¿Y Ahora Qué? Interest Convergence and Hope Through Provision, Promotion, and Partnerships in Two-Way Dual Language Programs

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Cover Page Footnote

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As Two-Way Dual Language Programs continue in their nascent stages in the United States, some teachers, administrators, and researchers have reported issues of interest convergence. This construct refers to a Critical Theory principle that proposes alignment between the interests of whites and marginalized groups for a perceived common benefit, but whites stand to profit. In this article, two researchers work alongside a bilingual pre-service teacher to highlight three examples that illustrate this principle: (1) the business of learning a language, (2) Latin@ Spanish-speaking students used as resources, and (3) the gentrification of bilingual education. Beyond the diagnosis of such dilemmas, we offer a preliminary framework and propose some tenets of hope to overcome any such asymmetries that can exist when interested families from different social locations agree to collaborate in the journey of dual language education for their children.

The integration of and cross-cultural exchanges between students is an important feature of the Two-Way Dual Language (TWDL) programs, as they allow for interracial, linguistic, and cultural exchanges unlike any other education program. As promising as these integration practices may be, we also know that integration alone does not solve educational equity issues. For example, racial inequities can persist in schools today despite the Brown vs. Board of Education supreme court decision—a ruling that declared racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional—made 70 years ago (Ladson-Billings, 2004; Patterson, 2001; Taylor, 2006). We also know that the subsequent forced busing policies that were put into place to mobilize desegregation efforts did not ameliorate racial inequities in schools (Delmont, 2016). Furthermore, and by extension, the racial integration of students in TWDL programs has not proven to be a panacea for the enduring racial inequities in schools. Indeed, many scholars have made the case that racial integration in TWDL programs exacerbates equity issues

(Burns, 2017; Chávez-Moreno, 2022; Juárez, 2008; Pimentel, 2011; Pimentel et al., 2008; Valdéz, 1997; Wall et al., 2019).

Cervantes-Soon (2022) makes this point when discussing TWDL programs: "...integrating students with disparate access to power, status, and resources *increases, rather than reduces*, the challenges to level the playing field" (p. xi). To be clear, Cervantes-Soon's reference to *increased* inequities in TWDL programs are those that work to the advantage of White, Home Language (HL) English-speaking students—students who are already positioned favorably in the larger school and social systems in which TWDL programs are embedded.

In this article to understand how TWDL programs may exacerbate racial inequities, we turn to the useful principle of interest convergence. Derrick Bell's (1980) interest convergence principle is one of the several major tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT; Delgado & Stefancic, 2023; Ladson-Billings, 2021; Martínez, 2020). This particular tenet of CRT describes the phenomenon in which White people support racial progress, and even enact racial transformations, but only when they stand to gain from such efforts. According to the theory, in these instances of "racial progress," there is a convergence between the interests of White people and the pursuit of racial justice. Ladson-Billings (2021) specifies that: "Interest convergence is about alignment, not altruism" (p. 47).

A synthesis of the scholarly literature is discussed here to explore more carefully (1) the privileging of White students in TWDL programs through an interest convergence lens and (2) offer some guiding principles educators can use to address racial inequities that may exist in TWDL programs. The discussion opens with a description of the background work that prompted us to conduct the literature review. Then we explain the theoretical constructs that frame our exploration of the literature. The synthesis focuses on identifying ways that White privilege operates in the TWDL programs and on practices that could challenge racial inequities in these programs. We end by discussing some conclusions and presenting some recommendations to further the research.

Context of Synthesis: A Bilingual Teacher Educator/Emerging Teacher Collaboration

This article stems from a year-long collaboration between two bilingual teacher educators/scholars and an emerging bilingual elementary education teacher enrolled in a bilingual elementary education certification degree program at a university in central Texas. María, the emerging bilingual teacher, was in the last year of her degree plan and enrolled in upper-division bilingual courses that contained field-based experiences in elementary bilingual classrooms. In this year-long process of taking field-based courses and collaborating with bilingual education faculty members (Ingram and Pimentel) as a research assistant, María was researching, reading about, and observing the racial equity issues that manifest in diverse bilingual program models such as TWDL programs.

Ingram is a White assistant professor at a large university in Central Texas. He has been an educator for nearly 25 years, including 14 years as a bilingual/dual language/ESL public elementary school teacher in a large urban district also in Texas.

Additionally, at the time of this writing, he has worked for a decade in Bilingual Education preparation programs at the university level. Growing up speaking Spanish in Texas, he has an intimate knowledge of Latin@ culture at large and the Spanish-speaking populations of his home state. Being raised in a small, working-class Texas town helping his dad as a construction worker, Ingram is as comfortable in the varieties of Spanish as he is in rural/urban/academic English. He has remained involved in Latin American and Peninsular Spanish-speaking communities (*Mexicano*, *Cubano*, *Dominicano*, *Peruano*, *Costarricense*, *Andaluz*) in both his personal and professional lives. While initially not planning on going to college and wanting to follow the footsteps of his dad in construction, he later obtained a BA and MA in Spanish as well as a PhD in Bilingual/Bicultural Education and has been active in some form of education ever since. He is currently a member of the Dual Language Council of a large central Texas Independent School District, where he meets with teachers, administrators, parents, and the Director of Bilingual Education for the district to discuss issues in Dual Language Bilingual Education (DLBE).

Pimentel is a White female who grew up in severe poverty in a single-parent household with her mom who dropped out of high school to give birth (to Charise) at the age of 17. As a child, she was embedded in a *Mexicano* community (Mexican immigrants who were strongly grounded in the Mexican culture and Spanish language) in a small, Northern California town. Growing up in this environment, Pimentel became bilingual and bicultural herself. In her hometown, she goes by *"Güera"* (an informal term of endearment for a light-complexed person) or *"Chavela"* (an easier name to pronounce since the "sh" sound in her actual name does not exist in the Spanish language). While in college, Pimentel obtained a BA in Spanish and taught in a bilingual Pre-K program. Later in life, she married her *Mexicano* husband and raised three biracial/bicultural/bilingual children who attended two-way dual language schools. Currently, Pimentel works as a bilingual, multicultural teacher educator as well as serves as the Program Coordinator and Graduate Advisor for the Bilingual/Biliteracy Elementary Education program at a large university in central Texas.

María was a buoyant undergraduate student who collaborated with us as we gathered materials and thought through how to structure the research synthesis. María, was learning through her coursework about racial and linguistic inequities in students' schooling experiences; however, these topics were nothing new to her. When María moved to the United States from Guadalajara, Mexico at almost 15 years old, she experienced racial and linguistic discrimination first-hand in her US schooling experiences, including school segregation and grade retention. Appendix B includes a narrative, originally written in Spanish, where Maria describes some of these experiences growing up. The narrative was part of a language biography she wrote as part of her bilingual elementary education coursework. The appendix also provides a translation in English.

While María's cumulative high school experience could be the subject of its own article, suffice it to say that she felt linguistically unsupported and that she did not receive the scaffolding necessary to properly demonstrate all that she knew. María's frustrating educational experiences did not discourage her rather, they motivated her career choice to become a bilingual elementary teacher. As an aspiring bilingual

educator, María expressed hope to contribute to the ongoing positive transformation to the U.S. education system and to provide equitable bilingual education experiences to emerging bilingual students. She looked forward to the day when she could teach in a TWDL program, because she held hope that the program could alleviate many of the educational hardships to which she was subjected. The TWDL program is enticing to pre-service, bilingual teachers in Texas like María, because it offers appealing goals: an integrated, cross-linguistic, cultural, and racial learning experience, in which students learn both Spanish and English through content instruction with the goal of becoming high-achieving, culturally aware, bilingual, and biliterate students.

