Redefining Who Belongs in Multilingual Classrooms and Communities: The Conscious Construction of the Midwest School District's Two-Way Immersion Program

Lauren McAuliffe

University of Pennsylvania

The growth in the U.S. Latinx population, in conjunction with residential isolation of African Americans, has resulted in hypersegregated schools that disproportionately serve English Learners (ELs) and Black students. A long-standing incompatibility between federal legislative protections has forced these populations to compete for access to educational resources, such as dual language programs. Though bilingualism confers an array of instrumental benefits, it has, heretofore, been offered to ELs at the exclusion of their Black peers. Such language education programs thus reproduce raciolinguistic ideologies of antiblackness (Sung, 2018). I suggest that two-way immersion (TWI) programs have the potential to enlargen the pie (Valdés, 2002) insofar as they integrate and provide bilingualism to Latinx and Black students. I contend, however, that such programs must be locally constructed. This paper will analyze how the Midwest School District (MSD) designed a language planning initiative in response to their communities' unique context. Leveraging multi-scalar alliances, actors in MSD cultivated implementational spaces in which multilingual classrooms and communities were redefined to include Black students and families.

As my panic dissipated, I tried to understand why my six-year-old student, Gabriel, would intentionally bring a knife to our classroom. He explained that he needed to protect himself from Bettina, a new student that had recently enrolled in our schools' one-way dual language (DL) program. Bettina's family had just immigrated from Colombia and settled in North Texas. A gregarious and outgoing child, Bettina actively tried to befriend the other students in our class. Most times, however, her friendly advances were met with whispers, a flurry of activity as students moved to avoid sitting next to her, and blank stares. I realized that, as the only Black student in our school's DL program, Bettina was not considered a member of our classroom, nor of the school's Spanish-speaking community.[1]

Broadly defined, DL programs are "a variety of bilingual program models for English Learners (ELs) and English-proficient students designed to help

---

[1] I began my career as an educator in 2012, at an elementary school in North Texas. This incident occurred in my first-grade classroom, during my first semester teaching. Because our school had a one-way dual language program, all of my students and their families were identified as Latinx, with Spanish as their primary language. Throughout my five years working at this school, Bettina and her younger brother, were the only black, Spanish-speaking students to enroll in our school's bilingual program.

them become bilingual and biliterate" (Baker & Wright, 2017, p. 426). These programs stand in contradistinction to transitional bilingual education models, which strive to shift ELs from their home language to the dominant language and facilitate ELs' "social and cultural assimilation into the language majority" (Baker & Wright, 2017, p. 197). DL programs (also known as maintenance or enrichment bilingual education) are committed to preserving and extending minoritized languages while championing "cultural pluralism and linguistic diversity" (Baker & Wright, 2017, p. 198). In theory, DL and two-way immersion (TWI) programs are synonymous insofar as they both stipulate (a) roughly equal numbers of language minority and language majority students and (b) use of both languages for instruction. A language balance of 50%-50% among students is ideal if bilingualism is to be attained by both language majority and minority speakers. However, due to deeply entrenched residential segregation patterns (among other variables), this proportion is hard to attain "with an imbalance towards larger numbers of language minority students being more common" (Baker & Wright, 2017, p. 216). One-way DL programs propose a solution to the preponderance of minoritized language speakers in enrichment bilingual education. Such programs are comprised of students from one language group learning academic content in both languages.

Until now, our DL programs had effectively precluded interracial contact between Black and Latinx students as it was only offered to those identified as ELs. As an Afro-Latina, Bettina fit the linguistic (but not racial) profile of students for whom the DL program was designed. Her arrival to our class rendered visible the raciolinguistic ideology of antiblackness (Sung, 2018) that schools reproduce "through institutional structures, such as language education programs" (p. 699). Bettina illustrates a cautionary tale for the field of language planning and policy (LPP). When not designed cautiously (Wiese, 2004), language education policies adeptly reproduce racial hierarchies and fortify systems of racial oppression.

This paper will suggest that TWI programs have the potential to enlargen the pie (Valdés, 2002) and "serve as counter-hegemonic mechanisms" (Wall, Greer & Palmer, 2019, p. 13), insofar as they integrate and make bilingualism accessible to Latinx and Black students, who are disproportionally represented in minoritized communities. I contend, however, that such programs must be locally constructed: built at the micro-level in response to a community's unique needs and contexts. I use a qualitatively-oriented micro LPP framework (Baldauf Jr., 2006; Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2014) to analyze how actors in the Midwest School District (MSD),[2] a public school district in Illinois, assumed agency to devise a language planning solution to address a contradiction in the macro-level policy. In the "interstices of policy"(Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2014, p. 242), MSD leveraged multi-scalar alliances to cultivate an implementational space (Hornberger, 2005) which invited Black families into multilingual communities. In so doing, MSD "reimagined a more dynamic and culturally sustaining approach to bilingual education" (Sung, 2018, p. 679), counteracted raciolinguistic ideologies of antiblackness, and facilitated intercultural community building among its residents.

---

[2] The names of all participants and locations have been changed to pseudonyms.

Context

The presence of ELs in U.S. public schools is steadily increasing. From 2000 to 2017, the percentage of students designated as ELs rose from 8.1% (U.S. Department of Education, 2018) to 11% (Steele et al., 2017). The Pew Research Center (2018) estimates that five million students in the United States are ELs, 77% of which claim Spanish as their primary home language (Bialik, Scheller & Walker, 2018). The percentage of students with diverse linguistic backgrounds was markedly higher for urban than suburban or rural school districts. In 2015, ELs comprised 14% of cities' total public-school enrollment, but just 3.6% in rural areas (U.S. Department of Education, 2018). To provide for ELs' cultural, academic, and linguistic needs, bilingual education programs are proliferating in urban districts.

The growth in the Latinx population, in conjunction with the historic residential segregation of the Black population in the United States, has resulted in closer proximity and increased contact between these two demographic groups. Wall et al. (2019) note that Latinx and African American families are more likely to share "racialized spaces" (p. 3), such as neighborhoods and schools, due to a confluence of *de jure* and *de facto* housing segregation policies and practices. Massey and Denton (1988) labeled this extreme form of spatial isolation hypersegregation. While overall segregation measures for Black populations have declined, the segregation of Asian and Latino populations has increased; nevertheless, Blacks continue to be the most segregated group in both cities and suburbs (Pinto-Coelho & Charles, 2015). It is critical to understand housing patterns because the racial segregation of neighborhoods continues to be reproduced in public schools. Black and Latino students living in the contiguous suburbs of metropolitan areas typically attend schools that are over 70% nonwhite (Orfield, Frankenberg, Ee & Kuscera, 2014). This spatial isolation is further accentuated in our nation's largest cities, where nearly 90% of students identify as nonwhite (Orfield et al., 2014).

Hypersegregated communities experience intense levels of poverty due to systematic disenfranchisement and exclusion from power structures. In this way, residential disadvantage mutates into a socioeconomic and academic disadvantage. Parents and teachers in such schools are often forced to "compete for the very meager resources available to educate...educationally vulnerable children" (Valdés, 2002, p. 191). An inequitable system thus positions Latinx and African American families against each other to wrestle over fiscal resources and the specialized educational programming they underwrite.

This paper frames bilingualism and the funding that engenders it, as a limited resource over which minoritized groups are left to battle. Bilingualism confers an array of instrumental benefits but has, heretofore, been offered to ELs and White students, at the exclusion of their Black peers (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Scanlan & Palmer, 2009; Wall et al., 2019). Historically, federal legislative measures, such as Lau v. Nichols in 1974 (Bon, 2019) and the subsequent Lau Remedies in 1975 (Cardenas, 1976), have played a critical role in safeguarding and promoting ELs' access to language education programming. Affluent white, English-speaking families, in contrast, have the privilege of benefiting from white supremacist systems to advocate for access to TWI programs. Wall et al.'s (2019) study of Springwall ISD, in particular, documents how the district's TWI school site selection, program marketing, and lottery application processes disproportionately

favored white families and neighborhoods. The continued oppression wrought by white supremacist systems and a lack of federal legislative protections, exclude Black students from highly sought-after language education programs.

