



Opening the Door to Cross-Cultural Educación in Two-Way Immersion Programs

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**Opening the Door to Cross-Cultural *Educación*
in Two-Way Immersion Programs**

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An Analytic Paper Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
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the Degree of Doctor of Education

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To Dad

For teaching me to read and to critique

And to Mom

For teaching me to seek out difference and embrace it

To Julia, Elias, and Lucia

For reminding me how much little things matter

And to Chris

For keeping track of all the little things while I work on this big one

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Abstract

Learning how to interact with others of diverse backgrounds is essential to effective participation in a globalized world and is a key goal of two-way language immersion programs, which bring together students from different language backgrounds to learn in both languages. These programs are frequently lauded for their success in promoting academic achievement and bilingualism, as well as for their potential to promote cross-cultural learning. However, limited research in this area shows that while students develop positive attitudes and cross-cultural friendships, the unequal status of the two languages and the marginalization of African-American students are concerns. Few studies have looked at the process of cross-cultural learning in these programs to see how interactions between students, teachers, and resources like curricula may influence students' cross-cultural *educación* (Valenzuela, 1999). This comparative case study examines the question "What does cross-cultural *educación* look like in two-way immersion programs, and what factors influence that process?" at two schools, using observations of classes and schoolwide events, semi-structured interviews with teachers, document review, and a student picture sort activity.

Using contact theory, I find that the two schools have different strengths in regards to cross-cultural *educación*, with one providing institutional support structures for explicit cross-cultural learning and another providing more opportunities for informal learning through its socioeconomically- and ethnically-diverse student and teacher population. There are also distinct ways of talking about difference at the two-schools, with one favoring a discourse

focused on commonalities and the other a more dissonant discourse that recognizes differences. Nevertheless, the schools share important characteristics associated with their shared context, the rapidly globalizing state of North Carolina; these include pressure to integrate cross-cultural learning with Common Core literacy standards and a focus on the cultures of foreign countries. I argue that two-way immersion programs need to emphasize equity for not only speakers of non-English languages, but also diverse ethnic and socioeconomic groups, through broadening considerations for choosing program models, diversifying student and teacher populations, and teaching students to both learn about and care for different cultures in their local communities.

Introduction: “Mirrors, windows, and doors”

*It is 8:14 on a sunny spring morning in central North Carolina, and I have just pulled into the parking lot of Sunset Elementary¹. Like I often do, I arrive at the same time as two kindergarten assistants – Karen, African-American and a lifelong Lowell resident, and Radhika, who is originally from India. As we walk in together, Radhika asks about my kids, and I learn that her daughter is visiting from Germany. We pass under a weathered banner that says “Welcome to Sunset Elementary...Global Learners and Explorers” in English and shows a puzzle, the pieces labeled with traits like “responsibility” and “self-control.” I buzz the three of us in and say “Buenos días” as I pass by the Arredondo family, waiting patiently in the front hall for the day to start. Fifth-grader Yusef, originally from Morocco, finds me and asks if I can look at the book he has been writing. I walk him down to the room where I teach English as a Second Language and coordinate the school’s Spanish-English two-way immersion program. While we’re conferencing, third-graders Jadon, the African-American son of a cafeteria worker, and Miguel and Katelyn, the Salvadoran-American children of my ESL colleague, come in. They ask for origami paper, inspired by the work of my fourth-grade students while reading *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes*. At 8:30, the halls fill with students and my classroom, right across from the cafeteria, fills with noise. I send the kids to breakfast and class and close the door. There are ACCESS test scores to analyze and a rare professional development day to plan for the two-way immersion program in the hour before my first pullout ESL group.*

¹ All names of schools, communities, and participants are pseudonyms.

Later that same week, I ring the buzzer at the front door of John Dewey, Amherst's Spanish-English two-way immersion magnet school. Flags from different countries line the window and bilingual signs direct visitors towards their destination. On the glass hang colorful posters with "gracias" and "thank you" in block letters - a Teacher Appreciation Week tribute - as well as a bilingual invitation to a special Mother's Day meal in the cafeteria, complete with flowers for all moms. Yamila, the receptionist, buzzes me in and I line up behind another woman who is also signing in, a Spanish-speaking mom who has come to volunteer for field day. While I wait, I take a new look around the entry area that has become familiar during this past year of data collection. My eyes are drawn to an electronic monitor hanging from the ceiling in a corner, which alternates between Spanish and English. After learning that the National Day of Prayer was May 1st, and National Defense Transportation Day is May 16th, I sign in, quickly chat with Yamila about our babies (born a few days apart), and then head toward Ms. Nowak's kindergarten room. With its collection of one-and two-story buildings around a central courtyard, the school – originally built in 1963 for Black elementary students – seems out of place in comparison to other schools in the area. However, it fittingly reminds me of many schools I have visited in Central America; a Honduran friend and John Dewey parent says it looks similar to the Universidad Autónoma de Honduras.

For fifteen years now, I have been drawn to doors like these - the doors of schools with Spanish-English two-way language immersion programs, in which native speakers of two different languages come together to learn academic content in both languages. I have entered them in a variety of roles - graduate student, service-learning consultant, reading buddy, preservice teacher

supervisor, and now as a researcher, program coordinator, teacher, and parent - and been attracted to them for many reasons, including their impressive results in promoting academic achievement for English Language Learners (Thomas & Collier, 2012) and their capacity for developing bilingualism and biliteracy. As the above descriptions begin to illustrate, the programs I have been a part of have differed in many regards, such as location, resources, priorities, program structure, and demographics; however, all have shared a commitment to preparing students for a multilingual, multicultural world, even as they feel the influence of forces that encourage a more narrow focus on English language development and the predominately White, middle-class culture traditionally valued in curriculum and pedagogy.

What has appealed to me most about two-way immersion schools has been the promise symbolized by their “doors” – their potential to open up to and define a space supportive of equitable interaction and collaboration between people of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In research on multicultural children’s literature, “mirrors,” “windows,” and “doors” are common metaphors used to examine how books can help students build strong cultural and academic identities through self-reflection (“mirrors”), gain greater knowledge and appreciation of other cultures (“windows”), and ultimately inspire interaction (“doors”) (Botelho & Rudman, 2009). As I began trying to make sense of my dissertation data – a plethora of experiences at both Sunset and John Dewey - I realized these same metaphors could also facilitate a deeper understanding of two-way immersion programs. Like the best children’s literature, high-quality Spanish-English programs support positive identity construction and cross-cultural awareness, serving as a powerful antidote to both

the “subtractive schooling” (Valenzuela, 1999) that many Latin@ students confront as well as the limited worldviews to which English-speaking students are exposed in more traditional settings (Reyes & Vallone, 2007). Moreover, two-way immersion programs do not relegate “mirrors” and “windows” to books and walls; rather, at least in theory, they are intentionally structured so that both are present in one’s classmates, colleagues, and school community. In other words, they not only can provide a powerful education experience for students, but also offer the prospect of cross-cultural *educación*, a word that Angela Valenzuela (1997) describes as “a conceptually broader term than its English language cognate.” *Educación* includes academic learning, but is oriented towards people rather than content and refers to “inculcating in children a sense of moral, social, and personal responsibility” and “competence in the social world” that “serves as the foundation for all other learning” and “observes the dignity and individuality of others” (p. 326-327). A graduate of two-way immersion *educación* should be capable not only of reading, writing, speaking, listening, and demonstrating content knowledge in two languages, but also of using that learning in service of positive relationships across lines of linguistic and cultural difference.

This possibility for cross-cultural interaction and collaboration is often expressed in program goals, such as Sunset’s desire that students will demonstrate “cross-cultural thoughtfulness: respect and appreciation of the diversity of other people and their cultures, as well as their own, cultural self-awareness and knowledge of other worldviews, skills of empathy and cross-cultural verbal and nonverbal communication, and attitudes of curiosity about and openness toward other people and cultures” and John Dewey’s mission of

“ensuring that all students...develop cultural awareness” and beliefs in creating “globally minded” students who can “solve real world problems” and “recognize, advocate, and take action on issues for social justice, as well as “a community...that nurtures collaboration and [in which] each member feels ownership, valued and welcome.” These goals are important in themselves, as they guide students towards a lifetime of positive relationships and contributions to their local and global communities. However, even for those who take a more instrumental view of two-way immersion education, these “soft” skills are important; the Partnership for 21st Century Skills (2009) asserts that in order to “thrive in today’s global economy” (p. 1), students need to be capable of “learning from and working collaboratively with individuals representing diverse cultures, religions and lifestyles in a spirit of mutual respect and open dialogue in personal, work and community contexts” (p.2). During the time I have been writing this, news of systemic mistreatment of Black men by law enforcement and courts (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015), the need to negotiate funeral practices in efforts to fight ebola in West Africa (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015), and the brutal killing of three North Carolina Muslim university students (Maxwell, 2015) all serve as vivid reminders that these skills are essential, if at times tragically overlooked, elements of truly preparing students to be “college and career ready” in a range of fields and disciplines.

In recent years, I have begun to look more carefully and critically at two-way immersion programs’ “doors” – the opportunities for cross-cultural interaction and the development of positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors. While consistently stated as a program goal (Howard, Sugarman,

Perdomo, & Adger, 2005).), the small amount of research in this area (Cazabon, Lambert, & Hall; 1993; Carrigo, 2000; Parchia, 2000; Wright & Tropp, 2006) leaves many unanswered questions. Do programs serve as “a conduit – a door – to engage children in social practices that function for social justice” (Botelho & Rudman, 2009, p. 1)? Or do they, as Cervantes-Soon (2014) worries, “welcome the languages of minority children, but not the entire child, with all of her complexities, needs, wants, and knowledge” (p. 73)? Who enters the doors of programs, and who is kept out? What cultures do they bring with them, and how are they represented in school and classroom practices? And what happens when students exit these doors, from a *bilingual* program to a *multicultural* and inequitable world? Are they able to transfer positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors to new contexts and cultures?

This dissertation does not answer all of these questions, but it does strive to explore them in the context of two specific two-way immersion programs in North Carolina, a state in the new Latin@ diaspora. In particular, it is guided by a desire to understand what the process of cross-cultural *educación* looks like within these programs, or how interactions between teachers, students, curricula, and other resources may support or undermine cross-cultural learning goals. I also seek to understand the contextual factors that are likely to influence that process, both within the school setting and the larger state and national macrosystem. Thus, I ask: What does cross-cultural *educación* look like in two two-way immersion programs, and what factors influence that process?

- 1) What challenges and opportunities do teachers encounter, and what human, material, economic, and temporal resources are available to them,

as they attempt to facilitate cross-cultural *educación* within each school context?

- 2) What challenges and opportunities do broader local, state, and national contexts afford teachers as they attempt to facilitate cross-cultural *educación* among diverse students within two-way immersion programs?
- 3) What patterns exist in cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors among students, and how are these patterns associated with the process of cross-cultural *educación* within their classroom and school?

In the first chapter, I use an ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; 2006) to examine the literature on factors that influence the development of cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors. Ecological perspectives on development emphasize the importance of social processes, or interactions between people in one's immediate setting, as well as the role that resources within a setting can play in those interactions (Tseng & Seidman, 2006); thus, I first consider individual student and teacher factors likely to contribute to the process of cross-cultural *educación*, and the role that curricular resources may play in the interactions between students and teachers. Then, I use the lens of contact theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; 2011) to examine how conditions in one's immediate setting, such as a school, are likely to impact these interactions. Next, from the perspective of critical race theory (Ladson-Billings, 1998), I identify factors at the macrosystemic (state and national) level that are also likely to influence the process of *educación*. Finally, I look specifically at the programmatic context of two-way immersion programs, arguing that, in theory, they are in many ways an ideal context for implementing cross-cultural

educación. However, the limited empirical research on their attempts to meet goals for cross-cultural learning suggests that they often reflect and sometimes reinforce systemic inequities. Through this literature review, I identify a need for studies, like this one, that look directly at the process of cross-cultural learning itself within two-way immersion programs, as well as how conditions at the school level and beyond may facilitate or inhibit those opportunities for learning for diverse learners.

I then describe my approach to examining cross-cultural *educación* at John Dewey and Sunset in Chapter 2, describing how my unique stance as a practitioner researcher and the comparative case study methodology I use allows me to illuminate these processes within two programs, as well as identify contextual factors likely to influence opportunities for learning.

Next, in line with Bronfenbrenner and Morris' (1998; 2006) ecological perspective, I analyze in Chapter 3 the unique *contexts* likely to influence cross-cultural learning at the two schools. First, I use the frame of contact theory to contrast the two schools, describing how each has unique strengths, but neither fully realizes the interrelated conditions of institutionally-supported, cooperative interdependence between two equal-status groups that best support positive intergroup interaction (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; 2011). John Dewey has the "foundations" of school and district authority, but status differences create unintentionally built "walls" between groups. In contrast, the diversity and relatively equal status among groups at Sunset serve as valuable "windows" and "mirrors" for cross-cultural learning. However, without institutional support, teachers find it difficult to create opportunities for explicit cross-cultural learning. Next, I look at macrosystemic factors likely to influence cross-cultural

educación, using the frame of critical race theory. I describe how the “shifting soil,” or the rapidly globalizing metropolitan area and state in which the two schools sit, has created increased diversity and opportunities for intergroup contact. However, policies and discourse within this macrosystem tend to value diversity for economic, rather than equity, reasons, making it challenging to create the collaborative, equal-status conditions that promote the development of positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors.

The following two chapters zoom in, focusing on the social processes of cross-cultural *educación* themselves; I identify patterns in interactions between teachers, students, and contextual resources. In Chapter 4, I show how each school has unique *conversations*, or ways of talking about diversity. At John Dewey, a discourse of “color-blind collectivism” (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009) helps validate both “target” languages and cultures and construct a sense of community and identity at the school, but also limits opportunities for cross-cultural learning. At Sunset, a discourse of dissonance facilitates recognition of difference and questioning of one’s own worldview and supports the development of positive attitudes towards a broad range of cultures.

In spite of their differences, however, *commonalities* in the process of cross-cultural *educación* emerge at both schools, as I describe in Chapters 5 and 6: an emphasis on the integration of cross-cultural learning with literacy in a way that consistently prioritizes reading and writing goals, and the focus on foreign countries as the object of cross-cultural teaching. I attribute these common practices to the context they share – that of being two-way immersion programs in a rapidly globalizing state in the Common Core era – and demonstrate how

they may create positive attitudes towards idealized native speakers of both languages, but not towards actual peers and community members.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I argue that if two-way immersion programs are to meet their goals of developing positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors in students, there is significant work to be done at macrosystemic, program, and classroom levels. At the state and national level, programs' commitment to equity needs to be emphasized and the discourse promoting education for a competitive global world should be tempered with one recognizing the merits of a cooperative, "glocal" (Brooks & Normore, 2010) *educación* that recognizes the importance of connections between people and between local and global contexts. Moreover, this focus on equity and cooperation must not be limited to equalizing the status of language groups, but also diverse racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups, so that programs are prepared to meet the needs of the broad range of English- and Spanish-speakers in a given community. At the program level, using contact theory as a lens to analyze programs' strengths and weaknesses in creating conditions for cross-cultural *educación*, as I do here, can be a tool for broadening the conversation about creating opportunities for cross-cultural learning. These conversations should include the collaborative consideration of a wider range of two-way immersion program models and strategies for diversifying student and teacher populations. Within classrooms, the emphasis needs to be not only on teaching students to read, write, and care *about* global cultural difference, but to care *for* (Valenzuela, 1997) culturally-diverse community members. Adopting a "glocal" perspective and teaching students transferable skills for learning about cultures using an ethnographic

“funds of knowledge” approach (Gonzalez, et al., 1995) are two strategies for implementing this cross-cultural *educación*.

Through this work, I seek to guide the two programs depicted here – as well as others who see themselves reflected in these pages – towards decisions about program structures and teaching practices that help realize the potential of two-way immersion programs to fully “open their doors” and provide a transformative *educación*, preparing students for a lifetime of using their academic and language skills in service of more positive interactions across a range of cultures and contexts.

Chapter 1: Contextualizing cross-cultural I - A review of the literature

I am not the only one who has been drawn to the doors of two-way immersion programs like Sunset and John Dewey. As program coordinator at Sunset, I average at least a call a month from an interested parent, wondering how to enroll their child, and we typically receive around twice as many lottery applications for our kindergarten class as we have spaces available. Nationwide, the number of programs has grown dramatically, from 30 in 1987 to over 500 today (Howard, Sugarman, Perdomo, & Adger, 2005; Center for Applied Linguistics, 2011; Public Schools of North Carolina, 2014). Many researchers also laud two-way immersion programs, for a range of reasons. For instance, as the only program model that has been found to eventually close the achievement gap between English Language Learners and native English speakers in English literacy, there is consensus that they provide the best outcomes for students learning English as a second language. Students of all racial and linguistic backgrounds participating in the programs tend to perform as well as or better than mainstream peers of similar backgrounds on English tests of academic achievement, while at the same time acquiring proficiency in two languages (Thomas & Collier, 2012). They also may be one antidote to the resegregation of schools that has occurred in many areas; Orfield (2009) highlights them as an example of “using choice mechanisms in ways that bring our children together, not [to] deepen the stratification among our communities” (p. 29), arguing that “dual language schools...can foster the kind of collaborative equal-status

learning that produces the best educational and human relations outcomes” (2009, p.31).

These claims of “the best ... outcomes” suggest that two-way immersion programs merit a closer, and perhaps a deeper and more nuanced, look. While their potential for promoting cross-cultural *educación* appears promising, the “human relations outcomes” of two-way immersion programs, as well as the factors influencing those outcomes, remain understudied. In this chapter, I review the literature on cross-cultural learning and two-way immersion programs. First, I define cross-cultural *educación* and contrast it with other terms that are used to explain how people develop the capacities to interact effectively across lines of difference. Then, I utilize the framework of ecological development theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; 2006), which can be used to analyze the wide range of factors expected to impact an aspect of development, in order to examine the likely influences on the process of cross-cultural *educación* within two-way immersion programs. These factors include students’ and teachers’ personal characteristics, resources such as curricula, the conditions facilitating or inhibiting positive relations in their school, and forces emanating from broader local, state, and national contexts and from the unique programmatic expectations of two-way immersion. Next, I show how the limited literature that specifically looks at the role two-way immersion schools play in promoting positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors exposes a tension between the model’s high aspirations for cross-cultural learning and systemic inequities that are reflected and at times reinforced within programs. Finally, I explain the need for the current study, which focuses on the processes

of cross-cultural *educación* within two two-way immersion programs, as well as how those learning opportunities are shaped by contextual factors.

Defining cross-cultural *educación*

My decision to use the term cross-cultural *educación* to describe the focus of this study reflects not only the expanded worldview I have gained through bilingualism and cross-cultural interaction, but also my struggle to find the right English word to conceptualize the phenomenon I was interested in exploring. One widely used term to describe the constellation of attitudes, skills, knowledge, and behaviors that promote positive interactions between people of diverse cultural groups is “intercultural competence.” The meaning of this concept is ambiguous; Deardorff’s (2009) review of the literature on this topic identifies eight single-spaced pages worth of personal and contextual traits that this capacity encompasses, ranging from racial identity development, to friendliness, to tolerance for ambiguity, suggesting that it may be a daunting goal for educators that lacks conceptual clarity. Deardorff (2009) herself also notes that there is an overemphasis on cognitive skills within this literature. Bennett (2013) differentiates between “intercultural competence” and “intercultural sensitivity”; the more attainable “intercultural sensitivity” is a general attribute that refers to one’s ability to notice cultural difference and incorporate one’s understandings of cultural difference into their interactions, whereas “intercultural competence” is culturally-specific “ability to embody and enact intercultural sensitivity” (p. 12) that is dependent not only on one’s individual capacity, but also upon the context in which they find themselves. While I draw upon Bennett’s (2013) idea of “intercultural sensitivity” in my description of cross-cultural *educación*, the

tools he offers for measuring it are designed for adults, not developing children, and thus fail to account for their unique and changing cognitive capacities. Moreover, as he conceptualizes “intercultural sensitivity” as an individual characteristic, Bennett does not fully acknowledge the relational and contextual influences on its development.

In K-12 education circles, “global competence,” rather than “intercultural competence,” has enjoyed recent popularity (see National Education Association, 2010; American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 2014), but embodies many of the same concepts (and challenges) as intercultural competence. However, I find the term “global competence” particularly problematic for two reasons. First, even in a globalized world, competence is revealed not in one’s knowledge of the entire world, but in interactions with an individual or small group in which “different or divergent affective, cognitive, and behavioral orientations to the world” are manifested (Deardorff, 2009, p. 7). Using “intercultural” or “cross-cultural” rather than “global” emphasizes the interactive nature of this phenomenon. Secondly, becoming “globally competent” is impossible, given the world’s infinite number of cultures, from the organizational to the national, and their constant dynamism. If schools emphasize trying to develop “global competence” at the expense of transferable “intercultural sensitivity,” students may develop superficial, stereotypical knowledge of many different groups, but lack the capacity to effectively interact with any of them.