The Onset of the Synthesis

Part of the responsibility María had as a research assistant during the spring semester of 2023, was to help us read through the extant literature regarding dual language programs and interest convergence. Having just finished the first semester of her senior year, and still needing to complete student teaching the following fall, some of the discourse around the issues we had discussed was unfamiliar. After reviewing 33 articles about dual language programs (see Appendix A), María gained extensive knowledge about TWDL programs, including their asymmetries. Hopeful as she is, María began to search for solutions to these problems. During her search, she would query, "*¿Valen la pena o no (los programas de lenguaje dual)? Porque si no, pues ya está. Pero sí, sí, pues, cómo podemos hacerlos bien"?* [Are they (dual language programs) even worth it? Because if not, well, that's it. But if so, how can we do them well?].

This was a typical conversation that María would engage in with us as we went through article after article regarding the interest convergence and dual language programs and one that is shared among other researchers (Gándara, 2020). The scoping review revealed different ways in which (chiefly) White, middle/upper class, "progressive" families sought out dual language programs to the evident sole benefit of their children. As a result, we suggested that she help us find counterarguments to what we were reading.

In a sense, working with María helped ground us as researchers to what really mattered. As we were in the midst of a young, enthusiastic pre-service teacher, we felt that it was a great responsibility (and privilege) to not leave her in a sea of issues that seem to merely perpetuate negative rhetoric around bilingual education or even being a teacher in general. While we are certainly not suggesting ignoring the colonizing "techno-rationalist", "materialistic" (Petrovic, 2005), sociolinguistically Darwinist (Ruíz, 1984), "boutique" programs (Flores & García, 2017) within "market regimes" of schooling (McGhee & Anderson, 2019), we simply join with María in asking, "*¿Y ahora qué?* [Now what?]". To confront these deficit-based ideologies, "¿Y ahora qué?" begs the question—What hope is there to deliver an equitable education if it cannot be done through the TWDL program?

To address María's doubt, her task was to jointly participate on the research team to identify not only the equity *problems,* but also the *potential* of TWDL programs. We met intermittently with María throughout two semesters to read through a stack of 33 articles regarding TWDL programs in the US. Lengthy discussions in person, over the phone, or through text messaging allowed us to categorize and think through the

current literature on TWDL programs. While most of the articles foregrounded the obstacles caused by inequities in some TWDL programs, a handful of articles offered substantive suggestions for a way forward. The research synthesis presented here is the result of our year-long teamwork. We begin by discussing some of the ongoing equity concerns in TWDL programs and apply an interest convergence lens to understand the several ways in which White students might be advantaged in TWDL programs. We conclude by identifying some principles to contribute to the sustainability of equitable TWDL programs.

Synthesis of the Literature

The synthesis of research covers two main themes: (1) identify some of the ways that interest convergence operates in TWDL programs and (2) discuss some of the practices that could counter interest convergence so that TWDL can serve all students in equitable ways. We begin the synthesis by explaining two main themes that emerged from the review of articles. Maria found that the theoretical constructs of *neoliberalism* and *interest convergence* were mentioned frequently in the literature as they pertained to TWDL programs.

Figure 1 below illustrates how these constructs were found to influence TWDL programs in terms of three other themes that emerged from the review: (1) the business of learning a language; (2) home-language Spanish-speaking students as a one way resource; and (3) gentrification of dual language programs. The flowchart represents the relationships between the themes beginning with a root of one-sided, individualistic capitalism (i.e. neoliberalism), which mobilizes interest convergence. The three arrows are the development of outward movement as TWDL programs "flourish" in the wrong direction.

Figure 1

Relationships between the themes
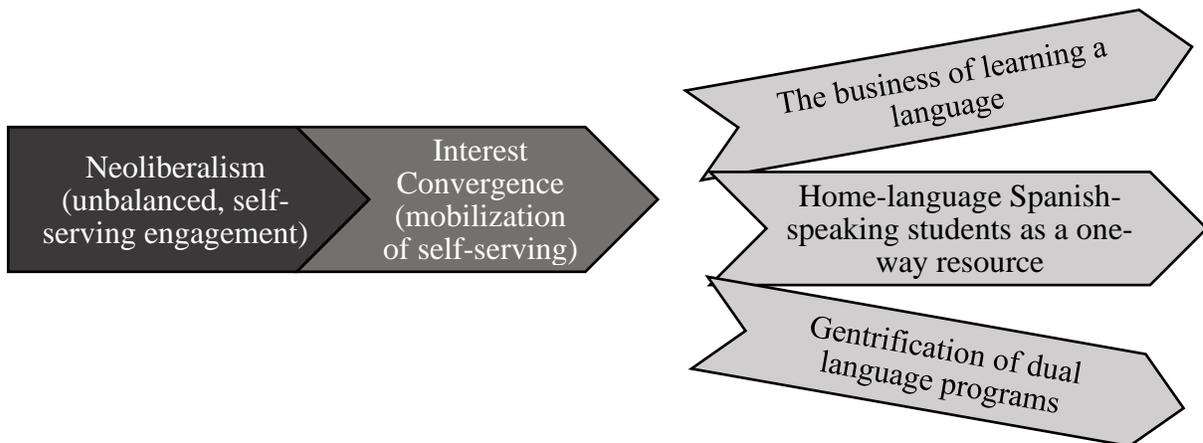
Neoliberalism

The moniker "neoliberalism" has a multitude of meanings with political and economic implications that continue to change and vary from context to context (Rodgers, 2018). For the present piece, we define it as the (un)conscious motive of an investment strategy by speakers of English-as-a-home language that seek out one-sided economic gain (such as their own child's future marketability) through TWDL programs. If we posit the notion of capitalism, in its most idealized iteration, as the *mutually beneficial* exchange of goods or services between parties, neoliberalism represents a degraded form of this endeavor in which only one side of the bargain reaps the rewards.

With the case of TWDL programs, many of the articles we reviewed characterized the non-reciprocal entities as possessing at least one of the following characteristics: "White," "middle-/upper-class," "English-speaking," "with a "progressive bent" (Morales & Maravilla, 2019) or politically "liberal" (Heiman, 2017). Because the concomitant terminology surrounding interest convergence was frequently framed as an *economic a*dvantage to the dominant population (i.e., the "interest" being that of eventual increased material wealth), we represent this graphically in Figure 1 using "neoliberalism" as a starting point and then working its way outward.

Interest Convergence

As many scholars (Alemán & Alemán, 2010; Chavez-Moreno, 2022; Morales & Maravilla, 2019; Palmer, 2017) have already established, TWDL programs exemplify instances of interest convergence. To establish evidence of this, one must merely observe how many White people in the US. have given full support of the wide-spread implementation of bilingual education (Flores & García, 2017). It was not until TWDL programs came along, at which point their own children had the opportunity to be involved in the arrangement, that an increase of White people became interested in and supported bilingual education.