Framing the Research Problem

TWI programs have the potential to provide "a win/win situation for both groups of children" (Valdés, 2002, p. 194), to the extent that they integrate Latinx and Black students and provide equitable access to bilingualism. Such programs also address a lack of macro-level education policy that effectively attends to the needs of ELs and Black students. Rulings such as Brown v. Board of Education[3] in 1954 and Lau v. Nichols in 1974 have historically resulted in policies that account for the needs of one group at the expense of the other. I contend that districts seeking to establish TWI programs must ensure they are "consciously constructed as opposed to simply implemented based on standards that may not apply to a local context" (Anberg-Espinosa, 2008, p. 22). This means carefully analyzing how TWI programs can both afford and constrain educational opportunities for Black students, in particular.

Much of the previous literature pertaining to the inclusion of Black students in TWI programs (Boone, 2007; Cazabon, Nicoladis, & Lambert, 1998; La Serna, 2017; Wiese, 2004) analyzed whether TWI programs could effectively educate Black students as well as their White or Latinx peers. This paper starts from the premise that indeed, they can when they are carefully constructed and consistently attend to multiple variables and constituents. As a result, this paper will investigate how successful TWI programs are planned and implemented. My research is grounded in the following questions:

- In the absence of coherent macro-level language policy, how are TWI programs implemented to meet the needs of Latinx and African American students? What are the essential ingredients?
- Who initiates these programs? What incentives and opportunities motivate actors to invest sought-after educational resources in communities of color?
- How do participants collaborate across educational sectors (e.g., teachers, school board members, parents, etc.) to form multi-scalar alliances? What role do such coalitions play in realizing TWI programs?

I apply a micro LPP lens to analyze how MSD purposely extended bilingualism to Black and Latinx students. In 2012, MSD intentionally designed a TWI program in response to both communities' demonstrated needs. In an effort to situate this case study, I will begin by reviewing existing literature pertaining to Black communities' inclusion in bilingual education programs. Then, I will explain how an ethnographically-informed micro LPP framework highlights the multi-scalar and agentive nature of local language planning efforts.

---

[3] United States Court. (n.d.). History – Brown v. Board of Education re-enactment. Retrieved from https://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/history-brown-v-board-education-re-enactment

Literature Review

Parchia (2000) notes that relatively little is written on TWI programs that are designed with Black students in mind. This section will describe the limited research conducted in this area of study. Specifically, it will illustrate some of the shortcomings and best practices for implementing TWI programs, drawing attention to the myriad variables LPP actors should consider when developing them. This review is divided into three sections to begin framing language education policy and planning as comprised of interconnected, multi-scalar layers.

Families: Motivations, Probability of Persistence, and Parental Commitment

Several reports have analyzed Black families' motivations for enrolling in DL programs (Boone, 2007; Anberg-Espinosa, 2008; Offutt, 2017). Parents registered their children in TWI to accomplish three overarching goals: achieving bilingualism, reaping the instrumental benefits associated with bilingualism, and accessing high-quality school programs. Boone (2007) and Offutt (2017) found that parents sought out TWI programs to expand their children's cultural horizons. They were especially motivated by an awareness of the increase in the Spanish-speaking population. Parents believed that being bilingual would prepare their kids to engage with diverse populations and emerge as global citizens. Parents were equally inspired to enroll their children in TWI programs due to the academic and economic gains that bilingualism affords. African American parents felt their children were more likely to achieve academically (Offutt, 2017) and gain employment (Boone, 2007) if they were fluent in a second language. Finally, Anberg-Espinosa (2008) suggested that parents desired DL programs due to the superiority of the school itself. Her study's respondents cited small class sizes, a positive school climate, and personalized attention from the teacher as other motivating factors.

Research has also focused on variables affecting Black students' persistence in bilingual programs. Anberg-Espinosa (2008) observed that students were more likely to continue "because they enjoyed the bilingual aspect of the program, they valued relationships, and they were convinced that being bilingual could provide them certain advantages" (p. 213). Quality of relationships with peers and teachers, in addition to having individual, long-term goals for bilingualism, strongly impacted students' persistence. Conversely, attrition in TWI programs resulted from the poor academic performance or the perception that students' personal learning differences (e.g., speech impediments, delayed processing) were not addressed.

A final area of research pertains to the ways in which African American parents support their children in becoming bilingual outside of the classroom. Across multiple studies (Boone, 2007; Anberg-Espinosa, 2008; Offutt, 2017), parents concurred that a high level of commitment was necessary for Black children to succeed in DL programs, especially in the early elementary years (Anberg-Espinosa, 2008, p. 180). Parents ensured that children maintained their Spanish fluency by reading each night, watching Spanish TV, and translating recipes written in Spanish (Boone, 2007). Additionally, parents attended free Spanish lessons offered at the elementary school (Offutt, 2017) and local universities (Boone, 2007) to learn alongside their children.

Schools: Programming, Cultural Responsiveness, and Teacher Preparation

School-sponsored programming was identified as a critical component of successful TWI models. Unlike their Latinx peers, Black students in bilingual education had limited access to their second language outside of school. Though parents found ways to support their children's Spanish development at home, many lamented schools' lack of programs for enhancing language learning beyond the classroom (Boone, 2007). They desired greater support in the form of Spanish-language enrichment opportunities. Additionally, formalized support mechanisms, such as *Spanish Second Language Support* (La Serna, 2017) or *After School Interventions* (Anberg-Espinosa, 2008) were critical in helping Black students attain academic success in both languages and progress towards their goals of biliteracy (p. 155).

Cultural dissonance between students and teachers is an aspect of TWI design whose impact cannot be overstated. Parents noted that this was their greatest area of dissatisfaction with bilingual programming. Cultural incongruence between Black students and teachers became especially apparent in discordant classroom management systems and discourse practices. According to one parent, "I think the school had issues...particularly [with] African American boys, around classroom management. The expectation was you sit in rows, and you listen and direct instruction, and so a lot of kids, particularly boys, don't respond to that" (Offutt, 2017, p. 102). This "cultural mismanagement" (Offutt, 2017) resulted in a disproportionate number of black males withdrawing from the TWI classes (p. 104). In her case study of a DL program in Camden, New Jersey, Bender (2000) further emphasized that educators must lead by example and "teach students to investigate the discourse practices of themselves and others" (p. 234). Otherwise, ignoring dissonant discourse systems often leads to "miscommunication, reduced academic achievement of students, and resistance to imposed forms of discourse by students" (p. 64).

Importantly, Black parents and students repeatedly critiqued TWI programs for not being culturally responsive (Anberg-Espinosa, 2008; Boone, 2007; La Serna, 2017; Offutt, 2017). They noted a lack of African American and Afro-Latino representation in curricula and staffing. Consequently, students were at risk of forming a racialized and "narrow view of what culture looked like in the target language" (Offutt, 2017) as they did not see themselves reflected in their teachers or content (p. 102). Until relevant cultural representations were supplied, being Black and a Spanish-speaker would remain mutually exclusive facets of these children's identities. Students and parents also requested that school activities incorporate a broader array of African American cultural artifacts. While students sought to incorporate more music and dance into school programs, parents hoped to expand the curriculum's portrayal of the Black experience beyond its history of enslavement and oppression (Anberg-Espinosa, 2008).

A final trend emerging in TWI research is recommendations for teachers' professional development. Offutt (2017) and Bender (2007) asserted that school administrations must train educators in developing cultural competence and culturally responsive pedagogies (Bender, 2000; Offutt, 2017). Rather than delivering reductionist accounts of "cultural holidays and heroes," professional development must equip teachers to reframe culture as "culturally conditioned

ways of being and doing in the world" (Bender, 2000, p. 20). Research suggests that educators should also receive training on how to incorporate and valorize non-standard varieties of Spanish (e.g., regional vernaculars) and English (e.g., African American Vernacular English) in their classrooms. In so doing, educators are more likely to provide "a motivating and enriching experience" (Anberg-Espinosa, 2008) for all students in the TWI program and counter societal assumptions that portray language variations as deviant and deficient (p. 223).