Bennett (2013) goes on to describe “intercultural learning” as the acquisition of transferable knowledge, skills, and attitudes that enhance one’s intercultural sensitivity, or capacity to display competence in a range of cross-

cultural interactions. As people become more interculturally sensitive, they are better able to seek out difference, adapting their own perspectives to take it into account. I use the term “cross-cultural learning” here, as “cross-cultural” and “intercultural” are often used interchangeably (Bennett, 2012), and “cross-cultural” appears to be used more frequently by two-way immersion researchers and practitioners (see Howard, Sugarman, Perdomo, & Adger, 2005). However, I feel that the Spanish term *educación*² best captures my area of interest, as it avoids the “overly cognitive” emphasis of much of the literature on intercultural competence (Deardorff, 2009, p. 35) and of its English cognate *education*. Valenzuela (1999) distinguishes many schools’ emphasis on “caring about” abstract knowledge with *educación*’s parallel focus on “caring for” people. Like her, I believe in the “futility of academic knowledge when individuals do not know how to live in the world as caring, responsible, well-mannered, and respectful human beings” (p. 23). Learning happens through relationships (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998), and ideally in service of them as well; Valenzuela (1999) recognizes this in describing *educación* as “both a means and end, such that the end-state of being *bien educado/a* is accomplished through a process characterized by respectful relations” (p. 23). Thus, by focusing on cross-

² While I use the Spanish term here, it is important to recognize that this concept does not only exist in Spanish. For instance, Payne’s (2003) description of education for liberation, as enacted in Freedom Schools, in many ways echoes my understanding of *educación*, in that it “require[s] that students rethink the nature of their connectedness to others, encourage[s] students to rethink the way the past affects their present, widen[s] the kinds of social experiences available to youngsters, and involve[s] youngsters in doing meaningful things in their communities” (p. 27). Moreover, both Valenzuela and I imbue the term with more political connotation than it sometimes has in typical use. While I would sometimes translate “educad@” as “polite” in typical usage, I see being “educad@” as not just about following social conventions, but about being able to challenge them in a way that takes into account both the importance of maintaining positive relationships and of incorporating diverse perspectives.

cultural *educación*, I pay special attention to the processes by which two-way immersion programs develop not only cognitive, but also socioemotional, knowledge, skills, and attitudes that enhance one's capacity to interact across lines of difference in a range of contexts.

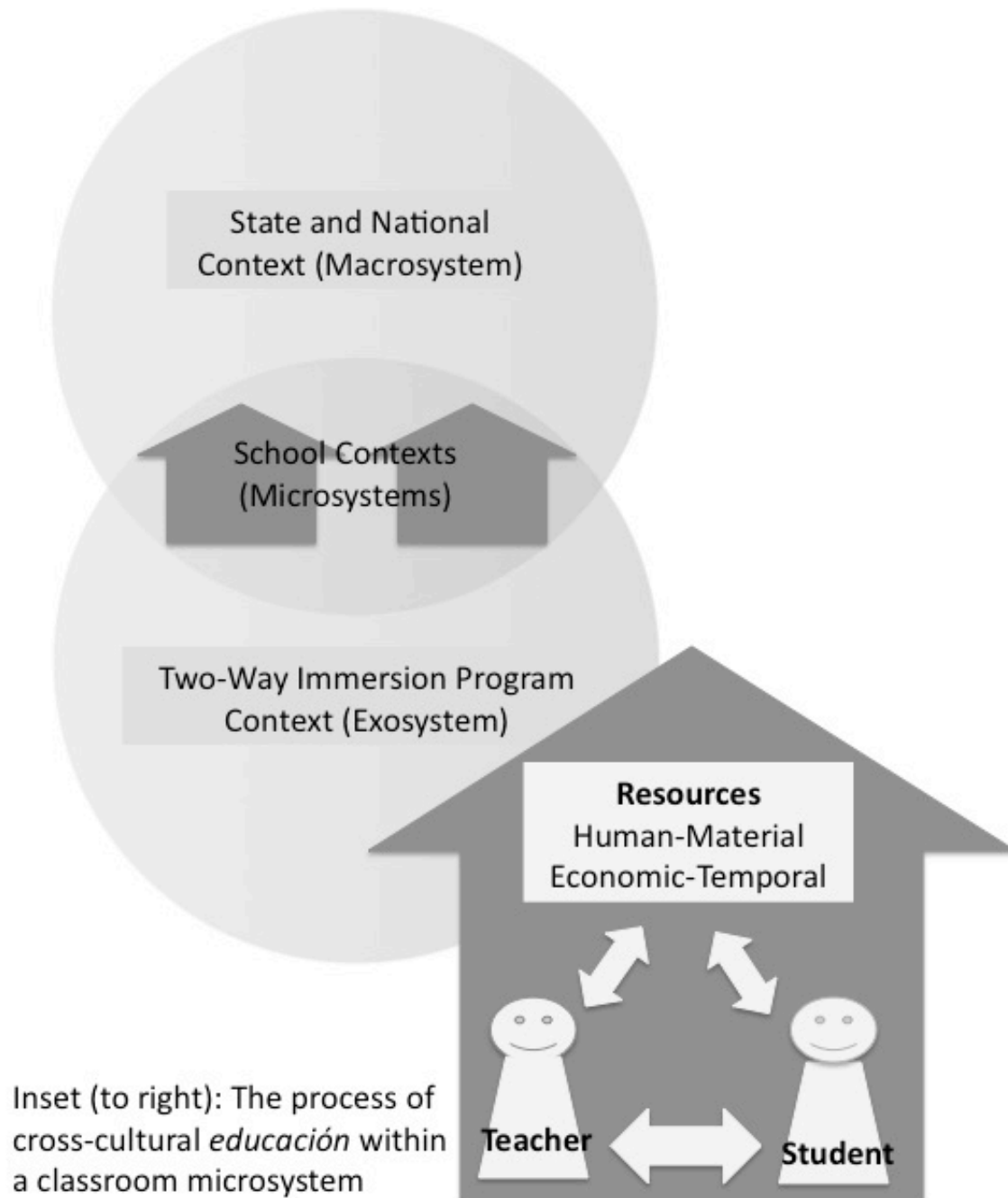
Mapping the ecology of cross-cultural *educación*

Educación's emphasis on relationships recognizes the centrality of interpersonal interactions to the learning process, a perspective that is echoed by ecological theories of development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; 2006). The ecological model argues that the primary drivers of human development are "proximal processes," or interactions that occur regularly between the people, objects, and symbols in one's immediate environment. Tseng & Seidman (2006) particularly emphasize "social processes," the ongoing interactions between people and groups, arguing that they are the most important influence on developmental outcomes. Social processes are affected by the human, physical, economic, and temporal resources within the immediate context, as well as how those resources are organized. Human resources refer to the education, experiences, values, and beliefs of people in a setting, physical resources refer to the availability and quality of materials and space, economic resources refer to money, and temporal resources refer to time (Tseng & Seidman, 2006). Thus, resources such as teacher professional development, peer experiences, curricula, and time matter for learning not in themselves, but to the extent that they are utilized or allocated in ways that impact the social processes that drive development.

Bronfenbrenner & Morris (1998, 2006) posit that these social processes are mediated by characteristics of the individual person and the time in which the interactions take place (both developmental and historical, as well as with what regularity). They are also impacted by the overlapping, interacting immediate and remote environmental contexts in which a developing individual is a part. These contexts include: microsystems, or the immediate face-to-face settings in which social processes take place (such as a family or classroom); mesosystems, or the linkages between the microsystems containing a developing individual (such as a parent-teacher relationship); exosystems, or settings that do not contain an individual, but still influence his or her development (such as a parent's work environment); and macrosystems, or the broad cultures or subcultures that are the source of particular beliefs and opportunity structures affecting development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

Figure 1 illustrates the ecology of the factors likely to impact cross-cultural *educación* within the two-way immersion programs portrayed in this study. At the center of the figure (and magnified in the inset, which depicts a classroom microsystem) is the process of cross-cultural *educación* (represented by the arrows), in which a teacher interacts with students, drawing upon available human, material, economic, and temporal resources (Tseng & Seidman, 2006) with the intent of meeting goals for cross-cultural learning. The individual dispositions, experiences, and knowledge of both teachers and students are likely to impact that process and its effects, as are the availability, allocation, and use of resources such as curricula, professional development, and time.

Figure 1: The ecology of cross-cultural educación



The process of cross-cultural *educación* within classroom and school microsystems is also influenced by the policies and discourse of larger state and national macrosystems³, such as the standards and accountability movement and societal discussions around culture, language, race, and class. This macrosystem intersects with the two-way immersion programmatic context, which serves as a form of programmatic exosystem; while students are usually not directly involved in determining program priorities, discussing research findings, and designing professional development, these interactions among the professional community of two-way immersion teachers, administrators, and researchers are likely to impact the process of cross-cultural *educación* for students. Since individual programs are situated in the intersection of this programmatic exosystem and state and national macrosystem, they feel the influence of forces from both; as I will discuss later in the chapter, these may at times contradict each other. Although time does not appear visually in the model, it is embedded throughout - in the recognition of developmental influences on students' cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors, in the description of historical change within the state and national macrocontexts, and in the extended observation of classroom and school contexts over the course of an academic year.

In the following sections, I will review literature on each of these influences on cross-cultural *educación*, beginning with the interacting components of the proximal process itself; drawing on literature from the fields of developmental and community psychology and multicultural education, I look

³ Home and community contexts, along with the mesosystem formed as they interact with the school microsystem, are also an integral part of students' cross-cultural *educación*. However, they are not a focal point of this study and are not included in the diagram.

at the role of individual student and teacher characteristics, as well as curricular resources. Then, using contact theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; 2011) and critical race theory (Ladson-Billings, 1998) I explore microsystemic (school) and macrosystemic (society) influences on the process of cross-cultural *educación*.

Examining influences on cross-cultural *educación*

Student influences

Differences in both cognitive development and affect among individuals are likely to affect both the process and the impact of cross-cultural learning. Tatum (2003) uses ethnicity-specific variations of Phinney's stages of ethnic identity, which progress from "unexamined" to "search" to "achieved," to illustrate how young people of different ethnicities begin with a lack of awareness of difference and ideally (though unfortunately, rarely) progress towards a strong and inclusive ethnic identity that leads to collaboration across lines of difference. Similarly, Bennett (2013) proposes that "intercultural learning" progresses through stages in which difference is conceptualized in increasingly complex ways, ranging from denial of difference to thoughtful integration of difference into one's own identity. However, these frameworks are designed with adolescents and adults in mind; evidence suggests that in order to understand children's cross-cultural learning, it is particularly important to consider their biological development. Bigler and Liben (2007)'s developmental intergroup theory posits that children's intergroup attitudes stem from a process in which environmental conditions make certain attributes psychologically salient (for instance, race or gender, but not height). This salience is communicated to children in a variety of ways, both explicit (such as

labeling people by certain attributes or using group membership as criteria for participating in activities) and implicit (such as numeric imbalance of groups and conditions like segregation). Children then categorize themselves and others by these attributes, a process impacted both by cognitive growth and environmental factors, such as the amount of contact they have with group members.

Developmental psychologists have found some patterns to how children engage in this categorization process. As students begin to move into elementary school around age five, they are learning to recognize the salience of ethnic and racial categories (Tatum, 2003) and to categorize by more than one characteristic. During this time, many begin to “color code,” or to make associations between traits and ethnic or racial groups (Nakazawa, 2003), including the development of stereotypes (Aboud, et al., 2012). Favoring members of their own racial group tends to peak around this time for White children, while there is more variability in the attitudes of children of color (Aboud & Amato, 2001). By around age seven or eight, most students gain enough perspective-taking ability to recognize that others may see them differently than they see themselves. As they gain this social awareness, they may begin to place different social value on racial and social categories (Nakazawa, 2003), though they also become aware of social pressure to avoid explicit displays of bias (Raabe & Beelman, 2011). Many White children tend to develop more nuanced attitudes, including positive evaluations of outgroups and negative evaluations of their own group, between ages six and nine; however, the number of cross-racial friendships White students have tends to decrease during this time, perhaps indicating the influence of structural factors (such as residential segregation) on cross-cultural behaviors. By ages 7 to 10 most children of color begin displaying either no bias or preference for their

own group (Aboud and Amato, 2001). Immigrant status and a strong ethnic identity correlate with ingroup preference among 2nd and 4th grade students of color (Pfeifer, et al., 2007). Given the importance of ethnic identity development for students of color, this ingroup preference may set the stage for later positive cross-cultural interactions (Tatum, 2003). The divergence of developmental trajectories and the increasing influence of environmental factors make the time between 7 and 10 years especially critical for cross-cultural learning (Raabe & Beelman, 2011). Like many aspects of development that have “cascade effects” (Masten & Cicchetti, 2010) in which the effects of interactions build upon each other over time, students’ early interactions with cultural difference are likely to set the stage for later outcomes (Linn & Welner, 2007). Thus, it is important to examine these interactions in childhood, while at the same time keeping in mind the dynamic developmental tendencies that are likely to impact the analysis of findings.

As the categorization process described above is the source of intergroup prejudice, Bigler and Liben (2007) suggest minimizing children’s attention to group categories. However, other researchers have found that the recognition of group difference is also an essential skill for successful cross-cultural learning, as focusing on commonality rather than difference can inhibit one’s ability to transfer positive attitudes towards outgroups to new situations (Brown & Hewstone, 2005) and may actually reduce attention to injustice among marginalized groups while failing to change the actions of those in power (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009). Moreover, individual attitudes towards difference are likely to influence the process of cross-cultural learning. Though some psychologists posit that there is an innate tendency to prefer one’s

ingroup once categorizations have been made (Bigler & Liben, 2007), Pittinsky (2012) argues that there is also a natural propensity to display affection, enthusiasm, kinship, engagement and comfort towards difference. He finds that these positive feelings towards difference, which he terms *allophilia*⁴, rather than a lack of prejudice or sense of commonality, are most predictive of someone's proactive efforts to engage with, support, and even sacrifice for members of another group (Pittinsky, 2009; Pittinsky, 2011). The advantages of emphasizing the positive when seeking to develop certain behaviors are widely recognized both among practitioners and in psychological research. For instance, Positive Behavior Intervention and Supports, which combines clear expectations for students with positive reinforcement, has been shown to be an effective tool for managing student behavior (PBIS, 2009) and is widely used by schools (including both research sites). Experimental studies also have found that inducing positive, rather than neutral or negative emotions, before interracial reactions can reduce anxiety and implicit racial bias (Johnson & Fredrickson, 2005; Trawalter & Richeson, 2006). Thus, an individual's recognition of, and positive attitudes towards, difference are likely to be both an important influence on and outcome of the process of cross-cultural *educación*.

⁴ Pittinsky (2012, p. 47) defines the dimensions of *allophilia* as:
Affection – Having positive feelings toward members of the other group
Comfort – Feeling comfortable and at ease with members of the other group
Kinship – Feeling a close connection with members of the other group
Engagement – Seeking interactions with members of the other group
Enthusiasm – Feeling impressed and inspired by members of the other group

Teacher influences

Teachers play a critical role in facilitating social processes, and thus learning, within their classrooms; unfortunately, however, research suggests that few teachers are fully prepared to engage in the process of cross-cultural *educación* with diverse students. Teachers are overwhelmingly White, and many have had few sustained, substantive interactions with other ethnicities (Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Sleeter, 2007). They tend to report less positive relationships with students who are of a different ethnicity from them (Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Meehan, Hughes, & Cavell, 2003); in turn, these relational challenges inhibit many students from engaging in the learning process (Valenzuela, 1999). These findings point to the importance of an ethnically-diverse teaching force that reflects the cultural diversity found among students.

However, it is not teachers' ethnicities per se that drive student learning, but their deep knowledge and validation of students as both individuals and parts of cultural groups, their abilities to facilitate positive classroom relations, and their sense of agency in designing classroom learning processes that impact student learning (Ladson-Billings, 1992). Bartolomé (2004) examines factors that help teachers to become these "cultural brokers" who can connect students to school, a transformative curriculum, and each other, and highlights the importance of teachers' own "border crossing" experiences, in which they not only have sustained experience with another culture, but also experiences of marginalization that allow them to empathize with students. She asserts that, regardless of teacher ethnicity, these experiences are critical to developing the "political and ideological clarity" that allows them to engage students in learning, especially within a macrosystem that systemically denies opportunity

to certain groups of students. As the institutional authority in their classrooms, teachers draw upon these skills and experiences both as they attempt to create the conditions for learning specified in contact theory (described in the following section) and to facilitate the process of cross-cultural learning itself.

Curricular influences

According to the ecological theory of development, teachers draw upon a variety of resources to facilitate social processes in their classroom; however, one of the most important are the curricular materials and ideas with which students engage (Tseng & Seidman, 2006). Banks (1989) presents a commonly-used framework for analyzing the extent to which explicit curricula prepare students to engage with and understand a range of cultures. In the Contributions approach (as well as its variant, “Heroes and Holidays”), students learn about select heroes or other aspects of a culture, often in a way that is detached from the main focus of the curriculum, minimizing its importance. The Additive approach may devote more time, such as an entire book or unit, to the study of another culture, but that content is still viewed from a mainstream perspective and often disconnected from other learning. Banks advocates for a Transformation approach, in which all content is viewed from multiple perspectives, and when possible, a Decisionmaking and Social Action approach, which allows students to apply their transformative learning to social and personal issues that concern them.

Other theorists remind us that it is not only curricula itself that matters, but the interaction between students and curricula. Thus, they advocate for culturally-relevant teaching that validates and builds upon the knowledge which

students bring to the learning process (González, et al., 1995; Gay, 2002; Delpit, 2008). Such curricula use analogies, metaphors, and experiences from students' own lives as "pedagogical bridges that connect prior knowledge with new knowledge, the known with the unknown, and abstractions with lived realities" and recognize students' "right to grapple with learning challenges from the point of strength and relevance found in their own cultural frames of reference" (Gay, 2002, p. 113, p. 124). Thus, this literature suggests that effective cross-cultural *educación* integrates both the "mirrors" and the "windows" (Bishop, 1990) described in the introduction, drawing upon all students' mesosystems of home and community experiences, as well as their distinct cultural macrosystems. Then, students connect this existing knowledge to new worldviews and apply it to decisionmaking, action, and interaction.

Research on individual factors (both student and teacher) likely to affect cross-cultural *educación* points to cognitive and affective influences that merit consideration both when analyzing findings and when designing opportunities for cross-cultural *educación*. Curricular frameworks also highlight the importance of viewing ideas from multiple perspectives, and teaching students to use their ideas to catalyze social action. However, almost all of these studies also emphasize the importance of context in the development of cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors and the appropriate design and use of curricula. While individual cognitive and attitudinal characteristics are an important consideration in understanding the process of cross-cultural learning for a given student or group of students, these traits are not simply the results of an innate process that unfolds on its own. Rather, to a large extent, these characteristics arise through interaction with others in specific settings (Bronfenbrenner &

Morris, 1998). Contextual factors appear to determine what social categories are constructed, what value is attached to them (Bigler & Liben, 2007), and what attitudes towards difference are activated (Pittinsky, 2009; 2011). In the next section, I use the lens of contact theory to explore how features of the local school context, or microsystem, are likely to impact the process of cross-cultural *educación*.

Contextual influences

Research points to the importance of regular interactions with diverse “others” in order to develop positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors, as well as schools’ potential as a context for these interactions. In a meta-analysis of 515 studies on intergroup contact, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006; 2011) find that contact between groups was correlated with reduced prejudice in 94 percent of the samples. They argue that, barring threatening and often forced circumstances such as violence or extreme competition, contact typically leads to improved intergroup attitudes and behaviors. Others have emphasized the important role school environments can play in facilitating this contact, especially given the rarity of integrated neighborhoods (Orfield, 2009). Contact before age twelve is associated with greater effects on cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors than contact at later ages (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011), and even limited contact within a school can reduce anxiety and stereotyping in cross-cultural interactions and encourage the development of a superordinate common identity (Raabe & Beelman, 2011). Elementary students display lower levels of in-group favoritism and out-group prejudice at ethnically heterogeneous schools (McGlothlin & Killen, 2006; Aboud, 2003). Schools are also important contexts

for the development of friendships, an especially strong predictor of positive intergroup attitudes and behaviors; however, *de facto* segregation, tracking, and social norms against cross-group friendships can limit this possibility in many schools (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

While contact in itself is generally beneficial, certain conditions within a context greatly enhance the positive outcomes resulting from intergroup contact. These conditions form the basis of Allport's (1954, in Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; 2011) intergroup contact theory. While modern scholars conceptualize these conditions in slightly different ways, they generally include 1) equal status between groups within the context, 2) cooperative interdependence⁵ between the groups, 3) the potential for developing close relationships between groups within the context, and 4) the support of institutional authorities (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Pettigrew & Tropp (2006, 2011) find that these factors are most influential as an interrelated construct, as initially envisioned by Allport. However, they maintain that examining them separately can help identify the mechanisms by which these conditions predict outcomes within particular settings.

