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The "Messy Middle": A Framework for Analyzing Raciolinguistic Inequity

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THE “MESSY MIDDLE”: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING RACIOLINGUISTIC INEQUITY

A Thesis Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

THE “MESSY MIDDLE”: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING RACIOLINGUISTIC INEQUITY

December 2023

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Existing research has demonstrated that bilingual education in the United States is highly inequitable, providing greater benefits to white English speakers than to students from minoritized backgrounds (e.g., Babino & Stewart, 2017; Palmer, 2009). Additional research has suggested that bilingual spaces also uphold whiteness and English hegemony outside of classrooms, in spaces like parent groups to administrative decisions (e.g., Gallo, 2017; Jacobsen et al., 2019). This ethnographic case study of a Spanish-English Two-Way Dual Language (TWDL) elementary school examines raciolinguistic positioning and interactions among students, teachers, and parents. Drawing on dysconscious racism (King, 1991), LangCrit (Crump, 2014), and critical consciousness (Freire, 2018), this study utilizes a continuum of adherence to existing raciolinguistic power structures to examine the

intersection of race and language in TWDL at the classroom, school, and community levels, with a particular emphasis on the ‘messy middle’. I argue that the ‘messy middle’ is a useful lens that offers new and more nuanced language to examine raciolinguistic power structures in bilingual education. Implications for future research in bilingual education and practical recommendations for TWDL communities are discussed.

Keywords: ethnography, critical consciousness, two-way dual language

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Author's Notes

I: Place Names

In order to preserve the anonymity of participants and places within this study, all names have been changed. For participants, every effort has been made to choose pseudonyms that preserve the cultural and linguistic heritage in their real names. Place names were chosen to reflect the indigenous heritage in the area by choosing names from the Nipmuck people of Massachusetts. The focal city is named *Koonepeam,* or 'Welcome', to evoke sentiments of openness, connection, and listening (Nipmuck Language). The focal school is named *Quannon* (Hawk) for both the school mascot and the many hawks that nest in trees near the school grounds each spring (Nipmuck Language).

II: Latine

As a member of the nonbinary community and a guest in the Latine communities I write about and work alongside, I strive to use language that is both inclusive and culturally sustaining. Throughout this paper, the term *Latine* will be used in place of *Latino* or *Latina* to

describe large groups of individuals of unspecified gender or to describe nonbinary individuals. At the time of writing, replacing ‘a’ or ‘o’ endings with ‘e’ is gaining popularity among scholars and activists as a way to create a more gender inclusive language that represents experiences outside the gender binary. *Latine* is preferred within the Spanish-speaking activist community over other terms like *Latinx* or *Latin@* because it is the most natural extension of existing Spanish grammar and can be applied in a variety of contexts to easily modify existing language, such as shifting “maestra” to “maestre” or “bonito” to “bonite”.

Additionally, the term *folx* will be used to refer to groups of individuals of undetermined or mixed genders in this paper. While *folx* may seem overly colloquial for a formal research paper, it is widely used in queer and trans* activists circles to promote gender inclusivity. As such, it will be adopted for use in this context to promote and center current best practices for gender inclusive language.

Positionality

I am white. I am also middle class, queer, American, childfree, and an atheist. While the identities I hold afford me varying levels of privilege and social capital, none is more influential than being white. Whiteness has shaped every aspect of my life, from my worldviews to my decisions, and it has shaped the ways that I am perceived in relation to other identities. I am visibly queer, and my queer experience has been heavily molded by my whiteness. My experiences in the middle class, in America, and as a childfree atheist are all greatly affected by my whiteness.

In addition to being white, English is my native language. Together, these identities reinforce and consolidate my privilege and shape my experience in the world. English and whiteness are the unspoken defaults, which means that I have enormous control over whether and how I want to be visible. I have the privilege to lean on my whiteness and my English fluency when it provides me with safety or social capital, and I can decide when I feel comfortable revealing my other identities. While English is my native language and the one I feel most comfortable speaking, I also identify as multilingual because I speak Spanish. I learned Spanish in secondary school and in college, and I use it daily in my professional life as a teacher. Given that I learned Spanish in school, I speak in a more formal, academic way, which carries with it additional privilege in professional or academic settings. I consider myself proficient in Spanish within my professional context; I have the necessary syntax and vocabulary to teach in Spanish and to have meaningful conversations with Spanish-speaking students, parents, and colleagues. I am also aware of the ways in which my Spanish proficiency has fossilized, and I am cognizant of the privilege it is that my imperfect Spanish impacts my career very minimally. Still, as a member of a multilingual school community and city, I am committed to continually improving my Spanish.

Just as my whiteness and English fluency have influence my lived experiences, these identities also affect my academic research. When I interview people whose raciolinguistic, or the intersecting relationship between race and language, identities are different from mine, there is an inherent power dynamic because I am white and speak English. When I conduct field observations, my raciolinguistic identities affect what seems salient to me and how I

choose to document it. My whiteness and English fluency also affect how I choose to analyze and present my data and which aspects seem important enough to present.

Presently, I work in a bilingual elementary school where my raciolinguistic identities afford me unearned professional privileges. While I cannot eschew these privileges, I continue to learn about my identities so that I can be more cognizant of how they show up in my professional life and affect my interactions with colleagues, students, and families. I make a habit of regularly listening to and learning from individuals of different raciolinguistic backgrounds than mine, both on the internet and in the lunchroom. I am learning to amplify the voices of raciolinguistically minoritized colleagues, rather than speaking over them to make the same point. I am committed to lifelong learning to better understand and interrupt systems of power, and I continually set up new systems and habits for consistent learning. As a white English speaker teaching Latine children, it is my responsibility to continually unlearn and relearn.

My identity as a white English speaker, as well as my status as a teacher in the school community in which this research was completed, impacted my data collection and analysis in numerous ways. I chose to utilize the ethnographic method to conduct my research, which involves closely observing and documenting a particular community, often through observations and semi-structured interviews (Heath & Street, 2008). While I chose this method for the way that it helped me to answer my research questions, it made the most sense, given my status as a member of the school community. I am a teacher within the school community I researched, so utilizing ethnography allowed me to observe this community more closely and to document seemingly mundane or ordinary practices within

the school system. Ethnography is also inherently cyclical and iterative, meaning that I can use the research completed here to generate and answer additional questions in the future as I continue to be part of this community (Heath & Street, 2008).

However, my racial and linguistic identities, as well as my status as a teacher within the community, affected both my data collection and analysis. Semi-structured interviews with students, families, and teachers account for a substantial portion of my data, and my status as a teacher likely impacted participants' willingness to speak candidly with me. For example, the families I interviewed shared overwhelmingly positive views of the dual language school and had very few critiques. One parent shared some frustrations about the school, particularly around 'choques de cultura' in her daughter's class. Her comments were brief and seemed guarded, and I imagine that my whiteness and teacher status impacted her comfort in sharing with me. During student interviews, my status as a teacher at the school they attended likely impacted their comfort level speaking to me. While none of the students in my focal classroom had been my students in the past, they all knew me from the prior year. I began each of the student interviews in Spanish and asked the student whether they preferred to continue in Spanish or switch to English. All four focal students chose to switch to English; I imagine this choice was impacted, at least partially, by my English fluency and my whiteness. My positionality as a teacher also impacted my relationship with the focal teacher and our semi-structured interviews. She and I had never worked together but had been work acquaintances for a few years, and I suspect that this preexisting relationship encouraged her to speak more candidly with me about frustrations and difficulties.

During the data analysis phase of my research, my whiteness, English fluency, and teacher status impacted the ways in which I analyzed data. The data coding and analysis phases are quite subjective, and I was tasked with choosing which data points are salient; undoubtedly, my dominant, unmarked identities as a white English speaker influenced which data points I found most salient and how I organized my data into categories. I may have over- or under-analyzed aspects of the data I collected. Additionally, my status as a teacher at the school in which I was completing research impacted the way I analyzed data. While I did not have a close or personal relationship with any study participants, I did know many of them from prior years at the school. This means I may have drawn conclusions about them based on both the data set and what I knew about them prior to the study, rather than relying only on the data I collected.

Bilingual Education

My Connection to Bilingualism and Bilingual Education

Growing up, my white, suburban elementary school taught Spanish as a 'specials' class, along with gym, music, art, and library. One day a week, our Spanish teacher would teach us beginner phrases and vocabulary and help us practice our conversational skills. In middle and high school, my Spanish elective classes were textbook-driven curricula focused on grammatical structures and Latin culture. In my senior year of high school, I received notice that I had won a Spanish language merit scholarship for college that would fund much of my study abroad experiences and would allow me to go abroad twice. With the scholarship, I traveled to Orizaba, Mexico for a summer and to Barcelona, Spain for a semester. Reflecting back, I never positioned my bilingualism as a right or a resource. I had

always enjoyed learning to read and write, and learning a second language felt easy and enjoyable.

After studying Spanish in school, I decided that I wanted to teach at a bilingual school and was hired for my present role at Quannon Elementary School. When I first started teaching, I remember thinking that I knew enough Spanish to teach in Spanish. Six years later, I feel quite the opposite; I notice where my language has fossilized and feel that there is still far to go in my language learning journey. In my work, I try to be cognizant of my inherent preference for English and to counter it as often as I can. In addition to actively unlearning and relearning about dominant culture and raciolinguistic privilege, I am committed to improving my Spanish to better serve my school community.

Setting the Scene

As a teacher at a bilingual school who was in graduate school to learn about raciolinguistics, or the study of how racial and linguistic power overlaps and interacts, I was interested in better understanding how systems of raciolinguistic power played out at my school, Quannon Elementary School. My research was guided by research questions around raciolinguistic experiences and perceptions from multiple key school groups – students, parents, and teachers. I wanted to better understand how both target languages, Spanish and English, were conceptualized in the classroom and how students' perceived proficiency affected student-teacher interactions. I also wanted to learn more about the variety in parent experiences at Quannon and whether those experiences varied across racial or linguistic lines. In the upcoming subsections of this chapter, I will present a profile of Quannon Elementary, the research site, as well as a brief overview of the methodology I used in this

research. These subsections will 'set the scene' for the reader to critically engage with the problem statement and literature review.

The research questions that informed this study are as follows:

1. How do teachers' perceptions of students' race and linguistic proficiency impact teacher-student interactions?
2. How are Spanish and English conceptualized both in classrooms and in the school ecosystem?
3. What are parents' experiences in the Two-Way Dual Language (TWDL) school ecosystem? Do these experiences vary for English monolingual parents and Spanish monolingual parents?

School Profile

Quannon Elementary School is a Two-Way Dual Language (TWDL) school, a type of bilingual school in which native speakers of both target languages are heterogeneously grouped to allow for native language models of both languages spoken at school (García, 2009). At TWDL schools like Quannon, students learn academic content in both target languages with the goal of becoming biliterate and bilingual. Quannon utilizes the 90:10 model of TWDL, in which students in the early grades spend approximately 90% of their academic time learning in Spanish and 10% in English. The percentage of time in each language shifts slightly each academic year until third grade, when the students begin learning 50% of the time in each language. The school enrolls more than 650 students in grades kindergarten to 5th grade, the majority of whom identify as Hispanic/Latino and/or

Spanish speakers at home (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2023c).

In the lower elementary grades at Quannon, English instruction occurs first in science and social studies; in first and second grade, some math and literacy units are taught in English as well to achieve the prescribed percentage of English instruction. In the upper grades where 50% of instruction occurs in each language, each subject area is taught about 50% in each language. At the beginning of the school year, writing and math are taught in Spanish, while reading, science, and social studies are taught in English. After the first month of school, the language of instruction changes; writing and math are taught in English, and reading, science, and social studies are taught in Spanish. Some students in the upper grades have two teachers, one who instructs in each language, and they spend half of their day with each teacher. Other classrooms are 'self-contained', meaning that a bilingual teacher instructs their group of students in both languages, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. Through intentional cross-linguistic activities after each language switch and careful K-5 vertical alignment, students graduate from Quannon having received approximately equal exposure to academic concepts in each language and practice with the academic vocabulary in both languages.

To best address the research questions listed above, I chose to focus my data collection on one focal 4th grade 'self-contained' classroom and teacher, Srta. García. Srta. García and I had been colleagues for a few years but had never worked together or shared any students. I had spent some time with Srta. García in unstructured settings at school, such

as in the lunch room or at the copier, but I had never had a lengthy conversation with her or observed her teaching.

Although she is new to teaching, Srta. García has a long-standing connection to Quannon, as she was a student in the TWDL program after her family immigrated from Mexico. In her classroom, she draws on both her lived experiences in the Latine community and her pedagogical knowledge of raciolinguistics from her Master's program. Srta. García's bilingual classroom includes a rich array of multilingual text – an alphabet chart she bought in Mexico when visiting family, a bilingual lunch menu, an anchor chart for English fractions vocabulary. She leverages her Mexicana and Latina identities to make meaningful connections with students, chatting with them about their gifts from the *Reyes Magos* or the newest song by a prominent Latine artist.

Methodology: Ethnography

I chose ethnography for my study because of the way it allowed me to both navigate my status as a researcher within my focal community and address my research questions. First, the ethnographic method was critical for me to navigate the dual roles of community member and researcher and to leverage my membership in the community as an asset. In the initial data collection phase, ethnography pushed me to notice and describe ordinary practices in my school community and to notice raciolinguistic trends among these ordinary practices. My status as an insider in the focal community was an asset during classroom observations; the students already knew me from third grade, so they were likely more authentic and less nervous than they would have been with an unknown researcher. Since ethnography is predicated on capturing the everyday aspects of a particular culture, this comfort with the

researcher is essential and I was able to leverage my familiarity with students to gather what is likely more authentic observation data (Heath & Street, 2008).

Ethnography was also the best research method for helping me to better understand the raciolinguistic hierarchies and power structures at play in my focal classroom and school, with a focus on how power structures interacted with one another. To understand raciolinguistic power from the student and teacher perspectives, I focused on the ways in which students' perceived linguistic proficiency affected teacher-student interactions, as well as how both Spanish and English were positioned within the classroom. Raciolinguistic inequities in the classroom can show up in subtle ways, and aspects of classroom culture like who is called on most often in class or positioned as 'smart' often intersect with racial and linguistic privilege (García-Mateus, 2020; Palmer, 2009). As ethnography focuses on illuminating patterns in the ordinary, it was the best method to find patterns in student and teacher behavior to address my research questions (Heath & Street, 2008). My final research question focused on systems of power among parents of students at the focal school, with an emphasis on similarities and differences in parent experiences with the school system among raciolinguistically diverse parents. While differences in parent experiences in schools can be stark (Gallo, 2017; Oliveira, 2020), I wanted to ensure I also captured more subtle differences in parent experience. Again, ethnography was the best method to capture these nuances, as it is predicated upon noticing and finding patterns in ordinary details (Heath & Street, 2008).

Problem Statement

In the highly inequitable United States public education system, bilingual education is touted as a panacea for racial and linguistic inequities. Aspects of this claim are true. For students whose first language is not English, bilingual education can help them to preserve and expand their first language (L1) while also providing access to the cultural capital that English fluency provides (García, 2009). Additionally, TWDL programs educate both language majority and language minority students together and can create a community in which bilingualism is seen as a resource, rather than a problem (García, 2009). Despite these benefits, bilingual programs broadly fall short on closing racial and linguistic gaps, instead centering and privileging whiteness (Scanlan & Palmer, 2009) and English (de Jong & Howard, 2009; Fitts, 2006; Palmer, 2009; Volk & Angelova, 2007).

Looking back at the history of bilingual education, the fact that present day bilingual programs reinforce whiteness and English is particularly problematic. The 1974 Lau vs. Nichols Supreme Court case set legal precedents in bilingual education, finding that English-only education violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and mandating that districts remedy this inequality (Crawford, 1992; García, 2009). However, many bilingual education advocates view it not as a legal mandate but as a way to center the educational, linguistic, and cultural needs of heritage language speakers, not white students (García, 2009). As bilingual education became more popular among white English-speaking families, policies and practices began centering white students and de-centering students of Color (de Jong, 2013). Today, bilingual schools systematically center whiteness and English and promote dysconscious raciolinguistic ideologies (de Jong, 2013; García, 2009).

Presently, most research that investigates racial or linguistic inequities in bilingual education focuses on the student experience (Arredondo & Gelman, 2019; Babino & Stewart, 2017; Chaparro, 2019; Fitts, 2006; García-Mateus, 2020; Palmer, 2009; Volk & Angelova, 2007). Research on parent experiences in education (Gallo, 2017; Oliveira, 2020) takes place in varied settings and does not fully capture the experiences of parents in bilingual school ecosystems. Martinez Negrette (2020) does utilize anecdotes about raciolinguistic inequities among school staff to illustrate students' perceptions about the value of Spanish; however, the paper is still focused on the students, rather than the whole school ecosystem. While it is helpful to address one portion of the school ecosystem or another, more research is needed to tie together the experiences of teachers, students, and parents. As such, the present study will expand upon previous research on the experiences of teachers, students, and parents in bilingual settings in order to paint a more complete picture of the ways in which raciolinguistic inequities affect all actors differently.

Massachusetts

The present study takes place in a relatively liberal city in the liberal state of Massachusetts. Since 1900, Massachusetts has voted Democrat in 68% of presidential elections, and in 100% of elections since the 1988 election (Ballotpedia). In the 2020 presidential election, 65.6% of Massachusetts residents voted for Joe Biden; in Koonepeam, more than 74% voted for Biden, putting it in the top quarter of cities and towns with the highest percentages of Biden voters (Smith, 2020). Due both to voting patterns and other laws, Massachusetts is often positioned as liberal. However, just two decades ago, Massachusetts voted to enact the *Massachusetts English Language Education in Public*

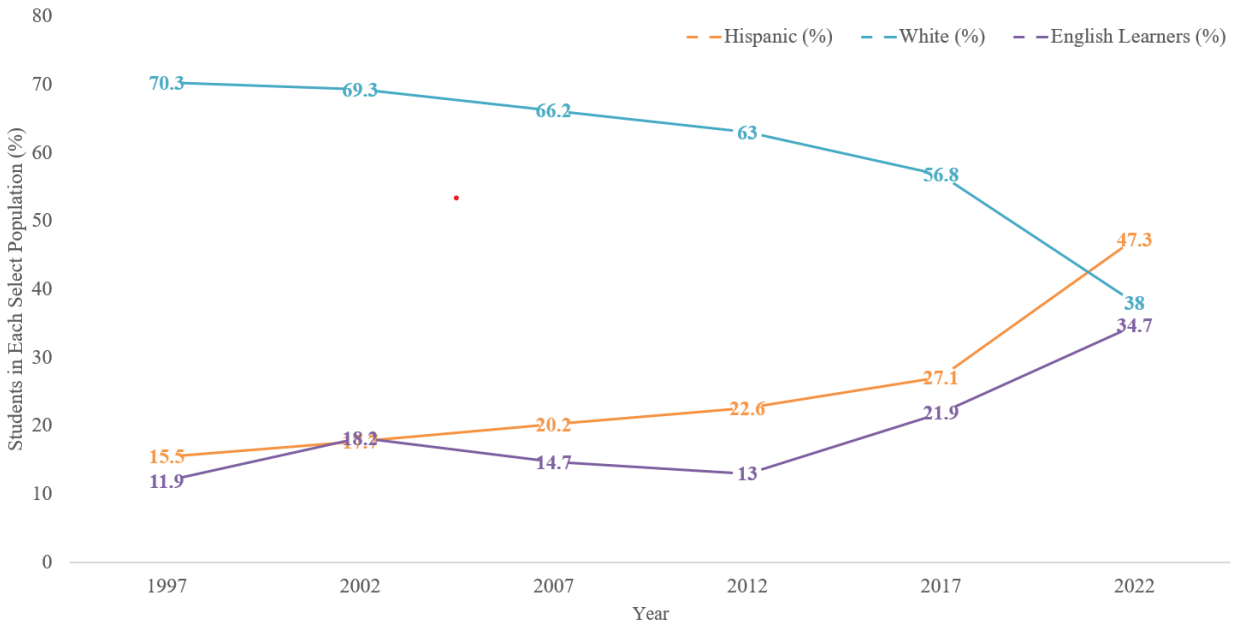
Schools Initiative, Question 2, which eliminated almost all bilingual programs statewide (Sailer, 2002; Wikipedia). The policy was reversed with the Look Act of 2017 (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2018), and districts were once again granted the flexibility of creating bilingual programming for their students.

These political contradictions are a critical piece of the story in this study. From one vantage point, Quannon is radical for simply existing in a national landscape rife with anti-immigration sentiments and rampant English hegemony. If Quannon existed in a politically conservative state, the bar for what would be considered revolutionary would be relatively low, given that its simple existence would be highly radical. However, when zooming in to look at it within a liberal city within a liberal state, it appears more ordinary and even underwhelming. As such, the political context around Quannon affects how the data is interpreted and what feels radical.

However, Quannon has existed for several decades within a city that has changed substantially around it. In the 25-year span between the 1997-98 and 2022-23 school years, enrollment of Hispanic students in Koonepeam public schools has increased by nearly 32%, while enrollment of white students has dropped by the same figure (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2023a; Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2023b). The public school demographics shifted at an incremental pace for the first part of the 21st century before shifting more dramatically between 2017 and 2023. Additionally, the percentages of classified English Learners (ELs) and low-income students enrolled in Koonepeam public schools has increased since 1997, with sharper increases since 2017.

Figure 1

Koonepeam Public Schools Demographic Data 1997-2023



(Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2023a; Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2023b)

In considering both the political and the demographic climates in Koonepeam, it is clear that Quannon is simultaneously radical and ordinary. While it now exists in a city with a high demand for bilingual education and the political will to protect it, Quannon also existed at a time with much lower demand for bilingual education and English-only laws. What may have seemed radical 25 years ago now seems commonplace and, in some ways, that feels like a victory. Thanks to grassroots efforts in Massachusetts like the Language Opportunity Coalition (Language Opportunity, n.d.) and existing bilingual schools like Quannon that operated during a more politically hostile time, bilingual education is growing

now in Massachusetts (Martin, 2022; Mitchell, 2017; O'Connell, 2020). It is certainly worth celebrating and honoring the ways in which Quannon and other bilingual schools paved the way for bilingual education today.

However, the work does not stop after a single victory. As the present study will point out, decoupling oneself from racism, linguicism, and other forms of oppression requires ongoing work, and being perceived as 'cutting-edge' in 1997 has little bearing on how one is perceived 25 years later. Like any individual or institution committed to ongoing equity work but steeped in an oppressive culture, Quannon's policies and practices are messy. Some adhere unabashedly to oppressive systems, others boldly step away. The continuum proposed in this study provides a novel approach to analyzing adherence to or distance from raciolinguistically oppressive practices, and it fits perfectly with the story of Quannon as a school with a deep, rich history of equity work. Where existing frameworks might write Quannon off as inadequately radical, the continuum proposed here is most useful for dissecting the 'messy middle', the place where equity work is beginning to make real, noticeable change. For the Quannon community, the fight is not over but at least they're not fighting alone.

The fight for raciolinguistic equity is evident from the moment one steps foot in Quannon. There is a large, bright bulletin board in the lobby that immediately catches the eye, and it is, in many ways, a visual representation of the complex relationships Quannon actors have with raciolinguistic equity. On the brightly decorated bulletin board are several posters of children of Color with affirmations in white text below. "I AM MAGIC", "I AM BRAVE", the posters exclaim. Below the shiny, laminated posters are small, printed signs on

colored construction paper with the Spanish translations: “SOY MÁGICO/A” and “SOY VALIENTE”. At first glance, this looks like equity. But, looking closer and from a variety of vantage points, it is clear that the fight is not yet won.

Figure 2

Lobby Bulletin Board

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

To best understand Quannon's raciolinguistic culture – both the aspects that adhere to oppression and the 'messy middle' that strays from it – it is critical to begin with an explanation of the theoretical orientations that inform raciolinguistic work, as well as a clear understanding of existing scholarship on bilingual education. The first half of this chapter is dedicated to the foundational theories that inform scholarship on raciolinguistic equity in bilingual education, including theories of bilingual education, critical consciousness, language and culture, raciolinguistic ideology, Critical Race Theory, and race. The second portion of the chapter presents a review of relevant literature on raciolinguistics in bilingual education, analyzed thematically by group- students, teachers, parents, and administrators.

Theoretical Orientations

Foundations of Bilingual Education

Broadly, bilingual education encompasses any educational situation in which two or more languages are used to deliver content instruction; they differ from foreign language classes, in which the language is the content being delivered (García, 2009). While bilingual programs vary greatly, this paper will focus primarily on TWDL, or Polydirectional

bilingual, programs as the research site is a TWDL school. TWDL programs serve students who speak English and/or the minoritized language at home in linguistically heterogeneous classrooms, using each language for a specific proportion of the school day. Programs often begin with a 90:10 ratio of minoritized language to English in kindergarten, transitioning to 50:50 later in elementary school (García, 2009).

Throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, bilingual education has been conceptualized as a problem, a right, and a resource, depending on the geopolitical factors at play (García, 2009). Post WWI, multilingualism in the United States was perceived to be a problem, and it was 'solved' with strict assimilationist policies. As social justice movements began in the latter half of the 20th century, views on bilingual education moved from viewing language as a problem to understanding language as a right. Bilingual schools and programs began opening to provide heritage language speakers with opportunities to maintain their home language while learning English. Near the turn of the 21st century, views on bilingual education shifted again, this time toward bilingualism as a resource. In this view, bilingualism is a tool for upward social and career mobility, and individuals are encouraged to learn additional languages in order to better career prospects and social opportunities (García, 2009). However, this contemporary framing of bilingualism as a resource can be problematic, as it centers and increases the social capital of already privileged white folx rather than centering the rights of heritage language speakers (Palmer et al. 2019).

Critical Consciousness

According to the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language* (Howard et al., 2018), dual language education includes three core goals: "grade-level academic achievement,

bilingualism and biliteracy, and sociocultural competence" (p. 148). However, some scholars argue that these goals do not go far enough to ensure equity for minoritized students, noting that TWDL language programs still cater to white English speakers (Palmer et al., 2019). To this end, Palmer et al. (2019) propose critical consciousness as a fourth goal for TWDL programs. Critical consciousness is the ability to 'read the world', or to see and interrogate systems of privilege and oppression (Freire, 2018). Freire connected critical consciousness with the banking model of education, asserting that traditional teacher-directed education reinforced oppression and that critical consciousness helped to illuminate and alter this cycle of oppression. Palmer and colleagues build on Freire's (2018) work to propose critical consciousness as a missing goal of bilingual education, one that is specifically rooted in decolonization and giving voice to oppressed people. Critical consciousness involves understanding and working to dismantle systems of oppression; in TWDL settings specifically, critical consciousness calls on all school interest groups to interrogate how and why a bilingual program originally created to provide equity and justice to minoritized students has been altered by dominant power structures, such that TWDL now provides greater benefits to white English speakers than to the minoritized students it originally served (Palmer et al., 2019).

In *Critical Consciousness in Dual Language Bilingual Education* (2023), Dorner and colleagues expand on earlier scholarship on critical consciousness and propose additional practices that promote critical consciousness. They argue that developing critical consciousness requires sustained and cyclical implementation of the following practices: historicizing communities and ourselves, critical listening, embracing discomfort,

interrogating power, affirming identities, acompañamiento, and translanguaging (Dorner et al., 2023, p. 3-4). Critical consciousness requires listening to, centering, and amplifying the voices of individuals from minoritized communities who are most vulnerable in the community. It also means understanding one's own role in perpetuating injustice, both sociohistorically and personally, and working to disrupt instead of perpetuate. Furthermore, critical consciousness intentionally centers translanguaging in bilingual schools as a way to resist monoglossic ideology. Finally, Dorner et al. (2023) argue that "we have moved from conceiving of critical consciousness as another pillar or goal to advocating for it as the very foundation of DLBE" (p. 4).