Community: TWI Recruitment and Parent Support Networks

How TWI programs engage with African American communities is an understudied area of research, and a topic on which this paper hopes to shed light. Scanlan and Palmer (2009) showed how student recruitment into these competitive programs is a deeply inequitable process. Black families often lack access to critical information regarding TWI enrollment policies. In contrast, white families are "well aware" of program logistics because such knowledge "is publicized in their circles" (Scanlan & Palmer, 2009, p. 10). As a result, Black children are drastically under-represented in new TWI cohorts. At the school-level, a teacher in Scanlan and Palmer's (2009) study explained how the lottery system systematically limited Black families' access to her schools' bilingual preschool program. She described how African American families often did not know this program existed and entered the lottery much later than white families, when most slots for the program had already been filled. As a result of this subtle gate-keeping mechanism (Scanlan & Palmer, 2009), only one out of every ten slots for the bilingual program were awarded to Black families. Furthermore, Wall, Greer, and Palmer's (2019) research on Springwall ISD (pseudonym) showed how district-level policy institutionally obstructs Black students' access to language education programs. Of the 60 schools in Springwall ISD that offered DL education, only 13 schools had student populations that were 15% to 40% Black. However, only two of these 13 schools housed TWI programs, and both of these schools also educated large White student populations (Wall et al., 2019, p. 8). Research demonstrated that if schools and districts are striving to integrate their bilingual programs, they must change enrollment policies, or purposefully retool the systems used to disseminate recruitment information such that it meaningfully engages with the Black community.

Importantly, Boone (2017) and Anberg-Espinosa (2008) documented the support networks that emerge between the families of African American students in TWI programs. One parent explained, "there's enough of a...friendship system, if you want to call it that, people who've been through it before, almost like mentoring... It's [like] parents holding each other's hands" (Howard & Sugarman, 2007, p. 115). Parents in Boone's (2007) study described how they organized a group that met several times per month and "formed a buddy mail-out system so that we could mail out translations of the homework" (p. 56). Contact with other African American families played an instrumental role in students' persistence in TWI programs.

This paper endeavors to deepen existing research on best practices for TWI program implementation. In accordance with previous literature, my case study of MSD illustrates how a combination of instrumental incentives (e.g., career prospects, cognitive benefits) and pragmatic concerns (e.g., a need to communicate

with Midwest's increasingly large Spanish-speaking population) inspired many parents to enroll their children in Hillview's TWI program. This case study further confirms the importance of networks sustained between families enrolled in TWI programs. By working cross-culturally, English- and Spanish-speaking families in MSD collaborated (e.g., translating homework and school activities for one another) in an effort to support their children's academic and linguistic needs. Finally, this paper contributes a number of culturally-responsive practices in which school administrations engaged, such as organizing regular cultural awareness school assemblies, intentionally hiring Afro-Latinx teachers, and requiring teachers to develop their own curricular units centered around texts by black authors.

This paper also extends TWI research in three crucial directions. First, it reveals how MSD actors reframed local needs (e.g., overcrowded classes, a growing Spanish-speaking student body, an underperforming school) and incentives (e.g., reduced spending, integration of diverse student populations, bilingualism) as an opportunity to establish a unique and unprecedented TWI program. Second, my analysis of MSD proposes more equitable methods for recruiting families into language education. By purposefully redesigning their enrollment practices, MSD's Dual Language Committee (DLC) resisted parental pressures to admit white, middle class students from other zoning areas. Instead, they canvassed neighborhoods and held informational forums to increase Black families' knowledge of, and access to, the district's nascent TWI program. Most importantly, this case study emphasizes the importance of multi-scalar alliances in language education design and implementation. From the district-level DLC, to the school-based Dual Language Parent Advisory Committee, teachers, parents, community members, university professors, and school board members collaborated to engineer a new model of TWI education; one that counteracted raciolinguistic ideologies of antiblackness while facilitating intercultural community building among its participants.

Conceptual Framework

Four LPP research paradigms framed my case study of MSD: acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989), the LPP Onion, (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger, 2005), and micro LPP (Baldauf Jr., 2006; Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2014). Upon describing how each theoretical lens contributes to my research, I will introduce the heuristic used to study how actors' agency and reliance on multi-scalar alliances cultivated implementational spaces (Hornberger, 2005) in which multilingual communities were redefined to include Black families.

Language Acquisition Planning: At the Interstices of Incentive and Opportunity

According to Cooper (1989), language acquisition planning is comprised of the "organized efforts to promote the learning of a language"(p. 157). Its overarching goal is to disseminate knowledge of a language in an effort to increase the quantity of users. Cooper purported that this branch of LPP has three sub-goals: acquisition, in which speakers acquire a new language; reacquisition, in which a language is repurposed to achieve a broader range of functions; and maintenance, the use of a language to prevent its "erosion" (Cooper, p. 159). As the case study demonstrates,

MSD's TWI initiative struggled to achieve two acquisition goals simultaneously. Dr. Moynihan, the Director of Multicultural Programs, initially proposed the TWI model to better serve the needs of the district's growing Spanish-speaking population. His goal for this group of speakers was maintenance. However, as the Board of Education (BOE) strategized ways to garner public support for the initiative, the President of the Board, Mr. Moody, pushed for it to be marketed to English-speaking families. For this group of speakers, the goal was acquisition. Dr. Moynihan and the BOE frequently debated for whom the TWI program should be designed.

Cooper proposed that LPP actors can achieve language acquisition goals in three ways. First, by designing opportunities for speakers to access language learning. Second, by providing a tangible motivation, or incentive, that will entice people to learn another language. As the case study will illustrate, acquisition goals are also attained when speakers have ample opportunities and incentives for undertaking the study of another language. This paper contends that actors in MSD successfully realized a new language education model by framing it as an opportunity to address a variety of local needs while invoking a variety of incentives to justify their rationale.

Slicing the LPP Onion to Reveal Ideological and Implementational Spaces

Given that I did not engage in field research at MSD, nor did I conduct in-depth interviews with research participants for an extended period of time, this study cannot be considered an ethnography of LPP. It is, however, guided by an ethnographically-oriented framework that focuses on "individual agency and the complexities of local processes of policy interpretation and implementation" (Hornberger, Anzures-Tapia, Hanks, Kvietok-Dueñas & Lee, 2018, p. 159). Two constructs guided my analysis of MSD in particular: the LPP Onion (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) and the ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger, 2005) that emerge within and between the onion's layers.

The layers of the LPP onion represent the agents, levels, and processes (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) involved in interpreting and implementing language policies. This analytic conceptualizes LPP spaces as "scalar, layered policies and practices" that influence one another (Hornberger et al., 2018, p. 155). The LPP onion emphasizes "permeation" across diverse LPP spaces (Hornberger et al., 2018) and implies that multi-scalar alliances between various actors can result in collective, transformational action. Importantly, the changes that multi-sector collaborations inspire have the potential to create implementational spaces (Hornberger, 2005), or openings, in which alternative practices and structures can flourish. While large-scale language and education policies typically carve out ideological spaces from above, this study illustrates how meso- and micro-level actors can cultivate implementational spaces from below in an attempt to reinterpret ill-fitting policy. Over time, such bottom-up language planning can "serve as wedges to pry open ideological spaces" (p. 606) that better serve the linguistic and academic needs of previously overlooked or intentionally marginalized populations.

I suggest that coordinated efforts across layers of the LPP onion result in the successful implementation of MSD's TWI program. The case study demonstrates how Dr. Moynihan and the BOE worked with parents, teachers, principals, and the University of Illinois to design a language education program responsive to

the community's unique context. By assuming agency and forming alliances, MSD opened an implementational space in which bilingualism could be extended to a previously overlooked population: Midwest's Black community.

Micro Language Policy and Planning (Micro LPP)

While ideological spaces appear to coalesce within institutional power structures (e.g., constitutional and legislative instruments), implementational spaces typically emerge outside of them. Micro LPP provides a powerful lens for analyzing implementational spaces insofar as it centers on "how local events become the basis for decision-making" (Baldauf Jr., 2006, p. 163). Rather than study how local actors implement or contest macro-level policy, micro LPP begins at the local level (Baldauf Jr., 2006). Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech (2014) describe how micro LPP clarifies how local actors assume agency to engineer language planning initiatives in the absence of macro-level policy. MSD serves as a case in point, demonstrating how micro-level actors can develop innovative educational solutions beyond the influence of macro-level agencies. As an implementational space, MSD affords new possibilities for developing multilingualism. Simultaneously, it subverts the raciolinguistic ideologies of antiblackness (Sung, 2018) that macro-level language education policies reproduce. In so doing, MSD's new language education program "actively prod[s] toward more favorable [and equitable] ideological spaces" (Hornberger, 2005, p. 606).

