thank you), and 21% interpllicit when the directives cannot be considered explicit or implicit “Un pie en el frente” (one foot in front) when trying to climb into a shopping cart. The different communication types used by caregivers showed small teachable moments where tasks and verbal skills are being taught.

Maintenance of Spanish Language and Sibling Influence

Primary language maintenance is essential in becoming bilingual. In the Latine community, bilingualism is determined by proficiency in Spanish and English. Proficiency is critical in maintaining the primary language, which requires the individual to sound native-like to avoid being judged by their community. The same can apply to English, resembling a standard accent to avoid being judged and achieve academic success (Bedolla, 2003). Parada (2013) adds that birth order can affect the maintenance and language negotiation between older and younger siblings. The older siblings are primarily exposed to Spanish and have no outside linguistic experiences except from their parents. Older siblings introduce English and build a communication bond through language negotiation as new siblings arrive. As new generations come, maintaining Spanish use at home in Latine communities is challenging due to English's influence. The task is more manageable in bilingual homes since both languages are used. Still, Spanish is lost over time in homes where parents only speak Spanish as children become acculturated to English (Lutz 2007/2008). Lieberman and his collaborators have shown that the United States is a veritable cemetery of foreign languages. Mother tongues brought by hundreds of immigrant groups have rarely lasted past the third generation. In no other country studied by these authors, the process of language assimilation and shift to monolingualism has been so swift (Lieberman et al., 1975).

Some parents who fear their child might struggle between two languages opt not to teach their children Spanish since English will be more beneficial in the job market. Another challenge is when children spend more time in English-only settings and with friends where Spanish is not required. It is essential to consider that Latine children are exposed to English most of their time outside the home. Lutz (2007/2008) stated that parents feel school pressure on children to speak English does not help maintain Spanish. This action sends messages to parents that they will not do well academically if their child does not master English.

School's Influence on Language Use

The educational system plays a crucial role in instilling standard linguistic norms. The reproduction of standardization norms calls for inflexible grammar rules and pushes for correct language usage. Leeman (2012) states that those students who do not apply "correct" linguistic forms are punished and considered unintelligent. Macedo et al. (2003) argues that standardization norms downplay or ignore race and class-based discrimination and promote linguistic authority. In the Latine community, having linguistic authority means speaking fluently in both English and Spanish or only English to achieve academic and socioeconomic success.

Specific models of bilingual education implemented in the United States have left their mark on how language is valued and accepted. Additive and subtractive bilingualism are two types of bilingual ideologies that have created positive and negative views. In additive bilingualism, primary and secondary language learning are valued as critical components in a child's language acquisition (Liddicoat, 1991). Cummins (2017) stresses the importance of continuously developing the first language in additive bilingualism to further elaborate on this concept. In subtractive bilingualism, the minority language is replaced by the dominant, which

ignores the value of the home language. Valenzuela (2005) used the term subtractive schooling to describe the educational experiences of Mexican high school students. These high school students were subjected to negative messages that undermined their culture through the use of the curriculum. Similar to subtractive bilingualism, their fluency in Spanish was ignored and instead used as a “barrier” to show their limited knowledge of English. Garcia (2009) describes subtractive bilingualism as embracing monolingualism, which upholds the status quo that English is the only acceptable language in school.

Controlling language development among the Latine community has been one way to keep the Latine community from moving up the social ladder. Language policies, especially concerning education, have an important impact on keeping children from acquiring strong literacy in Spanish and English (Gandara & Aldana, 2014). Also, racism, nativist attitudes, and linguicism affect language ideologies among Latine communities and children, particularly affecting language use (Fuller, 2007).

In an academic setting, students’ primary language contributes to developing their academic identities and can function in the transference of skills to English. Bilingual classrooms support a linguistic environment where the primary language is taught alongside English. Stevenson (2015) observed a group of fifth-grade students during class as they interacted in group work. The students were primarily Spanish speakers with an intermediate English Language Proficiency Assessment level. During class instruction, this group of students used English as a choice to grasp the content of the lesson.

Nevertheless, these students used Spanish during group work to discuss and ask questions about the task. Also, students expressed a feeling of confidence and comfort without feeling judged. This language shift shows the value of being a member of their community through the

primary language and the importance of learning English to gain academic success. In a similar study of first-grade students, Volk and Angelova (2007) described how students learning Spanish negotiated with their peers and were willing to learn to build relationships with their friends and family. From a contextual perspective, Fuller (2007) also observed bilingual students and noticed that English was used to move the action forward or provide most of the content in a given task. Spanish provided supplementary content if needed during peer interactions. Conversely, as young bilinguals become aware of the power of learning English in the United States, resistance to speaking their home language is apparent due to gaining a privileged academic status (Worthy et al., 2016).

Given this review, it is evident that young children's beliefs, values for, and use of Spanish and English develop through multiple home, school, and broader societal forces. The goal of this study is to show how these various factors interact to develop the language ideologies and practices of young children currently enrolled in a dual-language program.

Chapter 3 Methodology

The maintenance of Spanish in Latine youth is in constant battle with English as the preferred language in daily use and communicate with others. Language ideologies present in language choice are determined by social, political, and economic factors. Political factors affect minority populations through the practices and policies created to govern society. Anti-immigrant policies and practices are generally embedded with deficit ideologies about immigrants. This is especially the case in reference to Mexican and other Latine immigrant communities. When certain communities are perceived within a hierarchal system of domination developed to sustain white supremacy, then the language they speak is also perceived through this lens. The Spanish language has a long history of being perceived in the U.S. as having a negative impact on the Latine community. It is often blamed for the racial achievement gap and limited economic, social, and educational opportunities. This negative ideology can also be seen in academic settings (Garcia & Mason, 2008).

The attack on languages different from English is rooted in nativist ideologies that falsely suggest that this is a country belonging to white people who speak English and, thus, push for English to be the dominant language of instruction and give it the power to dictate who benefits economically (Macedo et al., 2003). This push to use only English influences Latine youth to value English as a source of upward mobility (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). As a result, Latine youth often experience primary language loss. This may be associated with developing a greater value for English, perhaps shame around the use of Spanish and the need to use and rely on English to navigate social activities and the job market. This research study focuses on whether and how this value for English develops to supersede children's value for Spanish. Put more positively, the study is meant to examine the question in a more comprehensive way by

examining how children develop values for Spanish and English and what social, political, and economic factors impact their heritage language maintenance. The research questions consist of an overarching central question and various sub-questions that help me operationalize the study. What are the language ideologies and practices of children enrolled in a Spanish dual-language program?

- a. How do students use Spanish and English in schools, at home, and in the community, and what language ideologies do they demonstrate and/or hold?
- b. What are the sociopolitical and economic contexts of the community, and how do these influence students' language use and ideologies? Specifically, how are class, racism, and linguicism experienced among these students and how do they influence their language choices?
- c. How do the dual-language program and broader school community and policies support or hinder the value of Spanish?
- d. What messages do the school, community, and family convey about English and Spanish to the children? How do the children interpret these messages?

This study aimed to identify how language ideologies are rooted and incentivized by nativist sentiments in which minority groups are marginalized. Linguicism is when racism is present and attacks language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2015). In immigrant communities such as the Latine community, a lack of proficiency in English is considered a liability in hindering access to resources in school and society. The ability to speak another language has been historically misunderstood as a disability, placing Latine students at a disadvantage (Davila & De Bradley, 2010). To better understand how Latine school-aged children navigate their school experiences, a critical approach was used to help unveil their linguistic experiences and address language domination.

In critical research, the researcher must reveal hidden messages that oppress and uphold the status quo. Through research, the ethnographer commits to addressing processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular observed experience (Madison 2019; Anderson 1989).

This action contributes to reaching emancipatory knowledge that helps bring injustices that dismantle structures of domination. Thomas (1993) directs the attention of critical ethnography to the use of metaphors that help direct our attention to analyze and identify symbols of oppression to “read off” structural characteristics such as ideology, power, and domination.

Methodological Approach

Qualitative research encompasses several research methodologies that describe and explain people's experiences, behaviors, interactions, and social contexts without quantification (Fossey et al., 2002). In qualitative research, researchers are expected to position themselves in their work. This positionality is imperative to help distribute power relationships between researcher and participant. Different qualitative paradigms offer new possibilities for redistributing power within the research (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). This practice can be experienced throughout the research process as the relationship between participant and researcher builds rapport. Qualitative research also engages in helping to construct meaning on how individuals interact with their world (Merriam, 2002). It is through these interactions that individuals can better understand their social world.

When using a qualitative approach, researchers find that no one definition exists to define this research. Guest et al. (2012) identified three definitions that define qualitative research. The first definition states that qualitative researchers are interested in understanding people's meaning and how they make sense of their world and experiences. This definition highlights the purpose and focus of qualitative research. From an epistemological stance, Parkinson and Drislane (2011) define qualitative research through methods such as participant observation, case studies, and narrative and descriptive accounts that typically reject positivism and engage in an interpretive approach. Another similar definition regarding data collection comes from Denzin and Lincoln

(2005), focusing on the researcher's role in observing and interpreting the world through transformative practices. These practices turn into a series of representations in the form of field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos. Qualitative researchers immerse themselves in natural settings to make sense of and interpret what their participants are trying to say. A unique characteristic of qualitative research is the flexibility of the questions posed that can be changed to fit the setting, data, and analysis of the research in action (Fossey et al., 2002). Qualitative research encompasses different approaches appropriate for understanding individuals' and groups' experiences. This understanding is produced by highlighting the actions and context of those researched.

Ethnography and Critical Ethnography

What is ethnography?

Ethnography comes from the Greek root *ethnos*, meaning an ethnic group, and *graphy*, a form of writing, drawing, or representation. Ethnography emerged from the field of anthropology that allowed researchers to immerse themselves within a community being studied for extended periods (Guest et al., 2012). The goal of ethnography is to document cultural processes and is, therefore, a method that requires being there as the processes under study occur. This activity enables the researcher to understand the emic perspective of its participants in their natural setting. Over time, the rapport between researcher and participant can lead to trust and communication. Another description of ethnography is that it is both a fieldwork method and an approach to writing (Campbell & Lassiter, 2015). This description is due to ethnographers engaging in fieldwork that requires direct observation, documenting, and conducting interviews of participants at the time of an event. The use of ethnography requires a commitment by the researcher to learn the “way of being with people” (Campbell & Lassiter, 2015, p. 4). This

commitment requires prolonged time spent in the participant's natural environment to build trust and rapport, leading to a strong working relationship.

What are critical ethnographic methods?

A paradigm is a system of ideas, or worldview, used by a community of researchers to generate knowledge. Three major research paradigms are empirico-analytical, interpretive, and critical research. Each paradigm represents different ways of looking at the world and the studied phenomena (Fossey et al., 2002). Critical research is founded on socio-political and emancipatory traditions that focus on critiquing and transforming current structures, relationships, and conditions that shape and constrain marginalized groups of people. Carspecken (1996) defines critical research as a social act concerned with social inequalities, social structures, power, culture, and human agency. Carspecken also reinforces that critical research aims to bring agency for positive change. To define positive change, the critical paradigm has the capacity to inquire ‘against the grain’ (Nel, 2018). This stance allows critical researchers to help identify the current social reality and those behind oppressive behaviors to seek transformation.

Under the transformative lens of critical theory, research is intended to transform society and individuals to help disrupt inequalities and other types of discrimination. Some key features in critical research are bringing awareness of oppressive structures and beliefs and understanding how educational, political, and economic views can dominate oppressed groups (Nel, 2018). Due to the domination in place, oppressed groups lack the tools and language to speak out for fear of retaliation. Therefore, critical research acts as the voice to disclose the needs and struggles of the people to help increase consciousness and bring liberation from dominant forces. For critical researchers, being close to human actions and experiences helps generate an image of how these individuals navigate their social worlds (Madison, 2019).

In this study, I use critical ethnographic methods to address the issues of language choice and maintenance between Spanish and English for Latine youth by unveiling forces of domination. A critical paradigm is appropriate to help address social justice issues. Critical research aims to uncover injustices and “gives us principles for conducting valid inquiries into any area of human experience” (Carspecken, 1996, p. 8). These forces will be analyzed through sociopolitical contexts that push Latine communities to assimilate to better their socioeconomic status. The presence of hegemonic forces impacts the creation of policies that use language to reproduce racism and keep privileged individuals in power. To challenge these practices through research, the structures and modes of reproduction need to be identified and challenged (Wodak 2013). By conducting this type of research, participants can see the value of Spanish and develop cultural pride as they access English resources without losing their primary language.

Connection to Theoretical Framework

Critical research’s purpose is to unveil injustices embedded in power structures. Within these power structures, hegemonic sentiments are nurtured and used to oppress people who are not part of the superior group. This superiority is tied to Western philosophical assumptions that only a few have access to (Darder, 2015). Darder (2015) further elaborates on the notion that critical research should function as an emancipatory epistemology that recognizes processes of domination and subordination that need to be dismantled. Darder (2015) also brings to light the historical phenomenon that critical theory links conditions of inequality to past structures reproduced within institutions that hold power and unquestionable knowledge. Through critical research, traditional methodologies and epistemologies can be questioned to bring change in the language used to present research. Using a critical paradigm in decolonizing Western thought can help drive the core value of emancipation to groups that have suffered injustices

(Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021). Critical race theory and LatCrit address the impact of race and how systemic structures sustain oppressive power. CRT and LatCrit can be used as a lens to challenge inequalities in educational opportunities for people of color in terms of curriculum, instruction, assessment, and funding compared to White students (Delgado-Bernal, 2002). Thus, research under this lens produces progressive thought that can barriers and find answers to issues present concerning the study.

Decolonizing Research

Decolonization is an essential element in conducting research. Decolonizing research allows oppressed voices to share their knowledge and be seen as the source of knowledge. In the past, researchers from outside the community of their participants took ownership of their findings and claimed all learned knowledge. Historically, in the 20th century, as colonized nations gained independence, the term, according to Betts (2013), started to appear in 1968 in research as European empires lost power over foreign lands. Bejarano et al. (2019) suggest that decolonization in academia needs to be challenged by colonized people to examine their experiences. In previous research by Western scholars, non-Western people have been portrayed as “savages” due to their differences in history, culture, and race. Therefore, it is imperative to include decolonizing theory to acknowledge the epistemologies of colonized communities whose ways of thinking have been oppressed, not recognized, and, in some cases destroyed. Smith (2021) defines decolonizing methodologies as revolutionary thinking that honors knowledge production, hierarchies, and knowledge institutions as working collaboratively for social transformation.

As I start my research using a qualitative lens and critical framework, decolonizing methodologies will be evident to help prevent the silencing of my participants. My participants

come from the Latine community, marginalized politically, economically, and culturally. Through the use of decolonization, the knowledge of my participants will be placed at the center of the research to ensure their voice is heard. Datta (2018) considers decolonization as an ongoing process where the researcher continues to learn their position as an investigator to understand better its participant's ways of knowing the world. Critical theory's position in dismantling oppressive ideologies can serve as a way to challenge Western methods that might oppress instead of benefit the community being studied. Smith (2021) mentions that an invisible power in the practices creates alienation of the other's knowledge in research. Thus, any research conducted about marginalized communities should positively impact change.

Under decolonizing methodologies, key indicators serve as a guide for researchers (Datta 2018). These include *collaborative research*, where the researcher and participant(s) work together to develop research questions and topic(s), and gathering places to share learning. *Collaborative learning* is the researcher, and all those involved have ownership and are carriers of knowledge. *Building ongoing relationships* and *honoring cultural protocols* are essential to help avoid misunderstandings and clarify the purpose of the research to prevent oppressing the voices and knowledge of the participants. Engaging in decolonizing research calls for researchers to see themselves as transformative intellectuals who seek to humanize oppressed communities (Darder 2015). This action helps established communities considered as “other” to be humanized.

Subjectivity

In conducting this research study, many questions surfaced on how the different epistemological approaches would help construct new meanings. The construction of new understandings is rooted in how reality is built by the experiences of all participants in this study. Kuhn (1970) places paradigms as models of intellectual frameworks or frames of reference that serve the researcher as a guide. Once the paradigm is established, the construction of the research, methodology, and methods are aligned, and the study can take place (Crotty, 1998). A critical paradigm sees reality and knowledge as a construction influenced by societal power relations. These power relations expose forces of hegemony and injustice that are present in minority communities (Crotty, 1998).

As an educator who once was a student in a bilingual classroom, I always wondered why some students were bilingual. Throughout the years, I noticed that students whose parents were primarily Spanish speakers had more connections and were willing to speak Spanish than those who did not have that language environment. Often, I asked students if they spoke or understood another language besides English, and the response was yes. Even with a yes response, these students still preferred English. My language experiences are not that different from those of my students. At home, my parents and other adult members spoke Spanish. I used a mixture of Spanish and English (code-switching) with my cousins during conversations and playtime. Language brokering continues to be present during community outings that require the use of English when accessing services for my parents where English is required.

My language placement at school was to receive bilingual education. At the elementary level, the model reflected a 50/50 approach where English learners received small group instruction in Spanish from a paraprofessional while English-only students worked with the

teacher. As I moved grade levels, English instruction was more prominent, while less instruction in Spanish language development was provided. The only time I used Spanish was with friends outside of the classroom. If caught speaking Spanish inside the classroom, I was reminded to be mindful of others who might not understand.

Spanish language has always been a part of my daily interactions. The value I place in the language is one of cultural identity that gives me the opportunity to identify with other Latines who speak Spanish. The importance of being able to communicate with loved ones and share personal experiences creates family bonds. There have been times when speaking Spanish brings back childhood memories that can only be expressed in the language context in which they occurred.

Being a first-generation Latine born in the United States to immigrant parents has helped shape my cultural experiences. As a child, I attended school where people of color who spoke another language received different academic instruction. At the time, I did not realize that I was being discriminated against based on my native language. The school system advocated for all students to speak one language, the language of the presumed superior race – white. As I reflect through a critical lens, I see how families with similar experiences tried to assimilate what society thought was right. The ideology of Americanization was very evident and somehow still seeps through in communities of color.

The topic of bilingual education impacted my schooling years as a child. As a child, I had both positive and negative experiences that I did not understand the reasoning behind. At the time, bilingual education used a subtractive lens that allowed for the learning of English and ignored Spanish. I was constantly reminded not to use my native language as a student. Fortunately, I managed, and it did not set me behind academically since I could speak Spanish

and English. In contrast, I saw their anxiety and struggle to acculturate to the mainstream culture of students who were not fully grasping English.

As an educator, I have built many relationships with the Latine community throughout my professional career. I can relate to many of their struggles as they navigate the educational system. For the families that I have worked with, most have some knowledge of the inequities minorities face. Sadly, I have experienced similar inequities and continue to fight. I see the world through my cultural identity and the constant struggle to maintain my roots through language, gender, religion, and traditions.

In 2019, a couple of years after Proposition 58 allowed bilingual programs in California. I started teaching in a dual language classroom whose population was 100% Latine. This opportunity was entirely new since I had previously only taught in English. As the year unfolded, I realized that students who can relate to how their parents and family communicate are more engaged and can connect to the presented content. As a child, I can recall my parents sharing stories of their struggles when leaving Mexico and making the United States their new home. My mother arrived in 1970 with one of her brothers. She grew up in a large family of 15. There were many deprivations and poverty. When the opportunity to migrate to the US came up, it served as an outlet to find a job where she could earn a decent living. Once she arrived, she worked in several sectors such as garment (sweatshops), food packaging, and as a babysitter. Working as an undocumented immigrant brought a fear of deportation at all times. Going grocery or any type of shopping made her fearful of being caught by immigration agents.

My mother recalls one instance when she and one of her sisters- who came before her, went shopping in downtown Los Angeles. My aunt spotted what appeared to be an immigration officer. My mother was oblivious to how these agents looked, so my aunt left her shopping

basket and discreetly pulled my mother into a dressing room to hide. After the coast was clear, they walked out hastily and left the store. Once home, my aunt told my mom why they left their basket. As an undocumented worker, my mother never received benefits. She was cheated in her wage earnings, especially when working in the garment industry since she was paid based on the pieces of clothing she prepared. After many years, she became a U.S. citizen. She had a tough time giving up her permanent resident card because it symbolized her dreams of escaping poverty and the struggle to obtain legalization.

My father grew up in a large family and in poverty. Working as a child in the fields was arduous and did not pay much. He migrated to the United States in his early 20s with one of his brothers. A coyote (human smuggler) was hired to cross them and a group of strangers through the mountainous region of Tijuana, Mexico. Fortunately, they made it via San Ysidro and later reached California. My father was focused on working in the agricultural or construction sectors. He ended up not doing either and was relegated to working in a plastic manufacturing factory as an undocumented worker. Later, when the Reagan Amnesty of 1986 was passed, he applied for legal residency, and his employer sponsored him. My uncle worked in agriculture and shared stories of how the fields were raided by immigration agents who asked for documents. During these raids, my uncle always ran and hid among bushes and grapevines to avoid being deported. One of my father's older brothers came as contracted bracero in the 1950s and became an "expert" in crossing. My uncle Serafin was a contracted agricultural worker who worked six months out of the year and was then sent back to Mexico. My uncle shared stories of how farm workers lived in cramped shacks and the long hours of working under the hot sun.

My feelings towards Spanish and English differ. I grew up listening to and speaking Spanish. I use Spanish to express cultural experiences and engage in conversations with other

Latines who know Spanish. There are certain expressions that lose meaning when translated. English, I learned as a second language and in more advanced academic settings. Most of the literature I read is in English, which has taught me to appreciate the language. Knowing English has brought academic success and economic opportunities. Both languages have helped to shape my views on how I see the world and interact with others. Speaking two languages helps me stay connected with my community and build new relationships with others.

Methods of Generating Data and Analysis

Setting

This study examined Latine children raised in a city located in southern California. According to the 2020 US Census, the population at that time was 56, 415. The city's demographics were 40.1% White, 1.3% Black, 1.4% American Indian, and 76.9% Hispanic/Latine (Census.gov, n.d). As expected, given these demographics, the school had a Latine enrollment of 94.6%, 35.1% of students had been classified as English learners, and 84.9% received free or reduced lunch.

The school the children attended was a TK-6 public school with a dual language program that used Spanish as the primary language of instruction while also teaching English. The program drew on the dual-language bilingual 90/10 model. The program's mission was to create bilingual and bicultural students. The school district where this study took place began to look at the possibility of establishing a dual-language program during the 2017-2018 academic year. A team was created, which consisted of the superintendent, interested teachers, site administrators, board members, and outside consultants. The purpose of that team was to study the components of effective dual-language programs. That study consisted of teachers and other team members visiting other dual-language programs and attending state and local dual-language conferences

and trainings to help increase the knowledge and skills required for program implementation. Besides bilingual proficiency, the program's vision at this school site was to guide students to achieve the California Seal of Biliteracy. This achievement was the next step in their plan, allowing students to continue receiving bilingual education beyond their elementary school years.

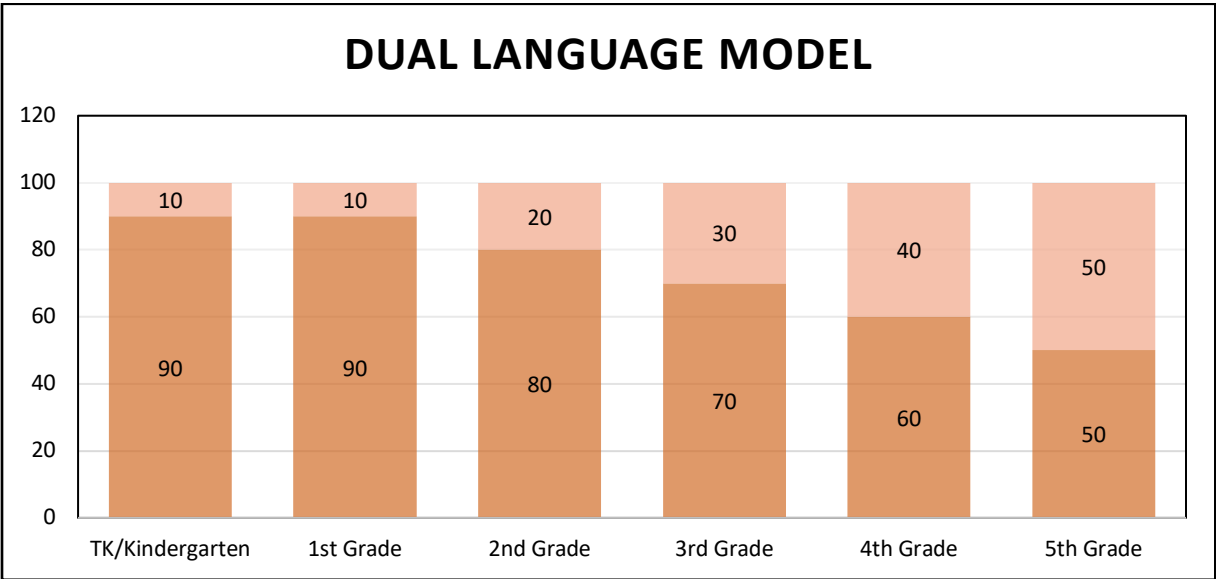
At the time this study was conducted, I had been a teacher at this school for four years. The dual-language program started in the 2019-2020 school year as a strand within a broader school that also offered traditional English-only instruction. The program had expanded up to third grade, with students at that time receiving 60 percent Spanish instruction and 40 percent English instruction. Two-thirds of the school enrollment consisted of students enrolled in the dual language program in grades TK-3. The remaining grades 4-6 were taught in English only. All dual-language teachers were required to hold a Bilingual, Cross-Cultural, Language and Academic Development (BCLAD) or more recently, the Bilingual Language Authorization (BILA) certificate, allowing them to teach in Spanish in California. However, prior to the implementation of this dual-language program, none of the teachers had previously taught in a dual-language or any other bilingual program.