At its core, critical consciousness is a call to return to the ideal of TWDL bilingual education as a radical model centering students from raciolinguistically minoritized groups, particularly heritage language speakers (Dorner et al., 2023; García, 2009). In contrast to the banking model of education that seeks to further oppress minoritized groups (Freire, 2018), critical consciousness breaks barriers among actors by amplifying the voices of the most historically minoritized groups (Palmer et al., 2019; Dorner et al., 2023). Most importantly for the present study, critical consciousness represents a departure from the wholly pessimistic raciolinguistic research landscape presented in the forthcoming literature review. Rather than focusing entirely on unsolvable problems, critical consciousness provides actionable steps away from raciolinguistic inequity and promise for greater equity in the future.

Raciolinguistics in Bilingual Education

Language, Culture, and Identity

The present study is focused on raciolinguistic equity in bilingual education; as such, it is critical to develop a common understanding of language and race. *Language* can be theorized in many ways, but framing language as ideology is the most appropriate for this study, as it emphasizes the intimate link between language and power (Kumaravadivelu, 2006). In this view, all language is inherently political and molded by dominant groups, and it can be used as a tool of domination and control (Kumaravadivelu, 2006). Viewing language as ideology illuminates the inseparable link between language and culture (Gounari, 2006; Macedo et al., 2016). These fundamental connections between language and culture shape the way that English hegemony affects and erases culture; as Gounari (2006) explains, "since language is always intertwined with culture, cultural invasion is intimately tied to linguistic invasion" (p. 8). Opponents of bilingual education often promote learning English as a ticket to higher social mobility, which thinly disguises the intention to undermine and erase non-dominant cultures (Gounari, 2006). As such, it is critical to frame language as ideology that is inextricably tied to both power and culture in order to simultaneously analyze multiple layers of in/equity in bilingual spaces.

The structures of power and domination present in the 'language as ideology' framework also affect how individuals adopt, modify, and discard identities. Post-structuralist scholars frame identity development as a lifelong construction and reconstruction of self (Block, 2008). Identities fluctuate, and individuals can adopt conflicting (Castells, 2009) or situation-specific identities (Block, 2008; Bucholtz & Hall,

2004). While individuals have a wide array of identities from which to choose, increased social power enables greater identity choice (May, 1998). For example, white queer folx hold a mix of marginalized and dominant identities, as whiteness is unmarked but queerness is marked. Despite holding a marginalized identity, whiteness affects how their queerness is perceived and provides them more privilege and protection than is afforded to queer folx of Color (Riggs, 2010). Some identities, like whiteness, are so socially powerful that they become the default, visible only when it is convenient for the individual. These unmarked identities hold power over their marked counterparts, identities which are always highly visible and less socially powerful (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Race and Raciolinguistic Ideology

One identity group that is a cornerstone of the present study is racial identity. Race is a social construct that has been used to legitimize "difference among social groups based on perceived biological characteristics" (Kubota & Lin, 2009, p. 5) in order to consolidate power and exert force through conquest and colonization. Racialization and racism work in tandem and reinforce each other; racialization creates racist systems which perpetuate socially fabricated racial differences by systematically disenfranchising groups with lower status, and racist systems use racialization to oppress those same groups. Racism can be framed as a structure that includes both discourses and practices, and these occur at every level from the individual to the systemic. While racism is often attributed to individual actions, shifting the focus to racism as a collective discourse allows for a discussion of the societal norms and ideas that create such a powerful system (Kubota & Lin, 2009).

Race intersects with other identities; as such, racism intersects with other systems of injustice related to language, class, or gender. Flores and Rosa (2015) use the term *raciolinguistic ideology* to describe the ways in which structures of racial and linguistic power reinforce each other. They posit that the United States systematically favors whiteness and English and revolves around the theoretical white, English-speaking listener. Similar to the theoretical white or male gaze, English speaking norms are oriented around this theoretical listener in both English and minoritized language contexts. In English contexts, non-white speakers are expected to lose any non-standard accent and to refrain from any codeswitching which may detract from the theoretical listener's comfort. In minoritized language settings, heritage or native speakers are perceived as inferior to white, native English speakers because their linguistic practices deviate from the 'standard' academic discourse to which the theoretical listener is most accustomed (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

A raciolinguistic lens can help to explain why the linguistic practices of non-English speakers are routinely perceived as deviant and policed. White listening subjects perceive 'accents' to be stronger when the speaker is perceived to be a person of Color (Kutlu, 2020); in this way, race and language work in tandem to reinforce each other and strengthen bias. Furthermore, the way that people of Color are positioned as 'looking [X race]' versus 'being [X race]' indicates who is positioning; the former is based on the way that a white outsider perceives the individual, while the latter is based on how the individual perceives themself (Fallas et al., 2022). For instance, phrases like 'looking Black' and 'being Black' are used interchangeably, but the emphasis is clearly different. 'Being Black' allows the individual to

own their identity, while ‘looking Black’ is based on the way a white outsider perceives them.

Similarly, individuals in the Latine community may struggle with tensions between ‘looking Latine’ and ‘being Latine’, particularly at the intersection of race and language. Latine people are sometimes perceived as ‘looking Latine’ only if they speak fluent Spanish; if they only speak English, they are perceived as ‘looking white’ since they do not fit the white expectation for how a Latine person looks and sounds. Latine people experience shame and embarrassment when their racial and linguistic identities are perceived to be at odds, such as when they speak little or no Spanish but ‘look Latine’ to a white interlocuter. However, even if they speak fluent Spanish, Latine folx may still be perceived as raciolinguistically deviant if their Spanish does not measure up to their interlocuter’s standards. Language that is either too formal, suggesting too much academic Spanish instruction, or too vernacular, suggesting too little academic Spanish instruction, can be perceived by a white interlocuter as a sign of inauthenticity and can cause a mismatch between how the Latine person is perceived racially and linguistically (Fallas et al., 2022).

Critical Race Theory

In addition to raciolinguistics, Critical Race Theory is a crucial lens through which to analyze data from the present study. Critical Race Theory, or CRT, is a legal framework that explicitly connects race and the law, and it draws clear throughlines between slavery of the past and racism in the present. While most of CRT is tangentially relevant to this paper, a few components are specifically critical to this study. First, CRT scholars situate racism as an aspect of the past that continues into the present in different forms; although some racist

practices like slavery have been abolished, racism continues to be present in both policy and everyday practice. Another key tenet of CRT that applies to this study is intersectionality, the notion that race intersects with other identities and creates differences in lived experiences (Crenshaw et. al, 1996).

Additionally, CRT has produced several offshoots that address the intersection of race with other identities that are particularly relevant for this study. Proposed by Allison Crump in 2014, LangCrit is an offshoot of CRT derived within the TESOL/ESL space to address overlaps between race and language. Crump (2014) conceptualizes LangCrit through an ecosocial lens, asserting that identity, language, and race are both fluid and fixed within the ecosystem. They are locally constructed and, therefore, fluid, in individual interactions; however, they are simultaneously fixed at the systemic level. Several aspects of LangCrit are particularly relevant to this paper, principally the inherent connection between race and language. This aspect of LangCrit is connected Flores and Rosa's (2015) concept of raciolinguistic ideology, another fundamental theory underpinning this paper. Another relevant tenet of LangCrit is the ecosocial lens, or the way in which individuals and larger systems interact and influence one another (Crump, 2014).

As the present study takes place at a school with a substantial Latine population, LatCrit is a vital theoretical perspective in examining racism and linguicism in the Latine population. Developed at the turn of the 21st century, LatCrit examines social justice issues within the Latine population with a particular focus on intragroup variability through the practices of "rotating centers" and "shifting bottoms". LatCrit scholars view issues from multiple viewpoints, periodically decentering one viewpoint in order to center another

perspective, effectively creating a “rotating center”. Scholars also acknowledge that the “bottom”, or most oppressed group in the social order, differs depending on the issue and perspective; as such, “shifting bottoms” captures this variability (Valdes & Bender, 2021). LatCrit principles of “rotating centers” and “shifting bottoms” help to explain intragroup variability in the Latine community. For example, in-group racism and skin color privilege within the Latine community is prevalent, with darker-skinned Latine folx experiencing racism from lighter-skinned members of the Latine community (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). A 2006 study by Araújo and Borell found that darker-skinned Latine folx in the United States had worse mental health outcomes than their lighter-skinned counterparts. As such, LatCrit is an important framework for examining these varied experiences within the Latine community, particularly those along racial or linguistic lines.

Given the intimate connections among language, identity, and race, LangCrit and LatCrit are both crucial frameworks through which to understand social justice issues for students in TWDL Spanish/English programs, such as the school at which the present study is conducted. Both LangCrit and LatCrit help to explain shifts in identity and privilege; LangCrit explains these differences based on where they occur within the ecosystem while LatCrit explains them based on which identity is centered.

Raciolinguistics and Critical theories overlap in meaningful ways that provide the theoretical foundation for the present study. Principally, raciolinguistics and Critical theories both view racism as a system-wide problem, rather than simply attributing it to the actions of individual actors within a sociopolitical void. As CRT scholars assert, racism is a powerful system that has been entrenched in U.S. history since colonization and slavery began, and it

affects every facet of contemporary society (Crenshaw et al., 1996). As such, this study will analyze actions and interactions within an individual classroom with a clear understanding that individual actions are occurring within a racist sociopolitical context. In the context of this study, individuals' choices are limited and influenced by the racist system in which they live.

Another meaningful overlap between raciolinguistics and Critical theories is the explicit connection between race and language. Raciolinguistics, LangCrit, and LitCrit all position race and language as intimately connected social categories that create hierarchies of power. Race affects how speakers' linguistic practices are perceived, and linguistic practices affect how race is perceived; importantly, raciolinguists note that the theoretical white interlocuter is the gatekeeper who judges whether individuals 'pass' as white or English-speakers. Especially in the present study, which occurs in a multilingual and multiracial community with a substantial Latine population, an explicit connection between race and language is imperative to understanding how individuals are positioned and position themselves.

Dysconscious Racism

Although racism is systemic, it is also connected to individuals within those systems. Crump (2014) proposes this bidirectional influence between individuals and systems in the tenets of LangCrit, and this framing helps to understand both views simultaneously. Consider the lobby bulletin board from Chapter 1 (Figure 1). Individuals within a racists system may look at the bulletin board and marvel at how 'progressive' it is that both English and Spanish are used simultaneously; however, this understanding is limited because English is still the

clearly dominant language in the bulletin board. Individuals who feel that the bulletin board is 'progressive' are not ignoring the linguistic power dynamics present in the bulletin board. Rather, their thinking may be distorted.

One way of explaining this distorted thinking that individuals may experience within a racist system is through *dysconscious racism*. King (1991) argues that racism is dysconscious, or a "distorted way of thinking about race" (p. 135), rather than the absence of thinking about race. She proposes *dysconscious racism* to capture this distorted or disconnected way of thinking about race and passive acceptance of existing white supremacy. She notes that racism is not unconscious, or outside of consciousness; she chooses *dysconscious* to capture the fact that racism is within our consciousness but is misunderstood and distorted. In her work, King frames racism as systemic but chooses to focus on how this systemic racism affects the ways that individuals living within a racist society conceptualize race (King, 1991). She is not ignoring the systemic nature of racism or suggesting that individuals are to blame for systemic racism; rather, she chooses to examine how individuals within a systemically racist society understand and speak about race (King, 1991). For instance, individuals who exhibit dysconscious views of race may believe that racism exists only in the past or that folx of Color are inherently inferior to whites (King, 1991). They may be unaware of structural advantages given to whites or that racism exists independently of other systems of oppression (King, 1991). According to King (1991), this dysconsciousness develops in individuals as a result of living in a racist society that defaults to whiteness. King argues that dysconscious thinking makes it difficult for individuals to distinguish between overt bigotry and upholding the status quo, and they often equate the

absence of bigotry with the absence of racism (1991). For instance, students or staff looking at that lobby bulletin board may have a difficult time critically analyzing the raciolingual subtext because, although they may be thinking explicitly about racism and linguicism, their thinking is distorted by the larger racist system.

Dysconscious racism focuses on the individual level (King, 1991), and it is useful to understand individuals within a larger racist system. In this paper, King's (1991) notion of dysconscious racism will be extended by using it in tandem with LangCrit (Crump, 2014). LangCrit (Crump, 2014) posits that race and language are inherently tied together, and dysconscious racism can be extended to address this raciolinguistic perspective. Furthermore, Crump (2014) proposes an ecosocial lens through which to view raciolinguistics, and this ecosocial lens extends dysconsciousness beyond just the individual level.

Foundational Theoretical Assumptions

The data collected at Quannon will be analyzed with the assumption that language is always tied to culture and race, and it is linked to existing power structures that favor English and whiteness (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Gounari, 2006). This study is also predicated on King's (1991) concept of dysconscious racism, which proposes that individuals engage in altered ways of thinking about race, rather than not thinking about it at all. King's (1991) theory is expanded and used in tandem with LangCrit (Crump, 2014) to posit that dysconscious, or distorted, thinking about raciolinguistics occurs at all ecosocial levels, creating bidirectional influence among those levels. When used together, these theories expand on Flores and Rosa's (2015) notion of raciolinguistic ideology and help to critically analyze patterns in raciolinguistic inequity in raciolinguistically diverse spaces like Quannon. In a bilingual

school like Quannon, choosing which language to use for official correspondence or in a hallway bulletin board is ultimately a choice about whether to reinforce or resist English dominance and whiteness. Analyzing these choices with dysconsciousness (King, 1991), critical consciousness (Dorner et al., 2023), and LangCrit (2014) at the forefront allows for a nuanced and thorough analysis of both what is happening in the moment as well as the ripple effects on other actors and spaces within the school community.

However, the Quannon school community has engaged in equity work related to critical consciousness, and some of that work is reflected in the data. Critical consciousness and dysconsciousness are theoretical foes that, when placed on opposite ends of a continuum, allow for a broader scope of data analysis by creating space in the 'messy middle'. When language and race are inherently linked (Flores & Rosa, 2015), many data points do fall somewhere between dysconsciousness and critical consciousness.

The lobby bulletin board from Chapter 1 highlights this ongoing equity work at Quannon, and the bulletin board falls within the 'messy middle' between dysconsciousness and critical consciousness. The posters lean toward critical consciousness as they depict children of Color as powerful, happy, and capable, and they visually center them in the school lobby. This bulletin board departs from white-centered depictions of folx of Color, which tend to center Black suffering, rather than Black joy (Cruz, 2017).

Through a racial lens, the bulletin board leans toward critical consciousness; however, the linguistic lens tells a different story. The text on the posters is in English, prominently displayed in bold white letters. Below each poster, Spanish translations are provided on small pieces of construction paper. The English text is larger, bolder, and

situated above the Spanish translations, all of which sends the message that Spanish was an afterthought. In this bilingual school, centering English reinforces English dominance and dysconscious thinking about language, and the small Spanish text implies that Spanish is a bonus, rather than an integral part of the school culture.

Operating under the assumption that race and language are indisputably linked (Flores & Rosa, 2015), this bulletin board cannot be analyzed fully with either a racial or a linguistic lens. The raciolinguistic analysis allows for two additional key points beyond what was clear from either a racial or linguistic perspective. First, centering folx of Color in the bulletin board is only permissible because it still prioritizes English to partially appease the theoretical white, English monolingual viewer (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Centering both folx of Color and Spanish might incite pushback, so the bulletin board centers one dominant identity to appease the raciolinguistically dominant group. Additionally, centering only English-speaking Black children leaves out the AfroLatine community and reinforces the idea that all Latine folx look a certain way (Fallas et al., 2022). Both of these additional analyses are crucial to understanding this bulletin board, and they highlight the importance of employing a raciolinguistic lens (Flores & Rosa, 2015) to get the most robust analysis.

Literature Review: Raciolinguistic Inequities in Bilingual Education

Within a bilingual school community like Quannon, multiple layers of actors work in parallel and in tandem to reinforce or resist raciolinguistic inequity. Students, teachers, administrators, and parents are all co-creators of the broader school community, and there is abundant existing scholarship on the ways in which raciolinguistic inequity relates to each of these groups (Babino & Stewart, 2017; Chaparro, 2019; Darrah et al., 2020; Freire &

Alemán, 2021; Freire & Feinauer, 2022; Gallo, 2017; García-Mateus, 2020; Jakonen, 2016; Oliveira, 2020; Palmer, 2009; Volk & Angelova, 2007). Papers on raciolinguistic equity in multilingual spaces tend to focus on one group or another; for instance, Gallo (2017) and Oliveira (2020) focus exclusively on experiences of Spanish-speaking Latine families, while Burns (2017) and DeMatthews (2018) focus on principals' equity initiatives. Given that most research focuses on one group of actors or another, the literature in this chapter is presented thematically by these groups: students, teachers, parents, and administrators. Additionally, as Quannon is a TWDL school, much of the literature review on bilingual education focuses on TWDL specifically.

TWDL Students

Within an individual TWDL classroom, raciolinguistic inequities affect the way students interact, position themselves, and progress academically; as such, positioning theory, raciolinguistics, and Critical theories all serve as the theoretical foundation necessary to analyze classrooms. As students interact with one another and with the teacher, they position themselves and are positioned by their fellow actors. The choices they make within the social storyline of the interaction are shaped by the positions they adopt and the contextual constraints of the storyline. Particularly in TWDL classrooms where actors from multiple racial and linguistic backgrounds come together, raciolinguistics is an important lens through which to understand how race and language work in tandem to determine available choices and positions within the storyline.

Friendships

Friendships are an integral part of the dynamics of any classroom, but they are especially interesting in multiracial and/or multilinguistic classrooms, such as TWDL classrooms. For young elementary school children, having many friends increases students' social standing in class. Friendship is indexed through physical proximity and platonic touch, such as sitting next to each other or holding hands, as well as through shared time outside of school. Young children struggle to navigate the dynamics of large friend gatherings, preferring to pair off with one other close friend at a time (Hruska, 2007). Even for young children who are just beginning to form social connections, friendship is bound by social norms and rules.

For Latine children, making friends within these social norms and rules can be difficult, given their contextual constraints. A key component of close friendship for young children is spending time outside of school together, such as at a sleepover or a shared social event. However, for Latine families that place greater emphasis on family time than white families, it can be difficult to engage in this out of school bonding time with friends, which puts these students at a disadvantage (Hruska, 2007). Furthermore, racially segregated neighborhoods increase the distance students must travel to see each other outside of school and lessens opportunities for cross-racial friendships. Finally, the status of students' home language in the classroom has an impact on their perceived worth as a friend. If Spanish is not valued in the classroom and bilingualism is not seen as an asset, Spanish-speakers or bilinguals may have more difficulty making friends with English monolinguals (Hruska, 2007).

Young children are keenly aware of the role that native language plays in forming friendships. When given audio recordings of two Spanish-speaking children and one English-speaking child, children as young as four years old will match the two Spanish-speakers as friends over a cross-linguistic pairing. If this ability generalizes to the classroom, this means that elementary school students understand that shared language is a key component of friendship, and they may act accordingly. At about age 10, children begin to notice the role that language variation plays in friendship; when given audio recordings of speakers of different Spanish dialects, ten-year-old children will pair speakers of the same dialects (Arredondo & Gelman, 2019). Again, these findings indicate that older elementary school students may utilize language dialect as a relevant factor in forming friendships.

However, the potential for cross-racial or cross-linguistic friendships is not all lost. While white children prefer to befriend other white children over Latine children (Hruska, 2007), other factors can affect how strictly white children adhere to this bias. A 2005 study found that bilingual classrooms most reduced white children's biases about friendships with Latine children, while raciolinguistically integrated monolingual classrooms had a weaker effect (Wright & Tropp). Thus, the value that bilingual classrooms place on raciolinguistic diversity may have a positive effect on cross-racial or cross-linguistic friendships.

Language Power and Use

Outside of the role that it plays in forming friendships, language plays an integral role in the TWDL classroom. Within an individual TWDL classroom, English prevails as the dominant language and affects how the minoritized language is used. Teachers are more likely to use English in the Spanish classroom than to use Spanish in the English classroom

(de Jong & Howard, 2009). Additionally, they often adjust their vocabulary instruction to serve the needs of white English-speaking students with poor minoritized language vocabulary rather than adjusting to provide vocabulary enrichment for native minoritized language speakers (de Jong & Howard, 2009). English speakers take up more than their share of student talk time in the classroom, and they assume that their message is understood by all, even newcomer English Learners, and make no effort to translate or check for understanding (Palmer, 2009). By contrast, Spanish speakers delivering a message in Spanish tend to translate or otherwise ensure that the English speakers understand the message (Palmer, 2009). In summary, many TWDL classrooms are mostly molded by the needs and wishes of English speakers (de Jong & Howard, 2009; Palmer, 2009).

In English TWDL classes, the use of English is virtually uncontested, and language does not detract from student learning (de Jong & Howard, 2009; Palmer, 2009; Volk & Angelova, 2007); by contrast, in Spanish TWDL classes, English speakers question the use of Spanish and sidetrack content learning with discussion and negotiation about Spanish (Volk & Angelova, 2007) and outright demands for translation (Palmer, 2009). Spanish classes then become sites for both remedial Spanish vocabulary and grammar instruction as well as content instruction, in order to accommodate the needs of English speakers (Volk & Angelova, 2007). In an effort to increase participation in Spanish, TWDL Spanish teachers often praise any communication and allow some English in their classes (Palmer, 2009). Adherence to language of instruction is often more flexible in Spanish classrooms than in English ones, which means that English-speakers tend to participate more in Spanish instruction than Spanish-speakers participate in English instruction (Palmer, 2009). In

response to this tension between English and Spanish, some Spanish teachers impose strict rules about language in their classrooms. When English creeps into classroom discussions or small group work, Spanish teachers who redirect students to use Spanish are often met with defiance or sarcasm, rather than compliance (Jakonen, 2016). As a result, Spanish teachers who attempt to maintain a Spanish-only classroom often do so by reducing students' peer interactions, since peer interactions typically result in students using English (Fitts, 2006). Thus, teachers sacrifice peer interaction and discussion in order to promote academic Spanish (Fitts, 2006), which may further reduce students' interest in or enjoyment of the Spanish classroom.

In the TWDL Spanish classroom, register and representation affect the type of Spanish to which students are exposed. Due to strict language separation policies and top-down curriculum mandates, many Spanish TWDL classrooms teach exclusively in an academic register, explicitly prohibiting the use of vernacular Spanish. While these policies are often intending to protect the Spanish classroom from English language encroachment, the result is that it devalues non-standard language and limits students' ability to speak and understand vernacular Spanish. Prohibiting vernacular Spanish is a form of linguicism, and it is critical that students are exposed to both academic and vernacular Spanish (Friere & Feinauer, 2022).

However, it is prudent to use vernacular Spanish carefully in the classroom in order to avoid linguistic appropriation. Many Spanish teachers who are sequential English-Spanish bilinguals learn Spanish in a formal academic setting, which means that their linguistic frame of reference is primarily academic Spanish. As such, these teachers may either hold strong

negative beliefs about the value of vernacular Spanish or be unaware of vernacular forms altogether. The answer to the lack of vernacular Spanish is not for sequential English-Spanish bilinguals to appropriate vernacular forms and terms; this is problematic in the same way as a white teacher adopting and appropriating AAVE. Rather, Friere and Feinauer (2022) suggest that teachers seek out and incorporate authentic literature and other classroom materials that utilize vernacular Spanish. They note that this may be difficult due to the fact that some vernacular Spanish forms are captured primarily in oral, rather than written, narratives; however, they urge bilingual educators to do their best to incorporate authentic examples of vernacular Spanish into the classroom whenever possible (Friere & Feinauer, 2022).

A 1999 case study (McCollum) examined the reasons why students who had attended a TWDL elementary program began to devalue Spanish over the course of three years in middle school. In the Spanish Language Arts (SLA) classroom, vernacular Spanish was frequently devalued, and native Spanish-speakers were ridiculed for using vernacular Spanish instead of the teacher-approved formal Spanish. As the SLA teacher continued to explicitly devalue the students' varieties of Spanish, native Spanish-speakers participated less in class and began to lose interest in their native language. The same SLA teacher who devalued vernacular Spanish consistently praised any attempt an English-speaker made to communicate in Spanish; this double standard of 'correct' Spanish further dissuaded Spanish-speakers from communicating in class (McCollum, 1999).

McCollum's case study highlights the role that perceived language value plays in the TWDL classroom. When students get the message that one language holds more power than the other, they begin to devalue the less prestigious language. The case study also shows the

extent to which teacher attitudes play a key role in how students understand their linguistic identities and the value they place on each language. Given that teachers play a key role in the TWDL setting, it is critical to examine them in isolation.

TWDL Teachers

Within the TWDL classroom, race affects the ways in which teachers position themselves and their students. As of the 2020-2021 school year, white teachers make up about 80% of the workforce (National Center for Educational Statistics, n.d.); given this overwhelming majority, it is critical to examine the ways in which whiteness affects teacher positionality. In line with previous scholarship (Bazemore-Bertrand & Handsfield, 2019; Flores et al., 2018), this paper adopts the stance that teacher identity and experience is a function of the broader sociopolitical landscape, rather than an individual's choices made within a sociopolitical void. As such, all negative trends will be understood as evidence of systemic, rather than individual, faults. Additionally, the existing literature on teachers and race tends to focus explicitly on either white teachers or teachers of Color separately; few studies examine both groups together. Thus, the upcoming sections are presented categorically as 'White Teachers' and 'Teachers of Color' to reflect the way that much of the existing scholarship categorizes research on teachers.

White Teachers

Teacher preparation programs and mandates are structured to heavily favor white candidates. In many teacher preparation programs, 'diversity' courses where race is discussed are separated from the rest of the coursework (Sleeter, 2017). Furthermore, race is not always discussed explicitly in these courses, as 'culture' is discussed instead of race in

order to maintain white students' comfort and naivety about their complicity in racism (Sleeter, 2017). Additionally, teacher preparation program schedules cater to full-time students, with most classes occurring during traditional Monday-Friday working hours; this schedule eliminates otherwise qualified candidates who may need to work or have other familial obligations and cannot attend full-time (Sleeter, 2017). Aside from the logistical barriers, teacher candidates of Color face several cultural costs, or situations in which they must decide how and whether to compromise their values to maintain their status in the program (Archer et al., 2022). They assert that teacher candidates of Color face the costs of cultural dissonance, belonging uncertainty, and stereotype threat in teacher preparation programs (Archer et al., 2022).