Contact theorists also have debated the role played by the salience of group identity within a context, concluding that making group differences salient, or encouraging the cognitive process of categorization, is an essential part of the process of cross-cultural *educación*, as that recognition facilitates the transfer of learning from positive intergroup experiences to new contexts. However, it is also critical to be attentive to when and how group difference is

⁵ Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) describe interdependence as two separate conditions: shared goals and cooperation.

emphasized in the learning process and how that emphasis is experienced by students in order to avoid detrimental outcomes, such as anxiety (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Pettigrew and Tropp suggest that decategorization, or deemphasizing group group difference and encouraging the recognition of individual differences may be important at the beginning of a contact situation. However, it is then critical to support the process of categorization so that positive experiences with individual group members generalize to others. Then, the process of recategorization, or seeing each other as members of a superordinate group, can be effective. However, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy (2009) warn against engaging in recategorization without also engaging in categorization. Encouraging minority groups to assimilate to a common identity without recognizing the integrity of their group differences can mask their unique needs, advantage the majority group (whose interests are most likely to be represented in the common identity), and exacerbate bias. Thus, it is often preferable to encourage a dual identity, or the “simultaneous activation of original subgroup identities and common ingroup identities” (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009, p. 7) to “affirm the distinctiveness of subgroup identity, but in a context of connection and potential cooperation” (p.9).

Given the important role of the immediate context in development, the tenets of contact theory can be a valuable lens for analyzing a school’s capacity to support the learning processes constituting cross-cultural *educación*. However, while principals and teachers, as institutional authorities, play a key role in creating the conditions delineated in contact theory within a school context

(Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011), their efforts are shaped by broader macrosystemic forces. I will describe some of those influences in the next section.

Macrosystemic influences

In her comprehensive look at how individual and contextual factors interact to produce the development of ethnic and cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors, Tatum (2003) attributes many of the challenges educators and young people face to “smog” in “the air we breathe,” a pervasive climate of racism and inequality that permeates our interactions. In doing so, she recognizes the central tenet of critical race theory, the idea that racism and other forms of discrimination are “so enmeshed in the fabric of our social order, it appears both normal and natural to people in this culture” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 11). Fundamental to critical race theory is a critique of liberalism’s stated beliefs in objectivity, colorblindness, neutrality, and meritocracy; rather, it asserts that macrosystemic structures such as legal processes and government institutions reflect the interests of dominant groups and serve to limit opportunity for ethnic minorities and other marginalized groups. Critical race theorists and others operating from a similar stance have identified several macrosystemic factors that serve to limit all students’ possibilities for cross-cultural *educación*. One example is the backing of school desegregation only in instances that clearly advantage White students (such as magnet programs) along with the widespread maintenance of a system of *de facto* segregation and inequitable school funding (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005). Another is “the promotion of a single definition of the well-educated citizen” (Glickman, 2001, p. 151) within the current standards and accountability movement, which primarily legitimizes

White and upper-class (and “well-educated,” rather than *bien educad@*) perspectives, knowledges, and epistemologies (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Sleeter, 2005; Yosso, 2005). Especially for poor students and ethnic minorities, this results in a narrower, less engaging, curriculum, with little time for focusing on untested skills and knowledge (Darling-Hammond, 2004). Finally, the dominance of English politically, economically, socially, and academically leads to a devaluing not only of minority languages, but also minority language speakers (Shannon, 1995).

The systemic inequities highlighted by critical race theory impede the creation of the conditions specified in contact theory within a school context, as local authorities must attempt to counteract these powerful forces if they are to create equal status between groups. Moreover, in line with critical race theory’s recognition of Whiteness as a form of property that gives holders power to control and exclude, these macrosystemic patterns matter for the process of cross-cultural *educación* because they serve both to deny resources to particular groups and to deny value to the resources that they do possess. For instance, the shortage of trained teachers and lack of time to implement a broad curriculum in schools serving large numbers of poor and minority students (Darling-Hammond, 2004) means that in those contexts learning processes take place without essential human and temporal resources. While native English speakers are often applauded for even rudimentary bilingual skills, native Spanish speakers are seen as deficient until they have a complete mastery of English (Shannon, 1995), thus devaluing their ownership of the human resource of bilingualism (Sleeter, 2005). Pollock (2008) describes the current time as “an era when racial inequality and outcome in American society are created and

condoned through many acts by many well-meaning actors at all levels of systems rather than simply ordered explicitly from on high,” making it critical to analyze “daily opportunity provision within schools” (p. 16); thus, it is essential to not only identify the specific macrosystemic characteristics that limit learning opportunities, but also the mechanisms by which these macrosystemic features influence conditions and social processes in the microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

In sum, research shows that, in order to understand the process of cross-cultural *educación*, one must take into account students’ developing cognition (particularly their ability to categorize and recategorize), their affective response, and their knowledge and experiences as members of multiple cultural groups. Within the school microsystem, these individual characteristics interact with teacher characteristics, curricula, and other human, material, economic, and temporal resources to produce student learning. This process is shaped by conditions within the school context – the opportunities for meaningful contact and cooperation and the equality of status between groups, the support of institutional authorities, and the salience of group membership. It is also influenced by the pervasive inequality between groups within the broader macrosystem. In the next section, I describe two-way immersion programs as a context for cross-cultural learning, examining how they, as a theoretical model, create conditions that support cross-cultural *educación* at the school level, and how, in practice, they serve to mitigate or replicate macrosystemic inequalities. Then, recognizing the need for research that looks at the process of cross-cultural *educación* within two-way immersion programs, I define the research questions that guide this study.

Looking inside two-way immersion programs

An integration ideal?

In line with contact theory, two-way immersion programs appear to be an ideal setting for cross-cultural *educación*. Two-way immersion programs are characterized by both a student body that includes native speakers of two languages (usually English and another language, which in the United States is most often Spanish) (Howard & Sugarman, 2001) and content and literacy instruction in both languages. Programs tend to share three key goals, though they may be worded slightly differently from program to program. These goals include high levels of written and oral proficiency in both languages (bilingualism and biliteracy), academic achievement at or above grade level, and development of positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors (Howard, Sugarman, Perdomo, & Adger, 2005). In terms of student population, a mix of half native English speakers and half native speakers of the other language is often considered ideal, though this varies to some extent by program characteristics and community demographics. Students of both language groups are integrated throughout the day, although some programs separate language groups for a short time each day in the early grades for initial literacy instruction. Literature for practitioners highlights the importance of intentional, heterogenous cooperative grouping in encouraging students to interact across linguistic lines with the intent of producing shared products and gaining linguistic and cultural skills (Howard, Sugarman, Perdomo, & Adger, 2005; Reyes & Kleyn, 2010). Thus, two-way immersion programs differ from many educational contexts in that they not only have stated cross-cultural goals, but

that institutional authorities structure classroom composition and activities to encourage extended contact and cooperative independence between linguistic groups.

In two-way immersion programs, the non-English language is used for at least half of the day throughout the elementary school years (and ideally beyond, though secondary programs are less common and often consist of only a class or two offered in the target language). All two-way immersion programs rely on separation of languages to encourage students to use their non-dominant language. Lessons are not translated or repeated in the other language; rather, teachers use strategies such as visuals and motions to help students comprehend content in a second language. By treating a non-English language as a valuable resource that merits continued development, this additive approach both provides important academic and identity support for students learning English as a Second Language and gives native English speakers the opportunity to learn an enriching skill (Howard, Sugarman, Perdomo, & Adger, 2005; Reyes & Vallone, 2008). Ideally, teachers also guide students in making connections between languages and reinforce learning gained in one language in the second through the use of thematic units or enrichment activities (Beeman & Urow, 2012). As the languages and cultures that both Spanish- and English-speaking students bring to school are viewed as an asset and tool for instruction, two-way immersion programs can equalize the status of the two languages and their speakers. Moreover, while common identities as part of a classroom and school are nurtured, linguistic and cultural difference is made salient instructionally.

One important feature of a given two-way program model is its choice of program model. Most two-way immersion programs describe themselves as

either 50/50 or 90/10 program models, which refer to the percentage of instruction occurring in the non-English language in the early grades.⁶ In 50/50 models, time is divided equally between English and the partner language throughout the elementary school years. This can be accomplished by teaching students for a half day in each language, or by alternating day or even alternating week schedules. In many 50/50 models, a Spanish- and English-speaking teacher share two classes between them, switching classes so that each group receives 50 percent of their instruction in both languages. In 90/10 models, classes (at least in the early grades) are usually self-contained. Ninety percent of instruction in kindergarten takes place in the non-English language, and the percentage of English gradually increases each year until it is 50 percent English, 50 percent partner language by the end of elementary school (Howard & Sugarman, 2001). There have been few studies that look closely and comprehensively at the differences between the two program models, but large-scale quantitative studies suggest that both models lead to high academic achievement in English for students, though 90/10 models correspond to higher levels of Spanish proficiency and compensate for the hegemony of English in the wider society (Thomas & Collier, 2012). Gómez, Freeman, and Freeman (2005) emphasize the importance of a carefully and collaboratively selecting and crafting a model to meet community needs. Whether by compensating for inequalities within the macrosystem or striving for equality between languages within the program, the choice of program model communicates important

⁶ Not surprisingly, these models have many variations in practice, some of which have been proposed as alternatives to these two approaches (see Gómez, Freeman, & Freeman, 2005). However, I focus on 50/50 and 90/10 here as these are not only the two most common program types, but are those used at the two research sites.

messages about the status of the two linguistic groups and influences contact conditions.

Thus, as an ideal type, two-way immersion programs appear to fulfill the many of the conditions stipulated in contact theory. They equalize status between native English speakers and linguistically-marginalized groups, facilitate extended, cooperative interdependence, and make linguistic difference both salient and desirable. The complexity of program models requires at least some level of institutional support; a two-way immersion program cannot be the work of a single committed teacher or group of parent volunteers. In turn, these conditions seem likely to facilitate cross-cultural learning processes; the multiple cultures present among both teachers and student populations increase the potential for learning from and affirming each other, for viewing content from multiple perspectives, and for making connections between cultures. However, while two-way immersion programs do seem particularly suited for meeting goals of cross-cultural *educación* in theory, what happens when they interact with real-world inequalities? The next section explores the limited empirical evidence on this question.

Disenchanted data

As Figure 1 (p. 19) illustrates, two-way immersion programs occupy a unique ecological niche – the intersection between programmatic ideals of integration and interdependence and the macrosystemic inequities highlighted by critical race theorists. As these ideals and realities collide, the interaction of the two systems is likely to impact the process of cross-cultural *educación*, though local contextual conditions will shape how individual teachers and students

negotiate these competing forces (Ray, 2008; 2009). Large-scale research on the extent to which two-way immersion programs are meeting goals for cross-cultural learning is nonexistent; however, a number of smaller studies point to both ways in which programs are able to uphold two-way immersion's lofty ideals, and ways in which they reflect and reproduce systemic inequalities.

There is some empirical evidence of positive relations between language groups in two-way bilingual programs. In her analysis of a kindergarten class, Hausman-Kelly (2001) finds that students chose to work in heterogeneous language groups over half of the time and that students successfully negotiated issues of language, culture, and friendship across linguistic lines. Cazabon, Lambert, and Hall (1993) demonstrate that, by third grade, students expressed no racial or ethnic preferences in terms of their friendships at school, and others have illustrated that the development of cross-cultural friendships is common in two-way bilingual programs (Parchia, 2000; Anberg-Espinoza, 2008).⁷ Wright and Tropp (2005) find that kindergarten through second grade White students in a two-way immersion program displayed no ingroup bias when sorting pictures of White and Latin@ students, in contrast to the trends more commonly identified in psychological literature and discussed in the previous section. Reyes and Vallone (2007) also assert that two-way immersion programs play an important role in developing a positive ethnic identity among Latin@ students, which is an important foundation for cross-cultural interactions. Programs do

⁷ However, researchers have also found that while students may have cross-cultural friendships within the classroom, they often do not carry over to out-of-school activities (Valdés, 1997; Hausman-Kelly, 2001). I hypothesize that this distinction, driven by housing patterns, access to extracurriculars, and parent social networks, is another reflection of the systemic inequities discussed in the following paragraph.

appear to create opportunities for friendship as well as make cultural differences salient and appealing, two important conditions for learning.

However, other research raises concerns about cross-cultural interactions in two-way bilingual programs and suggests that two-way immersion programs do not do enough to compensate for the huge status differences between groups in surrounding macrosystem. In fact, Palmer (2010) asserts that some two-way immersion programs are a “textbook example of interest convergence,” (p. 110) a term stemming from critical race theory that refers to the way in which those in power (who are typically White and middle-class) support programs that promote equity, but only to the extent that it benefits them, and design program structures, such as admissions processes, accordingly. There can often be a tension as programs simultaneously attempt to realize two visions: that of providing a valuable enrichment opportunity to students hoping to become fully bilingual and biliterate, and that of ensuring academic success for all students, and particularly the poor, immigrant students that many programs were established to serve under Title VII of the 1968 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Crawford, 1999). Howard & Sugarman (2001) admit that the “stereotypical TWI immersion program is composed of two populations: Latino, low-income, native Spanish speakers and White, middle-class, native English speakers” (p. 2). While they argue that many programs are ethnically diverse and serve a large number of low-income students from both language groups, they also admit that “there are certainly programs that conform to this stereotype” and that a quarter of programs they reviewed were characterized by a majority low-income group of minority language speakers along with a

majority middle-income group of native English speakers.⁸ Many programs, including the two in this study, are located in highly educated communities such as university towns (Gándara & Contreras, 2009); in these contexts, tensions between enrichment and equity, fueled by a mix of progressivism and privilege among those in power, may be especially notable.

Numerous researchers have found that the hegemony of English in the larger society impacts the status of Spanish and Spanish speakers in the classroom (Freeman, 1996; McCollum, 1999). Valdés (1997) describes how Spanish is at times simplified to support its acquisition by native English speakers, limiting the opportunities for academic growth among native Spanish speakers. Students in one bilingual program consistently chose White students as the smartest in the class (Carrigo, 2000), and, in another, English speakers often found ways to dominate conversations during both English and Spanish instructional times (Palmer, 2009). While English-speaking parents may express a commitment to social justice and positive cross-cultural interactions, their advocacy efforts for their own children may result in English-speaking children receiving greater attention and greater recognition for their developing bilingualism (Cervantes-Soon, 2014). Cervantes-Soon (2014) describes the danger of Spanish being viewed as a commodity when two-way immersion programs

⁸ There does not appear to be a more recent study on two-way immersion program demographics, and over half of the programs in this 2001 study are from the traditional gateway states of California, Texas, and New York. The authors note that these programs do not necessarily mirror patterns in other states; for instance, student populations in California and New York are much more likely to be ethnically diverse than the national average. More research is needed to examine the regional variation in these trends, especially given the growing number of programs in new immigrant destinations. I hypothesize that the percentage of programs that have noticeable class differences between native English and native Spanish speakers may be higher in these areas, due to the relatively recent establishment of immigrant communities there.

are implemented in a competitive, neoliberal context; in Valenzuela's (1997) words, there is the possibility that students will be taught to "care about" Spanish and Spanish-speaking cultures without being taught how to "care for" each other.

Also, the experiences of African-Americans in two-way immersion programs are of particular concern and controversy. Black students, and particularly African-Americans (in contrast to Black immigrants), are often underrepresented in two-way immersion programs (Parchia, 2000). Moreover, while there are few studies on student attrition, the available data suggests that African-American students may leave two-way immersion programs at much higher rates than other students. In one program, only 36 percent of African-Americans completed the program, compared with 81 percent of White students (Krause, 1999). Another district study shows a two-way immersion program attrition rate of 55 percent for African-American students, compared to 20 percent overall (Madison Metropolitan School District, 2013).

The reasons given for these grim statistics vary, ranging from the nonstandard English spoken by many African-American students to inattention to their cultural backgrounds and learning needs. Even among successful African-American students in two-way immersion programs, Anberg-Espinoza (2008) finds that parents willingly made a tradeoff in terms of a program's cultural congruence in order for their children to have access to a high-quality, integrated educational program and the opportunity to acquire a second language. Many parents appreciate two-way immersion's multicultural orientation, but simultaneously recognize that incorporating African-American perspectives into curricula is not always a priority (Parchia, 2000). The bicultural

orientation of many two-way bilingual programs thus may unintentionally marginalize African-American students and fail to acknowledge their unique knowledge and cultural and linguistic background (Carrigo, 2000). Anberg-Espinoza (2008) writes that “in a TWI [two-way immersion] context, African Americans ever feel their three-ness: American, African American, and Spanish bilingual. They have to navigate the linguistic and cultural norms of mainstream culture and of Latino culture and language in addition to their own” (p. 76). Moreover, African-American students have few role models to guide them through this process within two-way immersion programs; even in programs with a significant African-American student population, it is common to have only a single African-American teacher, if that (Parchia, 2000), and Moore (2005) notes the “virtual absence” (p. 191) of African-American students in foreign language teacher preparation programs. Among these researchers, there is consensus that the experiences of African-American students in and affected by two-way immersion programs have not been sufficiently studied, and several note that this oversight is a huge limitation in two-way immersion programs’ capacity to promote equitable cross-cultural *educación*.

Acercando⁹ aspirations: The role of this study

It is clear that, despite the model’s potential and the efforts of committed educators, two-way bilingual programs are not able to completely overcome the effects of being nested in a society in which cross-cultural interactions are often asymmetrical and problematic and there is often a deficit orientation toward Latin@ and African-American students. Status differences in the macrosystem

⁹ Getting closer to

are reflected, and at times exacerbated, within two-way immersion programs, creating challenging conditions for implementing the cross-cultural learning process. Yet, two-way immersion programs' efforts to meet their lofty and sometimes contradictory goals - in linguistically, culturally, and socioeconomically diverse communities, a challenging macrocontext, and often with limited resources - makes them a fascinating context in which to examine cross-cultural learning. There is a need for research that more fully recognizes the complexity of these efforts. Palmer (2010) asserts

Too often, bilingual education researchers confine their work to questions of language and fail to take into account culture, race, class, and other factors that particularly influence bilingual learning spaces just as they influence other diverse learning spaces. Further research is needed to push our understanding of bilingual and bicultural education into a more multidimensional realm." (p. 110)

When examining cross-cultural learning opportunities in two-way immersion programs, it is essential to ensure that this is being done in a "multidimensional realm" that looks not just at attitudes and behaviors towards speakers of the target languages, but also towards diverse cultural, racial, and socioeconomic groups. It is also critical that this research examines the unique patterns of intersectionality between these factors in a given school and community, in order to understand how those characteristics together impact the relative status, and thus the contact conditions, between groups in a particular school. Thus, in this study I hope to explore how two-way immersion programs prepare students for positive interactions across a range of dimensions of difference, and to be especially attentive to how programs recognize, or neglect, students' multidimensionality as members of numerous intersecting groups.

Moreover, although Valdés (1997) wonders “to what extent it is possible for school personnel to counter the influence of interactional norms that are part of the larger society,” (p. 417), teacher practices in two-way bilingual programs do appear to impact student interactions. For instance, students interact more across linguistic group lines when they feel comfortable with a learning task and when bilingual products are required (Foster, 1998), and giving students opportunities to denaturalize and question their social roles through role playing can help them to see themselves and be seen by others as authentic parts of multiple social groups (Fitts, 2006). These practices are influenced by teachers’ implicit beliefs (Jackson, 2001), prior experiences, and professional collaboration (Ray, 2008; Calderón, 1999) and the broader contextual factors, such as the demands of high-stakes testing (Ray, 2008) and the degree to which programs support teacher agency (Ray, 2009). However, there are almost no studies that broadly look at this process of cross-cultural *educación* in two-way immersion programs, examining not only to what extent programs meet goals focused on the development of cross-cultural skills, attitudes, and behaviors, but also how teachers facilitate students’ achievement of these goals and how characteristics of both the immediate context and the larger macrosystem impact that learning process. Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) also point to the necessity of more analyses of cross-cultural contact that focus on the processes, or the potential mechanisms by which contact conditions may influence the development of attitudes and behaviors, and that examine these interactions at multiple levels, from the micro to the macro. A deeper understanding of the many factors impacting students’ cross-cultural *educación* will enable programs to more intentionally and effectively meet cross-cultural learning goals. In this study, I focus on describing

those processes and influences within two specific two-way immersion programs, asking:

What does cross-cultural *educación* look like in two two-way immersion programs, and what factors influence that process?

- 1) What challenges and opportunities do teachers encounter, and what human, material, economic, and temporal resources are available to them, as they attempt to facilitate cross-cultural *educación* within each school context?
- 2) What challenges and opportunities do broader local, state, and national contexts afford teachers as they attempt to facilitate cross-cultural *educación* among diverse students within two-way immersion programs?
- 3) What patterns exist in cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors among students, and how are these patterns associated with the process of cross-cultural *educación* within their classroom and school?

