

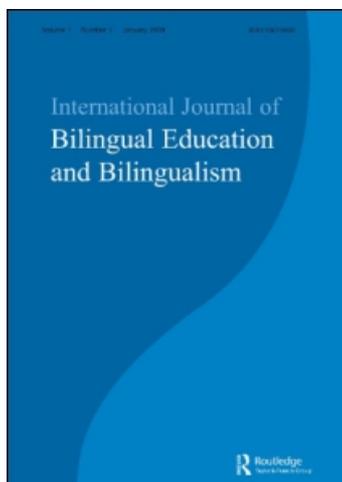
This article was downloaded by: [Brigham Young University]

On: 11 May 2010

Access details: Access Details: [subscription number 917402680]

Publisher Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t794297780>

English and Spanish 'para un futuro' - or just English? Immigrant family perspectives on two-way immersion

Lisa Marie Dorner ^a

^a Division of Educational Psychology, Research, and Evaluation, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, MO, USA

First published on: 30 October 2009

To cite this Article Dorner, Lisa Marie(2010) 'English and Spanish 'para un futuro' - or just English? Immigrant family perspectives on two-way immersion', International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 13: 3, 303 – 323, First published on: 30 October 2009 (iFirst)

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/13670050903229851

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13670050903229851>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

English and Spanish ‘para un futuro’ – or just English? Immigrant family perspectives on two-way immersion

Lisa Marie Dorner*

*Division of Educational Psychology, Research, and Evaluation, University of Missouri-St. Louis,
1 University Blvd., 467 Marillac Hall, St. Louis, MO 63121-4400, USA*

(Received 31 January 2009; final version received 1 August 2009)

This article considers immigrants’ perspectives on language immersion education. Data are drawn from a longitudinal research project that examined one suburban school district’s construction of a two-way immersion (TWI), bilingual education policy. Analyses focus on 18 months of participant observation with six Mexican immigrant families who had at least one child in TWI. Framed by the language policy and planning literature as well as the study of childhoods, the findings foreground both parents’ and children’s understandings of their district’s new policy. Parents’ hopes for TWI to develop students’ bilingualism matched the policy’s stated intentions, but children also foregrounded the public debate’s focus on developing students’ English skills. The discussion considers what these contrasting perspectives mean for the political implementation of bilingual, TWI policies.

Keywords: bilingual students; dual language immersion; language policy; two-way immersion; parents of bilingual children; Spanish/English; USA

‘A mí me gusta que él sepa de los dos, hablarlos y leerlos y entenderlos . . . para el futuro de él mismo.’ *I really like that my son knows the two languages, knows how to speak them, and to read them, and to understand them . . . for his future.* – Sra. Fernández,¹ immigrant mother

‘We learn Spanish *and* English!’ – Diana, her daughter, a two-way immersion (TWI) student

The children of immigrants are the fastest growing child population in the USA. Almost 25% of US students come from homes with at least one immigrant parent (Feliciano 2006), and more and more are attending suburban and rural schools not accustomed to instructing English language learners (ELLs) (Wortham et al. 2002). In response to these challenges, increasing numbers of school districts in mixed language communities have implemented dual language, or two-way immersion (TWI), policies (Fortune and Tedick 2008; Lindholm-Leary 2001). However, the implementation of new language policies – situated within historical conflicts over language and identity in the USA – often triggers public debate about *who* should be

*Email: dornerl@umsl.edu

educated and *how* (Dorner, forthcoming; McDonnell 2004; Mitchell et al. 1999; Wiley and Wright 2004). Notably, immigrant voices are often missing from these debates (Dorner, forthcoming; Valdés 1997), even though the policies under construction are critical for the education of their children. With the goal to inform these discussions and support policymakers who seek to integrate all families into their schools, this article explores US immigrant families' perspectives on bilingualism, education, and TWI.

I write 'families' purposefully here, as I suggest that studies must carefully attend not only to the perspectives of immigrant *parents*, but also to those of their *children*. In some ways, examining children's viewpoints, as well as parents' beliefs about children, are logical starting points for studying language policy in the USA. After all, historically, immigrants migrate in order to create a better life and education for their children (Hamann et al. 2002; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). Moreover, youth often mediate relationships between their families and their new communities, especially when they interpret and translate information and interactions for elders (Orellana 2001, 2009; Tse 1996). It follows, then, that immigrants' views and decisions regarding education are likely shaped by children.

Framed by work from the studies of childhoods (James et al. 1998) as well as policy implementation (Spillane et al. 2002), this research takes a sociocultural, interpretive approach to policy analysis (Yanow 2000), examining what children and their parents believe about language immersion policies and education. Because their voices are often left out of public debates (Valdés 1997), I focus my overarching research question on immigrant families, specifically: How do children and their parents from Mexico understand and take part in new bilingual, immersion policies? To answer this question, I draw from a case study of a suburban school district in Chicago, IL, which I call 'Engleville.' During the 1990s, Engleville experienced increasing settlement of immigrants, many from rural Mexican towns. By the time of this study in the 2000s, about 15% of the school district's students identified themselves as 'Hispano' or 'Hispanic.'² After years of discussion about the best way to educate this growing group, Engleville's school district decided to construct a TWI policy. With the goal to develop bilingualism and biliteracy in Spanish *and* English-heritage students by fifth-grade, TWI classrooms included approximately equal numbers of children with these two different language backgrounds.

The following section explains the theories and literature that guide this study, before turning to an explanation of the research methodology. Then, the analyses demonstrate how the perspectives of parents and children reflected official school discourse as well as the verbal, public debate about TWI. I conclude with a discussion of the importance of integrating families' perspectives into the development of language immersion policies.

Theoretical frameworks

In my work, I take a sociocultural (Hamann et al. 2002), bottom-up (Hornberger 1996), interpretive approach (Spillane et al. 2002; Yanow 2000) to study educational policy. Taken together, these perspectives highlight the necessity of examining the various, individual meanings that local actors attribute to policy. This is critical because during any policy's implementation, texts and discourse(s) are locally contested, and in turn, policies can actually change and are sometimes created by local actors (Ball 2006; Boyd 1976; Walford 2003). These actors – or as I call them,

'policy agents' – are not always 'policymakers' in the traditional sense of the word; with educational policies, for example, agents include teachers, individual family members, as well as local tax-payers without children (Dorner, forthcoming). To understand a new educational policy and its effects, then, one must include an examination of all stakeholders, and I argue that these include its end recipients: parents and children.

To frame this study of immigrant parents and their children's views of a new TWI policy, I draw from the fields of language policy and planning (LPP) and the study of childhoods. In the following paragraphs, I briefly review the LPP literature, its calls for systematic attention to local perspectives, and a few policy studies that have examined the viewpoints of immigrant parents. Drawing from research on childhoods, I then argue that such work must explore children's viewpoints as well, as they are the main recipients of educational policy.