Program

The school employed the 90/10 model of dual-language instruction. This model initially develops the primary language while slowly adding in the English language. At this school, the transitional kindergarten, kindergarten, and first-grade students would receive ninety percent of their instruction in Spanish and ten percent in English. As the students moved to the next grade, as shown in Figure 1, the percentage of language instruction would shift to 80/20 in second grade, 70/30 in third grade, 60/40 in fourth, and 50/50 in fifth grade. The more significant

percentage in each grade was devoted to classroom instruction in Spanish until students reached fifth grade, where Spanish and English were taught in equal percentages.

Figure 1 Dual Language Model



Students were placed in the dual-language program based on the Language Assessment Scales-Oral (LAS-O) placement assessment. This assessment was typically administered to students whose parents wished to enter their child into the dual language program. The LAS-O is structured around oral language domains: vocabulary, listening, comprehension, and story-telling. The test also measures the pronunciation of phonemes. The results help identify students who would benefit from instruction in their native language and any difficulties in their native language and monitor progress in attaining Spanish language proficiency. Once students were placed in the dual-language program, they had to demonstrate the necessary language skills to be successful academically. The class composition of students in the program should be balanced between native Spanish speakers and non-Spanish speakers. Parents with children in the dual language program commit to keeping their children enrolled through sixth grade. There are some exemptions where a child must withdraw with the approval of the school administrator.

Community

The community surrounding the school was majority Latine, which was also reflected in the school's student population. Census data indicate that most members of the community had earned at least a high school diploma, but many had not pursued a college education. The economic status of the population in this community was working class, where, in some cases, both parents in the household worked to upkeep their homes and families. The participants in this study all lived in a house that they either rented or owned. While the focus is on the children participants, I also sought to include the home context and, therefore, the parents of the children. I engaged in participant observation with students at school during their lunchtime and interviewed students after school to avoid pulling them out during instructional time. The parents of the student participants were interviewed at home. The participating teacher was interviewed after school in her classroom.

Participants

I used purposeful sampling to select young Latines who spoke Spanish and English and were enrolled in the Spanish dual language program. My goal was to select students from the same third-grade class. Qualitative research draws on purposeful sampling, which involves selecting participants who can provide essential, in-depth, and detailed information for the study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Purposeful or purposive sampling concentrates on people who fit particular characteristics of the research study. Ilker et al. (2016) outline several purposive sampling methods that can be used, including the homogenous sampling that I used for this study since the participants shared similar age, culture, and language traits. With a small sample, a homogenous group of participants allowed me to see what similarities seemed to exist and to learn of any consistent themes across the participants.

Table (1) shows the down of each participant regarding gender, age, education level, immigration status, and employment (for adults). The students were two males and three females. Adults included five mothers, one father, and one female teacher. This totaled five students, ages eight and nine. All participating students were in the third grade. On the other hand, parent education levels ranged from some high school, high school graduates and some college. Parents were either immigrants or first-generation US-born from Mexico. Lastly, the families were working class, including one homemaker, one school bus coordinator for a public school district, one cashier, one tax preparer, one metal sheet worker, and one product distribution center worker. The teacher was a Latine who was born in the U.S. whose parents are immigrants and she is a first-generation to attend college. At the time of the study, the teacher had been employed at the school for almost six years.

Table 1 Participant Demographics

Participant Student	Grade	Gender	Age	Parents and Immigrant Status	Parental Employment	Parental Education
Fernando	3	M	9	Maria- Born in the USA (First Generation)	Homemaker	High School
Erika	3	F	9	Elena- Born in the USA (First Generation)	School Bus Coordinator	High School
Lisa	3	F	8	Ana- Born in the USA (First Generation) Jose- Born in Mexico (Immigrant)	Tax preparer Metal Sheet Worker	Some College High School
Andres	3	M	8	Elisa- Born in Mexico (Immigrant)	Cashier	High School (Mexico)
Carina	3	F	8	Rosa- Born in Mexico (Immigrant)	Product distribution warehouse	High School (Mexico)

Family Profiles and Collection Procedures

Fernando

Fernando was a nine-year old student that had attended the same school since transitional kindergarten. Fernando was as a student in my class when he was in transitional kindergarten and kindergarten dual-language. I can recall that he was a bright student who knew all of his alphabet and numbers, which is a requirement in the early grades. Fernando's family included two older sisters, his mother, and his father. His father was the breadwinner in his household, and his mother stayed home to take care of the household needs. Fernando did not like to go out much, so he liked to stay home and read. He loved to read serial chapter books, especially the *Diary of the Wimpy Kid* (Kinney, 2007)

First Visit. The first visit was scheduled in early January. I called Maria, the mother, to schedule a convenient time. When she answered her phone, she greeted me, and I asked what time would work best. She said that mornings would be best because her husband was at work, and we would have time to converse. The visit was on a Tuesday mid-morning around 11 AM. As I drove through the neighborhood, I noticed the colorful homes that were all gated with different types of fencing. As I entered the home address, I saw one of her daughters look out the window. I parked outside and was greeted by the door. As I walked in, I noticed the home had several photos depicting family members and special events such as a wedding. In the corner near the door, because the visit was right after Christmas, I saw the typical holiday colors and a small Christmas tree. One thing that was evident was the Catholic faith with a statue of Our Lady of Guadalupe. I sat in one of the dinner table chairs as it allowed me to use the table to take notes. Maria and Fernando also sat at the dinner table. Before starting, I explained the purpose and gave information about the study. I interviewed Fernando first and asked him to draw a

family picture, then asked him some questions about school (See Appendix A). Next, I talked to Maria, the mother, about her opinion regarding the dual-language program. Once both interviews were done, I was given some avocados and limes from her trees.

Second Visit. I saw Maria after school, and asked her what would be a good day and time for the next interview. She said Sunday because the weather would clear up and no rain was forecasted. I drove to her home on Sunday. As I approached her front street parking spot, she was buying street corn from a vendor. As I walked towards the house, she offered me a corn, and I gladly accepted. We walked inside and ate the corn before starting the interview. This time, the interview was more conversational since I shared with her some ideas that came up from the previous one. She agreed with what I said and added more about how she experienced racism at school. She shared how students were separated based on their language designation. Fernando was asked to draw someone bilingual (See Appendix B). Once he was finished, he shared his drawing. This time, I asked him how he felt about his dual language classroom, and he said that he was happy. He also wanted to show me his novel collection, "*The Diary of a Wimpy Kid*."

Erika

Erika is a nine-year old student who, like Fernando, attended the same school since transitional kindergarten. She was my student in transitional kindergarten and kindergarten dual language. She had always been a good student and showed great independence in doing her work. One of her hobbies was playing soccer after school. Erika's family included two sisters, one brother, mother, and father (See Appendix C). One of her oldest sisters was in high school and played softball. At the time of the study, her mother was the only person working since her father was unemployed. After school, Erika loved to make puzzles and paint her fingernails. At home, she helped her father care of the hens and roosters in their chicken coop.

First Visit. During the first visit, Elena, Erika's mom was happy to schedule the interview on a day she was off work. When I called her, she was excited to receive my call. We talked for a few minutes to catch up on life. I asked her for her availability, and she preferred mornings since she was on vacation. When I arrived at her home, her two small dogs greeted me as I walked towards the main entrance. I walked towards the living and noticed that the house was going through some remodeling. I sat on the couch and reviewed the interview and study protocol. With a smile, she said, "I'm ready." I started by asking Elena about her family. She shared that all her children lived at home, went to school, and the oldest had a paying job. Elena also shared that her husband was unemployed but was actively searching for a new job. I then asked her about her current job, and she said, "I was promoted to the school bus transportation unit at my school district." She was excited about her new position but was aware of the new duties the role presented. After I was done with the interview, Erika wanted to show me her chicken coop. I was surprised to see so many hens and roosters.

Second Visit. The second visit was scheduled about a month later during the week in the evening. When I arrived, I approached the front door and was greeted by the eldest daughter. I waited for Elena to come home from work. As I waited, I interviewed Erika who showed me her latest puzzle. It was one of her major accomplishments because it had over one hundred pieces. Her older sister also shared that she was playing varsity softball, hoping to get a scholarship. Erika's father also joined the conversation and shared that he practiced his English more to get a better job. When Erika's mother came home from work, I greeted her, and shared some of the main ideas from the previous interview. She agreed, and we had more of a conversation about the benefits of bilingualism. Elena shared that because of her bilingualism, she is an asset at her job.

Lisa

Lisa, an eight-year old student, attended this school in kindergarten and was in my classroom. At first, I recalled that she was timid and did not want to speak in Spanish. As the year progressed, she opened up more, and her confidence grew as she learned more vocabulary. Her academic progress was impressive, as she was able to write in complete sentences without much assistance. At an early age, she was reading and decoding above grade level, which showed how much growth she had achieved. Lisa has one younger brother who was in the dual language program. Lisa's mother owns her business and tends to split her time between working from home and her office. Her dad worked a full-time job. In this household, the love of nature was abundant. Lisa loved gardening and showed great interest in plants and their care, along with her pet dog, cat, and bird.

First Visit. When I first called Ana, Lisa's mother, to ask her to participate in the study, she wanted more information about the study's purpose. I talked to both parents and explained the purpose and the study's main topic. They both agreed to participate and opened their home. During the first visit, I was welcomed at the front door. I walked towards the living room and noticed they still had their Christmas tree. Ana explained that they were waiting until the Three Kings Day. This is a holiday celebrated in Christian homes celebrating the visit of the Magi to Christ child. I started the interview with both parents. I asked about their choice to enroll Lisa in the dual language program. They both shared that they saw it as an opportunity for their daughter to learn proper Spanish. When I interviewed Lisa, she shared her excitement about being in a bilingual classroom. At the end of the interview, Lisa shared her bookshelf full of books. Her younger brother shared his toys and a large pet dog.

Second Visit. The second visit happened on a Sunday. Since Ana, Lisa's mother is a tax preparer, her schedule was hectic due to tax season. During this visit, like the other parents was more conversational. I shared key ideas from the previous visit. Both parents wanted to share their own schooling experiences and how these affected their decision in a bilingual program for their daughter. I was very intrigued to listen to their stories and how they overcame being labeled as English learner. The father shared how he was given the nickname "El Que Que" and how this affected his self-esteem until he was reclassified as English proficient in middle school. Towards the end of the visit, Lisa wanted to show me her garden and explained that some rodents had eaten her radishes.

Andres

Andres, an eight-year old, joined my dual language kindergarten classroom. He showed excellent command of Spanish, as this is his primary language. Andres comes from an immigrant family that was born in Mexico. His mother immigrated, as well as his father, for a better life. His siblings included three sisters, two older and a younger one. He is the only brother. During the time of the study, Andres was attending catechism to receive his sacrament of First Communion. During our conversations at school, he shared what he had learned and, showed me how to make the sign of the cross and shared some prayers he learned. One of his favorite sports to play is soccer with his friends.

First Visit. When scheduling the first interview, I had to be mindful of the work schedule. When I called Elisa, Andres's mother, her work schedule was very tight, and she was only available Mondays. When I visited her, I noticed that she was cooking. I walked in and sat at the dinner table. I greeted her and explained to her the study's purpose and how I would use the information. At first, she did not understand, but after I explained, she was more than willing

to participate and share her child's experience in the dual language program. The interview started very formal, with me asking questions. After a couple of questions, she asked, "Am I answering correctly?" I told her there was no one or right answer and that I was only capturing her thoughts and opinions. As I sat in her dining room, I noticed that family was at the center of this home because I could see pictures of all the children. I pointed to one of them, which was a picture of the middle child. I told the mom that I remembered her when she was in third grade. Enriqueta reminded me that she was now in junior high. When the interview was done, I proceeded to interview Andres. I asked him to draw a picture of his family and describe it. His picture included all members, and she showed great love towards his family (See Appendix D).

Second Visit. The second visit was more relaxed. Elisa felt more comfortable, and I shared key ideas from the previous visit. She agreed that bilingualism is important and should be prioritized in the home. As the conversation continued, we waited for Andres to arrive from his catechism class. I shared that during my conversations with Andres at school, he shared that he was excited to do his first communion. She added that it was important for her to have him in Spanish catechism classes so that she could help him at home learning his prayers. I could tell by the tone of her voice that teaching Andres the prayers in Spanish was a cultural connection that brought her good childhood memories of her religious upbringing. Towards the end of the visit, I was invited to stay for dinner. Elisa cooked pozole- a Mexican pork and hominy stew. Toward the end of the visit, Elisa's oldest daughter, who was in high school, asked me to help her with one of her projects, which was an interview. I was interviewed regarding my career choice and how I felt. I shared my teaching profession and how I decided my career path.

Carina

Carina, an eight-year old, joined my dual-language kindergarten classroom. Carina comes from a family whose parents immigrated from Mexico. She is the only child but lives with her parents, who worked full-time jobs, her aunt, and her grandmother. As the only child, Carina is used to receiving all the attention and loved to spend time visiting the swapmeet. In particular, a stand where they sell her favorite collectible animal toys. Carina shared that when she visited the swapmeet, she loved it because she hears Spanish everywhere and can understand what people are saying. Academically, Carina was reading basic words and writing phonetically. Her English was developing at the time, and she had shown growth in mastering basic English language skills.

First Visit. When I first called Rosa, Carina's mother, she was on vacation in Mexico. Upon her arrival, she returned my call and provided her availability. I scheduled the interview in the evening to allow her time to get home from work. Carina's home environment is composed of her mother, father, aunt, and grandmother. They are an immigrant family who strived to improve their way of living in the United States. Before I started the interview, she expressed that she was a bit nervous about the process since she had never participated in a study. To help ease her nerves, I explained the purpose and that it was acceptable if there was any information she did not want to share. During the interview, Carina's grandmother sat in the living room to listen. My impression was that she also was interested in listening. As I started the interview, Rosa shared that when she first enrolled her daughter, she wanted a school that would provide a solid foundation in academics. She was more grateful when she heard about the dual-language program because her daughter would feel at home. Spanish is the only language spoken in this household; therefore, learning English and becoming bilingual is a sought-after dream.

Second Visit. On this visit, when I arrived at the home, I could smell roasted chili peppers coming from the kitchen. When I walked into the living, I could hear the family cooking and engaging in family talk. They were discussing amongst themselves. Rosa came into the living room, and we started our conversation. She shared that they were busy cooking because her husband was home from work. I began by sharing key ideas that came up from the previous interview. Rosa agreed and shared that she sees the value of a bilingual education for her daughter. I asked her if she thought about learning English. She said that a few months before the first interview, she went to the adult school to take a placement English language test. To her surprise, she scored high but felt unprepared to pursue more education due to her work schedule.

Data Collection

Each of the five students was interviewed two times after school at their homes for approximately an hour each. I would go to their homes, and the student would show me around, show me their room, and anything else they felt proud of. They were very excited to have me come over. The students were also observed at school ten times for approximately fifteen to twenty minutes during lunchtime for a total of fifteen hours. Each observation consisted of the child interacting with their peer(s) during lunchtime for part of the time. The remainder of the time, I talked to the students and asked them to share what they did or learned in class that day. For the observation and conversation, I took field notes to help me capture the student's actions within the school environment. My role during the observation part was to find a place where I would not obstruct other students from eating and where I had a good view of the students. For the conversation portion, I sat next to the student so that I could hear what was being said. During the home interviews, the parents were interviewed for about one hour to one hour and a half. In the first interview, I asked them questions related to bilingual education and their choice

in enrolling their child in the dual-language program. In the second interview, I shared with them some ideas I found from transcribing their interview. In the third interview, the parents shared more about what they noticed regarding their child's language use in a conversational manner. They were more comfortable and opened up more about their own schooling experiences. The students came from the same third-grade class. For each interview conducted with participants, a semi-structured format was used, which allowed participants to engage in a natural conversation without feeling pressured or anxious. Field notes were also gathered during each interaction with participants at home and school.

The teacher was interviewed three times after school for one hour in her classroom. The format was also semi-structure. During the first interview I asked the teacher how she felt about teaching in the dual-language program and what were some language practices she noticed the students using. The second interview I shared some ideas that emerged from her responses and asked if she agreed or would like to add additional information. Also, during the second interview she shared more about what she noticed about the school's acceptance of the dual-language program. In the third interview, the data gathered expanded on how the school promoted Latine culture.

Data sources

To gain an understanding of the English language fluency of the students in this study, the English Language Proficiency Assessments for California (ELPAC) was used to identify the English language proficiency. The ELPAC assessment was used to measure English language development in English language learners. The ELPAC assessment is given to students in California who are enrolled in public schools and whose parents indicate on the Home Language Survey (HLS) they speak another language other than English at home. The results of the test are

used to help support English language development in the areas of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The ELPAC is divided into two sections: initial, which is first given to English learners to help determine their placement. If a student scores proficient in the initial ELPAC, they are labeled as Initial Fluent English Proficient (IFEP). The summative assessment follows later in the school year to measure the language progress in the four areas. The scores range from a level one to a level four. Table 2 shows the levels and the proficiency description.

Table 2: ELPAC Assessment Proficiency Level Description

ELPAC Levels	Level 1 Beginning Stage	Level 2 Somewhat Developed	Level 3 Moderately Developed	Level 4 Well Developed
	EL students at this level rely on learned words and need substantial support in English.	EL students at this level often need support to communicate in English.	EL students at this level can sometimes communicate in English with light support.	EL students at this level can communicate in English with occasional to no support.

The students in this study had various levels of English proficiency. Although all five students knew English and Spanish, their language development and proficiency in English differed. Out of the five students, only two had been labeled English learners; one student was IFEP, and the other two were English-only based on the Home Language Survey their parents filled out. The English-only students came from bilingual homes before entering the dual language program. Table 3 shows what each English learner scored on the ELPAC.

Table 3: Student English Language Level

Student	English Language Level on the ELPAC
Carina	3 Moderately Developed
Andres	4 Well Developed

As shown in Table 3, Andres's score of 4 on the ELPAC classifies him as fluent in English. The next step for him was to reclassify as a fluent English speaker. Each school district had to have an English learner reclassification plan that meets the criteria from the California Department of Education. The plan needs to have: 1. Assessment of English Language Proficiency (e.g. ELPAC), 2. Teacher Evaluations, 3. Parent Consultation, and 4. Basic Skills Relative to English Proficient Students (Standardized assessment).

Additional data collection occurred during participant observation at school and home. The families were very welcoming during the home visits and catered to my needs first. They knew that each visit had a purpose and were required to answer some questions about the study. In the beginning, parents were nervous because of the formality of the study. To help break-up the formality, I engaged in some household matters such as helping with homework, helping set up computer access, and providing information to one parent interested in learning to speak English. As part of a qualitative study, to better understand its participants, a crucial component is for the researcher to become part of the environment to understand better, in this case, how language was used and the ideologies behind their choices.

Participant Observation

I engaged in participant observation to capture the participants' activities at school. Guest et al. (2012) recommend that participant observations need to occur at multiple times of the year, multiple days of the week, or even multiple times during a day and at the field site(s) where the participants or actions of the study naturally occur. The purpose of each observation was to observe how Spanish was used and in what ways. Participating in the natural setting allowed me to observe each student's language usage opportunities. DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) state that the goal of participant observation allows the phenomena under study to be examined to increase

validity and build on theory. In addition to this, participant observation connects the researcher to human experiences that provide insight into the how and whys of a specific behavior in a particular context (Guest et al., 2012). Learning about the context of the participants allowed me to visit the setting, build rapport, and spend enough time gathering the needed data to help construct an overall picture of what was observed. The study was five months, beginning in December and ending in May. I observed each individual student once a week for a total of ten times for each student during my lunchtime since the participants were in my school site but at a different grade level. Each observation was 20 minutes in length. I also collected data via interviews and field notes of parents and students. The locations took place at each of the family's homes to help facilitate access and save time and school.

Field Notes

Field notes were included as part of the observation process and data collection. As each participant observation was conducted, I took notes to help capture real-time interactions. As part of my note-taking, I jotted keywords and phrases to help me explain and capture participants in their natural setting. The jottings helped me recall significant actions that helped me construct the participants' natural environments (Emerson et al., 2011). Phillippi and Lauderdale (2018) provide a guide for qualitative researchers on how to structure field notes. They suggest that fieldnotes should have the following: *basic information*- study title, data collection dates and other relevant information, *geographic setting*- location of the study, *demographics*- provide context about the community (race, age, income, etc.). Societal pressures are important since they depict any tension, violence, or socioeconomic status that affects marginalized groups. I followed these guidelines in writing field notes and completed my field notes immediately after leaving each observation site.

Interviews

Interviews were used as a communication tool and to build rapport. Building rapport allows responses to be more open and honest. This bond helped me to obtain contextualized data central to the study. Throughout the interview process, each participant was able to describe their experiences in using their primary language at school. As they shared these experiences, it helped me understand how meaning was constructed concerning the phenomenon at study. Ravitch & Mittenfelner-Carl (2016) state that subjective experiences shared via interviews help build trust and healthy relationships. As a result, participants felt comfortable in sharing and were not judged. In working with young students, creating a non-evaluative environment helped to decrease anxiety and the expectation of giving the correct answer. Ravitch & Mittenfelner-Carl (2016) further explain that the interviewer must make every effort to identify any biases and not impose these using evaluative language and nonverbal communication. My biases were controlled by letting students know that any response given was accepted.

The interview format was semi-structured since this is the most common type used in qualitative research (Adams, 2010). The interviewer's role is to listen to what each participant wants to share about themselves and their world using their own words (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). I created a set of specific questions focusing on the study's primary purpose. Since the format was semi-structured with open-ended questions, I used probing questions to help customize each participant's experience. Probing allowed the participant to provide detailed descriptions to aid in interpreting and analyzing data (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Some key features used in conducting each semi-structured interview were to schedule in advance, find a comfortable place that would not cause anxiety or distractions, and gauge the participant's level of engagement by not doing interviews too long. Most important (Adams, 2010) throughout the

interview is to allow the participant to speak freely without feeling restricted. MacNaughton & Smith (2005) state that children, like adults, are more likely to share their ideas, feelings, and perspectives if they feel respected. For this to occur, I created a safe space and listened carefully to each given response.

The interview plan with parents and students was to interview them at home. This setting provided a comfortable environment that helped prevent anxiety. When scheduling interviews with parents, 45-90 minutes is recommended to allow debriefing after each session (Guest et al., 2012). Since I teach full-time, I provided my availability and allowed flexibility to help accommodate working parents. As a reminder to each interviewee, I called or texted them the day before to confirm. All interviews were conducted in Spanish unless parents requested in English. In preparation for each interview, consent forms, a list of questions, and a mobile recording device was available. After each interview, I debriefed to help identify the information gathered.

Using appropriate methods for children who are a part of a research study is vital to engage them in the process. Punch (2002) calls these "child-friendly" methods that draw on children's familiar and personal interests. Also, depending on the child's ability to communicate with a researcher, it can be limited. Thus, using a task-based method helped build confidence. (Barker & Weller, 2003). I gave students the task of drawing as part of their interviews to help them creatively express their thoughts and serve as a source to help formulate their responses. Through illustrations, the children had control of what they wanted to share and interpret without adult intervention. Another artifact that I used was a writing prompt. Since the children in this study are older, they were given a writing prompt to record and share their opinions. Barker and

Weller (2003) emphasize that writing, besides highlighting a personal account, allows children to record their experiences and feelings without embarrassment.

Data analysis

Analyzing data as part of a study requires transparency to help establish rigor and validate the findings (Ravitch & Mittenfelner-Carl, 2016). The researcher's role is to ensure that the data support all methods and interpretations as accurately as possible throughout the process. Making sense of the data calls for structured approaches to help identify and construct analytic themes that will later become the study's findings. This construction of analytical themes is accomplished by identifying significant patterns in the data (Patton, 2015). I was constantly engaged in analysis throughout the data collection to see how patterns are constructed and connected.