Proposed Heuristic

Emulating Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) LPP Onion, my case study will divide MSD into three layers (Fig. 1). At each scale, I contend that an implementational space for a localized language planning solution opens through a confluence of three processes.

First, one or more local needs, which may or may not be related to language acquisition planning, are identified. Then, a language planning solution is framed as an opportunity to address the need. Finally, actors create alliances and articulate incentives for bringing the desired solution into fruition. I propose the implementation of MSD's TWI program was successful because, at each layer of the school district, LPP actors collaborated to identify local needs and designed an initiative (e.g., TWI model) that addressed them. Notably, this case study exemplifies Cooper (1989)'s seminal point about language planning, "that it is typically, perhaps always, directed ultimately toward nonlinguistic ends" (p. 35).

Method: Intertextual Analysis of Language Policies of Midwest School District

This case study was developed through an intertextual and interdiscursive analysis of primary and secondary data sources: official macro-level language policies (e.g., The Lau Remedies); local official language policies (e.g., audio recordings of MSD School Board and Dual Language Subcommittee Meetings[4]); local unofficial language policies (e.g., Dr. Moynihan's presentations to the School Board, two school websites describing the language education program);

---

[4] Aside from School Board & Dual Language Subcommittee Agendas and Meeting Minutes, I could find no written policy document outlining MSD's new TWI program.

a phone interview with Dr. Moynihan; and secondary source interviews with parents and teachers (e.g., from newspaper articles, audio recordings of MSD Board Meetings, etc.).

A Micro LPP Approach to Analyzing the Layers of MSD's Two-Way Immersion Program

Conflicting Macro Level Policy: *Brown v. Board of Ed.* (1954) & *Lau v. Nichols* (1974)

Local Needs & Opportunities
+
Incentives for TWI Implementation
+
Alliances Between Actors

Implementational Space for Integrated TWI Programs

Layer 1:
- MSD Board of Education
- Office of Multiculturalism
- Dual Language Subcommittee

Layer 2:
- MSD Dual Language Committee
- Hillview Elementary School Staff

Layer 3:
- Hillview Elementary School Parents
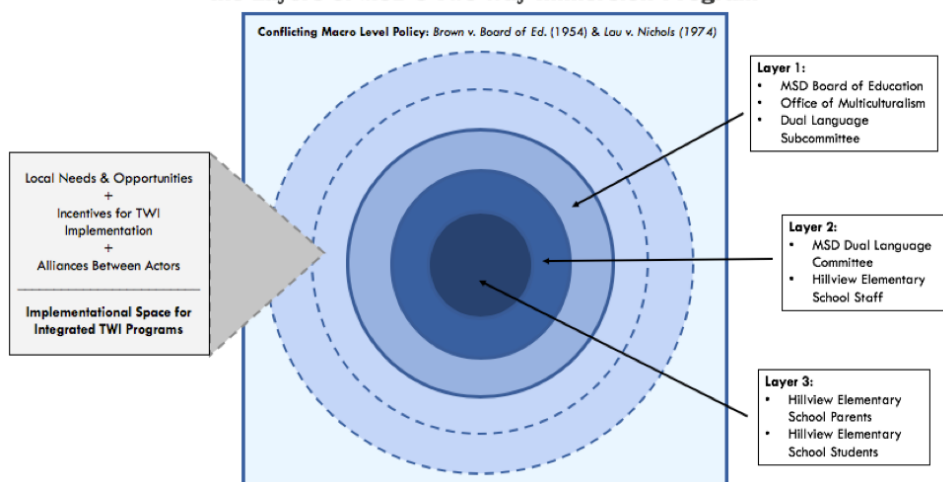- Hillview Elementary School Students

Figure 1. Positioning the layers of MSD within the context of conflicting macro-level policies.

I pieced together a cursory understanding of the context surrounding Midwest's TWI program by reading online articles from a local newspaper, The News-Gazette. As little else was written about this program's implementation, I emailed Dr. Moynihan directly to inquire if he would speak with me about the district's efforts to include Black students in TWI education. During his interview, Dr. Moynihan explained that MSD board meetings were recorded and accessible to the public (Moynihan, personal communication, April 2, 2019). However, meetings prior to 2014 were archived and unavailable online. I contacted the MSD Board Secretary, Ms. Woods, to determine how I could access these audio files. After several email exchanges, she shared seven MSD Board and Dual Language Subcommittee meetings. I listened to each session, taking extensive notes on the participants, their positions toward Dr. Moynihan's TWI program proposal, and their rationales.

Intertextual analysis became increasingly helpful as I gathered additional data sources and studied them in concert with one another. According to Johnson (2015), intertextual analysis is a strategy that is used to trace the recontextualizations and subsequent evolutions of a text's meaning. This strategy helps researchers to discern how policies are connected to and influenced by other texts, ideologies, and prevalent discourses. Used in tandem with other qualitative methods, intertextual analysis reveals the extent to which language policy texts are heteroglossic, "a product of a multiplicity of social voices...interpreted in a variety of ways by various communities" (p. 168). In so doing, this strategy directs attention away from the authorship of a policy (its "potential meaning") and instead focuses on how it is received, appropriated, and implemented by constituents [its "real-life" meaning] (Johnson, 2015, p. 168).

Importantly, Johnson explains that intertextual and interdiscursive analysis' methodological rigor lies in its capacity to illustrate how "discourses from multiple scales intersect in a specific social phenomenon," such as the interpretation and appropriation of a language education policy. By juxtaposing Board Members' and parents' commentary from MSD audio files against those reported in the News-Gazette articles and a book chapter (Bauer & Harrison, 2015), it became clear how the 'real-life' meaning of Dr. Moynihan's TWI proposal emerged "across a series of discursive events within a community" (Johnson, 2015, p. 169). At each level of social organization, which we can re-envision as the layers of the LPP onion, this language policy was adapted to fit the needs, incentives, and opportunities of a new audience and context. Through recontextualizations, Dr. Moynihan's language policy assumed a localized meaning (Johnson, 2015) that flourished in the implementational spaces multi-level actors and their resulting collaborations instantiated.

Problematizing Policy: Conflicting Federal Education Policies Result in an Absence of Macro-Level Policy

Before delving into an analysis of MSD, I will first describe the federal education policy landscape in which my case study is situated. Specifically, I will draw attention to a long-standing contradiction between two Supreme Court rulings: Brown v. Board of Education and Lau v. Nichols. Along with other researchers (Donato & Garcia, 1992; Zirkel, 1976), I propose that these mandates promote contradictory goals and are unable to provide for both Black and ELs (in this case, Latinx) students' academic and linguistic needs.

Brown v. Board of Education was a set of five cases that questioned the constitutionality of state-sponsored segregation in public schools. On May 14, 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren delivered a unanimous court decision: "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place" ("U.S. Department of Education," n.d., Brown v. Board of Education (1954, 1955)). A year later, the Justices mandated that school districts integrate schools "with all deliberate speed" ("U.S. Department of Education," n.d., Brown v. Board of Education (1954, 1955)) to be eligible for federal funding. Lau v. Nichols originated in the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD). The parents of a Kinney Kinmon Lau, a Chinese-speaking SFUSD student, filed a suit against the school board president because the district provided less than half of their ELs with language supports. The Court ruled that SFUSD violated Section 601 of the Civil Rights Act, which stated that federally funded schools had to address students' language needs (Bon, 2019). In 1975, the Lau Remedies further defined the recourses school districts could take to rectify practices deemed unlawful in Lau v. Nichols. Districts were required to submit compliance plans describing how linguistically different and underperforming students would be incorporated into aligned instructional programs (Cardenas, 1976).