After gaining the support of White folks, bilingual education started to experience both ideological and physical shifts in schools. Prior to the implementation of TWDL programs, some White people conceived of traditional bilingual education programs (ranging from ESL pullout to late-exit models attended exclusively by language minoritized students), as a form of special education, "ESL ghettos" (Faltis & Arias, 2007), or "Mexican Rooms" (Gándara & Orfield, 2012). Through the implementation of TWDL programs, this ideology shifted from one of a deficit to that of "advanced" or "gifted" programs. Flores and García (2017) make this point when they discuss the historical transition of bilingual education programs going from the basement to a boutique model of education. By applying interest convergence theory (which we frame as the mobilization of neoliberal motives) to TWDL programs, we seek to understand how White interests both provide, but also delimit educational equity for Latin@ students. The upcoming sections of this article represent the three outworkings of interest convergence found in Figure 1, including The Business of Learning a Language, Spanish Speaking Students as Tools, and the Gentrification of Bilingual Education.

Interest Convergence in TWDL Programs

The Business of Learning a Language

In discussing our first example of interest convergence in TWDL programs, the business of learning a language, it may be helpful to first establish that learning languages, and the financial incentives for doing so, is a global phenomenon. If we look at the business of electronic learning or "e-learning" platforms, we can see that these companies collectively constitute a multibillion-dollar industry. The premiere language learning application (app), Duolingo, has over 500 million registered users and its most recent revenue reports show that the company generated $250 million in 2021 and $369.7 million in 2022 (Curry, 2023a). Language learning app companies are abundant and wildly popular, some of which include Duolingo, Babbel, BeSuu, Memrise, Drops, Kahoot!, Hello Talk, Rosetta Stone, Tandem, LingoDeer, and Mondly (Curry, 2023b). Taken together, these language learning apps generated $2.92 billion in 2021 alone. Also, advancements in "authentic" language learning experiences are being developed; some apps (HelloTalk and Tandem) allow users to receive interactive feedback from home-language speakers of a language and from Artificial Intelligence (AI). Augmented Reality (AR) headsets—a technology that fuses the virtual world with the real world— are used to simulate authentic language interactions with home-language speakers of target languages. Whether it be English, Spanish, Japanese, or any other language, there is a high demand and financial gain to be made from learning languages.

The financial profits that are made from e-learning platforms, as well as the traditional, face-to-face classroom settings, are just the beginning of the profits that are to be made in the business of learning a language. Indeed, the allure of building competency in an additional form of communication, for many people, is the lucrative payoff that may result once a language is learned. The financial gains of learning a language can come in the form of admittance into higher education degree programs, entrance into professions that require fluency in particular languages, salary raises, and advancements in careers that value and utilize their employee's multilingualism, and business opportunities that arise through increased travel and cross-cultural communication in a global economy.

While English learning dominates the global context (2/3 of people learn English as an additional language), if we focus specifically on the US, we see that the Spanish language possesses the lion's share of the demand. The desire to increase knowledge of the Spanish language can be attributed to the changing demographics of the nation, as well as the proximity to numerous Spanish-speaking countries. According to recent Census Bureau data, the "foreign born population" is projected to rise from 44 million in 2016 to 69 million in 2060 in the United States (Vespa et al., 2018). As of 2016, the majority of this population comes from Latin America and the Caribbean, where Spanish is the language most widely spoken and used as families immigrate and enter US public schools. *Education Week* reports that "Spanish [is] by far the most common home or first language of the nation's English-language-learner students…" (Mitchell, 2020). The increased quantity of Spanish speakers in the US naturally augments its desirability as a second language choice for many home-language English speakers. This is reflected in US institutions of higher education, where Spanish is the most popular

language and Spanish course enrollment continues to increase, "laying claim to the majority (50.2%) of language enrollments" in universities (Looney & Lusin, 2019, p. 4).

Given the high demand for Spanish language learning opportunities, the ideological framing of Spanish as a commodity in the US education system has expanded. In an article by language scholars Leeman and Martínez (2007), the authors conduct a content analysis on secondary level Spanish textbooks used to teach English speakers Spanish from 1970 to 2000 and found that learning Spanish in the US moved from themes of "access, inclusion, and identity" to "economic competitiveness, globalization, (p. 43) and commodified diversity" (p. 49). What began as framing the learning of Spanish based on relational endeavors (to self and others) progressively switched to a pragmatic counterpart that marketed the acquisition of the language to potentially enterprising ends.

Undoubtedly, Spanish is a highly sought-after target language in the United States. To take advantage of the financial gains that come from learning Spanish, we have also seen an increased interest of White, home-language (HL) English-speaking youth and their families in TWDL programs. Waitlists to get into TWDL programs for these English-speaking families are widespread and long (Bridges & McElmurry, 2010; Chávez-Moreno, 2021; Roda, 2023; Soltero, 2016). Kim (2022) discovered that some English-speaking parents "clawed" their way to get their children into TWDL programs using persistent maneuvers, which indeed suggests the high premium placed on the programs (p. 445). As a result of these increased interests in TWDL programs, we have seen an expansion in program implementation as well. The American Council for International Education reported in 2021 that 44 states in the US have TWDL programs and that the Spanish language represents 80%, or 2,936 programs (Roberts, 2021).

What Kelly (2018) terms "hegemonic dominance of language as an asset" along with its economic benefits, helps provide explanatory power to why some HL English-speaking families elect TWDL programs for their children. The monetization of non-English languages (particularly Spanish) is part of a process that helps White students and their families build capital. Understood in this way, the advances we observe in bilingual education, especially the widespread implementation and mainstreaming of TWDL programs, may serve the capital interests of the White consumers who seek participation in these programs for these reasons. When White people's interests are based on forms of self-serving capital, TWDL programs are promoted, but with the price tag of altering the positionality of Latin@, HL Spanish speakers. We take up these topics in the following sections, beginning with a consideration for how Latin@, Spanish-speaking students are positioned as tools in the bilingual classroom.

Home-language Spanish-Speaking Students as a One-Way Resource

White, HL English speakers enroll in TWDL programs so they can learn Spanish through authentic cultural and linguistic interactions in academic settings. As such, the program model may position Latin@, HL Spanish speakers as tools that serve to advance HL English speakers' Spanish development. In this section, we analyze how these HL Spanish speakers are positioned ideologically and physically in TWDL programs, especially in relation to their resourcefulness to home-language English speakers, or what Woody (2020) refers to as "consumptive contact."

Even though TWDL programs are designed to be *mutually* beneficial to all parties involved, many programs exhibit linguistic asymmetry. Not only does the English language hold more stock in educational and social spheres in the US, including TWDL programs, but there is also a coexisting process in which the dominant English-speaking youth and families can instrumentalize HL Spanish speakers without equally participating in or creating an authentic community. Some bilingual education researchers suggest that HL Spanish-speaking students in TWDL programs are being used to serve as mere language models for their HL English-speaking peers, and thereby function as "tools" rather than language learning peers within schools (Mott, 2022; Palmer, 2017). In more concrete terms, the very presence of these Spanish speakers in TWDL programs is for the one-way benefit of White students' Spanish development. As such, TWDL programs have been described as "spaces where White privileged families harvest Latin@ students' linguistic resources for their own benefit" (Wall et al., 2019, p. 89).