In this study, all data collected via participant observation, field notes, and interviews followed an inductive thematic analysis approach by transcribing the data to facilitate coding and provide a representation of spoken data. All of the interviews conducted with parents, teacher, and students were first audio recorded at the interview setting and transcribed as soon as I left. In transcribing each interview, I had to be aware of the language used because Microsoft Word's default language is English. For some interviews, I had to switch the language settings to Spanish to avoid grammatical errors. Once done, I could replay each audio recording and type word for word onto a blank document. According to Gibson and Brown (2009), transcripts provide a form of data that represents data in a better *re-present* format. After completing this step, I inductively read one interview at a time to become familiar with the content and take note of key phrases to complete open coding. Following the transcription of each interview, inductive coding was applied to analyze any themes that came directly from the data. Open coding allows

the researcher to read through the data in small “chunks” and attach a code or phrase that captures the idea. After the first round of coding, a second or axial coding followed. In the second reading, I chunked the text into smaller portions and read line by line. As I read, I highlighted essential words and used these as key terms. During the second time, data analysis focused on looking at the codes and seeing how these can create categories that lead to findings (Miles et al., 2014). As data is coded, Gibson and Brown (2009) recommend looking for repetition of strong or emotive language, new concepts, and differences between participant responses. These can help guide further data collection if needed to answer the research question(s). Guest et al. (2012) state that inductive thematic analysis is a common method used in qualitative data analysis that guides the researcher to read, identify, code, and interpret themes. The ultimate goal is to present the stories and experiences voiced by the participants as accurately as possible. In the third reading, I reread the key terms and removed those similar in meaning to condense the list and create themes. Under each theme, I listed the codes to illustrate the theme further. The final codes had connections to language preference, dual-language programs, bilingualism, and language usage.

When I analyzed the second round of interviews, all participant responses were more elaborate and added new themes. In the student interviews, I noted that confidence and competence were evident as the school year progressed. The students shared that because they knew more Spanish vocabulary, they could speak to a person in either Spanish or English without feeling shy.

Trustworthiness

In any qualitative study, the human experience of the phenomenon is prioritized. As individuals share their experiences, trust between the researcher and participant is essential to ensure honest data is collected. In this study, I made it my top priority to listen and value the shared experiences of all participants. It was imperative to capture each word, phrase, tone, and physical expression with great detail. To capture these vivid actions, I used what Geertz (1973) described as “thick description” to provide rich, detailed accounts of what was observed and said by my participants. The rationale for including a thick description was to also provide outside readers with a mental vision of what the setting was to provide a window into the lived experiences of my participants. The names used for participants are pseudonyms to protect the identity of all participants and ensure confidentiality.

Credibility is defended through different strategies such as triangulation and member checks (Krefting 1991). Using these strategies helped me build rapport, which led to the participants' openness to share in-depth information during my home visits. I used triangulation in two diverse ways to build on this study's credibility. I used methodological triangulation to collect data from audio transcripts, participant observations, and interviews. Collecting data from various sources allowed me to see trends in themes and relate these to the study's purpose. The other form I triangulated data was to use member checks. I involved the participants by sharing key interview findings and cross-checking to see if I captured their thinking correctly. Including my participants in the accuracy of the collected data helped me avoid biases. The avoidance of biases played a crucial role in allowing the voices of my participants to be heard without my interference.

Shenton (2004) states that qualitative studies must be understood within the context presented to determine if the findings are accurate to the people being studied. This builds on credibility and trustworthiness through the use of prolonged engagement. An advantage I had with the participants was that they knew me beforehand. All of the student participants were in my kindergarten dual-language classroom and had prior rapport. This facilitated access and trust to share their thoughts without feeling anxious. From my view, I was familiar with the surrounding community, which provided context to the social factors affecting their language choices.

Ethics in Research

In qualitative research, researchers are expected to position themselves in their work. This positionality is imperative to help distribute power relationships between researcher and participant. Different qualitative paradigms offer new possibilities for redistributing power within the research (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). I experienced a shift in power throughout the study as the relationship between participants and myself changed to allow rapport.

Research follows strict guidelines which pose ethical awareness to the researcher. I knew that I had to follow ethical guidelines to provide credible and accurate findings. Karnieli-Miller et al. (2009) identified five research stages: 1.) *Initial stage of subject/participant recruitment*- researcher is in charge of recruiting and informing participants of the research purpose; 2.) *Data collection*- the researcher depends on the participant to gather data, which shifts the power to the participant; 3.) *Data analysis and production of the report*- researcher takes the data and tells the participant's story; 4.) *Validation*- the researcher reengages the participants to inquire about accuracy to strengthen the findings, build trust, and empower; 5.) *Additional publications*- publish research. I followed all five of these guidelines after receiving IRB approval. In

recruiting my participants, I selected a dual-language classroom and asked the teacher for permission to use some of her students. Once the participants were confirmed, I scheduled individual home visits for interviewing. As I gathered data, I acknowledged the participant's role by allowing them to share without feeling pressured. Each participant was reassured that if at any point they felt uncomfortable, they had the option to withdraw from the study. Karnieli-Miller et al. (2009) confirmed the shift in power between researcher and participant within qualitative research methods by stating that no one is the sole carrier of knowledge; instead, it is co-constructed. I implemented this by validating what I gathered, and member checked for accuracy. The goal was to tell the participant's story from their point of view. The publication of this study will allow audiences to learn and apply the findings further to expand the research and experiences of dual language programs.

Since my research interest is connected to my own culture, it allowed me to be an insider researcher. This role brings many advantages that allow me access, rapport, and trust and drive my passion for the issue. Merton (1972) defines an insider researcher as someone who shares a particular characteristic such as gender, ethnicity, or culture compared to an outsider who might not share these characteristics. In addition to these shared characteristics between the researcher and participant as an insider, issues that might arise will not be entirely new due to their familiarity. Bonner and Tolhurst (2002) identified three assets an insider researcher brings: 1.) An insider has the ability to better understand an issue, 2.) Will not disrupt the flow of social interaction; 3.) Extract true data from participants due to sharing similar cultural norms. This saves time in finding the root cause of the issue being investigated. These identified assets helped me build rapport with participants as they shared their feelings during interviews and felt comfortable being observed. Gaining trust was necessary to access major events and information

that helped answer the research question(s). Another advantage as an insider was my access to the participants due to my role as an educator and working with students. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) state that the overall experience in whatever position the researcher takes should demonstrate a genuine interest in what the participants bring to represent their experience adequately. Since the participants knew me for an extended time, they felt safe and did not question their participation.

In contrast, as an insider researcher, I was mindful of the negative aspects of this role. An article by Smith and Noble (2014) further explains what biases can present in any research type. Bias can be present in the design, participant selection, data collection, and analysis. Also, the researchers' prejudices and personal philosophies can be present. To help avoid bias that might be present, I reminded myself of the purpose and issue driving the research to help accomplish the desired outcome.

Ethical Research with Children

Alderson (2005) states that ethics is about helping researchers become aware of hidden problems and questions that might arise and ways of dealing with these in research. Children are the main participants in this study, whose views and feelings about using Spanish and English were analyzed. Research that involves children or any vulnerable population needs to uphold the rights of its participants (Mishna et al., 2004). The intent was to acquire the necessary information by minimizing the risk of harm. This included potential physical, psychological, or social harm (Ferdousi, 2015). I took adequate steps to implement ethical principles to ensure the safety of participants throughout the process. *Informed consent* was obtained from the child's legal guardian in the case of children. This is the first step taken before the study took place to avoid violating the law. Any information presented to the child and parent must explain what

could happen and how the child would participate throughout the study. Doing so allowed the child and parent to *assent or reject* their participation (Ferdousi, 2015). Ferdousi (2015) points out that the child needs to be informed about the process to participate fully. My role as the researcher led me to protect the child's well-being proactively. I was fully aware that any disclosure of information that raised any concerns or harmed the child's well-being was my responsibility to inform the parent and suspend that child's participation until the issue could be solved. Mishna et al. (2004) further elaborate that participation in research is voluntary, and children should be informed that at any point, they can withdraw. This protocol was announced before each interview as a reminder.

In this study, I used children; therefore, as Alderson (2000; 2005) pointed out, the methods used needed to be flexible. This study used semi-structured interviews with children to allow them to share personal experiences. Flexible media methods used included drawing, and responding to a given writing prompt. When children are given the role of active participants, they enjoy the research process.

Limitations

A typical characteristic of qualitative research is that it can be time-consuming depending on the study's purpose and methodology. For this study, I used an ethnographical approach to observe the phenomena being studied in its natural element. There are advantages and disadvantages to using ethnographic methods. An advantage of using an ethnographic approach is that it provides in-depth knowledge about the situation. On the other hand, it requires a huge investment in the researcher's time, and precise results can become difficult to target due to diverse outcomes (Queiros et al., 2017). A typical study that uses ethnographic methods requires the researcher to be in the field for months. During each student's conversation, time was limited

because it was during their school lunchtime. I had to manage between engaging in a conversation and giving the student enough time to eat. As the student shared, finding a quiet place to listen to the conversation was challenging because other students were in the lunch area. This limitation could not be avoided since lunchtime could not be changed, and the study looked for ways the student participants used language in a natural setting. Once the conversation was over, transcribing took time. This methodology is the most appropriate way to capture the participant's voice accurately without adding irrelevant information that does not pertain to the context and setting. My time in the field collecting data was limited due to my health, which limited my availability. The lingering side effects of the medications took a toll on my physical mobility, impeding me from collecting more participant data.

I took observation and field notes to help capture each event in written form for further analysis. The medical treatment I received during the study affected my flexibility and mental preparedness to simultaneously achieve the tasks at hand. Doing these tasks was time-consuming and required preparation, and, most importantly, access to the setting and participants were some challenges for this study. In addition to students, the parents and teacher were also interviewed. Scheduling a time to conduct the interviews and home visits became a challenge due to factors beyond the scope of this study. The participating teacher was out during the study for several days, pushing the other interviews behind. The participating families work during the week, and due to the different time schedules, the interviews and home visits were done at different times and days. Because the study involved working-class families, this was anticipated, and it required flexibility from every participant and myself to ensure quality time and effective data gathering.

The interview format I used in this study was semi-structured. This format allowed the participants more freedom to respond and elaborate by giving examples. Most importantly, I wanted to make the interviews feel more like a conversation that helped eliminate anxiety and stress for students. However, the limitations were that some interviews went overtime while others did not provide enough information due to the student not knowing how to answer. Even with probing, some students felt each question needed the correct answer. Punch (2002) states that research conducted at school should consider that children may feel pressured to give “correct” answers. In addition to the responses, Prior (2016) suggests that the interviewer needs to pay attention to physical signs such as tiredness, which requires a break in the interview or even continuing later. During some home interviews, the parents were limited in time because of their work schedule and coming home to attend to family matters.

Chapter Summary

This chapter used qualitative methodology to answer the research questions posed in this study. In using a qualitative approach it allowed me to immerse myself in the natural environment of the participants and actively engage with the task at hand. The data analysis followed an inductive approach that allowed for the themes to emerge from the sources to help avoid researcher biases. The use of ethnographic methods, study participants, data collection, and semi-structured interviews allowed for the voices of participants to be the central focus of the study, especially the children. Through a critical lens not only is the phenomenon being studied but systems of oppression are unveiled to better understand how the participants are affected and to find ways to bring change into marginalized communities.

Decolonizing research is crucial when studying oppressed communities due to racialized stereotypes that have been created by western scholars to uphold white supremacy. With the

implementation of decoloniality people of color can be represented as they truly are without being vilinized or considered unknowledgable. In allowing participants to fully express themselves without silencing them uplifts their voice and helps dismantle systems of oppression that hinder their existance. Building trustworthiness with the phenomenon at hand helps barriers that might interfere with the participants comfort level and willingness to share their experiences. It also serves as a way to decolonize by building a relationship of trust and open-mindedness that values and acknowledges the voices of the participants. Lastly, conducting an ethical research study provides the participants with reassurance that what they share is validated and will not be used negatively. Working with children requires additional levels of ethical procedures to eliminate any harm. The following chapter provides the findings of this study.

Chapter 4 Findings

This study examined how language ideologies among young Latine children are developed and how these impact the children's language choices between English and Spanish. As young Latine children acclimate to different settings, such as home and school, they tend to choose a language they feel comfortable with and best suited for their environment.

The research questions aimed to investigate how students use Spanish and English in different settings and the rationale for their choices. To understand the reasons for their choices, I examined participating students' language fluency between Spanish and English and broader sociocultural and political influences. Since the students were enrolled in a Spanish dual-language program, analyzing how well fluency in the primary language was maintained was imperative. Lastly, the ideologies of family members and the ways these influenced or may have affected children were also considered.

In analyzing the data collected, I identified four themes that influenced children's decisions to use English or Spanish, including language use in young Latine students. The first theme that emerged was an implicit push for English. This theme evidenced that even with both English and Spanish proficiency English was generally preferred or assumed more appropriate, except when holding conversations with family members who did not speak English or during Spanish instruction. A second theme that emerged was the ability of students to use translanguaging as a resource to manipulate and use language daily at home and school. Within this linguistic competence, the students showed that, depending on the setting and content of their conversation, they had the ability to use adequate language by applying the necessary vocabulary to communicate. A third theme was parent's knowledge in creating a supportive environment for language learning that allowed their child to use two languages but, most

notably, not to judge how language was produced. The parent's understanding of the various ways language can be used showed their understanding and knowledge of how bilingualism occurs and should be supported. All of the student participants in this study shared that because they could speak and understand Spanish and English, they were able to talk to different people who knew both English and Spanish or who only spoke one language. A final theme that emerged was the critical consciousness from parents and the teacher who were outspoken towards challenging injustices towards the Latine community. The teacher, for example, discussed her struggle to find quality curriculum in Spanish. The teacher served as a bilingual language role model for her students and encouraged them to feel pride in their language and culture.

It is essential for readers to keep in mind that the students in this study were enrolled in a Spanish dual-language program since kindergarten. As described in Chapter 2, dual-language programs provide students with instruction in two languages. The students enrolled in dual-language programs are provided with linguistic support and space to fully engage in language use without prioritizing one language over the other. Latine students are 95.1%, and 37.7% are English learners in this school. Most of the staff is bilingual, which helps provide access to students who are not dominant in English and can serve as language role models for the students. Nevertheless, there is a larger English-only student population that can, at times, overpower language choice outside of the dual-language classrooms. The extent to which this happens depends on numerous factors, including the school's resources, administration, teachers' beliefs and values for the languages, parental ideologies, and children's ideologies and their access to or willingness to seek support when needed.

Valuing Bilingualism

When communicating with students, I used English and Spanish, and they typically spoke in the language that I was using. I conversed with each of the students in both languages at separate times. We talked about their daily life, including school, home activities, interests, and their thoughts about language. For example, three of the students were preparing to have their first communion and taking catechism classes, so they often shared with me what they were learning in that context.

From my conversations with each student, they were happy to be part of the program and enjoyed speaking two languages. Learning more than one language can be seen as an asset by the participants. Being bilingual allows one to communicate with a broader range of people during daily tasks. I am bilingual and can attest to the many blessings of meeting people from all occupations and listening to their life stories. As I conducted this study and conversed with the students, I wanted to hear their thoughts about bilingualism. All students who participated in the dual-language program since kindergarten have had years of exposure to learning, speaking, and writing in English and Spanish. I asked students what it meant to be bilingual, and their responses were well articulated. Fernando said, "I am two times smarter than those that speak English." Andres noted, "Puedo ayudar a las personas que no saben un language." (I can help people who do not know a language). Lisa said, "There are more options for jobs I can do, and I am able to help more people." Carina responded, "Es bueno hablar dos idiomas para entender." (It is good to speak two languages to understand). Erika said, "Me gusta aprender otros lenguajes porque es bueno." (I like to learn other languages because it is good). She further added that she would like to keep learning different languages when she gets older.

However, some students felt it necessary to pretend to be fluent in Spanish. For example, in one home interview, I asked Lisa, a more dominant English speaker and an Initial Fluent English Proficient (IFEP) student, why she used both languages in our conversation. She responded, "Because I know more words in English and can explain it better, but I also know Spanish." Overall, all the students felt that knowing two languages allowed them to talk to people and help others who might not speak Spanish or English. When I asked students, “¿Qué puedes hacer con dos idiomas?” (What can you do with two languages?), Andres said, “Ayudar a las personas que no saben un lenguaje” (Help people who do not know a language). Fernando said, “En la clase yo puedo translate las palabras de la maestra.” (I can translate the words from my teacher).

An Implicit Push for English

During my observations at school, I noticed that students tend to use English over Spanish, especially within contexts that they perceive to be English-dominant, including spaces within the school that are not designated dual-language, such as the school office, the playground, or during lunch. This is because their levels of English proficiency are high, meaning that students can hold an entire conversation using specific vocabulary to get their point across. The preference for English is evident even among the students who are more proficient in Spanish. Indeed, students are reluctant to have an entire conversation without inserting an English word. I explore their language fluency and use below to understand this tendency toward English better.

Language Fluency

All of the students' parents completed a Home Language Survey, which is required in the state of California to determine the language program needs of the student. The Home Language

Survey determines the primary language used in the home. Of the five students, two indicated that the primary language of the home was English, and one indicated that they used English and Spanish equally in the home. These students, Fernando and Erika were, thus, designated as EO (English Only). Typically, these students would be placed in an English-only class. The other two students, Andres and Carina, indicated that the primary language used in the home was Spanish and were designated EL (English Learners). These students are then assessed in English yearly through the ELPAC (English Language Proficiency Assessments for California) to determine their growth in English. Therefore, no actual assessment of EO students is given, and ELs are only assessed in English and not in their Spanish primary language. However, the Home Language Survey in the context of communities where parents are bilingual (not immediate immigrants) is not always accurate. However, in this case, based on my own conversation and the results obtained from the ELPAC, the students' communication reflected accuracy with respect to their designations.

Nonetheless, I sought to examine their Spanish fluency, which was not assessed through the school. I used student writing to examine their Spanish language development. All students were given a writing prompt to express their opinion about the school cafeteria's food. The instructions were to read the prompt and answer the question by giving multiple reasons to support their opinion. I also provided the sheet of paper with a space to draw if needed. All five students completed the writing prompt, expressing their opinions and supporting reasons. In analyzing each piece, I focused on how well each student understood the task, answered the question, provided more than one reason, and used basic grammar skills (punctuation, capitalization, and complete sentences). Since these students were taught mainly in Spanish, I

was invested in seeing how well their Spanish language was developed. I include sample text from some student's writing in the following section, followed by my analysis.

Lisa wrote: “Has comido la comida del cafetería. Piensas que es buena. Si lo piensas es bien pero a mí no es gusto. Ni puedo tomar el ‘chocolate milk.’ Un razón es la comida unos días es muy ‘mushy’ or ‘squishy.’ Otros días es muy, muy, muy, muy, muy, duro!”

(Have you eaten the cafeteria food? Do you think it is good? If you think so, that fine, but I do not like it. I cannot even drink the chocolate milk. One reason is that the food is very mushy or squishy. Other days, it is very, very, very, very, very, hard!). (See Appendix E)

In this example, Lisa understands how punctuation is used in English but not in Spanish.

In Spanish writing, when using an exclamation point or question mark, both appear at the beginning of the sentence (upside down) and the end of the sentence (used the same as in English). Her use of capitalization and complete sentences is strong and consistent. Where she is struggling is in the use of verb tense. In Spanish, the verb uses a masculine form ending in “o” and a feminine form ending in “a.” One example where she says, “del cafeteria” because “cafeteria” ends in “a” the correct form should be “de la cafeteria.” Another example is “un razon” here because “razon” is a noun and does not end with “o or a.” The student needed to know the correct conversational usage to understand that “una” was the right article. Lisa showed a strong command of the Spanish language but relied on specific English vocabulary to stay within the context of the prompt. This did not derail her understanding but showed that she understands grammar. Lisa was labeled as an IFEP student, meaning she scored proficient in English when she took the initial ELPAC assessment in kindergarten.

Fernando wrote: “En mi opinión creo que la comida no es bueno. Primero, la comida que sirven en almuerzo es nomas es buena ‘para tu cuerpo.’ Por ejemplo, yo sabe que la comida en viernes es bueno pero es porque ‘they buy the food.’”

(In my opinion, I believe the food is good. First, the food they serve during fast is good ‘for your body.’ For example, I know that the food on Friday is good because ‘they buy the food’). (See Appendix F)

In this example, Fernando shows a good understanding and application of correct punctuation and capitalization. In respect to grammar, he forgets to use the adjective correctly when he says “bueno” instead of “buena” to describe “comida,” which ends in the feminine form. He also inserts English words to relay his reason for the food tasting good on Friday. Fernando is an English-only student, but from the home interview, I noticed that English and Spanish are balanced. This language balance is evident since his response is in Spanish, which the task required, but he minimally used English to convey meaning.

The following example is from a student labeled as an English learner in the ELPAC. Andres achieved a four, which means his English language skills are well-developed.

Andres wrote: “Yo creo que la comida de la cafetería está rica. Primero, la comida sí esta rica porque unos días nos dan pizza, pollo, hamburguesas, y más. Por ejemplo, si nunca nos daría de comer estaríamos muertos de hambre.”

(I believe that the cafeteria food is delicious. First, the food is delicious because some days they give us pizza, chicken, hamburgers, and more. For example, if they never were to give us food, we would die of hunger). (See Appendix G)

In this example, Andres showed excellent command of Spanish. His punctuation, sentence structure, and grammar are correct. This indicates that his competence and confidence

in Spanish language use are substantial. His home environment also supports the use of Spanish as the primary language.

Spanish is Increasingly Relegated to Necessity

Students used Spanish in the context where they were either expected to do so or when it was necessary for communication. In the homes, children conversed with parents who were primarily Spanish-only speakers in Spanish. However, if a parent spoke English, there seemed to be a greater tendency for the student to move into English (even when the parent requested them to use Spanish). Student participants and siblings who were fluent in English generally spoke to them in English.

For example, in the case of Fernando, whose mother was fluent in English and Spanish but whose father and other adults in the home spoke only Spanish, Fernando tended to speak Spanish with the Spanish-speaking adults but tended to use more English with his mother, even though she wanted him to speak to her in Spanish. She spoke in Spanish in the home. Fernando also speaks mostly English to his older sisters, who speak English because their Spanish is not fluent enough to engage in a conversation. During the home visits, Fernando tried to speak Spanish with his mom, but he used English when his sisters were around. Maria, Fernando's mother said, "Por eso decidimos ponerlo en el programa bilingüe para enseñarle a hablar más español porque nomas quería hablarnos en inglés cuando le hablábamos en español." (That is the reason why we decided to place him in the bilingual program to teach him how to speak more Spanish because he only wanted to speak to us in English when we would talk to him in Spanish). Fernando indicated that he usually spoke more English with his friends because "Cuando salgo a jugar con mis amigos ellos solo quieren hablar inglés y yo uso inglés." (When I go and play with my friends, they only want to speak English so I use English).

In addition, students had greater access to English popular culture. For example, the students indicated interest in popular programming, books, and video games in English, including *The Diary of the Wimpy Kid*. Lisa's mother confirmed this, saying, "Lisa prefers English more because she sees a lot of movies. Here, we see that English offers students greater accessibility to popular culture.

Sense of Competence and Language Use

While Spanish is sometimes relegated to necessity, this is because there is greater competence with the English language among the students who grow up in a bilingual context with greater English access. For example, in Erika's family, as with Fernando's family, Elena, Erika's mother, explained that English is used amongst the siblings, but when the grandmother comes, Spanish is used to communicate and engage in family activities. Elena mentioned that her older kids speak more Spanish because "Los grandes cuando recién estaban chiquitos les hablé puro español hasta que entraron a Headstart." (The older ones when they were younger, I spoke to them only in Spanish until they entered Headstart). Erika indicated a preference for English because "Es más fácil hablar inglés que español." (It is more easier to speak English than Spanish). Similarly, Lisa, an Initial Fluent English Proficient (IFEP) learner, expressed that she preferred to speak English at home. During our conversations at school, she was aware that Spanish was mainly used throughout the day, thus influencing her to switch to speaking only English at home. When I asked her about her language choice, she replied that when she goes home, "Quiero hablar inglés porque ya hablo español todo el día en escuela." (I want to speak in English because I speak Spanish all day in school).

Two students, Carina and Andres, expressed a greater competence in Spanish. These students' home environments supported the use of Spanish. As an only child, Carina comes from

immigrant parents who only speak Spanish. From my observation, the family only uses Spanish when communicating. During the interview, Carina only used Spanish and shared that she feels the need to sound native-like when she speaks English, “Trato de tener el acento de inglés para que no confundir a los demás. (I try to have an English accent so I won’t confuse others).

In a comparable situation, Andres’s parents are also immigrants who speak Spanish. Spanish is the language that everyone, including adults and children, speak in his home environment. Andres’s older siblings speak English amongst themselves. When communicating with the adults, the children use Spanish. Andres expressed that he prefers to speak Spanish because he feels more comfortable, “Yo siento que es más fácil hablar en español porque sé más palabras. Yo me siento como orgulloso de mi.” (I feel that it is easier to speak Spanish because I know more words I feel proud of myself).

Translanguage as Resource

Students regularly used Spanish and English as needed to engage in the world and to communicate in school, with friends, and with family. Language is not only an essential sociocultural tool that allows people to communicate but also a tool for understanding and shaping our world. Although there are technical conventions, such as grammar, associated with language that helps convey meaning, language also facilitates and constructs identities often manifested within specific social situations (Garcia, 2009). In this study the students used code-switching to keep a conversation going by inserting words in a different language at the sentence level that. When translanguaging, students showed their linguistic competence when they explained concepts to their peers by using the academic terms in Spanish and giving an explanation in English.