While both rulings sought to provide equitable educational prospects for minoritized students, they promoted contradictory, and arguably self-defeating, solutions. Brown scattered black students "to provide instruction in racially balanced settings" (Zirkel, 1976, p. 181), while Lau clustered ELs to receive instruction in their native languages (Zirkel, 1976). Each mandate promoted a

myopic view of educational equity, promoting the advancement of one racial group to the detriment of the other. Brown framed educational integration as a "Black/White issue" (Donato & Garcia, 1992, p. 94) while overlooking the EL community. Desegregation plans unraveled DL programs, as clusters of ELs were redistricted without regard for their language needs. The Lau Remedies, by contrast, sought to provide support for ELs' academic and linguistic needs without considering how language programs racialized students excluded from the program (Sung, 2018). The Lau Remedies re-segregated schools as ELs were placed in linguistically homogenous classes to receive language services. To this day, bilingual education and desegregation mandates compete against one other, vying for under-resourced schools' meager resources. They are, as Zirkel (1976) notes, "a case of uncoordinated remedies" (p. 180).

It is in this context that my case study of MSD is immersed. I will proceed by disentangling and describing the many layers of MSD. In so doing, I will bring to light the implementational spaces that emerged as sites of micro-language planning solutions. Through a convergence of local needs and opportunities, incentives, and multi-sector alliances, a diverse array of actors in MSD successfully re-imagined a more equitable version of TWI language education programming.

Layer 1: MSD's Board of Education, Office of Multiculturalism, and Dual Language Subcommittee

At a BOE meeting on December 13, 2011, Dr. Moynihan, the Director of Bilingual and Multicultural Programs, proposed MSD replace its transitional bilingual education (TBE) model with a DL model. He also requested that the BOE expand the language education program to a second elementary school, regardless of the model the district agreed upon—transitional or DL. Over five meetings, the BOE, the Dual Language Subcommittee, Dr. Moynihan, and the superintendent debated the following:

- Which language education model should MSD adopt? TBE or DL?
- How large should the program be? How many strands should it contain?
- Option 1: The program maintains its current size (one strand) and stays at Stratfield Elementary School.
- Option 2: The program expands to include two or more strands. One strand is housed at Stratfield and additional strand(s) are added at another school.

Local needs and opportunities

Dr. Moynihan justified his recommendation by appealing to two pressing needs in MSD. First, the district's Spanish-speaking population was growing rapidly, comprising 10.5% of the district's total student population (BOE, 2011) in the 2011 school year. Within the last decade, the Latinx population had grown by 477% (BOE, 2011). To address the academic and linguistic needs of these 400 students, Dr. Moynihan asked the district "be visionary in [their] educational programming" (BOE, 2011) and use this opportunity to transition from a minimally effective TBE model to a maximally effective DL model.

According to Dr. Moynihan, "[DL] is where we need to go as a district; not just for Latino students, but for all students" (BOE, 2011).

A second local need in the MSD was that Stratfield E.S., the school with the district's only TBE classes, was woefully overcrowded. All classrooms at Stratfield E.S. were in use, the school was within nine students of their maximum physical capacity, and the current TBE kindergarten class contained 31 students. The following year, over 30 more students were expected to register in Stratfield's TBE program.Consequently, the district's contract stipulated that two classes must be added for the 2012–2013 year. These classes, however, could not fit at Stratfield. Dr. Moynihan framed this, too, as an opportunity to expand the language education program. Replicating it at a sister school would lower class sizes and provide bilingual education to multiple neighborhoods. Because class sizes would be too small (e.g., 15 Spanish-speaking students), Dr. Moynihan advised the DL program to extend enrollment to English-speaking students, thus forming a TWI model.

Incentives for implementation

As the BOE debated Dr. Moynihan's proposals, actors cited a diverse array of incentives to justify the transition to, and expansion of, a DL program. First, adopting this new language education model would differentiate MSD from other public-school districts in Illinois, putting them "at the forefront" (BOE, 2011) of the state's education system. Mr. Moody, the BOE President, also framed DL as a more cost-effective option than TBE. Through an "effective redeployment of staff" (BOE, 2012), MSD would spend less money on personnel because DL specialists could be shared between schools; fewer language support teachers would be needed (one teacher would deliver instruction in both languages); and each school would only need three DL teachers if vertical co-teaching models were utilized. By instituting the TWI model, the BOE would save tax dollars and reinvest them in other educational projects.

Additionally, Dr. Moynihan asserted that transitioning away from a TBE model would result in greater achievement for both language-majority and minority students, because "the overwhelmingly best program is two-way immersion" (BOE, 2011). Citing Thomas and Collier's (2011) research, Dr. Moynihan justified this program's implementation in terms of the linguistic, economic, cognitive, and sociocultural benefits that it conferred on students. TWI programs provided educational enrichment, facilitated cross-cultural understanding, and increased students' marketability as future employees. Relatedly, this program would integrate the segregated classrooms unintentionally engendered by the TBE model. Because TWI allowed students to engage in structured interactions across cultural boundaries, board members hoped there would be less racial tensions as they entered middle and high school.

A final incentive that emerged discursively, was the program's potential to give under-performing schools a "shot in the arm to help them be successful" (BOE, 2012). The BOE President and several board members believed that establishing a TWI program in a struggling school might serve to enhance the school's level of prestige. As a specialized program, TWI could enhance low achieving schools and make them "a more attractive option to families" (BOE, 2012). Hillview Elementary School was an oft-mentioned school in this regard.

Permeation: alliances between actors in the Dual Language Subcommittee

On January 17, 2012, the BOE approved Dr. Moynihan's first proposal: MSD would officially replace its TBE model with a TWI model. Mr. Moody charged Dr. Moynihan with forming a Dual Language Subcommittee to draft a recommendation that specified which schools should receive the TWI program. This subcommittee is one example of a multi-scalar alliance insofar as it was comprised of actors from various levels of MSD. In attendance were Dr. Moynihan, Mr. Moody, several BOE members, the assistant superintendent, and Midwest community members. The data discussed at these meetings also involved other district actors. Between the subcommittee and BOE meetings on January 25, 2012 and January 30, 2012. Dr. Moynihan sent parents a message-blast survey. English-speaking parents were asked if they would be "in favor of [having] a DL program at [their] school next year" and if they would enroll their child (BOE, 2012). Spanish-speaking parents were asked, "which school would they prefer to attend" (BOE, 2012) if not Stratfield. Teachers at the three finalist schools also received Survey Monkey links to express whether they were in favor of implementing the TWI model at their school.

Envisioned users: For whom is the TWI program intended?

On January 30, 2012, the Dual Language Subcommittee and BOE had to determine where to implement the additional TWI classes. Stratfield E.S., which housed the original TBE model, would contain one strand. The remaining strands, the quantity of which was undecided, would be placed at Handley Elementary School or Hillview Elementary School. It is important to note that Handley was located in a majority White, middle-class neighborhood. Hillview, in contrast, served a predominantly Black, working-class community and was considered to be underperforming.

BOE President Moody and several board members advocated for the TWI program to be implemented at Handley for two reasons. First, it had the largest number of bussed students, which made this school's population the easiest to move if students were redistricted. Given that 47% of Handley's students rode the bus (BOE, 2012), the likelihood that walkers would be disrupted by redistricting was far less than at other schools. Arising more fervently among board members was the feeling that "it [was Handley's] turn" (BOE, 2012) to receive an infusion of district resources. One member noted, "We've added on to [Stratfield], it was needed. We've done work, beautiful things, at [Sims].[5] We added [Summit Early Childhood] Center at Hillview...It would be nice to do something for [Handley]" (BOE, 2012). Handley, it seemed, was next in line to receive district investment. However, other board members felt that placing the TWI program at Handley might be fair, but not equitable. A board member explains:

> If we decide to put the program in [Stratfield] and [Handley], we're giv-
> ing English speakers in the higher rent areas of town a special program,
> but not offering it to a lower socio-economic (SES) area. I just think there
> could be more balance in our community, even though it may make it a
> little more difficult. (BOE, 2012)

---

[5] Sims is a pseudonym for another school in the district.

Dr. Moynihan, and other board members, contended that putting the DL program at Hillview was a better option. Logistically, this school made more sense because it had the most space. There were two empty classrooms ready for use, and three more classrooms would be available once renovations were complete (Dickinson, 2012, January 31). It also had the lowest classroom average in the district. Moreover, Hillview and the Summit Early Childhood Center shared the same campus. 95% of the incoming kindergarteners would matriculate into the TWI class from the Summit's Pre-K program. If the DL program were located next door, at Hillview, kindergarten students would have an easier transition into elementary school.