Mott's (2022) research at Hillside Elementary, a TWDL school in Austin, Texas, found that the HL Spanish speakers were used to not only "sell" the program to potential White, middle-class families, but they became an essential component to the bilingual pedagogy and curriculum once the students attended the program. In essence, these enterprising families did campus tours of the school to learn more about the TWDL program. During these tours, teachers felt the pressure to "put on a show" (p. 167) with the HL Spanish speakers as a means to display the students' strong Spanish fluency for the tourists. As Mott explains, "The tours and the marketing of the school under the district's school choice policy served to commodify Spanish language, and with the initial TWBE curriculum implemented by the school, also commodify the Spanish speaking students still in the school" (p. 167). Moss submitted that HL Spanish speakers were used as "props" (p. 171) for White, middle-class consumers. While this type of marketing does "valorize the linguistic knowledge of native-Spanish speaking students," it simultaneously objectifies and exploits native Spanish speakers in a way "that fails to meet the educational needs of those students" (p. 168).

Ruíz's (1984) classic language orientation—language as a resource—can be helpful here as we conceptualize how interest convergence plays out in TWDL programs. Language as a resource is an orientation that reframes deficit interpretations of minoritized languages to an asset-based understanding of them. By this, a student's home language is recognized, not as a problem, but as a resource for learning and functioning in a multicultural and multilingual society. This language-as-a-resource orientation, however, can be exploited in situations where one group takes and uses the "resource" (i.e. language) for their exclusive benefit. Such is the plight of some speakers of minoritized languages in TWDL programs who may be exploited for their language capabilities without any mutual relationships cultivated nor care given to anything beyond what can be linguistically or culturally taken from them.

When the value of humans is reduced to their knowledge and subsequently commodified, this ushers in what Petrovic (2005) posits as the neo-liberal logic, where one of the parties ends up taking advantage of the other. Like any instance of worst-case-scenario capitalism, the exchange of goods is not commensurate. One of the vehicles through which this lopsidedness travels is a self-interested mentality that

corrupts Ruíz's language-as-a-resource orientation into an unjust commodification of language that benefits the entitled. Woody (2020) identifies this process as "consumptive contact," which refers to "the intergroup relation between Whites and non-Whites that form[s] based on Whites' perceptions about how they and/or their children might benefit materially from contact with non-Whites (p. 93). While the long game could result in physical capital accumulation for such families, the immediate concern is how the phonology, morphology, syntax, and cultural semantic wealth of the minoritized language group can be plundered in TWDL programs.

These scenarios exemplify interest convergence in that even though the Spanish language is reconceptualized as a resource (Ruiz, 1984), it is realistically positioned as a resource that advances or serves in the interest of some White, HL English-speaking students who seek to build their linguistic repertoires. In the long term, this could ultimately contribute to an accumulation of material benefits that will follow White students well into their futures. This interest, then, supplants the best interpretation of the intent of these programs, which are opportunities to connect with and cultivate authentic relationships in which all people involved can grow and learn with and from each other.

Another iteration of operationalizing home-language Spanish speakers to White students' benefit in TWDL programs is the practice of bringing in additional "authentic" Spanish speakers into the classroom. In these situations, White, middle-class, self-defined "progressive" (Morales & Maravilla, 2019) or politically "liberal" (Heiman, 2017) parents decide to include "authentic" language partners in TWDL programs to provide their children an edge on amplifying their linguistic (and cultural) toolkits. Woody found that these parents enjoyed, for instance, employing international interns at their kids' school because of their South American accents in Spanish—accents that are otherwise conceptualized as language deficits in the larger US society (Lippi-Green, 2011). However, in this particular context, because HL English speakers can seemingly benefit from this linguistic diversity, the "authentic" Spanish accent is positioned favorably and is utilized as a resource for learning.

In his discussion about the impact of White people's consumption of diversity, Woody (2020) states, "Behind Whites' consumption of diversity and language practices that are seemingly rooted in a progressive multiculturalism [,] in fact [they] reinforce structural inequalities" (p. 93). The classic cautionary tale of Valdés (1997) adverted the field that what constituted part of what it means to be Latin@, the language of Spanish, might be in a precarious position as access was granted to non-Latin@ students. While initially concerned about the quality of Spanish that Latin@ students would receive, the researcher's vigilance has been extended to include the question of, "*To which students* would the quality of Spanish be offered?".

Wall, Greer, & Palmer (2019) additionally point to the concept of Spanish-speaking models in TWDL programs as ways for White families to have for their "use and enjoyment" (p. 98). Pimentel (2011) adds to this by suggesting that some schools allow home-language Spanish-speaking students to be participants in "gifted programs" in which White students are enriched by the home-language Spanish speakers' linguistic repertoires. In light of the prevailing frame of Whiteness, she maintains, the

perception of how Latin@ students fit into the program changes as they are seen to embody the role of language models and/or language brokers for White students. Flores (2013) echoes this notion stating that, "the commodification of multilingualism positions knowledge of fluid language practices as desirable for the ideal neoliberal subject" (p. 515). This instrumentalization of a minoritized group's linguistic assets, then, serves as one example of how, if not addressed, an interest convergence runs roughshod over an entity designed for the betterment of everyone. We can see how White people's interests in TWDL programs reposition HL Spanish speakers and the Spanish language ideologically from deficit to an asset and physically from the margin to the center. However, by applying the interest convergence principle, we must be mindful of the ways that this repositioning is ultimately to the benefit of White participants.

Gentrification of Bilingual Education

Gentrification is a word that is heard with increased frequency within the field of bilingual education. Often discussed in terms of physical spaces, the displacement of communities in order to make room for wealthier residents or business owners often creates tension between the folks who have lived somewhere long-term and those who arrive to often appropriate the space for themselves.

While neighborhood gentrification has occurred historically in US society, gentrification in this nation's based bilingual education programs is a metaphor that has gained increasing traction in bilingual education research. Palmer (2022) defines bilingual education gentrification as a "neoliberal appropriation or colonial extraction of cultural and linguistic resources from linguistically minoritized communities, for the benefit of White and middle-class families" (p. 5). Parallel to the ways in which communities of color are displaced from their own neighborhoods, Latin@, HL Spanish-speakers have been displaced from culturally relevant schooling practices as well as from the bilingual schools they once attended. This displacement process begins when well-networked, affluent, politically progressive, "diversity"-seeking urbanites (McGhee & Anderson, 2019) who are largely White, navigate to place their children into spaces, including TWDL programs, that may be occupied by working class Latin@ families. In this section, we discuss the bilingual research on both the physical space-occupation of wealthy, predominantly White family's proximation to the TWDL school opportunities and the subsequent ideological transformations that manifest in curriculum, recruitment, marketing, among many other day-to-day practices.

Heiman and Murakami (2019) chronicle the fate of Plainview Elementary in central Texas, a school that changed from a transitional bilingual model to a TWDL model with the intent to replenish the dwindling attendance at the school. As the school philosophy migrated from English acquisition to bilingualism as the new target, rising costs in the growing city "priced out" (p. 462) many of the original Latin@ families who attended Plainview as their neighborhood school. Using the metaphor of a magnet, the researchers discuss how the TWDL program attracted professional White families to the school and nearby neighborhood while negligently repelling the working-class, Latin@ members away from what used to be the space where their families resided. Similar to this case is that of Hillside Elementary in Austin, Texas wherein the school

implemented a TWDL program as a means to keep the small, under-enrolled, Title 1 school from closing down permanently (Palmer & García-Mateus, 2022). Despite its promising goal of keeping the Latin@, bilingual school alive, the school eventually, over the course of seven years, became unrecognizable to those who knew Hillside Elementary prior to the implementation of the TWDL program (Palmer, 2022). Not only were the Latin@ students physically displaced from the school due to the rising cost of housing, but the curricula was also progressively transformed to prioritize the White, HL English speakers who outnumbered the Latin@ students by the end of the seven-year period in which the school was studied.