Language policy and planning (LPP)

To better understand and evaluate policies, scholars have argued that we need a more complex understanding of actors' roles in policy implementation processes (Lewis and Maruna 1998; Spillane et al. 2002). Attending to the experiences, beliefs, and situations of students and families, in particular, should help educators create policies that best resonate with those that they intend to serve (McDonnell 2004). Scholars in the field of language planning and policy agree: they call for more careful examinations of the local conversations, negotiations, and discourses that shape educational practice (Cooper 1989; Hornberger 2003; Shohamy 2006). Most recently, some have highlighted the importance of understanding community and grass-root concerns regarding language education and politics (Baldauf Jr. 2005; Baldauf Jr. et al. 2008; Tollefson 2002); this requires studies from the 'bottom-up' (Hornberger 1996, 2003). In short, the micro-level processes that occur within communities – such as interactions among teachers, students, and family members – are where policies are truly enacted, and this is where they must be studied.

A growing number of policy analyses have examined local, community perspectives on and involvement in language planning. For instance, one study explained how Hispanic immigrant parents in a Midwestern town in the USA designed a 'Statement of Beliefs and Practices' regarding their district's approach to bilingual education (Brunn 2002). In this statement, they declared that any language policy should not only hold their children's Spanish language skills in high regard, but also promise to develop a high facility with the English language. Another study of US Latino immigrants attempted to link parents' contexts directly to choices they made regarding language policy (Bayley and Schecter 2005). This project predicted that large-scale demographic and statewide political differences between the San Francisco area in California and San Antonio, Texas would shape families' choices for bilingual education. However, they found no definite patterns. Almost all the Latinos in the study wanted their children to maintain the Spanish language, but some chose bilingual programs that instructed youth in academic Spanish, while others opted for all-English programs.

A related group of studies have examined immigrant parents' beliefs about language and education, if not about specific language policies. This work generally finds that Latino/a immigrants in the USA hope for *una buena educación*, or a good educational base, for their children (Reese et al. 1995). Such an 'educación' includes

developing their academic abilities, as well as *respeto* (respect for one's language, culture, and elders) and *buen comportamiento* (good etiquette and behavior across the lifespan; Delgado-Gaitan 2001; Orellana et al. 2002; Reese et al. 1995; Villenas 2002). Work in this area highlights that immigrants carefully consider educational processes and are concerned for their children's futures in ways that may be shaped by their immigrant experience. That is, immigrants' beliefs are often adapted from or contrasted with experiences and attitudes formed in their homelands; moreover, such perspectives are usually under continual negotiation, dependent upon local and historical circumstances (Orellana et al. 2002; Reese 2001, 2002; Reese and Gallimore 2000; Villenas 2002).

Taken together, these studies give us a good starting point for understanding how US immigrant parents (especially Latino/as) approach education and language policies. Parents think and care deeply about their children's education; they become involved when the opportunity is presented; and many want their families to maintain their native language to some degree, but they may choose different paths to this end. Even though these choices may depend upon historical and contextual factors, few studies have connected parents' perspectives to local community contexts or policies (Orellana et al. 2002). As well, they usually neglect reporting the views of the most direct recipients of educational policies: children.

Where are the children's voices in language planning and policy?

The critical study of childhoods from both anthropological and sociological perspectives (James et al. 1998; Orellana 2009; Thorne 1987; Schwartzman 2001a; Zelizer 2002) underscores that much research turns our attention away from viewing children as capable agents. For instance, in answer to the question, 'How do we think about children?' Thorne (1987) has argued that public agendas typically view children as social problems, either as threats to or victims of adults. Some language policy research in the USA takes the first angle, as it asks the underlying question: what can we do with this 'problem' of students who do not speak English? These students may pose a 'threat' to the fabric of US English-speaking society, and language education must be effective in weaving them into this fabric. Other studies, especially on bilingual classrooms and politics, may fall into the second category, generally viewing the children of immigrants as 'victims' of an educational system created by adults. For example, many have critiqued how teachers and other social service providers focus on minority children's 'deficits' and 'problems' (Valdés 1996; Villenas 2001).

The majority of educational research generally examines a third angle: children as 'learners' who are moving toward an adult future. Language studies especially highlight how children are shaped by adults' cultural and social practices, asking, for example: 'Which language and literacy practices do immigrant families keep and pass on to the next generation and why, which do they leave by the wayside or transform, and which new practices do they adopt?' (Zentella 2005, 13–4). A great majority of educational studies look at children's cognitive and linguistic growth, and/or which classroom activities encourage the best learning and development. Thus, there is an undercurrent that pushes researchers (and adults in general) to look at what children *are becoming*. This emphasis on the future makes some sense, as researchers, teachers, and parents generally want children to grow up into successful, productive, and content adults. However, it may neglect who children are, what they experience, and

how they learn in the here and now. That is, when adults take such perspectives, they may forget that youth organize their own situations in particular ways; they make decisions; and they have their own views and interests (Orellana 2009; Schwartzman 2001b).

Despite the prevalence of the adult-centered, prospective approach in educational research and practice, some scholars have worked with the children of immigrants to see how they interpret their educational and multilingual worlds in the here and now. For example, González (2005) has explored how students in Arizona responded to classroom practices and activities in their dual-language school: one student wondered if she would not be able to speak Spanish any more if the state proposition under consideration eliminated bilingual programs that aimed to maintain students' home languages. Smith (1999) has documented Mexican-American students' perspectives on language, noting that the power and prestige they attribute to English at school motivated them to transition away from Spanish. In another study conducted just after the state of California passed its initiative that effectively eliminated bilingual education there, researchers focused on parents' and children's differing views of language (Orellana et al. 1999). Mexican and Central American parents and their children both emphasized the importance of learning English. However, parents viewed children's English abilities as a measure of their progress and future capabilities, while children treated English as a meaningful identity marker in the present (Orellana et al. 1999).

The findings reviewed above underscore children's and adults' differing perspectives, as well as how children experience political and sometimes racist circumstances in acute ways: children fearing that they would not be able to speak their home language any more if a new policy was passed, or recognizing the power of language to assert a particular social identity. While this work begins to demonstrate the struggle – in their terms – that youth have in maintaining their heritage language and the social pressure to speak only English in many US school contexts, we know little about the meaning children attribute to new language policies. This article will closely explore the perspectives of both immigrant parents and their children, on their district's TWI policy, as it is implemented. The end goal is to consider: What do these perspectives, which are often missing from public debate, say about the plurality and politics of bilingual language policies, and policy implementation, in the USA today?

Methods

Because I aimed to analyze how participants interpret and make sense of a new bilingual policy, I used qualitative research methods, which are key to unpacking questions of interpretation (Emerson et al. 1995; Merriam 2009). Taking a case study approach, for approximately three years I followed how Engleville (a pseudonym) reformed its language policy for Spanish speakers. In the following section, I describe the context of Engleville, its switch to TWI, my overall research design, as well as my specific data collection and analysis procedures.

The context and two-way immersion (TWI) policy of Engleville

As a suburban city outside of Chicago, Engleville represents the newest context in the USA for immigrants and for Latino/as. Over 50% of Latino/as nationwide – both recent immigrants and those who have lived in the USA for generations – now live in

suburbs rather than urban centers (Suro and Singer 2002). At the time of this study, Engleville Latino/as came from all over, but the majority were recent immigrants from Mexico. Mexican immigration to this town started slowly in the 1970s and steadily increased during the 1980s and 1990s. By the early 2000s, nearly 15% of the district's students were 'Hispanic;' most of the remaining students were evenly split between African-American and White backgrounds. The majority of the Hispanic students' families were of lower-socioeconomic status, having come from Mexican 'ranchos' (small farming communities), where most parents had only a few years of formal schooling. Across, and even within, these immigrant families, however, there was a mix of generational status and language ability. Some of their children had been born in Mexico, some in the USA; many preferred to speak Spanish, but some were fluent in English, too.