Board members also felt that implementing the program at Hillview would allow "a broad group of [low SES] English students [to] have access to Dual Language" (BOE, 2012). Considering the TWI program's long-term impact, a board member presciently noted, "thinking culturally, moving forward, when groups get to high school, making sure as many students broadly—whether they're integrated...for cultural reasons—I think that'd be a benefit to the district as a whole" (BOE, 2012). Establishing the TWI program at Hillview would afford a more diverse group of students the opportunity to integrate and develop cross-cultural friendships.

Those opposed to placing the DL strands at Hillview advanced one primary argument: diverting low-income Latinx students to an already under-resourced school "would put the numbers [of low SES students] out of whack" (BOE, 2011). While 82% of Hillview's students qualified for free and reduced lunch, only 63% of Handley's students did. Board members iteratively asserted the district's obligation to keep the number of low-SES students balanced across all schools. One board member explained, "Hillview is the second highest low-SES school. That's a disincentive to putting [the DL program] there" (BOE, 2012). She quickly doubled back to clarify that having a high proportion of low-income students "doesn't mean anything inferior about the quality of education happening [at the school]" (BOE, 2012).

A qualitatively-oriented, micro LPP lens reveals that actors within this layer of MSD disagreed over who the intended users of the TWI program should be. On the one hand, they contested which English-speakers should become bilingual. Some board members felt that Handley's students were the ideal beneficiaries for this LPP initiative. They believed "this type of program would fit in [at Handley]" (BOE, 2012) and, according to Dr. Moynihan, would provide "the perfect option for gifted, accelerated type of learning" (Moynihan, personal communication, April 2, 2019). Other board members questioned the viability of establishing a TWI strand at Hillview, given their low-income and predominantly Black student population. They believed it was a disincentive to put the program in an under-performing school that served a transitional neighborhood.

On the other hand, MSD's BOE fiercely debated whether the TWI program should be primarily marketed to English- or Spanish-speaking families. Mr. Moody was "looking for ways for [the program] to benefit the entire district" because Midwest's Latinx population had the "capacity to enrich the entire school" (BOE, 2012). He believed enrolling larger numbers of English-speaking students would also "decrease the isolation of the Hispanic population" and "continue the process of integration with different cultural groups" (BOE, 2012).

In addition to a host of other goals (e.g., reducing class sizes, decreasing costs), Mr. Moody's primary LPP goal was Spanish acquisition for English speakers. The Superintendent, however, declared that Spanish-speaking students must be the Board's ultimate priority: "whether it's DL or TBE, it's about—the primary purpose is for the children who are [emergent bilinguals]. That's the primary purpose of this. That's why we're here…it's about those students" (BOE, 2012).

At the end of the BOE meeting on January 30, 2012, the Board voted on whether to start the new TWI strands at Hillview Elementary School or Handley Elementary School. By a margin of one vote, Hillview was selected as the second TWI campus for the 2012–2013 school year. Three board members had voted for Handley, while four voted for Hillview.

Layer 2: Dual Language Committee and Hillview Elementary School

Directly following the BOE's vote, Hillview's staff and administration worked in partnership with MSD's DLC to plan and implement the new TWI strands. The Committee, started by Dr. Moynihan, was made up of twenty people who identified as "teachers, parents, community members, professors, administrators, and a school board member" (Dickinson, 2012, February 23) from February until August 2012, this coalition jointly interpreted and planned the TWI program. They determined the language allocation model, developed training, defined a program vision, and designed a culturally responsive curriculum. From August 2012, until February 2013, the DLC implemented the new TWI model. This entailed recruiting families into the program, creating a welcoming environment, and supporting families as they grappled with this new language program.

Planning the TWI program: February–August 2012

The first DLC need was to determine the language model the TWI program should use. There were two opportunities: a 50/50 or a 90/10 language allocation model. Previously, Dr. Moynihan suggested the program undertake the 50/50 model (BOE, 2011) in which half of the content was delivered in English and half in Spanish, irrespective of the grade level. However, once the DLC began intensively planning, they were no longer sure which model would best support the language needs of both Latinx and Black students. Rather than make an uninformed decision, the DLC partnered with the University of Illinois (U of I), soliciting their counsel. Two professors of education recommended MSD employ a 90/10 model (Dickinson, 2012, February 23). Kindergarteners would learn for 90% of the time in Spanish, and in each successive grade, would learn 10% less Spanish and 10% more English.

The DLC was incentivized to switch to this second language allocation model for several reasons. First, research confirmed that it was the best "for ensuring bilingual, biliterate, high-achieving students" (Dickinson, 2012, February 23). Both professors explained that the 90/10 model would best support both groups of students in their second language acquisition (BOE, 2012). Additionally, parents were surveyed regarding their preference for the DL language allocation model. The results demonstrated that parents were also in favor of executing the 90/10 model. In forming an alliance between Hillview parents and the U of I,

the DLC prioritized families' needs while informing their decision-making with research-based best practices.

Hillview and the DLC also collaborated to attend to a critical second need: developing an overall program vision. To help "everyone get sense of where we're going" (BOE, 2012), the DLC organized visits to nearby schools and professional development sessions. This afforded parents and teachers the opportunity to learn more about TWI and give feedback about how such a model should be altered to meet Hillview's particular context. On one occasion, stake-holders traveled to Chicago's Inter-American School to observe their DL program. The DLC also partnered with the Illinois Resource Center, whose consultants delivered instructional workshops to teachers regarding best practices for TWI instruction.

A final DLC and school planning need was developing culturally responsive curricula to undergird the TWI program. In his interview, Dr. Moynihan described how Hillview strove to "ensure the black experience [was] represented in the curriculum," (Moynihan, personal communication, April 2, 2019) and encouraged a focus on Black studies. Rather than use Eurocentric texts, Hillview teachers were expected to develop their own units featuring literature by Black authors. He noted, "if you're gonna be engaging or integrating students who are Black into the program, they have to see themselves in it" (Moynihan, personal communication, April 2, 2019). To that end, Hillview's administration purposefully recruited Afro-Latinx teachers because, Dr. Moynihan insisted, "representation matters" (Moynihan, personal communication, April 2, 2019).

Additionally, two professors of education from U of I collaborated with teachers to develop themed units that mainstream and DL classrooms would use. Each unit concluded with a culminating activity that required students to collaborate across classes. Importantly, the curriculum intentionally planned for consistent, structured interaction between students in the regular education and TWI classes. Partnering with U of I was especially critical because it established an ethos of collaboration between teachers at the TWI school sites. Kindergarten and first-grade teachers at Hillview and Stratfield schools spent the summer of 2012 co-planning.

Implementing the TWI model: August 2012–February 2013

Research (Scanlan & Palmer, 2009) shows that gate-keeping mechanisms, such as student recruitment systems, often obstruct Black families' access to specialized educational programs. To ensure MSD's Black community had equitable access to TWI classes, the DLC strategically designed their enrollment practices. MSD policy allowed families to "petition" into schools located outside of their zoning area if spaces were available. Thus, if too few Hillview families enrolled in the program, students from other schools could transfer in. Consequently, Hillview's principal and the DL Program Director resisted "the parental push to admit middle-class white students from other neighborhoods" (Bauer & Harrison, 2015, p. 143). Partnering with a PTA parent, Dr. Moynihan and a U of I professor canvassed neighborhoods and held forums to inform Black families about and seek their input on Hillview's TWI program.

A second implementational need Hillview and the DLC confronted was making the TWI program responsive to Hillview's local context. Dual Language Parent Advisory Committees were established so that parents and community

members could advise and reflect on the model's development (BOE, 2013). These committees were mutually beneficial. Families could express their concerns [e.g., how to support their children's second language acquisition at home] (Dickinson, 2012, November 5) while the DLC monitored the quality of the program. Important school-sponsored initiatives, such as Spanish conversational groups for parents, arose from these Dual Language Parent Advisory Committees.

Creating an inclusive school community across lines of race and language was the DLC and Hillview's most pressing implementational need. Dr. Moynihan emphasized, "you have to name [race] and acknowledge it and use that in your planning and preparing for the program...really planning for strategic ways in which you're going to integrate the program" (BOE, 2019). In an effort to build bridges between parents, Hillview started a Family Center. The Parent Liaison held interest workshops, such as yoga, to attract parents to the building and engage them in intercultural activities. Hillview's administration, for their part, organized school assemblies to build cultural awareness and appreciation. Finally, teachers integrated TWI and mainstream students through tactfully planned, end of unit projects.