Translanguaging is a more contemporary concept that encompasses and builds upon the early concept of communicative competence, which recognizes that language fluency involves individuals' ability to use and understand language in a contextual manner that fits a given situation (Park, 2013). A person who shows communicative competence in a particular language understands grammatical rules and is aware of linguistic transactions, such as code-switching and language brokering, allowing them to communicate effectively with people (Celce-Murcia, 2007). However, translanguaging also recognizes the cognitive flexibility that multilingual students must see the world through multiple and different languages and the worldviews that these languages facilitate (Garcia, 2009).

As I held individual conversations with the participants in the study, all of them valued Spanish and English because it allowed them to talk to different people in their community. The student participants were also aware that some people did not speak both languages, and they were mindful of using the language the person was speaking. During our conversation, I often asked which language they preferred to use in the school setting. Initially, they said they preferred Spanish because I asked them questions in Spanish. As time passed, however, I noticed that students preferred English or a mixture of Spanish and English because they often did not know certain vocabulary words in Spanish. For the students who showed dominance in English, it was difficult for them not to code-switch during the conversation in Spanish. I asked, “¿Puedes hablar usando todas las palabras en español?” (Can you speak using Spanish words only?) Student responses and my observations revealed that the students tended to believe they had greater facility with English vocabulary. One student said this explicitly: "I know more English words than Spanish." Overall, English use was greater than Spanish use among the students.

Student Use of Code-Switching

Although all the students in this study showed different levels of linguistic fluency, all students commonly used English and Spanish with little hesitation. Code-switching was evident with all students at some point. When they did not know a word in one language, they used it in the other language. During each conversation, I asked students, "¿Me puedes contar que hiciste hoy en clase?" (Can you tell me what you did in class today?) Lisa shared that she loved to "Pintar y hacer *sculptures* (Paint and do sculptures) during art class." Two students shared what they learned about penguins during Language Arts class. Erika said, "Los pingüinos pueden nadar y comen "*shrimp*" (Penguins can swim, and they eat shrimp). Carina added more and said, "Los pingüinos son carnívoros, porque comen calamares, y no sé cómo se dice "*krill*" en español." (Penguins are carnivores because they eat calamari, and I do not know how to say krill in Spanish). Fernando wanted to share about a different activity. He shared about the book he was reading. Fernando said, "Hicimos lectura independiente y estoy *reading* un libro de *Diary of a Wimpy Kid*. Es de un niño que va a middle school que se llama Greg." (We did independent reading, and I am reading a book titled *Diary of a Wimpy Kid*. It is about a boy in middle school called Greg). In these examples, the students started the conversation in Spanish and inserted an English word to continue the conversation. The insertion of English words in Spanish sentences was common with the participants and did not distract from the conversation. A similar pattern was found in their writing. Diary entries collected from students showed an excellent command of Spanish grammar and a strong ability to elaborate with details. In three participant entries, code-switching was used to fill in an expression in English that they could not say in Spanish. An example from Erika was, "Una de las niñas tenía una pelota que estaba "*cool*" y era como "*glowing*." (One of the girls had a cool ball that was glowing). The words "cool" and "glowing"

are English words used to describe the ball she saw. Even though code-switching was used, the diary entry contained details describing what she learned. The insertion of English words did not take away from the meaning nor disrupt the grammar.

It is important to note the difference between translanguaging and code-switching as these two terms are used to describe how bilinguals use language. Garcia (2009) argues that translanguaging and code-switching are based under different conceptualizations of the bilingual mind and the two cannot be conflated. One clear distinction between these two concepts presented by Burns (2022) is that code-switching theorists argue that language grammar is internal thus, allowing bilinguals to separate languages based on named languages that are socially constructed (i.e. Spanish and English). According to Goodman and Tastanbek (2021) state that code-switching looks at language alternation and separation within and between sentences to show grammatical competence. This competence highlights dominance of one language over the other as was seen with student participant sample data that showed how students inserted few words in a one language, but continued with the conversation with their dominant language. On the other hand, translanguaging is a term that encompasses all linguistic modes that serve as a resource to support learning and meaning. Garcia (2009) describes translanguaging as a process where languages overlap, intersect, and interconnect. Thus, when bilinguals appear to switch between grammars of different languages, they are simply selecting features from their linguistic repertoire to create meaning. Translanguaging is more transformative where there is no rigid separation of named languages. This transformation includes switches in language use between entire modes of teaching and learning such as presenting information in one language and allowing students to produce related information in another language (Goodman & Tastanbek, 2021).

Language Brokering

According to Morales et al. (2012) define language brokering as the act of translating and interpreting within immigrant families by children and adolescents for their parents, other family members, and other adults. In school observations and interviews, it was clear that language brokering was a common aspect of these students' daily lives. Within the dual-language program, language brokering occurred often as students offered to translate to help a friend or classmate. During interviews, students commented on this practice when I asked, “¿Me puedes contar como ayudas en clase? (Can you tell me how you help in class?).” Carina replied, “En la clase tengo unas amigas que no saben mucho español y yo les ayudo con unas palabras.” (In class, I have some friends who do not speak much Spanish, and I help them with some words). Indeed, all the children participants either shared that they translated for their classmates or parents or were observed doing so. Parents also discussed using their children as language brokers when they entered English-only spaces or needed support with English-written materials.

Student's Use of Language Negotiation

Another aspect of language use I noticed from students was language negotiation, which refers to deciding which language to use in particular contexts (Celce-Murcia, 2007). In this study this students used language purposefully. Their language negotiation was based on the decisions made as to which language to use depending on who they were speaking to, which language that person was fluent in, and what they perceived to be the most appropriate language for the particular context. I especially observed this when students interacted with peers and used the language required to complete a task or engage in the event. Carina shared that during recess, “Trato de hablar inglés pero a veces me trabo.” (I try to speak English, but sometimes get stuck). Fernando and Erika shared that when at home, they speak the same language their family

members use. Fernando shared how he communicates with his uncles: “Yo creo que mis tíos no hablan inglés so yo necesito hablar español. Con mis hermanas hablo en inglés.” (I think my uncles do not speak English, so I need to speak Spanish. With my sisters, I speak in English). Erika mentioned that at home with her siblings, she speaks English because “Es mas fácil decir palabras que ellos saben.” (It is easier to say words they know). When it comes to language negotiation, the students used the language best suited to communicate with others and be a part of the event or task.

Another aspect of language negotiation that students had to contend with was adhering to the linguistic boundaries set forth by the dual-language program model, which demands the separation of languages. Although this seems counter-intuitive, given students’ common tendency to use both languages as needed and appropriately (which indicates significant fluency), the students nonetheless adhered to the policy to the best of their abilities. Andres noted, “Pues yo sí hablo español pero mi maestra dice que tengo que hablar inglés a la hora de inglés.” (Well, I only speak Spanish, but my teacher says that I must speak in English during English time). Fernando shared the same feeling of not mixing the languages when he said, “La maestra tiene una cartulina con un lado que dice inglés y el otro lado español. Cuando lo cambia podemos cambiar de lenguaje.” (My teacher has this thing that says English on one side and Spanish on the other side. When she changes it, then we can change language). Similarly, during my conversations with each student, I asked them, “What language do you want to use today?” For the most part, the field notes reflected that the students chose Spanish because they knew I could speak it, and they were expected to use it most of the day at school. One student, in particular, was a stickler for the dual-language model’s language requirement. In one of our conversations, I asked, “¿Qué idioma quieres usar hoy? (What language do you want to use

today?)." Fernando said, "Los dos porque estamos en clase bilingüe. Both because we are in a bilingual classroom).

Parental Support for Bilingualism

Conversations with parents about their children's schooling, family life, and language use revealed that all parents were passionately committed to their children's education and were staunch supporters of bilingualism. Unlike the common assumption that Latine parents are not involved in their children's education, my interaction with the families shows that their involvement and support were manifested differently it was strongly felt by the students. The families in this study supported their children by explaining to them the importance in receiving a good education and how bilingualism would open doors to different job opportunities. One of the parents was also part of the Parent Teacher Association (PTA), which allowed her to attend school functions and make decisions about student needs within the school. The other parents due to their work schedules showed support by helping their children with their homework, staying in contact with teachers via Parentsquare (electronic software used by teachers and parents to communicate via text messages) and attending evening school functions (i.e. Back to School Night, Parent workshops, Family Night).

Parents Accepted Children's Varying Levels of Language Development

During the home visits, I noticed that the parents created a non-judgmental space for their child to use both languages. The parents expressed the importance of being bilingual and the need to develop academic-level fluency in both languages. Parents supported students' language development, allowing them to code-switch as needed to make their ideas come across. They did not reprimand students for not knowing a word in either language but seemed aware that code-switching was appropriate. They did not shame the students for not knowing a word in a

particular language. They seemed accepting of the developmental process of becoming bilingual and the contextual nature of language use, which often leads to knowing specific vocabulary in English and other vocabulary in Spanish. In one conversation, for example, Fernando's mother, Maria, said, "Fernando, when he hears a word in Spanish that he does not know, he will ask me repeatedly what it means." I then asked, what happens when you tell him what the word means? She replied, "Well, he will practice saying the word and memorizing its meaning." In this example, the mother clearly understands and does not judge the lack of word knowledge; instead, she sees it as a teachable moment.

As noted above, parents seemed to have some knowledge regarding what to expect with their children's bilingual and biliteracy development. This is because parents in the dual-language program were given the necessary information about language learning to create a positive and supportive learning environment at home. The school district has provided, since the beginning of the dual-language program, information about the structure through general meetings and has developed a master plan outlining the goals students can achieve. Upon enrolling their child at the start of every school year, parents are offered two academic options: English-only and dual-language. Parents who choose the dual-language are given further information, such as a flier explaining the program's model. Throughout the year, interested parents who are doubtful about the dual-language program can request an informal classroom visit to see how students learn and talk to the teacher about the curriculum.

Parent's Preference for Bilingualism

As I interviewed parents, I asked them how they became aware of their school's dual-language program and why they wanted to enroll their children. The school sent information explaining the program to the parents and had a banner announcing the new program. Elisa,

Andres's mother, noted, "Cuando fui a la oficina me dijeron que iba haber un programa nuevo. Me explicaron que era bilingüe y que en el futuro les iba ayudar." (When I went to the office, they told me about a new program. They explained that it was bilingual and would help them in the future).

Dual-language programs strive to maintain the primary language of students. All the parents in this study were drawn to the program because they wanted their children to speak Spanish. What parents were noticing was that their children were showing a preference for increasingly speaking in English in the home, where the language of use was typically Spanish. Maria, Fernando's mother, had a discussion with her husband about enrolling Fernando in the program. They decided to do so because she was fearful that he would lose his Spanish fluency, as she said, "Era para enseñarle a hablar en español porque cuando nos contestaba era en inglés. (It was to teach him how to speak Spanish because he would answer us in English).

One parent expressed that they saw the program as an opportunity to teach the Spanish language "the right way." Ana, Lisa's mother, said that for her, the program was a source to help them "Aprender el español formal porque yo no lo sé, especialmente los acentos." (Learn formal Spanish because I do not know it, especially the accents). They also expressed that learning to speak one or more languages properly would help them achieve academic and socioeconomic success. Parents identified that being bilingual brings job opportunities or "un buen trabajo" (a respectable job). Rosa, Carina's mother, shared that at her job, she missed a promotion because "me cuesta mucho trabajo aprenderme las palabras de memoria porque no hablo inglés. Hubo una oportunidad y la perdí por el inglés." (It is difficult to learn words by memory because I don't speak English. There was an opportunity that I missed out on because of English).

Bilingualism also helps to maintain cultural ties. Maria, Fernando's mother, described her family gatherings where "escuchamos música 100% en español y jugamos lotería porque son tradiciones Latinas y queremos que no pierdan sus raíces." (We listen to 100% music in Spanish and play lotería because these are Latine traditions, and we don't want them to lose their roots). Most important for parents was that they wanted their child to communicate with relatives and understand a conversation. Elisa, Andres's mother, expressed that, "Es importante que puedan comunicarse con familiares como su abuelita para que entiendan." The knowledge of language from each parent's perspective was one where communication was vital to help build family and community connections. Parents also instill in their children the trait of caring for others by helping out when needed and using their language when required.

Finding Acceptance through English

In one case, the support for bilingualism developed out of the discrimination that a parent experienced as a Latine student. Jose, Lisa's father, was labeled an ESL (English as a Second Language) student when he came from Mexico as a young child. He shared that at the time, students learning English were separated from English-speaking peers. This was his experience. Although there are currently more options with respect to the language of instruction, ESL was, at the time, and still is, in some states, the predominant program for English learners. English as a Second Language (ESL) is a program designed to provide English instruction to students with limited or no English language. ESL programs aim to help students learning English as a second language obtain the necessary English skills to function successfully in an academic setting. School districts can implement unique designs of ESL programs to support student's English acquisition. These are found at the elementary school level, where students are pulled out of the classroom and provided small group instruction in English. At the junior and high school levels,

ESL students are given a class period where they are grouped with other students according to their English proficiency. Research shows that students often respond to this pull-out experience that demarcates them as different from others, with a sense of shame and lack of self-esteem (Garcia, 2009).

In his recollection, he said that he was known as "el qué qué" (the what what) student because when he was asked something in English, he would always respond "¿qué, qué?" when he did not understand what was being said. As a result, this caused him trauma and affected his self-esteem when socializing with other students who did not speak Spanish. He was made fun of for not speaking English. I asked him if, at one point, he overcame that trauma, and he said, "Cuando agarré en 7th grade un certificado que decia, 'the primary language at home is now English. I forgot about 'el qué qué' and put it to rest." He further elaborated that in 7th grade, he passed the English language placement test and was able to join the traditional English classroom. Thus, the recognition of speaking English and feeling "part of" the regular classroom community played an essential part in helping him feel accepted. This experience of discrimination speaks to parent's deep desire for their children to learn English to be accepted. However, this desire does not contradict the desire for Spanish language maintenance. Jose wanted his child to speak both languages, and the dual-language program promised to do this by an early age.

Parents who have experienced some shame with ESL programs or other less effective bilingual programs have not always embraced more current examples of good bilingual programs, such as dual-language programs. They often fear that their children will not learn English and will have difficulty finding employment or gaining social mobility (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). They are often unaware that a curriculum taught in the primary language

benefits students in developing content knowledge, maintaining their primary language, and developing English.

The parents expressed excitement about having a dual-language program at their child's school but some questioned its effectiveness. Elena, Erika's mother, was skeptical about signing her daughter into the dual-language program because "Cuando yo estaba en la escuela yo batallé con el inglés porque estaba en programa de ESL. Y yo no quería eso para mi hija." (When I was in school, I struggled with English because I was in the ESL-English as a Second Language program. I did not want that for my daughter). The school convinced her that the dual-language program followed a different structure and did not isolate students. She feared that her daughter would be isolated from her English-speaking peers. It was reminiscent of her schooling, which affected her academically and her self-motivation of not wanting to go to school because of her low academic performance.

For one parent, the idea of bilingual education brought sad sentiments. Maria shared that as a Latine student she was pointed out and segregated from English speaking peers: "Si tu hablabas español tenías que ir a otra escuela donde sólo hablaban español y te señalaban que no sabías." (If you spoke Spanish, you had to go to another Spanish-only school, and they pointed you out as not knowing). Maria also stated that school teachers and personnel who spoke Spanish refused to speak it when being addressed. As a parent, she has taken a proactive stance in fighting for her child's education. When she heard that her local elementary school was creating a dual-language program, without hesitation, she enrolled her son Fernando to change the negative perspective towards bilingual education. She stated, "Por eso yo puse a Francisco en el programa porque hay beneficios en ser bilingüe."

Clearly, for these parents, their children's language placements and programs held importance that went beyond their ability to learn English and be successful in school. It was this, of course, but also decisions about program placement that were made based on concerns related to their belonging as Latine students and their right to speak and learn Spanish and English.

Coming to Dual-Language Through Critical Consciousness

Bilingualism has long drawn strong emotions. This was the case among participants who believed the home language was essential to cultural identity, family relations, and academic success. The history of bilingualism has been influenced by immigration waves that shape demographic areas through language and cultural traditions. Unlike common myths that immigrants "come to take our jobs," immigrants are often drawn due to a job market that cannot find workers in the U.S. and this attracts immigrant populations who help boost the economy. While they may need and require social services, such as medical, housing, and even appropriate schooling, do not always receive it. Federal policies introduced during the civil rights movement called for recognition of linguistic minority students by pointing out the inequities in access to curriculum for immigrant students. This debate continues today, with those who oppose bilingualism and favor English-only arguing that English is necessary to help create a more unified society and expound assimilationist ideologies. Contrary to what these and some anti-immigrant or racist groups might try to assert about immigrants, these communities recognize the need for English since they often require access to services but find themselves struggling due to the lack of English proficiency. Some Spanish speaking immigrants The also desire their children to retain Spanish. The families in this study strongly valued bilingualism, believing it could these barriers.

Although the families were not versed in the language of criticality and did not speak much with respect to the existing structural relations of domination that negatively impact Latine communities, it was clear that many of the participants in the study came to the dual-language program because of experiences and beliefs that led them to recognize bilingualism as an avenue for social mobility, a way to minimize inequities and a form of resistance against existing racism. They were clear in seeing injustices in the actions of others in their own past, and wanted to ensure that their own children did not suffer those barriers to an equitable education.

Recognizing and Challenging Injustice

Critical consciousness amongst minority groups brings awareness of structural inequality and oppression to help them understand their social realities. As part of this consciousness, marginalized groups learn how to critically interpret their surroundings and create meaning on how social structures oppress people of color. Once individuals understand structural societal barriers, they are more willing to act and call out inequalities.

The parents in this study were aware that as Latine families, they were often put into deficit categories, stereotyped, and treated with racism. They were aware that they did not have the same opportunities as other racial/cultural groups and that Latine families struggled economically and socially. They shared stories of conflicts they experienced because of the racism in our society. However, it was clear that they had a good sense of their rights and that they did not buy into the deficit framing with which they were being labeled. In some cases, this knowledge made them indignant and spurred them to resist efforts or support others.

For example, Ana, Lisa's mother, expressed feeling less American and conflicted with family members during the Trump administration.

Cuando Trump era presidente escuche la palabra minority y me sentí menos. Yo nací aquí, soy americana. Trump fracasó como presidente porque su trabajo era representarnos a todos y protegernos. El favorecía a un cierto grupo de personas y no a todos.” (When Trump was president I heard the word minority and felt less. I was born here, I am American. Trump failed as a president because his job was to represent and protect us all. He favored a certain group not all).

Ana also expressed that Trump divided the Latine community, which made it difficult for her to understand and connect with family members who supported Trump.

Yo tenía a ciertos familiares que apoyaban a Trump y no podía yo expresarme y decirles que en realidad este presidente no valoraba nuestra cultura Latine. Para mi es muy importante que nuestra gente apoye a lideres que respalden a nuestra comunidad y no nos humillen” (Yes, I had certain family members that supported Trump and I was not able to fully express to them that he did not value our Latine culture. It is very important for me that my community supports leaders who value not humiliate us).

Lisa’s father, Jose, was also aware of the racism experienced in our society. He expressed that the working environment in which he found himself was more difficult for people of color than for the white worker. In response to my query, “Señor Jose, ¿Usted en su trabajo ha sido víctima o ha visto injusticias?” (Mr. Jose, have you been a victim or have witnessed any injustices at your job site?), he stated:

En mi trabajo he notado que es más difícil para el Latine que para el blanco. Siempre hay consecuencias para el Latino. Mi ayudante era filipino y él fue víctima de racismo y violencia. El sufrió agresión verbal por parte de un gringo. El gringo recibía tratamiento especial de parte del mayordomo y a los Latines el mayordomo siempre nos decía ‘I can

fire you at any moment.’ (In my job I have noticed that it is difficult for Latines than for the white person. There are always consequences for Latines. My helper, who is Filipino was a victim of racism and violence. He suffered verbal aggression from a white worker. The white person received special treatment from the supervisor and towards us the supervisor always said, ‘I can fire you at any moment’).

Notably, Jose did not cower in the face of injustice. He shared that on one occasion, the white worker physically injured the Philipino worker. He explained:

Yo pienso que el güero era agresivo y no se pudo contener en un ataque de furia y de sorpresa agarró a mi ayudante y lo aventó contra unas hojas de metal. Mi ayudante se pegó en la cabeza. No sé si va a demandar. HR se metió y yo hablé a la policía para denunciar lo que pasó.”(I think that the white person could not contain his aggression that he surprised my helper by throwing him against some metal sheets. Mi helper hit his head. I do not know if he is going to sue. HR got involved and I called the cops to share what happened).

Jose went on to express that it was important to him that HR and the police hear the story from his perspective, not just the white supervisor.

Jose said, “Sí me contactaron y yo dije lo que vi. Es importante para mí que sepan lo que pasó y no escuchen una sola versión. Ya que el mayordomo estaba del lado del güero.” (Yes they contacted me and I told them what I saw. It is important for me to let them know what really happened and not let them listen to one version. Since the supervisor was on the white man’s side).

Two parents, born in Mexico and who immigrated to the US, shared that not speaking enough English has created economic barriers. Elisa, Andres’s mother shared that because her

English is extremely limited at work, “Yo solo limpio, trapeo, y a veces si me preguntan algo los clientes les ayudo.” (I only clean, mop, and sometimes if clients ask I help them). Rosa, Carina’s mother, also shared that because she lacks English fluency, she missed out on a promotion at her job: “Por no saber inglés no me dieron el puesto de supervisora. Pero tengo fe que si aprendo inglés voy a mejorar. Me voy a apuntar en la escuela de adultos.” (For not knowing English I missed out on a supervisor role. But I have faith that if I learn English I can succeed. I am going to enroll in adult school). In these two experiences, the mothers showed that they did not feel ashamed of their jobs even without knowing English since they contributed to their household incomes. Nevertheless, they see the value in learning English as a way to find a better-paying position to garner more income and benefits. In Rosa’s situation, seeking resources to help her learn English shows her relentless pursuit of economic success.

In the cases of Elena and Maria, these two mothers shared different experiences where they were racially profiled for being Latines. Elena, Erika’s mother, described an experience where she was racially profiled. She mentioned that during a phone call to receive assistance, the customer service person, “Placed me on hold for over an hour. I remember being asked what my name was. I then demanded to speak to a supervisor. The representative thought I did not know English because of my name.” This is an example of how Latines are stereotyped as not knowing English. Elena felt angry and found that the reason for them assuming she did not know English was wrong, and she challenged them to find ways to help customers better. Maria, who was receiving medical treatment, was also racially profiled during one of her doctor visits. In her situation, she was given information in English, which an interpreter translated. After the doctor was done, she replied, “I was born here, and I speak English. Do I have to look a certain way? I am bilingual.” Maria’s response showed that questioning one’s language abilities causes anger.

Having the ability to speak up brings awareness and can eliminate negative stereotypes. For change to happen a collective effort is needed to challenge racist beliefs that plague society into thinking that everyone fits one mold that embraces whiteness. By actively speaking out and challenging racist acts is the way to dismantle stereotypes.

Latine Teacher Shared Similar Struggles/ Teaching in a Dual-Language Program

Dual-language programs call for academic instruction in two languages to help provide primary language instruction to students who do not speak English as well as to offer bilingual opportunities for fluent English and English-only students. An integral component in the dual-language program, in addition to the students, is the teacher. Teachers hired for these positions must possess a unique skill set that enables them to teach in their native language and English. The teacher then becomes the language role model for students. This role provides students with an idea of how beneficial bilingualism is and also encourages them that learning two languages is possible.

When I interviewed the teacher in this study, she started by sharing her experience in the program. The third-grade teacher, Camila, taught for five years before teaching in the dual-language program. She said the program is "fairly new because it just made it to third grade this year." Dual-language schools continue the model every year based on student enrollment. Since the program is new to third grade, Camila has found herself "actively seeking out information which sets her planning time behind." An essential factor to consider about this language program is that teachers must process information in two languages. This, at times, can be daunting because, as Camila stated, "I am thinking in both languages in my mind to make sure the students understand." Her perspective changed towards the end regarding how well students

can learn two languages. She shared that students "have a good balance in both languages, which surprised me."

Camila shared that she had grown up in a bilingual setting surrounded by family and that her childhood was full of memories. In particular, she recalled special holidays where extended family members would come together and spend time celebrating. Among her many childhood memories, she described her schooling as mainly in English, but at home, she used Spanish to communicate with her family and English with her cousins. She indicated that the ability to communicate in Spanish allowed her to stay connected with loved ones and strengthen her cultural identity. Camila stated that it wasn't until she got to college that she realized "how valuable it is to have another language, and the fact that I can speak it and write it well is important." This realization spurred her to pursue her bilingual authorization to teach Spanish in California.

In her classroom, Camila noticed that teaching two languages was not easy due to the strict guidelines in language separation that the dual-language program instills. She understood that her students struggle to keep languages separate because of the various language fluency levels they possess. For example, Camila commented that her students needed to code-switch often because they did not know a word in English or sometimes in Spanish.