As Mexican immigrant families settled in Engleville in the late 1970s, the school district created a traditional, transitional bilingual education (TBE) program for their children. In TBE, most of the ELLs from these Mexican families received some instruction in Spanish and in learning English as a second language, but as they advanced through school, they were immersed in English-only classrooms. By the late 1990s, some individuals in Engleville believed that the TBE program was failing. A group of bilinguals – many White, middle-class, English-heritage parents and educators, who reached out to Mexican immigrant families by planning church meetings on the topic – argued for the implementation of a TWI program. They believed that TWI was the best method of instruction for ELLs and a worthwhile enrichment program for English-heritage speakers. In the public debate, many argued that the TWI model was the best way to instruct the Spanish-dominant ELLs; that is, much of the public discourse (dominated by English-heritage parents) suggested that the program was *for* Spanish-dominant children, even though it would enroll both Spanish and English-heritage children. (See Dorner, forthcoming, for further analysis of the public debate – and the views of English-heritage speakers – that developed as the TWI policy was implemented.)

After years of discussion and two years of a pilot project, Engleville's school board voted to change from TBE to a Spanish-English TWI program. The new TWI policy meant that approximately an equal amount of children from Spanish and English-heritage homes received about 80% of their instruction in Spanish through second grade. By fifth grade, all students in the program were learning in each language about 50% of the time. The stated goal of the policy was 'high proficiency' in both languages for all TWI students.

Data collection

As described in other work (Dorner, forthcoming), this three-year study of Engleville included participant observation at public board and parent meetings about the new TWI policy; interviews of district administrators, teachers, and other policymakers; document analysis of public debate about the program; and case studies of six Mexican immigrant families who had at least one child in TWI. In order to probe immigrant family perspectives, this paper primarily analyzes the data collected with the six case study families over one-and-a-half years. Table 1 gives an overview of the children in each family and their language education experiences.

In asking immigrant families to participate in this project, one goal was to include families who had children of various ages and educational experiences, and whose

parents had a range of work, education, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Because these dimensions might differently shape what families believed about schooling, this variety would allow for more general theorizing across cases (Huberman and Miles 2007; Ragin 1994). I started the search for case study families by attending public school meetings and asking groups of Mexican parents if they would be willing to participate. I found three case study families in this way. Two others, who were friends of the original families, joined via ‘snowball sampling.’ Another family (who I knew from a different research project) joined part-way through the data collection, when I discovered that the second-eldest daughter had just transferred into the TWI program.

This group of six families provided a range of viewpoints and experiences. The eight TWI students in the case study families were five to nine years old, grades kindergarten to third, and included three boys and five girls (see Table 1). Four of the families had elder siblings, currently in middle school or high school, who had been through the TBE program. Although each of these families were in lower-income brackets and qualified for ‘free or reduced lunch’ at school, their socioeconomic status ranged in terms of education, job status, and housing. Most of the parents had completed only a few years of formal schooling in Mexico, but Sra. Perez and her husband had both graduated from high school. Sra. Perez was now attending a nearby community college, while working as an assistant teacher for a Spanish immersion pre-school. Her husband owned his own construction business, while the others worked as laborers in landscaping and other service industries. Four of the families owned their own, modest homes, which they often shared with or rented to

Table 1. Study participants.

Name (Pseudonyms)	Grade, Gender	Bilingual education experience
La Familia Balderas		
Estela	Seventh grade, female	TBE through second grade
Jasmine	Second grade, female	TWI, starting in second grade
Jenna	Pre-school (three), female	(Headstart)
Molly	Two years, female	–
La Familia Fernández		
Miguel	Freshman, male	TBE through second grade
Diana	Second grade, female	TWI, starting in Kindergarten
Roberto	First grade, male	TWI, starting in Kindergarten
La Familia Gutiérrez		
María	Eighth grade, female	TBE through fourth grade
Samuel	Third grade, male	TWI, starting in Kindergarten
Franki	Pre-school (four), male	(Headstart)
La Familia Inez		
Miguelita	First grade, female	TWI, starting in Kindergarten
Tomasito	Pre-school (four), male	(Private dual language pre-school)
La Familia Navarro		
Tomás	Eighth grade, male	TBE through second grade
Andrea	Second grade, female	TWI, starting in Kindergarten
Andrés	Kindergarten, male	TWI, starting in Kindergarten
La Familia Pérez		
Madison	First grade, female	TWI, starting in Kindergarten
Owen	Pre-school (three), male	(Private dual language pre-school)

extended family members. Two of the fathers in these families had moved to Engleville 15–25 years ago, but the other families, as well as all of the mothers and their children, had arrived more recently, in the 1990s. As a group, these six families represented the range of lower-income Mexican immigrant families living in Engleville.

In order to develop case studies of all six families' experiences and document their perspectives, I met with each family approximately monthly for 18 months as Engleville implemented the new TWI policy. I most often met families at their homes, but sometimes visited with them at school, parent, and board meetings, where I also spoke with their acquaintances. During our conversations, I attended to parents' and children's ongoing processes of understanding TWI, the public debate about it, and language education options in Engleville. I recorded many of my informal conversations, which I transcribed into my field notes. In addition, I conducted 11 semi-structured interviews with parents and some elder siblings at the beginning and end of my data collection. All of the conversations with adults were conducted in Spanish. As a non-native speaker of the language, I worked with two Mexican-American, native-Spanish-speaking research assistants to transcribe and analyze this data.

During my visits, I focused on perspectives about children, as well as children's viewpoints. I set aside time to informally observe the children, as well as to work with them. For instance, as I developed relationships with each family, I became involved in their typical 'after-school' activities: working on homework, having snacks, playing games like *Serpientes y Escaleras* (Chutes and Ladders), and interacting with their siblings. As time went on, preliminary data analyses and analytical memos suggested that parents had particular visions of bilingual education and hopes for their children, but I was not hearing as much from the children about language and schooling. I decided to probe more specifically for their viewpoints. Taking into considerations the challenges, ethical questions, and rewards of working to understand children's views (Christensen and James 2000), I set aside time for 'child-friendly activities' with the eight TWI students. Some of these activities naturally occurred in our meetings (as detailed above), but I created others throughout our interactions, trying to 'adopt practices that resonate[d] with children's own concerns and routines' (Christensen and James 2000, 7). For instance, I asked children to draw and talk about pictures of their schools, classrooms, teachers, and friends, and we did 'play interviews,' where I asked them questions about their school days and gave them space to turn the questioning onto me. In order to elicit as much of children's perspectives as I could, I tried to follow their leads in activity choices. I also asked children which language they preferred. Most generally chose English, but sometimes we spoke in a mix of Spanish and English. I recorded and transcribed the conversations that flowed from our interactions. In total, I have over 100 sets of field notes from this work.