At each level, these activities honed families' cultural competencies by facilitating collaboration and interaction across lines of difference. At a BOE meeting on February 5, 2013, the Superintendent declared, "I truly believe that I've seen a difference as far as the children on the playground and in the lunchroom, interacting with each other." While efforts at integrating students had achieved LPP actors' short-term goals, it was the long-term impact, beyond the school walls, the Superintendent most anticipated: "And so, you'll probably see a few more birthday parties that everyone's at, and the little league teams...because that comfort level has been developed" (BOE, 2013). Hillview's TWI program opened an implementational space in which Black and Latinx students and families could regularly engage with each other.

Permeation: Leveraging resources to address local language needs

At the BOE meeting on February 5, 2012, Dr. Moynihan noted, "we [the DLC] have a lot of help, being located in [Midwest], in the state of Illinois." It is at this layer of MSD that the power of multi-scalar alliances, and the resources they engender, become especially apparent. Without a readily available model, or easily appropriated blueprint, Hillview and the DLC had to design and implement a TWI model from scratch. They illustrate how "local actors assume agency ... and establish processes through which perceived local needs can be addressed using the resources available in their contexts" (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2014, p. 237).

Specifically, Hillview and the DLC solicited the expertise of an array of actors to create an implementational space in which Latinx and Black students could flourish. The Illinois Resource Center and U of I consulted on the program's curriculum and language allocation model. Parents provided feedback at the Dual Language Parent Advisory Committees, which helped the DLC fine-tune the program to fit the local context. Lastly, the PTA supported the DLC in reimagining recruitment practices, such that Black families had equal access to the DL program. These partnerships resulted in a shoring up of local resources, namely human capital, that was used to implement Hillview's TWI program successfully.

Layer 3: Parents and Students at Prairie Elementary School

As the TWI strands were debated and implemented, many MSD parents attended Board meetings to express their support. Audio recordings and newspaper articles demonstrate that parents believed that establishing the TWI program was a promising opportunity to address local needs. Parents justified the DL program by referencing an array of orientations (Ortega, 2009), or incentives for learning a second language.

Local needs and opportunities

The majority of parents cited two local trends that warranted the creation of an immersion program. To start, Midwest's community was becoming increasingly diverse. The city was drawing people from different racial, ethnic, and linguistic groups. One parent noted, "the way the world is now, it's a lot of Mexicans and foreign people coming to America" (Bauer & Harrison, 2015, p. 145). These demographic changes motivated parents to pursue language education for their kids because "at some point we have to be bilingual" (BOE, 2012) and adapt to a changing environment. In this sense, a DL program that included English-speakers offered a seminal opportunity and "a major stepping stone to get to that point" (BOE, 2012).

Relatedly, parents argued that the current TBE model was flawed because it segregated Spanish-speaking children from their English-speaking peers. One father explained, "they're congregating with each other, [but] they're not mixing with the other kids" (BOE, 2019). A mother confirmed this observation, clarifying that, in the current model, "Latino, White, and African Americans don't interact, they stay in the same groups" (BOE, 2019). Their concerns echo findings from previous research (Scanlan & Palmer, 2009; Offutt, 2017), which found that TWI programs inadvertently segregate students by creating a school within a school. By replacing the TBE model with its TWI counterpart, Spanish-speaking students would endure less social isolation.

Incentives for implementation

Parents cited multiple incentives for expanding the bilingual program. According to Ortega (2015), there are many orientations, or reasons why, people are motivated to learn languages. Some orientations are instrumental and pertain to people's desire to use a language for "pragmatic and utilitarian reasons" (p. 7), such as seeking employment. Other orientations are integrative and relate to "identification with the target culture and a genuine desire to become more like members of the L2 group" (p. 7). Another orientation rendered salient throughout data sources was familiarity involvement (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983), whereby people learn a language "for reasons that include empathy and desire to become familiar with the other" (p. 8).

Many families invoked an instrumental orientation toward enrolling their children in Hillview's TWI classes, attesting to the competitive edge bilingualism bestowed. One parent described how "[bilingualism] can help you with jobs. If you want to keep on going to school or do something else" (Bauer & Harrison, 2015, p. 145). Others asserted that learning languages

resulted in cognitive benefits. One parent explained that "children who know two languages, I wouldn't say they are smarter but, you know, makes them think differently and you have to use more of your brain." (Bauer & Harrison, 2015, p. 146). Whether indexing academic or intellectual incentives, families viewed bilingualism as a tool of advancement.

Multilingual families expressed an integrative orientation for registering their children in the TWI strands. Learning a second language helped students confidently communicate with family members. One parent recounted how, before her daughter joined Hillview's TWI program, she could barely speak to her grandmother in Spanish because "she had the words in her head but couldn't say more than sí" (Bauer & Harrison, 2015, p. 147). Now that she was in a TWI class, "she'll see [her father] talking and she'll take the phone out of his hand… and she will not stop [talking in Spanish]" (Bauer & Harrison, 2015, p. 147).

A final incentive for becoming bilingual was to develop empathy toward, and build community with, target language speakers. A mother explained that, for her, "learning Spanish is about much more than learning another language; it is about building bridges among people and understanding there are different realities" (Dickinson, 2012, November 5). This familiarity-involvement orientation towards language learning is powerful. It united Black and Latinx families in pursuit of a common goal. Rather than reproduce "battle lines" (Valdés, 2002, p. 192) over competition for resources, Hillview's TWI program affirmed both groups as eligible recipients of bilingualism. This alliance and cooperation between communities, according to Banks (1995, cited in Bender, 2000), is a necessary condition "for long-term positive change in students' racial attitudes, multicultural tolerance, and academic achievement" (pp. 139–140).

Moreover, the program created a space in which Black and Latinx students could learn from and invest in one another. Through daily classroom interaction, students began to redefine societal assumptions regarding who belonged in bilingual classrooms and communities. According to Bauer & Harrison (2015), TWI students "developed a critical stance" towards the limiting perception that only people who look Latino are capable of speaking Spanish. Their conceptualizations, or mental models (Offutt, 2017), of Spanish-speakers, thus, expanded to include members of the African American and Afro-Latinx community.

An implementational space for parent planners and policymakers

An unintended consequence of the TWI program at both Hillview and Stratfield was the extent to which parents assumed agency to continue building bridges across lines of difference. While the district had provided an implementational space for families to coalesce around a common need, a bilingual education program, it was up to parents to nurture that space and fortify it. "The district has provided us with this amazing program," one parent expressed, "but they cannot be solely responsible for creating community for us" (Dickinson, 2012, November 5). Parents were committed to expanding this implementational space beyond school walls, allowing it to flood into and reshape the larger community. They hoped to get kids together during the summer or organize extracurricular activities to cultivate their children's language acquisition and intercultural friendships (Dickinson, 2012, November 5).

Other parents talked about "build[ing] a network" (Bauer & Harrison, 2015, p. 149) in which Spanish-speaking and English-speaking parents could call to translate school activities for one another. By working cross-culturally, both communities could support their children's academic needs. Parents continued to implement the district's language policy and planning initiative, albeit on a different scale. In so doing, they became powerful LPP agents who were instrumental in disseminating a reimagined, more inclusive version, of DL education.

Conclusion

In the wake of Brown and Lau's "uncoordinated remedies" (Zirkel, 1976, p. 180), actors throughout MSD assumed agency to implement a language solution that addressed the communities' local needs. The district's decision to transition to a TWI model, and establish it in a predominantly Black community, successfully "enlargen[ed] the pie" (Valdés, 2002). Latinx and Black students were deliberately recognized as the intended users of this language acquisition project. MSD thus "reimagined a more dynamic and culturally sustaining approach to bilingual education" (Sung, 2018, p. 679), taking steps to counter raciolinguistic ideologies of antiblackness. This implementational space re-envisioned discriminatory perceptions of *who belonged* in multilingual communities and classrooms to include Black students and families.