Camila also commented, "Peer interaction is mostly in English, even outside in the playground." She said she makes a point of encouraging Spanish as much as possible in and outside the classroom. She expressed her excitement in listening to her students use two languages, which is the goal of the dual-language program. She shares, however, that there are times when students ignore the language separation requirement by the model and resort to English even when they are supposed to be using Spanish, "Even if they know it's Spanish time

and see the sign 'aprendiendo en español,' they are asking me everything in English." She added that it is sad to hear them cheer for the "English time" and not the "Spanish time." Camila elaborated further that this language preference for English was because "English is a language they have all around them, and it is important to know." Another factor for English language preference at this school, as some students shared with Camila, is that some English-speaking staff and students in English-only classrooms did not understand Spanish outside the dual-language classroom. This was a recurring pattern at this school where Spanish is not supported, promoted, or celebrated as it should be since bilingualism is the end goal of the dual-language program.

It was evident that Camila had developed a strong value for Spanish and was disillusioned that many students seemed to value English over Spanish. She also recognized the various needs of the community. Parents indicated that Camila was a strong advocate and that they trusted her and could count on her to support their children's needs. They felt she understood the needs of a low-income, working-class Latine community. Parents recognized Camila's connection to the community and her willingness to be culturally responsive. For Camila, building connections with students and their families is a driving factor that has enabled her to find ways to make learning fun and make school more welcoming. She envisions a dual-language program where bilingualism is celebrated, and the community is aware of its existence as a means for academic and cultural pride.

Mixed Signals Regarding Language Status

School environments serve as a place where students, teachers, and other members create relationships that nurture learning through socialization. Working at the school site where this study took place, I observed how students in the dual-language program used Spanish and

English when spoken to compared to the non-dual-language students who responded in English only. When doing my student observations, I was able to witness this division in languages, making English the preferred and dominant language. This language preference by the majority of students promoted “linguistic authority” (Macedo, 2003), where students see how resources such as technology and social media, to name a few, are dominated by the English language.

In traditional school settings, English is the only language used by the majority and not questioned. When students experience this attitude, they gravitate to accept it and apply it. At the school site where this study took place, there were mixed emotions regarding the dual-language program; only students in the program knew it existed, while other students and their families tended to be unaware of its existence. This is because there is little evidence of the existence of the dual-language program throughout the school and little information going out to families. Most events and activities are held in English; when information goes out to parents, separate documents are prepared to keep the languages separate.

Camila expressed concern as a teacher because she has experienced times when "students hear me talking in Spanish, and they give me a weird look, which is concerning and can influence my students in not wanting to speak Spanish." When a school environment does not embrace and create the space for non-English languages to develop, it affects students. For Camila, she feels that "Students are not feeling proud of speaking Spanish outside of the classroom." This relates to the lack of knowledge that the program exists. The value for Spanish is not expressed or made evident through school policy, resources, and spending. Despite the existence of dual-language programs, English language use dominates within the school as it also does in U.S. society, once again pointing to the power differential that exists between English and Spanish.

Office: Main Point of Entry

The school office is the main entry point, providing an inside look at the school's culture. In the office, visitors are welcomed and informed about the school's programs that a child can receive. The secretary sets the tone and knowledge of what information is given to parents to convince them to enroll their child. On a daily basis, besides parents, students also enter the office to inquire about information or visit the nurse. At this school site, the office staff are all Latine women and bilingual. However, the office staff almost always speak English when speaking to students. It is the default language. Generally, the staff respond in Spanish only when a student clearly speaks in Spanish first. This has changed in the last year due to the bilingual teachers' reminders to speak more Spanish to the students. While the staff does speak Spanish when Spanish-speaking parents come into the office, this is insufficient to give students the sense that Spanish is an equally valued language at the school. What can be inferred is that English, as the dominant language, is the go-to language. Little has been done on the part of the administration to encourage the staff to use Spanish more often. In addition, school signs, posters, and other displays are almost exclusively in English, making it clear that Spanish has a secondary place of importance and value. Students recognize as well as Fernando pointed out: "Afuera, yo uso inglés porque no está la maestra recordándonos que hablemos español." Indeed, throughout my many observations during their recess play, students almost always spoke to each other in English, evidencing that even though they were enrolled in the dual-language program and had Spanish instruction for most of the day in Spanish, the dominant ideology that English is a superior language with greater status and importance, was being internalized by the bilingual students.

When I asked parents if they felt the school welcomed them as Latines, they all said, “Yes.” This was because the secretary and other office personnel are bilingual and can talk to them in Spanish. Knowing they can communicate and express their concerns in their native language helps the parents connect with the school. Three of the mothers who are bilingual felt that speaking Spanish was suitable for some families, but for them, they used English because they are accustomed to using it and know it is the preferred language in schools. On the other hand, the mothers had mixed feelings about the school in this study in creating a space where Spanish and Latine cultures are honored. Some of the mothers who work and do not visit the school often felt that the school did an excellent job in providing parent workshops. One of the mothers who was part of the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) mentioned that the school does not offer enough events where students learn and feel proud of being Latine. This parent felt that although we have a dual-language program, students are not aware that speaking in Spanish is part of their Latine identity. All parents would like more activities where the community is welcome to see student work. The goal for all parents is for their children to retain cultural roots through language maintenance.

School Library

Librarians are essential in gathering and making books and other media available to enhance student learning. In some school districts with limited funding, there is a lack of resources available to students. The best resources are in English, and very few are translated into other languages. When it comes to books in Spanish at this school library, there are no visible library books for students to read at the library or to check out. Only in some dual-language classrooms are there bilingual books for teachers to use and for students to read. Typically, bilinguals receive ten books per year for their classroom libraries. Additional books to

develop a strong classroom library that incentivizes students to read in Spanish must be purchased by the teachers themselves from their own salaries. While the English classroom teachers do not get any more books than the bilingual teachers, they are able to check out books from the library to develop strong classroom libraries.

The school library from this study had 15,833 books in circulation. Out of this total, 15,427 are books in English, and 406 are in Spanish. There were no bilingual books for students to check out. The librarian got money from the school principal when funds were available. Sadly, this is not on a yearly basis. This school had 489 students enrolled, which meant that 202 students were in dual-language classes compared to 287 students in English-only classrooms. This leaves students in dual-language classrooms with limited access to books in Spanish compared to their English-speaking peers. This also shows that the book ratio of library books to students in dual-language classrooms is approximately one per student. When compared to English-only students, the ratio is fifty-three books per student.

The lack of books in Spanish or bilingual books (where the text is in English and Spanish) creates a severe gap in accessibility. It pushes students to resort to English-language books as the only resource, ignoring the fact that books of the same caliber can be translated. Another critical factor is that the students go to the library to be read books by the librarian once per week. However, the librarian is not bilingual, and all stories read to children are in English, reinforcing the dominant social language.

Support Staff

All schools have different staff members who provide specific services that aid students academically. Schools face a problem hiring personnel for bilingual programs, producing a shortage of bilingual staff. This shortage in staff means that students who are not fluent in

English have a challenging time accessing these services because they do not understand. An example is when students receive speech or counseling services, the information they receive is in English and is not translated. This affects them academically because if a student is learning phonics in Spanish and receives speech services in English, there is a misalignment in the curriculum that can confuse the child. Camila, the third-grade teacher in this study, shared that some of her students who received speech services struggled to meet some of their annual language goals in their Individualized Education Program (IEP) because they were not aligning with what was being taught in class. She shared an example of her students with a speech impediment who had trouble with the “sh” English digraph. This sound does not exist in the Spanish language; therefore, the student did not receive instruction on how to pronounce this digraph, but it was one of his language goals. Another example shared was that some students who receive speech are dinged for not knowing certain sounds in English. This ignores the fact that they are receiving instruction in Spanish.

The school in this study has been aware of how important it is to provide equitable resources and extra support to all students. In the last year, they have requested bilingual support staff to provide speech services. There is a limitation since the bilingual speech staff member is only at school once a week and cannot see every dual-language student receiving speech services. The school has also requested bilingual interventionists to help provide dual-language teachers support with students who are struggling academically. These interventionists have limited hours but provide the needed support in reading and math.

The diversity of the support staff at this school is more than half Latine. Spanish is used only by teachers who teach in dual-language classrooms, thus inhibiting students to practice and listen to Spanish outside of these classrooms. English is used by everyone as the language of

communication, ignoring the fact that the school is dual-language, relegating Spanish to be used as needed. One crucial factor to consider is that among the workers at this school, those who speak Spanish are doing jobs that do not require a college degree, such as the cafeteria and maintenance workers. All others who use English have a college degree. When students see this, it makes them prefer English to communicate and see it as a way of gaining economic success. When Spanish is spoken by the less college-educated school workers, students consider them to be less financially successful because they do not speak fluent English.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the data shows that students enrolled in a Spanish dual-language classroom choose to speak in Spanish and English. The linguistic ideology that students and parents appear to hold is that it is vital to learn and speak academic Spanish and English to gain access to job opportunities in the future. The community that the participants in this study live in supports bilingualism by supporting Spanish and English, which allows communication without feeling restricted. The parents made it clear that a sign of respect towards an adult is to speak in the language the adult uses. As for the school community, there remains confusion as to how a bilingual program should be structured, resistant structures in the socio-political environment, and a lack of cultural and linguistic relevance, all creating stress and feelings of doubt in the teacher when it comes to curriculum and in the students when it comes to speaking Spanish outside of the classroom.

There were four major themes that arose from the data. Each theme attempted to answer the social, political, and economic aspects of young Latines being bilingual in the U.S. The first theme showed how an implicit push for English as the power language used to determine academic success compared to Spanish being used as needed. The second theme,

translanguaging as a resource showed the different language practices on how students used English and Spanish interchangeably to engage in a conversation and demonstrate their understanding of a concept. Other language practices that were observed were code-switching, language brokering and language negotiation which were used in the same manner to communicate with family and friends. The third theme parental support was essential to create a support system where students did not feel judged instead were encouraged to learn both English and Spanish to become bilingual. The final theme presented a critical consciousness lens from the parents and teacher point of view as to how society and politics favor English. This message is seen in the classroom where most resources available such as books, technology, and media are in English. Because of this, the parents and teacher challenge this dominant ideology by speaking to the children in Spanish and surrounding them with cultural knowledge that will help instill pride and value in bilingualism.

The school's rationale for creating the dual language program is one that embraces the communities linguistic needs. The students that are in the program show interest and love learning two languages. The school as a whole has provided some resources in Spanish to help support students nevertheless, more needs to be done to ensure that everyone is aware that Spanish is also used in the same capacity as English. The outside school community and families support bilingualism and see it as an asset in maintaining the Latine culture.

Chapter 5 Discussion

This qualitative study examined the use of Spanish and English language ideologies among Latine children enrolled in a dual-language program. I also examined how these ideologies impact their language use at school and home. Using LatCrit and Critical Race Theory revealed how language choice in Latine children is affected by political, social, and economic factors. Historically, bilingual education in the United States has been challenged by those who uphold nativist and anti-immigrant ideologies and feel that learning a language other than English will hinder academic success (Darder, 2004). On the contrary, the participants in this study felt that primary language maintenance goes beyond academics and helps young children stay connected to their cultural roots. The study's findings revealed four themes that help define Latine children's language choice, practices, and value of bilingualism.

The four themes that emerged from the findings show that language plays a crucial role in communicating with others and being part of a cultural group. The parents' decision to enroll their children in a dual-language program helps support primary language learning and helps them become bilingual (Garcia, 2009). The first theme found in this study was an implicit push for English. This push came from the school in response to political mandates requiring all United States students to speak English fluently. English fluency is determined through state-adopted standardized tests (such as ELPAC in California) for English learner that measures English proficiency. Based on how English learners score, the school must provide English support through curriculum that targets English language development. Since English is the language of power and academic success, students used Spanish only as needed to communicate but opted for English in bilingual settings. The second theme described how language fluency allowed the children to value Spanish and English. The participating children used

translanguaging as a resource when communicating with others at school and home. It showed how the students manipulated English and Spanish through code-switching, language brokering, and language negotiation. The third theme was parental support for bilingualism. The parents in this study displayed a good understanding that language learning is a developmental process that takes time to gain proficiency and fluency. The final theme focuses on parents' critical consciousness in deciding to enroll their child in dual-language. By enrolling their child in a dual-language program, the desire is to achieve bilingualism. The teacher also shared how she navigates the curriculum to ensure that students are exposed to bilingual materials that promote cultural diversity.

A Push for English

In the United States, English is used in power contexts and is often necessary for official business. It is the language that carries power and privilege. It is also associated with whiteness and citizenship or the right to be seen as "American." In schools, students are required to learn English regardless of the academic program they are enrolled. Students who are newcomers whose parents are immigrants are tested to see how much English they have acquired. Depending on their English level of proficiency, they are labeled as developing or proficient. This language placement determines what language support a student receives in English to reach English proficiency. Historically, bilingual programs were aimed at teaching students to learn English. Bilingual programs, such as English-only and transitional bilingual education, sought to have English learners learn English as quickly as possible and to be placed in an English-only classroom. In such programs, minimal support is given in the primary language, and more emphasis is placed on learning a second language.

This push for English proficiency stems from nativist ideologies wherein predominantly white dominant groups claim that the U.S. is the home of Americans who speak English and that those who migrate to the U.S. must assimilate. Of course, this sentiment is based on a historical amnesia that ignores that this land was initially inhabited by Native communities who had their own languages. Although many indigenous tribes were killed and languages lost, indigenous people remain a segment of the population. The notion that English is the native language of the U.S. serves only to support the erasure of indigenous peoples. Associated with these nativist attitudes are racist attitudes that diminish the value of immigrant cultures and perceive the lack of English as a deficiency, and language minorities are seen as academically inferior (Cummins, 2003). English-only programs push back on the idea that primary language should be developed. English-only programs blame English learners' low academic achievement on bilingual programs, resulting in prioritizing English over any other language (Crawford, 1998). The English-only movement is built on the notion that English should be the only language spoken in the United States and serve as the common language amongst its citizens. This action limits immigrants' access to essential services such as housing, health care, and education.

Other attempts to have students adopt English quickly are guided by liberal ideologies that are based on a presumed "benign racism," in which other languages are not necessarily viewed as a deficit. However, English is still preferred given its necessity for socio-economic mobility in the U.S. These liberals argue that English is the key to immigrant success. Under this ideology, primary language serves only as a tool to support the development of English. While other languages may be acceptable for informal use, the goal of bilingual programs should be the development of English.

Although the students were in a dual language program that prioritizes the learning of the non-dominant language, in this case, Spanish, and thereby rejects the nativist and liberal ideologies that assume English learning is the priority, there seemed a clear recognition of the status of English and the need for it among the children and the parents. The rationale in recognizing the need for English by parents and children is connected to society's view that English is the common language used by the majority in U.S. schools which nurtures the sentiment that English is the prioritized language that will guarantee academic success (Lee et al., 2015). As a society, there is a push for learning English to access resources and economic mobility.

Affirming the Value of Spanish Through Dual-Language Programs

The number of Spanish speakers continues to increase in record numbers in the United States. This increase is due to immigrants arriving from Latin America added to the current number of Latines living in the United States. The pull factors for immigration to the United States are the economic opportunities where they can find employment and gain financial stability. Push factors for Latine immigration are escaping political instability, violence, and poverty. As the rise of the Spanish language expands, schools need to provide support and outside resources to better address the needs of this population. For this to happen, language rights must be in effect to help protect linguistic identity and preserve human expression and communication. The dual-language programs, as in the case of the program in this study, allow Latine children to become proficient in English and Spanish through academic content. When their primary language is used as the medium of instruction, it enhances self-confidence and improves academic performance. Schools must create a more inclusive environment that

recognizes and values linguistic diversity. By doing so, it will eliminate discrimination and alienation of minority students who do not speak English.

The children in this study showed consistent language growth in English and Spanish through grammar and vocabulary development. Camila, the third-grade teacher shared that linguistic growth was measured using rubrics for oral presentations and various writing assignments. For this language development to take place, the students were provided with the space at school to learn and practice Spanish with their peers through classroom interactions. As mentioned previously, speaking, reading, and writing two languages fluently is one of the goals of dual-language programs. The Latine students in this study had a good understanding that speaking, reading, and writing in two languages pushed them closer to becoming bilingual. During the second home visit and interview, the students were asked to draw what a bilingual person could do, and without hesitation, they all mentioned speaking two languages. Being bilingual has helped the students communicate with family members who only speak Spanish. One student mentioned in his interview that the more he learned Spanish, the more he felt proud because he could talk with his family. This shows how important it is for families to provide a rich learning environment that supports language development (Lindholm-Leary, 2016). In addition to language development, the children also displayed a sense of value for bilingualism by staying connected to family and participating in cultural traditions that made them feel a part of their community.

Translanguage as Resource

Students felt comfortable using the language they were most fluent in and in which they could best express themselves to be understood. It was evident in each conversation where students expressed their ideas using words they knew well but then reverted to the other

language to fill in the context and finish the conversation. Bilinguals have the ability to switch back and forth between one language or two in a conversation. They can use elements of both languages when conversing with another bilingual (Shin, 2009). Garcia (2009) would categorize the action of switching from one language to another in a conversation as translanguaging. Students doing this showed that they were engaged in the conversation and felt content with their linguistic abilities. Unlike other studies of bilingual students in English-only programs who seek to “pass” for English fluent, often at the cost of their own learning (Monzo & Rueda, 2009), the students in this study did not seem to feel shame in needing to revert to their primary language when conversing.

The language usage of Latine children can be complex due to the diverse ways language is used to convey information. One of the common linguistic traits that was evident in each participating student in this study was code-switching. The students mixed English and Spanish in each conversation (Casielles-Suarez, 2017) to express and fully deliver their thoughts in each exchange. According to Garcia (2009), this is an accepted mode of using language to deliver a message without interrupting meaning. There are several reasons for code-switching. One obvious reason from my conversations with students was that they could not express themselves in Spanish effectively due to the lack of vocabulary. The second reason for code-switching is that students wanted to communicate with their friends and be a part of that social group. Ethnic identity plays an integral part in feeling accepted into one's culture. Some studies in the literature state that practicing and embracing cultural values helps an individual gain ethnic membership (Umana-Taylor et al., 2009 & Sanchez et al., 2012). As the students expressed feeling pride, speaking Spanish strengthens cultural bonds that allow them to appreciate cultural traditions. In minority groups, gaining acceptance in one's culture is vital because it enables individuals to

share their experiences and not lose traditions. Nevertheless, as generations pass, some Latine children experience a shift in language once they learn English (Filmore, 1991). This shift in language is caused when children enter school, and their primary language is not emphasized. These children tend not to develop their primary language, which causes cultural identity and language loss (Guardado, 2002). As adults, some Latines have expressed a sense of regret for not learning Spanish and feel left out of their own culture (Bedolla, 2003).

As students gain more confidence in learning two languages, another evident trait is language brokering; in Latine households where parents do not speak English, the children take on the role of translators (Corona et al., 2012). The students in this study were aware that translating the content presented in class to their peers helped their peers learn. Corona et al.'s (2012) study explains that when children take on the role of translator, it builds their confidence and creates a sense of pride because they know the content. Language brokering is a common trait amongst bilingual people because it is used to help someone understand by translating what is being said. The students in this study shared that they translate when a classmate does not know or understand what the teacher says in Spanish or English.

The act of translating for others in Latine culture is ubiquitous. Translating occurs in day-to-day transactions when adult Spanish-only speakers request help. For these children, assuming the responsibility of translating indicates that they are fluent enough to understand and assist the family in managing life matters. To some, translating serves to show loyalty to their family (Shen & Dennis, 2019). Another benefit of translating is that communication between parents and their children is strengthened, and a sense of respect is gained. According to Weisskirch and Alatorre (2002), for Latine children, translating is a product of becoming bicultural, which often means interpreting language and navigating cultural norms imposed by society to help them

access resources. In immigrant communities, the lack of English is an obstacle that hinders economic mobility. Thus, parents' dependency on their children to translate helps families avoid potential problems.

In contrast to the positive outcomes of code-switching amongst bilinguals, historically, it has been discouraged in education and society because it is seen as a sign of limited language proficiency in one or two languages (Toribio, 2002). The notion that bilingual students should be expected to be fully knowledgeable in both languages, replicating the “native” like fluency in both languages, fails to recognize the context-specific nature of language. Language is learned in the communities within which it is used. Thus, bilingual students develop the vocabulary of a particular cultural context in the language that is appropriate to that context. This suggests that the demand for “perfect” or “fluent” English or Spanish is based on historically limited understandings of language as mere communication mediums. Critical literacy recognizes that language is found first in the world and then in the word (Freire & Macedo, 2005).

Another reason why code-switching has traditionally been looked down upon is because it excludes monolinguals from understanding a conversation that uses cultural expressions. Within the context of the U.S., it has been well documented that the dominant group has often felt threatened when they cannot understand what is being said. The control of communities of color regarding their language is well documented (Hughes et al., 2006). This implies the reinforcement of assimilationist ideologies seeking to eliminate primary languages. In the case of Latine students, this places greater emphasis on learning the dominant language as they are confronted with the idea that to access resources, they need to adopt English more broadly and use Spanish only as necessary. Another way of looking at this is through a deficit lens that shows how code-switching is remediated by the lack of language vocabulary, which serves as a “filler”

to continue a conversation (Freeman & Freeman, 2001). However, code-switching is critical in developing in-group relationships with other Latines. The continuous limits that the dominant society places on non-dominant communities through ideologies and policies to limit the potential development of solidarity and collectivizing among them is a structural way of maintaining white supremacy and class relations.

Parental Support for Bilingualism

A child's first encounter with language is through their home environment. It is essential for parents to provide rich vocabulary-building experiences for their children to help develop language acquisition. Krashen's (1982) language acquisition model emphasizes that language is acquired through natural settings without linguistic rules. The parents in this study provided a safe learning environment for their child to learn Spanish and English without signaling any shortcomings. The parents also accepted their child's varying levels of language development and were willing to help. Latine parents place a lot of importance on the education of their children. They see education to attain the American Dream and improve their socioeconomic status. More specifically, Latine parents encourage their children to pursue their educational goals through encouragement and "*ganas*" by trying their best and not giving up. An example from the findings is when Rosa, Carina's mother shared that, "Cuando salimos a comer yo le digo a Carina que no tenga pena en hablar ingles y que siga practicando." (When we go out to eat I tell Carina not to be ashamed speaking in English and to keep trying.) This attitude is rooted in the parents' value of education, which they did not have but consider as a ticket to a better life. Additional ways Latine parents show support include behaviors, activities, and emotional support in the home. For example, Latine parents may tell family stories and give advice about school experiences through cultural narratives called "*consejos*," they may provide moral and

emotional support by talking with their children about future ambitions and the value of education. An example from the findings that illustrates this idea is when Elena, Erika's mother shared that, "Yo hablo con mi hija y le digo que es importante de que siga en la escuela para tener un futuro." (I talk with my daughter about the importance of staying in school in order to have a [bright] future.) The main message of parental support is sharing messages about the importance of school and education (LeFevre and Shaw, 2012). The parent's job is to motivate their children to continue their education and become something.

In contrast to the support Latine parents can provide to their children when compared to that of white parental support, it is considered uncaring. The push to inculcate white middle-class behavior is a problem that does not align with Latine parents' understanding of education. One reason is that educators often define it as something formal and visible when confronted with parent involvement (Ceballo, 2004). This includes school participation, such as attendance at a Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meeting, chaperoning field trips, or volunteering in a classroom. These conflicting beliefs between educators and Latine parents are present, in part because Latine parents typically have different beliefs regarding what it means to be involved in their children's education. Latine parents may purposely avoid formal school participation out of respect for their children's teachers. As a culture, Latines highly respect teachers and trust the school system (Auerbach, 2006). Some parents commonly believe that contacting a teacher is disrespectful because it challenges the teacher's authority and would be counterproductive to the educational experience. Other reasons for Latine parents not to be formally present at a school are because some do not understand how the American school system works, lack of English, transportation, and time due to working one or multiple jobs.

A critical component that attracted the parents to enroll their child in a dual-language program was that their child would become bilingual. The parents passionately believe that maintaining the primary language is essential because they are connected to their culture and family. Also, the parents stated that knowing two languages in this country opens job opportunities that will benefit them in the future. Besides job opportunities, bilingualism for Latine parents raising their children in the United States provides a platform to transmit cultural norms and values by being able to communicate (Lutz, 2007/2008, & Schechter et al., 1996). Parents at home should teach cultural values by balancing English and Spanish. This action coincides with the language practices at home that the parents in this study had in place. This balance in language use helped establish family bonds and relationships of trust (Farrugio, 2010). When the students were asked which language they used the most, they all said they tried to balance both depending on the conversation. The biggest fear for parents, as shown in each interview, was for their child to lose Spanish. This fear stems from English-only ideologies that promote one language (Relano-Pastor, 2005), creating challenges for parents who take it upon themselves to promote bilingualism as an asset.