Data analysis

Following suggestions drawn from a constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz 2003; Strauss and Corbin 1990), I iteratively engaged in data collection, analysis, and reading the extant literature. Key strategies in this approach to analyzing data include: (a) simultaneous collection and analysis of data, (b) a two-step data coding process, (c) comparative methods, (d) memo writing aimed at the construction

of conceptual analyses, (e) sampling to refine the researcher's emerging theoretical ideas, and (f) integration of the theoretical framework' (Charmaz 2003, 251).

First, I simultaneously collected and analyzed data. For instance, early analyses of my interactions with parents pushed me to reconsider the perspectives of children, and so, as I got to know the children and what they liked to do, I utilized a variety of activities designed to better understand the meaning(s) that they attributed to their school lives and language use (Christensen and James 2000). The activities described above provided a range of opportunities for me to 'hear' children, whether through drawing pictures, listening to their questions, or simply working on homework together. Second, in the midst of my data collection, I openly coded the data for views of TWI, language, and schooling. I soon noticed that parents and children portrayed school and language experiences differently, and so I employed a 'constant comparative' method to analyze where these differences existed. At this point, I also read and re-read the literature reviewed above, recognizing that this data would build upon both the LPP and childhoods fields. I wrote analytical memos, refined my codes, and returned to the data. Specifically, I recognized that parents often spoke about children in particular ways during our discussions about education and language policy – especially about the various hopes they had for them – and so I analyzed the data a second time by asking: What did parents expect to result from their children's school experiences in TWI? And how did they discuss these perspectives? As I considered children's views, I saw they highlighted the nature of their learning and language experiences, and so I set out to answer: How did children define 'TWI,' and how did they view learning English and Spanish? I then integrated this analysis with the literature, considering how parents' and children's viewpoints, which emerged through the data analysis process, intersected with Engleville's new TWI policy and public discourse on it.

Findings

Overall, this study demonstrates that policy can mean different things to different people. Policy might best be thought of as 'plural' (Spillane 2004); it is a contested discourse (Ball 2006). Most significant, this plurality exists not only between different groups of policymakers – like legislators and school district administrators – but also between parents and children.

The following sections demonstrate how these differences unfolded among immigrant families in Engleville. First, immigrant parents' hopes for their children matched the *stated* and planned intentions of their district's TWI program – to develop students' bilingualism and biliteracy – intentions that parents discussed amongst friends and family during the policy's implementation. Immigrants talked about this in two ways; TWI would help their children become: (1) bilingual workers who would have greater job opportunities; and (2) bilingual, competent users of Spanish, who could successfully communicate across generations. Second, children also spoke of the bilingual goal of TWI policies, but in a different way. They suggested most strongly that their bilingual school experiences would help them become competent users of English. Unlike their parents' viewpoints, which reflected the written documentation about the TWI program, children's perspectives reflected the public discourse about and rationale for the new TWI policy (see Dorner, forthcoming, for a closer examination of that public discourse).

Parents' perspectives: the importance of TWI for work and family

Like immigrants across the USA, case study parents wanted their children to do better than they had. In fact, the Inez family purposefully chose to live in Engleville, outside of the city of Chicago, because they believed it offered a better place to raise and educate a family. Sras. Gutiérrez and Pérez also said that Engleville could give their children a better life than was possible in Mexico. In fact, Sra. Pérez reported that both English and Spanish-heritage families from around Chicago had chosen to live in Engleville because of the TWI program: 'muchas familias lo han hecho. Sólo estar en el programa TWI, se han movido a Engleville.' *Many families have done it [moved here.] Simply to be in the TWI program, many families have moved to Engleville.* Most significant, parents in Engleville believed that the path toward their children's 'futuro' (*future*) included a bilingual education. In this section, I argue that the policy context of Engleville allowed for and perhaps encouraged this expression of a bilingual future, which parents felt was important for both work opportunities and family relationships.

At work and home 'se requiere bilingüe' (bilingualism is required)

As the quote that opens this paper exemplifies, immigrant parents in Engleville generally wanted their children to be bilingual, and they believed that this ability would lead to future success. When speaking about her eldest son, Sra. Fernández said: 'A mí me gusta que él sepa de los dos, hablarlos y leerlos y entenderlos . . . para el futuro de él mismo.' *I really like that my son knows the two languages, knows how to speak them, and to read them, and to understand them . . . for his future.* Before turning to how the policy context of Engleville supported this perspective, I briefly review how parents discussed the importance of bilingualism for future work opportunities and family relationships by presenting representative quotes from the interview and field note data.

Unlike many US families who remained focused on the importance of English only, immigrant parents in Engleville did not just hope for the development of solid English skills; they believed children's future job prospects and success in the USA depended upon their abilities in *two* languages. Sr. Balderas, like many other immigrant parents in Engleville, said that he believed bilingualism was important 'para un futuro,' *for a future*, in part, because 'en muchas oficinas ya se necesita que hablen los dos idiomas;' *in many offices, already, one needs to speak two languages.* Sra. Gutiérrez agreed: 'yo le digo a María, si tú hablas los dos idiomas, puedes tener mejor trabajo y . . . pienso que te pagan mejor que de uno sólo.' *I tell María, if you speak the two languages, you can have a better job and . . . I think that they will pay you more than if you only speak one.*

While parents felt that a bilingual education was essential for children's future occupational success, they also hoped that children would develop their Spanish and English skills so they could fully communicate with *all* of their family members. For some, like Sras. Balderas and Pérez, it was important that their children speak in Spanish at home to help develop these skills. As Sra. Balderas told me: 'Digo, por favor, quiero el español.' *I say [to my children], please, I want Spanish.* Sra. Pérez spoke of the importance of modeling correct Spanish for her daughter and correcting her when she mixed vocabulary: 'por ejemplo, "quiero un *banana*." No es "quiero un *banana*," no. Ni estabas hablando en inglés, ni estabas hablando en español, ¿verdad?'

For example, 'I want a banana.' It's not 'I want a banana.' You're neither speaking in English, nor in Spanish, right? In addition, like other immigrant parents in Engleville, Sra Gutiérrez said that it was important for her children to be able to communicate in Spanish with their elders, many of whom still lived in Mexico. She told stories of other 'Hispanos' in the USA (especially those not in TWI programs) whose children could not communicate with their grandparents: 'Y digo, es triste, porque si van a México y quieren algo, quieren hablar, como si, no saben.' And I mean, it's sad because if they go to Mexico and want something, they want to speak, like that, but they don't know how to. Parents believed that having the support of heritage language development at home and school – still a rare opportunity in the USA – helped children become more fluently bilingual and biliterate. They appreciated how this helped their children develop and maintain relationships across generations, especially in communicating (correctly) with their elders in Spanish.