After several years of the TWDL implementation, the school became characterized as a boutique TWDL school that had long waitlists of White, HL English-speaking students hoping to attend. The school eventually became "known as a "Spanish Language Academy," a title that seems to imply that the school no longer invested in the cultural/linguistic identities and ways of knowing and being of working-class Latin@ children and their families, but instead strived to teach Spanish to children whose home lives and cultures are comprised primarily of English" (Palmer, 2022, 9-10).

In another research study, Delavan, et al., (2021) discovered that the student composition of state model TWDL schools in Utah were predominantly located in White schools, communicating the target and serviced audience for such programs. Palmer (2010) encountered the same phenomenon as she recounts teachers' observations of their dual language program serving mainly White families in her multi-ethnic urban neighborhood in Northern California. Additionally, she discovered that, despite the wishes of some Latin@ families, spaces for the TWDL programs were limited to families of English-speaking children. Because of this, the Spanish-speaking families were not allowed into the program.

In their examination of TWDL data from three geographically distinct school sites, including one in the Midwest, Southeast and Texas, Dorner et al. (2021), observe manifestations of gentrification in each of the sites, wherein White, English-speaking students are prioritized in district and state policies concerning enrollment, transportation, course scheduling, and recruitment. These researchers explain the outward displays of gentrification at each school site resulting from the "globalizing, neoliberal, and monoglossic discourses that have a history of dispossessing and erasing minoritized peoples and languages" (p. 1). Delavan et al., (2021) similarly point out that, as of 2014, three-fourths of Utah's multitude of dual language programs were converted into "world language" programs, in which HL English-speaking families were granted access and minoritized English language learner families were more restricted and even utilized for their language skills (as discussed in the previous section). Likening this dispossession to the historical event in 1848 of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which the US expropriated Mexican territory and resources, Freire et al. (2022) illustrate how TWDL programs in Georgia, Delaware, and Wyoming deviate resources to the benefit of "White English-privileged communities" (p. 41).

In their examination of recruitment efforts, Hamann and Catalano (2021) analyzed TWDL marketing strategies implemented through online media and

investigated its impact on the demographics and ideological dimensions of the programs. These researchers selected a dataset of 34 visual images on websites representing diverse TWDL programs from Texas, New York, Nebraska, and Illinois. Through a close analysis of these images, they found that White, "privileged" (p. 427) students were framed as being the center of the photographs, and by extension, the veritable poster children for the programs being offered. As these researchers explain, "Through visual imagery," they suggest, the "public sphere's reflection of 'what should be'" is "subtly shaped" (p. 432). These marketing strategies, especially as they pander to White families through clever marketing and vague promises of wealth accumulation, muffle the program's potential for cultural and linguistic reciprocity.

These research studies, when taken together, suggest that the *initial* integration of White, HL English-speaking students into bilingual programs seems promising. However, as indicated in the bilingual education research, this racial, cultural, and linguistic integration often results in unexpected and undesirable results, including gentrification. An important takeaway from this body of research is that educational decisions, even those that seemingly work toward educational equity, cannot take place outside of the inequitable power relations that exist within the larger society.

As Nieto and Bode (2018) continue to remind us, education takes place in a sociopolitical context and the idea that specific educational programs, such as the TWDL program, can take place in a vacuum is simply not possible. Thus, even though TWDL programs provide potential educational advancements to all participating students, White students are often the benefactors of such educational arrangements, just as they are in the larger social context. We use interest convergence as a theoretical principle that helps us understand the complexity in which educational advancements for students of color often result in the reinforcement of White supremacy. The research in the gentrification of TWDL programs exemplifies interest convergence in that many of the educational benefits Latin@ students potentially gain from the implementation of a TWDL program not only advances the interests of White participants, but in some cases, displaces the interests of Latin@ students.

While the outcomes of the highlighted bilingual education research in this article may lend themselves to seeing TWDL programs as futile, we encourage educators to maintain hope for the future of bilingual education. The perseverance of hope despite peril in bilingual education can be seen in the numerous research studies conducted at Hillside Elementary that are elaborated on in Palmer and García-Mateus's (2022) edited volume, *Gentrification and Bilingual Education: A Texas TWBE School across Seven Years*. Each chapter elaborates on a school that transformed from a small Latin@ bilingual community school to a site that was attended by mostly White students. Yet, even in this context, key stakeholders including students, parents, and teachers, maintained optimism, agency, and advocacy as they worked toward a more just educational system. In a similar manner, we also expect that the TWDL programs can serve as vehicles on the long, seemingly endless road toward educational equity. With this hope, in the final section of this article we discuss ways to work toward equity and mutual interest in TWDL programs, despite the enduring asymmetries that exist.

¿Y Ahora Qué? Promising Tenets of Hope

During her year-long process of researching and reading about the nuanced practices of TWDL programs (as part of her coursework and research assistantship), María never lost hope in the potential of TWDL programs. How could she? Why would she endeavor to go into a hopeless profession? At one point in the research process, after having read numerous articles and books that focused on the persisting racial and linguistic inequities in TWDL programs, María commented on the impact this reading had on her as well as the other students in her cohort: "Nos afecta emocionalmente por lo que leemos y las injusticias, pero también nos afecta de una forma positiva porque nos motiva a seguir luchando por la educación bilingüe para que haya más igualdad para todos los Latinos/hispanos." [It affects us emotionally because we read about injustices, but it also affects us in a positive way because it motivates us to keep fighting for bilingual education so that there is more equality for all Latinos/Hispanics]. In the spirit of María's hope, our goal in the sections below is to "seguir luchando" [persevere] as we move beyond diagnostics to identify promising practices to make TWDL programs more equitable.

Creating a Healthy Market for All: Establishing a Strategic Framework for Equitable TWDL Programs

To identify promising practices in TWDL programs, we draw ideas from three distinct sources. The first and primary source is rooted in the bilingual education scholarship. While the articles in Appendix A predominantly delineate the pitfalls caused by interest convergence in TWDL programs, some suggestions from bilingual education researchers have provided useful principles to move towards equitable programs.

For the following two sources, we unconventionally step outside of our field to borrow an actionable idea that seeks a path forward in racial reconciliation and an ecological metaphor that is user-friendly and marketable (in and of itself) for the creation of "healthy markets", which we envision as equitable TWDL programs. The second source of information is rooted in the political philosophy of interracial integration. Realistic ideal theory (Jubb, 2012) and Anderson's (2010) imperative of integration lay groundwork principles, similar to Cervantes-Soon et al.'s notion of (2017) "critical consciousness" that can undergird the metaphor of our final source. Although two-way dual language programs vary from school to school, each with their unique community and conditions, they should all share one thing in common—they should provide the community with equitable language/content education. To consolidate and illustrate these ideas, we created Figure 2 that depicts how a healthy market metaphor can be used to guide the creation of equitable TWDL programs.

Metaphors are "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 5). Thus, we aim to gain perspective into how to create equitable TWDL programs by understanding the terms and structures of what "ideal" looks like in just interracial relations and which characteristics must be present for a "healthy market" to do so. We acknowledge that, as with any metaphor, the semantic connection eventually breaks down because they are, by nature, comparing distinct phenomena. However, we believe that this will be of utility as stakeholders in bilingual education consider a different take that may help overcome interest convergence as healthy TWDL programs are created.