Importantly, LPP actors throughout the school district's layers fostered powerful collaborations that leveraged the expertise and human capital of a diverse array of constituents. In this second implementational space, teachers, citizens, university professors, parents, and PTA members became part-time policy-makers. Positioned as community experts, they helped Dr. Moynihan and MSD build this new language education model from the ground up. They identified pressing local needs, determined how the immersion program could serve as an opportunity to address them, and articulated a complex range of incentives to justify their position. Furthermore, they reproduced and strengthened the district's vision within their own scales of influence. Equitable, consciously constructed, bilingual programs were not simply a district LPP goal; they had been adopted as a community-wide effort.

This case study illustrates how, in the absence of a macro-level policy, micro-language planning has the potential to force open new implementational spaces, "where relations of dominance can be contested and where alternatives can be enacted" (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2014, p. 240). Through local agency and cooperation, LPP agents from all sectors of the community united two underserved communities and advocated for shared access to a prized educational resource: language education. Hopefully, the bilingualism and cross-cultural understanding of the TWI program cultivates can be reinvested in efforts to further expand this program to other schools and districts.

Lauren McAuliffe (lauren.mcauliffe90@gmail.com) holds a B.A. in Sociology and Hispanic Studies from the College of William and Mary. In 2012, she joined Teach For America and moved to Fort Worth, Texas. Lauren taught in a dual language program for five years. In May 2019, she received an M.S.Ed. in Intercultural Communication from the University of Pennsylvania.

References

Anberg-Espinosa, M. (2008). *Experiences and perspectives of African American students and their parents in a two-way spanish immersion program* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from the USF Scholarship Repository. https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d915/f2c2c6eb4a081629729b7a52b690233b676b.pdf

Baker, C., & Wright, W. E. (2017). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Baldauf Jr., R. B. (2006). Rearticulating the case for micro language planning in a language ecology context. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 7(2-3), 147–170.

Banks, J. A. (1995). Multicultural education and the modification of students' racial attitudes. in W. D. Hawley & A. W. Jackson (Eds.), *Toward a common destiny: Improving race and ethnic relations in America* (pp. 314–339). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Bauer, E., & Harrison, D. (2015). Parental perspectives on dual language classrooms: The role of the African American parents. In P. Smith & A. Kumi-Yeboah (Eds.), *Handbook of research on cross-cultural approaches to language and literacy development* (pp. 139–157). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.

Bender, L. A. (2000). *Language planning and language policy in an urban, public school: the interpretation and implementation of a dual language program* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ScholarlyCommons.https://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI9989573/

Bon, S. C. (2019). Lau v. Nichols. In *Encyclopedia Britannica online*. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/topic/Lau-v-Nichols

Boone, S. K. (2007). *Successful African American students in two-way immersion programs: Parent and student perceptions* (Doctoral dissertation)*.* Retrieved from ProQuest.https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/4276587.pdf

Cazabon, M. T., Nicolaidis, E., & Lambert, W. E. (1998). *Becoming bilingual in the Amigos two-way immersion program*. Santa Cruz, CA: Center for Research

on Education, Diversity, and Excellence.

Cervantes-Soon, C. G., Dorner, L., Palmer, D., Heiman, D., Schwerdtfeger, R., & Choi, J. (2017). Combating inequalities in two-way language immersion programs: Toward critical consciousness in bilingual education spaces. *Review of Research in Education*, *41*, 403–427.

Clément, R., & Kruidenier, B. G. (1983). Orientations in second language acquisition: The effects of ethnicity, milieu, and target language on their emergence. *Language Learning*, *33*(3), 273–291.

Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Dickinson, M. (2012, January 31). Board votes 4-3 to put dual language program at Leal, Prairie. *The News Gazette*. Retrieved from https://www.news-gazette.com/news/board-votes---to-put-dual-language-program-at/article_ed4487bc-89e3-557b-81ba-5c1972767c37.html

Dickinson, M. (2012, February 23). Urbana panel releases its first report on dual language. *The News Gazette*. Retrieved from https://www.news-gazette.com/news/urbana-panel-releases-its-first-report-on-dual-language/article_d713cab5-e595-55b4-a3af-a1cb25849350.html

Dickinson, M. (2012, November 5). Bilingual program is about 'building bridges'. *The News Gazette*. Retrieved from https://www.news-gazette.com/news/bilingual-program-is-about-building-bridges/article_cec4fbfd-d2c8-5fa1-ac35-ab463a5ecb4f.html

Donato, R., & Garcia, H. (1992). Language segregation in desegregated schools: A question of equity. *Equity & Excellence: The University of Massachusetts School of Education Quarterly*, *25*(2-4), 94–99.

Gándara, P., & Escamilla, K. (2017). Bilingual education in the United States. In O. García, A. M. Y. Lin, & S. May (Eds.), *Bilingual and Multilingual Education* (3rd ed., pp. 439–452). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

United States Court. (n.d.). History – Brown v. Board of Education re-enactment. Retrieved from https://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/history-brown-v-board-education-re-enactment

Hornberger, N. H. (2005). Opening and filling up implementational and ideological spaces in heritage language education. *Modern Language Journal*, *89*(4), 605–609.

Hornberger, N. H., Anzures, A., Hanks, D. H., Kvietok, F. and Lee, S., (2018). Ethnography of language planning and policy–ERRATUM. *Language Teaching*, *51*(3), 436–437.

Howard, E. R , & Sugarman, J. (2007). *Realizing the vision of two-way immersion: Fostering effective programs and classrooms*. Washington, DC: The Center for Applied Linguistics.

Cardenas, J. A. (1976). *Lau remedies outlined*. San Antonio, TX: Intercultural Development Research Association.

Johnson, D. C. (2015). Intertextuality and language policy. In F. Hult & D. C. Johnson (Eds.), *Research methods in language policy and planning: A practical guide* (pp. 166–180). Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons.

La Serna, J. (2017). *The secret language of success: Accessing African American achievement in two-way immersion programs* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Carolina Digital Repository. https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/

concern/dissertations/gx41mj17g

Liddicoat, A. J., & Taylor-Leech, K. (2014). Micro language planning for multilingual education: Agency in local contexts. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 15*(3), 237–244.

Massey, D., & Denton, N. (1988). The dimensions of residential segregation. *Social Forces, 67*(2), 281–315.

Offutt, D. C. (2017). *Factors that affect African-American students' persistence in a Spanish immersion program* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from UKnowledge. https://uknowledge.uky.edu/edc_etds/24/

Orfield, G., Frankenberg, E., Ee, J., & Kuscera, J. (2014). *Brown at 60: Great progress, a long retreat and an uncertain future*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

Ortega, L. (2015). *Understanding second language acquisition*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Parchia, C. T. (2000). *Preparing for the future: experiences and perceptions of African Americans in two-way bilingual immersion programs* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Pew Research Center. (2018). *6 facts about English language learners in U.S. public schools*. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/10/25/6-facts-about-english-language-learners-in-u-s-public-schools/

Pinto-Coelho, J. M., & Charles, C. Z. (2015). Residential segregation in the United States. *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (2nd ed., pp. 540–543). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier.

Steele, J. L., Slater, R., Zamarro, G., Miller, T., Li, J. J., Burkhauser, S., & Bacon, M. (2017). *Dual-language immersion programs raise student achievement in English*. Retrieved from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9903.html

Ricento, T. K., & Hornberger, N. H. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly, 30*(3), 401–427.

Scanlan, M., & Palmer, D. (2009). Race, power, and (in)equity within two-way immersion settings. *Urban Review, 41*(5), 391–415.

Sung, K. K. (2018). Raciolinguistic ideology of antiblackness: Bilingual education, tracking, and the multiracial imaginary in urban schools. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 31*(8), 667–683.

The MSD Board of Education. (2011, December 13). MSD Board Meeting. Chicago, IL.

U.S. Department of Education. (2018). *The condition of education*. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2018144

Valdés, G. (2002). Enlarging the pie: Another look at bilingualism and schooling in the US. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 155*, 187–195.

Wall, D. J., Greer, E., & Palmer, D. K. (2019). Exploring institutional processes in a district-wide dual language program: Who is it for? Who is left out? *Journal of Latinos and Education, 2019*, 1–16.

Wiese, A.M. (2004). Bilingualism and biliteracy for all? Unpacking two-way immersion at second grade. *Language and Education, 18*(1), 69–92.

Zirkel, P. A. (1976). Bilingual education and school desegregation: A case of uncoordinated remedies. *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingue, 4*(3), 180–188.