The policy context of Engleville

During the time of this study, Engleville families were experiencing various policy debates about TWI. The original debate centered on whether or not the district should move away from TBE for native Spanish speakers to TWI bilingual instruction. Subsequently, after the board approved the new policy, there was a public debate about how to implement it. The immigrant parents in Engleville observed these public conversations, attending myriad meetings about TWI and sometimes signing petitions about it. For example, at a meeting about expanding the TWI program long after it had become established, about one-third of the audience were Latino/a parents and their children. They came to express their opinion that TWI was the educational option that they wanted, because it would develop their children's literacy and academic skills in English and Spanish. In this section, I demonstrate how Engleville's immigrant parents thought and conversed about this TWI policy reform, which seemed to give them hope that their children could become truly bilingual and biliterate for their future, or as the district informational pamphlet promised: have 'high levels of proficiency in both Spanish and English.'

As the district developed and implemented the TWI policy, Mexican immigrant parents in Engleville tried to figure out what was happening at their schools. Very often, they talked about bilingual education options with educators and fellow immigrants. Each of the parents in this study found themselves in the position of convincing other 'Hispanos' that TWI was the best program for their children. That is, although their perspectives may not have been highlighted in public debate, immigrant and Spanish-speaking families had private conversations in which they debated the policy and the purpose of instructing children academically in Spanish and English. During TWI's first year, for instance, Sra. Gutiérrez reported that in speaking with friends, she learned that some 'Hispanos tienen miedo de que se atrasen.' *Hispanics fear that their children will fall behind [in the TWI program]*, she said, because of all the Spanish- (rather than English-) focused instruction. Relying upon multiple conversations with the current bilingual principal at her school about TWI, she reported to other parents that instruction in *both* English and Spanish would be beneficial, not detrimental, for their children. Interestingly, she relied upon her eldest daughter's experience in TBE to prove this point; she told them that María had had some Spanish instruction through fourth grade and was now doing fine, in 'puro inglés,' or *English-only* courses, in middle school.

Similarly, Sra. Fernández reported having multiple discussions about language education and thinking carefully about the various options for her children's schooling. One afternoon, she invited two new mothers to her apartment to meet with me and discuss the new policy. Another time, Sra. Fernández reported a typical, private conversation with other 'Hispanos' in detail:

Como me dicen muchas personas: 'no lo pongan en el programa bilingüe por que, mira, que el programa, que es mejor en el puro inglés por que.' Ah, dicen, 'para mí el puro inglés es mejor, por que tienen que,' sabe que, 'que se va a hacer bolas en la cabeza, se le va a hacer bolas y no va a saber ni diferentes, se le va a enredar todo y que.' Les digo, 'no, para mí es mucho mejor que sepa de los dos idiomas, a que no más sepa de, de uno.' Y me dicen no, 'mira, que en la casa le puedes aprender el español.' Le digo 'pero no va a aprender todo, no más aprender si acaso hablarlo. No que para leerlo.' 'Le puedes tú enseñar a leerlo y escribirlo.' Le digo, 'yo no tengo suficiente capacidad para enseñarles lo que les enseñan en una escuela.' Aja, y aparte yo no tengo mucha paciencia para estar todos los días enseñándoles en español a leer y escribir. Les digo, 'para mí no es igual como en la escuela, ni me van a poner mucha atención,' les digo, 'en la escuela.'

As many people tell me: 'Don't put them in a bilingual program because, look, English-only classes are better than the bilingual program.' Ah, they say, 'For me, English-only is better, because they're going to,' you know, 'get confused. They're going to get confused and they're not going to know the difference; everything will be too complicated.' I tell them, 'No, for me it's better that they know two languages, not just one.' And they tell me, 'Look, you can learn Spanish at home.' I tell them, 'No, but you are not going to learn everything, only how to speak it, not how to read it.' 'You can teach them to read and write it.' I tell them, 'I don't have sufficient capacity to teach them what they can be taught at school.' Uh, huh, and apart from this, I don't have much patience to be teaching them how to read and write Spanish everyday. I tell them, 'I can't do the same that they can do in school; I can't give them the attention they do.'

This lengthy quote demonstrates that Sra. Fernández, hoped for a bilingual education for her children. Like the official TWI policy documents promised, she wanted her children in the program so they would attain 'high levels of proficiency in both Spanish and English.' Moreover, like the other parents in this study, she carefully considered how such a bilingual education could and should happen at *school*, and, like Sra. Gutiérrez, she spent time in private conversations attempting to convince others of this perspective. In these conversations, Sra. Fernández talked about the important opportunity for her children to learn academic Spanish, reading and writing, in more detail than she would be able to provide in the home. This was what 'TWI' was about: making sure that her children would be fluently and proficiently bilingual, especially competent in Spanish, for future work opportunities and family relationships. In summary, this quote demonstrates the degree to which the immigrant community privately recognized and debated the TWI policy and focused on its documented purpose of high proficiency in two languages.

The desire for bilingualism to be fully supported and instructed at school may be further examined through the experience of Sra. Pérez, who struggled to get her eldest daughter registered in TWI. Apparently, Madison had performed too well in English on the entrance exam for kindergarten and was not considered in 'need' of a bilingual program. That is, she was not labeled 'limited-English proficient,' and so the district initially denied her enrollment. (Something similar happened to another family not involved in this research project, who also had to fight to get their bilingual son into the program.) Sra. Pérez described to me her subsequent '*lucha*' (fight) to enroll Madison:

En cierto caso, no estaba muy bien lo que están haciendo, porque mi manera de pensar es que: el niño que aprendió inglés, ¿su castigo haberlo aprendido lo van a dejar afuera del programa? ¿Entiendes? Un niño, un niño Hispano que hace el examen, y sabe mucho inglés, [inaudible] afuera del programa... ¡No tiene sentido, si lo que se trate que los niños aprendan los dos idiomas!... O no entendí cual es la razón del programa... Estoy inscribiendo la niña porque yo quiero que lleva un educación bilingüe.

In this case, it wasn't very good what they [the district] were doing, because, my manner of thinking is this: the child who has learned English, his punishment for having learned it is to be left outside the program? Do you understand? A child, a Hispanic child that takes the test, and knows a lot of English, [is left] out of the program... It doesn't make sense – if the program is about learning two languages!... Or I don't understand the reason for the program... I am enrolling my daughter because I want her to have a bilingual education.

Like the other Engleville case study parents, Sra. Pérez wanted the bilingual TWI program for her children because she believed a high degree of English and Spanish fluency would help her in her future: 'Quiero que ella conserva las dos lenguas en un nivel parejo.' *I want her to conserve the two languages at an equal level.* The TWI policy provided Engleville families with the possibility to realize these aspirations. However, given her experiences, Sra. Pérez questioned the description and rationale put forth by the district. She asked me: if the program is about developing bilinguals, why shouldn't a child who is already somewhat bilingual be included? Why would they deny Madison enrollment because she knows some English? In the end, after further testing and meetings between school officials and Sra. Pérez, Madison was enrolled in the TWI program. However, in the next section of analysis, I argue that there remains a question about the nature of the policy: was the district's goal was to train and shape a mixed group of students to be bilingual and biliterate (the written rationale for the program), or was the program, in practice, more focused on developing the English competency of students who came from Spanish-dominant homes?