According to the World Health Organization (2006), there are three basic underlying strategies used to generate a healthy food market: (1) "the *provision* of safe and nutritious food; (2) the *promotion* of food safety from production to consumption; and (3) the fostering of *partnerships* between suppliers, government and consumer" (p. 11). The World Health Organization stated:

> Food markets vary greatly from country to country and even from province to province, depending on the local culture, socioeconomic conditions, food varieties and dietary preferences. However, all food markets should have one major thing in common – they should provide the community with safe and nutritious food. (p. 1).

By mirroring these tenets, we provide the foundation to what could be an equitable (healthy) TWDL program (markets). The explanation of the healthy market metaphor in relation to TWDL programs, will use the foundational principles of critical consciousness found in Figure 2 (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017), the power of plática (Hernández & Henderson, 2023), realistic ideal theory (Jubb, 2012), and the imperative of integration (Anderson, 2010). Additionally, we propose that the 3 main components of equitable TWDL programs must transpire in both real space and time. Intentional meetings and get togethers must be prioritized and calendarized. Because this work is inherently collaborative, a requirement for the participation in this joint-venture is an agreement upon gathering to connect and develop the best TWDL program for their context.

Figure 2.

Foundational principles of critical consciousness
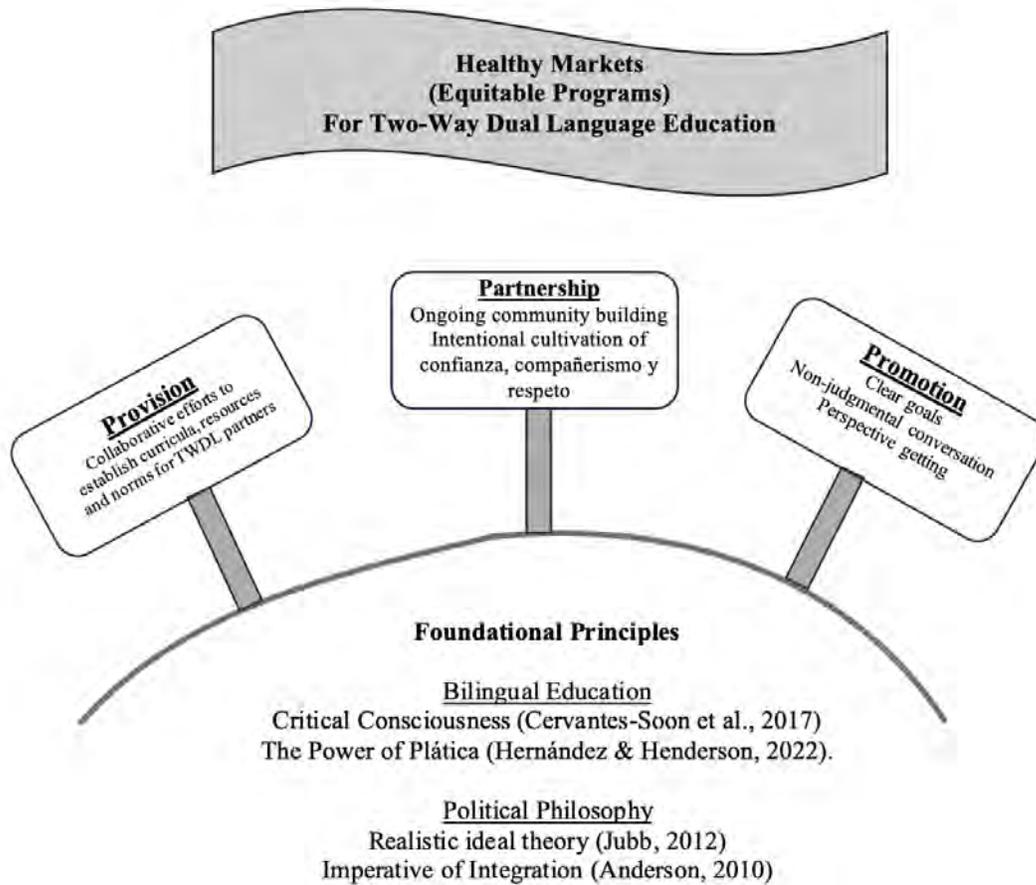
Provision. A provision is something, prepared beforehand, which either meets the needs or supplies the means for an arrangement between entities. In TWDL programs, the preparation of policy, curricula, and instruction must be agreed upon as a collaborative act by the heritage speakers of two different languages (and by extension, cultures). These provisions are resources, and as such, must be stewarded responsibly, understanding the correct times and places for needs and supplies. We use the notion of a realistic "ideal theory", elaborated upon by Jubb (2012) regarding the goals of public policy, to further explain the component of "Provision". Ideal theory aims to "model perfection" of an entity so that "partial compliance" to the goals will give explanatory power of how to remedy the dilemmas that ensue (p. 242). This scholar defines ideals, unlike utopian (unattainable) or dystopian endeavors, as achievable measures that exist in the real world. Furthermore, "Provision" is not in contrast to "nonideal theory" (Anderson, 2010), which starts with realities, as harsh as they may be, to work forward. In fact, as Jubb (2012) asserts, justice is established through the compliance to the set ideals where non-compliance is complicit to injustice. Essentially, the "ideal theory" would be collaborative efforts to establish the TWDL community norms for students, teachers, parents, and school partners.

Dovetailing nicely with the establishment of ideal theory is critical consciousness (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017), which is suggested by scholars as the "fourth pillar" (beyond bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism) to developing equitable programs. This concept serves as a lens to look *back* to history to see problems that have arisen in the community, look *presently* to assess localized affordances/constraints and look *forward* to a mutually agreed upon future that allows no space for hegemony or superiority. Upon understanding the problematic issues of the past or present, discussion would result between stakeholders about how to avoid them in the future.

Focusing on this critical consciousness avails the bringing of "excellence and empowerment to immigrant and language minoritized learners" (p. 230). By starting with accurate descriptions of families' social locations and the explicit delineation of each group's uniqueness and challenges, equity is more readily achievable. Providing preliminary and subsequent mandatory information sessions for interested parties to participate in TWDL programs, available in both languages represented, this awareness could underpin community goal setting to cultivate ownership and commitments to the endeavor. This will be elaborated further upon in promotion.

Promotion. Promotion is an activity that supports or provides active encouragement for the furtherance of a cause, venture, or aim. To promote something, people need to know *exactly* what it is they are endeavoring to support, which, again, requires intentional gatherings for stakeholders in the TWDL pursuit. To operationalize this promotion, therefore, school leaders and bilingual teachers who advocate for TWDL must convene compulsory meetings consisting of all interested parties. Ingram has witnessed this type of convocation (as an "info session" via Facebook), which was sent by school leaders of the district where he serves as part of the Dual Language Council. The post displayed the information in Spanish and English and the school offered two different times of the day (morning and afternoon) for parents/teachers/administrators to attend.

Once together, ensuring the alignment of goals across groups can be achieved through the democratic ethos of communication. Political theorist Elizabeth Anderson (2010) suggests "nondirective, nonjudgmental conversations" that are based on "attentive listening to others' perspectives" to engender respect for others (p. 80). In doing so, leadership over this venture would most probably broach the subject of Tilly's (2003) "opportunity hoarding", which entails the monopolizing of TWDL programs for the elite racial and language heritage group. This would necessitate sensitively facilitated conversations around resources of every stripe: the physical placements into the programs, curricular decisions balancing heritage cultural and linguistic assets, allocation of languages to ensure sustaining the home language and the learning of a second target language, asset-based pedagogy, and several other administrative and programmatic decisions.