When white teacher candidates enter the classroom, they adopt multiple conflicting positionalities with regard to race (Maddamsetti, 2020). In an effort to prove that they are not racist, white teachers often adopt a white intellectual alibi (Leonardo & Zemblyas, 2013). They uphold a false dichotomy of 'good white people' and 'racist white people', positioning themselves within the former category in order to assuage any guilt about their complicity in racism (Leonardo & Zemblyas, 2013; Maddamsetti, 2020). Additionally, white teachers sometimes use 'culture' as interchangeable with 'race' to avoid discussions about the latter that they perceive as uncomfortable (Taylor, 2017). In reframing the discussion around 'culture' instead of race, white teachers both preserve their comfort and reinforce the narrative that they are 'good white people' (Leonardo & Zemblyas, 2013; Taylor, 2017). Finally, some white teachers employ racial touchstones, or personal experiences with race, in order to attempt to understand their students of Color (Taylor, 2017). Taylor (2017) notes

that her focal teacher used her experiences studying abroad as racial touchstones to make connections with students. However, as the white focal teacher framed the racial touchstones in terms of 'culture' rather than race, she was able to uphold her white intellectual alibi and assuage her guilt (Taylor, 2017).

Teachers of Color

While white teachers make up the majority of the teaching workforce, teachers of Color are an important segment of the education workforce and can bring underrepresented and underrecognized experiences and benefits to schools and classrooms. First and foremost, some teachers of Color bring their traumatic or invalidating school experiences with them when they re-enter classrooms as teachers. For instance, Briceño and colleagues (2018) found that Heritage Spanish speaking (HSS) teacher candidates intending to teach in bilingual settings often have internalized that their Spanish is poor or insufficient, citing that their vernacular Spanish does not measure up to the theoretical 'standard' Spanish. If they were educated in English-only schools, HSS teacher candidates may not have the academic vocabulary and syntax required to teach in Spanish, and they often find themselves relearning their native language in college in order to learn to speak 'the right way'. For many HSS teacher candidates, these language-based traumas of feeling linguistically broken or wrong come with them when they re-enter the classroom, and they are assumptions they sometimes inadvertently pass along to students (Briceño et al., 2018).

Teachers of Color may also bring with them other racial traumas they experienced in school, such as racial slurs and teachers' low expectations (Kohli, 2009). They may remember how they were invisible in their Eurocentric curriculum, maybe learning about

their history for a specific month or mini-unit in class (Kohli, 2009). As such, teachers of Color might see schools as sites of trauma, and many enter the profession as an act of resistance (Teacher of Color Collective & Souto-Manning, 2022). As the Teacher of Color Collective and Souto-Manning (2022) put it, “If our experience is any indication, teachers of Color do not enter the profession because they had happy experiences in schooling, but because they want to right the wrongs” (p. 72).

Inside schools, teachers of Color may continue to experience racism, just as they did when they were students. Sometimes, teachers of Color among mostly white faculty oscillate between being invisible and being a highly visible token teacher for a particular racial group (Guerra & Rodriguez, 2022). Often, the expertise of teachers of Color is overlooked when it creates discomfort for white teachers (Duncan, 2019; Guerra & Rodriguez, 2022). Finally, teachers of Color are frequently burdened with carrying anti-racism work when uncomfortable white teachers refuse to participate (Duncan, 2019).

The benefits of teachers of Color for minoritized students are often codified in quantitative studies on student-teacher ethnic matching. A national study of secondary education found that Black teachers held higher expectations for their Black students than did the students’ other non-Black teachers. The effects were further pronounced for student-teacher combinations that shared neither race nor gender, such as white female teachers of Black male students (Gershenson et al., 2016). These findings suggest that both race and gender mismatching affect how teachers perceive their students and, therefore, what they expect of them academically.

Other research focused on student-teacher ethnic matching has found that it has the most positive effect on achievement for elementary students, especially when the teacher teaches the student for multiple subjects (Hwang et al., 2022; Redding, 2019). Additionally, student-teacher ethnic matching is linked to more favorable ratings of externalizing behaviors, such as disruption and disrespect (Redding, 2019). Despite this, inconsistent evidence exists to demonstrate that student-teacher ethnic matching results in lower levels of exclusionary discipline, as may be anticipated from the more favorable behavioral ratings (Redding, 2019).

However, teachers of Color bring substantial qualitative assets to their schools and students. Some teachers of Color willingly engage in additional duties, like translation or helping families navigate school forms, because they recognize the impact that these supports had on them as students (Guerra & Rodriguez, 2022). They also prioritize making strong, lasting connections with students and their families (Guerra & Rodriguez, 2022). While the labor often goes unrecognized, these extra duties have profound positive impacts in the lives of minoritized students. Additionally, teachers of Color intervene on behalf of their non-white students in order to call out and contest racism (Duncan, 2019). Furthermore, teachers of Color authentically connect to their students' cultures and languages by organizing school multicultural events or centering non-white cultural references and topics in the classroom (Burciaga & Kohli, 2018). In a myriad of ways, teachers of Color positively contribute to the lives of their students and the climate in their schools by leveraging their underrepresented cultural and linguistic assets.

Given the overwhelmingly positive benefits that teachers of Color bring to education, it is critical to briefly touch on teacher education programs because racist practices discourage teacher candidates of Color. First and foremost, white gatekeepers at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) systematically push out teacher candidates of Color as well as teacher educators of Color (Teacher of Color Collective & Souto-Manning, 2022). Also, teacher candidates of Color are often required to sit through general courses on diversity and racism but are silenced when they bring up their lived experiences on the topic; this prevents them from expressing and healing their traumas (Teacher of Color Collective & Souto-Manning, 2022). They do not need to learn about racism in teacher preparation courses because they have already lived it; rather, PWIs should work to center non-white expertise and experiences in order to more authentically counter racism (Kohli, 2009). Finally, teacher preparation programs at PWIs must change the curriculum to center voices and experiences of Color, particularly expressions of joy and brilliance (Teacher of Color Collective & Souto-Manning, 2022).

Teacher Positioning

Teachers, especially white teachers, position and reposition themselves as they navigate questions of race and language with their non-white students. In addition to positioning and repositioning themselves, teachers also position their students. Yoon (2008) found a link between the way teachers positioned themselves with regard to teaching ELs and outcomes for the ELs in their classes. Teachers who positioned themselves as teachers for all students, rather than just for English speakers, interacted differently with their ELs and created more positive classroom environments. Additionally, these teachers who asserted that

they were teachers for all students tended to assume more responsibility for the linguistic needs of their EL students, rather than relegating that work to the ESL teacher. Yoon (2008) also found that monolingual English speakers picked up on their teachers' attitudes toward the ELs in class and adjusted their peer interactions accordingly.

A 2009 case study of a content teacher found that the teacher positioned himself and his EL students in complementary ways; specifically, he positioned himself as a competent teacher of ELs and positioned his ELs as competent and independent learners (Reeves, 2009). Reeves found that positioning ELs either 'like other students' or 'different from other students' could be problematic; the former may result in insufficient linguistic scaffolding, while the latter may result in lowered content standards. Finally, Reeves (2009) asserted that teachers position themselves and their ELs in ways that advance their own goals, rather than focusing on what is truly best for the student.

In the TWDL classroom specifically, teachers position their students based on their perceived proficiency. Perceived proficiency is co-constructed by teachers and students; while it can change from situation to situation, a student's overall perceived proficiency stays static, as students are categorized as 'English speakers' or 'newcomers' long after those labels stop fitting them (Martin-Beltran, 2010). When teachers translanguage during a language-specific class, such as the English teacher repeating an important announcement in Spanish, it can be interpreted as the teacher positioning some students as non-members of the class who require specific invitation to participate in the lesson (Martin-Beltran, 2010). When fluent minoritized language speakers are positioned as peer models in group work, they are often used as translators since English speakers have difficulty completing tasks and

conversing in the minoritized language (de Jong & Howard, 2009). Furthermore, teachers in TWDL settings favor students who speak in academic registers, thereby perceiving minoritized language learners from middle-class backgrounds as having more robust language skills than native speakers from working-class backgrounds (García-Mateus, 2020).

Teachers in TWDL settings are social actors working within the constraints of a racist system, and the system continues to favor white English-speaking students, even in bilingual contexts where Spanish should be more valuable. One systemic constraint is the teacher education system, which is set up to favor already privileged teacher candidates, thereby maintaining a largely homogenous teaching force that does not match the raciolinguistic identities of most students (Archer et al., 2022; Sleeter, 2017). Additionally, often teachers of Color who do become certified teachers are disrespected and positioned as deviant when they speak up about the injustices they see in their schools, further reinforcing racist systems and policies (Duncan, 2019; Guerra & Rodriguez, 2022). As a result of racist systems in schools, teachers position students of Color or non-native English speakers in ways that affect their ability to succeed (Reeves, 2009; Yoon, 2008). Importantly, these positionings are not the result of individual teachers' beliefs in isolation; rather, are evidence of systemic ills.

Both students and teachers are key actors in classrooms, and they form part of the classroom ecosystem. While they are not typically inside the classroom, parents are another important group in the classroom ecosystem. Like all social actors, parents' choices in matters like neighborhood preference and community organization are constrained by the racist sociopolitical world in which they live. However, parents' choices as a collective create constraints for the student and teacher actors within a classroom. Thus, it is imperative

to frame them as key actors within the bilingual classroom; their presence may be invisible, but their influence is plentiful.

TWDL Parents

Neighborhoods and School Choice

Parents are key actors in schools and, through avenues like school choice and formal associations, they have substantial influence over the ways schools operate. Parents' influence in schools begins with the neighborhood in which they settle. Many white middle class parents elect to live in a racially diverse neighborhood as a way to demonstrate their commitment to diversity; they view this sort of neighborhood choice as a way to provide their children with additional social capital to prepare them for 'the real world', as well as cultural enrichment (Darrah et al., 2020; Kimelberg & Bellingham, 2013). These parents hope for their children to be 'cultured', contrasting racially diverse 'cultured' spaces with majority white spaces which "would make their children generic and boring" (Evans, 2021, p. 12). At the same time, they do not want them to adopt habits they associate with Black or brown kids, such as African American Vernacular English (AAVE) or particular styles of dress (Evans, 2021). Many of these white parents who grew up in racially segregated neighborhoods feel that a racially diverse neighborhood will provide their children with better outcomes than they had (Kimelberg & Bellingham, 2013), and they feel that theoretically valuing racial diversity positions them as more 'woke' and racially aware in comparison to their peers (Evans, 2021). In short, progressive white parents who say that they appreciate diversity do so not in the interest of true racial justice but with their own motives to increase their cultural and social capital (Evans, 2021)

While racial diversity seen as a theoretical ideal for many some white families, holding diversity as a value does not always change behavior (Darrah et al., 2020). White families looking for diverse neighborhoods seek a particular racial blend that still maintains their racial dominance, and they are uncomfortable with neighborhoods and schools in which their white children would be the numerical minority (Darrah et al., 2020; Evans, 2021). Even for high-earning white couples who theoretically value racial diversity and have great choice in neighborhoods, racial diversity is not one of the driving factors in deciding where to live (Darrah et al., 2020). Finally, white parents are very sensitive to changes in neighborhood racial makeup and rate schools more poorly when the percentage of Black residents/students in the neighborhood changes as little as 7% (Goyette et al., 2012).

One of the most fundamental ways in which parents exert considerable control over schools is through school choice, or the ability to choose which school their children attend. Faced with choosing a school for their children, economically advantaged white parents rely on the qualitative judgements of their social networks, rather than any quantitative metrics like test scores, to decide where to send their children (Holme, 2002; Kimelberg & Bellingham, 2013). In practice, this often means that white parents choose the schools to which their friends send their children, because those schools are positioned as ‘good schools’ (Holme, 2002; Kimelberg & Bellingham, 2013). Interestingly, white parents in racially diverse neighborhoods who espouse the theoretical benefits of racial integration still choose to follow the recommendations of their white friends whose children went to private schools instead of their non-white neighbors whose children attended the neighborhood public schools (Holme, 2002).

When white parents qualitatively evaluate public schools, their reasons for choosing or not choosing a particular school are centered around anti-Black stereotypes, even if they never say so (Evans, 2021). For instance, white parents categorize schools with low-income or non-English speaking students as having poor instructional quality; however, what they are really reacting to is the proportion of Black and brown students (Holme, 2002). Additionally, white parents express concerns about school violence without quantitative evidence of such violence, and they equate higher proportions of Black and brown students with increased violence (Holme, 2002). For parents who seek out racial diversity, it is acceptable to white parents only if the non-white students are perceived as high achievers (Holme, 2002).

For many Black and brown parents, neighborhood and school diversity is also important, but the benefits are more tangible (Darrah et al., 2020). For them, racially diverse neighborhoods reduce the crime rate and improve school quality, both of which measurably improve their children's educational opportunities (Darrah et al., 2020). However, even in 'good' schools, educational tracking often bars Black and brown students from accessing the high-quality instruction the school provides (Posey-Maddox et al., 2021). Additionally, a poor racial climate can have serious emotional consequences for racially minoritized students and can make it difficult for them to succeed (Posey-Maddox et al., 2021). As such, Black and brown parents are constantly assessing the risks and benefits of sending their children to 'good' predominantly white and affluent schools; while the instructional quality may be high, it does not negate the emotional consequences of an overtly racist school climate (Posey-Maddox et al., 2021).

Parents as Partners in Education

In the TWDL context specifically, parents' experiences with school systems and personnel are highly variable, based on race and language. Gallo (2017) found that Mexican fathers were misunderstood in their efforts to participate actively in their children's schooling, and they were either perceived as passive or overbearing. These perceptions were inconsistent across racial and gender lines, as both Mexican mothers and white parents were perceived more positively than Mexican fathers (Gallo, 2017). Similarly, Oliveira (2020) found that Mexican female caregivers' school involvement was largely misunderstood by New York City public school teachers. The teachers described the Mexican mothers as uninvolved and unable to help, despite the mothers' emphasis on the importance of participating actively in schooling and raising educated children (Oliveira, 2020). Due both to language barriers and to mismatched perceptions about caregiver involvement, the Mexican mothers felt disempowered in the school context (Oliveira, 2020). Together, these case studies point to clear communication and cultural barriers between teachers and non-white families.

One way that parents can attempt to overcome these barriers is to network with other minoritized parents to push for systemic changes. A study of Black parents at a predominantly white private school found that they were apprehensive about being pushed out of the school due to race and frustrated about unclear communication from teachers regarding their children's academic progress. The parents invoked their community cultural wealth, employing counterstrategies like proactive communication with teachers and networking with other Black families (Bolgatz et al., 2020).

Teachers, like those in Gallo's (2017) and Oliveira's (2020) studies, misunderstand parent involvement for a variety of reasons. Many teachers understand parent involvement to include a limited set of activities, like attending field trips and helping with homework, and they discount other forms of parent involvement that deviate from these 'approved' activities (Gallo, 2017). These traditional parent involvement activities focus on families providing support to the school, rather than the school providing support to families (Gallo, 2017). Additionally, some teachers hold deficit assumptions that immigrant or lower SES parents are less willing to participate in schools; however, a case study of TWDL parent participation found that neither parent education/income nor foreign-born status predicted their participation in school (Ee, 2017). Rather, school climate and interaction with other parents predicted increased participation in school activities (Ee, 2017).

In addition to involvement in school activities, another critical aspect of parent involvement that teachers often point to is engaging children in literacy activities at home, like shared reading. White teachers may mistakenly assume that all Latino/a families are a monolith and adopt the same types and frequencies of home literacy practices. However, a 2014 study found that Latino/a parents' literacy practices varied along socioeconomic, religious, linguistic, and geographic lines. For instance, the group of foreign-born, LSD/Protestant, Spanish-speaking parents read to their children in English about as much as US-born, Catholic, English-speaking parents. Furthermore, two of the clusters of Spanish-speaking parents who differed only on religious affiliation differed substantially in the frequency with which they read to their children in Spanish, suggesting that religion played a

role in the way that Spanish literacy was enacted outside of school (Feinauer & Whiting, 2014).

In summary, parents play a vital role in the dynamics in classrooms. White parents especially adopt multiple conflicting identity positions with regard to racial diversity and school choice. Ultimately, the way that white parents deal with the cognitive dissonance of their conflicting positions on diversity is by continuing to self-segregate in white neighborhoods and schools. Again, it is critical to understand that white parents are not making this choice independently; they are actors in a storyline, and their acting choices are limited by the racist history of the United States.

When parents do interact with school systems, the way that teachers and school personnel position them affects the quality of their experience. Parents of Color and Spanish-speaking parents are routinely misunderstood and positioned as deviant, particularly when their forms of parental involvement in school activities do not align with what teachers expect.

TWDL Administrators and Policies

The final actors in classroom storylines are administrators and other schoolwide personnel who affect the storyline at the macro level. The decisions made at the school or district level on topics from curriculum to discipline trickle down to the other actors- students, teachers, and parents- and constrain their choices within the storyline. However, it is important to remember that administrators are also constrained in their choices by greater racist systems; as such, their decisions will be viewed as evidence of systemic issues, rather than the faults of individual decision-makers.

(In)Equity in Staffing

The benefits students gain from a TWDL education vary, based largely on racial and linguistic characteristics (de Jong & Howard, 2009). At the school level, inequitable distribution of support staff may result in English-only academic or behavioral interventions (de Jong & Howard, 2009). Additionally, English monolingual staff sometimes question or ban the use of the minoritized language in non-academic spaces, like the gym or the cafeteria, which sends the message that English is the only valuable language in the TWDL school (Martinez Negrette, 2020). Furthermore, in schools where TWDL is a strand within the school, tensions can arise between the TWDL and mainstream strands as they compete for resources and see different student outcomes (Freire & Aleman, 2021).

Discipline

In racially diverse schools, inequitable discipline practices affect which students benefit most from the school environment and which students receive exclusionary disciplinary actions, like suspensions and expulsions. By age nine, about 10% of students have been suspended; 40% of those students are Black boys, and 15% are Black girls, while only 8% are white boys and 2% are white girls (Jacobsen et al., 2019). According to Fadus et al., exclusionary discipline is 3.5 times more likely for Black students and 1.4 times more likely for students from single-parent households (2021). Exclusionary discipline statistics are particularly important in understanding racist school systems and practices because they indicate lost learning time, which differs in impact from other kinds of discipline that may allow a student to still access learning. Racist exclusionary discipline applied across a

student's career can result in substantial learning loss, particularly for Black and other non-white students.

School personnel play a key role in the way that discipline is enacted in schools. School factors, like resources and teacher training in classroom management and non-exclusionary discipline methods, can affect how disproportionally or equitably discipline is enforced; however, other qualitative factors, such as teacher biases, also affect the ways in which discipline is applied (Jacobsen et al., 2019). One key issue affecting disproportionate discipline referrals is the degree to which categorizations of 'good' and 'bad' behavior align with dominant cultural values (Silva et al., 2015); this is particularly true of subjective disciplinary categories, like 'disrespect' (Smolkowski et al., 2016). For instance, increased instances of subjective discipline in the first 90 minutes of the school day could be partially attributed to cultural mismatches between the home and school environments (Smolkowski et al., 2016). Additionally, in-group bias affects how discipline is applied for subjective offenses, as teachers treat students who share their race or gender more favorably than students who are dissimilar to them (Smolkowski et al., 2016).

Administrators

Principals play a key role in the ways in which bilingualism is perceived within a TWDL school and surrounding community. As they are often contending with issues of racism and linguicism in their work, effective TWDL principals address issues from a justice-oriented perspective (DeMatthews, 2018). For example, a 2020 case study of a Texan TWDL principal illuminated her social justice lens as she actively fought against the racist pleas of wealthy white parents, instead centering the needs of her Mexican-American

families (DeMatthews & Izquierdo). In another case study, TWDL administrators centered the voices and participation of Latine families by adapting traditional methods of parent involvement to better fit their schedules and interests (Burns, 2017). They invited Mexican-American parents to plan school cultural events and to volunteer as lunch monitors, both of which helped the parents to feel authentically involved in the school (Burns, 2017).

At another school, administrators employed counternarratives as a strategy to help school leadership advance anti-racism goals (Blaisdell, 2021). The administrators utilized these counternarratives with the school's equity council to amplify the voices of Black and other minoritized staff in order to counter, disrupt, and destruct mainstream narratives about the school culture (Blaisdell, 2021). By the end of the seven-year study, Blaisdell (2021) noted that staff were having more vulnerable and frequent conversations about racism, and BIPOC families were responding positively to the school's anti-racist focus. These case studies exemplify administrators using a social justice lens to actively center minoritized voices and experiences, a key component of dual language education (Palmer et al., 2019).

Social justice leadership is difficult work to sustain, and it requires that leaders understand justice issues from a variety of standpoints and timescales (DeMatthews, 2018). DeMatthews (2018) notes the importance of using one's leadership position to invite and amplify unheard voices, rather than fighting alone. For example, the Texan TWDL principal (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2020) recognized that her voice alone would not enact changes; in addition to speaking out against the white parents, she sought out and amplified the voices of allies whose perspectives were necessary to the discussion. One hurdle in enacting social justice leadership is attending to multiple conflicting aspects of an issue (DeMatthews, 2018).

School administrators sometimes attend to immediate justice needs with a response that solves the immediate problem but creates other issues later on; DeMatthews (2018) calls on social justice school leaders to do their best within their school's constraints to assess and address justice issues from multiple standpoints. Finally, DeMatthews (2018) urges researchers studying social justice leadership in schools to consider the constraints under which a leader is working when problematizing responses to multifaceted justice issues.

From Existing Literature to Theory

Existing research on raciolinguistic inequities in bilingual education is extensive and encompasses the perspectives of multiple groups of education actors, from students to administrators. Across all of the stakeholder groups, research suggests that the benefits of bilingual education are distributed inequitably, and outcomes are linked to existing power structures that favor English and whiteness. While adherence to monoglossic norms and white racial dominance is problematic in any educational bilingual setting, it is particularly problematic in TWDL schools. Some scholars (Palmer et al., 2019; Dorner et al., 2023) suggest that TWDL schools serve as sites of resistance to existing power structures; however, much of the existing scholarship suggests that English and white dominance remain strong in TWDL schools (Babino & Stewart, 2017; de Jong & Howard, 2009; Palmer et. al, 2019). This tension between the ideals of TWDL schooling and the observable outcomes informs the theoretical orientations taken in the present study. In particular, the present study is predicated upon a raciolinguistic lens (Flores and Rosa, 2015), taking as fact that race and language are inextricably linked to one another and linked to existing power structures. This underlying assumption informs both the theoretical orientations in this chapter as well as the

analysis and discussion of the present data set. As such, the remainder of this chapter outlines critical theoretical orientations upon which the present study is predicated, with a particular emphasis on raciolinguistic equity.

Conclusion

TWDL bilingual education in the United States is framed by some scholars (Palmer et al., 2019) to be a site of resistance to English hegemony. However, as bilingualism has been reframed from a right to a resource, it has become yet another site of monoglossic and racial hegemony (García, 2009; Palmer et al., 2019). Research suggests that the 21st century TWDL bilingual education landscape caters to white English monolinguals in numerous ways. In the contemporary TWDL classroom, the English classroom is a sacred space where monoglossic ideals are strictly upheld, while the Spanish classroom is a site of remedial language instruction and frequent translation (de Jong & Howard, 2009; Palmer, 2009; Volk & Angelova, 2007). These Spanish classrooms are often highly contested, and Spanish teachers make instructional tradeoffs in order to maintain high levels of Spanish use (Fitts, 2006). Despite a racially heterogeneous student population, U.S. schools employ overwhelmingly white teachers who often reinforce existing racial power structures by misunderstanding or ignoring their own racial privilege while positioning themselves as 'good white people', in direct opposition to overt racists (Leonardo & Zemblyas, 2013; Maddamsetti, 2020).

Outside of the classroom, other educational interest groups also perpetuate raciolinguistic norms. Many white parents have an outsize impact on their children's educational experience by using racial diversity as a tool for social capital only when it is convenient and beneficial (Darrah et al., 2020; Kimelberg & Bellingham, 2013). This creates

bilingual schools full of white parents who theoretically value racial diversity as long as it benefits them and their children, and these parents then have the ability to make decisions about school policies and procedures through groups like Parent Teacher Organizations (PTO). While white parents gain increasing amounts of control in bilingual schools, non-English speaking parents face numerous barriers that prevent or limit their participation in their children's education (Bolgatz et al., 2020; Gallo, 2017; Oliveira, 2020). In addition to parents, school administrators play a key role in the way that inequity is perpetuated in schools, particularly through discipline practices (Jacobsen et al., 2019).

Together, all of these actors create an inequitable education system which favors white English monolinguals. While this is problematic in all educational settings, it is particularly egregious in bilingual settings that were originally founded to serve heritage language speakers. Instead of centering students of Color and heritage language speakers, bilingual education now centers and serves white English monolinguals.

While the research on raciolinguistic inequity in bilingual schools is extensive, little research connects the actions of multiple interest groups together, such as demonstrating how parents' attitudes about race and language at school Parent-Teacher Organization (PTO) meetings influence and are influenced by the way that their children enact dysconscious raciolinguicism within the classroom. This connection among actors is critical to understanding dysconscious raciolinguicism as a system, rather than positing that it is the result of individual actions. As such, the present study will focus on these connections among actors, showing the ways in which teacher bulletin boards, parent self-reports, and student behavior is all linked.

Additionally, research on raciolinguistic inequity tends to focus on dysconsciousness alone, leaving out space for conversation about small steps away from dysconsciousness. Equity work takes sustained, consistent effort, and progress is often incremental. Focusing only on dysconsciousness misses the incremental progress, perhaps because it is 'messy' or difficult to define for research.

The present study is an ethnographic case study that builds on existing literature and contributes a framework and language for cohesive analysis of all actors within a school ecosystem. The framework, or continuum, provides a novel structure for analyzing the 'messy middle', or data points that are not entirely dysconscious. The focus is on this 'messy middle' because those incremental steps away from dysconscious action are critical to creating and sustaining change. The 'messy middle' is a useful lens that centers and celebrates these steps away from dysconsciousness. It is intentionally 'messy' and open-ended, a departure from most theoretical frameworks that seek to fit data neatly into boxes.

The lobby bulletin board at Quannon perfectly exemplifies the purpose of the 'messy middle', as it is neither wholly dysconscious nor critically conscious. Raciolinguistically, the bulletin board centers children of Color and English; while the former leans toward critical consciousness, the latter is dysconscious as it positions English as superior to Spanish. The bulletin board, like many policies and practices at Quannon, lies somewhere between dysconsciousness and critical consciousness. It exemplifies the messiness of equity work, acknowledging where dysconsciousness is still present while highlighting steps toward critical consciousness.

CHAPTER 3: THE ‘MESSY MIDDLE’: A CONTINUOUS FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Scholarship on raciolinguistic inequity in bilingual education is rife with studies pointing out the pervasive inequities and prejudices in bilingual schools. In bilingual classrooms, native English speakers are routinely prioritized, which molds instructional practices to meet their linguistic and cultural needs (de Jong & Howard, 2009; Jakonen, 2016; Palmer, 2009). Native English speakers tend to take up more classroom talk time than native Spanish speakers, even in the Spanish classroom (Palmer, 2009). Their influence in the Spanish classroom extends further; they tend to resist speaking in Spanish (Jakonen, 2016) and instruction tends to focus on their emerging skills, rather than on bolstering the complex vocabulary and syntax of native Spanish speakers (de Jong & Howard, 2009). Even outside of the classroom, schools with TWDL programs can be unwelcoming to Spanish and Spanish-speakers (Freire & Alemán, 2021; Martinez Negrette, 2020). Inequalities pervade the parent experience as well, as teachers tend to undervalue or misunderstand parents of Color or parents who do not speak English (Gallo, 2017; Oliveira, 2020). These studies, as

well as numerous others, tell a grim story about equity in bilingual schools (Babino & Stewart, 2017; Fitts, 2006; Freire & Feinauer, 2022; García-Mateus, 2020; Hruska, 2007). This narrative is particularly compelling because bilingual schools can exist as sites of resistance to monoglossic ideology (Dorner et al. 2023), so the contrast between intent and reality is sharper than in raciolinguistically homogeneous monolingual schools. Given that so much background literature informing this paper centers the gross inequities in bilingual schools, the original intention of the study was to add to the existing literature that was already quite extensive. However, throughout the data collection and analysis processes, data points surfaced that did not fit neatly into the intended pessimistic angle. Rather, these data points fell somewhere that was neither 'definitely racist' nor 'definitely anti-racist', in what I refer to as the 'messy middle'. In some contexts, there is value in analyzing in binaries; in raciolinguistic research, binaries can be a helpful tool for calling out explicit racism, such as anti-immigration rhetoric. However, the value of binary analysis is limited, as it is inadequate for capturing the complexity of most research. For example, binary analysis misses the complexity in the actions of individuals with a mix of marked and unmarked identity positions, such as someone who is both white and queer. Analyzing their actions within a binary would leave out much of the complexity and nuance with regard to their identities. On the other hand, analyzing their actions along a continuum of adherence to white hegemony might provide deeper understanding of how their queerness and whiteness interact and affect their actions.