Children's perspectives: TWI and its conflicting messages

Immigrant parents in Engleville spent time thinking about bilingualism, the TWI policy, and their children's opportunities, but they did not do so alone. Children also worked to make sense of educational processes and practices. In this section, I highlight what children themselves did and said in relation to Engleville's TWI policy. In the following paragraphs, I demonstrate that, like their parents, children talked about TWI as developing both 'English and Spanish.' However, they did not talk about using their language skills 'for the future,' but rather, for particular ends in the present. In addition, children seemed to recognize the political relevance of the English language, and at times, their discourse reflected the 'limited-English-proficient' rhetoric used in Engleville's public debate.

TWI for English and Spanish, presently

All of the TWI students in this study (kindergarten through third-grade students Jasmine, Diana, Roberto, Samuel, Miguelita, Andrea, Andrés, and Madison) described their school as 'twee' (TWI) or 'bilingual,' and noted that everyone spoke both English and Spanish at school. For example, when I asked Diana what kind of program she attended at school, and she answered 'TWI.' I asked: '¿Qué significa?'

(What does that mean?) And she responded: 'We learn Spanish *and* English!' Andrea explained: 'Everybody speaks in two!' Samuel said that he speaks to his friends in English and Spanish, and that his teacher 'talks a lot of English and lots of Spanish!' In answer to the question, 'What's TWI?' he replied: 'when you do two, when you talk two, listen to English and Spanish.' Miguelita answered 'English and Spanish' when I asked her '¿Cuál idioma es más importante?' (Which language is more important?) Madison told me that she was in 'bilingual or doo-ee' (trying to pronounce the TWI acronym as 'twee,' the way she heard 'people say it'). She said that bilingual 'means we speak English and Spanish.' In summary, children reported that both students and teachers in TWI speak both languages, and that the purpose of TWI is to speak and learn in both languages. To some degree, this reflects the stated purpose behind the program: to reach high levels of proficiency in Spanish and English.

First-grade Madison even reminded her teacher of this fact. One time, she told me about an experience she had at school. Her class had been given a group activity in which the English-dominant speakers were instructed to speak English, and the Spanish-dominant speakers in Spanish. But this did not leave room for students who felt equally comfortable in two languages, or who simply wanted to use both Spanish and English, as Madison reported to me:

Madison: We [were] supposed to speak in Spanish [for that activity].

I (author): Ah, you're *supposed* to speak in Spanish. Who tells you to do that?

M: The teacher.

I: And what happens if you speak in English?

M: Well, if you speak English, you speak English. If you speak Spanish, you speak Spanish!

I: Oh! OK. So, did you hear other kids speaking English?

M: Yeah.

I: What did you think about that?

M: I said [to the teacher], 'well, maybe it's a bilingual one, so we're supposed to do two things, two languages.' So then the teacher say, 'oh, yeah, you could do English *and* Spanish.'

I: Oh, so you were allowed to speak in English if you wanted.

M: Yeah. And I said, 'hooray!'

L: So did you speak in English for that project?

M: English and Spanish.

Like their parents, therefore, children recognized that the TWI program was designed to foster their bilingualism in 'English and Spanish.' In the above excerpt, however, Madison challenged whether and how the structure of the classroom fostered bilingualism: she suggested that a bilingual classroom should not involve two groups speaking their heritage language only among themselves, and in turn, each group separately learning the other group's language. Rather, bilingualism was about using *two languages* to communicate as one desired or as the need arose.

Children's language choice in the TWI context

Children purposefully chose to use one or the other language at particular times. For example, one child reported to me that the students used Spanish one day when their teacher was sick, because the substitute did not know Spanish. Madison explained that other students often asked her for help translating words or assignments into English, but she did not always oblige: 'Sometimes when I'm angry, and they don't make me feel good, I say, I'm not gonna help them. 'Cause they're like bossing me around and stuff like that.' As children developed in the program, they chose to use one or the other language as they desired.

In our meetings, the case study children usually chose to speak English with me. There may be many reasons for this. The children of US immigrants often say they prefer English (Portes and Schauffler 1996; Smith 1999). They also may have recognized that my English skills were stronger than my Spanish, or maybe they did not want their parents or younger siblings to understand our conversations. From some of their responses as detailed below, however, I argue that their preference reflected a particular 'public' meaning of the TWI policy enforced in their classrooms: to teach Spanish-dominant children to learn *English*.

In a play interview activity³ I completed with the children, I started by asking them to choose a language and explain why. Everyone, except Diana, responded 'inglés' or 'English.' Most then explained this choice by saying that they liked English 'better.' Given the prior research reviewed above, these answers were not surprising. However, the children's other reasoning was likewise illuminating: many also said that they chose English in order to 'practice' or 'learn.' First-grade Miguelita explained that she wanted to do the interview in English because 'Quiero aprender;' *I want to learn*. '¡Todo en English, todo en English!' she shouted; *all in English, all in English!* (She subsequently answered in a mix of Spanish and English.) Third-grader Samuel and I had the following exchange after I asked him why he chose English for this activity:

S: Hmmmm. 'Cause I talk better in Spanish? I talk mostly in Spanish. And I'm not good, like, at English.

I: And so you want to practice your English?

S: Yeah.

In the following conversation, Samuel explained that he had just returned from a parent-teacher conference, after which he proclaimed to me, despite being one of the most advanced and oldest students in the research group: 'I don't know how to speak lots in English!' His mother, Sra. Gutiérrez, explained that the teacher said he needs help with his English writing skills. Sra. Gutiérrez noted, as I did, that he actually spoke a lot of English with his older sister, so she did not see any trouble with his speaking skills. I then asked Samuel about reading and writing in English. Reading is 'not mostly difficult,' he said, but he explained that there is a lot of focus on English writing these days: 'Like the ISAT test, it is only in English.' ISAT stands for the Illinois Standard Achievement Test. At the time of the study, Grade 3 students – no matter their instructional program – had to take the entire test in English.

From this and subsequent conversations, I learned that Samuel felt that he needed to practice his English because of the upcoming standardized test. Samuel's school was on probationary status according to the *No Child Left Behind* statute because 'LEP'

(limited-English proficient) children were not performing at the required standard. Thus, there was incredible pressure for teachers to improve students' standardized test scores, especially those of third-grade 'LEP' students like Samuel. At the time of this study, third-grade test scores determined a school's status and whether or not it could continue to receive state funding. Because of state and federal laws, all students had to take this test in English. That caused some concern for TWI students, whose program was designed to focus on academic skills in Spanish early on; about 80% of children's school day and subject lessons were supposed to be in Spanish through second grade. Moreover, longitudinal studies of bilingual education suggest that it takes five to seven years for students to achieve at the same levels in their second language as they do in their first language (Thomas and Collier 1999, 2002). For third-grader Samuel, this meant that he might not perform in English as well as he could in Spanish, and yet he had to perform on this high-stakes test in English at the end of third grade. This caused great stress for the school, his teachers, his mother, and himself, and apparently led to an increased focus on the *English* language, instead of a focus on 'high levels of proficiency in both Spanish and English.'

In summary, despite the greater goal of TWI programs to equalize the languages, TWI students in Engleville sometimes stressed that English was the more important or valued language. The case study children did not state this directly, but they reported in many other ways how their educational program was aimed at helping them, as 'limited-English proficient' students, reach high academic success in English, rather than in English *and* Spanish.