Chapter 2: Comprehending cross-cultural – Methods for examining “doors”

These research questions, and the methods to answer them, evolved as I entered and exited Sunset’s doors each day of the 2012-2013 school year. After three years focused on doctoral coursework, I was excited to once again be teaching, and working directly with teachers, in my role as English as a Second Language teacher and two-way immersion program coordinator. Crossing Sunset’s threshold each day and interacting with students, families, and colleagues infused energy and nuance into the understandings I had gained in my first years as a doctoral student, while my learning from the previous three years gave me new perspectives as a teacher. In short, as I connected my experiences in the distinct cultures of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and Sunset Elementary School, building relationships between people in each context and between theory and practice, I realized firsthand the benefits of cross-cultural learning in transforming my own worldview. Standing in a metaphorical “door” allowed me access to understandings that would not have been available in either context alone.

However, as I reflected on my own experience, I also began to more fully appreciate the complexity of studying cross-cultural “doors” in a deep and authentic way. As a “space between,” doors challenge boundaries – both relational and methodological. Also, doors are dynamic, occasionally slamming shut at the most inconvenient times. In this chapter I first explain how these considerations impacted my approach to understanding cross-cultural teaching and learning by describing my own positionality and epistemology and the

unique methodological position of research on cross-cultural teaching and learning. Then, I describe the details of my comparative case study methodology, including case and participant selection, data collection and analysis, and the potential and limitations of its transferability.

Doorway dilemmas: In search of a method

A relational space between: Positionality and researching home

The chorus of one of my favorite country songs repeats, “The view I love the most is my front door looking in” (Lonestar, 2003). While I recognize that this quote may be unlikely to inspire credibility among academic readers, this line clearly summarizes not only my point of view – “my front door looking in” – but also hints at the pitfalls and possibilities of that perspective. My research is focused not only on a topic that interests me, but more importantly the communities (local, school, and professional), that I “love the most.” Crossing the boundary between “loving” and “learning” by studying “home” is often frowned upon in academia; however, as described at the beginning of this chapter, practitioner research can provide important new insights and provoke productive, contextually-appropriate action (Anderson & Herr, 1999) that challenges the wide gulf between theory and practice that helps to give much education research an “awful reputation” (Lagemann, 1999, p.3). However, when studying home it is of utmost importance that researchers constantly and critically reflect on how their unique subjectivities shape their understanding of this familiar context and how their multiple roles affect relationships with research participants. Peshkin (1988) notes the importance of identifying one’s own “subjective I’s,” or the “particular subset of personal qualities that contact

with their research phenomenon has released” (p. 17), throughout the research process and reflecting on how they impact one’s research. This process not only allows both researcher and reader to be “mindful of [subjectivity’s] enabling and disabling potential,” but ideally lets one make “a distinctive contribution, one that results from the unique configuration of their personal qualities joined to the data they have collected” (p. 18). In this section, I describe the “subjective I’s” that have most impacted my epistemology and this piece of work: the Class-Conscious Country Cosmopolitan Communitarian, Pragmatic Practitioner, Equitable ESL Educator, and Multitasking Mom. Its length is somewhat self-indulgent, but I feel that the centrality of my positionality to both the topic and the contexts studied makes that level of reflection necessary. By sharing these personal qualities in-depth, I hope that I will provide readers the background needed to judge in what ways my findings are limited by my unique worldview, and in what ways that worldview can contribute to a new and helpful understanding of their own contexts and conundrums.

My Class-Conscious Country Cosmopolitan Communitarian roots explain why I am quoting a country song in the first place. Like many who can sing along with this song, I am White; my ancestry is German, Welsh, and English. I was born and raised in Northeast Tennessee, an area known as the “Birthplace of Country Music” but also recently named as one of the least ethnically diverse places in the United States (Lee, Iceland, & Sharp, 2012). Even in this homogeneously White environment, however, there was a rich Native American heritage, a small African-American community, and a number of immigrant families (many of whom had come to our town as engineers with Eastman Kodak). Starting when I was a preschooler, my mom established a concern for

social justice and encouraged me to seek out and embrace cultural difference both locally and globally. She brought me to Peace Links meetings, where I sat on the floor and happily drew Cold War-era posters of Soviet and American kids playing together, and facilitated playdates with my 3rd grade best friend, a newcomer from China. As I moved into middle and high school, I developed close relationships with classmates from India and refugee families from Serbia and then-Zaire. However, the highly-tracked classes in my middle and high school drastically limited my exposure to socioeconomic and racial diversity, a fact I only fully realized when I returned to my high school during my first year as a teacher. Though about ten percent of my high school was African-American, I only remember a single African-American student in my grade who participated in the same advanced classes I did. Through these experiences, I developed not only allophilia for cultures from around the globe, but also a sense that positive attitudes, behaviors, and relationships were built through ongoing commitment to a local community. However, my cross-cultural education also suffered from institutionalized racism, as expressed in the patterns of tracking at my high school that normalized and reinforced segregation and led me to unconsciously adopt deficit attitudes towards Black students. While I have worked hard to confront these views, their legacy continues to affect my life; African-Americans are underrepresented in my close professional and personal relationships, and I have to be especially conscious of seeking out a range of African-American perspectives to challenge and refine my understandings of African-Americans' experiences.

From my upbringing as the daughter of college-educated, yet low-income, parents in one of the largest and most prosperous towns of this poor tobacco-

growing, coal-mining region also emerged my class consciousness. Both my parents moved to Appalachia in the early 1970's as volunteers with VISTA, the anti-poverty initiative developed by President Kennedy in 1965. At the completion of their term of service, they stayed and cobbled together a satisfying existence on a series of low-wage jobs and creative living arrangements, such as serving as caretakers of a historic site. Through their college degrees and connections to family and friends, I had easy access to social and cultural capital that provided access to educational opportunity and protection from poverty's harshest effects. Yet, as a child, my family's lack of financial capital, as well as my mom's continued efforts to involve us in helping those with less resources than ourselves, enhanced my sensitivity to issues of class; I have vivid memories not only of visiting unheated trailers to deliver a meal or gift, but also of being mocked for my hand-me-down designer jeans as I tried desperately to fit in with my upper-middle class peers. Both witnessing and experiencing the marginalization of poverty were forms of "border crossing"; as Bartolome (2004) asserts, I do believe those experiences have helped me gain "political and ideological clarity" that facilitates my work as both a teacher and a researcher with marginalized populations. While my own experiences with poverty likely made me attentive to the class considerations discussed in my findings, it is important to recognize that there is no "culture of poverty" (Gorski, 2013); my own experiences with poverty were much different from those observed at my two research sites in that my racial identity, as well as my family's social and cultural background, afforded me large amounts of privilege not available to many students. This privilege was evident in my transition to a member of the "cosmopolitan class" (Shiller, 2006). As a young adolescent I was obsessed with

traveling, planning detailed trips that my family could never afford and enviously watching many friends take school-sponsored trips to Europe. However, when I was sixteen, I won a trip to Spain, sponsored by my local newspaper (and supported by my mom, who stayed up late helping me navigate the cumbersome entry requirements). This trip jumpstarted my desire to learn Spanish and travel the world, goals that drove much of my educational, personal, and professional decisionmaking over the next fifteen years, as I lived in Ecuador and Spain, traveled to five continents, developed close friendships with Latin@s here in the United States, worked to develop my own language and cultural knowledge, and shared those skills with others as a Spanish, social studies, and English as a Second Language teacher. Through these experiences, I developed allophilia for a range of Spanish-speaking cultures, to the extent that I sometimes am seen (by others and myself) as having what Jiménez (2010) calls an “affiliative,” or adopted, ethnic identity.

Yet, throughout that time, I grew increasingly aware of the tensions inherent in being cosmopolitan, the same ones identified by Merton (1968), and Shiller (2006), and Calhoun (2008) and discussed in Chapter 5. With degrees from top universities and a software engineer husband, my social and financial capital permitted me to see the world, but with more breadth and less depth. Even as my linguistic, practical, and academic knowledge grew, my lack of commitment to any one community limited my ability to understand, to interact deeply with others, and to effect positive change. The return to North Carolina just prior to my dissertation research was not only a return home geographically, but a conscious effort to create “home” for my family and me – to settle in a place where we could have both diversity and community, where we could feel like

we belonged but also be pushed to grow, and where I could be a Cosmopolitan Communitarian. A four-hour trip can get us back to Tennessee by way of I-40, or to Central America by way of our nearby international airport. When we return to Tennessee, we use an outhouse and teach our kids the things their overeducated parents cannot, like how to milk a goat and can vegetables; here we go to bilingual storytime at the library and munch on Salvadoran pupusas or Nepalese momos while we listen to live bluegrass. Our new “home” allows me to embrace many of the contradictory forces that have defined my life - local and global, privilege and poverty, cosmopolitanism and community – and that, as my findings reveal, have also defined my analysis.

My interest in conducting research from the “front door looking in” stems not only from a desire to be at home geographically, but also in a place from which I can effect change as a Pragmatic Practitioner. I naively began my doctoral studies with a desire to be a teacher educator, not a researcher. As I began plodding through the required methods classes, I learned new skills, but also grew increasingly frustrated with what I saw as both the disconnect between theory and practice (Lagemann, 1999) and the questionable validity of educational research conducted by academics with little connection to the schools and communities they studied (Anderson & Herr, 1999). Believing that “‘truth’ is not a matter of static fact, but a quality of relationship” (Reason, 1998), I became a strong proponent of design-based and action research. These approaches are characterized by collaboration between researchers and practitioners in real educational contexts, iterative cycles of data collection, analysis and theory development, and the design, implementation, and evaluation of interventions (Anderson & Shattuck, 2012; Stringer, 2007). Both

approaches seek to simultaneously improve practice in specific settings and generate useable knowledge that can be thoughtfully applied to new contexts (Greenwood & Levin, 1998; Herr & Anderson, 2005). Their focus on collaboration and action challenges more positivist conceptions of objective knowledge in favor of seeing knowledge as dynamic, relational, and contextual. When I took my job as an ESL Teacher and Two-Way Immersion Program Coordinator at Sunset, I did so planning to conduct an action or design-based research dissertation based on questions that arose from my work with two-way immersion teachers there, and wrote my dissertation proposal accordingly.

Then, my passion for this “real world” research was put to the test. During the summer of 2013, four of the five two-way immersion teachers left Sunset. Two went to the newly-opened John Dewey, drawn to the strong district support and possibilities for collaboration there. The other two, expressing their frustration with state education policies, opted for different positions, with one attending graduate school in a different field. During July and August, we recruited one teacher from Spain, another from Peru, and one who was completely new to teaching. We filled the remaining spot with my ESL colleague, leaving me alone responsible for the school’s nearly 100 English as a Second Language students. As I tried to orient the new teachers, identify and serve students, and plan for my impending maternity leave (I was now eight months pregnant), I realized the impossibility of designing and implementing an intervention centered around cross-cultural learning. However, I was still interested in the same research questions, and wondered what the answers would look like in the very different context at John Dewey. Taking advantage of my new contacts there, I designed a comparative observational case study of

the two programs. Thus, my dissertation is no longer design-based or action research, though I do argue that, like good design-based research, it is “robust,” likely to be valid “not only under ideal conditions, but also under severe but realistic constraints” (Walker, 2006, p. 12). Moreover, I am still a Pragmatic Practitioner concerned with both directly impacting the students and teachers that I work with most closely and gaining understanding that might prove useful to educators in other contexts. I ask that my work continue to be judged by the epistemological standards of action research, which Huang (2010) describes as “its orientation towards taking action, its reflexivity, the significance of its impacts and that it evolves from partnership and participation” (p. 98). While I present it here as a comparative case study, I see this dissertation as the initial data collection and analysis stages of an action research project, with the findings presented here as a blueprint for the coming years of action in my distinct roles at each school; these roles largely define my unique subjectivities as I “look in” at Sunset and John Dewey.

The first role, which I enact primarily at Sunset, is that of Equitable ESL Educator. This title echoes the official one given to me by district human resources, that of English as a Second Language teacher; my role as Two-Way Immersion Coordinator, which figures so prominently in this study, is created through creative time allocation on the part of my principal and the district ESL coordinator, but is not officially recognized by the district. This is emblematic of the scant support for the program at the district level, which I will discuss in Chapter 3, and limits the time I can devote to program improvement. Moreover, it creates a unique power dynamic between the two-way immersion teachers, many of whom are participants in this study, and myself. It is essential that I pay

careful attention to how these power relationships manifest themselves in daily routines, discourse, and action (Stringer, 2007; Herr & Anderson, 2005). As coordinator, my responsibilities include organizing program-wide parent involvement efforts and cultural activities, educating administrators, parents, and community members about the two-way immersion model, compiling data to measure program success, and facilitating teacher team meetings and professional development. This role affords me real responsibility as a school leader, but little authority at the district level; I often find myself frustrated with limited abilities to advocate for practices and procedures that teachers or I believe will allow our program to thrive. As an ESL teacher, I am the teachers' peer, working with small groups of many of their students. This role gives me a broader perspective on the school context, as it has allowed me to "push in" to both two-way immersion and mainstream classrooms, and to form relationships with a greater range of the school's students and staff. Through the everyday mix of struggle, success, stress, and silliness that emerges from these dual roles, I have also developed a third role as friend to each of the two-way immersion teachers at Sunset. While some qualitative researchers see this lack of objectivity as problematic, Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis (1997) argue that

Relationships that are complex, fluid, symmetric, and reciprocal – that are shaped by both researchers and actors – reflect a more responsible ethical stance *and* are likely to yield deeper data and better social science...Authentic findings will only emerge from authentic relationships (p. 137-138).

I am sure that my complicated relationships with the teachers at Sunset affect both what they tell me and how I see them; however, it also gives me access to what Anderson and Herr (1999) call the "hidden transcript," allowing me unique

insight into teachers' everyday practices, successes, and challenges and facilitating the translation of my findings into collaborative reflection and action.

The "subjective I" of Equitable ESL Educator also reflects another stance in regards to this work. Two-way immersion programs are nestled between the fields of mainstream education, world languages, and ESL, and must often wrestle with each field's competing priorities. While I have taught in all three areas, most of my career and passion has been devoted to meeting the needs of English Language Learners. One result of this orientation is that equity issues are central to my analysis of almost any situation arising in educational contexts; however, since my advocacy work is often on behalf of immigrant students, I must be careful that I do not become "preoccupied with foreignness" (Randolph, 2012, p. 53) and inattentive to equity in a broader sense, which encompasses not only of issues cultural and linguistic diversity, but also racial and socioeconomic justice, as I discuss in Chapter 5. Valdes (2002) describes how

In schools in many parts of the country where Black children and immigrant children attend school together, battle lines are sharply drawn between two groups of committed advocates for disadvantaged children... As a community, those of us who focus on the education of Latino immigrant children are largely silent about the dilemmas that schools face in educating both "our" children and "their" children (p. 192-193).

Especially in a school that is majority African-American, I must often look beyond both the needs of the language-minority students with whom I directly work and my own worldview to break the silence about the "dilemmas that schools face" and to ensure the practices for which I advocate take into account the needs of all students. In addition, I need to be constantly mindful of the tensions inherent in my and my colleagues' beliefs about and experiences with race and culture, and how they might impact research findings (Milner, 2007).

The final “subjective I” I discuss here is that of Multitasking Mom. This I affects this entire work, down to the sleep-deprived typos, but most influences my experiences at John Dewey, where my children (now 3 and 1) will likely attend school. Just as I inevitably viewed all my experiences at Sunset as both an educator and a researcher, I inevitably viewed those at John Dewey as both a researcher and a mom. I was also viewed as a mom by almost everyone there, as I began my data collection while eight months pregnant with my second child. At times, I found myself mentally placing one of my own children into a John Dewey classroom and wondering what impact that context might have on their own cross-cultural learning. While it was important not to let this exercise distract me from examining less familiar points of view, it pushed me to consider other aspects of cross-cultural learning; for instance, parenting has made me more attentive to the salience of developmental issues, especially in work with young children. Over time, it can also serve as a test of the theories and practices I share here, both as I incorporate them into my own parenting and identify ways that I can support cross-cultural learning at John Dewey in my role as parent and community member.

My role as a mom also intersects with my privilege as a member of the “cosmopolitan class;” it is through encounters with other worldly, highly-educated parents of young children in Amherst (many of whom I consider my closest friends here) that I have realized that the class divisions at John Dewey that I critique in Chapter 3 begin to form well before kindergarten, as parents of this distinct subclass enroll their children in expensive bilingual daycares and sign up their children for the district pre-K program at age 3 to ensure the best odds in the two-way immersion lottery. It is important to note that I am

complicit in these practices, while at the same time I am working to mitigate their impact. While teachers in the study often mentioned the role parents play in cross-cultural learning, it was not a focal point in this study. Nevertheless, interrogating how I as a parent create and limit cross-cultural learning for my own and for other children is a critical part of both understanding the phenomenon more fully and engaging in ethical research and action.

Together, these “subjective I’s” form the basis of my “view...[from] the front door looking in.” However, just as I discuss the importance of “windows” for student cross-cultural learning in Chapter 3, it is critical that I seek out “windows” on my work, diverse perspectives that blow away stagnant ideas and push me towards clearer understanding and productive action. I have done this in several ways. I shared my entire dissertation with all participants, encouraging each to read sections that pertained to them and offer feedback. However, recognizing that asking busy teachers to read a long written document is usually not the best way to solicit feedback (Huang, 2010), I also organized a “dissertation dinner,” which provided teachers a focused opportunity to hear about and reflect upon my findings, both together (orally) and individually (in writing). On both of these occasions, as well as in many of the professional learning community meetings I facilitated at Sunset, I used protocols to give participants a space to share critical feedback and dissonant perspectives, in spite of the complicated power dynamics between us (McDonald, Mohr, Dichter, & McDonald, 2007). When a comment, or someone’s silence, suggested that they had more to share, I approached them individually to try to understand their perspective more deeply.

I also found particularly beneficial the perspectives of others who stood in their own “doorways” – who negotiated the same spaces between cultures, between theory and practice, and/or between the two schools, but from their own unique viewpoints. One was also a doctoral student in my writing group, who previously held my post at Sunset and was a current parent at John Dewey. Though half Cuban, her fair skin and Germanic last name meant that she was often not seen as Latina. Another, a Ph.D. turned future teacher from Peru, has been a parent and instructional assistant at both schools. These women were uniquely positioned to serve as “critical friends” or “devil’s advocates” (Anderson & Herr, 1999, p. 16). As I shared parts of my work with each of them, they offered both the candor of academics and their own valuable lived experiences as ethnic group members, parents, and educators in the research settings, challenging and refining my previous understandings.

By putting my own perspectives in dialogue with those of both participants and other stakeholders, I enhanced the project’s validity in several ways that Anderson and Herr (1999) describe as critical to practitioner research. The triangulation of multiple perspectives supported “process validity,” which describes the extent to which the design of the project supports ongoing learning, “democratic validity,” or the extent to which the project takes into account the views of all stakeholders, and “dialogic validity,” which refers to the extent to which the project undergoes “peer review” by both researchers and practitioners. Moreover, while the project does not consist of a full cycle of action research, both informal conversations with stakeholders and the application of my evolving hypotheses to my own practice promoted the project’s “catalytic validity,” or its capacity to promote new understandings and actions (p. 16). As I

move from the analysis and writing phase to collaborative action, the project's validity will continue to be tested through the inclusion of even more voices in discussion of findings and by the design and testing of interventions.

A methodological space between: Comparative case study

Practitioner research on cross-cultural teaching and learning is not only situated in a complicated space relationally, but also methodologically. As I began to plan for my dissertation, I found that most research on cross-cultural attitudes, stemming from the field of psychology (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pittinsky, 2012), has relied on large-scale quantitative studies of individuals. Yet, according to the ecological model of development described in the previous chapter, cross-cultural learning is not an individual phenomenon; rather, it depends upon the social processes in a setting or microsystem, as well as the interactions between systems. A child's cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors are not innate characteristics, but are affected by interactions within and between the school, home, and community, as well as the influence of larger contexts on those social settings. (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Tseng & Seidman, 2007, p. 219). Thus, in order to understand and improve cross-cultural *educación*, individual measures are insufficient; the ecological nature of development must be considered (Shinn & Yoshikawa, 2008). Likewise, an ethnographic approach, which has typically been used to understand interactions within one culture, is limited in its ability to connect behaviors observed in one context with learning outcomes, or an individual's attitudes and behaviors across settings. Seeing culture as "consist[ing] of multiple social processes that create reinforcing and repetitive messages that are elaborated over time" (Tseng and Seidman, 2007, p.

219) not only facilitates analysis of how the immediate classroom setting is impacted by interactions with other contexts, but also promotes the identification of concrete ways in which interactions might be modified to improve outcomes (Seidman, 2010). Thus, in order to understand the social processes associated with cross-cultural teaching and learning, I adopted a case study approach, which enabled me to draw upon multiple methods stemming from different research traditions and is “a design particularly suited to situations in which it is impossible to separate the phenomenon’s variables from their context” (Merriam, 2009, p. 43). Through observation and description of classroom and school social processes, as well as the multiple contexts in which they take place, I cannot make causal claims about the factors that influence cross-cultural *educación*; however, I can identify social processes and generate hypotheses about what may influence them. These hypotheses can then be tested through targeted quantitative studies or through action research in specific settings.