Some existing research also falls in this 'messy middle', neither adhering to dysconsciousness nor perfectly resisting it. In particular, several recent papers about success

stories of principals or schools enacting social justice-oriented or critically conscious pedagogy in their TWDL schools reinforce the utility of this 'messy middle' as a way to capture imperfect progress (Blaisdell, 2021; Burns, 2017; DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2020). For instance, Burns (2017) presents a case study on white parents in a TWDL school, noting some instances administrators push back on the demands of white families. Even when administrators do push back, Burns (2017) argues that they are doing so under the guise of a white intellectual alibi. These administrators' actions are not wholly 'good' or 'problematic'; rather, they are 'messy' and somewhere in the middle. Similarly, Blaisdell (2021) presents research on the effects of using counternarratives in a school equity team. Although using counternarratives has a positive effect on the school climate, Blaisdell (2021) does note that "counternarrative itself won't eliminate systemic racism" (p. 18) and provides some excerpts of staff conversations that prioritize whiteness. In short, the results are 'messy'. Through both reading these papers and analyzing the present data set, the goal of this paper shifted from presenting the data through an existing prism to creating a new framework through which to analyze data on bilingual education. This framework, a continuum, centers the 'messy middle' as the key to visualizing and analyzing progress, as well as providing additional language to critically analyze the nuances that are revealed in qualitative research.

The 'messy middle' is, both conceptually and spatially, the core of a continuum used in this paper to analyze observational data from a bilingual school. This continuum is based on several key theoretical orientations from chapter 2, including critical consciousness (Dorner et al., 2023), LangCrit (Crump, 2014), and dysconscious racism (King, 1991). It is

built upon several common understandings from the theoretical orientations that underscore the roles that race and language play in both oppression and resistance.

Common Understandings

The first common understanding upon which this study is built is that race and language are intimately intertwined (Crump, 2014) and used to reinforce and consolidate power for unmarked identities. In this research context of the United States, the most powerful and unmarked identities are whiteness and English monolingualism. Given that they operate together, the term *raciolinguistic* will be used to denote this connection. Adopting a raciolinguistic perspective helps to explain why both non-white English monolinguals and white multilinguals are perceived as deviant; despite holding either a racial or linguistic unmarked identity, raciolinguistic power structures require holding both racial and linguistic unmarked identities to be perceived as powerful (Crump, 2014).

Additionally, the framework proposed in the present study utilizes and extends existing scholarship on dysconscious racism (King, 1991) and critical consciousness (Dorner et al., 2023). King (1991) proposes dysconscious racism to capture the fact that individuals with racist systems *are* thinking about race, but their thinking is distorted. This distorted thinking affects whether individuals are able to differentiate between upholding and dismantling existing power structures, and it limits critical analysis within a racist society (King, 1991). While this framework was originally focused on racism at the individual level, it can be extended to give perspective to distorted thinking about race and language at all ecosocial levels (Crump, 2014). Dysconscious racism is also extended beyond the original

definition to incorporate both racial and linguistic power structures, rather than just racial power.

Critical consciousness is used in this paper as a theoretical foil for dysconscious racism. Critical consciousness assumes the connection between racial and linguistic identity categories, as well as systems of power that reinforce dominant identities (Dorner et. al, 2023). In contrast to dysconscious racism, critical consciousness focuses on solutions, rather than simply reframing the problem. Dorner and colleagues (2023) propose seven specific and actionable practices that create critically conscious educational spaces, and these practices are used as anchor points for presenting some findings. The present study will utilize both dysconscious raciolinguicism and critical consciousness in tandem to both analyze the problem and propose steps toward a solution. When used together, these theories provide additional language to help scholars explain nuanced findings in bilingual schools.

Justification

Critical consciousness was originally proposed by Paolo Freire in the late 1960s (Freire, 2018), and has been taken up by many, including Palmer and colleagues (2019), within the context of PK-12 education; dysconscious racism was proposed through King's (1991) work in teacher education. While these theories have different origins, both can be used to analyze the data presented in this paper, as well as provide a model and language for qualitative analysis around raciolinguistics. Given the bilingual context in which this study takes place, critical consciousness is directly applicable as a way to analyze the data. It provides a clear goal for what equity in bilingual education should look like, and the seven

guiding actions create clear pathways for making strides toward critical consciousness. Dysconscious racism is less clearly connected to bilingual education, but it parallels and complements critical consciousness in the stance on raciolinguistic power. Both theories take as truth that systems of power and domination operate covertly in society in order to maintain existing power hierarchies and distribution. Given that the present data set includes individuals with a wide array of marked and unmarked raciolinguistic identities, it is important that theories used in analysis make covert systems of power more explicit.

Raciolinguistic equity is nuanced and complex and, while some studies do address this nuance and explicitly discuss areas of promise (Blaisdell, 2021; Burns, 2017; DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2020), many more do not (Babino & Stewart, 2017; Fitts, 2006; Freire & Alemán, 2021; Freire & Feinauer, 2022; García-Mateus, 2020; Hruska, 2007; Jakonen,2016; Palmer, 2009). There is enormous value in analyzing nuance in raciolinguistic equity, as it more accurately represents a complex, messy reality. While nuanced analysis is a common practice in some qualitative research, it is an infrequent practice in research on bilingual schools. Dysconsciousness and critical consciousness are frameworks for better understanding and explaining qualitative research in education, particularly in bilingual programs; and when used together, they provide a lens and language for describing nuanced findings that exist outside of a ‘good’ vs. ‘bad’ binary. As such, the primary contribution of this continuum of dysconsciousness to critical consciousness is additional language that future scholars can use to analyze qualitative research in bilingual education with more nuance.

The Continuum

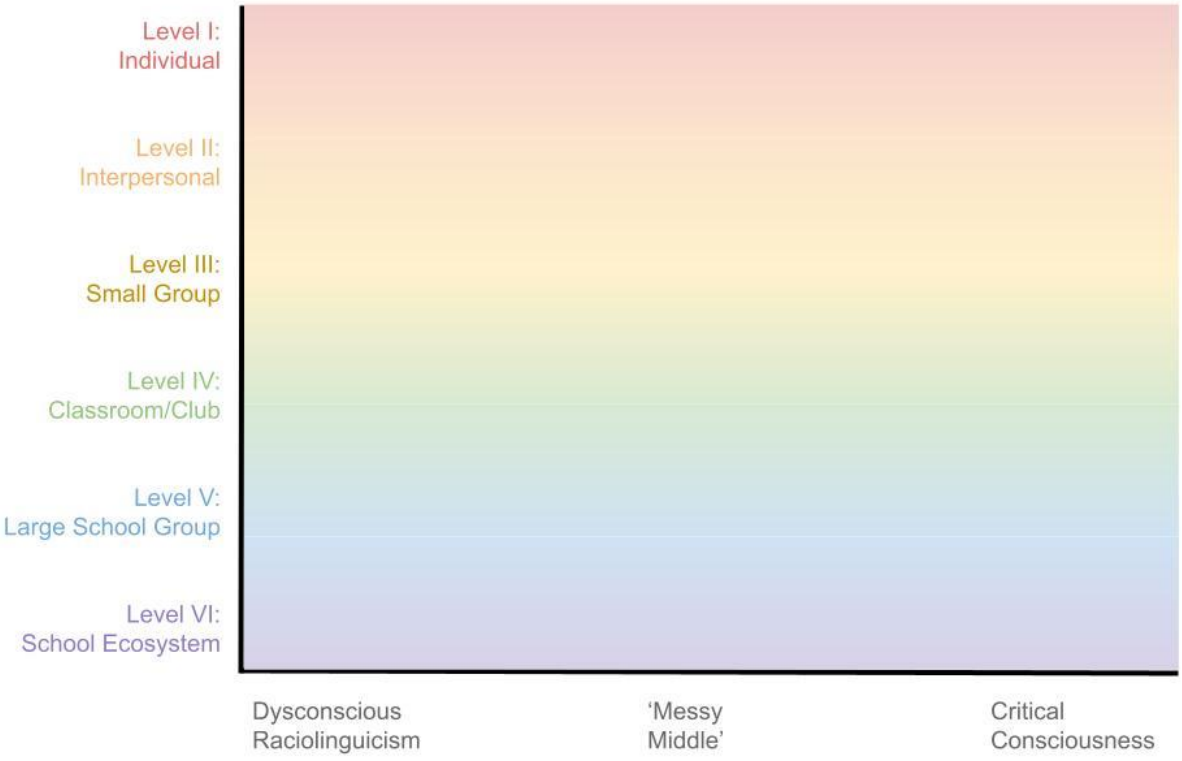
Dysconscious racism and critical consciousness are similar in their underlying assumptions about covert power systems, but they differ in the way they approach the problem. While dysconscious racism seeks to name the existing racial hierarchies, critical consciousness directly challenges and upends covert power structures through concrete actions. Given that the two theories are both similar and complementary, the proposed continuum in Figure 3 places them on opposite ends of a horizontal continuum. On this continuum, dysconscious racism is expanded from its original terminology to acknowledge that racial and linguistic power structures reinforce each other; as such, the term *dysconscious raciolinguicism* is used to best describe the connection between race and language. Dysconscious racism is also expanded from its original focus on the individual within a racist system (King, 1991) to a broader focus on all ecosocial levels, from the individual to the systemic (Crump, 2014). The continuum seeks to visualize where certain data points fall between dysconsciousness and critical consciousness, whether they represent distorted ways of thinking about raciolinguistics or direct challenges to existing power structures.

But dysconscious racism and critical consciousness alone do not capture the full range of possibilities; rather, there is much behavior that neither upholds nor challenges existing racial power systems and simply exists in the middle. As such, the middle of the continuum provides infinite space in which to place data points that do not fully conform to either endpoint. It also provides space to order data points based on how closely they conform to an endpoint, relative to other data points in the set.

This ‘messy middle’ is essential to nuanced data analysis, and it is missing in much existing literature on bilingual education (Babino & Stewart, 2017; Fitts, 2006; Freire & Alemán, 2021; Freire & Feinauer, 2022; García-Mateus, 2020; Hruska, 2007; Jakonen, 2016; Palmer, 2009). Much of this and other literature on equity and raciolinguistics in bilingual education focuses on what isn’t working, perhaps providing some brief guidance for steps forward in the last paragraph of the paper. Studies that analyze data on bilingual education through prisms of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ miss the opportunity to discuss the nuance in between. Not all inequities are equal in size or impact, nor are all steps toward equity. In reality, these ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ data points sit along a continuum of influence, where some have far greater impact than others. This ‘messy middle’ in the continuum from dysconsciousness to critical consciousness provides a structure and language for explaining how closely data points adhere to one end or the other. Figure 3 provides a visual tool for analyzing and presenting ‘messy middle’ data points in another format.

Figure 3

The 'Messy Middle' Continuum



Consider the lobby bulletin board from Chapter 1 (figure 2), the one that depicts both children of Color and English. Without the 'messy middle', this data point would either be classified as dysconscious or critically conscious. But neither label captures the complexity; truly, this bulletin board exists in the 'messy middle', as it upholds some dysconscious thinking patterns while upending others. While it is not necessarily new to analyze in this nuanced way, this continuum provides new language and a clear visual structure for

analyzing data points like this bulletin board. The bulletin board exemplifies the ongoing equity work at Quannon, highlighting the incremental and imperfect progress along the way. With the 'messy middle', the bulletin board can be both 'better than it could be' and 'not good enough', and it leaves room for advocates to build on aspects that upend dysconscious thinking to push for more.

Building on Crump's (2014) ecosocial lens, the continuum in Figure 3 includes a vertical axis to represent the different levels at which actions occur, from the individual to the sociopolitical. For the purpose of this analysis, the vertical axis contains six distinct levels, all of which are defined in Table 1 and shown visually in Figure 3. This axis is a critical component of the continuum, as it provides even more nuance in data analysis. Not only can data be analyzed according to adherence to either dysconsciousness or critical consciousness, but it can also be organized according to ecosocial level. On the continuum in Figure 3, the ecosocial levels are delineated in colors that bleed from one to the next. This visual representation is intentional, representing the way that actions at one ecosocial level affect and are affected by other levels. Much research on equity in bilingual education focuses on one group or another; for instance, Gallo (2017) and Oliveira (2020) focus exclusively on the parent perspective, while other scholars like Jakonen (2016) and Palmer (2009) focus only on what happens within a bilingual classroom. Few studies attempt to draw a clear link among all interest groups – teachers, students, families, administrators, and the community. This continuum provides a concrete format for visualizing those throughlines. It is applicable for single studies, such as the present study, that seek to analyze multiple interest groups; however, it could also be applied to a meta-analysis of equity in bilingual schools.

Table 1

Six Levels of Ecosocial Interaction

Level	Defining Parameters
I: Individual	One individual
II: Interpersonal	Interaction between two individuals, such as a conversation between a student and teacher
III: Small group	A subset of a larger group, such as a guided reading group
IV: Classroom/club	A single classroom or school club
V: Large school group	A large subset of the school population, such as all English Learners or all white students
VI: School ecosystem	Entities that represent all school actors, such as the Parent Teacher Organization

In addition to helping visualize data, this continuum is a tool of equity. While the continuum helps to visualize how power is consolidated at multiple ecosocial levels, it also illuminates incremental steps away from dysconsciousness. These steps may only be small individual actions that are partially divorced from dysconsciousness; no matter the size, they are the foundation of equity work. The ecosocial lens (Crump, 2014) makes clear that all ecosocial levels are connected; as such, it stands to reason that incremental steps away from dysconsciousness at any level affect adherence to dysconsciousness at other levels. Thus, these incremental steps away from dysconsciousness, the data points in the 'messy middle', are exemplars of what is going right within the system.

Rather than focusing entirely on changing the distorted thinking patterns that create dysconscious data points, equity leaders can use the 'messy middle' data points as building blocks. 'Messy middle' data that only exists as single points should be studied, replicated, and amplified so that the single points become clusters of actions that stray from dysconsciousness. Most importantly, understanding and visualizing these patterns and connections in the 'messy middle' is crucial to understanding both the ways that power is consolidated and the ways that change is enacted.

The data was analyzed along the aforementioned continuum from dysconscious raciolinguicism to critical consciousness and at various ecosocial levels. Data at the dysconscious end of the continuum will be analyzed both thematically and ecosocially, and explicit connections will be made among the ecosocial levels to highlight connections among the levels. Data in the 'messy middle', or data that strays from dysconscious raciolinguicism and tends toward critical consciousness, will be analyzed thematically, according to the seven critical consciousness practices outlined in *Critical Consciousness in Dual Language Bilingual Education* (Dorner et al., 2023, p. 3-4). These seven practices provide clear next steps toward critical consciousness, both to move already 'messy' data points further along the continuum and to create 'messy' clusters where there are currently only single data points.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

The data presented in this paper comes from an ethnographic case study of a focal classroom in a TWDL elementary school in Massachusetts. This chapter will begin with a profile of the research site and participants, which appropriately situates the following section on research questions and methodology. The chapter ends with descriptions of data sources and collection techniques, as well as data coding and analysis.

Profile of the Research Site

The present study was conducted at Quannon, a public elementary school in Koonepeam, a small city in Massachusetts. Quannon is a well-established Spanish-English TWDL elementary school and was one of the first in the state. The dual language program opened in 1990 as a strand within a larger monolingual elementary school, and it remained open during the English-only era in Massachusetts but was closely monitored. It became a fully TWDL school during the English-only era under provisions and remains a fully TWDL school, with the exception of one monolingual special education classroom. Quannon was the first TWDL program in Koonepeam but, as demand has grown for bilingual programs within

the city, other elementary TWDL programs in Spanish and Portuguese have opened to better meet the needs of Koonepeam's multilingual and multicultural student body.

At Quannon, students begin kindergarten learning 90% of their academic content in Spanish and 10% in English. In first and second grades, the percentages of Spanish instruction are approximately 70% and 60%, respectively. Students in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grades receive50% of their academic content in each instructional language. In the early grades, science and social studies are the first content areas taught in English, followed by some math and literacy units. In the upper grades, students begin the year learning writing and math in Spanish and reading, social studies, and science in English. After the first month, the language of instruction changes and content areas are taught in the opposite instructional language. These monthly switches throughout the year ensure that students receive 50% of instruction in each content area in each instructional language. In the upper grades, this 50:50 instructional model is delivered in one of two ways. Many students have two classroom teachers, one who instructs in each language. They spend 50% of their time with each teacher and receive content in one academic language in each setting. Other classrooms are 'self-contained', meaning that a single bilingual teacher instructs their students in both languages, spending 50% of instructional time on each language.

To ensure that students graduate from Quannon with the necessary academic content and vocabulary in both languages, activities are used regularly to help students make cross-linguistic connections. Vertical alignment across all K-5 grades is purposeful, ensuring that students practice skills in both languages. For example, vertical alignment ensures that students receive approximately equal time reading non-fiction texts in each language across

grades 3, 4, and 5. If there are a total of four literacy units on non-fiction texts in grades 3-5, students will learn two units in English and two in Spanish. This careful alignment, in addition to high-quality bridging, provides students with content exposure and academic vocabulary in both languages.

Participants

Inclusion Criteria: Focal Teacher

The focal classroom in this study is a fourth grade 'self-contained' classroom, in which one teacher instructs 50% of the time in each language. The criteria used to choose this classroom were based on which type of classroom best aligned with the research questions. One of my research questions centered on how English and Spanish were conceptualized in the classroom, and I felt strongly that the best type of classroom to answer this question was a third, fourth, or fifth grade classroom where instruction was given 50% in each language. In these grades, I could choose a 'pair' of classrooms, where one teacher taught in English and the partner teacher taught in Spanish, or a 'self-contained' teacher who taught in both languages. My decision about whether to choose a 'pair' of classrooms or 'self-contained' classroom as the focal space was determined by my other classroom-based research question about the effects of students' perceived proficiency on student-teacher relationships. In order to best answer this question, I felt that it was best to limit the focal teachers to a single teacher working within a single classroom. Thus, the best type of classroom to answer my research questions was a 'self-contained' classroom in the upper grades. As such, a 4th grade self-contained classroom was chosen as the focal classroom for the study, with permission and consent from the focal teacher.

Focal Teacher Profile: Srta. García

Srta. García is a young teacher who has been part of the Quannon Elementary School community for most of her life. She was born in Mexico and immigrated to Massachusetts as a child, where she attended Quannon. As a child in Mexico, Srta. García primarily spoke Spanish; when she immigrated to Massachusetts, she began speaking more English both at school and at home. As an adult, she speaks both English and Spanish in her daily life. She speaks mostly Spanish with her parents and extended family, and she speaks English with her partner and her dog. At Quannon, she speaks both English and Spanish with coworkers and tends to match their linguistic preferences. Srta. García's parents work at other schools in the district and take on several other roles within the local community, such as translating for school meetings in the evenings. She notes that she has always been well-connected to the Latine community in Koonepeam, and she recalls growing up going to social events with her parents and seeing Quannon teachers there.

At the end of her master's degree in Applied Linguistics, Srta. García student taught at Quannon before being hired permanently the following fall. The classroom she inherited is triangle-shaped with small windows near the ceiling, and there are still dishwashers and hand sinks around the edges from the time when it was a middle school science classroom. Despite the appearance, she says she likes the classroom because it is out of the way and gives her the freedom to do what is best for her students.

Inclusion Criteria: Focal Students

After several initial observations focused primarily on the teacher and whole-class dynamics, four focal students were chosen. Focal students were chosen, based on a number

of demographic characteristics – race, home language, time in the program – with the intent to match the whole class and whole school demographic characteristics as much as possible. Other factors, such as class participation and language use during observations, were relevant to the decision. The following table shows a comparison of the demographic characteristics of the focal students, as compared to the whole school.

Table 2

Focal Participant Demographics vs. Whole School Demographics

Demographic Data	Focal students (n=4)	School (n=668)
African American	25%	2.8%
Hispanic / Latino	100%	79.6%
Female	75%	52%
Male	25%	48%
Home Language English	50%	27.8%
Home Language Spanish	50%	72.2%

(Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2023c)

Focal Student Profiles

Emily

Emily is a fourth-grade student who moved into the school district from Wisconsin during the summer between second and third grade, when the family relocated for her father's job. Prior to the move, Emily and all of her older siblings went to a bilingual public school. Emily's oldest sibling is in high school and her mother, Sarah, notes that the family chose a bilingual school when the oldest started kindergarten. When the family moved to

Massachusetts, finding a bilingual school was a top priority for the family. Now, Emily and her family live in a single-family newly constructed home on the north side of the city, about a 15-minute drive from Quannon and downtown.

Most of Emily's home life occurs in English, but her multilingual family does use some Spanish in the house. Emily's dad, Santiago, is Guatemalan and a sequential Spanish-English bilingual. Much of his family lives in Guatemala, and maintaining the linguistic and cultural connection to his family was a major motivator for originally choosing a bilingual school. Her mom, Sarah, is a white English monolingual who has learned some Spanish from her spouse and children. Sarah is more comfortable speaking English and Santiago is bilingual, so they conduct their home life almost entirely in English. Since Emily and her siblings are bilingual, they occasionally have challenges to see who can speak only Spanish for the longest and to see if they can out-Spanish their dad. Santiago usually wins.

Emily describes herself as weird, crazy, and funny. At school, she enjoys math the most but notes that writing is not her favorite. She also likes gym class and most of her other non-academic classes, like art and library. Emily participates in the Gifted and Talented program once a week, and she is also in the drama club. She is very excited about the upcoming play and is often practicing her lines or songs during unstructured time at school.

Kamila

Kamila is a creative and bubbly fourth grader who lives at home with her mom, dad, and younger brother. Her family lives in a two-story town home in an affordable housing complex near the city center and Quannon. The family moved to the United States from the Dominican Republic when Kamila was a toddler, and they settled in New Jersey to be close

to extended family. After Kamila's mom, Marta, had her second child, the family relocated to Koonepeam to be close to Marta's family. The family arrived in Koonepeam just after Kamila's kindergarten year had commenced, and Kamila was registered at the neighborhood school, which was English-only. Marta knew that she wanted her daughter to attend Quannon for the bilingual program, so she put Kamila on a waiting list and a spot opened up a few months later. When Marta talks about Kamila's bilingual school with extended family in New Jersey, they wish their children had the same opportunity. She is thrilled that Kamila is able to maintain the connection to her cultural and linguistic heritage through school and that she can communicate with family.

At home, Kamila speaks primarily in Spanish with her parents; at school, she reports speaking a mix of both Spanish and English. Her younger brother attends a bilingual preschool, so she speaks to him in both languages. She is a budding linguist and is learning both Haitian Creole and Portuguese from friends at her afterschool program and her church. She describes her language learning journey as easy, and Marta gushes that her daughter is gifted with languages. Kamila enjoys going to school and likes all subjects except math, and she especially enjoys art and gym classes. She describes herself as kind, helpful, and a little bit selfish.

Sofia

Sofia lives with her mother, father, and four siblings in a single-family home a few minutes drive from Quannon. The family lived in a condo in a nearby town until the growing family outgrew the condo when they were expecting Sofia. They moved to Koonepeam during the summer before their oldest entered kindergarten and missed the lottery deadlines

for Quannon. The oldest attended kindergarten at the neighborhood English-only school before transferring to Quannon for first grade, and all of the younger siblings were automatically guaranteed spots at Quannon to keep the family together. Now, the oldest is taking advanced Spanish courses at the high school while the youngest is in second grade at Quannon.

Sofia, the fourth of the five children, is in fourth grade at Quannon . She enjoys all subjects at school and reports that everything at school is easy for her. She also likes art and gym classes and likes the fact that she has a second art class each week for this trimester. Like Emily, she is part of the drama club and is often singing and practicing her lines. Sofia reports speaking mostly in English with her friends and family, and she practices her Spanish with her teacher and some extended family in Puerto Rico.

Sofia's mom, Allison, grew up in Massachusetts and has always lived in the Northeast. Her father, Javier, was born in New York but moved back to Puerto Rico with his family at age three. He describes his return to Puerto Rico as a child odd, as he was Puerto Rican but knew no Spanish. His parents enrolled him in an English-only school, and he learned Spanish from family. Since much of Javier's family still lives in Puerto Rico and speaks Spanish, he is grateful that his children have the opportunity to attend a bilingual school to keep in contact with family.

Juan

Juan is a quiet and athletic fourth grader who is often found on the soccer field at recess. He loves playing soccer with friends at school and with neighbors in the evenings and on weekends. He and his parents live in a duplex on a quiet cul-de-sac near Quannon and

have a wooded area behind their house where they often see deer and turkeys. Juan's mother, Claudia, was born in Guatemala and lived there until age 18, when she moved to the United States. She lived near Boston until she and Juan's father got serious and moved in together. They bought their house in 1998 and have lived in Koonepeam ever since.

Juan is the youngest of four siblings and, and all have attended Quannon for most of elementary school. Juan's oldest sister briefly attended their neighborhood English-only school while the family waited for an opening at Quannon. Once the oldest was enrolled, all of the younger siblings were automatically guaranteed spots. For Claudia, the bilingual program was critical for her children to maintain their connection to their cultural and linguistic heritage, and she is thankful that Koonepeam has expanded the bilingual programs in recent years so that more families like hers can attend.

At school, Juan enjoys all academic subjects and especially loves gym class. He likes going to school so that he can learn new things and spend time with his friends, and he feels lucky that many of his close friends are in his class this year. He tends to float among a few different social groups but tends to get along with many of his classmates. As a budding soccer player, he loves recess and any opportunity to gently kick around a soccer ball while waiting for his bus home.

Table 3

Summary of Participant Demographics[a]

Name	Race	Hispanic/Latine?	Home Language	Years at Quannon
Emily	White	Yes	English	2
Kamila	African-American, White	Yes	Spanish	5
Sofia	White	Yes	English	5
Juan	White	Yes	Spanish	5

[a]per parent data reported to school district at initial enrollment

Research Questions and Method

The present data set comes from an ethnographic case study of a single bilingual school within a multilingual school district in Massachusetts. I chose ethnography for this research project principally because it was the best method to answer my research questions. Ethnography is iterative and cyclical, with a focus on describing and finding patterns in ordinary practices in the research environment (Heath & Street, 2008); these aspects of ethnography best allowed me to document patterns in ordinary practice within my research site. The research questions that informed this research are as follows:

1. How do teachers' perceptions of students' race and linguistic proficiency impact teacher-student interactions?
2. How are Spanish and English conceptualized both in classrooms and in the school ecosystem?