Discussion and policy implications

Clearly, policy can mean different things to different people: to parents, to legislators, to teachers, and to children. Policy is 'plural' (Spillane 2004), and this plurality exists not only between different groups of legislators, but also among educational policy's key recipients: parents and children.

Through examining the perspectives of immigrant families in a suburban area of new immigration, one sees the emergence of new hopes and aspirations. Immigrants to the USA across the years have stressed the importance of learning English at school for future work opportunities, while they have stressed maintenance of their native language at home for communicating with family members (Orellana et al. 1999; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). In other words, English has been situated in the 'public' school and work sphere, while a family's heritage language like Spanish has been connected to the 'private' and relational family sphere (Urciuoli 1996). However, Engleville's local, political context provided a space for Mexican immigrant parents to emphasize bilingualism and the academic learning of Spanish. They felt that being bilingual – and in turn TWI – was critical for both the public and the private spheres; Spanish and English were both important for their children's futures. Parents strove to convince other Hispanos of these ideas, ideas that were reflected in key district documents, which claimed that TWI would produce 'high proficiency' in two languages.

However, children's perspectives suggested something different. Many of the young students preferred English, and they recognized that English was often the preferred language for them to learn and use within the classroom. Talking to children highlighted another way that this educational policy 'came into being' for families. In this case, young students called attention to the challenges that districts

face in implementing TWI policies. Many students said that they liked ‘English better.’ Madison directly questioned whether ‘bilingualism’ was even happening at school. Samuel recognized the political power of English: it was the language of the standardized test, and there was extraordinary pressure to perform well on this test. This pressure came from district leaders who needed high scores to demonstrate to the local public that ‘TWI’ was ‘working,’ as well as to avoid losing federal funding. In general, the children’s viewpoints reflected a key argument from the public debate: TWI programs should and can successfully transition students who are ‘limited’ from Spanish to *English* rather than to bilingualism or ‘high proficiency’ in both languages.

This analysis raises important questions and highlights challenges for educational policymakers. Before TWI, transferring children out of the TBE program left Spanish instruction up to the parents, something that they could do at home. With TWI, Spanish became an important part of the public sphere, something that children could study at school and that would help them get good jobs. Indeed, in an increasingly global society, many believe that fostering bilingualism should be an objective of the US educational system (Suárez-Orozco 2001). However, there remain important political struggles in fully implementing immersion programs in a diverse and stratified society such as ours (Fusarelli and Boyd 2004). This political tension was ably summarized by Sra. Pérez above: Is the goal of TWI programs to improve children’s ‘limited-English proficiency’? Or is it to foster bilingual proficiency in children from two different language backgrounds?

Despite the inherent difficulties in implementing TWI policies, this article suggests that there has been some progress in the debate over US language education. The message that bilingualism is important, especially for ‘future jobs,’ has been communicated to and by many parents, so much so that immigrant parents are trying to convince others of this fact. Studies suggest that knowing more than one language will be vital for the entire future workforce of the USA (Suárez-Orozco 2001). However, there is progress to be made. Children’s perspectives suggest that there is still a strong focus on ‘Americanization’ and fostering immigrants’ abilities in English. Some of this focus may continue based upon the deficit, needs-based perspective with which some approach policymaking. The fact is, the focus of politics is often to solve ‘problems,’ and causal stories – like ‘we need to improve the academic performance of limited-English proficient students’ – are often used as persuasive devices in the policy process (Stone 1989). But such foci may turn our attention away from other rationales for educational policies, and in turn, change the nature or the rationale of the policies themselves.

Thus, policymakers should reconsider and re-evaluate their policy materials, as well as contemplate how policies are actually turning into classroom practices and getting ‘translated’ at home. Talking to immigrant families and children, as this project has, is one way to reassess the implementation of immersion policies and consider if the written policy (e.g. ‘high levels of proficiency in both Spanish and English’) reflects actual practices. Educators, researchers, and policymakers must consider how political constraints and policies’ interactions with other legislation – like taking standardized tests in English – may change the nature of policies and potentially their effectiveness. Analyzing educational policy debates and agents’ reactions to them in careful ways can help bring to light new ways educators could shape policy communications or discussions, to address head-on the various

disagreements that may exist among different groups, especially with such value-laden, educational policies as those about language.

Conclusion

To sell immersion policies in the current US political climate – where test scores in English are key and fears of ‘illegal’ immigration are strong – educational practices and political rationales for such policies remain focused on the transition to English proficiency. But many families believe in the stated goals of TWI programs: bilingual proficiency. Listening to parents and children may raise new ways to foster beliefs in bilingualism – and bilingualism itself – across all groups, as this may indeed be critical ‘para un futuro’ for *all* US children.

Notes

1. All person and place names in this study are pseudonyms.
2. In this paper, I use such terms as ‘Hispanic,’ ‘Latino/a,’ or ‘Hispano’ interchangeably. I typically follow the convention of the cited work or particular community member being quoted, in order to represent each distinct perspective.
3. In this activity, I asked the children to describe their school and the things they did at school to an ‘alien.’ Most participants seemed to enjoy the game; Madison even turned the tables and interviewed me about my school (university).

References

- Baldauf Jr., R.B. 2005. Language planning and policy research: An overview. In *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning*, ed. E. Hinkel, 957–70. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Baldauf Jr., R.B., M. Li, and S. Zhao. 2008. Language acquisition management inside and outside the school. In *The handbook of educational linguistics*, ed. B. Spolsky and F.M. Hult, 233–50. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Ball, S.J. 2006. *Education policy and social class*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bayley, R., and S.R. Schecter. 2005. Family decisions about schooling and Spanish maintenance: *Mexicanos* in California and Texas. In *Building on strength: Language and literacy in Latino families and communities*, ed. A.C. Zentella, 1–12. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Boyd, W. 1976. The public, the professionals, and educational policy making: Who governs? *Teachers College Record* 77, no. 4: 539–78.
- Brunn, M. 2002. Policy design as practice: Changing the prospects of Hispanic voices. In *Education in the New Latino diaspora: Policy and the politics of identity*, ed. S. Wortham, E.G. Murillo Jr., and E.T. Hamann, vol. 2, 193–213. Westport, CT: Ablex.
- Charmaz, K. 2003. Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*, ed. N. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln, 249–91. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Christensen, P., and A. James, eds. 2000. *Research with children: Perspectives and practices*. New York, NY: Falmer.
- Cooper, R.L. 1989. *Language planning and social change*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Delgado-Gaitan, C. 2001. *The power of community: Mobilizing for family and schooling*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Dorner, L.M. Forthcoming. Contested communities in a debate over dual language education: The import of ‘public’ values on public policies. *Educational Policy*.
- Emerson, R.M., R.I. Fretz, and L.L. Shaw. 1995. *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Feliciano, C. 2006. Another way to assess the second generation: Look at the parents. Migration Policy Institute. <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=396> (accessed May 9, 2006).