A case study is an in-depth look at a bounded system, such as the two-way immersion programs I studied, that uses multiple sources of information (Merriam, 2009). As I will describe in the next section, I relied primarily on classroom observations and interviews with participating teachers in order to capture not only the social processes – the interactions and instructional practices that “exist in the social and temporal space among individuals” - but also how they are “mediated psychologically [as] individuals interpret and make meaning of these processes” (Tseng and Seidman, 2007, p. 219). These ethnographic methods allowed me to look deeply at the interactions in each school, to see how student, classroom, and school cultures were created through everyday practices. However, I supplemented these sources of information with observations of

other school activities and a review of school, district, and state documents, which allowed me to understand how the contact conditions within the school and community and the broader macrosystemic context impacted these opportunities for learning. Comparing two programs also allowed me to understand each case more deeply and identify how factors both inside and outside of each program may have influenced my findings. Finally, I conducted a picture sort with students in participating classrooms, in which they imagined they were attending a new school and selected from among pictures of ethnically-diverse hypothetical “students” in response to questions targeting both positive and negative attitudes; through this activity, I was able to document trends in student learning across classes and schools. While the qualitative and quantitative data gleaned from this activity cannot demonstrate what causes student attitudes, it can lend insight into the dynamic interplay between program characteristics, social processes, and student learning (Tseng and Seidman, 2007). Factors within a setting that appear to be associated with particular outcomes can be tested in future research, using action or experimental designs. Through rich description of multiple contexts, using multiple methods, I hope to engage readers in interpreting my findings and identifying other contexts where my findings might resonate (Merriam, 2009). Moreover, as “case study includes paradoxes and acknowledges that there are no simple answers,” I seek to “account for and include difference – ideologically, epistemologically, methodologically – and most important, humanly” (Shields, 2007, p. 13, in Merriam, 2009); I hope this orientation is evident throughout this work, from method to topic to implications to action.

Doorway design: Study details

Research sites and participants

As described above, my choice of sites was based on a desire to be a practitioner researcher in contexts where I would be able to collaboratively effect change through relationships with participants and other stakeholders.

Furthermore, as I detail in the following chapter, the contrast between the two programs I studied, as well as the larger context surrounding them both, makes them strong choices for understanding the variability of cross-cultural teaching and learning in two-way immersion programs. Both are located in North Carolina, a state that has seen rapid and recent globalization both economically and demographically. Despite their common context, prior to the study I identified several important differences between Sunset, in the medium-sized city of Lowell, and John Dewey, in a university town I call Amherst, that were likely to impact the cross-cultural teaching and learning there. The two-way language immersion program at Sunset consists of one class at each grade level from kindergarten to fourth grade¹⁰, so teachers have no bilingual colleagues who are teaching the same grade level. At the time of the study, school goals were centered on academic achievement, with a strong emphasis on the use of (primarily English) quantitative testing data to improve instruction. Teacher collaboration at the school occurs primarily in the context of grade-level groups, and the two-way immersion team had few structured opportunities to

¹⁰ Although the school is K-5, the attrition of students over time and resulting small class sizes in upper grades has not made a 5th grade class feasible. A 5th grade class is currently planned for the 2016-17 school year.

collaborate with bilingual colleagues.¹¹ John Dewey was in its first year of operation as a district-wide magnet school after the consolidation and expansion of the district's long-standing two-way immersion program. In addition to the two-way immersion focus, the school has an emphasis on project-based learning. John Dewey's students are more White and slightly wealthier than those at Sunset. John Dewey's population is 40 percent White, as compared to 20 percent of Sunset's two-way immersion students (Office of Civil Rights, 2011; Wilbourn, 2013). 49 percent of students qualify for free and reduced lunch at John Dewey, as compared to 56 percent at Sunset; moreover, as discussed in the following chapter, there is drastically more income inequality in John Dewey's school zone (with a Gini coefficient of .5499) than Sunset's (with a Gini coefficient of .4234) (US Census Bureau, 2013). The comparison of Sunset and John Dewey allowed me to consider the impact of school and district priorities, structures for teacher collaboration, and student composition on the process of cross-cultural *educación* in the two programs; Figure 2 summarizes some of these characteristics.

Within each school, I used a diverse-case selection strategy (Gerring, 2007) to select three teachers who were open to collaboration with me and who differed in cultural and linguistic background, amount of teaching experience, and grade level; as these variables are likely to impact cross-cultural teaching and learning, working with this range of participants provided me with a more nuanced understanding of the mechanisms that influenced teaching and

¹¹ A new principal came to Sunset at the beginning of the 2014-15 school year. Both this change and personnel and curriculum changes at the district level have decreased the focus on standardized testing (with more performance assessments at the district level) and increased planning time for the two-way immersion team. However, when compared to John Dewey, these features continue to stand out.

learning. In Figure 3, I summarize these characteristics for readers. All teachers were proficient in both Spanish and English and held state certification in Elementary Education; however, since North Carolina does not have a bilingual education certification, teachers' amount of academic preparation for supporting linguistically and culturally diverse students varied widely within the sample. It is important to note that this sample of teachers is not representative of two-way immersion teachers, either generally or at the schools. For instance, while I sent recruitment e-mails to all teachers at both schools, the high levels of transition at both schools (teacher turnover at Sunset and the opening of the magnet school at John Dewey) led to many teachers at both schools describing themselves as "overwhelmed," a factor that likely influenced teachers' decision to participate. All teachers in the study were in at least their third year of teaching, which may be due to more experienced teachers feeling at least slightly less "overwhelmed" than their newer colleagues in these challenging environments, and thus able to commit to an additional responsibility.

Figure 2: Summary of school characteristics

School (District)	Program structure	Demographics
John Dewey (Amherst)	Whole-school magnet (K-5); both 90/10 and 50/50	49% Hispanic, 40% White, 5% Black, 4% Multiracial, 2% Asian; 49% economically disadvantaged (School improvement plan, 2013)
Sunset (Lowell)	Single-strand (K-4); 90-10	Program: 47% Hispanic, 20% White, 18% Black, 14% Other (Wilbourn, 2013) School: 54% Black, 18% Hispanic, 17% White, 6% Asian, 4% Multiracial; 56% economically disadvantaged (Office of Civil Rights, 2011)

Figure 3: Summary of teacher characteristics

School	Teacher	Grade level	Cultural Background (as self-reported in interview)	Years of Experience
Sunset	Ms. Melero	K	Spanish	17
	Ms. DiBenedetto	3	Italian-/ German-American	3
	Ms. González	4	Boricua (Puerto Rican)	3
John Dewey	Ms. Nowak	K	“United Nations”; Czechoslovakian-/ German-/ Canadian-American	11
	Ms. Castro	2	Colombian	10
	Ms. Ortiz	5	American (New Mexico)/ Baha’i	16
	Ms. Callahan	5	Irish-American (North Carolina)	7

Ms. Melero,¹² the kindergarten teacher at Sunset, moved to Lowell from Spain the week before the start of the 2013-14 school year with her husband (also a teacher) and three elementary-aged children. Her school day was 90 percent Spanish and 10 percent English. She was contracted through VIF, a placement firm that works with many local districts to place overseas teachers in classrooms for cultural exchange and to fill positions that are difficult to recruit for locally, and had taught kindergarten for seventeen years in Spain. She described herself as most familiar with mainstream Spanish culture and those with a long history in Spain, such as “Arab, Moroccan, and Gypsy” (Romani). However, she said that “I don’t know them deeply...we live in a place where now there’s a lot of people, a lot of different cultures, but in the circles we move in there are not many opportunities to mix together.” She also described herself as familiar with

¹² I consistently call all teachers by a pseudonym last name in the study to avoid confusion among readers. In practice, I called all by their first names when interacting one-on-one or among adults (such as in interviews) and by their last names when interacting with students in classrooms (as was the standard practice at both schools).

“American” culture, based on her time here and in another shorter exchange in rural upstate New York.

Ms. DiBenedetto also stepped into her position as the 50/50 3rd grade two-way immersion teacher somewhat reluctantly the week before the 2013-14 school year, though she had worked at Sunset as the K-2 ESL teacher for the previous two years. Thus, she already knew many of her students and colleagues. She grew up in upstate New York as the daughter of two teachers, which she felt helped her to be “open” because, as teachers “you have to like everybody, you have to be accepting...They opened our eyes to a lot of stuff really young.” She described the cultures she knew best as “Hispanic,¹³” based on time living in Ecuador and Chile and her experiences with students and families who were primarily from Mexico and Central America. At the time of the initial interview, she was interested in learning more about Indian culture, as she had just moved to a neighborhood with a large South Asian population. At the end of the 2013-14 school year, she moved to Colorado, where she now teaches high-school Spanish.

Ms. González was born and raised in Puerto Rico, and proudly considers herself “boricua,” a mix of “Spanish, Indian, and African.” She was in her third year as the 50/50 4th grade two-way immersion teacher at Sunset; she moved to North Carolina from Puerto Rico in order to be with her now-husband, who has Cuban and Puerto Rican ancestry but grew up in South Carolina, with little exposure to those cultures. She was most familiar with “Caribbean” cultures,

¹³ Interestingly, Ms. DiBenedetto does not identify “Italian-American,” “American,” “White,” or another cultural group to which she belongs as one with which she is most familiar. This may be a reflection of the widespread perception of Whiteness as normal, and thus acultural (Tatum, 2003; Randolph, 2012).

and had traveled to Panama twice on teacher exchanges. During elementary school, she spent four years in Florida, where she began learning English. She says that “I had a lot of kids in my classroom that were basically like me, in my same position,” as there were large numbers of immigrants from Cuba, Central America, and Asia.

Ms. Nowak was the Spanish 50/50 kindergarten teacher at John Dewey (sharing two classes with her English-speaking colleague), but had previously been the dual-immersion kindergarten teacher for eight years at Sunset. Her experiences teaching the same grade level at both schools provided a unique window into the two programs; I draw upon this perspective in more detail in Chapter 3. Culturally, she described herself as “like the United Nations.” Though her family was of Canadian, Czechoslovakian and German descent, her parents worked for the U.S. State Department; she was born in Guatemala and most vividly remembers the time she spent as a child in Spain and Morocco. She said “American culture was always this thing I didn’t know about” until her family moved back to Buffalo, New York, when she was thirteen.

Ms. Castro, a 2nd grade teacher in a self-contained 70/30¹⁴ class at John Dewey, was in her first year at John Dewey but her third year in United States schools. Like Ms. Melero, she had contracted with VIF and spent the first two years teaching in a single-strand two-way immersion program at another district school (a precursor to the magnet program). Originally from Colombia, she had previously taught at language institutes and a private school that she described as very “American-oriented.” She described herself as most familiar with

¹⁴ By 2nd grade, a class following a 90/10 model provides 70 percent of instruction in Spanish and 30 percent in English.

“Latino” or “South American” culture, but saw herself as having acculturated to life in the United States.

Ms. Ortiz was born in New Mexico but had a range of international experiences – first moving to Guatemala for six months when eight years old, then to Germany for several months as a teenager, and then living for a year at the Baha’i World Center in Israel. Her Baha’i faith in “one human family” is an important part of her cultural identity. While in Israel, she met her Peruvian husband. They then decided to settle in Puerto Rico because “it was neither Latino or American...kind of a mixture of both.” After a year there, they spent time traveling with his musical group to over thirty countries before settling in Chicago and then North Carolina. As a teacher in John Dewey’s 50/50 fifth grade classes, she primarily taught math and science in Spanish, but also focused on Spanish culture and grammar for thirty minutes daily. Prior to the opening of the magnet school, she worked in the single-strand programs at both John Dewey and another district school, as well as in both transitional and two-way immersion programs in Chicago. Compared to the other participants, she had the strongest academic preparation for teaching linguistically and culturally diverse students, with a Master’s in bilingual and bicultural education.

I also conducted observations and one interview with Ms. Callahan, Ms. Ortiz’s student teacher. Though she was attending a Spanish licensure program at the state university to finalize her teaching credentials, she had seven years experience teaching both locally and internationally as a lateral entry teacher and in private schools. She was born and raised in North Carolina, where she became interested in learning both French and Spanish and worked with migrant farmworkers on local tobacco farms. She met her Mexican husband while

pursuing a Master's in Romance Studies, and for the past six years they had lived in Ireland. Her sons now attend John Dewey. For the 2014-15 school year, Ms. Callahan is working at Sunset as the 3rd grade two-way immersion teacher (the position previously held by Ms. DiBenedetto).

The above descriptions show the unique experiences of the teachers in the sample, but also some important similarities and differences between these teachers and those in other contexts. Teachers in two-way immersion programs are more Latin@ and more linguistically diverse than teachers nationwide, with about half native Spanish speakers and half native English speakers (Howard & Loeb, 1998), and, as proficient bilinguals, most likely have had some sort of bicultural immersion experience. Teachers in the sample match that profile, and Sleeter (2007) argues that “immers[ing] prospective teachers in communities that are culturally different from their own” (p. 189) is one of the most promising experiences in preparing teachers to work in diverse classrooms. Nevertheless, while over half of two-way immersion teachers in a nationwide survey of two-way immersion program held a bilingual education credential (Howard & Loeb, 1998), only one of the seven in the sample had coursework focused on working with linguistically- and culturally-diverse students. Teachers may thus be “culturally sensitive,” but still lack intercultural competence (Bennett, 2012) or specific tools for addressing the diversity present in their classrooms. It is also important to note that the sample includes no African-Americans, Mexican or Central American immigrants, or Latin@s born in the fifty United States (with one Puerto Rican who identifies as multiracial), even though those groups are the majority of students of color in both communities. While there does not appear to be data on the origin of Latin@ teachers in two-way immersion programs,

programs in areas with more established Latin@ populations are likely to have more native-born Latin@ teachers. Several other qualitative studies note that there are few African-American teachers in two-way bilingual classrooms, even in programs with significant populations of African-American students (Carrigo, 2000; Parchia, 2000; Jackson, 2001). Thus, it is unclear whether the teachers in the sample, as well as two-way immersion teachers in other programs, are fully prepared to meet student needs and facilitate student interaction in the multiracial and multicultural environments where they teach.

The descriptions also show that while John Dewey and Sunset are distinct contexts, they are connected; Ms. Nowak and Ms. Callahan have taught in both schools (along with several other teachers and assistants), and students have also moved from one school to another. I see this connection as an asset, allowing me to seek out other perspectives on the similarities and differences between the two schools. As this project moves into the action phase, I also hope the connections between the schools can serve as the basis for enhanced collaboration that allows both to build upon their distinct strengths to improve cross-cultural *educación* at the two sites.

Data collection

Data was collected over the course of the 2013-14 school year; as stated above, it consisted of classroom observations and interviews with teachers, supplemented by participant observation of school activities, analysis of school, district, and state documents, and a picture sort activity I conducted with students in participating classes. All data collection activities were approved by

Harvard University's Institutional Review Board, school principals, and district research coordinators.

I observed the three teachers at each school (plus Ms. Callahan, as Ms. Ortiz's student teacher) as they taught lessons they identified as intended to promote cross-cultural learning or the development of positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors among their students. I formally observed each classroom three times throughout the course of the school year for the duration of the activity, ranging from 30 to 90 minutes (for a total of approximately 900 minutes of formal observation), and took detailed fieldnotes. During these observations, I attempted to be as unobtrusive as possible, sitting towards the back of the group during teacher-directed activities. When students were working, I quietly circulated around the room, occasionally asking questions to better understand student behaviors or answering questions if addressed by students. These observations allowed me to understand classroom social processes and the challenges and opportunities teachers faced in facilitating cross-cultural learning. Through my observations, paired with other methods, I documented both the explicit and "hidden" curriculum. To do this, I looked at teachers' objectives, when stated, as well as the strategies they used to help students reach those objectives. I observed "practices, procedures, rules, relationships, structures, and physical characteristics" (Martin, 1976, p. 139), or how resources were used in service of social processes that led to certain learning outcomes for specific groups of students (Tseng & Seidman, 2007). I also looked at the patterns in interactions among teachers and students, as well as key events that elicited both positive and negative student and teacher reactions (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). In addition, drawing upon the curricular frameworks

proposed by Pittinsky (2009, 2011) and Banks (1989), I sought to be particularly attentive to how classroom social processes created or limited opportunities for developing allophilia, viewing topics from multiple perspectives, and preparing students to transfer their learning to social action in new settings.

Moreover, by spending the past three years as a teacher at Sunset and an Amherst community member, I had many opportunities to observe other activities, such as schoolwide events, lunch, recess, and professional development, and to engage in conversations with teachers, students, administrators, and parents. Viewing these occurrences and interactions through the lens of contact theory supplemented my formal observations to help me understand the supports and challenges teachers faced and the conditions of contact in the school and community. During these observations, both planned and unplanned, I most often acted as a participant, interacting with others and memoing about my experiences soon after leaving the site.

In addition, I conducted semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A) with teachers at the beginning and end of the school year. These interviews lasted between one and two hours and were digitally recorded and transcribed. I conducted a pilot interview with a former teacher at Sunset in order to test questions and get feedback on the interview process. The beginning-of-the-year interview was designed to gain insight into how teachers' beliefs and prior experiences relate to their teaching of cross-cultural *educación*. In the end-of-the-year interview, teachers reflected on their practices during the school year, including deidentified student work they shared with me and lessons and events I observed. These interviews, along with informal conversations during and after observations, allowed me to understand the meaning behind participants'

observed actions (Seidman, 2006), which Maxwell (2004) argues is essential to accurately understand and explain educational outcomes. Interviews also allowed me to get a sense of both how teacher characteristics and the human, physical, economic, and temporal resources available to them impacted the classroom social processes I observed. These conversations provided opportunities for multiple interpretations of observational data, one means of assuring internal validity (Merriam, 2009). To the extent possible, I worked to maintain rapport, or a positive stance towards the participant, along with neutrality towards the content of the interview (Patton, 2002). However, I recognize that due to the multiple roles I played in participants' lives, especially at Sunset, I was not viewed as completely "neutral"; thus, at times, I openly shared my own experiences and subjectivities to model transparency and encouraged participants to do the same.

As I began to analyze fieldnotes and interview transcripts, I realized that I needed a deeper understanding of the broader school, district, and state contexts of which the observed classrooms were a part. Thus, in order to better understand the challenges and opportunities confronted by teachers as they worked to plan and implement cross-cultural *educación* with students, I analyzed a variety of documents such as school improvement plans, task force reports, curriculum maps, and demographic information. In Amherst, there was a wealth of publicly available historical information regarding John Dewey's controversial transition to a magnet school, including reports from district focus groups, videos of school board meetings, and news reports. In addition, during interviews, teachers shared documents they found relevant to the study, such as a student survey conducted by the guidance counselor and reports from parent

focus groups. At Sunset, document analysis was less useful, both because the district made less information publicly available and because I was careful not to use private documents, such as e-mails or student records, that I had access to as a teacher but not as a researcher. While I did not use them as systematically at Sunset as at John Dewey, documents at times served as an important check of my perceptions or memories there.

Finally, to understand patterns in intergroup attitudes and behaviors, I administered a picture sort (Appendix B) based on Pittinsky, Rosenthal, and Montoya's (2011) Allophilia Scale to students in participating classes. While I originally considered a sociometric approach to measuring student intergroup attitudes and behaviors, which has been widely used in the study of intergroup relations in two-way bilingual programs (Cazabon, Lambert, & Hall, 1993; Carrigo, 2000; Hausman-Kelly, 2001), there are limitations to this method; these include the conflation of individual and intergroup relations and a dependence on verbal comprehension and students' recall of their classmates' names, which can be problematic for younger children (Aboud, 2003). Instead, I modified a process developed by Wright and Tropp (2005) to assess intergroup attitudes among K-2 students in a bilingual program. I made a set of pictures of stock photos of 12 racially- and ethnically-diverse children. Because I wanted to capture students' cultural, as well as racial attitudes, I included several pictures that included cultural markers, such as Muslim students wearing religious headwear and Mexican students wearing a Mexican soccer jersey (for boys) or dressed in folklórico dancing attire (for girls), as well as students wearing "unmarked" attire who appeared to be White, Black, Latin@, and Asian (with a boy and a girl for each race/ethnicity). As Wright and Tropp (2005) did, I asked a

group of adults representing the range of ethnicities pictured to identify the gender, ethnicity, and age of the subject and assess the photos' picture clarity, positivity of facial expression, and physical attractiveness on a scale of 1-5. This pretesting allowed me to ensure agreement on gender and ethnicity and to make sure that same-gender, different-ethnicity groups of students were near equivalent in terms of age, picture clarity, positivity of facial expression, and physical attractiveness, enhancing the activity's reliability. Then, students were directed to imagine that they were attending a new school and asked to sort the pictures into two boxes based on questions eliciting feelings about their new classmates (for instance, whether they would be comfortable sitting next to him/her in class). The questions aligned with the five factors that Pittinsky, Rosenthal, and Montoya (2011) have identified as comprising allophilia, and also included some questions to elicit negative attitudes from the Multiresponse Racial Attitude assessment (Aboud, 2003). I also gave students the opportunity to explain their responses, and recorded any comments. While Aboud and Amato (2001) have critiqued studies relying on open-ended questions because they primarily elicit brief, neutral comments from young children, I found eliciting qualitative data in addition to the quantitative data gleaned from the sorting process helped provide a more nuanced understanding of students' attitudes.