Important to this process is the consideration of cultural capital, but unlike how it is typically defined in bilingual education. Anderson (2010) discusses how social scientists often conceive of "cultural capital": "Sociologists use the term to refer to the informal norms individuals need to master to attain elite positions. However, in a democratic theory, 'cultural capital' refers to the norms elites must master to serve a

diverse public" (p. 109). This type of cultural capital would require expert leadership who could delicately and skillfully move through the process of explaining sensitive topics to arrive at shared goals. To avoid "identity-protective aggression," Anderson states elsewhere (2022), that sympathy is a form of solidarity. As she explains, "Sympathy counteracts fear by responding to sincere, heartfelt communication that conveys good will and common interests. So, communication that activates sympathy is liable to be more effective than shaming in disarming fear and aggression" (p. 76). Should exclusionary tensions crop up in the mandatory community information sessions, relevant research and discerning leadership may be used to quell misgivings.

In their piece about durably reducing exclusionary attitudes between groups and individuals, political science scholars Kalla and Broockman (2023) discuss narrative strategies for considering outgroups' perspectives. One of their findings is that the "perspective-getting" strategy is the most effective. Perspective-getting strategy occurs when an ingroup friend (such as a member of one's social group), tells a story about the experiences of their friend in the outgroup (such as a parent with a different culture or language). Essentially a form of advocacy, this strategy helps form empathy towards other individuals or groups.

In the context of TWDL programs, Ingram overheard the comment of a non-educator acquaintance regurgitating the trope of "uninvolved Latin@ parents" in public schools. As he gently shared real reasons about why some of his prior bilingual 3rd grade students' families were hesitant to come to school functions (fear of deportation by institutions in the US, working multiples jobs, not being received in their HL), his interlocutor acquiesced by confessing that those realities did not occur to them. The promotion of this active dialogue, rooted in the willingness to continue learning about ourselves and others, is paramount to the creation of healthy TWDL programs. Based on the ideas developed under the promotional component, we move to the final component of partnerships, which sets the rules of engagement for the entire TWDL endeavor.

Partnerships. Partnerships refer to any relationship among people who have joined together for mutual benefit or to achieve a common purpose. Palmer et al., (2019) highlight a particular kind of partnership they refer to as "radical love," based on their research of a 5th grade teacher at a TWDL school who was "striving to build community between historically marginalized groups and the dominant group." (p. 182). One very practical way to enact radical love is to communicate with parents/families in both languages. If the goal is to have the parents/families understand TWDL programs, all efforts should be made to increase parents' bilingualism. Another tangible method of communicating goodwill to community members is to establish the importance of *pláticas* [chats] to help operationalize equitable TWDL programs through every step of the process.

A *plática* is a social dialogue including listening, inquiry, storytelling, and story making (Hernández & Henderson, 2023). Before a child of any heritage steps foot into a TWDL model classroom, we suggest, as mentioned above, that a series of deliberate informational meetings take place for any interested parties. In lieu of merely filling out paperwork to enter a lottery system or making the right phone calls to pull strings,

pláticas symbolize the first step to a requisite commitment to upholding the program in a just manner. *Pláticas*, moreover, can address several serious complex issues in a non-serious manner, based on the concept of *confianza* [trust] between interlocutors (Ingram & Palmer, 2023).

Another strategy within the *pláticas* is to hold space for concerned voices, particularly those of the minoritized group, by allowing conversations to transpire. Because the dominant racial/linguistic group typically carries the presiding voice in heterogeneous meetings, it is important to mediate communicative exchanges to avoid conversation predominance and to establish mutual participation. As partnerships continue to grow, cross-cultural *confianza* can be built and stakeholders may be less likely to self-segregate. Indeed, as Anderson (2010) aptly points out, "Segregation causes stigmatization [and] integration does not instantly undo this effect" (p. 182).

Integration does not ensure equity and, as such, it is important to build cross-cultural partnerships throughout the tenure of a family's involvement in a TWDL program. Indubitably, all parents will have concerns about their children and their education. Part and parcel of having diverse learning scenarios is that distinct groups of parents will have different concerns. The key for this partnership to function is that each family understands (and even helps to alleviate) others' concerns through honest *pláticas*. That is the intellectual part of the contract—the mind—the *what* of the endeavor. But what about the emotional and psychological aspect of it—the heart—the *how*? To address these aspects of "radical love" in a TWDL program, we briefly refer to the importance of *compañerismo* and *respeto*.

Compañerismo [togetherness], also known as fellowship or, etymologically, people with whom we can "**com**partir" [share] "**pan**" [bread]. People who "break bread" or eat together often create a community. Though *compañerismo* as a concept has been mentioned sparsely throughout the bilingual education literature, there has been talk about ways that it has been significant in either building a sense of community between homes and schools (Newcomer & Cowin, 2018) or within schools themselves (Marcus, 2022; Navarro & Marín, 2017). We see compañerismo as a key component to formulate and sustain equitable TWDL programs.

Respeto [respect], etymologically, hails from **re** [back] and **specere** [to look]—to look back upon something that you saw and give it a second consideration. It is to question presuppositions, prejudices, preconceptions that an individual might have for another person or group of people. *Respeto* has long been chronicled as an important ethic in diverse Latin@ communities and is germane to the tenor that should be cultivated in TWDL partnerships. *Respeto* connotes a number of prosocial expectations that promote collectivistic social behaviors such as collaborative decision making among peers. (López et al., 2022). Because there are times where *respeto* can equate to deference by the minoritized group, especially in asymmetrical scenarios such as meetings with the dominant class, leadership for these meetings need to be keenly aware of their particular context and establish a strong degree of honest shared communication. Although time must be allowed for it to work, once established, respect will end up "paying dividends" throughout the school year that can contribute to setting the tone for a healthy "market" of TWDL programs.

Ingram recently participated in an event that epitomized these partnerships and demonstrated both compañerismo and respeto. As a member of the Dual Language Council of a Central Texas school district, he was invited to an end-of-the-year Dual Language "Presentación/Showcase" for the families of 8th grade students who had participated in the TWDL program since they were in kindergarten. The "Convivencia" began at the local high school around 6:00 PM after parents got off work. Spanish and English-speaking families entered the festively decorated cafeteria and were warmly received in both languages by the district's Director of Bilingual Education and a nearby campus's bilingual Instructional Specialist. Guests were encouraged to sit with their loved ones at the round tables festooned with flags from around the world.

The purpose of the gathering was to showcase the student's projects and how they would be able to present them bilingually. Topics were those that were rooted in the lives of the students, such as having family from Honduras or a family who had visited Spain. Central American arepas recipes, interesting facts about different places (Argentina and the Yucatán Peninsula) as well as theories about UFO sightings were delivered in both languages as family members, teachers, school personnel, and guests circulated to query about the array of subjects. As we returned to our tables, we heard an encouraging word and a "felicidades/congratulations" to the families who had committed to and participated in the TWDL for almost a decade.

The middle school principal spoke in English as the Director of Bilingual Education translated the uplifting message. The Director then spoke about the significance of the event and the time and effort invested for the students and families to arrive at such a juncture in their lives. She explicitly reflected on the challenges that were overcome based on the differences of the families represented in the TWDL undertaking. She then allowed the audience to speak as she walked around the crowd to hear from parents and students expressing their gratitude to other families, to school employees (principal, teachers, curriculum specialists), and to their children as companions on the journey they had shared. After a bold student comically asked through the microphone, "¿Podemos comer?/Can we eat?", we shared a meal, helped clean up by making to-go plates and stacking chairs, and went to our respective homes.