The structure of the dual-language program allows immigrant families to understand what is going on in their child's classroom. In dual-language programs, language is not a barrier for parents since they can speak and communicate in Spanish, participate in school functions in their language, and speak to other parents. Dual-language programs are grounded and developed based on funds of knowledge in which linguistic and cultural assets that immigrant families bring to the school are embraced and valued (Ee, 2021). As Latine parents grow more knowledgeable about their rights as parents (through workshops, trainings, personal experience, etc.), they may become more assertive in demanding them from the school. In doing so, parents challenge the

educational system, which believes Latine parents are not caring and supportive. Therefore, schools with dual-language programs need to make conscious efforts to provide resources to promote parental involvement of parents in dual-language programs. At the same time, these efforts are crucial in providing a space where the community's shared values, traditions, and language are practiced and preserved.

During each interview with parents, they shared how language is part of one's identity. Maintaining Spanish had a cultural value that allowed them to share traditions with their children. In a study by Umana-Taylor et al. (2009), language was used to identify and embrace cultural values. It is through language that an individual can interact, communicate, and build cultural bonds. For Jose, Lisa's father, his schooling experience made him believe that not knowing and speaking English proficiently made him an outsider. A similar study by Sanchez et al. (2012) showed how intragroup acceptance is measured by an individual's speaking ability. The study focused on Latines who felt that their ability to speak Spanish well helped them connect with other Latines and not feel rejected. In the case of Jesus, he experienced rejection for not speaking English. After receiving his certificate for passing his English language test in seventh grade, he felt accepted because he could speak English proficiently.

Coming to Dual-Language Through Critical Consciousness

Dual-language programs in the United States have been around since the 1960s. In California, these programs were sought after the passing of Proposition 58. School districts with a large English language student population see the benefit and have encouraged teachers to teach in these programs. Several studies (De Jesus, 2008; Thomas & Collier, 1997; Lindholm-Leary, 2001) praise these programs as inclusive, allowing all students to learn two languages, gain bilingualism, and become biliterate. Nevertheless, teachers who teach in a dual-language

program often face challenges. Camila, the third-grade teacher in this study, shared that some difficulties were the lack of access to curriculum and resources in Spanish. This is due to the lack of availability and publishers not having Spanish versions of their inventory.

In her classroom, Camila expressed that her students were comfortable speaking English and Spanish throughout the school day. She witnessed several instances where students used language brokering to help translate during partner or group work. In her interviews, Camila expressed that as a child growing up, she valued maintaining Spanish to be able to speak to all of her family members. Most importantly, as she reached adulthood, she became critical of how important being bilingual was and the opportunities it brings. This critical consciousness has enabled her to create equitable language spaces for her students where they feel proud of their bilingualism.

Camila's role as a bilingual educator is one that challenges traditional dominant structures through pedagogical decisions that embrace the culture of her students. She continuously encourages her students that bilingualism is valuable, and applying culturally responsive teaching has allowed her to connect with the school community's culture. Culturally responsive teaching is an educational reform that strives to increase the engagement and motivation of students of color who historically have endured discrimination and unequal educational opportunities compared to their white counterparts (Vavrus, 2008). Culturally responsive teaching acknowledges and incorporates the student's culture into the curriculum, making meaningful connections with the community. These connections help empower children to achieve academic success by tapping into their cultural funds of knowledge and creating a classroom environment that validates diversity.

The parents in this study shared their life experiences through a critical consciousness lens that allowed me to understand better the diverse types of discrimination they endured. Critical consciousness is the process by which oppressed and marginalized people learn to analyze their social conditions critically and act to improve them (Diemer, 2016). During each interview, the parents critically reflected on their schooling experiences and identified several instances where they experienced discrimination for being Latine and not speaking English. One of the tenets of critical race theory that was evidenced was the use of counterstories. Counter-storytelling is a method that uses stories to expose discrimination (Mora, 2014). The stories shared were constructed on their lived experiences in navigating a world of English dominant as a person of color. In sharing their stories, the parents reflected critically, identifying societal inequities targeted toward Latines in education and job opportunities. All of the parents shared that they were discriminated against in large part due to their resistance to assimilating into the dominant white culture by maintaining their cultural traditions through language.

A Dual-Language Program Within a Broader English-Only School

Often discussed as a strand within a regular school, the dual-language program, when placed with a “regular” school, assumes that “regular” means English-only, and the dual-language program is something different or special. This has important implications for how the students in the dual-language program see themselves, how the other kids see them, and how the administration and other programs within the school relate to the dual- program. In a sense, a dual-language program in the U.S., whether it is a strand program or a schoolwide program, is continuously operating within an English-dominant environment and, therefore, has a responsibility to work on both fronts: teachers must attempt to offer children alternative discourses and an opportunity to develop strong academically oriented identities, while

simultaneously working to educate and collaborate with colleagues, community members and the larger society to counter any dominant discourses that may be working to negate their efforts (Connor et al., 2023).

There are ways to disrupt the English dominance of dual-language programs that are a strand within a school. One way is to acknowledge Spanish use publicly during assemblies and school events. Doing so helps validate the importance of Spanish in a community, not just to accommodate the immigrant and Latine community in their adjustment to an English-only society, but to help create a more equitable linguistic balance and allow all voices to be heard. Another way to help build a language of equity for dual-language program strands is to collectively build a sense of understanding amongst all staff that English and Spanish are valued equally.

Discussion of CRT in this Dual Language Program

Critical race theory was the theoretical framework used in this study to identify racial injustice in education faced by non-dominant groups, in particular Latines who face both racial injustice and linguicism. One of the key concepts behind critical race theory is that race is a social construct that creates divisions between white and non-dominant groups in society, which affords whites greater resources and privileges, while People of Color face significant barriers to accessing adequate social services, such as health care, housing, jobs, and education. CRT posits various tenets that help us understand the process of racialization and its complexities.

One of the tenets of CRT that is a central feature of dual language programs, including this one is that of interest convergence. The creation of the dual-language program serves as a prime example of how the interests of English-only students are catered to compared to those of English language learners. The benefit for English-only students who enroll in the dual-language

program is to learn a second language without sacrificing their English proficiency. In contrast, English learners who need to develop their primary language skills in addition to learning English pose an additional academic demand while developing two languages. The decision of English-only parents to enroll their child in a dual-language program is not generally because of a love for the non-dominant language and culture, but rather, to enhance their job opportunities in the future by becoming bilingual. Nor has the dominant group supported bilingualism or bilingual education for non-dominant group children so that they could excel and thrive educationally. Indeed there have been dual language programs that have been dissolved when the possibility, usually due to funding issues, that the bilingual program would be made available only to the non-dominant group. In these cases the white families that wanted their children enrolled in the dual language programs would not support other types of bilingual programs for which their children would not be eligible. This is why California proposition 227, which virtually eliminated transitional and other forms of bilingual education, was passed in 1998, followed by other similar measures in other states.

However, in the case of dual language programs, which demands a 50% enrollment of English fluent speakers and therefore allows for white students to be eligible, bilingual education has been supported and indeed grown in the last two decades. This is because it is in the interest of the English speaking students to become bilingual, given the significant interest in bilingualism in the job market. Interest convergence allows us to recognize that white families have a vested interest in dual language programs that provide bilingual education to their children, who would otherwise likely remain monolingual. While it is not something that we should strive for in challenging relations of domination, it is important to keep in mind that when we want to have support services or opportunities made available to non-dominant groups and

maybe especially Latine students, we have to consider that the support of white voters may be secured only if we build in benefits to dominant group students.

In the case of this school, which is almost entirely Latine, including the 50% who is English fluent, interest convergence plays a lesser role. Here the English fluent speakers already have access to Latine culture and community and may not feel that they need to enhance that aspect of their children's development. Therefore, the lack of Spanish emphasis in the library and other school spaces can be seen as evidence that interest convergence has not been necessarily met. English dominant Latine students, whether in the dual program or in the broader English-only strand of the school, may not have much interest in creating spaces that highly value Spanish, because they feel that the Spanish is already a key aspect of their community. White English dominant families that do not have much access to Spanish in their middle-class predominantly white communities are always fearful that their children may not be able to pick up the Spanish that is key to their success in the program and therefore go out of their way to ensure that their children are immersed in Spanish. Similarly, the resources, media, and books used by students were all in English without regard to whether their equivalent was available in Spanish. Again, in most dual language programs where white English speakers make up half the enrollment, there is often ample resources for these students to develop their Spanish.

The dual-language teachers at the school site experienced another example wherein the particular case of this school did **not** meet with the interest convergence of the English fluent families. As expressed by the participating teacher, all of the training, resources, and curriculum catered to the needs of the English-only teachers without regard to how it would demand extra time for translation into Spanish by the dual-language teachers. When this was brought to the attention of administrators, it was dismissed due to the dual-language teachers' ability to translate

the information and resources on their own. Here, we see the confluence of race and language. The bilingual teachers at the school were Latine teachers, with significant less power within the racism of the U.S. It was assumed that translation labor, simply because the teachers could do it, did not need to be remunerated. Furthermore, the assumption that translation is an everyday skill learned as part of being fluent in another language devalues a very specific skills that is usually not afforded to the white monolingual community.

Furthermore, in contrast to English fluent students, who seek to learn some Spanish but are already fluent in the language of power and status in society, English learners needed to learn both languages and could not rely on knowing only Spanish to gain access to job opportunities. The necessity of learning their second language, English, was of greater concern than learning Spanish was to the English fluent students. Without knowing English, job opportunities for English learners are limited, and their chances of advancing to higher-paying positions are decreased.

The existence of racism is another tenet of CRT. However, the students in the study did not discuss any explicit situations in which they had experienced racism within the school. In contrast, the parents in the study described their own experiences of racism during their school years and in their places of work. Each of the families experienced racism in the form of linguicism. Whether it was during their early school years and being segregated from their English-only peers, placed in remedial English classes, or falling behind academically because their primary language development was not prioritized. At work, the parents shared that being Latine was the determining factor of discrimination and lack of job promotions. Even though language and being Latine were factors of racism, the parents did not lose hope in finding ways to learn English without sacrificing their primary language or cultural identity. For all parents,

bilingualism served as the golden path to economic mobility, and they instilled it in their children. In taking this stance, the families challenged the monolingual ideology that learning a second language would delay academic success. Instead, they proved that not only did their primary language develop, but they also gained a second language. That the school was located in an almost entirely Latine community is likely why the students did not experience racism and their enrollment in a dual language program likely significantly reduced the experiences of overt racism or linguicism within the schools. However, CRT recognizes racism as not necessarily acts of overt discrimination. Within CRT and specifically as a function of LatCrit, racism and linguicism are conceived as often implicit products of a white supremacist society wherein whiteness is perceived as “natural” and or “normal.” The notion that the school office or library should function in English and that Spanish could be used when the families needed the Spanish to communicate is a function of the perception that this is an English speaking country. English is perceived as the language of business, to be used in professional contexts. Spanish is valued as an attribute of the home or to connect with family. Here we note the clear evidence that Spanish, while valued, remains a second class language in the context of the school, which replicates the context of the broader society, even within the job market that seeks Spanish as a *desired* qualification.

Lastly, a third tenet that emerged was counter-stories. Counter-stories are connected to CRT by their uniqueness in providing a space for People of Color to use their voices and speak against racism. Counter-stories serve to disrupt dominant narratives that normalize white supremacy. Throughout the study, the parents were allowed to share their stories about their beliefs about bilingual education. In analyzing their lived experiences, the use of counter-stories empowered the parents to speak about racial oppression that either they faced (i.e., schooling) or

others. Similarly, the teacher took on an agentic role in implementing a culturally responsive curriculum that allowed her students to make personal connections. The teacher was also able to speak against the lack of resources and access due to English being the preferred language in curricular decision-making. As for the students, their counter-stories pushed them to think of ways that the dual-language program would allow them to learn in two languages and communicate with family, friends, and people in their community without linguistic limitations.

Since creating the dual-language program, the school has firmly supported primary language development to prepare English learners better. This action counters the ideology of monolingualism as being the only choice for students to develop English. The program also came about by acknowledging the linguistic needs of the community where Spanish dominates most homes, and English is the second language. Nevertheless, the school's implementation of a proper dual-language program lacks in some areas. An area that needs to be improved is creating a bilingual school environment where English and Spanish are celebrated schoolwide, not relegated to dual-language classrooms. This sends the message that Spanish is only used when necessary compared to English, which is used to communicate and access resources students can connect with. Another aspect that the school needs to analyze is when communicating with parents. Most of the time, the school uses English to inform parents, which creates confusion and a lack of communication between the school and Spanish-speaking families.

As discussed in Chapter 2, CRT served as the overarching framework to help identify racial injustice people of color face in the U.S. Since this study's participants were all Latine, LatCrit, an offshoot of CRT, was used to focus on the experiences of Latines in a dual-language program. Furthermore, LatCrit unveiled issues faced by Latines concerning how race and racism are evident in the educational system and how students are deemed inferior for lacking English

proficiency. In like matter, in this study, LatCrit shared some CRT tenets. Counternarratives from a LatCrit lens help deconstruct dominant stories that perpetuate inaccurately and racialize Latines negatively (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Therefore, it is crucial to understand the lived experiences of Latines to hear their voice. Another tenet from CRT that connects to LatCrit is intersectionality. For Latines, intersectionality in this study included race, culture, language, immigration status, and socioeconomic class. Analyzing these categories helps to understand the different types of discrimination Latines experience and validate their counternarratives. Lastly, interest converges as it relates to the Latine experience and is used to help explain how policies favoring Latines (such as bilingualism) gain momentum when the interests of whites are served when they enroll in dual-language programs.

Language Ideologies and the Hegemony of English

Language ideologies are a set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification regarding its structure and use (Fairclough, 1989). Language ideologies refer to people's ideas about language and speech. Such ideologies concern both what language is like and what it should be like. The term ideologies point to the notion that people's views about language are shaped by political and economic interests and by relations of domination and subordination (Phillips, 2015). Norman Fairclough (1989) discusses the use of language through a critical discourse lens. Fairclough suggests that language can achieve various social purposes when used by individuals and groups. Social purposes are instances where people gather to interact in everyday events. Language practices can be analyzed within these interactions to identify repressive power relationships. Language ideologies that originate from a political stance represent how language is structured. This stance becomes the linguistic capital of dominant groups who endorse it with superior value, thus, leaving marginalized language

speakers disenfranchised (Woolard, 2020). Dominant language ideologies frequently lead to the demise of minority languages as well as the denigration of their speakers. The power of specific codes usually correlates with the socioeconomic power of their speakers, and the construction of these sociolinguistic hierarchies results from political and economic forces. Languages such as English that have attained dominance are regimented by standard and non-standard forms (Riley, 2012). This idea has played a role in the imposition of standardized languages on linguistic minorities and their resistance to such imposition. It has also created language ideologies about exercising power, relations of domination, subordination, and struggle.

In the United States, the creation of the English-only movement was politically driven by anti-immigrant sentiments that blamed non-English speakers for the economic and social struggles the nation was facing. The language ideology that emerged from this movement promoted the idea of implementing one national language by which citizens are expected to become literate, and the language is also used by government, education, and law (Phillips, 2015). As a result, minority language speakers are pressured to learn the national language and often face racism when they resist.

The term linguicism refers to ideologies where language is used to maintain unequal power and resources from speakers of the non-dominant language. Macedo et al. (2003) states that ideologies based on language are rooted in dominant discourses where the colonizer's language is valued over that of the colonized, which in turn is devalued. Macedo et al. (2003) further elaborates that movements such as the English-only in the United States created a false notion that bilingual education was an obstacle to learning English. Nevertheless, monolingualism in the United States is associated with assimilationist ideologies that, through linguicism, have caused other languages to disappear. Monolingualism supports the hegemony of

English by encouraging the use of the most dominant language to participate as citizens and access social resources such as health care, education, and housing.

The hegemony of English operates to reward successful learners of English. They will gain high-paying jobs and achieve higher social statuses and individual accomplishments. The hegemony of English controls people to the extent that they choose English and give up their languages. They become supporters and admirers of English and its culture through the experience of learning it, while at the same time, the devaluation of primary languages is unavoidable. While dual language programs are a good step in challenging the hegemony of English, the broader impact of society – its racist foundations and in particular, the history of colonization of Latine communities – cannot be undone within one school that is a microcosm of the broader society. This is reflected in the segregated nature of the community within which the school exists. The community an almost entirely Latine and highly immigrant community faces discrimination in numerous ways. That the school challenges linguicism and attempts to build pride among the students in their language and culture does not necessarily challenge the broader context of racism and anti-immigrant and anti-Spanish sentiments that are especially being felt in today's U.S. society. To have a wider impact, we must begin to think more broader about supporting not only the development of bilingualism and the Spanish language, but also create contexts that empower the community of Latine immigrants and Spanish speakers to recognize systems of oppression, to recognize themselves as equally deserving and their language and culture as equally beautiful and deserving of the right to exist. In the next chapter, I develop some possibilities toward these ends.

Chapter 6 Implications

These findings suggest that Latine students enrolled in a Spanish dual-language program consider bilingualism an asset that will help them succeed academically and stay connected to their cultural roots. The research questions in this study looked for messages derived from the community, home, and school that made students choose one language over the other, revealing their ideological stances on language and bilingualism. As the data shows, the students saw the value of both English and Spanish. This was due to the supportive home and classroom environments that value primary language maintenance and the acquisition of English to help achieve academic success. However, the social context of schools and the broader society was such that pushed them to normalize the use of English and relegate Spanish to use with family members or others that did not speak English. In other words, students seemed to engage in language use as if English were the official language of the U.S. The implications of this are that even as dual language programs continue to grow, the Spanish language are seen as having a secondary purpose, one of maintaining family ties for Latine students or for greater marketability in the job market. The expressed goal of making the minority language community be seen as “models” and thereby raise their status and value in society as human beings equal to all human beings does not seem to be achieved. This calls for various interventions in society and in education.

Implications for Teacher Education

Teacher preparation programs in the U.S. are typically designed to follow white cultural norms and English-only protocols. This ideology challenges teachers in dual-language programs when attempting to disrupt the power dynamics in education toward students of color. Teachers who teach in dual-language programs must be aware that once their students leave their

classroom, Spanish, in some cases, is not spoken. For example, dual-language teachers can demonstrate their awareness of the diverse language needs of students, through the lessons and activities they plan, use multi-ethnic curricular materials, integrate students' cultural values into the classroom environment and activities, invite students to think critically, and, most importantly, believe that all children can learn to live and become proficient in two languages. This means that all teachers and staff should be engaged in promoting the achievement of all students, even in schools where the dual-language program is just one strand within the school; dual-language teachers should be integrated for schoolwide planning and coordination; and all of the schools' teachers should be supportive of and knowledgeable about the dual-language program.

Multicultural and bilingual populations play a vital role in schools. Students from Spanish-speaking countries are adding to the multicultural diversity of classrooms in all parts of the country (Riojas-Clark, 1990). The needs of bilingual students in today's classrooms require that teachers have the attitudes, knowledge, and skills necessary for addressing the multicultural and multilingual demands of the schools. Teacher preparation programs must be redesigned to accommodate for this by developing high quality bilingual teacher education programs, that acknowledge the cultural and linguistic differences language minorities bring. In fact, all credentialing programs should require teachers to understand how to teach in multicultural settings. One distinguishing criteria required of bilingual teacher educators is their knowledge of first and second language acquisition as well as an understanding of the linguistic power struggle that minority students face as they navigate the school system. For Latines, speaking Spanish is seen by English monolinguals as a deficit that can set them back. However, it should be viewed

as an asset that supports students academically if their primary language is developed while English is acquired at an elevated level of proficiency.

Regretably, institutions of higher learning whose teacher education programs are founded on Eurocentric perspectives, voices, and worldviews, tend to provide future educators with a monocultural perspective that hinders their efforts in supporting diversity (Riojas & Bustos 2006). To address this issue, colleges and universities must offer more courses and fieldwork in multicultural education to help prospective teachers- which tend to be primarily white females to recognize that students come from diverse backgrounds and cultures and require learning tools to address their different learning styles. In addition, these programs should include targeted field experiences focusing on community funds of knowledge, so candidates can understand assets students and families can bring into the classroom. This understanding will help disrupt nativist ideologies that infiltrate the curriculum by recognizing that all cultures matter, which in turn will help children to feel personal pride as they see themselves represented in the curriculum. As Garcia and Pugh (1992) indicate, the knowledge base of teacher educators must include not only an understanding of pluralism in the U.S. but also the historical forces that affect marginalized communities; mainly how these forces of oppression have shaped the students' experiences.

Furthermore, teachers must be prepared to be advocates of the students in their schools and to understand the broader sociopolitical context of language learning in the US and how languages and the people who speak them engage and are treated within the broader society.

Implications for Dual-Language Programs

One of the visions in dual-language programs is multilingualism, which supports the concept of additive bilingualism (Hamayan et al., 2013). This allows students to acquire a second language without losing their primary language. The creation of dual-language programs requires

several elements that are essential for its success. First, an effective leader serves the critical role of spokesperson for the program with the local board of education, the parents, and the community. Thus, this leader advocates for the program and is instrumental in developing and implementing an instructional model. Hernan et al. (2017) suggest that it is vital that leadership continue supervising model development, as research shows that a higher level of planning and coordination across grades is almost always a feature of more successful programs.

Another essential component of dual-language programs is the enrollment of native Spanish speakers and English-only students to ensure that both language groups stay together throughout the school day, serving as peer tutors for each other. Peer models stimulate natural language acquisition for both groups because they can engage in complex conversations. Research has consistently demonstrated that academic achievement is extremely high for all participants compared to groups who receive schooling only in English. This holds true for students of low socio-economic status and language minority students (Thomas and Collier 1998). Some suggested specific actions that teachers can take to address these challenges are to provide native language speakers with explicit direction in being “academic language experts” for their classmates and separating students by native language for brief periods to address particular language needs (e.g., giving more challenging instruction to native speakers or targeted help to second language learners). Also, allowing students to be language brokers builds peer interaction and demonstrates how competent and knowledgeable a student is in a particular content.

An even more subtle potential problem is that, in some cases, dual-language programs may not be established unless a sufficient number of native English speakers, usually at least one-third of the students, are inclined to enroll. As a result, English Language Learners may be

denied the opportunity to participate in a program model developed to serve their needs. Instead, they are at the mercy of native-English populations at their respective schools (Gomez, 2006). Thus, school leaders must promote the program to the entire community and be knowledgeable in describing its benefits to ensure language minorities receive a more equitable education.

Lastly, current dual-language programs start at the elementary level and sometimes continue until middle school. There is a need for the expansion of dual-language programs from preschool to the high school level. According to the Seal of Biliteracy website (“2020 Guidelines for implementing the Seal of Biliteracy,” n.d) students need to be encouraged to study languages to attain biliteracy skills. In California, multilingualism continues to be centerstage to diversify language learning initiatives such as Global California 2030, which encourages schools and school districts to provide opportunities for all students to participate in multilingual programs. These expanded program opportunities will allow more Californian students to achieve biliteracy and open doors to job opportunities only bilingual people can access.

Implications for Developing Language Policy Around Language as a Human Right

Linguistic human rights are necessary to fulfill people’s basic needs and to live a dignified life, and no policy is supposed to violate them (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006). As soon as a child is deemed competent in the dominant language, the primary language is at risk of being left behind, and the child has no right to maintain and further develop it in the educational system. Language rights in education are essential because intergenerational transmission of languages is the most vital factor for their maintenance. If children do not get the opportunity to learn their primary language fully and correctly so that they become at least as orally proficient as their parents and literate, the language will not survive. In this sense, language teaching must remain into young adulthood so that the language continues to develop. When more children get access

to formal education, much of the formal language learning that happens in the community will happen in schools. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998).

Learning new languages, including heritage languages, should not occur in a subtractive bilingual environment that devalues children's bilingualism, multilingualism, and its maintenance. In the U.S., subtractive formal education, teaches children English, but always at the cost of their mother tongue or first language and thus, is genocidal according to Skutnabb-Kangas & May (2016). Conversely, when children are taught another language in an additive bilingual context, this recognizes the value of bilingualism and its ongoing maintenance, and uses the students' linguistic repertoire as a basis for learning. In that case, the children are more likely to achieve academically (Garcia, 2009). The longer the first language remains the primary medium of education, the better language minority children learn the dominant language and other subjects while maintaining and developing the languages they already know (Thomas & Collier, 1998).

All language communities are entitled to all the human and material resources necessary to ensure their language is present (adequately trained teachers, appropriate teaching methods, textbooks, etc). Language assimilation violates language human rights, which supports the right of individuals to keep their primary language. In education, the maintenance of primary language is necessary to maintain traditions and for the language itself to survive (Skutnabb-Kangas & May 2016). Linguicism is a significant factor in determining whether speakers of particular languages are allowed to enjoy their linguistic human rights. Lack of these rights, for instance, the absence of these languages from school, makes minority languages invisible. Alternatively, minority mother tongues are seen as non-resources, as handicaps that are believed to prevent minority children from acquiring the majority language (Skutnabb-Kangas 1998). Language

policies must avoid language discrimination and consider the importance of language speakers to ensure they can exercise their rights as citizens. Doing so allows individuals to choose a language and not devalue their primary language.