The sample for the picture sort consisted of 78 students total, representing all students who turned in a permission slip in the study classes, a response rate of 65 percent. Exactly half of the students were from John Dewey, and half were from Sunset. The sample was 51.3 percent female, and 48.7 percent male, and

48.7 percent Latin@, 19.2 percent Black, and 53.8 percent White.¹⁵ While there are small numbers of other racial and cultural groups in the two-way immersion programs at each school, only one South Asian student was included in the study; for both confidentiality and validity reasons, that student's results are not disaggregated when I discuss findings.

Language use

I observed classes and conducted interviews and the picture sort activity in both English and Spanish. In a bilingual study, it is important to be conscious of how language use reflects power dynamics within a setting and between a researcher and participants, and also how it may affect the findings of the study. Since Ms. Melero's class was a 90/10 kindergarten class (with 90 percent of the day in Spanish) and Ms. Nowak and Ms. Ortiz's classes were the Spanish half of a 50/50 model, those classes took place almost exclusively in Spanish. As a self-contained 70/30 class, Ms. Castro's class used a mix of the two languages, depending on the lesson observed. Ms. DiBenedetto's and Ms. González's observed classes were primarily in English, as they were 50/50 models with language arts in English (which is the content area in which the activities they identified as "cross-cultural" took place). In interviews and the picture sort, I

¹⁵ These numbers are greater than 100 percent due to the presence of biracial/bicultural students, who were 21.8 percent of the sample. I chose to consider these students members of both ethnic groups, rather than asking them to select one or creating an "other" category, because I hypothesized that students would be influenced by both cultures of which they were a part, and that the experiences of students from Black/White backgrounds were likely to be different from students of Latin@/White backgrounds (there was only one Black/Latino student in the sample). Unfortunately, however, this left me unable to compare my data directly with school and program demographic data in Figure 2; thus, the data should not be used to generalize to the school as a whole.

gave participants the option of speaking in whatever language they felt most comfortable.¹⁶ Most students opted to complete the picture sort in English. Ms. Melero's interviews (and most of our conversations) took place primarily in Spanish, Ms. González's took place in a mix of the two languages, and the other interviews took place primarily in English. Interviews and comments were transcribed and analyzed in the language used by participants. However, for ease of reading, I have translated excerpts used here into English, maintaining in Spanish phrases I felt could not be fully expressed in English without losing important connotations. When sharing excerpts from fieldnotes, I also translate into English, but identify the language of instruction. I recognize that many studies on two-way immersion programs have focused on the *language* of conversations and the hidden curriculum contained in those patterns of language use, which often privilege English and native English speakers (Valdés, 1997; McCollum, 1999); while those findings impact my work as a practitioner on a daily basis, the choice to use primarily English in this paper allows me to focus on the *content* of conversations about cultural difference, while still recognizing that, at times, language and content are inseparable.

The language used to describe the major ethnic groups recognized in the United States is also an important consideration in this study. When possible, I quote the terms participants used when reporting findings from a specific student or teacher, and use the terms utilized by the reporting agency when

¹⁶ The decision of what feels most "comfortable" was likely driven by many factors, including the patterns of my prior conversations with participants, my dominance in English, and the status of English in academia and the wider society. However, given that all participants and the researcher are conversationally fluent in both languages, I do not feel that findings were limited by participants' language choice.

sharing demographic statistics. As my own analysis focused primarily on ethnic or cultural differences, rather than racial ones, I use the terms African-American or European-American to describe people of African or European origin respectively, but with a multigenerational history in the United States. However, on the occasions when I am talking about physical appearance or the impact of ascribed racial differences, I use the terms Black, White, or bi- or multiracial. I use the term Latin@ (the @ is inclusive of both genders) to describe people of Spanish-speaking origin with roots in Latin America. Since, in my experience with families at the two schools, they tend to use Latin@ (or Hispanic) to describe both race and ethnicity, I do the same, providing additional physical description if relevant.

Data analysis

Informal analysis occurred throughout the process of data collection. In fact, I began writing periodic memos about my experiences at the Sunset as soon as I began working there, before I had developed research questions or written my dissertation proposal. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) encourage this practice of documenting initial impressions to avoid “los[ing] sensitivity for unique qualities of a setting as these become commonplace” (p. 26). While this was not a significant source of data for my dissertation, it helped me to examine data from additional perspectives as I considered how my perceptions have changed during my time at the site. I have continued to memo throughout my time at both schools – after research visits and at other times, such as when a news story, conversation, or odd thought on the way to work stimulated new ways of thinking. I have tried to be particularly attentive to “the warm and the

cool spots” (Peshkin, 1988, p. 18), emotional signs that my subjectivity is being engaged. This process of reflection constantly spurred new questions, which I incorporated into interviews or began to examine through observations or review of documents.

I began the formal stage of data analysis by examining the data from the picture sort. It is important to recognize that no causal inferences should be drawn from this data; it was not experimental, and the limited sample size and large number of ethnicities represented in the picture sort limited the statistical power of the activity and made generalization impossible. However, examining the quantitative patterns in the data and focusing on the student (rather than the more familiar teacher) perspective qualitatively helped generate new questions as I moved into the more intensive analysis phase. First, I read through the comments, identifying themes and grouping and regrouping similar student responses by class, grade level, and school. This allowed me to consider the associations between student responses and classroom social processes, developmental factors, and school characteristics. Through this process, I first observed distinct ways of talking about difference at the two schools (such as the tendency of Sunset students to ask questions); I discuss these themes in Chapter 4. I then calculated the χ^2 statistic to determine if students’ selection of particular students in response to questions was random, or if students were more likely to chose students of certain ethnicities in some contexts than others. This consistent measure of student attitudes was valuable in comparing cross-cultural learning across classes and schools and provided one means of assessing the “attained” curriculum, along with the “intended” and “implemented” curricula (McKenney,

Nieveen, and van den Akker, 2006) that could be accessed through interviews, document review, and observations.

Then, I turned to reading and rereading fieldnotes and transcripts, identifying teacher beliefs and experiences, contextual factors, and corresponding teaching practices and student responses. I created open codes that, when possible, used the participants' own words, allowing me to document as closely as possible their understandings of their context and teaching practices. For instance, participants in both schools referred to the importance of "integration" of cross-cultural learning with literacy instruction, as I will discuss in Chapter 5; however, through close analysis I found that the term had a different meaning at each school. After coding, I compared across classrooms and grouped similar codes together within each case (program) (Charmaz, 2006). However, as I began to develop these categories, I found the number of them overwhelming, which Merriam (2009) argues is a sign of "an analysis too lodged in concrete description" (p. 187). Thus, returning to the memos I had written throughout the research process, as well as during initial coding, I developed a set of more analytic codes, which reflected tentative hypotheses I was forming about cross-cultural learning at the two schools. These codes included "culture=country," or the tendency to associate cross-cultural learning with the study of foreign countries, which I will discuss in Chapter 6. I also began to pay closer attention to metaphors, often shared by participants, that pointed to important phenomena in each context; these associations pushed me to explore themes in more depth and from alternative perspectives (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis, 1997). One example of such a metaphor is the idea of being "en puntillas," or "on tiptoes," a phrase two Sunset teachers used to describe the

dissonance I describe in Chapter 4. As I recoded fieldnotes and transcripts and then began to compare across cases, I used a process similar to that of analytic induction, in which researchers compare existing hypotheses with instances of a phenomenon, seeking out discrepant cases and revising their hypotheses to include these new understandings. When divorced from the positivist epistemologies from which it was derived (in which researchers were seeking an objective truth, rather than a contextualized interpretation), this approach to systematically testing and revising tentative theories can enhance their sophistication and their transferability to a variety of contexts (Merriam, 2009).

Limitations, validity and generalizability

While I have worked to systematically test my evolving hypotheses with the large amount of data at hand, the greatest limitation of this study is that their “outcome validity” (Anderson & Herr, 1999) has not yet been tested. In the coming years, in line with my pragmatic epistemology and my roles at each site, I hope to collaboratively design, implement, evaluate, and redesign interventions that enhance the knowledge and practice of local educators and the broader research community in service of improving cross-cultural learning for all students. In addition, as discussed earlier, the limited quantitative data derived from the picture sort is in no way generalizable, and it is important that readers do not interpret it as such. However, it did serve as a developmentally-appropriate assessment that helped to compare contexts for cross-cultural learning, and could form the basis of a more conclusive study conducted by someone with more extensive quantitative knowledge. Finally, qualitative research, and case studies in particular, are inherently limited by their

dependence on the researcher for the collection and interpretation of data and the lack of representativeness of any particular case. For this reason, I have attempted to be particularly transparent about how my background and beliefs are likely to shape the findings and to provide a rich description of each context in order to enable the reader to judge if the findings make sense and may be transferable to their situation.

Merriam (2009) and Maxwell (2005) identify several strategies that can be used to test the validity of findings, as they increase the likelihood of identifying alternative explanations and discrepant evidence. Intensive long-term involvement, collection of detailed data triangulated from multiple methods and sources, and the solicitation of feedback from participants and other stakeholders are all strategies built into my research design that enhance internal validity. Additionally, as I work with other stakeholders to design interventions based on my findings at the research sites, I will test their external validity (Anderson & Shattuck, 2012).

Moreover, because this study will be concrete, contextualized, and open to reader interpretation, it invites transfer of ideas to new contexts (Merriam, 1998). This rich description enhances the “ecological validity” of the study, as readers can use it to thoughtfully adapt findings to other contexts and situations (Gravemeijer and Cobb, 2009, p. 45). While this is “a very different way of thinking about generalization” (p. 14) than the positivist approach, Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis (1997) argue that audiences are particularly able to apply learning when readers can “see themselves reflected in it...[and] discover resonant universal themes” (p. 14). Readers are challenged to move beyond passively consuming research and instead to interact with it, questioning how it

may or may not apply to their unique situation. The next chapter focuses on rich description of both the two school contexts and the broader statewide context that encompasses both sites in order to facilitate readers' understanding and interpretation of my findings. In addition, by analyzing each through the lenses of contact theory (at the level of the school microsystem) and critical race theory (at the level of the statewide macrosystem), I demonstrate how the particularities of each context create unique conditions that are likely to impact cross-cultural understanding and learning.

Chapter 3: Contextualizing cross-cultural II - A review of the landscape

When I arrived at Ms. Nowak's John Dewey classroom for the first time, she excitedly held up her planning binder and exclaimed, "Look! I have people to collaborate with!" As our conversation continued, I heard her describe numerous human, material, economic, and temporal resources that are likely to influence the learning process. "I'm able to reflect again because I teach the same subject twice," she told me, then went on to say "I've really liked working with the other teachers and getting their ideas and just the different resources... I can ask people who went to school in Spanish-speaking countries, "What's a good story I can use from your country?" Later, she told me, "So many of the students in my class this year, the Spanish speakers have gone to a preschool...thanks to the home visits I was able to see where a lot of my families [come from]. I had one boy who had no furniture in the living room...But he knows his letters, he knows his sounds. He has an iPad, and he has educational games...I think it is because parents are more educated here."

In these excerpts from interviews with Ms. Nowak, she reflected on the differences between John Dewey and Sunset, and how her teaching changed when she moved from Sunset to John Dewey. At John Dewey, she was able to draw upon the expertise of teachers from around the world, time for reflection, collaboration, and home visits, and material resources. Her students benefitted from a strong, integrated district pre-K program that includes two-way immersion classes, as well as the other learning opportunities available in a well-resourced college town. These resources facilitated many of the opportunities for cross-cultural *educación* in which she engaged her students; however, as I

describe later in the chapter, distinct conditions at Sunset supported the possibilities for cross-cultural *educación* in other, perhaps less apparent, ways.

In this chapter, I attempt to answer my research subquestions of “What challenges and opportunities do teachers encounter, and what human, material, economic, and temporal resources are available to them, as they attempt to facilitate cross-cultural *educación* within each school context?” and “What challenges and opportunities do broader local, state, and national contexts afford teachers as they attempt to facilitate cross-cultural *educación* among diverse students within two-way immersion programs?” I use contact theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; 2011) to describe John Dewey and Sunset as unique contexts for cross-cultural *educación*, illustrating how each school possesses strengths in regards to creating conditions that support cross-cultural learning, but neither fully succeeds in employing its institutional authority to realize the vision of cooperative, sustained interdependence between equal-status groups expressed in both contact theory and two-way immersion goals. These conditions correspond to distinct human, material, economic, and temporal resources available to teachers when facilitating cross-cultural *educación* in the two schools, which are likely to influence the social processes of cross-cultural *educación* themselves (Tseng & Seidman, 2006). I extend the metaphor of mirrors, windows, and doors discussed in the introduction, discussing how the school and district leadership at John Dewey (or in the language of contact theory, the “support of authority”) served as an important “foundation” for cross-cultural learning, providing the time, collaboration, and material resources necessary for implementing project-based learning, schoolwide programs, and special events

that facilitated teachers' ability to explicitly teach about other cultures and served as "mirrors" that affirmed the cultural identities of Spanish-speaking students. However, upon these firm foundations were built "walls" of unrecognized group difference and unequal status that limited possibilities for cross-cultural *educación*. Sunset was characterized by its "windows" in a wide range of shapes and sizes, its diverse demographics that helped to equalize status between cultural groups and provided myriad informal opportunities for learning. However, with its cracked "foundation," or the lack of institutional support that teachers received with regards to instruction, schoolwide programs, and special events, I found that explicit cross-cultural *educación* was rare. Through comparing the two schools, I suggest that, if they are to meet cross-cultural learning goals, two-way immersion programs must pay more attention to Pettigrew and Tropp's (2011) finding that contact conditions are an interrelated construct. Thus, programs must not only provide the institutional support needed to facilitate opportunities for explicit cross-cultural learning, but also acknowledge patterns of intersectionality between language, culture, class, and race within a given community and examine how those patterns may impact status between groups. Choices made about program structure, both as a two-way immersion program is being constructed and during any program's ongoing "renovations," may play an important role in either exacerbating or equalizing these complex status relationships, and thus impact the cross-cultural *educación* that takes place there.

Moreover, John Dewey and Sunset are situated in a shared state and national macrosystem. Thus, I then extend my contextual analysis to the macrosystemic level, using tenets of critical race theory to describe how policies

and discourse create inequities that teachers must confront and limit the resources available to them as they attempt to enact cross-cultural *educación* within their classrooms. Both programs are built on the sticky clay of North Carolina's piedmont, a substance known for its tendency to shift and for the intensive work needed to realize its possibilities for growth. In an article exploring this unique soil, Huler (2012) reminds readers that it is important to remember that it determines "what will and will not work" and "what you can build." By "digging" into the "soil" of the statewide context and exploring its recent shifts, I find a prevalent discourse and associated policies that value diversity for economic reasons, but do not place importance on ensuring equity among diverse groups. These state-level forces have led to increasing school resegregation and created a climate of intergroup competition, which must be confronted in order to establish the condition of cooperative interdependence at the school level. They also ignore the needs of a key constituency of two-way immersion programs, that of students learning English as a Second Language, denying them needed resources and equal status.

Firm foundations: The support of authority at John Dewey

Escuela Bilingüe John Dewey's creation arose from a desire, at the district level, to "enhance and strengthen the dual language program" and "provide universal, equitable access"¹⁷ through the creation of a two-way immersion magnet school. Upon its creation, the Board named as its principal the longtime leader of one of the district elementary schools that had previously had a two-

¹⁷ I quote the district's strategic plan for dual language programming here. However, I do not cite district documents and local news articles in order to protect the confidentiality of the schools, teachers, and students.

way immersion strand. Though not bilingual herself, she had become a statewide leader in two-way immersion education. With the latitude to pull together a program based on the understandings of best practices that she had gleaned over years in education, the new school emphasized not only bilingualism and biliteracy, but also project-based learning and family and community education. She recruited two literacy coaches, who were originally from Latin America but had also spent many years in the district and were skilled at “seeing how initiatives fit together,” to lead instructional support efforts (personal communication, November 27, 2013). With district support and a knowledgeable school leadership team, the new school was able to allocate time and material resources to cross-cultural *educación* and integrate opportunities for cross-cultural learning into professional development opportunities, project-based biliteracy instruction, and schoolwide programs and events.

Instructional supports

From the beginning, the leadership team worked to create a sense of community at the new school and institutional support for learning about other cultures from and with colleagues. One example of this was a professional development activity during the teachers’ first week of school based on the television show *Amazing Race*, in which teams of staff completed a scavenger hunt that required them to visit local businesses and nonprofits associated with various cultures. Ms. Nowak told of another professional development session in which some faculty members shared the obstacles they faced in their own educational careers and pushed teachers to consider how students’ backgrounds

might affect their educational outcomes, encouraging them to “look at the differences...from how we were brought up.” While most other formal professional development largely focused on the core content areas of reading (including biliteracy) and math, both the existence of a schoolwide two-way immersion model and the administration’s efforts helped create a context where additional informal cross-cultural interaction and learning took place among native English-speaking and native Spanish-speaking teachers. Ms. Nowak explained how the “teamwork aspect...hav[ing] four [or] five other teachers I can ask questions to” as well as a “willing[ness] to learn from each other,” influenced her decision to switch schools and improved her instruction. Ms. Ortiz and some other upper-grade teachers formed an afterschool book club focused on Beeman & Urow’s (2012) *Teaching for Biliteracy*. She described how reading the book along with peers of other cultural backgrounds allowed her to develop her understanding of Spanish literacy teaching, such as the sequence for teaching syllables needed for decoding, and question some of her own assumptions about literacy instruction (as I discuss in more detail in Chapter 5). Though this professional development was rarely focused on students’ cross-cultural learning per se, it was clear that these formal and informal opportunities for cross-cultural interactions among teachers led them to see their instructional practices from a new perspective and helped to model cooperative interdependence for students.

In addition, the school’s focus on project-based learning and biliteracy provided opportunities for integrating cross-cultural content into units and for collaborative work among students. Institutional support for this type of learning provided blocks of time, a valuable resource for in-depth exploration of other cultures, as well as access to helpful material resources. For instance, Ms.

Ortiz and Ms. Callahan were part of a field test of 3C's Institute *Cultural Heritage Stories for Kids* series, which "aims to increase acceptance and openness to diversity in the classroom by exposing students to stories told by professional storytellers representing the Cuban American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican American cultures" (3C Institute, n.d.). Ms. Callahan used one of the stories, *My Name is Olga* by Olga Loya, to engage students in exploration of their own cultural identities and those of their classmates, as she recounted here:

She talks about how people have always questioned her name: Why is your name Olga? Shouldn't you be Russian or something?... We did a whole thing that grew out of that on names. Part was the confusion when you get the kids to sit down and fill in some database. "My name doesn't fit. Where do I put this?" And then more English home language students would be like, "What is your name really?"

Then we talked about: What are the origins? What are the most popular names in Mexico or the most popular names in North Carolina? What are the most popular names among Spanish speakers in the United States? What do they mean? Why are they so similar? Why do people like to name their daughters after flowers and gemstones?

They interviewed someone in the family about their name and they really loved doing that ...We looked at all this stuff about banned names in Mexico that's come out this year...Some of them are kids the same age. One of the names that were banned was Hermione in Harry Potter. So that's really up their alley and some of the kids were born in 2003, '04, so a lot of the kids are saying, "My parents named me after a character in *Lord of the Rings*. I think it's okay to have a fictional name." So I think we talked a lot about cultural issues of the small 'c' type and they love that.

Everybody has a name to talk about. A lot of what's been talked about as cultural content in language classes may be, I don't know, flamenco or something.

Through this experience, students were challenged to explore "cultural issues of the small 'c' type"¹⁸ rather than "flamenco or something" – to look both in

¹⁸ Bennett (2013) differentiates between "big C" culture, which consists of cultural products, practices, and institutions, and "little c" culture, or worldviews. He argues that it is an understanding of "little c" culture that facilitates productive intercultural communication.

“mirrors” and out “windows.” By looking deeply at everyday aspects of culture, this approach made it more likely that students would challenge existing worldviews and develop transferable cross-cultural learning.

At its best, project-based learning also allowed teachers to seamlessly integrate cross-cultural goals with academic and linguistic objectives, as in a unit the 2nd grade team developed:

In one we mixed social studies with science. Social studies was culture and science was sound. We had support from the music teacher and the art teacher and we had a very nice project, a common project mixing cultures and music and the drums, all related to sound, the sound unit. In reading, it was in winter so the books were winter festivities. That helped the second graders to start appreciating the differences and tolerating - not just seeing a group of people playing drums in Africa, but to understand that things are done differently in other countries.

As Ms. Castro described, students read about winter celebrations, learned about “mystery instruments” from several different countries (such as the didgeridoo, talempong, plato de acero, and zambona), wrote a paragraph about their favorite mystery instrument and created a bar graph of the class’s favorites. With the support of art and music teachers, the unit culminated in a concert for parents and community members, featuring instruments each student made from recycled materials and songs from the United States, Puerto Rico, Thailand, and South Africa. While the principal estimated that most grade levels had one or two “really strong” project-based units that included cross-cultural learning goals, it is important to remember that it was John Dewey’s first year of operation as a magnet school, and all three teachers identified specific ways to incorporate more cross-cultural learning into their plans for the upcoming year;

this was listed as a goal for all teachers in the school improvement plan (with a target date of June 2015).