- Fortune, T.W., and D.J. Tedick, eds. 2008. *Pathways to multilingualism: Evolving perspectives on immersion education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fusarelli, B.C., and W.L. Boyd. 2004. Introduction: One nation indivisible? An overview of the yearbook. *Educational Policy* 18, no. 1: 5–11.
- González, N. 2005. Children in the eye of the storm: Language socialization and language ideologies in a dual-language school. In *Building on strength: Language and literacy in Latino families and communities*, ed. A.C. Zentella, 162–74. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Hamann, E.T., S. Wortham, and E.G. Murillo, Jr. 2002. Education and policy in the new Latino diaspora. In *Education in the new Latino diaspora: Policy and the politics of identity*, ed. S. Wortham, E.G. Murillo Jr., and E.T. Hamann, vol. 2, 1–16. Westport, CT: Ablex.
- Hornberger, N.H., ed. 1996. *Indigenous literacies in the Americas: Language planning from the bottom up*. New York, NY: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Hornberger, N.H., ed. 2003. *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practice in multilingual settings*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Huberman, M., and M. Miles. 2007. Data management and analysis methods. In *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*, ed. N. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln, 179–210. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- James, A., C. Jenks, and A. Prout, eds. 1998. *Theorizing childhood*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Lewis, D.A., and S. Maruna. 1998. Person-centered policy analysis. *Research in Public Policy Analysis and Management* 9: 213–30.
- Lindholm-Leary, K.J. 2001. *Dual language education*. North Somerset, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- McDonnell, L. 2004. *Politics, persuasion, and educational testing*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Merriam, S.B. 2009. *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mitchell, D.E., T. Destino, R.T. Karam, and A. Colón-Muñiz. 1999. The politics of bilingual education. *Educational Policy* 13, no. 1: 86–103.
- Orellana, M.F. 2001. The work kids do: Mexican and Central American immigrant children's contributions to households and schools in California. *Harvard Educational Review* 71, no. 3: 366–89.
- Orellana, M.F. 2009. *Translating childhoods: Immigrant youth, language and culture*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Orellana, M.F., L. Ek, and A. Hernández. 1999. Bilingual education in an immigrant community: Proposition 227 in California. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 2, no. 2: 114–30.
- Orellana, M.F., K. Monkman, and L. MacGillivray. 2002. *Parents and teachers talk about literacy and success*, 12. Ann Arbor, MI: Center for the Improvement of Early Reading Achievement.
- Portes, A., and R. Schauflyer. 1996. Language and the second generation: Bilingualism yesterday and today. In *The new second generation*, ed. A. Portes, 8–29. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Ragin, C.C. 1994. *Constructing social research: The unity and diversity of method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Reese, L. 2001. Morality and identity in Mexican immigrant parents' visions of the future. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27, no. 3: 455–72.
- Reese, L. 2002. Parental strategies in contrasting cultural settings: Families in México and 'El Norte'. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 33, no. 1: 30–59.
- Reese, L., and R. Gallimore. 2000. Immigrant Latinos' cultural model of literacy development: An evolving perspective on home-school discontinuities. *American Journal of Education* 108, no. 2: 103–34.
- Reese, L., R. Gallimore, C. Goldenberg, and S. Balzano. 1995. Immigrant Latino parents' orientations for their children. In *Changing schools for changing students: An anthology of research on language minorities, schools, and society*, ed. R.F. Macías and R.G. García Ramos, 205–30. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute.

- Schwartzman, H.B., ed. 2001a. *Children and anthropology: Perspectives for the 21st century*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Schwartzman, H.B., 2001b. Introduction: Questions and challenges for a 21st-century anthropology of children. In *Children and anthropology: Perspectives for the 21st century*, ed. H.B. Schwartzman, 1–13. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Shohamy, E. 2006. *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Smith, H.L. 1999. Bilingualism and bilingual education: The child's perspective. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 2, no. 4: 268–81.
- Spillane, J.P. 2004. *Standards deviation: How schools misunderstand education policy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Spillane, J.P., B.J. Reiser, and T. Reimer. 2002. Policy implementation and cognition: Reframing and refocusing implementation research. *Review of Educational Research Quarterly* 72, no. 3: 387–433.
- Stone, D.A. 1989. Causal stories and the formation of policy agendas. *Political Science Quarterly* 104, no. 2: 281–300.
- Strauss, A.L., and J.M. Corbin. 1990. *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., and M.M. Suárez-Orozco. 2001. *Children of immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, M.M. 2001. Globalization, immigration, and education: The research agenda. *Harvard Educational Review* 71, no. 3: 345–65.
- Suro, R., and A. Singer. 2002. *Latino growth in metropolitan America: Changing patterns, new locations*, 1–12. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, Center on Urban & Metropolitan Policy and the Pew Hispanic Center.
- Thomas, W.P., and V.P. Collier. 1999. Accelerated schooling for English language learners: Researchers describe the benefits of one-way developmental bilingual education, an approach through which students use both English and their primary language to learn academic content. *Educational Leadership* 56, no. 7: 46–9.
- Thomas, W.P., and V.P. Collier. 2002. *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement*, Washington, DC: Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence.
- Thorne, B. 1987. Re-visioning women and social change: Where are the children? *Gender and Society* 1, no. 1: 85–109.
- Tollefson, J.W. 2002. Introduction: Critical issues in educational language policy. In *Language policies in education: Critical issues*, ed. J.W. Tollefson, 3–15. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Tse, L. 1996. Who decides? The effect of language brokering on home-school communication. *The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students* 16: 225–33.
- Urciuoli, B. 1996. *Exposing prejudice: Puerto Rican experiences of language, race, and class*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Valdés, G. 1996. *Con respeto: Bridging the distance between culturally diverse families and schools (an ethnographic portrait)*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Valdés, G. 1997. Dual-language immersion programs: A cautionary note concerning the education of language-minority students. *Harvard Educational Review* 67, no. 3: 391–429.
- Villenas, S. 2001. Latina mothers and small-town racism: Creating narratives of dignity and moral education in North Carolina. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 32, no. 1: 3–28.
- Villenas, S. 2002. Reinventing *educación* in new Latino communities: Pedagogies of change and continuity in North Carolina. In *Education in the New Latino diaspora: Policy and the politics of identity*, ed. S. Wortham, E.G. Murillo Jr., and E.T. Hamann, vol. 2, 17–36. Westport, CT: Ablex.
- Walford, G. 2003. Introduction: Investigating educational policy. In *Investigating educational policy through ethnography*, ed. G. Walford, 1–16. Kidlington, Oxford: JAI, Elsevier Science.
- Wiley, T.G., and W.E. Wright. 2004. Against the undertow: Language-minority education policy and politics in the 'age of accountability'. *Educational Policy* 18, no. 1: 142–68.
- Wortham, S., E.G. Murillo Jr., and E.T. Hamann, eds. 2002. *Education in the new Latino diaspora: Policy and the politics of identity*. Westport, CT: Ablex.

- Yanow, D. 2000. *Conducting interpretive policy analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Zelizer, V.A. 2002. Kids and commerce. *Childhood* 9, no. 4: 375–96.
- Zentella, A.C. 2005. Premises, promises, and pitfalls of language socialization research in Latino families and communities. In *Building on strength: Language and literacy in Latino families and communities*, ed. A.C. Zentella, 13–30. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.