Implications for School-Community Relations in Dual-Language Schools

Several implications that can be taken from this study relate to how dual-language programs embrace and put minority languages at the center stage to the stigma of non-English languages as a deficit. For example, building school-community relations is critical in approaching families by valuing what they bring through their funds of knowledge (Riojas, 1990). In doing so, it provides families with ideas on ways of supporting their child's education at home. Also, by recognizing the language of the community, schools can continue to provide services and supports that are representative of its linguistic needs. For Latine parents, having support directly from the school helps build trust and understanding on how to navigate the school system. It was clear from the respondents in this study that dual-language programs serve as an asset in attracting non-English speaking parents to participate and voice any concerns. This parent participation changes the false stigma that Latine parents do not care about their child's education and helps to improve the school culture.

Moreover, teachers with ideologies and attitudes that recognize that all families have many strengths to help their children, tend to build rapport and understanding of the community's cultural and linguistic values. In Latine and immigrant communities, it is imperative that schools provide guidance on how to navigate the American school system. Many parents and community members who do not speak English lack knowledge about how schools in the U.S. work and how to access available school services. Providing adult education programs, including English language classes, also helps to close the gap of miscommunication.

Furthermore, a mutually respectful, communicative relationship with teachers can help parents better monitor their children's school experiences, providing higher-quality information about when and how to intervene in their children's education. A cooperative relationship with parents allows teachers to understand better how children are learning and what home factors can serve as a resource for further learning.

Thus, building positive parent-teacher relationships is essential to students' educational success, especially in the early elementary grades. However, when parents' and teachers' ethnic, cultural, or linguistic backgrounds differ, parent-teacher relationships may be negatively affected (Miller et al., 2016). Showing respect for parents' cultural and linguistic practices and customs by translating materials and information into the languages families speak helps build trust and make parents feel welcomed.

Reinforced, is the importance of schools to encourage more community and school-based activities that expose families to pertinent information that will help their students succeed is valued. These activities should consider culture and language in the planning process, and educators must revise how they define parental involvement in education. Schools that understand how Latine parents engage at the home level can help schools utilize this to benefit their students. Communication models must also be reassessed, taking culture into consideration as a main ingredient in how information will be presented and disseminated, as well as expected types of engagement. It is clear that schools should consider culture and ethnicity from an asset-based perspective, understanding that the traditional American model may not apply to all Latine students and their families (Arbelo-Marrero, 2016). Better outcomes may result when schools learn to care, respect, and treat ethnicity from a more value-based perspective.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research could further examine how school personnel in dual-language programs are able to promote the program so that all students and families are aware of and understand its purpose. In taking this action, students enrolled in the dual-language program will not feel confined to speaking Spanish only in their classroom. This can also contribute to a deeper understanding of how schools can better support linguistic diversity to help cultivate cultural identity and mutual respect. Access to dual-language programs cannot be limited to schools that often cater these programs to the white-middle class under the guise of providing English role models (Connor et al., 2023). This approach leaves English learners at a disadvantage. To the greatest possible extent, dual-language programs should be designed and implemented to enroll students who resemble the racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic demographics of the broader community. This would encourage both English-only and Spanish speakers, as in this case, to be placed in classrooms where both linguistic repertoires are present, and students serve as role models in learning two languages. Prioritizing enrollment of students from the target minority language in dual-language programs allows students to continue to develop their primary language skills while learning English, and recognize the value of bilingualism, which serves as a tool for achieving academic success (Garcia, 2009). It also ensures all students the right to an equitable bilingual education to avoid linguistic genocide.

In contrast to the many benefits of bilingual education, there are needs to be more research about those families and communities who continue to be skeptical and fear that primary language maintenance will interfere with learning the U.S. dominant language, English. Perceived disadvantages of bilingualism include potential language confusion and mistaken beliefs that it can cause language delay (Vera, 2011). They erroneously believe that exposure to a

second language confuses and challenges children using different languages in different environments. As a result, some parental attitudes toward school bilingual programs have become predominantly negative. They are misinformed to believe that it is difficult to learn to write two languages at once and that bilingual classes hinder a child's language development and learning. They argue that children who struggle academically should be placed in English-only classes and have Spanish taught at home (Lutz 2007/2008). Another parental concern was the quality of teachers assigned to bilingual classrooms. The concern is that these teachers may not be fully bilingual and/or that Latine teachers may have an accent when speaking English, which could be transmitted to their students.

Bilingual Teacher Preparation

Additional research is needed to understand better how teacher preparation programs plan to address the dire need for bilingual educators. As immigrant populations increase, there is a need to help English learners achieve academically, and the most effective way is by receiving instruction in their primary language without feeling inferior in not knowing English. Future bilingual teachers should be well-prepared and confident to teach any curriculum. More formidable preservice and inservice education is required to support teachers in teaching in a bilingual setting (i.e., professional development, biliteracy pedagogy, and methods). Like many states nationwide, California has a teacher shortage. According to Ramos-Harris & Sandoval Gonzalez (2017), policymakers, educational leaders, and advocates are working to develop innovative strategies and approaches to retain existing teachers and attract the next generation to the workforce. And while the overall teacher shortage is of great concern, the bilingual teacher shortage is even more severe (Ramos-Harris & Sandoval Gonzalez, 2017). Institutions of higher learning do not offer enough bilingual teacher preparation programs. This threatens the future of

bilingual education programs. More work with teacher preparation programs is required to expand the number of universities offering bilingual certification and credentialing. Some school districts provide incentives to attract teachers by offering intern programs, residencies, or help with tuition.

As mentioned earlier, few teacher preparation programs offer bilingual authorization programs. After the passage of Proposition 227, bilingual teacher preparation programs were significantly reduced in California. In 2009, the Commission on Teacher Credentialing approved a set of standards that would allow teachers to pursue bilingual authorization through multiple routes, with both coursework and examination options, contributing to a more significant share of bilingual authorizations being issued to existing teaching credentials than to new credentials (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017). As of 2022, only 42 teacher preparation institutions in California offer bilingual authorization training programs, compared with over 80 that grant secondary and elementary teaching certifications (Stavely, 2021). Bilingual educators in California have additional requirements beyond their multiple-subject teaching credentials to obtain bilingual authorization. The requirements to receive the Bilingual Authorization (or BILA) include passing state assessments such as the California Subject Examinations for Teachers (CSET) exams 3, 4, and 5 or enrolling in college courses. All bilingual authorization candidates must be bilingual and proficient in speaking in the target language. BILA certification demonstrates a teacher's knowledge and skill in providing access and equity to bicultural and bilingual students. It meets the need for culturally responsive educators working with multilingual students and providing equity and access to learning in their classrooms.

The Impact and Need for Teachers of Color

More research would enhance the field of bilingual education on the impact of teachers of color to dual-language students. In general, teachers of color tend to have a more positive effect on students of color in the areas of achievement and engagement when compared to white teachers. According to (Dee, 2005) this is because practicing teachers of color generally have more favorable perceptions of the academic potential of students of color and higher expectations for their learning (Boyle-Baise & Sleeter, 2000). Teachers of color are also more likely to engage in culturally responsive teaching (Brown, 2009) and have a stronger awareness of inequity and injustice and their effects on the students they teach. In addition to meeting the responsibilities and expectations of their schools, teachers of color tend to also bring rich characteristics to the profession that are not often recognized by traditional measures of teacher quality, such as sharing racial, class, linguistic, or educational experiences with their students and the communities they work with (Burciaga & Kohli, 2018). Many teachers of color attended schools that are just as under-resourced as those they work in. Achinstein et al. (2010) agree that teachers of color may be suited to instruct students of color because of a potential understanding of the cultural experiences of these learners and the possibility of promoting culturally responsive teaching, supporting cultural synchronicity, and building cultural bridges from home to school that transfers into learning. While this existing literature is informative, it is important that we conduct more research to specifically identify the impact that bilingual teachers of color have on their dual-language students, both English learners as well as students representing the dominant culture and society. We can surmise that bilingual students of color can benefit from having high-achieving bilingual teachers with similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds because such teachers could provide real-life models of career success and academic

engagement. Having greater evidence of this could enhance bilingual teacher education and programming as well as efforts by universities and school to recruit bilingual teachers of color.

Conclusion

This study sought to answer the research questions regarding the ideology behind language choices of young Latine children enrolled in a dual-language program and the messages they perceive at school and home. Historically, bilingual education has not been received openly due to the negative connotations of delaying English learners' English language acquisition. Opponents of bilingual education feel that English should be prioritized over the primary language to ensure individuals are entirely accepted in American society. On the other hand, proponents consider primary language maintenance an essential factor that allows English learners not just to transfer language skills to a second language, but to become proficient bilinguals.

Student participants in this study showed pride in maintaining Spanish as their primary language while learning English. During each interview and observation, it was evident that the children and parents valued English and Spanish to communicate, and considered neither language was superior. Yet this value did not necessarily translate to practice as students were primarily engaged in Spanish mostly when they perceived it to be necessary, suggesting an implicit recognition of the power of English, which speaks directly to the hegemony of English which is embedded through most interactions in context of power. At the same time, concerns were shared by the teacher participant, who felt the school culture was dismissive of the dual-language program, which resulted in a lack of language support for Spanish usage outside of the dual-language classrooms.

In previous studies on dual-language programs, the outcomes have been positive in helping students achieve academic success and stay connected to family. As Latines in the United States become aware of the value of bilingualism, more parents are inclined to enroll their children in dual-language programs to help support language maintenance. The success of these programs changes the negative stigma surrounding bilingual education, as was presented in the literature review in this study. As dual-language programs continue to increase in popularity, the preparation of quality bilingual educators is necessary to ensure students receive an adequate education in a supportive learning environment.

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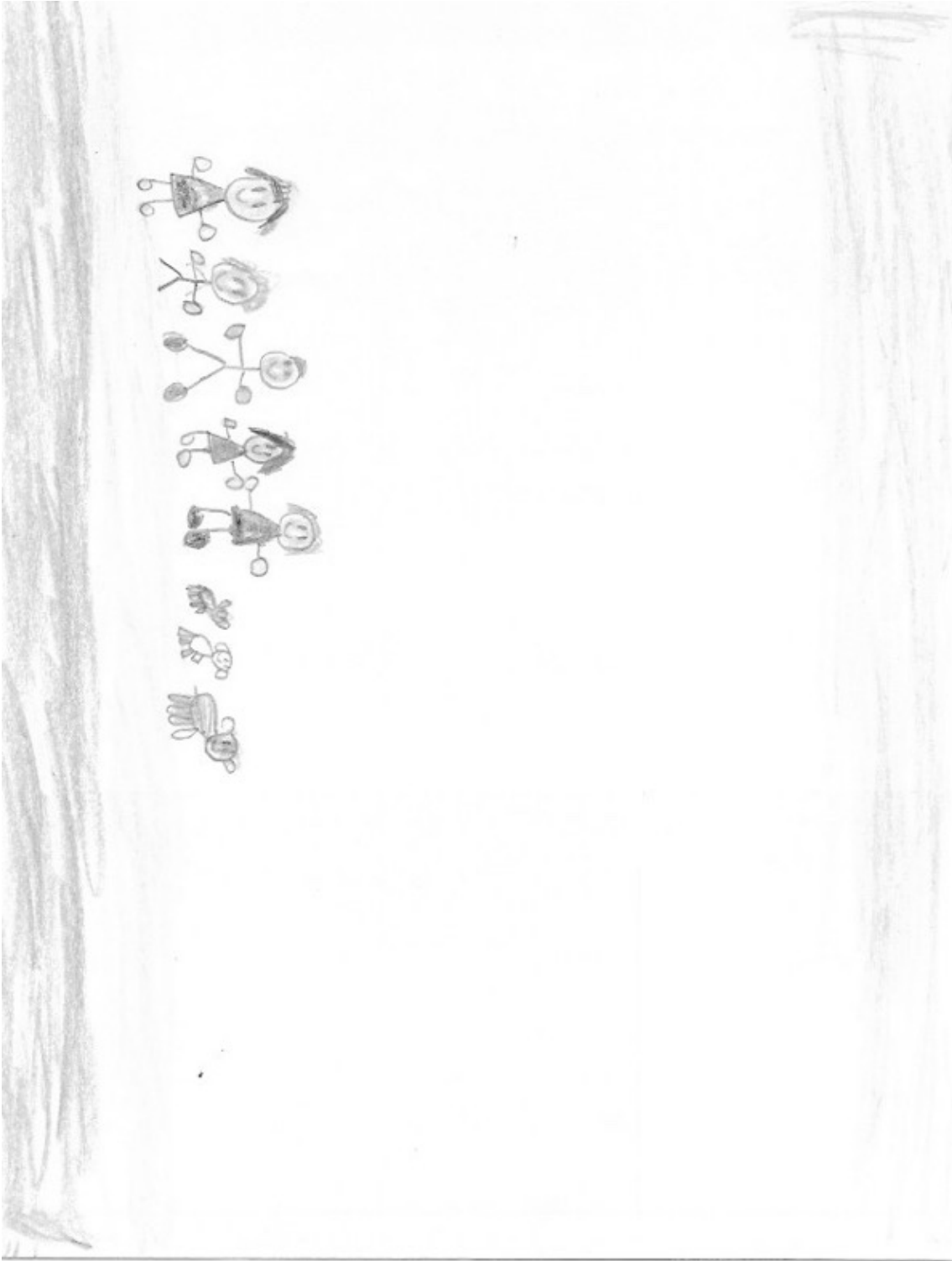
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Appendix A



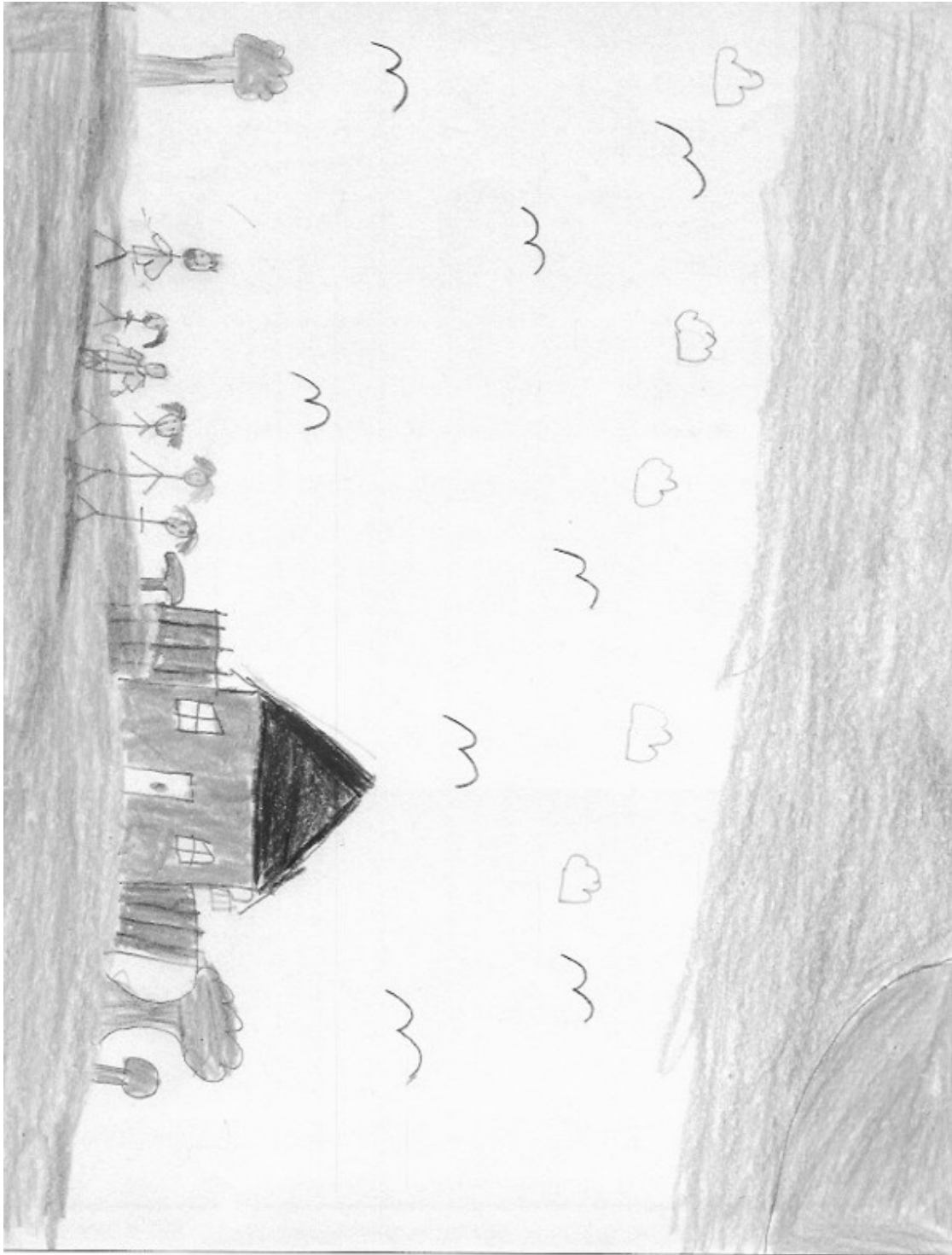
Appendix B



Appendix C



Appendix D



Appendix E

Nombre: _____

Fecha: _____

Opinión

¿Crees que la comida de la cafetería es buena? Si o no, y porque? Asegúrate de explicar tu opinión. Da razones y ejemplos para apoyar tu opinión.



Has comido la comida del
cafetería. Piensas que es
buena. Si lo piensas es bien
pero a mí no es gusto.

Ni puedo tomar el "chocolate
milk". Una razón es la comida,
unos días es muy "mushy"
or "salty". Otros días es
muy muy muy muy muy!!!

awr!!! Ni se ayuda el
leche. Que sabe horrible!

por todo eso ya
sabes porque a mí no gusta
la comida del cafetería

Appendix F

Nombre: [REDACTED]

Fecha: 2-23-23

Opinión

¿Crees que la comida de la cafetería es buena? Si o no, y porque? Asegúrate de explicar tu opinión. Da razones y ejemplos para apoyar tu opinión.

En mi opinión, creo que la comida no es buena. Primero, la comida que sirven en almuerzo es monótona es buena para tu cuerpo. Por ejemplo, yo sé que la comida en viernes es buena pero es porque "they buy the food" eso es porque la comida es buena en viernes. Otra razón, pocas comidas son "messed up" para mí es una problema. Por ejemplo la "grilled cheese" la queso no es "messed" y es la misma con las hamburguesas. Yo creo que la comida de la cafetería es mala.

Appendix G

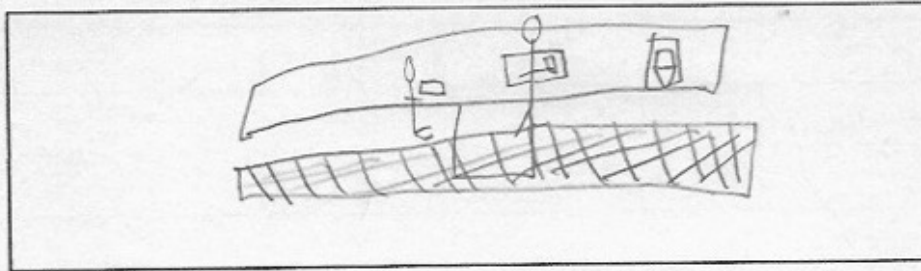
Nombre: _____



Fecha: 2/27/23

Opinión

¿Crees que la comida de la cafetería es buena? Si o no, y porque? Asegúrate de explicar tu opinión. Da razones y ejemplos para apoyar tu opinión.



Yo creo que la comida si de la cafeteria
esta rica. Primero la Comida si esta rica porque
unos dias nos dan pizza, pollo, hamburguesas, y más.
Por ejemplo si nunca nos daria de comer
estaríamos muertos de hambre. Tam si eh
no soy el unico que ^{les} gusta ^{la} comida ^(muchas) muchas personas les ^(les) gusta
de esta escuela les gusta. En mi
opinión la comida de aquí.

Appendix H

Letter of Recruitment

Dear Parents,

I am a teacher at your child's school and am getting a doctorate in education. My program requires that I conduct a research study. The focus of my study is language choice in Latine children. This letter invites you and your child to participate in this study because you are Latine and your child is enrolled in the dual-language program.

Young bilingual Latine children often are placed in a position where they have to choose between languages. For families, this requires the nurture of the primary language. I am interested in learning from you and your child about the factors that influence your child on the value and use of Spanish and English.

I believe this study will help us learn how to best support children in maintaining their primary language. I also believe that being part of this study will help your child to see the value of being bilingual.

This study will involve having conversations and observations with you and your child at home and at school. Your child's participation in this study is voluntary and will not affect their academic standing in the dual-language program or any other school activities.

Please include your name and contact information below so that I may contact you to share the specific details of the study and answer any questions.

Your Child's Name

Your Name

Email Address

Best contact phone number

Sincerely,

Xochitl Morales
Doctoral Student and Researcher

Appendix I

PARENTAL PERMISSION FOR CHILDREN TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study

Language Ideologies and Use Among Latine Children in a Dual Language Program in Southern California: A Qualitative Approach

Members of the Research Team

Principal Investigator: Dr. Lilia Monzo, Ph.D.

Investigator: Xochitl Morales, Doctoral Student

Introduction

The purpose of this form is to provide you the parent of a prospective study participant, information that will help you decide whether or not to let your child participate in this research study. The person performing the research will describe the study to you and answer all your questions. Read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to give your permission for your child to take part. If you decide to let your child be involved in this study, this form will be used to record your permission.

Purpose of the study

This research seeks to understand the language choice of young Latino children in dual language programs. The aim is to understand why Latino children use one language more than the other (English/Spanish) at home or at school.

What is my child going to be asked to do?

If you allow your child to participate in this study, your child will be observed and interacted with 3 times per week during their lunch time. Your child will be interviewed 2 times in their school setting for approximately 45minutes-1hour. I will ask to audio record the interviews to ensure accurate data. The estimated duration of this study is six months.

What are the possible risks of being in this research study?

The risks are minimal and include the loss of confidentiality due to identifiable information that will be collected from all participants. The personal information that will be collected is essential to the research study. Other risks include notes taken during observation might be seen by an outsider and the storing of data electronically might be compromised if hacked or if personal computer is stolen. Rest assured that all precautions to eliminate any risks will be enacted.

Does my child have to participate?

No, your child's participation in this study is voluntary. Your child may decline to participate or to withdraw from participation at any time. Withdrawal or refusing to participate will not affect their relationship with Chapman University. You can agree to allow your child to be in the study now and change your mind later without any penalty.

What if my child does not want to participate?

In addition to your permission, your child must agree to participate in the study. If your child does not want to participate they will not be included in the study and there will be no penalty. If your child initially agrees to be in the study they can change their mind later without any penalty.

How will my data be used?

The collected data from interviews and observations will be transcribed and coded to provide an accurate representation of what was said by each participant. An analysis will follow based on key terms, phrases, and themes that will answer the research study's proposed questions.

What are the possible benefits?

The benefits to you in participating in this study will be to gain insight about the importance in maintaining cultural ties through language and most important encouraging your child to be bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural.

What will participating in this research study cost you?

There is no cost to you to be in this research study.

Will you be compensated for being in this research study?

You will not be compensated for your participation in this research study.

What should you do if you have a problem during this research study?

Your welfare is the primary concern of every member of the research team. If you have a problem as a direct result of being in this study, you should immediately contact one of the people listed at the beginning of this consent form.

How will your child's privacy and confidentiality be protected by participating in this research study?

Reasonable steps will be taken to protect your privacy and the confidentiality of your study data. The notes taken will consist of key words that will help the researcher remember an event. More detailed notes will be written once the researcher gets home. Completed notes will then be uploaded to dropbox. Identifiable information from notes will be removed after coding to keep

confidentiality. The audio recordings will password protected and stored electronically in my computer's hard drive and uploaded to dropbox. Any information shared by your child during interviews or interactions with the researcher will be kept confidential to ensure your child feels safe and comfortable voicing their opinions.

The only people who will have access to your research records are the research team members, the Institutional Review Board (IRB), and any other person, agency, or sponsor as required by law. Information from this study may be published in scientific journals or presented at scientific meetings, but the data will be reported as a group or summarized data, and your child's identity will be kept strictly confidential. We cannot guarantee total privacy.

Please note that all Chapman University employees are required to report any known or suspected abuse of children or minors to appropriate authorities.

What are your rights as a research participant?

You may ask any questions about this research and have those questions answered before agreeing to participate in the study or during the study.

For study-related questions, please contact the investigator(s) listed at the beginning of this form.

For questions concerning your rights or complaints about the research, contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (714) 628-2833 or irb@chapman.edu.

Signature

You are making a decision about allowing your child to participate in this study. Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above and have decided to allow them to participate in the study. If you later decide that you wish to withdraw your permission for your child to participate in the study you may discontinue his or her participation at any time. You will be given a copy of this document.

Printed Name of Child

Printed Name of Child

Date

Signature of Parent or Legal Guardian

Date

AUDIO RECORDING:

I have received an adequate description of the purpose and procedures for audio recording sessions during the course of the proposed research. I give my consent to allow my child to be audio recorded during participation in this study, and for those records to be reviewed by persons involved in the study, as well as for other professional purposes as described to me.