Moreover, providing institutional support to ensure that at least half of instructional time and resources were devoted to Spanish and that instruction featured collaboration between students created possibilities for more equal-status relationships to develop between students, as Ms. Ortiz described.

Having the entire curriculum in Spanish is the best way we can promote cross-cultural connections...I think the Anglo kids will understand what it feels like to be an immigrant in a country and the same thing of course with the Latino kids on the English side. It's really a much more equalizing environment because of that, just the fact that they're every single day going into a language that's not their own.

All three teachers appeared to stick to the language allocation specified for their class, and all three utilized cross-language cooperative learning, where students consistently worked with partners or small groups who spoke a different first language. Parchia (2000) describes how this approach is critical not only to student linguistic and academic learning, but also to maintaining a class that was truly integrated ethnically, rather than segregated into groups based on student choice or academic performance. Reyes and Vallone (2007) also emphasize the importance of this approach for developing a strong ethnic identity among Latin@ students, which Tatum (2003) argues is essential for cross-cultural learning.

One factor that appeared to influence teachers' ability to adhere to two-way immersion best practices and use a project-based approach, particularly in the upper grades, was the lack of emphasis on standardized testing at John Dewey. Because administrators at both the school and district levels were familiar with research showing that two-way immersion programs lead to long-

term narrowing of the achievement gap and above average academic performance across subgroups (Thomas & Collier, 2012), there was little immediate pressure on teachers to ensure their students scored well. As a result, teachers expressed relatively nonchalant attitudes towards testing and confidence in their students' learning, as Ms. Ortiz expressed in her end-of-the-year interview.

We'll see at the EOG's [end-of-grade tests] whether I'm all out the window with this, but I get the sense that now that we're on our review for math, for example, that they're starting to really get it. It's been a very hands-on process, very messy, a lot of talking, a lot less strict go-by-the-book sort of thing. It's been much more open-ended questioning, solving problems in multiple ways, and that kind of thing. So they're all going, "What? I don't get it" and then they finally get to those strict get-in-a-row, look-at-the-EOG-book, let's-do-this-in-English-now...and then suddenly they're like, "Oh!" So it's funny, I think that it really helped to go through that process first. I don't think we should ever go straight to the sitting in rows and going into the worksheets first.

As I will describe later in the chapter, this "we'll see at the EOG's" approach stood in stark contrast to Sunset, where "get-in-a-row, look-at-the-EOG-book, let's-do-this-in-English-now" activities were a much more common occurrence. The support for two-way immersion and a project-based approach among district and school administrators allocated resources, especially time, in a way that facilitated opportunities for intentional cross-cultural *educación*, even amidst a larger state and national context emphasizing standards and accountability. As Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) note, this support of authority is perhaps the most critical factor in creating the conditions for positive cross-cultural interactions, as it can mediate the other conditions that impact intergroup relations, such as the level of anxiety in a setting and the extent to which collaboration, rather than competition, is emphasized and goals are shared.

Schoolwide programs and special events

The administration's commitment to cross-cultural learning also made possible ongoing programs and special events that gave students a chance to explore other cultures. For instance, one of students' weekly specials classes was a "culture" class, in which students learned about music, dance, art, and games of Spanish-speaking countries. In end-of-the-year focus groups, many Spanish- and English-speaking parents described these classes as a highlight of their child's experience at John Dewey. Parent programs were developed to promote engagement between families. The evening sessions included language classes in which English and Spanish learners at novice and intermediate levels learned about a topic in small groups and then met afterward for a facilitated discussion of the topic with a partner learning the opposite language.

Students were also introduced to other cultures through schoolwide events designed to coincide with Hispanic Heritage Month and Carnival. These undertakings required extensive support from school leaders, as well as the dedication of parents and community members. Each class was assigned a Spanish-speaking country for Hispanic Heritage Month; during a set time, students from other classes visited, passports in hand, to learn about that country from their peers. Carnival was representative of a wider variety of countries and included a parade, games, and dinner. While it was a challenge for teachers to move beyond a "Heroes and Holidays" (Banks, 1989) approach to these events due to both time and - in some cases - knowledge limitations, Ms. Nowak explained that "[students] relate to it more if it's the party type thing because they're like, 'Oh, it's fun! Oh, these are some similarities and differences.'" My fieldnotes from visiting her class the day of the Hispanic Heritage Month

celebration show the possibilities for learning from these types of events, especially as she was able to link her class' study of Guatemala to their exploration of animals in science.

As I cross the central courtyard and enter the kindergarten hall, I see a quetzal hanging from Ms. Nowak's door. I enter and see each student's desk decorated with a handmade worry doll; one girl explains to me that it "takes away their wishes." Ms. Nowak calls the students to the carpet in front of the room to introduce me. I ask about their visit to "Bolivia" that morning and they don't remember much, but as soon as I ask about their country, Guatemala, hands shoot up. In a mix of languages, they tell me all about quetzales, colibrís, tucanes, jaguars, and other animals. Using motions to reinforce new Spanish vocabulary, Ms. Nowak asks students about their *picos*, *colmillos*, and other body parts. One girl proudly tells me that the *huipil* she is wearing was sent to her from Guatemala by her aunt.

This excerpt shows that the event engaged students in learning academic content and language related to another culture, while also providing support for one student's developing ethnic identity.

In his short autobiographical piece "Taco Night," multicultural scholar Paul Gorski (2011) satirizes similar events that feature "little educational substance" and reinforce stereotypes. However, it is important not to completely dismiss what he describes as his "childhood enthusiasm about these sorts of cultural festivals—the different, the alien, the other—dancing around me, a dash of spice for a child of white flighters." As Pittinsky's work on allophilia (which I discuss in Chapter 1) recognizes and as I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 5, cross-cultural *educación* includes an important emotional dimension and cannot be nurtured through academic learning alone. The schoolwide "fun" these festivals provided served as an important support for developing allophilic affection, engagement, and enthusiasm, suggesting that the time that teachers were able to devote to ensuring that students were able to participate *thoughtfully*

in either the Hispanic Heritage Month celebration or Carnival was a worthwhile distraction from other curricular plans.

Thus, institutional authority at both the district and school level supported the creation of professional development opportunities, classroom learning experiences, and schoolwide programs and events designed to facilitate cross-cultural learning. By organizing human, material, and temporal resources in a way that focused community members from around the Spanish-speaking world on common goals, authorities at John Dewey in many ways modeled the institutional support specified by contact theory and built strong “foundations” for sustaining cross-cultural *educación*. However, on these foundations were also built walls of unequal status that undermined their efforts, as I discuss in the next section.

Hidden walls: Group salience and unequal status at John Dewey

John Dewey’s transition to a magnet school facilitated the creation of the supports described in the preceding section, providing school leaders with the resources and flexibility needed to make a concerted effort to meet the program’s goal of developing “cross-cultural awareness.” However, while the strong two-way immersion program made salient one dimension of group difference – language – and treated it as an asset, the importance of non-linguistic group differences were minimized in designing the magnet program and in discourse about social class at the school. Privileging the value of linguistic difference while marginalizing or ignoring other dimensions of group difference limited the breadth of students’ exposure to diverse cultures at John Dewey and exacerbated

status differences at the school, creating challenging conditions for cross-cultural *educación*.

A contentious creation

The transition of John Dewey from a neighborhood school (with a two-way immersion strand) in the 2012-13 school year to a district-wide magnet in the 2013-14 school year was a contentious process that highlighted issues of cultural diversity and interaction in relation to two-way immersion programs. As a neighborhood school, John Dewey's population was 14% Asian, 13% Black, 26% Hispanic, 39% White, and 7% Multiracial (Office of Civil Rights, 2011), with students of 41 different nationalities, according to a local news article. However, after transitioning to a magnet school, its demographics were 2 percent Asian, 5 percent Black, 49 percent Hispanic, 40 percent White, and 4 percent Multiracial. Thus, it suddenly transformed from a multiracial¹⁹ school, whose diversity was regularly praised by parents, to a largely biracial school. At one school board meeting where (neighborhood) John Dewey parents and teachers gathered to protest its selection as the two-way immersion magnet school, one teacher commented, "All across the country, we're busing kids for diversity. Now we're busting up a school because we're diverse?"

The reasons given by the district task force for choosing John Dewey as the magnet school were the large size of the facility, its central location in the district, the fact that it already had a two-way immersion strand, and the small

¹⁹ As defined by Orfield (2009), a school in which at least ten percent of students come from each of three or more racial groups

number of students living in its walkzone.²⁰ Because John Dewey is located near the intersection of two major roads, its walkzone consisted of only a single apartment complex; however, many Karen (an ethnic minority from Burma) refugee families had resettled there, and parents expressed concern that moving them to another school would negatively impact these students. In addition, the creation of the magnet program coincided with school redistricting due to the opening of a new elementary school, Easton, in a historically Black neighborhood. Many vocal parents called for Easton to be the location of the two-way immersion program, arguing that placing the program at a new school would ensure that no students were displaced; however, the district was committed to reopening a neighborhood school (with busing from other neighborhoods to maintain socioeconomic diversity, also a district priority) in Easton's walkable, historically Black community. Thus, while the transition to a magnet school facilitated the development of the supports described in the preceding section, it also limited the breadth of students' exposure to diverse cultures at John Dewey. However, this concern was rarely mentioned in the planning process; notes from the community forums show only one Spanish-speaking parent asking, "In a dual language school, my child will not be able to meet other cultures – Asian, Burmese, German, and more. How can we address that?"²¹ Though "cross-cultural awareness" was a priority of the new magnet, ensuring that students would "be able to meet other cultures" ironically was not.

²⁰ The walkzone is the area from which children can safely walk to a particular school. Schools with populous walkzones were not considered ideal for the magnet program because many of those students would then have to be bused to other schools, increasing transportation costs and environmental impact.

²¹ While there may be pedagogical reasons that a two-way immersion school is not appropriate for a student who enters school speaking neither Spanish nor

Moreover, the decisionmaking process about the magnet school's creation implicitly communicated several problematic messages regarding the status of Karen and Black students. For instance, while the language and culture of Spanish speakers was seen as an asset, that of Karen students was not similarly valued; rather, they were labeled as "fragile" and their needs were not prioritized. Thus, only languages that had obvious value to native English speakers in terms of social and economic status were worthy of consideration in the program planning process. Moreover, the district's analysis of Easton's unsuitability as the magnet school reinforced the "stereotypical" (Howard & Sugarman, 2001) view of two-way immersion programs as serving native English speakers who were White and middle-class. Palmer's (2010) analysis of a similar decisionmaking process within another two-way immersion program suggests that it rested on "abstract liberalism," in which ideals of fairness and equal (but not equitable) opportunity were used to exclude people of color, and "cultural racism," in which inequities were explained by cultural preferences rather than structural issues. While district data showed the underrepresentation of African-American and Asian students in the Spanish-English two-way immersion strands prior to the magnet's creation, the decisionmaking process reified, rather than challenged, those historical trends. Options that could have potentially increased ethnically and racially diverse students' participation in the program, such as locating the program at Easton and offering priority to students in the walkzone (many of whom would be African-American), did not appear to be considered; in line with Palmer's analysis and the priorities expressed in the task

English, the ethnic diversity among English speakers at the school is not representative of the students in the district who are proficient in English. Thus, like this parent, I agree that it is an issue that needs to be addressed.

force's report, this option would have been seen as both unfair (to the predominately White students living outside the walkzone) and not in line with the presumed interests of Easton residents.²²

As the district tried to reconcile the desires for a two-way immersion magnet school, a neighborhood school in the Easton community, and socioeconomically diverse schools across the district, issues of cross-cultural learning, socioeconomic diversity, and racial equity were treated as separate issues, with separate interest groups, rather than inextricably linked. While the district created ample opportunities for parents to express their concerns about their plans, they did not create a context that engaged diverse families and other stakeholders in imagining a program that could both provide the valuable enrichment opportunity of two-way immersion to a wide range of students and have a rich multicultural, rather than bicultural, identity. Tropp and Bianchi (2007) note that while how, when, and by whom group difference is made salient matters, the acknowledgement of group difference by dominant group members (who in this case were also institutional authorities) is important in creating a positive response to new contact opportunities among minority groups, as it provides reassurance that their needs are likely to be recognized, rather than neglected. Recognizing and engaging the multiple group identities of Amherst families in the magnet school planning process could have improved community response to the program and more fully realized the program's potential for

²² I recognize that this decisionmaking process was extremely difficult and complex, and I am not proposing that any particular outcome would have been more appropriate. Rather, as I suggest in the following paragraph, I think that facilitating the process in a way that encouraged interaction between, rather than just feedback from, various stakeholders and recognized multiple dimensions of diversity may have resulted in a more creative and mutually satisfactory solution.

broad and inclusive cross-cultural *educación*. Data from an end-of-the-year focus group conducted by John Dewey administrators for English-speaking parents of color suggests a desire for such a program. Three of the four participants mentioned the possibilities a two-way immersion program might offer for not only language learning, but “immersion” in a more inclusive cultural context; one parent stated that “I enrolled my child in dual language to immerse them not only in the language, but the cultural experience of underrepresented minorities,” while another wanted her child to “become immersed in another culture, not the White culture.” Although the school has attempted to be more representative of diverse cultures through efforts such as the selection of music for concerts and the hiring of instructional assistants, it is difficult to knock down the walls built during the process of creating the magnet school and counter the sense of unequal status conveyed by the “token” numbers of Asian and Black students (Tatum, 2003). John Dewey’s experiences suggest that multiple dimensions of group difference should be made salient as a program is built, rather than after walls are erected.

Moreover, once the magnet school was established, two different program models (90/10 and 50/50) were used in order to meet differing parental expectations and integrate students coming from schools with different models. Drawing on liberal ideals of individualism and choice, parents were surveyed to choose the model in which they wanted their children to participate. Leaving the choice of program model at John Dewey to individual parents led to the emergence of demographic differences between the 90/10 and 50/50 strands, which were apparent in comparing Ms. Castro’s 70/30 2nd grade class with Ms. Nowak’s 50/50 kindergarten class. Ms. Castro expressed surprise at the small

number of Latin@ students in her class, compared to the 50/50 class she had taught the previous year at another school and to her colleagues' 50/50 2nd grade classes. However, in contrast to Ms. Castro's overwhelmingly White class, Ms. Nowak's 50/50 class was much more diverse. The first time I met her students, for example, was in the cafeteria, where she was sitting at a table with two Black girls, a Filipina, a Latina, and a White girl. Ms. Castro attributed the difference between classes to an impatience for learning English among Latin@ families and the excitement about learning Spanish among "American"²³ families. However, several bilingual parents of highly-educated, often bicultural (Latin@/White), and usually English-dominant students in 90/10 classes confided that their children were classified as Spanish dominant by the school in order to maintain as close to the two-way immersion ideal of 50 percent English speakers and 50 percent Spanish speakers as possible. This suggests that while John Dewey worked hard to maintain linguistic balance in classes, it was segregated by race and class. The 90/10 model at John Dewey primarily served a elite group – who, regardless of their or their parents' national origin or native language, were

²³ The regular use of "American" by Ms. Castro and Ms. Melero (the two foreign teachers) to describe English-speaking students, but not their U.S. born, Spanish-speaking peers, is mostly outside the scope of this paper but merits further exploration. As Abu El-Haj (2007) notes, the decision to describe someone as "American" or "not American" often reflects important "politics of belonging" rather than someone's citizenship status. In this case, their use of the term could reflect stereotypes of a normative (English-speaking and often White) American that is not only inaccurate (as most of these students are citizens) but also exclusive. While I did not observe teachers using "American" as a way to exclude, I will discuss in Chapter 5 how a focus on foreign cultures – and the association of 2nd generation immigrant students with those cultures – at times essentialized their experiences and failed to recognize their membership in multiple cultural groups, including "American." However, given that these two teachers do not see themselves as "American," their use of the term could also reflect their own sense of not fully belonging – culturally, linguistically, or legally – a perspective that might help them to identify with students of immigrant families.

viewed as “American” due to their social class, English proficiency, and skin color. This segregation clearly limited the possibilities for cross-cultural *educación* among students of both groups, denying them the opportunity to learn from a valuable human resource, the diverse experiences of their peers. Moreover, as I will discuss in the next section, the “Americanizing” of certain students based on social class and race created conditions of unequal status that proved particularly problematic for student interactions.

The discrepancies between 90/10 and 50/50 classes at John Dewey also suggest the need for a broader look at how the choice of program model relates to a program’s capacity to create conditions of equal status. While more research is needed to understand the reasons behind parents’ choices regarding program model, different groups may perceive different advantages and disadvantages to the two approaches. A 90/10 model may indeed increase students’ bilingual skills without threatening their academic achievement in English and compensate for the hegemony of English in the broader society (Thomas & Collier, 2012), but there also may be tradeoffs that have not been addressed by academic literature in terms of ethnic identity and cross-cultural learning. For instance, Delpit (1995) emphasizes the importance of both affirming “the linguistic form a student brings to school [that] is intimately connected with loved ones, community, and personal identity” (p. 53) while at the same time teaching the standard forms of a language that are critical to academic and economic success. Research is needed that explores whether a 90/10 model allows sufficient time in English both to affirm the language and cultures of students who are English-speaking, but not members of the White, middle-class culture typically valued in schools (such as many African-Americans and Latin@

students), and to support them in accessing standard forms of English (Weise, 2004). The preference for a 50/50 model by many Spanish-speaking parents of lower socioeconomic status also tends to be viewed from a deficit perspective in that it is attributed to a lack of understanding of the language acquisition process; other considerations that may impact their choice of a program model need to be identified and taken seriously. More research on the potential consequences of different program models for the status of diverse groups is needed in order for school and community leaders to make fully informed decisions, as it is critical that they consider the range of factors impacted by the choice of program model and take the lead in dialoguing with families and community members to select together a structure that meets community needs and learning goals. The contrast between the 90/10 and 50/50 classes at John Dewey suggests that leaving that decision solely to individual parents, who may not have considered all of these factors themselves, may inadvertently create segregation within the school and limit possibilities for cross-cultural *educación*.

The invisible wall: Class

Decisions about program structure limited students' opportunities for interaction across lines of ethnic and class difference, but conversations with teachers, students, parents, and administrators suggested that the invisible walls of social class often posed an even greater barrier to positive interactions than school and classroom walls. Class divides in Amherst are stark; the town's Gini coefficient (one measure of economic inequality) of .5499 indicates that it has the same level of economic inequality as Bridgeport-Norwalk-Stamford, CT – the most unequal metropolitan area in the nation (US Census Bureau, 2013).

However, class differences at the school were consistently conflated with cultural differences; this served not only to reduce the salience of class issues, but also to unwittingly create unequal status between Latin@ and White students.

Teachers consistently cited class, rather than ethnicity, as the central challenge with regards to students' cross-cultural interactions, yet labeled students ethnically or racially. For instance, at the beginning of the school year, Ms. Castro explained that one of her goals for students was to develop tolerance, since

This type of program has a lot of Hispanic kids...So students need to learn that you may have this huge house and this super neighborhood but there are other kids that don't have that. Or your parents have certain education but other kids' parents don't have.

Similarly, Ms. Ortiz conflated class and race when she explained tensions she'd observed among 5th graders.

It is coming down to haves and have-nots. And unfortunately, it's really clear in Amherst who they are and it's kind of sad...All the lunch people [students bringing their lunch from home] are the White kids. All the people in the line [receiving free school lunch] are the Brown kids.

However, anecdotal evidence suggests that while there was some truth to this pattern, the conflation of ethnicity and class was not as "clear" as it at first seemed. At John Dewey, anecdotal evidence²⁴ suggests that while most students of low socioeconomic status at John Dewey were Latin@, there were a significant number of Latin@s who were not poor. A survey of all 5th graders conducted by the guidance counselor showed that 100 percent of White students lived in

²⁴ Due to regulations surrounding the use of free and reduced price lunch data, I was not able to examine class differences at the two schools using more common measures of socioeconomic status.

single-family homes, while approximately three-quarters of Latin@ students lived in either apartments or trailers. While this measure indicated that most Latin@s likely had lower socioeconomic status than their peers, it also suggested that a quarter have similar living situations. A prominent university, less than a mile from the school, attracts graduate students and professors from around the world; John Dewey provides an opportunity for these Latin@s of high socioeconomic status to ensure that their students will grow up to be fully bilingual. As I will explore more deeply in Chapter 6, this highly-educated, bilingual “cosmopolitan” group (Shiller, 2006; Calhoun, 2008) not only wields significant financial and social capital, but also cultural capital, in that their ability to effortlessly move between languages and cultures is particularly valued within a bilingual program. However, in spite of their real and symbolic power, this group was essentially invisible in discourse at the school. Since social class was not discussed directly, teachers regularly confounded poor, “Hispanic,” and “Brown,” and wealthy, “White,” and “American,” as did the school’s principal when she described how “White privilege” was a big challenge the school faced in confronting the large differences in socioeconomic status.