Conclusion

As María and Ingram were *platicando* [talking frankly] one afternoon about hope in the face of interest convergence in dual language bilingual programs, she made the passing comment about the situation as she understood it as a pre-service bilingual teacher in our program.

Durante el tiempo que les ayudé leyendo artículos sobre el tema, sí me sentía un poco desanimada..., pero nunca pensé que...no valían la pena (los programas), sino que al hacer esto, me motivaba a buscar soluciones y buscar cosas positivas que hablaran del tema.

Leímos miles (sonriente) de artículos y encontramos lo más mínimo de solución y recuerdo que decíamos que si no hay soluciones, hay que crearlas. Hay que buscarlas....Simplemente hay que excavar un poquito más...

[During the time that I helped y'all to read the articles on the subject, I did feel a little discouraged…, but I never thought that…they (the programs) were not worth it, but by doing this, I was motivated to look for solutions and look for positive things that spoke to the subject. We read thousands (smiling) of articles and found the tiniest bit of solutions and I remember us saying that if there are no solutions, you have to create them. You have to look for them. You just have to dig a little deeper]. (M. Aguirre, Personal communication, August 8, 2023)

TWDL programs are but one iteration of the many programs and institutions in our society that need healing. If we cannot make improvements in TWDL programs, what hope do we have for other institutional or relational endeavors that involve diversity? What hope do we have to pass along to our bilingual pre-service teachers in our programs? What hope can we share with bilingual in-service teachers in professional developments? What hope do Latin@ students in TWDL programs have for even-handed consideration? As Anderson (2010) points out, "Most of the work of integration inevitably rests with the spontaneous actions of citizens in civil society (p. 189)." We are some of those citizens. The discussion in this article can motivate stakeholders by moving forward so we can find success in TWDL programs *in spite of* issues of some people's self-centered interest convergence.

In alignment with such remedy-seeking scholars as Morales and Maravilla (2019), Soltero (2023), and Núñez and Heiman (2024), we must move from being tentatively cautious to rising up as risk-taking generators of actionable steps to redress the past, acknowledge the present and redeem the future system of which we profess to be a part. Let us help influence in such a way to create an equitable "market" for nourishing TWDL Programs. *¡Agárrense las palas!* [Grab your shovels!] Like any good doctors searching for health should do, and what María might suggest, let us dig a little deeper!

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Articles Reviewed Regarding TWDL Programs in the United States				
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Appendix B

En el 2013 mi mamá y yo nos vinimos a vivir a Texas con mi papá y mi hermano. Yo iba a cumplir 15 años, así que no tuve quinceañera. Llegué en agosto para comenzar high school; yo tenía mucho miedo de entrar a la escuela porque no sabía más que el inglés que aprendí en middle school, el cual era muy básico. Cuando mi papá me llevó a inscribirme a la escuela que estaba cerca de donde vivíamos, le preguntaron que cuál era mi nivel de inglés y mi papá les dijo que yo acababa de llegar de México. Entonces decidieron hacerme un examen para ver en qué grado me ponían, si en el 9 o en el 10. El examen consistía en mostrar imágenes como una persona subiéndose a un carro y yo tenía que describir en inglés lo que veía; lo único que dije fue "car red" o sea que el carro era color rojo. Entonces me dijeron que no podía entrar a esa escuela y que yo tenía que repetir el grado 9 porque mi nivel de inglés no era lo suficientemente bueno; de esta escuela me mandaron a una escuela internacional.

International High School es una escuela donde llegan jóvenes de todas partes del mundo que aún no dominan el inglés; no es una escuela bilingüe y no tiene maestros bilingües. La instrucción es solo ESL y con una duración de dos años. Recuerdo que los primeros meses yo lloraba porque no entendía nada y me estresaba mucho debido a que la instrucción me hacía sentir que no era inteligente y que no estaba aprendiendo nada. Tres de mis maestros sí hablaban español, el de historia, el de ciencias y el de inglés, pero no les gustaba hablar español; el resto de mis maestros eran monolingües en inglés. En International High School me ponían a leer muchos libros pequeños de niños y lo que hacía era leer y escribir las palabras que no entendía, las traducía del inglés al español y buscaba su significado en ambas lenguas.

En casa, comencé a ver películas en inglés con subtítulos en inglés para aprender cómo se escribía la palabra y cómo se pronunciaba. Yo hice lo mismo con las canciones, las escuchaba en YouTube para poder ver los lyrics y ver qué decía la canción. Después de estar dos años en International High School, mi inglés mejoró bastante entonces me fui a la primera escuela que me rechazó para hacer ahí el grado 11 y 12. En esta escuela fue aún más difícil porque ninguno de mis maestros hablaba español a excepción de mi maestra de español avanzado. En esta escuela sufrí mucho porque era más grande y ninguno de mis maestros hablaba español. Aunque ya sabía un poco más de inglés aún se me hacía difícil mantener una conversación con alguien o no sabía si me estaban entendiendo lo que quería decir. Cuando era tiempo de hacer el STAAR test, era horrible para mí porque literalmente me obligaban a tomar un examen sin estar preparada y escribir un ensayo completamente en inglés sin ayuda de nada, solo podía utilizar un diccionario que traduce de inglés a español y viceversa.

[[In 2013 my mom and I came to live in Texas with my dad and brother. I was turning 15, so I didn't have a quinceañera. I arrived in August to start high school and was very scared to enter school because I didn't know more than the basic English I learned in middle school. When my dad took me to register at the school that was near where we lived, they asked him what my English level was and my dad told them that I had just arrived from Mexico. So they decided to give me a test to see what grade they

would put me in, 9th or 10th. The test consisted of showing me images of a person getting into a car and I had to describe in English what I saw. The only thing I said was "car red" meaning that the car was red. Then they told me that I could not enter that school and that I had to repeat 9th grade because my English level was not good enough. From this school they sent me to an international school.

International High School is a school where kids come from all over the world who are not yet proficient in English. It is not a bilingual school and does not have bilingual teachers. Instruction is ESL only and lasts for two years. I remember the first few months I was crying because I didn't understand anything and I was very stressed because the instruction made me feel that I was not smart and that I was not learning anything. Three of my teachers did speak Spanish—the History teacher, the Science teacher. and the English teacher—but they did not like to speak Spanish. The rest of my teachers were monolingual English speakers. At International High School they had me read a lot of small children's books and what I would do was read and write the words I didn't understand, translate them from English to Spanish and look up their meaning in both languages.

At home, I started watching movies in English with English subtitles to learn how the word was spelled and how it was pronounced. I did the same with songs, I would listen to them on YouTube so I could see the lyrics and see what the song said. After two years at International High School, my English improved a lot, so I went to the first school that rejected me to do 11th and 12th grade. At this school it was even more difficult because none of my teachers spoke Spanish except for my advanced Spanish teacher. In this school I suffered a lot because I was older and none of my teachers spoke Spanish. Even though I already knew a little more English, it was still hard for me to have a conversation with someone, or I didn't know if they were understanding what I wanted to say. When it was time to take the STAAR test, it was horrible for me because I was literally forced to take a test unprepared and write an essay completely in English with no help at all. I could only use a dictionary that translated from English to Spanish and vice versa.]]