3. What are parents' experiences in the TWDL school ecosystem? Do these experiences vary for English monolingual parents and Spanish monolingual parents?

The data sources used to answer these questions included linguistic landscape surveys, observations, and semi-structured interviews.

Broadly, my research questions focused on student, parent, and teacher experiences in a TWDL program, particularly similarities and differences that fell along racial and/or linguistic lines. My first research question addressed the student and teacher experiences in the classroom, specifically the way that students' perceived linguistic proficiency affected the student-teacher relationship. To clearly answer this question, I relied on the ethnographic technique of noticing and describing ordinary practices in the classroom that helped me to understand students' perceived proficiencies (Heath & Street, 2008).

Another research question focused on similarities and differences in parent experiences in the school system, particularly along racial or linguistic lines. Again, I answered this question through ethnographic observation at school-based and district-wide parent organizations, focusing on documenting ordinary practices (Heath & Street, 2008). Ethnography is inherently cyclical, and I used this natural fluidity between data collection and analysis to bolster my answer to this research question (Heath & Street, 2008). After conducting and beginning to analyze semi-structured parent interviews and PTO observations, I chose to collect data from a district-wide parent organization meeting to better understand the dual language parent perspective across the district.

My final research question focused on the ways that English and Spanish were broadly conceptualized in the school ecosystem at all levels, from the classroom to the drama

club to the PTO. With a focus on observations and semi-structured interviews, the ethnographic method was the best choice to answer these questions (Heath & Street, 2008). Additionally, ethnography aligns closely with Crump's (2014) ecosocial lens, which prioritizes analyzing multiple levels of interaction within a system, as well as the LatCrit (Valdes & Bender, 2021) concepts of 'rotating centers' and 'shifting bottoms'. In order to truly see issues from multiple 'centers' and to consider multiple 'bottoms', it is important to talk to and observe multiple actors. Ethnography allowed for this multi-layered analysis of the same issue.

While the research was guided by these research questions, it was equally guided by the open-ended data collection that ethnography allows. It allowed me to react and respond to compelling data points by shifting data collection strategies and priorities in the moment (Heath & Street, 2008). For instance, I chose to attend a district-wide parent advisory meeting, based on hearing about it from participant interviews. Attending the district-wide meeting then informed how I guided the semi-structured interview with the focal teacher later that month. The ethnographic method allowed for this creative, shifting approach that helped me to answer each of my research questions from multiple vantage points.

For the purposes of thesis publication, this research project was conducted in a primarily linear fashion; however, ethnography is inherently cyclical and iterative (Heath & Street, 2008). By using the ethnographic method, I am allowing for possible future extensions of this work by returning cyclically to this data set to inform future data collection. Furthermore, I am a member of the school community featured in this research, so I will continue to engage with the focal community after the conclusion of the study.

Data Sources and Collection

This study utilized the following data sources: linguistic landscape survey, observation, and semi-structured interview. Each data source and data collection method is described in detail in the sub-sections below.

Data Source I: Linguistic Landscape

The linguistic landscape surveys were conducted twice during the study, once at the beginning of the fall semester and once during the winter. They were conducted after school hours and included all entryways, hallways, and other common areas of the school building. Survey data was gathered in a digital spreadsheet and was later manipulated for analysis.

Defining a 'Sign'

For the purpose of the linguistic landscape survey, a 'sign' was defined as a piece of text about a particular topic. Most signs were bound by page or bulletin board size; each piece of paper, poster, or bulletin board counted as one sign, unless it was clearly being used for multiple purposes, as in the case of a bulletin board shared by two different teachers and visually split down the middle with a paper border. When a border was not present, signs were defined by their relatedness to a single topic; for instance, the phrase "Welcome to room 501" written in paper letters on a concrete wall was considered one sign because all parts of that phrase belonged to the same topic.

The following data was gathered for each sign: language(s) in which the sign appeared, purpose of the sign, and sign creator. Additional data on bilingual signs included whether they were fully translated and whether the translated text was the same size as the

original. All categories were either coded as yes/no or featured a pre-populated drop-down menu of possible choices.

Languages of the Sign

Signs were coded as 'English', 'Spanish', or 'bilingual'. Signs coded as 'bilingual' included some amount of at least two languages, whether the sign was primarily in Spanish with a few English words or that all meaning was fully represented in both languages. While 'bilingual' was meant to mean a sign that included both Spanish and English, there was one instance of a French/English sign and one ASL/English sign, both of which were included in the data set.

Purpose of the Sign

In terms of purpose, signs were either coded as 'decorative' or 'informative'. Examples of 'decorative' signs include bulletin boards containing student work, motivational signs, and decorative school banners. Examples of 'informative' signs include daily schedules, COVID-related information, flyers about school events. Signs that were ambiguous were left up to my discretion, but care was taken to ensure that ambiguous signs that shared commonalities were all coded the same way.

Sign Creator

Sign creator indicated the entity that created or put up the sign; choices included 'student', 'teacher', 'school', and 'district'. 'Student' was chosen when the sign was made by a student or group of students; if this was not explicitly indicated by a student name (ex: made by Caroline, 2nd grade), signs were labeled as student work if the handwriting or spelling was developmentally appropriate for an elementary school student. 'Teacher' was

chosen for decorative bulletin boards or displays outside of classrooms, especially those whose text linked them to a particular room (ex: Sra. Rodriguez's class rules), as well as decorative posters or materials that teachers used to adorn the wall space surrounding their classrooms. 'School' or 'district' were chosen when the sign referred to the entire school community or district, or when the sign conveyed health and safety information for the collective community; 'school' was chosen if the sign explicitly referred to the focal school, while 'district' was chosen in all other cases. Examples of 'school' and 'district' signs include school banners and COVID-19 related signs.

Additional Data for Bilingual Signs

Bilingual signs were also coded based on whether they were fully translated as well as whether the translated text was the same size as the original text. Any signs in English, Spanish, Portuguese, or American Sign Language (ASL) were verified for full translation. In the case of the French/English bilingual sign, I used translation software to ensure the completeness of the translation.

Exclusion Criteria

While the survey was intended to cover the entire school environment, several types of signs were excluded. First, only hallways and other common areas were observed, and only the outside of teacher classrooms were included in the survey. This included signs around teacher doorways as well as the outside of the door. This limitation helped to maintain teacher privacy as well as focusing the survey on the shared linguistic landscape of any and all students in the school building. Additionally, all moveable signs like "wet floor" and caution tape were excluded from the study due to their impermanent nature. Safety labels

for exits and fire extinguishers were also excluded; while they are part of the linguistic landscape, they are mandated, and the school district has no control over how to display them or what language to use. Despite the exclusion of safety labels, all COVID-related signs were included in the survey because the school district had much greater control over how, where, and in what language(s) to display them.

Data Source II: Observations

Obtaining Consent and Assent

Before beginning the data collection process, the study was approved by the University of Massachusetts Boston Institutional Review Board (IRB). Following IRB approval, I obtained consent from the focal teacher after informing her about the components of the study, her involvement, and pertinent risks. After teacher consent, parents of students in the focal classroom were informed of the study, and a consent form was sent home in their preferred language. Students returned the consent forms to school, and student assent was obtained for families who consented to participating in the study. I spoke to the students about the consent process and answered their questions about the logistics of the study before gaining written assent. As with consent forms for parents, students were provided with assent forms in the language of their choice and were encouraged to ask for teacher assistance to read the form if they were unable to read it.

Classroom Observations

Observations were conducted in a variety of settings, but the majority of the observations occurred in the focal classroom. Weekly observations were conducted in the focal classroom for the duration of the data collection period. Observations typically lasted

about 45 minutes; while they occurred at the same day and time of week for the duration of the study, the academic subject being taught during the observation period varied. During the first weeks of observations, I sat off to the side to observe whole-class dynamics as well as the teacher's use of language. As the data collection period progressed, I began moving around the classroom and positioning myself strategically near focal students. These weekly observations helped me to answer my research questions related to student-teacher relationships and the ways that Spanish and English were conceptualized in the classroom.

Drama Rehearsal Observations

In addition to these weekly observations in the focal classroom, I observed several rehearsals for the school drama club. At Quannon, the drama club is the only school-based extracurricular activity open to students at all grade levels. Since 25% of the student body participates in the drama club, it is an important aspect of school culture, and its influence was evident in the focal classroom. Students in the focal classroom regularly talked about drama club during the school day, often rehearsing lines or practicing dance moves during transition times. Observing drama club helped to answer my research question about how Spanish and English are conceptualized throughout the school ecosystem, and it gave me an additional perspective beyond the focal classroom.

Parent Teacher Organization (PTO) Observations

The drama club is also run by many of the same parents who run the Parent Teacher Organization, so I was interested to see how these parents influenced school culture in both spaces. I observed two PTO meetings to better understand how parent voice was valued at

Quannon and to answer my research question about differences in parent experience at Quannon.

Dual Language Parent Advisory Council (DLPAC) Observation

Based on information from semi-structured interviews with parents, I also chose to observe a Dual Language Parent Advisory Council (DLPAC) meeting toward the end of the data collection period. The DLPAC is a group of parents of students in dual language programs in Koonepeam who meets regularly to learn about dual language programs from district leaders, provide input on upcoming decisions about dual language, and increase community among parents of children in dual language programs in Koonepeam. This observation was key in understanding the experience of parents across dual language programs in Koonepeam, not just at Quannon.

Data Source III: Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with focal students and their families; one interview was completed with each focal student, and one parent interview was completed for each family with one or two guardians. I allowed families with multiple guardians to choose which were involved in the interview; some two-parent households chose for both guardians to attend, while others chose just one to complete the interview and speak on behalf of the family. Interviews lasted about 30 minutes and were conducted in the family's home. Additionally, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the focal teacher on a monthly basis during data collection. The initial interview focused on the teacher's background and education, as well as her experiences in bilingual education. Later interviews focused on particular aspects of observation data, as the teacher was asked to comment on

excerpts from the fieldnotes. In total, four teacher interviews were completed, each one lasting about 20-30 minutes. Lists of questions for each interview type- teacher, student, parent- can be found in Appendix A.

Each interview was recorded on Zoom for the purpose of initial transcription generation; interviews in Spanish required manual transcription afterward instead of the auto-generated Zoom transcription. Transcriptions were later cleaned to facilitate data analysis.

Data Coding

Qualitative data sources, including interview transcripts, memos, and observation notes, were coded using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Codes were generated inductively using In Vivo coding (Saldaña, 2021); through several cycles of coding, codes were organized and streamlined into several core arguments. Since some data was collected in Spanish, some In Vivo codes were generated in Spanish; in order to preserve culturally specific nuance present in original transcripts, untranslated Spanish quotes and codes are used throughout the analysis.

Linguistic Landscape survey data was collected, organized, and analyzed using data manipulation software. Data was collected digitally in the software and was then organized several different ways by category (language used in the sign, sign creator, etc.). Since teacher-created decorative signs made up such a substantial subset of the set, these data were extracted and analyzed separately. Some photos were taken during the surveys to capture interesting artifacts; these photos were analyzed qualitatively along with the quantitative data.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data was analyzed through In Vivo coding (Saldaña, 2021). This method was chosen specifically to preserve and center participants' voices in the data analysis. During the first coding cycle, codes were identified and organized according to the research question to which they applied. Although some of the later data collection did veer from these initial questions, the majority of the data fit clearly with the research questions. First-cycle coding began with interviews conducted in Spanish to ensure that the code book included substantial input of Spanish-speaking participants and centered historically minoritized voices. During the second coding cycle, existing codes were split, combined, or eliminated to streamline the code book. All codes were reviewed, but particular emphasis was paid to codes of the highest and lowest frequencies in the data set. In the final coding cycle, codes were reorganized according to the following parent codes: "proud to be bilingual", "English is my language", "Spanish is ugly", "I'm so smart/dumb", "nunca perdió nuestra lengua", "it's Spanish time", and "un choque de cultura".[1] Through additional reorganization and analysis, codes were reorganized into what became the continuum proposed in this paper (see Appendix B for code book).

Summary

This research project was completed with the aim of analyzing the complex, multi-faceted Quannon school community through ethnographic data collection and a narrative analysis. The ethnographic method, combined with the proposed continuum from

[1] Direct quotes from Spanish-speaking participants will remain untranslated throughout this paper to preserve the value of participants' direct, untranslated voice.

dysconsciousness to critical consciousness, allows for a flexible data collection and open analysis of the data points and, most importantly, an emphasis on the 'messy middle' (Heath & Street, 2008). Rather than trying to pin data points or community interest groups to either end, this study emphasizes the imperfect equity work happening in the 'messy middle' as a way to center and build on progress to create the momentum for more progress.

Orientation to Upcoming Chapters

The findings in the coming chapters are organized according to the continuum proposed in chapter 3 of this paper. Findings begin with a chapter on the dysconscious side of the continuum before shifting to a chapter on 'messy middle' data points. Presenting data in this order – dysconsciousness before 'messy middle'- is a conscious choice. Leading with dysconsciousness contextualizes the reality that a number of beliefs, policies, and practices at Quannon reinforce dysconscious thinking patterns. In the context of this continuum, dysconsciousness is expanded from King's (1991) original framing and used in tandem with Crump's (2014) ecosocial levels and Flores and Rosa's (2015) notion of raciolinguistic ideology. Here, dysconsciousness refers to policies and practices at every level from the individual to the systemic that adhere to distorted ways of thinking about raciolinguistic power. While racism is systemic (Flores & Rosa, 2015), it has impacts on individuals and groups within the racist system; an ecosocial lens (Crump, 2014) allows for this multi-layered analysis of multiple levels within a system. Following the chapter on dysconsciousness, the findings will shift to the 'messy middle'. Placing the 'messy middle' at the end of the findings allows for a seamless transition to a discussion on actionable steps to move those 'messy middle' data points closer to the critical consciousness ideals.

Given the number of data points on the dysconscious side of the continuum, the following subcategories are used to organize the data thematically: “Race”, “Weaponization of Spanish”, “English Equals Power”. These themes arose from consolidation of In Vivo codes during later cycles of data analysis and reflect consolidated quotes from study participants. While each of the themes emphasizes either race or language, this paper is written with the fundamental assumption that race and language are inherently linked (Flores & Rosa, 2015) and this interconnectedness is woven into the findings. Within these thematic subcategories, data in the dysconscious chapter is organized according to ecosocial level, showing how the same patterns exist at multiple ecosocial levels, all of which influence each other.

Chapter 6 focuses on the ‘messy middle’, highlighting data points that stray from the dysconscious endpoint of the continuum. In this chapter, data is not organized by ecosocial level but rather in alignment with critically conscious practices (Dorner et al., 2023) to draw clear links between the ‘messy’ data points and critically conscious ideals.

The core argument presented in the coming chapters is less about any particular outcome for Quannon and more that this continuum provides a novel lens for analyzing qualitative raciolinguistic data. In particular, the ‘messy middle’ is an innovative contribution to existing frameworks used to analyze this type of data, and its utility in this study points to the potential for broad application in linguistic research.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS – DYSCONSCIOUS SIDE

In the present data set, dysconscious raciolinguicism represents the reality at all ecosocial levels of interaction. When analyzing the data at this endpoint thematically, it becomes clear that interactions at the individual or small group level reflect trends in the broader school community. Thematic analysis also illuminates that policies and trends within the school ecosystem are not made in a void; rather, they are built from the data points at the individual and small group levels.

Race

Levels I and II: Individual and Interpersonal

Ecosocial levels come from the continuum proposed in chapter 3 (Table 1) and are used to organize data points based on their level of influence over the school ecosystem. The first ecosocial level, individual, refers to data points involving only one person; relatedly, interpersonal data points involve a pair of individuals, such as two parents or a student and teacher. For the purpose of data analysis, these levels are analyzed together, as they often

involve the same individuals in different combinations. For instance, many data points about individual parents (level I) are interwoven with data points about joint parent decisions (level II) or interactions between parents and children. These level I and II data points overlap in more frequent and necessary ways than they do with data points at other ecosocial levels; as such, they are analyzed together to provide the most comprehensive picture of how these small units operate.

At the individual and interpersonal levels, dysconscious raciolinguicism shows up in the ways that students and parents position themselves and their communities, specifically with regard to race.

Emily's parents, Sarah and Victor moved about to Koonepeam about a year ago from out of state, due to Victor's job. They sit down for an interview on opposite sides of the dining room table. Victor is Guatemalan with darker skin, and he speaks fluent English and Spanish. Sarah, a monolingual English speaker, talks most throughout the interview. Victor intermittently chimes in with shorter comments, which tend to echo and build upon Sarah's ideas rather than challenging them. Given this dynamic between Sarah and Victor, findings from Sarah and Victor focus on Sarah's role as a white parent in a biracial home.

When discussing their home and moving process, Sarah describes racial diversity as a primary motivator for enrolling in the bilingual school. Sarah clearly recalls the way that the city's racial makeup affected their housing decisions:

> "We would look at the numbers …what percentage of kids identify as white, what percentage identifies as Latin American, or as Hispanic, you know, what percentage

> speaks Portuguese…and we pulled up [Koonepeam], and it was like 50 or 40. And we were like, this is amazing…and it feels like a more of a complete package to me." (Sarah, personal communication, October 26, 2022)

Rather than simply asserting that racial diversity is broadly beneficial, Sarah specifically states that racial diversity is beneficial to *her*. Her choice of language that it makes a school "more of a complete package" commodifies racial diversity and positions it as a benefit to her and her white-presenting children. This commodification of racial diversity is borne out by research, as white parents like Sarah often state that they value racial diversity in the abstract but act against this conviction when actually choosing housing (Darrah et al., 2020; Evans, 2021; Kimelberg & Bellingham, 2013). They want their children to be 'cultured' and 'ready for the real world', but they fear their children adopting habits they associate with Black children (Evans, 2021). White parents also consistently choose to live in neighborhoods that are still predominantly white, even if other racial groups are present, in order to maintain their own racial dominance (Darrah et al., 2020). As a white woman, Sarah is in a powerful racial position to use racial diversity as a benefit to her family and to eschew it when it does not benefit her. Her choices mirror white parents' paradoxical relationships to living in racially diverse neighborhoods, and her beliefs about the values of diversity do not ultimately change where she and her family choose to settle (Darrah et al., 2020; Evans, 2021; Kimelberg & Bellingham, 2013). Despite espousing the benefits of living in racially diverse communities, Sarah and her family chose to live in a wealthy and predominantly white newly constructed neighborhood far away from the racially diverse downtown where the bilingual school is located.

In a public housing community downtown, Kamila's mom, Marta, holds a very different view of racial diversity. Marta has lived in Koonepeam for about 5 years after moving to Massachusetts from New Jersey, where much of her family still lives. Her perspective on Quannon is influenced by what she has learned about her nieces' and nephews' schools in New Jersey, and she makes multiple comparisons between New Jersey and Massachusetts throughout the conversation. She shares her apartment with her husband and two children, Kamila and her four-year-old son. During the interview, Marta sits on her L-shaped living room sofa near a large Christmas tree, and her young son watches train videos at the kitchen table. Just like Sarah, Marta is keenly aware of the racial makeup of her daughter's school. When speaking about the administrators, she refers to the Latine principal as "la que habla español, que es hispana" while noting about the assistant principal that "el español ella no está muy conectada". When asked about the school culture, Marta notes that the school has children from many different backgrounds and upbringings, which creates "un choque de culturas". At various points throughout the conversation, Marta brings up the "choques de cultura"; in describing an interpersonal conflict her daughter, Kamila, is having in class, Marta says, "son muchas mezclas, muchos niños juntos. No es la cultura que yo tengo, la que van a tener en la otra casa y en otro hogar" (Marta, personal communication, November 28. 2022).

For Marta, racial diversity is not a commodity, nor is it exclusively positive like it is for Sarah. For Parents of Color, increasing the proportion of white families in the neighborhood or school system can improve school quality through more resources (Darrah et al., 2020). At the same time, school outcomes vary based on race, and the academic and

emotional consequences of tracking and racism in racially mixed schools affect the quality of education that Black and Brown students receive (Posey-Maddox et al., 2021). While it is not entirely clear what Marta means by “un choque de culturas”, she is likely reacting to the tensions between white students and students of Color, whose schooling experiences vary widely. For Marta, the potential benefits of more white students in terms of increased resources do not outweigh the potential academic and emotional costs for Kamila.

Marta and Sarah’s differing views on the benefits or costs of racial diversity contrast most when they are asked whether Quannon serves all students equally. Marta begins by noting that “hasta ahora yo no he sentido discriminación” and elaborates that she feels comfortable in the school (Marta, personal communication, November 28, 2022). In her response, Marta centers her marked raciolinguistic identity positions as a person of Color and Spanish-speaker (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) and speaks directly about discrimination; for her, there is a clear connection between *equality* and *discrimination.*

Early in the conversation with Sarah, she uses first-person statements to speak about her involvement with the PTO and names her positionality as “an English speaker, and as someone who identifies as white” (Sarah, personal communication, October 26, 2022). As the conversation shifts toward raciolinguistic inequity in the PTO, Sarah’s response becomes depersonalized and focused on the behavior and experiences of other white parents noting that "people are being aware of it” but that “accessibility was an afterthought”. She speaks generally about the PTO’s approach to raciolinguistic equity, noting that “people are trying to make it as equitable as possible” (Sarah, personal communication, October 26, 2022). As she speaks about the PTO in particular, she specifically mentions that most of the parents are

white English speakers, which suggests that she is aware of the imbalanced raciolinguistic backgrounds of the PTO parents as compared to the whole school. Arguably, by consistently referring to equity-focused decisions as things "people" are doing, Sarah removes herself and her whiteness from the conversation. Without explicitly saying it, Sarah gets around a harder discussion about raciolinguistic imbalance by making the case that others who are *aware* or *trying* are 'good white people' (Leonardo & Zemblyas, 2013). She uses these phrases like "aware of it" to evoke progress and attempts at doing the right thing, and she uses them after describing an inequitable situation, like lack of Spanish translation at a PTO meeting. Arguably, she is aware of the inequities but is trying to frame them positively because the 'good white people' are "trying" or "aware of it".

The stark differences in the ways that Sarah and Marta view racial diversity translate to their children's identity positionings at school. Emily holds multiple powerful and unmarked identity positions that afford her both credibility and the ability to choose how to present herself (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; May, 1998). While she is biracial, Emily's lighter skin provides a layer of in-group racial privilege over some of her Latine peers (Araújo & Borell, 2006; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). She is also a native English speaker, which provides further raciolinguistic privilege. Arguably, these raciolinguistic identities of English fluency and lighter skin allow her more choice in how to position herself and how others may position her. Emily often positions herself as 'smart' by acting like a teacher during pair work, through both words and gestures. For example, she frequently holds her whiteboard facing her peer and writes upside down so that the peer can read it, as many seasoned teachers do. She also asks for her peer to "give me a thumbs up or thumbs down" to gauge

whether the peer understands her explanation, which mimics a common teaching technique. Emily's peers and teachers allow her to adopt this identity position because she holds multiple other powerful identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) and has greater choice.

Emily's multiple dominant identity positions lend her more credibility, and peers and teachers typically believe her. Emily uses phrases like "I'm doing very smart things" to index her intelligence to peers, and typically they seem to believe her as her peers are often seeking her out for help or copying her answers. On one occasion at the small group table, a peer looks over at Emily's work and remarks, "you're a mathematical genius". On several other observed independent work sessions, students walk up to Emily to ask for help with their math or even raise their hands to get her attention, much as they would do to get a teacher's attention. On another afternoon when the class is beginning to work on multi-digit multiplication, Emily asks to do a three-digit by three-digit multiplication problem. Srta. García immediately acquiesces, giving her a problem and saying, "we don't teach this until 5th grade, so I'd love to see how you do it". There seems to be no question as to *whether* Emily can solve the problem, but *how* she chooses to solve it. Emily and Srta. García have many similar interactions, and Srta. García frequently says things like "you already know how to do this" and "I know you know". Emily often positions herself as smart, a position that is often reinforced by her peers and teachers.

On the other hand, Kamila holds more marginalized positions as a multiracial Spanish-English sequential bilingual, and she is afforded less credibility in self-positioning as smart in class. In the classroom, Kamila attempts to show her intelligence by copying behaviors she sees from other 'smart' peers, like Emily. During one observation, she watches

from across the room as the teacher asks Emily, who has finished her work, to help peers who aren't done. Without first finishing her work, Kamila starts walking around the room to help peers with their math worksheet about multi-digit addition with regrouping. Kamila walks over to a peer and offers to help, telling her "this is the trick, you go one, two, three, four". Kamila walks back to her desk, and the peer looks confused and leans to a table partner for help. Here, Kamila is clearly attempting to mimic Emily's 'smart' behavior by walking around to help peers and offering 'tricks', and this anecdote suggests that she wants to be perceived as 'smart' like Emily.

Kamila's identity positions also seem to lend her less credibility among her teachers and peers. Like Emily, Kamila often verbally asserts that she is smart, but peers and teachers do not always believe her. In class, she makes comments about her intelligence relative to other students like, "I'm smarter than you" (Kamila, personal communication, October 18, 2022), but her peers do not acknowledge the comments or call her a "mathematical genius" the way they do to Emily. When she volunteers her answer to a multi-digit addition problem during small group time, Srta. García smiles and replies, "let's check that, did you use the standard algorithm?" On another occasion when Kamila is sharing her problem-solving strategy, Srta. García remarks that "I think that would work". Kamila is not immediately afforded credibility in the way that Emily is when she says that she knows something, and Srta. García positions Kamila as academically capable but not reaching her full potential. In an interview, Srta. García notes, "I think she has good academic foundation in all subject areas so academically, she's a very strong student. But lately…lots of talking back about why do I have to do the work" (Srta. García, personal communication, November 18, 2022). Srta.

García positions both Kamila and Emily as academically strong, or 'smart'; however, Emily's position as 'smart' comes without question or challenge, while Kamila's positioning comes with caveats.

Kamila and Emily have vastly different experiences self-identifying as "smart", and their raciolinguistic identities affect how they are perceived by both peers and Srta. García. Emily self-positions as 'smart' in class; her peers and teacher lend her credibility by calling her a "mathematical genius" and saying that they'd love to see *how* she solves it, rather than assuming that it is too difficult. Kamila is not afforded the same credibility; when she asserts that she is "smarter than you", her peers do not acknowledge her comment or call her a "mathematical genius" the way they do to Emily. Instead, she is positioned as "a very strong student" with the caveat that she is talking back too much. This contrasts with Emily's positioning as 'smart' without qualifiers.

Level IV: Drama Club

While individual and interpersonal interactions tell a substantial part of the story, it is critical to also examine how larger groups affect the ecosystem. In particular, the drama club is an important extracurricular activity (level IV) that has enormous influence over school culture as a whole. The drama club includes 25% of the school population, and it features students from all six grades, which means that it wields substantial influence over the student population at large. Analyzing school clubs like the drama club provides insight into the broader school culture; in the case of the drama club that is parent-run, dysconsciousness that shows up here is unchecked by school administrators who have little influence over the club

events. The same patterns that existed at the individual and interpersonal levels still exist at school clubs, but the stakes are higher because drama club has a much broader influence and little administrative oversight.