☐ **Yes**, I agree to allow the research team to **audio record** my child's interview(s).

☐ **No**, I do not wish to have my child's interview(s) **audio recorded**.

Signature of Participant or Legal Guardian

Date

Appendix J

PERMISO DE LOS PADRES PARA QUE LOS NIÑOS PARTICIPEN EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN

Título del estudio

Ideologías y uso del lenguaje entre niños latinos en un programa de lenguaje dual en el sur de California: un enfoque cualitativo

Miembros del equipo de investigación

Investigador Principal: Dr. Lilia Monzo, Ph.D.

Investigadora: Xochitl Morales, Estudiante de Doctorado

Introducción

El propósito de este formulario es proporcionarle a usted el padre de un posible participante del estudio, información que lo ayudará a decidir si desea o no que su hijo participe en este estudio de investigación. La persona que realiza la investigación le describirá el estudio y responderá a todas sus preguntas. Lea la información a continuación y haga cualquier pregunta que pueda tener antes de decidir si dar o no su permiso para que su hijo participe. Si decide dejar que su hijo participe en este estudio, este formulario se utilizará para registrar su permiso.

Propósito del estudio

Esta investigación busca comprender la elección del idioma de los niños latinos pequeños en programas de lenguaje dual. El objetivo es entender por qué los niños latinos usan un idioma más que el otro (inglés/español) en casa o en la escuela.

¿Qué se le va a pedir a mi hijo que haga?

Si permite que su hijo participe en este estudio, su hijo será observado e interactuado con él 3 veces por semana durante su hora de almuerzo. Su hijo será entrevistado 2 veces en su entorno escolar durante aproximadamente 45 minutos-1 hora. Pediré grabar en audio las entrevistas para garantizar datos precisos. La duración estimada de este estudio es de seis meses.

¿Cuáles son los posibles riesgos de estar en este estudio de investigación?

Los riesgos son mínimos e incluyen la pérdida de confidencialidad debido a la información identificable que se recopilará de todos los participantes. La información personal que se recopilará es esencial para el estudio de investigación. Otros riesgos incluyen notas tomadas durante la observación que pueden ser vistas por un extraño y el almacenamiento de datos electrónicamente podría verse comprometido si se piratea o si se roba la computadora personal. Tenga la seguridad de que se tomarán todas las precauciones para eliminar cualquier riesgo.

¿Mi hijo tiene que participar?

No, la participación de su hijo en este estudio es voluntaria. Su hijo puede negarse a participar o retirarse de la participación en cualquier momento. Retirarse o negarse a participar no afectará su relación con la Universidad de Chapman. Puede aceptar permitir que su hijo esté en el estudio ahora y cambiar de opinión más tarde sin ninguna penalización.

¿Qué pasa si mi hijo no quiere participar?

Además de su permiso, su hijo debe aceptar participar en el estudio. Si su hijo no quiere participar no será incluido en el estudio y no habrá penalización. Si su hijo inicialmente acepta estar en el estudio, puede cambiar de opinión más tarde sin ninguna penalización.

¿Cómo se utilizarán mis datos?

Los datos recopilados de las entrevistas y observaciones se transcribirán y codificarán para proporcionar una representación precisa de lo que dijo cada participante. Seguirá un análisis basado en términos, frases y temas clave que responderán a las preguntas propuestas por el estudio de investigación.

¿Cuáles son los posibles beneficios?

Los beneficios para usted al participar en este estudio serán obtener información sobre la importancia de mantener los lazos culturales a través del lenguaje y, lo más importante, alentar a su hijo a ser bilingüe, bialfabetizado y bicultural.

¿Cuánto le costará participar en este estudio de investigación?

No hay costo para usted para estar en este estudio de investigación.

¿Serás compensado por estar en este estudio de investigación?

No será compensado por su participación en este estudio de investigación.

¿Qué debe hacer si tiene un problema durante este estudio de investigación?

Su bienestar es la principal preocupación de cada miembro del equipo de investigación. Si tiene un problema como resultado directo de estar en este estudio, debe comunicarse inmediatamente con una de las personas enumeradas al principio de este formulario de consentimiento.

¿Cómo se protegerá la privacidad y confidencialidad de su hijo al participar en este estudio de investigación?

Se tomarán medidas razonables para proteger su privacidad y la confidencialidad de los datos de su estudio. Las notas tomadas consistirán en palabras clave que ayudarán al investigador a recordar un evento. Se escribirán notas más detalladas una vez que el investigador llegue a casa. Las notas

completadas se cargarán en Dropbox. La información identificable de las notas se eliminará después de la codificación para mantener la confidencialidad. Las grabaciones de audio estarán protegidas por contraseña y se almacenarán electrónicamente en el disco duro de mi computadora y se cargarán en Dropbox. Cualquier información compartida por su hijo durante las entrevistas o interacciones con el investigador se mantendrá confidencial para garantizar que su hijo se sienta seguro y cómodo expresando sus opiniones.

Las únicas personas que tendrán acceso a sus registros de investigación son los miembros del equipo de investigación, la Junta de Revisión Institucional (IRB) y cualquier otra persona, agencia o patrocinador según lo exija la ley. La información de este estudio puede publicarse en revistas científicas o presentarse en reuniones científicas, pero los datos se informarán como datos grupales o resumidos, y la identidad de su hijo se mantendrá estrictamente confidencial. No podemos garantizar la privacidad total.

Tenga en cuenta que todos los empleados de Chapman University deben informar cualquier abuso conocido o sospechoso de niños o menores a las autoridades correspondientes.

¿Cuáles son sus derechos como participante en la investigación?

Puede hacer cualquier pregunta sobre esta investigación y obtener respuestas a esas preguntas antes de aceptar participar en el estudio o durante el estudio.

Para preguntas relacionadas con el estudio, comuníquese con el (los) investigador(es) que figuran al principio de este formulario.

Para preguntas relacionadas con sus derechos o quejas sobre la investigación, comuníquese con la Junta de Revisión Institucional (IRB) al (714) 628-2833 o irb@chapman.edu.

Firma

Usted está tomando una decisión acerca de permitir que su hijo participe en este estudio. Su firma a continuación indica que ha leído la información proporcionada anteriormente y ha decidido permitirles participar en el estudio. Si más tarde decide que desea retirar su permiso para que su hijo participe en el estudio, puede interrumpir su participación en cualquier momento. Se le entregará una copia de este documento.

Nombre impreso del niño

fecha

Firma de la fecha del padre o tutor legal

fecha

GRABACIÓN DE AUDIO:

He recibido una descripción adecuada del propósito y los procedimientos para las sesiones de grabación de audio durante el curso de la investigación propuesta. Doy mi consentimiento para permitir que mi hijo sea grabado en audio durante la participación en este estudio, y para que esos registros sean revisados por las personas involucradas en el estudio, así como para otros fines profesionales como se me describe.

_____ **Sí**, acepto permitir que el equipo de investigación grabe en **audio** las entrevistas de mi hijo.

_____ **No, no deseo que se grabe el audio** de la(s) entrevista(s) de mi hijo(s).

Firma del Participante o Tutor Legal

Fecha

Appendix K

CHAPMAN UNIVERSITY ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

[Title of Study]

*Language Ideologies and Use Among Latine Children in a Dual Language Program
In Southern California: A Qualitative Approach*

Participating in this study is totally voluntary. Please read about the study below. Feel free to ask questions about anything that you do not understand before deciding if you want to be in the study. A researcher listed below will be around to answer your questions.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Dr. Lilia Monzo, Ph.D.
Xochitl Morales, Doctoral Student
Donna Ford Attallah College of Educational Studies
xmorales@chapman.edu

STUDY SPONSOR(S):

STUDY LOCATION(S):

This study will take place at your child's school and your home.

Why am I being asked to take part in this research study?

A research study is usually done to find a better way to treat people or to understand how things work. You are being asked to take part in this research study because *you are a child who fits the desired participant description.*

What should I know about a research study?

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to do so. It is up to you if you want to participate. You can choose not to take part now and change your mind later if you want. Your decision will not be held against you. You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Why is this research being done?

In this study, I want to find out more about *how you choose between Spanish and English language use. Example: When you are at school what language do you use the most and why? At home, do you speak one language more than the other? Why?*

How long will the research last?

I expect that you will be in this research study for six months.

What happens if I say “Yes, I want to be in this research”?

If it is okay with you and you agree to join this study, you will be asked to:

- *participate in 2-3 interviews that are 45 minutes each*
- *you will be observed at school during lunch time for about 20 minutes*
- *You will be observed your home 5 times for about 2-3 hours each visit*

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me?

You may feel uncomfortable when I observe what you do at home and at school as I write during each observation. Another example is some questions that I will ask might make you think of only one right answer, but there might not be one right answer. *You can skip any question(s) you do not want to answer and you can stop at any time.*

What happens to the information collected for the research?

I will try to limit other people from seeing your personal information. Some people who have a need to see your information will be allowed. I cannot promise complete secrecy.

Will you get better if you are in the study?

By being in the study you will talk about what you feel, like and know about speaking more than one language.

What else do I need to know?

By being in this study you will help other children your age learn about what it feels to speak two languages.

Who can I talk to?

If you have any questions about the study or any problems to do with the study you can contact the Principal Investigator Xochitl Morales. You can call him/her at 310-808-5369.

If you have questions about the study but want to talk to someone else who is not a part of the study, you can call the Chapman University Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (714)-628-2833.

Do you have to be in the study?

You do not have to be in the study. No one will be mad at you if you don't want to do this. If you don't want to be in this study, you just have to tell the researchers. If you want to be in this study, you just have to tell them. You can say yes now and change your mind later. It is up to you to decide.

Confidentiality: I have ethical obligations to contact individuals to help you if you should threaten to harm yourself. If keeping information obtained in this study private would immediately put you in danger, I will release that information to protect you.

AUDIO RECORDING:

Someone explained to me that my voice will be recorded for this research. I allow my voice to be recorded during this research study, and for others doing the research to listen to my recorded voice.

_____ **Yes**, I agree to allow the research team to **audio record** my voice.

_____ **No**, I do not wish to have my interview **audio recorded**.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature Block for Child Assent

Signature of child

Date

Printed name of child

Printed name of person obtaining assent

Date

Signature of person obtaining assent

A witness signature is required on this assent form only if: (Researchers: check which one applies)

☐ The subject has decision-making capacity, but cannot read, write, talk or is blind.

☐ The IRB specifically mandated a witness signature for this study.

The witness must be impartial (i.e. not a member of the subject's family, not a member of the study team).

For the witness:

I confirm that the information in this assent form was accurately explained to and understood by the subject or legally authorized representative and that informed assent was given freely.

Witness Signature

Date

Printed Name of Witness

APPENDIX L

UNIVERSIDAD CHAPMAN ASENTIMIENTO PARA PARTICIPAR EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN

[Título del estudio]

*Ideologías y uso del lenguaje entre niños latine en un programa de lenguaje dual en el sur de California:
un enfoque cualitativo*

La participación en este estudio es totalmente voluntaria. Por favor, lea sobre el estudio a continuación. Siéntase libre de hacer preguntas sobre cualquier cosa que no entienda antes de decidir si desea participar en el estudio. Un investigador que se enumera a continuación estará cerca para responder a sus preguntas.

INVESTIGADOR PRINCIPAL

Dra. Lilia Monzo, Ph.D.
Xochitl Morales, Doctoranda
Donna Ford Attallah College of Educational Studies
xmorales@chapman.edu

PATROCINADOR(ES) DEL ESTUDIO:

LUGAR(ES) DE ESTUDIO:

Este estudio se llevará a cabo en la escuela de su hijo y en su hogar.

¿Por qué se me pide que participe en este estudio de investigación?

Por lo general, se realiza un estudio de investigación para encontrar una mejor manera de tratar a las personas o para comprender cómo funcionan las cosas. Se le pide que participe en este estudio de investigación porque *es un niño que se ajusta a la descripción deseada del participante.*

¿Qué debo saber sobre un estudio de investigación?

No tienes que estar en este estudio si no quieres hacerlo. Depende de ti si quieres participar. Puedes optar por no participar ahora y cambiar de opinión más tarde si lo deseas. Su decisión no será tomada en su contra. Puedes hacer todas las preguntas que quieras antes de decidirte.

¿Por qué se está haciendo esta investigación?

En este estudio, quiero saber más sobre *cómo elegir entre el uso del idioma español e inglés. Ejemplo: Cuando estás en la escuela, ¿qué idioma usas más y por qué? En casa, ¿hablas un idioma más que el otro? ¿Por qué?*

¿Cuánto tiempo durará la investigación?

Espero que estés en este estudio de investigación durante seis meses.

¿Qué pasa si digo "Sí, quiero estar en esta investigación"?

Si está bien con usted y acepta unirse a este estudio, se le pedirá que *participe en 2-3 entrevistas, se le observará en la escuela y en su hogar.*

¿Hay alguna manera de que estar en este estudio pueda ser malo para mí?

Es posible que te sientas incómodo con algo cuando observo lo que haces y me veo escribiendo. Otro ejemplo son algunas preguntas que haré que te hagan pensar en una sola respuesta correcta, pero puede que no haya una respuesta correcta. *Puede omitir cualquier pregunta que no desee responder y puede detenerse en cualquier momento.*

¿Qué sucede con la información recopilada para la investigación?

Trataré de limitar que otras personas vean su información personal. Algunas personas que tienen la necesidad de ver su información serán permitidas. No puedo prometer un secreto total.

¿Mejorarás si estás en el estudio?

Al estar en el estudio, hablarás sobre lo que sientes, te gusta y sabrás sobre hablar más de un idioma.

¿Qué más necesito saber?

Al estar en este estudio, ayudará a otros niños de su edad a aprender sobre lo que se siente al hablar dos idiomas.

¿Con quién puedo hablar?

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre el estudio o cualquier problema relacionado con el estudio, puede comunicarse con la investigadora principal Xochitl Morales. Puede llamarlo al 310-808-5369.

Si tiene preguntas sobre el estudio pero desea hablar con otra persona que no sea parte del estudio, puede llamar a la Junta de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de Chapman (IRB) al (714)-628-2833.

¿Tienes que estar en el estudio?

Usted no tiene que estar en el estudio. Nadie se enojará contigo si no quieres hacer esto. Si no quieres estar en este estudio, solo tienes que decírselo a los investigadores. Si quieres estar en este estudio, solo tienes que decírselo. Puedes decir que sí ahora y cambiar tu mente más tarde. Depende de ti decidir.

Confidencialidad: Tengo la obligación ética de contactar a las personas para que lo ayuden si amenaza con hacerse daño. Si mantener la información obtenida en este estudio en privado lo pondría inmediatamente en peligro, divulgaré esa información para protegerlo.

GRABACIÓN DE AUDIO:

Alguien me explicó que mi voz será grabada para esta investigación. Permito que mi voz sea grabada durante este estudio de investigación, y que otros que hacen la investigación escuchen mi voz grabada.

_____ **Yes**, acepto permitir que el equipo de investigación grabe mi voz en **audio**.

_____ **No**, no deseo que **se grabe el audio de** mi entrevista.

Firma del participante

Fecha

Bloque de firma para la aprobación de niños

Firma del niño

Fecha

Nombre impreso del niño

Nombre impreso de la persona que obtiene el asentimiento

Fecha

Firma de la persona que obtiene el asentimiento

Se requiere una firma de testigo en este formulario de asentimiento solo si: (Investigadores: verifique cuál se aplica)

☐ El sujeto tiene capacidad de decisión, pero no sabe leer, escribir, hablar o es ciego.

☐ El IRB ordenó específicamente una firma de testigo para este estudio.

El testigo debe ser imparcial (es decir, no un miembro de la familia del sujeto, no un miembro del equipo de estudio).

Para el testigo:

Confirmando que la información en este formulario de asentimiento fue explicada y entendida con precisión por el sujeto o representante legalmente autorizado y que el consentimiento informado se dio libremente.

Fecha de firma del testigo

Nombre impreso del testigo

Appendix M

Interview Protocol for Adults

Name of participant:

Place of interview:

Date of interview:

My name is Xochitl Morales, and I will be interviewing you. The goal of this study is to find out what parents with children who speak two languages (English and Spanish) feel when they choose to speak Spanish or English, or both. Your answers are valued and will be kept confidential. After the study is complete, all of the information will be shared with you.

You were selected as someone who wants to share and will stay in the study till the end. Before this interview, you received **consent** forms (one to sign and return and one to keep) before starting this session. The interview(s) will be approximately **1 hour to 1.5 hours**.

Did you bring your consent form? If not, I can provide you with a copy.

Do you have any questions before we start?

-
1. To get started, let's introduce ourselves. Tell me, what is your name and age?
 2. Tell me about your family.
 3. How did you hear about this school's dual language program?
 4. What made you decide to enroll your child in the dual language program versus the regular English only option?
 5. At home, which language do you feel more comfortable using?
Probe: Which language do you know more and why?
 6. From your own schooling experience, in what language(s) were you taught?
 7. When you are at home with your child, in what language do you communicate the most? Why?
 8. As a Latina parent, how important is it to maintain Spanish?
 9. What are some ways that you help your child maintain Spanish? Why?
 10. What are the benefits you see in being bilingual?
 11. How do you feel about participating in this study?

I want to thank you for participating in this interview. Thank you for answering and sharing your time in this interview.

Protocolo de entrevista para adultos (Spanish version)

Nombre del participante:

Lugar de la entrevista:

Fecha de la entrevista:

Mi nombre es Xóchitl Morales, y te entrevistaré. El objetivo de este estudio es averiguar qué sienten los padres con hijos que hablan dos idiomas (inglés y español) cuando eligen hablar español o inglés, o ambos. Sus respuestas son valoradas y se mantendrán confidenciales. Una vez que se complete el estudio, toda la información se compartirá con usted.

Fuiste seleccionado como alguien que quiere compartir y permanecerá en el estudio hasta el final. Antes de esta entrevista, recibí los formularios de **consentimiento** (uno para firmar y devolver y otro para conservar) antes de comenzar esta sesión. La(s) entrevista(s) será de aproximadamente **1 hora a 1.5 horas**.

¿Trajo su formulario de consentimiento? Si no, puedo proporcionarle una copia.

¿Tiene alguna pregunta antes de comenzar?

-
1. Para empezar, vamos a presentarnos. Dime, ¿cuál es tu nombre y edad?
 2. Háblame de tu familia.
 3. ¿Cómo te enteraste del programa bilingüe de esta escuela?
 4. ¿Qué le hizo decidir inscribir a tu hijo en el programa bilingüe en comparación con la opción regular de solo inglés?
 5. En casa, ¿qué idioma te sientes más cómodo usando?

Sonda: ¿Qué idioma conoces más y por qué?

6. A partir de su propia experiencia escolar, ¿en qué idioma (s) se le enseñó?
7. Cuando estás en casa con tu hijo, ¿en qué idioma te comunicas más? ¿Por qué?
8. Como madre latina, ¿qué tan importante es mantener el español?
9. ¿Cuáles son algunas de las maneras en que ayuda a su hijo a mantener el español? ¿Por qué?
10. ¿Cuáles son los beneficios que ves en ser bilingüe?
11. ¿Cómo te sientes al participar en este estudio?

Quiero agradecerle por participar en esta entrevista. Gracias por responder y compartir su tiempo en esta entrevista.

Appendix N

Interview Protocol for Teacher

Name of participant:

Place of interview:

Date of interview:

My name is Xochitl Morales, and I will be interviewing you. The goal of this study is to find out what children who speak two languages (English and Spanish) feel when they choose to speak Spanish or English, or both. Your answers are valued and will be kept confidential. After the study is complete, all of the information will be shared with you.

You were selected as someone who wants to share and will stay in the study till the end. Before this interview, you received **consent** forms (one to sign and return and one to keep) before starting this session. The interview(s) will be approximately **1 hour to 1.5 hours**.

Did you bring your consent form? If not, I can provide you with a copy.

Do you have any questions before we start?

-
1. To get started, let's introduce ourselves. Tell me, what is your name and age?
 2. Tell me about your family.
 3. What do you know about this school's dual language program?
 4. How many years have you taught?
 5. How many years have you taught in this school's dual language program?
 6. When teaching in either Spanish or English, what language do you find easier to deliver instruction in?
Why?
 7. From your own schooling experience, in what language(s) were you taught?
 8. What language do students use the most during class?
 9. What language do students use the most with other peers during class time? Playground?
 10. As a teacher, how important is it to maintain Spanish?
 11. What are some ways that you help your students maintain Spanish? Why?
 12. What are the benefits you see in being bilingual?
 13. How do you feel about participating in this study?

I want to thank you for participating in this interview. Thank you for answering and sharing your time in this interview.

Appendix O

Interview Protocol for Children

Name of participant:

Place of interview:

Date of interview:

My name is Xochitl Morales, and I will be interviewing you. The goal of this study is to find out what students that speak two languages (English and Spanish) feel when they choose to speak Spanish, English, or both. Your answers are valued and will be kept confidential. After the study is complete, all of the information will be shared with you.

You were selected by your teacher as someone who wants to share and will stay in the study till the end. Before this interview, your parents received **consent** forms (one to sign and return and one to keep) before starting this session. The interview(s) will be approximately **45-60 minutes**.

Did you bring your consent form? If not, I can provide you with a copy.

Do you have any questions before we start?

-
1. To get started, let's introduce ourselves. Tell me, what is your name, grade, and age?
 2. Can you share why you want to participate in this study?
 3. Can you draw a picture of your family? Probe: Tell me something about your family.
 4. For this next question, we will use your picture to write a story using these sentence frames, and you will fill in the answer:

5. Probes/ sentence frames: Once upon a time ____ lived with ____ in a ____ . The family liked to go to ____ together. Then one day, ____.
- **Note to researcher close attention will be paid to which language(s) are used**
6. Can you give me an example of your favorite activity in your dual language classroom?
 7. Probe: What language do you use in this activity?
 8. When you do partner or group work, what language do you use? Your group members and why?
 9. Probe: In which language do you feel more comfortable using?

Probe: Which language do you know more and why?
 10. Now, we will play a game called, "How do you feel?" I will ask you questions about what language you use and how you feel? You can use these feeling cards to help.
 - a. How do you feel when you hear Spanish at school?

Probe: In your classroom? In the playground?

- b. How do you feel when mom, dad, or sibling uses Spanish?

Probe: At school? Home? Community?

- c. How do you feel about participating in this study?

I want to thank you for participating in this interview. You worked very well in answering and completing all of the activities.

Protocolo de entrevista para niños (Spanish version)

Nombre del participante:

Lugar de la entrevista:

Fecha de la entrevista:

Mi nombre es Xóchitl Morales, y te entrevistaré. El objetivo de este estudio es averiguar qué sienten los estudiantes que hablan dos idiomas (inglés y español) cuando eligen hablar español, inglés o ambos. Sus respuestas son valoradas y se mantendrán confidenciales. Una vez que se complete el estudio, toda la información se compartirá con usted.

Fuiste seleccionado por tu maestro como alguien que quiere compartir y permanecerá en el estudio hasta el final. Antes de esta entrevista, sus padres recibieron formularios de consentimiento (uno para firmar y regresar y otro para conservar) antes de comenzar esta sesión. La(s) entrevista(s) será de aproximadamente **45-60 minutos**.

¿Trajo su formulario de consentimiento? Si no, puedo proporcionarle una copia.

¿Tiene alguna pregunta antes de comenzar?

-
1. Para empezar, vamos a presentarnos. Dime, ¿cuál es tu nombre, grado y edad?
 2. ¿Puedes compartir por qué quiere participar en este estudio?
 3. ¿Puedes hacer un dibujo de tu familia? Sonda: Cuéntame algo sobre tu familia.
 4. Para esta siguiente pregunta, usaremos su imagen para escribir una historia usando estos marcos de oraciones, y completará la respuesta:
5. Sondas / marcos de oraciones: Érase una vez ____ vivió con ____ en un _____. A la familia le gustaba ir a ____ juntos. Entonces un día, _____.
- **Nota para el investigador se prestará mucha atención a qué idioma (s) se utilizan**
6. ¿Puedes darme un ejemplo de tu actividad favorita en tu aula de lenguaje dual?
 7. Sonda: ¿Qué lenguaje utilizas en esta actividad?
 8. Cuando trabajas en pareja o en grupo, ¿qué idioma utilizas? ¿Los miembros de tu grupo y por qué?
 9. Sonda: ¿En qué idioma te sientes más cómodo usando?
¿Qué idioma conoces más y por qué?
 10. Ahora, jugaremos un juego llamado, "¿Cómo te sientes?" Te haré preguntas sobre qué lenguaje usas y cómo te sientes. Puedes usar estas tarjetas de sentimiento para ayudar.

- a. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando escuchas español en la escuela?

Sonda: ¿En su aula? ¿En el patio de recreo?

- b. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando mamá, papá o hermano usa el español?

Sonda: ¿En la escuela? ¿Hogar? ¿Comunidad?

- c. ¿Cómo te sientes al participar en este estudio?

Quiero agradecerte por participar en esta entrevista. Trabajaste muy bien para responder y completar todas las actividades.