The dysconscious raciolinguicism that affects Emily and Kamila at the individual and interpersonal levels is evident in larger ecosocial groups, especially the drama club and PTO. The drama club is a large and long-standing organization that has grown substantially in the last decade, thanks to a dedicated team of parent volunteers. These parent volunteers are almost all middle-class English-speaking white women; many of them are friends outside of the drama club and are heavily involved in their children's extracurricular activities.

The students who attend drama club are overwhelmingly white as well, despite the fact that fewer than 15% of students enrolled in the school are white. Many of the students are the children and family friends of the parent volunteers, but other structures maintain this white dominance. Practices occur after school on inconsistent days, and parents are required to provide transportation home from practice, which limits the students who are able to attend to those whose families have cars and flexible schedules. Emily is able to be part of the drama club because her parents work consistent 9-5 hours and are able to accommodate a 6pm pickup. For other families, a 6pm pickup time would be more difficult to plan due to variable working hours. Since the parent volunteers only speak English, linguistic barriers between caregivers and volunteers limits who feels comfortable attending drama club. Together, these barriers all but ensure that the drama club remains predominantly white.

One barrier to drama club participation that is much less visible than others is that, while participation is open to any student, a lot of recruitment comes through white parents' social networks. The drama teacher is close friends with most of the parent volunteers and many of the students in the club. Those children and their parents are all friends outside of drama club – they play on the same sports teams, attend birthday parties together, and socialize together. This racial insularity based on social connections often shows up in school choice, as white parents often send their children to the same schools as their white friends (Holme, 2002; Kimelberg & Bellingham, 2013). However, it is just as present here, as a few white parents recruit many of their white friends' children to join the drama club and all but ensure a majority white club.

This overwhelmingly white drama club in a predominantly Black and Brown school allows white parents to maintain their own comfort while theoretically valuing diversity. This is no different from white parents like Sarah who theoretically value racial diversity but ultimately choose to live in predominantly white neighborhoods (Darrah et al., 2020; Evans, 2021; Kimelberg & Bellingham, 2013). Just like in neighborhoods and schools, these white parents are sensitive to maintaining their own racial majority (Darrah et al., 2020; Evans, 2021), and the barriers they put up all but ensure that whiteness is protected.

Level VI: School Ecosystem

Much like the drama club, the PTO is overwhelmingly white, despite serving and making decisions for a largely Latine school community. All parents are encouraged to attend PTO meetings, and board members send home multilingual flyers about the

organization and meetings every September. However, this minimal outreach does little to address other institutional barriers that maintain white dominance in this space. Meetings are held at the school on weekday evenings; although the location is geographically close for many families, the lack of provided childcare makes attendance impractical for parents caring for their children in the evenings. As such, parents who attend these meetings tend to be from two-parent households where the other parent is consistently available in the evenings for childcare. Additionally, the meetings are held entirely in English, unless a parent specifically requests translation from the interpreter at the beginning. This "opt-in" model of translation sends a clear message that English is the dominant and most appropriate language in this space and subtly discourages parents from other language backgrounds from attending. Like other public committee meetings, PTO meetings follow a fairly strict structure that discourages open dialogue. The meeting is guided by an agenda, and most items tend to be updates or announcements; this style amplifies the voices of white parents on the PTO board who provide these updates while discouraging contributions from other participants. Like the drama club, these barriers to PTO participation serve to give the illusion of diversity and openness while maintaining white comfort.

Much like the drama club, these barriers may be subconsciously but intentionally put up to maintain white racial dominance. Many of the PTO's practices seem to require logistical privileges or insider knowledge to participate. Parents who want to attend and participate in these meetings must be available on a weekday evening, have childcare so they can leave the house, and have reliable transportation to and from the school. These factors may not seem like barriers to white middle class parents; for parents with reliable childcare, a

car, and consistent 9-5 hours, these factors are not barriers. However, when middle class white parents choose to organize meetings like PTO meetings in accordance with their schedules, these meetings are likely to become feasible for other parents like them with similar values, incomes, and backgrounds. During the meetings, institutional knowledge creates additional barriers. Parents who want to voice their opinions or participate in decision-making must have prior institutional knowledge about how these meetings function and at which junctures open dialogue is acceptable, and Spanish-speaking parents must have requested Spanish translation at the only opportunity at the start of the meeting. Again, these factors may not seem like barriers to middle class white parents for whom the structure of PTO meetings may mirror the structure of meetings they run or attend at work. However, for families whose work may not involve these types of meetings, navigating the structure of PTO meetings can be an additional barrier to meaningful participation. All of these barriers can subtly shape participation and attendance in ways that cater most to white, middle-class, English-speaking parents.

PTO participants at Quannon tend to share multiple powerful and unmarked identities – white, English speaking, middle class – that create a sort of group identity (Block, 2008) for PTO parents with strict boundaries around who can participate (Castells, 2009). This group identity for PTO parents reinforces already dominant thinking patterns for decision-making, and these parents routinely make decisions based on a theoretical white, English monolingual interlocutor or student group (Flores & Rosa, 2015). In a school that is only 15% white, this means making decisions that preference this 15% at the expense of the other 85% of the student body.

Within the traditional PTO structure, the links between race and socioeconomic status create an insular group that upholds whiteness. Due to inadequate public-school funding, a main component of PTOs in public school is fundraising to ensure that their children have access to high-quality educational experiences. Quannon is no different; many PTO meetings and news bulletins for families center around financial commitments, which sends the message that financial investment is essential to PTO participation. For teacher appreciation week, the Quannon PTO set up a lunchtime taco bar one day and a bagel breakfast another day, and they published several family messages asking for food or money donations for the events. Unsurprisingly, most of the parents who signed up for these events are middle-class white families. These middle-class white parents who can afford to buy their way into PTO participation are able to use these events to network with other parents and to demonstrate appreciation and enthusiasm for their children's teachers. Parents who participate frequently in PTO fundraisers and events are more likely to get elected to the PTO board, where they hold even more financial power. This structure is inherently problematic because it actively upholds whiteness and gives white parents inordinate power in a school of mostly non-white students.

In addition to barring diverse participation in PTO meetings, decisions made at these meetings about school events and fundraisers continually prioritize the comfort of the white PTO board. In one particularly egregious example, the PTO decided to hold a school fundraiser at a mid-priced German beer hall, where some proceeds from purchases that night would be donated to the school. PTO board members cited geographic proximity to school as a means of removing barriers to attendance, but they overlooked several more influential

factors. Despite the proximity to school, this German beer hall is prohibitively expensive for lower income families, which limits the families who can afford to participate in this fundraiser. Additionally, this restaurant serves German food, which does not represent the rich culinary cultures at the school. There are several restaurants in the city owned by Latine families, many of whom are connected to the school, which would have been a more culturally appropriate choice. In discussing this fundraiser at length, the PTO board members seemed oblivious to the financial and cultural barriers this restaurant presented.

This decision to hold a fundraiser for a primarily Latine school at a German beer hall epitomizes dysconscious racism (King, 1991). Race was not absent from this discussion, but rather the PTO board employed their distorted views of race (King, 1991) to inform their decision-making. Here, the white PTO board adopted a white intellectual alibi, falsely positioning themselves as 'good' white people as opposed to racist white people in order to sidestep any guilt about their choices (Leonardo & Zemblyas, 2013). This framing of 'good' white people vs. racists is a false and dysconscious dichotomy, as racism operates on a continuum rather than a simple 'yes' or 'no' (Kubota & Lin, 2009).

Conclusion

Distorted views of race show up in the school community at every level from the individual to the school ecosystem, and there are throughlines among the levels. Emily and her family illuminate the ways in which white power is maintained and consolidated. Emily's family specifically chose the school because of the racial diversity, and Sarah positions it as a factor that makes the school stand out. In her multiracial classroom, Emily's whiteness

provides her with greater choice in how to position herself and how others position her. She positions herself as smart, and her peers and teachers believe her without question. This immediate credibility contrasts sharply with students of Color, like Kamila, who seem to need to fight to be seen as smart like Emily. This white hegemony is also evident in the drama club and PTO, where white organizers theoretically value racial diversity while simultaneously setting boundaries that maintain and consolidate their white power.

Weaponization of Spanish

Race is not the only identity category that is distorted and used as a tool of dominance; linguistic identity positions also maintain and reinforce existing power structures. In this Spanish/English bilingual school ecosystem, Spanish is weaponized and positioned as evil to maintain English dominance at every ecosocial level. There is clear connection between seemingly one-off comments made by individuals and the more formalized weaponization of Spanish at larger ecosocial levels, and closely analyzing individual and interpersonal data points helps contextualize larger patterns of Spanish positioning.

Levels I and II: Individual and Interpersonal

Allison is a white English-speaking mom living with her Puerto Rican husband and children in their house near the bilingual school. Her children, who range in ages from high school to 1st grade, have all attended the school, and Allison reports that she and her husband have been staunch advocates of bilingual education since their oldest started at the school. Her daughter, Sofia, is in Srta. García's class this year, and she speaks highly of her and all

of the Quannon teachers. Allison is the PTO president, helps with the drama club, and frequently volunteers in her children's classrooms.

Despite expressing gratitude for the bilingual program her children have attended, Allison admits that she initially harbored fears that her children would start speaking in Spanish behind her back. By assuming that her children would use their Spanish for nefarious purposes, Allison positions Spanish as malicious in comparison to her native English. Allison's fear highlights dysconscious thinking (King, 1991), in which she passively accepts and perpetuates existing linguistic power dynamics without question. She fails to see a connection between her fear of Spanish and systems of linguistic oppression that have capitalized on white fear and comfort to maintain the status quo. Society is oriented around the theoretical English monolingual listener (Flores & Rosa, 2015), and amplifying other languages directly questions that power. For Allison and other monolinguals, this fear of Spanish is rooted in English monolinguals' fears of losing their linguistic dominance. Unchecked, this dysconscious linguicism shows up in her other roles at Quannon and affects outcomes for students of Color and Spanish speakers.

In her role as the PTO president, Allison is often making decisions on behalf of this multilingual community that, on some level, threatens her linguistic dominance. While she does not express her fears with the same candor as she does at home, Allison continues to position Spanish as evil and Other, albeit in more subtle ways. At a fall PTO meeting that I attend, Allison walks around the U-shaped table handing out meeting agendas. The agendas are printed in both English and Spanish, and she asks each person which they prefer. Most of the English monolingual parents at the table choose English, and she hands them the agenda

with a simple nod. When I ask for a Spanish agenda, she smiles and remarks that she is glad to see that I am "up for the challenge." While I did not see whether she did this to other white attendees or how she interacted with parents of Color, this comment seemingly positions English as the unmarked norm (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) and Spanish as deviant or Other. Additionally, this framing of Spanish as a "challenge" suggests that the Spanish agendas are simply there to challenge Spanish learners rather than to provide equitable access to information for native Spanish speakers. This reinforces a dynamic present in bilingual classrooms that English is mandatory while Spanish is optional (Palmer, 2009; Volk & Angelova, 2007).

It is not just the adults in the school ecosystem who hold dysconscious views of language; in the classroom, Spanish is also positioned as malicious. Marcus, a student in Srta. García's classroom, existed in a semi-permanent limbo between two social groups in the class. The first was a group of about seven students who preferred social interaction over academic work; these students were positioned as bright students who were not performing to their fullest potential by adults in the classroom. When asked about some students in this group during a monthly interview, Srta. García positioned some of them "sweet and good" but "struggling with talking to friends, that kind of impulse control" (Srta. García, personal communication, November 18, 2022). During observations, these students tended to spend a large portion of their independent work time socializing. On one occasion, they spent most of an independent work block cleaning up a small water spill; on another afternoon, they spent their independent work time dramatically helping a peer who had pretended to break his leg. Many in this group, like Kamila, spoke Spanish at home but seemed to prefer English in peer

conversation at school during observations. Marcus tended to socialize with this group often, but he also spent time with another student group. This second group was positioned as bright and hardworking, students who completed their work. Many of these students volunteered to participate frequently in class, sat towards the front of the rug during lessons, and tended to finish their independent work quickly. Linguistically, this group was more mixed, including those who spoke both English and Spanish at home, and these students spoke mostly English during observations. When Marcus was with this group, he tended to make more academic bids for teacher attention, like holding up his whiteboard and repeatedly asking for the teacher to check his work.

Marcus was partially accepted into both groups, though he often received pressure from his more social peers when he chose to engage in academic work. On one such occasion, I walked over to him and remarked that "no has hecho nada" on his worksheet, to which he replied in English that he was still thinking. In an effort to mock his academic efforts, Daniel, a peer from his more social peer group turned to me and, in his best Marcus impression voice, said, "Yo estoy…thinking". For Daniel, the use of Spanish was a deliberate weaponization to strengthen the insult, which positioned Spanish as lower status than English.

Level IV: Drama Club

Allison and Daniel weaponize Spanish at the individual and interpersonal levels, and their views are reflected at larger ecosocial levels. At the drama club, Spanish is positioned as evil and inferior in very clear, consistent ways. The play that the group puts on is an

adapted version of a popular English one; it is adapted by Quannon alumni to be more linguistically relevant to the school community. Given that the play is adapted by members of the school community, there is almost limitless flexibility in which roles are rewritten as Spanish. Yet, the choice in which roles are Spanish-speaking roles reflects a belief that Spanish is problematic.

In this adaptation, most of the Spanish-speaking characters are minor roles in comparison to their English-speaking counterparts. Of the two Spanish-speaking leads, one is the villain and the other is one who is consistently described as different and ugly throughout the show. By making the villain and "ugly" character the Spanish-speaking character, this positions Spanish as evil and Other. In this play, dysconscious thinking is the star of the show as it consistently upholds and reinforces the raciolinguistic status quo. Linking Spanish with malice and ugliness perpetuates the dysconscious notion that folx of Color are inferior to whites and, therefore, deserving of a lower social status (King, 1991). It is disconcerting to see this literally play out on stage, as elementary-age students espouse the value of diversity in their English lines, only to be interrupted by the evil Spanish character delivering her lines.

Level VI: School Ecosystem

While the "Spanish is ugly" narrative plays out overtly in drama club, it exists covertly throughout the school ecosystem as well. A bulletin board in the school lobby displays purchased posters of children next to motivational sayings like "I am powerful" and "I am creative". All of the children featured on the posters are Black, and all of the text around them is in English. Down the hall, a second grade classroom door displays "estamos

aprendiendo en español ahora" next to a poster of Black and Latine children that states, "everyone is welcome here". While the representation of students of Color is overwhelmingly positive, the messages these displays send to students are complicated. Students who look at the bulletin board or classroom door might internalize that English is a language of power, while Spanish is an optional afterthought. Even at the individual level, this perception that Spanish is optional in this bilingual school is important, as it has implications at other ecosocial levels. Individuals may carry these distorted perceptions of language from this bulletin board into other interactions within the school ecology, creating a ripple effect of dysconscious thinking. Juan articulates this idea that Spanish is optional when explaining to me how language allocation works in his classroom. He tells me that he sometimes uses the incorrect instructional language, noting specifically that "I don't do the Spanish in English time, I do the English in Spanish time" (Juan, personal communication, November 2, 2022). While he does not say outright that Spanish is optional, his comment suggests that it is only permissible to mix instructional languages during Spanish time while English time is more sacred and uninterrupted.

Additionally, displays like the bulletin board suggest that centering one minoritized identity is enough, as if centering students of Color or the Spanish language checks the box for a 'diverse' bulletin board. Centering only one minoritized identity pits racial and linguistic diversity against each other and undermines the history and value of intersectional justice. This framing of whether a bulletin board is 'enough' can be analyzed as dysconscious, where it is not the absence of thinking about raciolinguistics but rather a disconnected or distorted view. It is not inherently harmful that an individual bulletin board

or display centers either linguistic or racial diversity; rather, the harm comes from a schoolwide pattern of separating these identities and suggesting to students that they exist independent of one another.

At multiple ecosocial levels, Spanish is weaponized and positioned as evil; while each of these data points seems isolated, there is a clear connection between how individuals feel and how those sentiments play out at larger ecosocial levels. At the individual level, Allison positions Spanish as evil when she expresses fears about her children using their Spanish to talk behind her back. Similarly, Daniel weaponizes Spanish to mock Marcus's adherence to academic demands. Incidents like these are part of a larger pattern of weaponizing Spanish that is evident in the school play. Here, Spanish is weaponized on stage as the only Spanish-speaking main characters are the villain and the "ugly" main character.

English Equals Power

Weaponizing Spanish is rooted in the view of English as the unmarked norm, and overt expressions of the latter are unsurprisingly common. As with other distorted views of race and language, English power is evident at all ecosocial levels, and it is clear how multiple individual, interpersonal, and small group levels converge to create patterns evident at larger levels. At the same time, structural elements of the school community and school policies strengthen and normalize this English dominance.

Levels I and II: Individual and Interpersonal

At the individual and interpersonal levels, English dominance is evident in both parents and students. Both Sarah and Allison are white English monolingual women married

to Latine bilingual men; Sarah's husband is from Guatemala and Allison's is Puerto Rican, and both have spoken Spanish their whole lives. In both families, English is the dominant language of the home, and both Allison and Sarah admit that this is because they are English monolinguals. Sarah notes the following:

> "I think I kind of drove us to stay in English. I mean, I didn't mean to, but that's kind of what happened is because [her husband] could, he could go either way, and I was kind of more in English. So that's how our home life got to be in English" (Sarah, personal communication, October 26, 2022).

Both Sarah and Allison position this English dominance in their households as stemming from convenience, as if it occurred in a raciolinguistic vacuum. However, understanding that language holds power (Kumaravadivelu, 2006) helps to illuminate the fact that this decision to maintain the household in English is truly about maintaining English dominance and comfort. In fact, there are many parallels between the ways that Allison and Sarah's homes operate and the ways that bilingual classrooms operate. English use is uncontested in bilingual classrooms (Palmer, 2009), just as it is uncontested in both Allison and Sarah's homes. Just as Spanish speakers in bilingual classrooms translate their messages to English to ensure that their English-speaking peers understand them (Palmer, 2009), both Allison and Sarah's husbands restrict their Spanish to ensure that their wives understand them. These parallels between English dominance at home and school follow Sarah and Allison's children into the classroom.

In the classroom, students also prioritize the comfort of English speakers and assert English dominance in similar ways. At Quannon , most teachers teach in only one instructional language and students have both an English and Spanish teacher. However, Srta. García teaches half of the day in each language and does not have a partner teacher. Teachers are expected to adhere to the target language of instruction, and students are permitted to use their entire linguistic repertoire to express their thoughts in class, with the expectation that they will use the instructional language whenever possible. Language supports like word banks and sentence frames are used to help students utilize the instructional language in their responses.

Despite these supports and expectations, students in Srta. García's classroom regularly use English during Spanish instructional time. Particularly interesting is the frequency with which students use English instead of Spanish to make simple requests that they should be able to make in Spanish, like asking to use the bathroom. During observations, this use of English for simple requests and phrases occurred so frequently and globally that it felt like part of the classroom culture. During a whole-group Spanish math lesson, Srta. García asks, "¿Cuál es el primer dígito?", to which a student responds, "two". Srta. García prompts him to repeat in Spanish, and he obliges. This type of interaction happens over and over in Spanish math class, with students frequently answering Srta. García's questions with answers like "twelve" and "five hundred seventy-seven". In each case, students are able to easily give the answer in Spanish when prompted; this suggests that students know the correct answer but might make an intentional choice to use English instead. Unsurprisingly, these kinds of interactions occur much less frequently in English

math class; almost all students answer in English, even when the numbers are five or six digits long.

In interviews, the focal students and teacher were able to articulate and confirm this pattern I observed. Emily confirmed my observations by noting that, although she understands the linguistic norms and expectations in Spanish class, “I speak in English, [Srta. García] doesn’t mind” (Emily, personal communication, October 26, 2022). Juan made a similar statement in his interview, saying that “sometimes in Spanish I forget that like we're speaking in Spanish, a lot of times I like speaking English” (Juan, personal communication, November 2, 2022). In an interview with Srta. García in mid-November, I share my noticing about students choosing to participate in English in Spanish class in order to get her perspective. “If you're gonna tell me what the answer is in English,” she says, “then I’d rather you participate than not, you know” (Srta. García, personal communication, November 18, 2022). Based on both observational data and focal participants’ reflections, it seems that students in Srta. García’s class intentionally choose to use English during Spanish time; while the students may view it as simply a preference for English over Spanish, this is part of a larger pattern of English dominance already confirmed in research.

The focal students and teacher express this preference for English over Spanish nonchalantly, but the implications of this sentiment are critical. Societally, English is the unmarked norm (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Flores & Rosa, 2015), so English dominance in bilingual classrooms often goes unchecked (Volk & Angelova, 2007). It seems that, on some level, the students in Srta. García’s class have internalized that Spanish is optional in Spanish class and that any participation will likely be praised (Palmer, 2009). In this bilingual space

that is meant to equalize English and Spanish, English remains the unmarked norm and students regularly choose to use English instead of Spanish to maintain this linguistic dominance.

Students at Quannon have internalized the English dominance that they watch and reinforce, and it affects how they interact in the world. When asked how they would choose which language to use when speaking to a stranger or new friend, all four focal students noted that they would start by speaking in English and only switch to Spanish if their interlocutor did not understand them. As Juan noted, "I'm just going to speak them in English first and if they say 'yo no hablo ingles' I would talk to them in Spanish". But their preference to speak English to a new friend or stranger is not just theoretical; rather, they orient their social lives around English, both at school and at home. "Out at recess I would speak English because that's like my language," stated Emily in her interview, adding, "and we don't really have to like talk to the teacher." Here, she specifically positions English as *her* language and contrasts it with Spanish, a language used for academic purposes. For Emily, Spanish is an academic tool she uses in the classroom, rather than a language she uses for social purposes. Other focal students echoed her sentiments, noting that they speak exclusively in English with their friends. Despite coming from Spanish or multilingual homes and seeing Spanish spoken at home and school, these fourth graders have internalized that English provides them with greater social capital.

In addition to privileging English speakers' comfort, English dominance affects how individuals are able to position themselves and the identity positions others ascribe to them. In Srta. García's classroom, students are often trying to adopt a "smart" identity position and

do so by announcing their intelligence out loud. They frequently remark that "I'm smarter than you" or "Look at me, I'm so smart", both during class and during teacher-directed lessons. Regardless of the language of instruction, verbally asserting one's intelligence is always done in English; this means that, at some level, students are connecting the notion of intelligence with the English language and are using a powerful unmarked identity to bolster their credibility (Block, 2008; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

While many students attempt to adopt a "smart" identity position, only some are believed. Just as Emily's self-proclaimed "smart" identity is credible while Kamila's is not, raciolinguistic identity positions might affect how other students' intelligence can be perceived. Juan, a quiet Guatemalan student, catches on quickly to math concepts and enjoys the challenge of learning new math skills. Like his peers, Juan chooses to announce his intelligence in English, even if he has been speaking in Spanish during the rest of the conversation. On one occasion, he and a peer are sitting with a teacher and working through a multi-digit addition problem in Spanish. Juan knows the answer and shouts out, "I know this one – quince!" During another independent work session, I circulate the classroom, asking students about their work. I whisper to Juan, "¿Qué tal eso, fácil o difícil?" He looks over to his peers before answering loudly, "easy!" Juan's choices in switching between English and Spanish when talking about his intelligence suggest that he understands that English holds social power, and he seems to purposefully adopts a powerful unmarked identity to bolster the believability of his claim that he is smart (Block, 2008; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Instances like this one demonstrate the way in which students purposefully use English during Spanish class to index intelligence.

While Emily's teachers and peers inherently believe that she is "smart", Srta. García holds more nuanced views of Juan's intelligence. When asked, she notes that he is "very capable" but that he can be "susceptible to bad influences of those around him". Emily holds multiple unmarked identity positions as a white-presenting native English speaker (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004), and she further asserts her dominance by verbally announcing her intelligence and employing "smart" behaviors. By contrast, Juan holds more marginalized racial and linguistic identity positions that afford him less credibility. Part of the difference in credibility between Emily and Juan is that Emily's unmarked identities afford her more possible identity positions from which to choose (May, 1998). She can choose to adopt any number of racial or linguistic identity positions and can use this power of choice to her advantage. On the afternoon that I circulated among the students and asked them in Spanish whether their work was difficult or easy, Juan answered in English that it was "easy". When I asked Emily, she grinned and said, "muy fácil, quiero mucho más difícil". Juan and Emily's differing choices in how to answer my question could have been due to a number of factors; however, they do contribute to the larger pattern of strategically adopting dominant identities to index power and intelligence.

Level IV: Drama Club

English power is not exclusive to Srta. García's classroom, and groups like the drama club exemplify this dominance on a grander scale. White English-speaking parents who advocate for the drama club brag about the fact that it is a bilingual play; however, this bilingual play is carefully structured to be considered bilingual while prioritizing English. While the script has been written by a member of the bilingual community, English remains

the clear priority; about 65% of the script is in English, and most of the characters are English speakers. Even for the characters who are Spanish speakers, their lines are written to prioritize the comfort of an English audience. When Spanish-speaking characters deliver lines in Spanish, their lines are almost always translated fully into English immediately afterward, or another character rephrases their Spanish line into a clarifying question in English. This translation is meant to ensure that the English monolingual audience understands the whole play. However, the same translation is not done for English lines to ensure that Spanish monolingual audience members can follow the play.

Clearly, the play is written for an English-speaking audience and oriented around their comfort. Much like bilingual classrooms, this play takes English as the uncontested norm and Spanish as an optional addition (Palmer, 2009; Volk & Angelova, 2007). Like in classrooms, English speakers dominate the conversation and it is assumed that they are understood without translation (Palmer, 2009). When Spanish-speaking characters speak, their lines are translated, just as Spanish speakers tend to translate their speech in bilingual classrooms to ensure that they are understood by their English-speaking peers (Palmer, 2009). All of these moves stem from prioritizing the comfort of a theoretical white, English monolingual interlocutor (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

Furthermore, the play's structure allows English monolingual drama club volunteers and advocates to brag about putting on a bilingual play, while continuing to uphold English dominance in this bilingual setting. They can adopt a white intellectual alibi and position themselves as 'good' white people (Leonardo & Zemblyas, 2013) because there are some students of Color in the play. They hold dysconscious views (King, 1991) about the role of

race and language in the play, assuming that the lack of overt bigotry means that raciolinguicism is absent. As such, they might see that casting any students of Color or including any Spanish lines in the play as wholly positive, rather than understanding that the way that these identities are represented can be problematic and reinforce the status quo (King, 1991).

Level VI: School Ecosystem

At the schoolwide level, English remains the unmarked norm in terms of how students are supported. All students who are classified as English Learners (EL) receive weekly language support from an English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher. These supports vary but often include vocabulary supports embedded into lessons, co-taught academic blocks, and explicit grammar, vocabulary, or phonics instruction. Additionally, English Learners' linguistic development is closely monitored to ensure that they are making continued gains in their academic and conversational skills. Unsurprisingly, the same supports do not exist in Spanish. There is no Spanish counterpart to the ESL teacher, and Spanish classroom teachers are entirely in charge of their students' Spanish language development. This inequitable resource distribution all but ensures that students develop their English language skills more quickly and exit the program with more robust English skills than Spanish skills.

Inequitable resource distribution is borne out in research, and the trends seen at Quannon exemplify existing patterns. Palmer et al. (2019) argue that, although bilingual programs are a tool of resistance to center heritage language speakers, these programs now

prioritize and center English speakers. English speakers are systematically centered is in English-only academic and behavior interventions (de Jong & Howard, 2009), and Spanish is policed and squashed in non-academic spaces (Martinez Negrette, 2020). At Quannon, there is English language support but no comparable support for Spanish language, which reinforces de Jong and Howard's findings (2009).

Furthermore, prioritization of English over Spanish is an entrenched mentality for many leaders at Quannon. During a PTO meeting, the school principal and PTO board members are discussing the logistics of an upcoming field day. The conversation turns toward language, as a board member clarifies that the field day will be run entirely in English. The school principal counters any hesitation, stating that having the field day in English will be beneficial for the newcomer ELs. Most non-academic time at Quannon is already English-dominated; all specials classes, like music and gym, are held entirely in English, and monthly social emotional community meetings are held in English as well. English is already the dominant language, and school leaders could be using this field day opportunity to provide students with access to non-academic Spanish opportunities. Instead, the principal chooses to prioritize the English development of English Learners over Spanish learners, which sends the message that English is more important than Spanish.

Inequitable resource distribution is not accidental; in fact, it is closely connected to expressions of English domination at smaller ecosocial levels. At all levels, English is the unmarked norm with unchecked power, and no one challenges this domination. Allison and Sarah orient their home lives around their own English dominance and comfort in the same way that Quannon allocates resources and support in order to preserve and strengthen

English dominance. The school allocates more resources to English development through additional staff to support English classrooms and English-only schoolwide activities. While there may be other intentions behind these inequitable supports, the impact is that English speakers' linguistic comfort is always paramount, a trend that is borne out in research on inequitable supports in multilingual schools (de Jong & Howard, 2009; Martinez Negrette, 2020). Furthermore, the nonchalance with which students in Srta. García's classroom use English instead of Spanish suggests they might believe Spanish is not valued at school, due to the fact that they receive far more support and pressure to learn English than to learn Spanish. At all ecosocial levels, English domination and comfort are prioritized, and everyone from parents to students take note.

English dominance is a clear throughline in the focal classroom, which has a ripple effect to the rest of Quannon. Individual parents prioritize their own comfort as English speakers when deciding how to run their households, and this constant prioritization of English comfort shows up in the ways that students choose to casually eschew using Spanish in class. In addition to prioritizing English comfort, English dominance affects the ways in which students self-identify and are positioned as "smart" in class. They use English specifically to index intelligence, and their other raciolinguistic identity positions affect their credibility. The prioritization of English comfort and identity positioning literally plays out on stage during this bilingual play in which the Spanish lines are translated to ensure that English remains the dominant language in this bilingual space. The focal participants' demographical data mirrors that of Quannon and their actions align with research on raciolinguistics in bilingual settings. Thus, it is likely that the raciolinguistic patterns that

show up in the focal participants' actions and words reflect larger patterns at Quannon and other TWDL schools.

What Are Students *Really* Learning About Race and Language?

Like many dual language schools, Quannon was founded with the intention of serving Latine students and families in the community by providing a schooling experience where their linguistic and cultural traditions were centered. Through the 90:10 program model, the school aims to create cohorts of bilingual and biliterate learners who are skilled in sociocultural competence and reaching grade-level academic benchmarks. While these are the stated outcomes on the school website, these unchecked raciolinguistic power structures all but ensure that students graduate with dysconscious views of race and language.

In homes throughout the school community, white English-speaking parents reinforce their racial and linguistic dominance in the ways that they orient their home lives. Despite espousing the values of racial diversity, white parents like Sarah ultimately choose to live in whiter, wealthier parts of Koonepeam, rather than in the racially and socioeconomically mixed downtown. As such, they draw on the benefits of living in a raciolinguistically diverse city by sending their children to a bilingual school while maintaining their own comfort in a white suburb. Similarly, English-speaking parents like Sarah and Allison assert their English dominance by orienting their family's home lives around English. The ways that these white English-speaking parents orient their home lives send messages to their children about which raciolinguistic groups are valuable, which influences how these students act at school.

In classrooms like Srta. García's, dysconscious raciolinguicism is rampant. Despite receiving the majority of their academic instruction in Spanish until third grade, these fourth graders understand that English holds a different level of linguistic power and default to it in class, no matter the language of instruction. Emily's nonchalance about speaking in English during Spanish time exemplifies pervasive attitude that, beneath the surface, has a lot to do with maintaining English dominance. Furthermore, raciolinguistic power structures determine who is allowed to identify as "smart" in class. Students like Emily, who hold multiple dominant identities, can self-identify as smart and are positioned as such by their peers and teachers. On the other hand, students like Juan and Kamila who hold more marginalized raciolinguistic identity positions, are questioned when they assert their intelligence.

Larger groups within the school ecosystem reflect and reinforce this dysconscious raciolinguicism. The drama club, which encompasses 25% of the student body, is much whiter than the Quannon student body. Logistical and linguistic barriers all but ensure that the drama club remains overwhelmingly white, thereby prioritizing the comfort of white, English-speaking parent volunteers. The play that the students perform is also structured to prioritize English dominance and white comfort. Despite being celebrated as a bilingual play, the script is 65% English, and many Spanish lines are directly translated. These choices clearly indicate that the play is intended for an English-speaking audience.

Similarly, the PTO theoretically represents the whole school community but is structured to maintain whiteness and English dominance. Meetings are held in English at the school, which presents both linguistic and logistical barriers to participation. The white

English-speaking parents who run the PTO theoretically espouse the values of a diverse community; however, they make few efforts to diversify the PTO leadership in charge of decision-making for the school community.

As they and their families navigate a school of unchecked dysconscious raciolinguicism, students at Quannon learn to uphold whiteness and English. They see the way that whiteness, English, and intelligence are positioned together in their classrooms and learn that whiteness and English are "smart" identities. They internalize that English is more valuable than Spanish when they notice that there are special teachers to support English language development but no special teacher to support Spanish language development. They watch a bilingual school play that is 65% in English and casts their Black peers as Spanish speaking characters who are "ugly" or "different", thus positioning bilingualism as "mostly English" and that Blackness and Spanish as ugly.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS – ‘MESSY MIDDLE’

While the majority of the presented data set falls along the dysconscious end of the continuum, a few data points stand out as moving from dysconscious raciolinguicism toward critical consciousness. Data in the middle of the continuum is messy, as it neither strictly upholds nor challenges dysconscious thinking. As such, each exemplar will be aligned with one critical consciousness practice (Dorner et al., 2023) that can be used to further develop emerging critical consciousness at Quannon.

Interrogating Power

At Quannon, district language separation policies state that teachers are expected to maintain strict language separation during instructional time. Most teachers teach in teams where one instructs in each language, and the expectation is that those teachers maintain that language at all times. This approach is meant to ensure students have access to high-quality language models and are exposed to rigorous academic vocabulary in both languages. However, previous scholarship shows that adherence to instructional language is typically

much stricter in English than in Spanish, and Spanish teachers often increase the amount of English in their classrooms to maintain student engagement (de Jong & Howard, 2009; Palmer, 2009; Volk & Angelova, 2007).

As a self-contained teacher who instructs in both languages, Srta. García is uniquely positioned to interrogate and shift the linguistic power in her classroom. She is newer to education and is still developing her pedagogical philosophy, based on her social justice-oriented coursework and lived experience as a Latina immigrant. She completed a master's degree related to equity and justice in bilingual schools. Throughout interviews and observations, she made explicit references to what she learned in grad school and connections between her studies and her classroom. On one occasion, she shared the following:

> "In my grad program…it was my first intro, it was like sociolinguistics and like the connection between race and language. I read so many great readings…I remember a specific one about in a dual language school, you need to model, like as a bilingual person, you should model speaking a lot in Spanish because English is a dominant language" (Srta. García, personal communication, September 15, 2022).

The vocabulary that Srta. García uses in this excerpt, such as "dominant language" and "connection between race and language" demonstrates a clear understanding of some power dynamics that occur in dual language schools. In other observations and interviews, she continues to reference raciolinguistic power structures. When asked about linguistic power in her classroom, she shared that it is difficult to balance student engagement with elevating the

power of Spanish, as well as dealing with myriad everyday instructional responsibilities. "You have so much to do and…okay, I'm gonna take on [giving] less power to English on top of everything else," she notes (Srta. García, personal communication, November 18, 2022). Based on these excerpts, it we see that Srta. García understands the link between language and power in dual language broadly, and she is able to articulate her responsibility in dismantling English hegemony (Flores & Rosa, 2015). While she is not at a place of taking steps to dismantle English hegemonic power in her classroom, Srta. García's explicit identification of power structures is an asset that may help inform her decision-making in her classroom.

Srta. García is reflective and thoughtful in our conversations about raciolinguistic power in her classroom and is able to express how her own identities maintain or disrupt existing power. In an interview early in the school year, Srta. García explains that she speaks to most coworkers at school in English, even though she wishes she spoke more Spanish at work. "You know, I feel, I think sometimes I feel like self-conscious about my Spanish," she says, "like it's not good enough" (Srta. García, personal communication, September 15, 2022). In a later conversation about why many of her Latine students prefer to speak in Spanish in class, Srta. García reflects on her own positioning and actions regarding language preference. "Sometimes I take a second to think, like, this is how you say it in Spanish," she ponders, "and English is my reflex versus it used to be Spanish at some point, I'm sure" (Srta. García, personal communication, November 18, 2022). In these two excerpts, Srta. García is naming the tension between *being* Latina and *seeming* Latina; while she self-identifies as a Latina, she feels that her Spanish is inadequate within the Latine community,

which affects how often she speaks Spanish at work (Fallas et al., 2022). Srta. García's clear self-reflection is an asset to her students, as it helps her contextualize her students' fluctuating, conflicting raciolinguistic identities.

Srta. García is also able to name and critically analyze power structures at the schoolwide level. At Quannon, ESL teachers work with students classified as "English learners", but there is no staff or resources to help "Spanish learners" develop their second language. When asked whether Quannon equitably supports all students linguistically, Srta. García articulates how this inequitable resource distribution affects students:

> "The native English speakers are at the end of the day more supported…I think that the lack of help…there's ESL teachers and then there's not Spanish as a Second Language teachers. And while I do think that it's very important that the ESL teachers mostly work with the Latinx students and they need to be proficient in English, I think at the same time there needs to be a Spanish as a Second Language teacher because then the students will become very proficient in English and then, since there's not as many staff to support [Spanish teachers]…they fall behind" (Srta. García, personal communication, September 15, 2022).

Without making explicit reference to existing literature, Srta. García's assessment of inequitable resource distribution demonstrates her social justice pedagogical background. She is clear in pointing out resource inequity and articulating how it affects student outcomes, particularly along racial and linguistic lines. Importantly, she makes an explicit connection between racial and linguistic equity (Flores & Rosa, 2015), noting that the students who are

classified as needing extra support are primarily Latine students. She notes that students tend to 'fall behind' in Spanish in comparison to English, which can increase feelings of inadequacy for Latine students who are not fully bilingual and biliterate (Fallas et al., 2022). While she is not in a position to advocate for changes, she is at least critical of current resource distribution, and she uses this knowledge to inform how she prioritizes languages in her practice.

In the classroom, Srta. García goes beyond naming the power imbalance and skillfully leverages strategies often used for English Learners (ELs) increase her students' understanding during Spanish lessons. She uses gestures, strategic repetition, and slowed speech to ensure that students understand the academic vocabulary she presents without translating into English. During one Spanish math lesson, she projects the student worksheet to review and clarify directions. "Si dice encierra," she begins, circling the word *encierra* in the directions, "pon un círculo" (Srta. García, personal communication, September 27, 2022). In another geometry lesson, she pairs verbals with gestures to increase receptive vocabulary. "¿Cuántos pares de *lineas perpendiculares* tenemos aquí?" she asks, while making a 'T' with her arms to show perpendicular lines (Srta. García, personal communication, September 22, 2022). These strategies are often used for English learners but are seldom used to increase Spanish learners' receptive vocabulary. In this small way, Srta. García is utilizing the tools often used for English Learners to maintain both rigorous Spanish vocabulary and high student engagement.

Using strategies like pairing vocabulary with gestures or visuals is not inherently linked to one language or another; however, what makes Srta. García's approach noteworthy

is that she is purposefully using these vocabulary strategies to elevate her students' receptive comprehension without translating. This is a clear departure from existing literature showing that Spanish classrooms tend to include more English translation and conversation, while English classrooms are protected monolingual spaces (Babino & Stewart, 2017; Palmer, 2009; Volk & Angelova, 2007). Arguably, this is one way in which Srta. García is beginning to disrupt English hegemony in her classroom.

Srta. García's approach to interrogating and disrupting existing power structures is limited but impactful. Importantly, she has extensive coursework in raciolinguistics and social justice that help her critically reflect on her own place within existing power structures. Based on her self-reflection and assessments of student outcomes, it is clear that she understands the link between racial and linguistic power structures (Flores & Rosa, 2015) as well as tensions between *looking* Latine and *being* Latine (Fallas et al., 2022). Srta. García's practice of interrogating and interrupting dominant power structures is impactful within her classroom; however, this practice could be even more impactful if implemented by more school staff.

Translanguaging

In tandem with her efforts to expose her students to rigorous Spanish academic vocabulary, Srta. García uses translanguaging in class to model and center bilingual language practices. Without a clear understanding of English dominance, teachers who attempt to model flexible language use in their multilingual classrooms often uphold English monolingualism as the norm and choose to use both English and Spanish during Spanish

instructional time. Rather than disrupting power, this reinforces English dominance. However, Srta. García is conscious of power structures that uphold English as sacred (Flores & Rosa, 2015) and strategically uses Spanish during English class to disrupt that power. Here, she models flexible transfer between English and Spanish while thinking through an addition problem aloud:

> "this one is tricky because we have…tenemos metros y centimetros y tenemos que empezar con los metros….circle the meters…. I'm sorry, my bad…mi error, mi equivoque, porque lo puedes chequear por los ceros, does that make sense? Just goes to show, everyone makes mistakes, math is hard" (Srta. García, personal communication, November 29, 2022).

In this excerpt, she is not simply translating back and forth, but actually using her entire linguistic repertoire to explain the math problem. Examples like this one model for students how bilingual adults use their multiple languages to make meaning. In a world dominated by monoglossic ideology, it is critical that bilingual students see adults model flexible language use. By translanguaging, Srta. García demonstrates for her students what is can sound like to *be* Latina (Fallas et al., 2022), that her belonging in the Latine community is not defined by speaking strictly Spanish.

Srta. García is also thoughtful about how she expects students to answer in class, carefully balancing her desires to elevate Spanish and allow students to use their entire linguistic repertoire. During whole-group lessons, she will often prompt students to use Spanish when answering her questions if she expects the student to know the academic

vocabulary in Spanish. For instance, when a student tells her that the answer is “twelve”, she nods and responds with, “¿me lo puedes decir en español?” (Srta. García, personal communication, October 25, 2022). In this way, she both honors the student response and prompts the use of Spanish when she knows the student should be able to use it. At other times, she chooses to recast a student’s response into Spanish instead of asking the student to repeat. Again, this honors the student’s response while also incorporating the target academic vocabulary. In an interview, she articulates this tension between lowering barriers to student participation and elevating Spanish use in her classroom:

> “part of it is, like, meeting them where they are meeting you. If you're gonna tell me what the answer is in English, then I’d rather you participate than not…I know the choice of speaking English, there's more to it, you know…English is so powerful” (Srta. García, personal communication, November 18, 2022).

Here, Srta. García is clear that choosing to speak English is more than just a simple choice between Spanish and English, and it is not made in a raciolinguistic vacuum. Rather, English dominance greatly affects how individuals see their own linguistic identities and practices (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Castells, 2009) and how they interact in the world. Srta. García is clear in articulating how linguistic power structures affect student language patterns; while she does not attempt to change students’ linguistic output, she takes an active role in modeling tranlanguaging pedagogy for her learners.

Another way in which Srta. García models translanguaging is through the linguistic landscape she has created inside her classroom. The lunch choice chart on the door lists each

choice bilingually, but language order differs. Under the "Almuerzo/Lunch" title, choices like "home lunch/almuerzo de casa" and "almuerzo caliente/hot lunch" are listed and students move their card to their preferred category for the day. In other classroom spaces, languages are juxtaposed together. A Spanish *abecedario* poster hangs next to an English writing graphic organizer, and an English world map is posted just below thematic literacy vocabulary about *cajas de texto.* Srta. García's flexible approach to classroom signage sends the message to her students that translanguaging is appropriate and expected.

Despite her flexible language use, English signs are still more prominent than Spanish ones in Srta. García's classroom. Quantitatively, the percentages of each language used in Srta. García's linguistic landscape differ minimally from the linguistic landscapes throughout the school, as shown in Table 4 below. Qualitatively, signs in the rest of the school suggest more rigid adherence to language of instruction and minimal translanguaging. Posters outside of second grade Spanish classrooms declare "*ser bilingüe es mi superpoder"* and "*aquí se habla español"* while English-only schoolwide positive behavior trackers hang nearby. Most signs that are written bilingually are English first or mostly in English with some Spanish throughout. Few use language as flexibly as Srta. García's signs.

Table 4

Linguistic Landscapes at Quannon

	Spanish signs	English signs	Bilingual signs
School hallways	36.3%	40.1%	23.6%
Srta. García's room	38.5%	43.1%	18.5%

Historicizing Communities and Ourselves

Given her graduate coursework in social justice, Srta. García is able to historicize and contextualize her lived immigrant experience within a broader sociopolitical framework. After her time as a student at Quannon, Srta. García always felt a pull to return. "I wanted to use my Spanish for something," she says in an interview, explaining that she felt compelled to use her Spanish fluency to give back to her Latine community after getting her teaching degree (Srta. García, personal communication, September 15, 2022). As a child, she and her family were deeply connected to the Latine community in Koonepeam. She notes that "growing up, my parents were just generally close with a lot of my teachers…cause they were also Latinx…I would go to cookouts and [5th grade teacher] would be there" (Srta. García, personal communication, September 15, 2022). As such, she understands the value of tightknit social groups where children can see their identities reflected in those around them. In her classroom, she provides students with the opportunity to have their identities affirmed by inviting in Latine speakers when possible.

Despite her positive memories of close connection with the Latine community and attending a bilingual school, Srta. García recalls "a phase in middle school where I did not wanna speak [Spanish]" (Srta. García, personal communication, September 15, 2022). Srta. García's desire to eschew her Latine roots reflects an emerging understanding of marked and unmarked identities (Block, 2008), in which her marked identities as a Latina and Spanish-speaker provided her less social capital than whiteness and English. Her sudden desire to speak English likely reflects a desire for the increased social capital that English provides (Block, 2008). She draws a clear line between her resistance to speaking Spanish in middle

school and her language use now as an adult, noting the influence that English dominance continues to have on her:

> "But I just think that [speaking to coworkers in Spanish], it's hard for me to do that myself. I speak to bilingual coworkers. I speak to 'em in English and like, I only really speak to people in Spanish that like I know are from like Spain or like, I know that they are stronger in Spanish. And I think a lot of that is like my internalized, like, I have internalized that English is my language" (Srta. García, personal communication, September 15, 2022).

Srta. García's social justice coursework helps her to historicize her linguistic experience within the broader English-dominant narrative, particularly her feelings of self-doubt and linguistic preference. Her comment about linguistic inadequacy aligns with research on perceived linguistic proficiency (Fallas et al., 2022), in which Latine individuals are perceived as inadequate if they do not speak 'fluent' Spanish. She feels a tension between her own linguistic inadequacy and the desire to model Spanish use for her emergent bilingual students. She recounts reading in graduate school that bilingual teachers should model speaking the minoritized language to challenge English dominance but explains that it is difficult to break that power. "I'm telling my students to speak Spanish," she shares, "…but it's so easy to resort to English" (Srta. García, personal communication, September 15, 2022). Throughout interviews, she continually historicizes her own linguistic preferences, noting tensions among her multiple conflicting identities (Castells, 2009). She also makes frequent reference to English dominance, repeatedly articulating that neither her nor her students' linguistic choices are made in a raciolinguistic vacuum.

In addition to historicizing her own lived experiences and identities, Srta. García is able to articulate the broad value of bilingual programs for Latine students. When asked whether she would advise a friend to send their kids to Quannon, she tailors her answer based on whether the children are Latine:

> "I would tell 'em a hundred percent send them to [Quannon]. I think that learning a different, another language is really important. And I think that as a Latinx person, I think that learning your own heritage language is super important. I mean, if they're like not Latinx, I would say sure, send them too. But I feel like if they're Latinx, I would really push for it because I just think it's so important to learn your language…it's part of your identity and I think it's so important to know your language" (Srta. García, personal communication, September 15, 2022).

She begins her answer by expressing the idea of *bilingualism as a resource* (García, 2009), the notion that bilingualism helps one's career and life trajectory, opening additional doors for employment or personal opportunity. This view is dominant among white monolingual parents in the study and, more broadly, the dominant framework driving policy decisions in bilingual education. However, she does not stop at this explanation of the value of bilingualism; rather, Srta. García draws on both her lived experience and her coursework to articulate the particular value of bilingual education for Latine students. She notes that, while bilingualism is valuable for all students, it is particularly valuable for Latine students to have the connection to their identity and language. Importantly, Srta. García chooses to center Latine students in explaining the values of bilingual education, which contrasts dominant narratives that bilingual education is most beneficial as a resource for one's future.

Srta. García's ability to historicize herself and her community and to affirm Latine identities is an enormous asset to Quannon. Her steps toward critical consciousness speak to the value of hiring and retaining teachers with both lived experiences similar to those of the Latine student body and formal coursework in raciolinguistics and social justice. Srta. García is able to draw on both her lived experiences and her theoretical knowledge to understand her own and her students' experiences and to consciously center Latine identities in her work. In small but meaningful ways, Srta. García identifies and rejects dysconscious raciolinguicism and makes strides towards critical consciousness. Her steps toward critical consciousness speak to the enormous value of teachers like her who are prepared to reject deeply entrenched power structures and center their Latine students. Thus, it is in the best interest of schools and districts committed to critical consciousness work to attract and retain these teachers.

"I'm Not Fighting Alone"

While Srta. García's case holds promise on an individual level, others in the Quannon community are taking steps towards critical consciousness. Sra. Portillo is a veteran Quannon teacher who, like Srta. García, is well-versed in anti-racist pedagogy and social justice work. She teaches the Gifted and Talented program at Quannon and makes a conscious effort to center and elevate the Spanish language in her work by conducting the majority of her lessons in Spanish. Focal student Emily attends Sra. Portillo's class once a week, where she works on higher level thinking tasks and projects in Spanish. Emily notes that Sra. Portillo expects her students to speak Spanish; in her interview, she mimics the way Sra. Portillo prompts students to return to Spanish if they have switched to English. Sra. Portillo

thoughtfully uses her position as a Gifted and Talented teacher to elevate the status of Spanish at school, ensuring that her students are held to high academic standards in Spanish, just as they are held to high academic English standards elsewhere.

While the drama club is still overwhelmingly English-centered, one parent volunteer is trying to elevate the status of Spanish in the play. Sra. Ortiz is a fifth grade Spanish-side teacher whose daughter is a background character in the play, and she has volunteered to help the Spanish-speaking characters practice their lines. Most of the other volunteers who help students practice their lines are English monolinguals, so Sra. Ortiz's role in helping the Spanish-speaking characters run their lines is critical. Since many of the leads are fifth graders, she coaches them through their lines by making connections to the Spanish word study curriculum. When one of her leads stumbles repeatedly over *machacársela,* she reminds them of accentuation rules they learned last week. Just like Sra. Portillo, Sra. Ortiz's work provides students with high-quality Spanish instruction and elevates the status of Spanish at Quannon.

Aside from the actions of individual teachers, the school district is taking small steps toward critical consciousness through critical listening by creating district-wide parent advisory groups for bilingual and dual language parents. The Dual Language Parent Advisory Council, or DLPAC, was founded at the end of the 2019-2022 school year to increase effective communication among all dual language interest groups – parents, teachers, and administrators. The board includes two parents from each dual language school, but meetings and events are open to all parents of children in dual language programs in Koonepeam. General information meetings happen every other month and the group

organizes community social events monthly to help parents of children in the dual language programs network with one another. Past events include a Brazilian Independence Day story time and craft and a Read to a Dog in Spanish event. In addition to the DLPAC, the school district has a Bilingual Parent Advisory Council. This group is specifically meant for Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking families as an avenue for advocacy, support, and community-building. While many of the BPAC families enroll their students in dual language programs, others enroll their children in English-only schools in the district. This group holds monthly meetings on topics related to immigration, bilingualism, and the U.S. education system, and they invite professionals like researchers and immigration lawyers to present at meetings (Bilingual Parent Advisory Council, n.d.).

By creating and sustaining the DLPAC and BPAC, the school district is taking a step toward centering Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking families in decisions related to bilingual education. In contrast to the Quannon PTO, the DLPAC and BPAC are focused primarily on advocacy and networking and they actively de-center white English monolinguals. These groups provide the foundation for genuine, culturally responsive parent-school connections, and the district leadership should continue to allocate resources to groups like DLPAC and BPAC that support and center the most minoritized groups within the school district.

Advocacy in bilingual education often feels isolating and endless, but the efforts of teachers and district leadership provide a path toward critical consciousness. Sra. García, Sra. Portillo, and Sra. Ortiz all work to elevate Spanish and de-center English in their spaces; similarly, the DLPAC and BPAC groups provide space for Spanish-speaking and

Portuguese-speaking parents to have a voice in their children's bilingual education and to create a strong social network. These efforts are a start, but English dominance is still strong. Countering English hegemony requires sustained effort and systemic change. It requires that district leaders establish systems that de-center English so that it no longer becomes the default choice and that countering English dominance is not left to individual teachers. It also requires that district leaders recognize, support, and retain teachers who are well-versed in anti-racist and social justice pedagogy, and that they celebrate and support their steps towards critical consciousness.

At a DLPAC meeting in December, Sra. Ochoa, a veteran dual language teacher and longtime bilingual advocate, shares her pride for her students' commitment to their bilingual studies. Her enthusiasm is infectious and captures the sentiments of many individuals within the community who have built Koonepeam's bilingual programs from the ground up. "[the students] do it, they do it with passion. And for someone who's a native speaker, it's amazing to see how they really embrace it," she notes. Leaning forward and grinning, she adds, "I'm not fighting alone" (teacher, personal communication, December 12, 2022).

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Theoretical Implications

My continuum from dysconsciousness to critical consciousness provided a novel lens to examine nuances in bilingual education and added to the scholarly discourse on bilingual education. Data within this continuum is organized by both the horizontal and vertical axes; the horizontal axis organizes the data in terms of adherence to dysconsciousness, and the vertical axis organizes data by ecosocial level. The horizontal axis from dysconsciousness to critical consciousness shows visually how much a particular data point adheres to dysconscious thinking or strays from it. The vertical axis organizes data points by the number of individuals directly involved, whether just one individual or a whole school community. Put together, these two axes allow for data to be organized both by adherence to dysconsciousness as well as by level of influence on the system. Focal student Juan's comment during Spanish math class that "I know this – quince" exemplifies how English hegemony shows up at the individual level (level 1). This same English hegemony shows up at level 4 in the school play script that is 65% English and in PTO-sponsored schoolwide

events (level 6) held only in English. While all of these data points fall at the dysconscious end of the horizontal continuum, they reflect radically different levels of influence over the whole school ecology. Juan's comment does not directly affect how much English is used in the school play, nor does the play directly affect how Juan chooses to use English during Spanish time. Rather, all of these data points reflect that English hegemony is pervasive and that examples of English hegemony at various ecosocial levels affect one another in an indirect but bidirectional way. My proposed continuum provides a clear way to organize raciolinguistic data like this and to analyze it from multiple vantage points.

While it can be helpful to define and analyze dysconsciousness, the more useful part of the continuum is the 'messy middle'. This 'messy middle' acknowledges that progress away from entrenched power structures is indeed 'messy' – slow, small, and in pockets. Progress often feels like teachers enacting these radical choices in silos, quietly choosing alternate mentor texts or implementing more translanguaging practices. Srta. García's strides away from dysconsciousness exemplify the value of the 'messy middle' and show what we gain from analyzing data points outside of a binary system. For instance, Srta. García models translanguaging in her classroom, but it does not happen consistently. A binary framing of 'dysconscious vs. critically conscious' might write her off as dysconscious because the impact of her translanguaging is relatively limited within an overwhelmingly oppressive system. However, this binary analysis misses the nuance in her work and fails to acknowledge how her translanguaging differs from teachers who promote English-only policies in their classrooms. Actions in the 'messy middle' can appear as isolated at first glance, but that is not the full picture. 'Messy middle' data points tell a story about how

student experiences are positively impacted by the combination of individual actions, even if teachers feel that they are acting individually.

Effective analysis of the 'messy middle' relies on ecosocial levels, as they provide context for the impact of each data point. In the present data set, most data points in the 'messy middle' fell at lower ecosocial levels, suggesting relatively small impacts on the school ecology as a whole. While individual teachers or classrooms are sites of resistance to dysconscious thinking, these actions are not yet impacting larger portions of the school ecology through school-wide policies or practices. School leaders or activists can promote steps toward critical consciousness by amplifying practices that are already occurring at low levels in the 'messy middle'. For instance, school leaders looking to make Quannon's language practices more critically conscious could use Srta. García's 'messy middle' translanguaging practices as an example for other teachers to implement similar practices.

Another compelling feature of this new continuum is that it is flexible and subjective by design, allowing for broad application across a variety of data sets. Bilingual education, as with many social justice movements, is in varying states of development across the United States; thus, what might feel radical for bilingual educators in one state may feel standard or mundane in another. The continuum adapts to these different settings easily, and scholars can redefine what is and is not dysconscious, relative to the particular environment. On the Quannon version of the continuum, holding PTO meetings all in English while only offering Spanish translation at the beginning of the meeting is dysconscious; however, in a different environment, the simple fact that translation was offered may represent a monumental step away from English hegemony for that PTO. The proposed continuum assumes that data

analysis is subjective and allows for each researcher who adopts it to redefine dysconsciousness and progress in their data set.

In multiple ways, this continuum is engineered to center growth, not perfection. Scholars and activists who choose to use it benefit from highlighting existing progress in order to build momentum for additional change. The 'messy middle' is an antidote to pessimism and an active investment in a promising future for bilingual education. Most importantly, it highlights the power of collective action in a larger ecosystem.

Implications for Bilingual Education

Much of the 'messy middle' data in the present data set has limited impacts on the school community because it is only happening in a single classroom or environment, rather than as part of a school-wide raciolinguistic culture. A next step for the Quannon community would be codifying Srta. García's critically conscious practices into school-wide policies to expand their impact for the whole community. As such, specific recommendations are provided that would amplify the power the critically conscious practices and mindsets observed in Srta. García's classroom.

Interrogating Power

In her classroom, Srta. García names and interrogates existing power structures, particularly in the ways that she speaks about raciolinguistic power in her interviews and co-opts strategies meant for English learners to help her students acquire academic Spanish. While limited in scope, these mindsets and strategies are impactful in upending the power dynamics in Srta. García's classroom and could be utilized by other staff to create a greater impact. In order to amplify the staff's ability to name, interrogate, and disrupt linguistic

power in their classrooms, thoughtful professional development opportunities must be provided. However, approaching topics like dominant power through professional development requires reflecting on the ways in which current PD practices reinforce dominant power structures and uplift already privileged voices. Consequently, PD opportunities that seek to increase equity must employ innovative approaches. As Hesse, La Serna, and Zoellner note, "this is not a once-a-month, agenda-driven, whole-group PD session set on repeat in Google Calendar…rather, educators drive their own development as they engage in critical conversation on topics of their choosing, driven by their observations and reflections" (Dorner et al, 2023, p. 210). One approach that can uplift minoritized voices and encourage individual growth is *testimonio,* a CRT-rooted practice in which staff listen to first-person accounts from others who hold minoritized identities in order to counter previously held beliefs (Delgado Bernal et al., 2012; Dorner et al., 2023). Staff then reflect on the *testimonio,* with an emphasis on increasing empathy and understanding multiple viewpoints of the same issue. For instance, a *testimonio* from Srta. García could include her comment that "think sometimes I feel like self-conscious about my Spanish" in a larger conversation about linguistic preferences and identities. Monolingual English-speaking colleagues may not have considered this perspective before, as it is outside of their lived experience, and Srta. García's account could help them better understand their students who express these feelings.

Testimonio can happen both organically, in response to real-time events in the classroom, or in a planned format for teachers seeking to better understand multiple viewpoints of a particular topic. In order to appropriately implement *testimonio* as impactful

PD for staff, administrators must ensure that staff have adequate time and emotional resources to dedicate to their learning. As such, they should carefully consider staff workloads and how they can streamline or eliminate unnecessary tasks to hold space for educators to engage in *testimonio* PD. Additionally, using *testimonio* requires that administrators shift power back to their teachers and "recognize that DLBE educators can authentically learn and grow by managing their own Freirean cycle of learning, critical reflection, and action" (Dorner et al, 2023, p. 210). Here, administrators must trust that their teachers are curious, self-driven learners and provide them with the necessary resources to engage in their own self-directed learning.

Translanguaging

Translanguaging is a critically conscious practice that Srta. García employs in her classroom to begin chipping away at English dominance, and it is a practice that could be enormously impactful if used by other school staff. Linguistic landscapes provide a relatively easy entry point for staff to visualize and quantify how English dominance and monoglossic ideals show up in their classrooms and hallways. Posters, bulletin boards, and other signs provide fodder for fruitful conversation about existing power structures and allow staff to visualize how language power shows up in their spaces. This initial introduction to translanguaging pedagogy and English dominance could be facilitated through open-ended artifact analysis during a whole-group professional development opportunity. Administrators should moderate, rather than lead, the discussion, paying particular attention to uplifting traditionally minoritized voices.

Once staff are familiar with monoglossic hegemony in linguistic landscapes, they can begin to recognize and disrupt it in other aspects of their classrooms. This second step should be more organic and staff-driven, and it could be achieved in various ways. Interested staff could choose to engage in self-analysis by recording and rewatching a lesson to better understand how they reinforce or challenge linguistic power structures in their own classrooms. They could also engage in a cycle of observation and reflection with a peer to see exemplars of translanguaging in action. Administrators play a critical role in ensuring that these opportunities are available and celebrated. They must begin with the belief that teachers are motivated to learn and create the work environment that supports teachers' growth. This could look like reducing unnecessary administrative tasks, providing substitute coverage for peer observation and reflection, or compensating teachers for additional time needed to engage in this work. Fundamentally, professional development related to translanguaging and linguistic equity must be highly individualized in order to be effective, and administrators must ensure that teachers have the resources to engage in this work.

"I'm Not Fighting Alone"

Every tale contains multiple realities, and authors hold enormous power to shape the story they want to tell. In children's fiction, authors turn fairytales upside down to suggest that the Maleficent was misunderstood, or the Big Bad Wolf just wanted a cup of sugar. These stories are particularly compelling because they challenge existing worldviews and biases and encourage deep, careful reflection. They beg readers to consider what might exist outside of their reality. As it happens, research and fairytales achieve quite similar goals.

Researchers employ the same techniques as children's authors to mold data into the story they want to tell, challenging existing ideas about how the world functions.

This story is no different. As the author, I wield the power to choose how the story unfolds, how characters are presented, and the emotional experience I create for my reader. It is in light of this responsibility that I chose to present my data within the dysconscious racism – critical consciousness continuum. Much of the literature on bilingual education highlights inequalities and shortcomings, which leaves readers feeling powerless in the face of such an enormous problem. I read this literature and I, too, felt powerless. So I decided to tell a story that highlight both systemic failures and incremental progress.

The version of this story that I have chosen to tell confers with existing research on dysconsciousness in bilingual education in which white parents and students hold substantial power to shape schools like Quannon (Babino & Stewart, 2017; Fitts, 2006; García-Mateus, 2020; Jakonen, 2016; McCollum, 1999; Palmer, 2009). Under the guise of a white intellectual alibi (Leonardo & Zemblyas, 2013), progressive white parents choose neighborhoods that reinforce their racial dominance (Darrah et al., 2020; Evans, 2021; Kimelberg & Bellingham, 2013) and create gatekept group identities (Block, 2008; Castells, 2009) with other parents that protect their whiteness and English in a multiracial and multilingual school environment. In school groups like the PTO and drama club, decisions made by white parents with unchecked power replicate and reinforce harmful stereotypes about race and language. Perhaps the most egregious example is the school play, in which students are literally acting out dysconscious raciolinguicism, simultaneously Othering Spanish speakers and praising the values of diversity.

The power structures that students see at home follow them into the classroom, where students who hold multiple unmarked identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) are afforded greater choice of identities to adopt in class (May, 1998), such as positioning oneself as 'smart'. Students see which of their peers are afforded the privilege of choosing their identities and internalize that English, whiteness, and intelligence are connected. The culmination of all of this dysconscious thinking and action around them is the well-researched phenomenon of students in bilingual classrooms eschewing Spanish because they understand that English holds greater social capital (Babino & Stewart, 2017; Chaparro, 2019; Fitts, 2006; McCollum, 1999; Palmer, 2009). This phenomenon held true in the present data set, with students purposefully choosing to make basic requests in English during Spanish class and nonchalantly stating that it is okay to speak in English during Spanish time because the teacher doesn't mind. One student even went so far as to intentionally use Spanish to mock a peer's intelligence, further solidifying the connection between English and intelligence.

Alongside the rampant dysconsciousness that affirms patterns in existing literature, individuals are taking strides toward critical consciousness. In particular, Srta. García uses her combination of lived experience in the Latine community and social justice coursework to interrogate power and historicize her place within a dysconscious system. She works to interrupt her own English reflex and model Spanish use for her students, and she utilizes translanguaging in her linguistic landscape and in her lessons. These individual actions are important, but they are ultimately insufficient to markedly affect an otherwise dysconscious system. Students still move through Quannon learning that English and whiteness are highly valued tools of power. This does not negate the necessity of Srta. García's actions; rather, it

is critical that actions like hers are amplified and repeated so that they become part of the schoolwide culture. What Quannon needs is more teachers moving in sync away from dysconsciousness, understanding their own complicity in a dysconscious system and setting up clear systems to recenter Spanish speakers and students of Color.

Every tale contains multiple realities, and I would like to believe that the one I'm sharing is an honest and hopeful one. Quannon is unfortunately still beholden to existing raciolinguistic hegemony and systematically reinforces dominant narratives. At the same time, there are teachers who are divorcing themselves from dysconsciousness and paving the way for future educators to do the same. What these teachers are doing would be revolutionary in some contexts; however, in this environment, their actions prove insufficient in markedly changing dominant narratives. It seems the easy choice to let this data set add to the pessimistic bilingual education research landscape. Instead, I choose to hold space for both outrage at the status quo and for hope that steps away from dysconsciousness will begin to shift the narrative. As such, I will end by echoing the hope that Sra. Ochoa, middle school bilingual teacher, shared when speaking about her bilingual students: "I'm not fighting alone."

APPENDIX A

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Below are the semi-structured interview questions used with various groups of participants. Questions were used as a guide for the conversation, but not every question was used in each interview. Rather, interviews began with questions but were largely guided by participant statements. Interviews typically lasted between 15 and 20 minutes and were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed. Each question set was translated into Spanish, and participants were able to choose their preferred language at the beginning of the interview.

El guión para el comienzo de las entrevistas: Mucias gracias por invitarme a su espacio para esta entrevista. Estoy emocionado de aprender más sobre usted y su conexión con la escuela Quannon. Le voy a hacer algunas preguntas; si le hago una pregunta con la que no se siente cómodo responder, podemos pasar a la siguiente. Voy a grabar nuestra conversación para poder escucharla más tarde (coloque el dispositivo de grabación sobre la mesa). ¿Tiene alguna pregunta antes de comenzar?

Script for the beginning of interviews: Thank you for inviting me into your space for this interview. I am excited to learn more about you and your connection to Quannon school. I will be asking you some questions – if I ask you a question you don't feel comfortable answering, we can just move on to the next one. I am going to be recording our conversation so I can listen to it later (place recording device on table). Do you have any questions before we start?

Preguntas para los estudiantes

1. ¿Qué palabras usarías para describirte?
2. ¿Qué es lo más fácil y lo más difícil para ti en la escuela?
3. Háblame sobre tu escuela- ¿Cómo es asistir a una escuela bilingüe?
4. ¿Qué lengua prefieres hablar, español o inglés?
5. ¿Quiénes hablan solo inglés en la escuela? ¿Cómo lo sabes?
6. ¿Quiénes hablan solo español en la escuela? ¿Cómo lo sabes?
7. ¿Quiénes son bilingües en la escuela? ¿Cómo lo sabes?
8. Hablemos del español en la escuela ¿Cuándo hablas español? ¿Con quienes hablas español?
9. ¿Hablas español afuera de la escuela? Si lo haces, ¿con quién lo hablas?
10. Hablemos del inglés en la escuela ¿Cuándo hablas inglés? ¿Con quienes hablas inglés?
11. ¿Hablas inglés afuera de la escuela? Si lo haces, ¿con quién lo hablas?
12. ¿Qué lengua hablas con tus amigos? ¿Cómo decides qué lengua hablar con ellos?
13. ¿Qué lengua hablas con tu profesora? ¿Cómo decides qué lengua hablar con ella?
14. Cuando conoces a alguien nuevo, ¿cómo decides que lengua usar cuando hablas con ellos?

15. Si tuvieras un amigo/a que estuviera pensando en asistir a una escuela bilingüe, pero no está seguro ¿Qué le dirías?

Questions for Students

1. What kinds of words could you use to describe yourself?
2. What is easiest and hardest for you at school?
3. Tell me about your school- what is it like going to a bilingual school?
4. What language do you prefer to speak – English or Spanish?
5. Who speaks only English at school? How do you know?
6. Who speaks only Spanish at school? How do you know?
7. Who is bilingual at school? How do you know?
8. Let's talk about Spanish at school- when do you speak Spanish? And who do you speak Spanish with?
9. Do you ever speak Spanish outside of school? If so, with whom?
10. Let's talk about English at school- when do you speak English? And who do you speak English with?
11. Do you ever speak English outside of school? If so, with whom?
12. What language do you speak with your friends? How did/do you decide what language to use with them?
13. What language do you speak with your teacher? How do you decide what language to speak with her?
14. When you meet someone new, how do you decide what language to use when speaking to them?
15. If you had a friend who was thinking about going to a bilingual school but could not decide, what would you tell them?

Preguntas para los padres

1. ¿Qué lengua/lenguas usas en casa?
2. Háblame sobre cuando y porqué te mudaste a Framingham. ¿Cuánto tiempo has vivido aquí y por qué escogiste esta ciudad? ¿Cuánto tiempo has vivido en los Estados Unidos?
3. ¿Completaste algún tipo de educación en los Estados Unidos?
4. Cuando estabas escogiendo la escuela elemental para tu hijo/a, ¿por qué elegiste Barbieri?
5. ¿Cómo son los profesores de Barbieri?
6. ¿Cómo son los directores de Barbieri?
7. Cuando interactúas con el staff de Barbieri, ¿hablas en inglés, español o ambos?
8. Cuando recibes mensajes o anuncios de la escuela, ¿estos están en inglés o español?
9. ¿Qué ha aprendido tu hijo/a de ir a una escuela bilingüe?
10. Si pudieras elegir otra vez enviar a tu hijo/a a una escuela bilingüe lo harías? ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué no?
11. Las escuelas bilingües deberían de servir con equidad a los estudiantes que hablan inglés y a los estudiantes que hablan español. ¿La escuela Barbieri apoya a todos los estudiantes? ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué no?

Questions for Parents

1. What language/languages do you use at home?
2. Tell me about when and why you moved to Framingham- how long have you lived here and why did you choose this city? How long have you lived in the United States?
3. Did you complete any schooling in the United States?
4. When you were choosing an elementary school for your child, why did you choose Barbieri?
5. What are the Barbieri teachers like?
6. What are the Barbieri principals like?
7. When you interact with Barbieri staff, do they speak with you in English, Spanish, or both?
8. When you get messages or letters from the school, do they come in English or Spanish?
9. What has your child learned by being at a bilingual school?
10. If you could choose all over again whether to send your child to a bilingual school, would you? Why or why not?
11. Bilingual schools are supposed to equally serve English-speaking students and Spanish-speaking students. Does Barbieri support all students? Why or why not?

Preguntas para profesores

1. ¿Por cuánto tiempo has sido profesor? ¿Dónde más has trabajado aparte de Framingham?
2. ¿Por qué decidiste ser una profesora?
3. ¿Por qué decidiste trabajar en Framingham? ¿Y por qué en TWDL?
4. ¿Qué desarrollo profesional o credenciales tienes relacionados con TWDL o estudiantes multilingües?
5. ¿Cómo te describirías a ti misma como profesora?
6. ¿Cómo te describirían tus estudiantes?
7. Con tus compañeros de trabajo, ¿hablas inglés, español o ambos? ¿Cómo decides?
8. Las escuelas bilingües deberían de servir con equidad a los estudiantes que hablan inglés y a los estudiantes que hablan español. ¿La escuela Barbieri apoya a todos los estudiantes? ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué no?
9. Si un amigo/a estuviera decidiendo enviar a su hijo/a a Barbieri, ¿qué le aconsejarías? ¿Por qué?
10. ¿Cómo la raza afecta los resultados de tus estudiantes?
11. ¿Cómo el lenguaje de casa afecta los resultados de tus estudiantes?
12. ¿El sistema escolar de Framingham favorece un grupo lingüístico o racial especifico? ¿Cómo lo sabes?

Questions for Teachers

1. How long have you been a teacher? Where else have you worked besides Framingham?

2. Why did you decide to become a teacher?
3. Why did you choose to work in Framingham? And why TWDL?
4. What professional development or degrees do you have related to TWDL or multilingual learners?
5. How would you describe yourself as a teacher?
6. How would your students describe you?
7. With colleagues, do you speak English, Spanish, or both? How do you decide?
8. Bilingual schools are supposed to equally serve English-speaking students and Spanish-speaking students. Does Barbieri support all students? Why or why not?
9. If a friend was deciding whether to send their child to Barbieri, how would you advise them and why?
10. How does race affect outcomes for your students?
11. How does home language affect outcomes for your students?
12. Does the Framingham school system favor any particular racial or linguistic group? How can you tell?

Interview Protocol for Teacher- Analyzing an excerpt of a field note

During some monthly teacher interviews, the researcher chose out a short excerpt of a field note (a specific quote, an interaction, etc.) and engaged in the protocol below to gain more information from the focal teacher. Excerpts were chosen based on how closely they addressed the research questions. For example, an excerpt of a one-to-one conversation between focal teacher and a focal participant about the language of an assignment would be a possible excerpt to analyze because it addresses a research question regarding student-teacher interactions. These conversations were recorded and transcribed for later analysis.

Step 1: Teacher reads the excerpt (removed from the rest of the field notes for confidentiality)
Step 2: Teacher responds to the following prompts:

1. ¿Qué pasaba en ese momento? Dime más acerca del contexto, qué es relevante.
2. ¿Cómo te sentiste/reaccionaste en ese momento?
3. ¿Cómo estás reaccionando a este fragmento ahora? ¿Tu reacción cambió? ¿Qué motivo el cambio?

1. What was happening in this moment? Tell me more about the relevant context.
2. How did you feel/react in the moment?
3. How are you reacting to this excerpt now? If your reaction changed, what prompted the change?

APPENDIX B

CODE BOOK

Code	Description	Example From Data
Teacher perceptions of students		
"I'm a very kind person"	focal students describing themselves during interview; almost all focal students used 'kind' as the primary adjective to describe themselves	J: I'm a kind person, I'm athletic
"susceptible to bad influences"	students not following directions; teacher perceiving that student is not following directions; teacher describing student	Kamila is encouraging peer to poke another student with her pencil, peer does it, Srta. G catches Kamila helping her and looks at her inquisitively Kamila: I was just helping my friend
"very capable"	students engaging with work and getting answers correct	Interventionist: quien quiere leer esto? All five raise hands enthusiastically Body language at table – two students (Emily, peer) leaning closer to teacher, Sofia pointing and holding pencil up to forehead as if she's thinking
Perceptions of Bilingual Education		
"they tolerate us to continue to exist"	examples of students being partially (but not fully) included; also perceived partial inclusion	Asst. BD: it often feels like we're an island, they tolerate us to continue to exist, I get really really excited to see the elementary schools trickling into the middle schools…it gives me chills and makes me really excited, it's really beautiful (talking about other town where she is living)
"un choque de cultura"	individuals articulating the belief that too much diversity can be a negative	En [Quannon] buenísimos. Solo últimamente he tenido unas cuantas inconveniencias…no es que todos estén criando los niños de la misma manera que estoy criando yo a la mía, o los míos. Me imagino que por eso es un choque de cultura también.

"breaking down those walls, making bridges"	examples of real or perceived crossing lingusitic or racial boundaries; direct references to diversity or cultural celebration	Restaurant night with other feeder elementary schools at [local German beer hall], why [local German beer hall]? – presidents mention that it's a large venue, they're hoping everyone can go and "sit at the big tables and socialize"
"normalizing speaking Spanish"	mostly used in interviews when participants describe why they sent their kids to bilingual school; framed as a benefit of bilingual ed; also describes general exposure to Spanish	Oh, [our youngest child], one of surprised us the most she has no fear Spanish, and she befriended a little girl in her class who doesn't know English and she's teaching her English…the other kids were not, were not that comfortable
Language Use and Preference		
"English - that's my language"	When participants (usually students) describe or show preference for English, particularly during Spanish instructional times; individuals choosing to use English over Spanish	Sofia to teacher: wait, so we can do it in English? Srta G: no Srta G (to group, referring to double sided graphic organizer): vamos a usar el lado de español
"English is so powerful"	English is used before Spanish without question (ex: play practice is all in English with no explanation); English acquisition occurring more quickly than Spanish and/or being prioritized	The bilingual characters are translating what they're saying (English first, Spanish next, sentence by sentence) – not all of it, but lots of it
"I speak in English, she doesn't mind"	Students using English during Spanish time, especially for phrases or words that they should know in Spanish (ex: asking to use the bathroom)	Student: "Srta G what do I do when I'm finished" Srta G: "ponlo en la sección de matemáticas"

"Spanish is ugly"	Spanish language positioned as inferior, through attributes associated (Spanish is ugly), using it to mock others, etc.	Line from play – "it's what's on the inside that matters, not what you look like" In this cast, all Black students are in characters where they are either positioned as different (Ugly) or less mature/sophisticated (ducklings)
Language Separation		
"it's Spanish time"	students or teacher adhering to / enforcing Spanish during Spanish language instructional blocks; students discussing how/when they speak Spanish at school	because sometimes they speak Spanish with me, like when [Ms. G] says 'oh it's Spanish time, we're gonna speak Spanish together, talk to your partner', sometimes like for a line for the play, they speak Spanish.
"mix it all the time"	discussing language mixing / translanguaging; examples of translanguaging in observations	Srta. G: I'm sorry, my bad…mi error, mi equivoque, porque lo puedes chequear por los ceros, does that make sense? Just goes to show, everyone makes mistakes, math is hard
"we speak Spanish and English at school"	discussing language separation and/or adherence to monoglossic language norms	Principal talking about clear separation of language – talking about the positives of classrooms having clear language separation
Reasons for Sending Their Children to Quannon		
"ningun tipo de discriminacion"	explicit mention of inclusivity and/or lack of discrimination; used in interviews	En este caso hasta ahora yo no he sentido ningún tipo de discriminación, honestamente. No, quiero creer que sí, que hasta ahora, la [Quannon] en relación a eso. Hasta ahora yo no he sentido discriminación. Siempre que pido hablar con alguien en español, siempre consigo quién me atienda. Generalmente casi todos hablan español.
"nunca perdio nuestra idioma"	refers to the loss or maintenance of a non-English native language; used in both interviews and observations	Porque lo que no queremos es que pierdan el idioma nuestro. Trataría la manera de que volvieran a ir a [Quannon] o la que estuviera disponible.

"to have the communication with [family]"	parents/students naming that being able to communicate with extended relatives in Spanish is a benefit of the two-way program	Porque mis padres vienen aquí, ellos no van a poder comunicarse o ellos van allá, no pueden comunicarse en inglés, porque no se habla inglés allá
"[teachers] bringing them to their best level"	praising teachers for challenging their students academically; used in interviews	I rave about them, I just say that, like each year our kids have gotten the teachers that are perfect for them like just personality-wise…like all of the teachers, have been very good about. just bring bringing them to just their best level that they can be at
"proud to be bilingual"	explicit mention of pride in being bilingual	Middle school DL teacher – "all of them, I think, they're proud to be learning the language
"their menu of options"	explicit mention of bilingualism giving students options for their future in terms of career paths and where to live	Yeah. So your hope, our hope is that, like okay as they get older and they have, they are bilingual that when they have to they'll just be able to revert back to them and use it, you know, like as a resource in life, you know
"yo queria una escuela bilingue"	parents explicitly stating that they wanted their children to attend a bilingual school	Okay, we wanted to keep that culture if living here right and that We're not living in Puerto Rico that they were able to speak the language and know the language.
Other		
"I feel self-conscious about my Spanish"	direct commentary on being self-conscious about one's Spanish, usually Isabela in reference to her own language choices in the classroom	I have internalized that English as a language. Like, you know, I feel, I think sometimes I feel like self-conscious about my Spanish, like it's not good enough.
"I wanted to use my Spanish for something"	choosing to use Spanish instead of English for personal, interpersonal, or societal benefit	I always knew that I wanted to use my Spanish for something…but like, I just knew that, you know, cause I went here, the program has been a lot around for longer than like, other parts of the state. Mm-hmm.

"I'm so smart/dumb"	students self-identifying as 'smart' or 'dumb', either verbally or through actions (ex: student saying "this is hard, I'm too dumb")	Student to peer: you are smart…you are smart Peer to student: and me, the opposite
"class plays a big role in it"	discussions about socioeconomic status	other parent who is teacher in another town talking about logistics of ordering tshirts “we get them every year for field day…we have a little more money (smiles and laughs)”
"give me a thumbs up or thumbs down"	Focal student Emily positioning herself as a teacher through words and actions (ex: pointing and reading problem while helping peer, re-explaining concepts in jargon that the teacher used)	Now Emily is helping peer (B) with her work – “so first write your name”; again, she’s leaning in toward peer, kneeling to get on her level, pointing on the paper while she explains; when B is thinking Emily waits patiently and says an enthusiastic “yes” when she’s done; in the meantime, peer (T) comes over for Emily to check her work; when B gets her answer right Emily says “good, awesome”, pats her on the head; now Emily is helping Joel with his work; again, she’s kneeling, body facing Juan, Juan leaning in toward Emily, resting his head in his hand

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