Teachers’ and administrators’ attention to how the confounding of class and ethnicity affected the majority of the school’s Latin@ students was often important for understanding and meeting their needs; however, it also appeared to encourage “color coding” (Nakazawa, 2003) and even the “othering” of poor Latino students by wealthier peers. One parent in Ms. Castro’s class expressed concern about a conversation she heard between her son and two friends. Although all are part Latino and speak some Spanish at home, they complained

that they did not like it when their bus left their upper middle class, predominately White neighborhoods and stopped at the trailer park where many “Latinos” live because “it gets noisy and smells like cologne.” Thus, they constructed themselves as non-Latino in order to establish a line of difference between themselves and peers of lower socioeconomic status. Moreover, the fact that class itself was rarely made salient drew attention away from issues that were primarily related to socioeconomic status, rather than cultural differences. Birthday parties were frequently cited as an area where class differences, often interacting with cultural differences, caused misunderstandings and limited positive cross-cultural interactions. Ms. Castro told parents that if birthday invitations were distributed at school, all students in the class must be invited, but both she and John Dewey’s principal mentioned that birthday party attendance was frequently divided. She explained that

The Hispanic parents are invited to a birthday party, but they cannot attend because they don’t have a car. So that makes distance between the one group and the other...it was only one or two families that would integrate and they would say, “Okay. You don’t have a car but my girl and your girl are good friends so I will go pick her up and bring her home for the party.”

While Ms. Castro attributed the differences in attendance to being “Hispanic,” not having a car is largely a class, rather than a cultural, issue – and one that, as she notes, can be fairly easily addressed once it is made salient as an issue. In 5th grade, class differences were particularly visible on the soccer field; Ms. Ortiz described how (predominately male) students argued about different understandings of the rules based on their experiences with “community” (club team) and “street” soccer. While this conflict did have cultural elements that were loosely tied to students’ ethnic backgrounds, it also reflected differential

access to a prestigious extracurricular activity. Drawing attention to, and when possible, dealing with, socioeconomic inequities that exist, rather than framing them as cultural differences, is important for creating conditions of equal status within the school. Moreover, given the large economic inequality in Amherst, learning to interact across lines of socioeconomic differences is a particularly critical skill for both adults and students to develop.

Thus, in spite of the strong institutional support for cross-cultural learning at John Dewey, group differences related to language and culture were made salient, but those related to race and class were often minimized or ignored. For non-dominant racial and socioeconomic groups, this can signal inattentiveness to their needs. Moreover, these oversights were institutionalized in program structure and design, creating unequal status between groups and thus lasting challenges for processes of cross-cultural *educación*. In Chapter 4, I will discuss one social process, a discourse of avoiding group categorization, that appeared to both reflect and reinforce this pattern. First, however, I will contrast John Dewey with Sunset, where there were few programmatic supports but rich opportunities for cross-cultural *educación* through contact with a variety of relatively equal-status groups.

Cracked foundations: Disregard of authority at Sunset

A precarious position

In contrast to the intentional development of John Dewey's program, Sunset's program was created "on a whim," in the words of Lowell's ESL

director (personal communication, December 18, 2014), about twelve years ago.²⁵ With some support from the school principal and the district ESL director, the program first began with a group of first graders, who participated in the program through third grade, followed by several cohorts who participated in K/1 and 2/3 classes that were split between English and Spanish teachers. Eventually, a 4th grade class was added, and the program moved to self-contained classes, with a teacher at each grade level. Throughout this time, the program called itself a 50/50 model, though the program's adherence to two-way immersion was hampered by lack of Spanish proficiency on the part of some staff, lack of resources, high levels of student mobility and staff turnover, and other factors. In 2009, renowned dual language researchers Virginia Collier and Wayne Thomas visited the school as part of a statewide study on two-way immersion programs and recommended adopting a 90/10 model, which was implemented beginning with the 2009-10 kindergarten class (who were 4th graders at the time of this research study).

While there have been occasional efforts to get the program classified as a district magnet program in order to provide additional resources and flexibility, these attempts have not been successful. This decision has limited the program's size and quality. As the Latin@ population living in Sunset's school zone is relatively small and there is no process for recruiting or transporting students from other school zones, it is difficult to expand the program beyond a single classroom at each grade level and still maintain a balance of Spanish- and

²⁵ This history has been compiled based on recollections of several participants, as there is little written documentation on the program's early history.

English- speakers in each class. In addition, as students move away over the years, class sizes decrease, which has prevented the formation of a 5th grade class.

Having only a single class at each grade level has implications for teacher collaboration, in that teachers are not able to draw upon the temporal and human resources that exist at the school in a way that supports opportunities for cross-cultural learning. Whereas specials schedules at Sunset are structured so that grade-level teams have shared planning time each day, with required Professional Learning Community (PLC) meetings two days a week, there is no cross-grade planning time built into the school schedule. The two-way immersion team thus meets much less frequently, during quarterly half-day work sessions (with substitutes covering their classes) or afterschool; however, teachers have stated that they find these meetings much more helpful than the twice-weekly meetings with their grade-level team, and continually express a desire for more collaboration. Ms. Melero explained

I don't feel identified with my PLC, I can't talk about the same things because my issues are different. I can't tell my PLC that I'm concerned about this or feel overwhelmed by that...because I'm the only one that has that problem.

In addition, the single-strand nature of the program means that it has no dedicated leadership, and thus little institutional authority supporting cross-cultural *educación*. The longtime district ESL director does continue to provide occasional advice and material support. Sunset's building leadership expresses support for the program (the assistant principal's son is in one of the two-way immersion classes), but has no background in two-way immersion that allows them to anticipate and understand program needs and challenges. Ms. Melero explained that "No one ever says, it's different for you, or you have to worry

about this or you don't have to worry about that...I feel like at some point, in some staff meeting or PLC meeting, the administration has to mention us." As noted in Chapter 2, while I feel a sense of dedication in my role as program coordinator, my "real job" (according to district human resources) is that of a half-time ESL teacher; my responsibilities as program coordinator are squeezed into my extended planning period (or my days off, when I am supposed to be writing this dissertation).

The challenges of implementing a two-way immersion strand are not unique to Sunset. Many of these same challenges drove Amherst's decision to open a two-way immersion magnet school, and Palmer (2007) describes how, in another strand program, the dominance of English schoolwide, barriers between two-way immersion and mainstream classes (with distinct populations), and a deficit orientation towards culturally and linguistically diverse students at the school level undermined program goals. Nevertheless, the disregard of institutional authority - or the lack of acknowledgement of Sunset's two-way immersion program at the district level and lack of deep understanding of the program at the school level - creates two particular challenges that impact the opportunities for cross-cultural *educación*, as I will discuss in the following sections. First, the two-way immersion program is expected to meet the same expectations with regards to curriculum and assessment as other classrooms; these expectations are often passed down from the district level with little awareness of the program's goals (or at times, even its existence). Without the instructional supports for collaborative, bilingual *educación* present at John Dewey and with little assistance from authority, teachers are forced to negotiate these competing expectations on their own; this limits the opportunities for

explicit cross-cultural *educación* within classrooms. In addition, without strong support of authority and opportunities for teacher collaboration, program-wide efforts to promote cross-cultural learning are haphazard and unsustainable.

Instructional challenges

While curricular expectations at John Dewey included adherence to the two-way immersion model, the integration of cross-cultural learning into units of study, and the design of collaborative, project-based learning activities, expectations at Sunset were centered on improving performance on standardized tests in English. All goals in Sunset's 2013-14 school improvement plan referred to improving reading and math performance among specified subgroups on district and state tests.²⁶ In addition to the required state MCLASS reading assessments (K-3) and End of Grade tests (3-5) administered at both schools, 3rd-5th grade students at John Dewey took district common formative assessments and cumulative assessments in math and language arts (and in 5th grade, science) twice quarterly. These tests were all in English and multiple-choice (occasionally with one or two short-answer questions), and teachers were expected to use these tests as the basis for corrective instruction, which often resulted in spending time reviewing test questions with students. The administrative team at Sunset did emphasize that while the concepts assessed on these tests should form the basis of the curriculum, they valued the use of more interactive

²⁶ Interestingly, both schools are actually identified by the state as focus schools, indicating a large achievement gap between high-performing and low-performing subgroups (North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 2014). While Sunset has slightly less students classified as proficient or above (45.7%) than John Dewey (52.8%), the distribution of students across the five levels of proficiency looks relatively similar, indicating that it is not the results in themselves driving the differences in approach.

strategies to help students learn. For instance, they developed a “No Worksheets” contract (which provided extra money for materials) as an incentive for teachers to design creative learning activities. However, teachers often complained that these tests did not align with the district curriculum framework (and thus their instruction) or were given on short notice. Moreover, the district’s curriculum maps changed yearly, moving from thematic units in the 2012-13 school year, to a less prescriptive focus on specific skills in 2013-14, to the use of an Understanding by Design framework in 2014-15. Together, the emphasis on academic performance, along with uncertainty with regards to curriculum, made planning for instruction difficult for all teachers. This was particularly challenging for two-way immersion teachers, as they had to plan Spanish instruction on their own and find Spanish language resources that aligned with changing expectations. While the program had goals for cross-cultural learning, it appeared on neither assessments nor district curriculum frameworks, and thus was not prioritized.

Moreover, while research shows that two-way immersion programs are likely to improve long-term performance on standardized tests in English across subgroups, short-term results are often lower in the early grades due to students’ reduced exposure to English (Thomas & Collier, 2012). This can give the impression that program priorities appear to conflict with goals of academic achievement as measured by standardized tests. As Ray (2008) notes, all two-way immersion teachers have to negotiate the competing pressures of maintaining integrity to the program model and modifying the program to meet the perceived requirements of testing; while factors such as collaboration with colleagues, personal beliefs in dual immersion, and community support

contribute to the maintenance of an effective program (as was evident at John Dewey), practices such as the commitment of instructional time to test preparation often lead teachers to modify the program in ways that undermine its effectiveness. This trend was evident at Sunset. In kindergarten through second grade, teachers largely adhered to the program model, with most instruction in Spanish, but often struggled with demands to implement practices that undermined their efforts. For instance, teachers were often pressured to offer more initial literacy instruction in English for struggling students, and while the state offered the MCLASS reading assessment in both English and Spanish (for free) and John Dewey began using it at the beginning of the 2013-14 school year, school and district officials in Lowell dragged their feet on allowing the program to obtain and administer the Spanish version; Sunset teachers were not able to use it until spring 2014. The time and energy devoted to wrestling with these competing demands left little opportunity for cross-cultural *educación*. Ms. Melero complained

I'm here to talk about another culture, in addition to teaching reading and writing, but to what extent is the system going to allow me a half hour or an hour a week to talk about this and forget about MCLASS, about assessment, about everything else related to that?

In the third- and fourth-grade classes, or "tested grades," the situation was more dire. Though on paper, the language allocation in these classes was supposed to be 50/50, English was often used during Spanish time. Ms. González said

We do math in Spanish, but it's mostly just vocabulary...some of the kids can understand very well when you're talking but you tell them to write in Spanish or talk in Spanish and they can't do it ...I just want a space that I can actually have some conversations with them in Spanish.

Ms. DiBenedetto illustrated how testing pressure not only impacted the language of instruction, but also opportunities for students to collaborate.

A lot of 3rd Grade is supposed be independent because of that end-of-the-year test....Talking with other people from my team it's "students need to be able to do this independently by this point," and there's not really a lot of room for group work.

Though Ms. DiBenedetto expressed a desire for more groupwork among students and found ways to incorporate it into her instruction as the year progressed, her comments underscore the impact of the school and district focus on academic performance on students' cross-cultural *educación*. Whereas institutional authority structures at John Dewey supported teachers' abilities to teach in both languages, integrate cross-cultural content into units, and engage students in collaborating across lines of difference, those at Sunset undermined those opportunities.

Schoolwide programs and events

At John Dewey, the collaboration between teachers, administrators, support staff, and parent and community volunteers facilitated a range of schoolwide programs and special events that supported students' cross-cultural *educación*, as described earlier in this chapter. At Sunset, teachers, parent and community volunteers, and I (as program coordinator) also attempted to carry out these activities; however, with limited leadership and opportunities for collaboration, these efforts were inconsistent. When I arrived at Sunset at the beginning of the 2012-13 school year, one of the priorities teachers identified for the program was organizing parent events and cultural activities. That year, I established the PAL (Pareja de Aprendizaje y Liderazgo) program, which brought together Spanish- and English-speaking parents (and their families) for

informal language and cultural learning. In addition, we held special events, including potluck dinners and a movie night that engaged parents from diverse ethnic backgrounds in a rich and emotional discussion centered on the film *Pueblos Hermanos*. We planned Hispanic Heritage Month celebrations, a field trip to see a Puerto Rican singer and storyteller, and other events for the upcoming school year. A local nonprofit worked with school leadership to begin a program called “Transcending Borders,” which established a relationship with a sister school in the Dominican Republic and provided related professional development to any interested staff. Then, as discussed in Chapter 2, the 2013-14 school year brought huge transitions in terms of personnel, with four of five teachers leaving, me going to part-time and on maternity leave for several months, and our principal getting promoted to a district position mid-year (with an interim taking his place). The PAL program and most of our plans fell apart. Program-wide opportunities for cross-cultural *educación* were limited to a single, well-attended family dinner, with student performances, at the end of the school year. In the 2014-15 school year, with a new and especially supportive principal²⁷ at Sunset, students’ cross-cultural *educación* has included performances at the school festival, a game played on the morning announcements throughout Hispanic Heritage Month and an event, similar to the Hispanic Heritage Month event at John Dewey, in which two-way immersion students taught other classes about Spanish-speaking countries they had studied. I work with 5th grade

²⁷ The new principal was at the school as a teacher and administrative intern during the time of the two-way immersion program’s founding. He has already taken several steps to improve support structures for the program, including the hiring of a part-time instructional assistant and the creation of more two-way immersion planning time, and is considering expansion to 5th grade and possibly a 2nd kindergarten class in the upcoming school year.

students to produce a bilingual newspaper, which includes cultural interviews, and to design other cross-cultural leadership opportunities. PAL, though smaller than the first year, is once again up and running. Students have participated in a weeklong residency with a local music group, culminating in a schoolwide performance, in which they examined the connections between the music of Africa and the Americas. Through a partnership with local university volunteers, an afterschool program is teaching non-two-way-immersion students Spanish, French, Arabic, and Mandarin, expanding opportunities for cross-cultural *educación* at the school level.

This description shows that, like at John Dewey, students and teachers at Sunset have engaged in a variety of program-wide activities that can explicitly support students' cross-cultural *educación*, even though many of the opportunities at both schools are at the "Heroes and Holidays" or "Additive" levels (Banks, 1989). Moreover, as I will discuss later in this chapter, the diversity present in the student body and among families and community members at Sunset heightens the potential of these initiatives for enhancing cross-cultural learning. However, the variability in these opportunities from year to year, and their almost complete disappearance during times of staff transition, indicates the need for greater leadership. Without institutional support at the district and school level for a two-way immersion program with strong leadership and teacher collaboration, grounded in principles of academic achievement, bilingualism, and cross-cultural learning, these programs and events are not institutionalized or sustainable. As Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) note, the support of authority is a necessary "foundation" for creating other conditions that support cross-cultural learning, both through explicit curricula and instruction

and the hidden curricula embodied in interactions, priorities, programs, and events. Sunset's foundation has many large cracks.

Shiny windows: Diversity and equal status at Sunset

While fewer programmatic supports at Sunset made intentionally implementing cross-cultural *educación* more difficult, students benefitted from an extremely rich human resource for informal cross-cultural learning: namely, an ethnically-diverse student and teacher population. As Figure 2 (p. 65) shows, both the program and school were multiracial (see Orfield, 2009) (though the distribution of ethnicities did vary between immersion and non-immersion classes²⁸) and there were at least eight additional languages, in addition to English and Spanish, spoken by students at the school. Students' contact with diverse children and adults – in the classroom, at lunch, and on the playground – is a predictor of positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors, even in the absence of other conditions that support cross-cultural learning (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

In addition, the range of socioeconomic and ethnic diversity present at Sunset helped to equalize status relationships between groups and affirm student identities. In contrast to John Dewey, where (as discussed earlier in this chapter) ethnic and class differences were often conflated, it is difficult to “color code” (Nakazawa, 2004) at Sunset; while the school does have high levels of

²⁸ Hispanics were overrepresented within the program in order to maintain linguistic balance in the immersion classes, and Black students were underrepresented. The underrepresentation likely reflects many factors that were present at but not unique to Sunset, including a perceived lack of cultural congruence and structural inequities. I discuss these factors in other parts of this dissertation, and Palmer (2010) also provides a powerful illustration of their interplay in a different context.

poverty (particularly but not exclusively among students of color), it is home to many middle-class African-American students and children from a range of ethnicities who are affiliated with local universities and multinational corporations based in a nearby research park. Economic inequality is also remarkably less glaring than in Amherst; the zip code in which Sunset is located has a Gini coefficient of .4234²⁹, similar to that of Alaska, which is the second most equal state in the United States (US Census Bureau, 2013). While separation based on race, class, and language still exists at the school, teachers did not talk of the same deep divides present at John Dewey, but rather more fluid groupings. For instance, at the end of the year, Ms. Melero noted that “friendships are growing more solid between the American kids and the Hispanic kids. You can tell who hangs out outside of school and stays after.³⁰ Those kids are closer. They treat each other like equals.” Another teacher and parent at the school said “They’re surrounded by other cultures, and they’re surrounded by other religions and they’re surrounded by other – others, everything’s an other – and so then other is the normal. And it helps them out a lot.” Her comment suggests that the diversity at Sunset facilitates the developmental processes of categorization, decategorization, and recategorization (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011), in which group identities are made

²⁹ The Gini coefficient for Sunset’s exact school zone or student population is not available. However, the zip code includes the entire school zone, as well as a similar range of neighborhoods pertaining to neighboring schools. Thus, I feel it is a valid, though approximate, reflection of socioeconomic difference at the school.

³⁰ She is referring here to a ethnically and socioeconomically diverse group of students who tends to play on the playground after school; these are a mix of students who can walk home, which includes both low-income and middle-class neighborhoods, as well as children of some PAL parents and their friends who meet weekly after school.

salient, but students learn to recognize both the variability within an outgroup and their shared membership in a common group.

Status was also equalized by students' interaction with teachers and other role models from a range of cultural backgrounds. In contrast to John Dewey, where all teachers except for one were White or Latin@, classroom teachers at Sunset were about 40 percent White, 40 percent African-American, and 15 percent Latin@, with a few teachers who identified themselves as being of mixed ancestry and one instructional assistant from India. At the time of the study, the principal was African-American. Within this diverse context, there was an opportunity to make various dimensions of difference salient in personal, engaging ways. For instance, several African-American teachers had been the first to desegregate their schools, and they shared their personal stories during class, informal conversations, and special events, while two-way immersion teachers led their classes in "caroling" to other classrooms, singing holiday songs from their home countries. The strong, rather than token, presence of multiple ethnic groups at Sunset presented opportunities for the affirmation of a range of student identities, and for students to have authentic, positive interactions with a variety of cultures. Through everyday interactions with staff, school community members, and friends, as well as assemblies and other special events, most students saw role models and peers who looked or talked like them, but also those who were markedly different, and those who could simultaneously affirm and challenge their worldviews.³¹ According to contact theory, these conditions

³¹ Regrettably, this is true for most, but not all, students, and particularly those of Asian backgrounds. For instance, I struggled to provide this identity support to one of my ESL students, a newcomer from Yemen. In spite of contacting local universities and other community resources, I was unable to find a much-needed

of sustained contact with multiple groups, cultural salience, and relatively equal status are likely to support the development of positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors. Moreover, as I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4, they appear to be associated with a distinct way of talking about difference in which students recognize group distinctions, generate questions, listen to others' perspectives, and reflect on their own cultural backgrounds.

Thus, at John Dewey, a strong institutional authority supported formal opportunities for cross-cultural learning, while at Sunset, the salience of multiple dimensions of diversity and the relatively equal status of groups created supportive conditions for informal cross-cultural learning. Contact theory suggests that both these strong "foundations" and shiny "mirrors" and "windows" are necessary. Moreover, the stories of John Dewey and Sunset illustrate that while schools and programs are not able to fully control the complex contexts in which student cross-cultural *educación* happens, decisions made at the school and district level do impact the contact conditions within programs in ways that are likely to impact students' learning. However, those decisions, as well as other aspects of students' cross-cultural learning, are impacted by the broader contexts surrounding them. In the next section, I will use the frame of critical race theory to examine the statewide context that both John Dewey and Sunset share, and its potential influences on students' cross-cultural *educación*. While many features of the state's macrosystemic discourse and policies reflect those present in broader national and global macrosystems, their particular salience in North Carolina helps to create a unique context for

role model who could affirm his cultural background while helping him to negotiate the many unfamiliar cultures he encountered at Sunset.

cross-cultural learning, as well as illuminate how those forces might influence those processes in other contexts.

Shifting soil: The North Carolina context

John Dewey and Sunset are nestled within North Carolina, an area that underwent rapid social and demographic change at the end of the 20th century. This “shifting soil,” on which both two-way immersion programs are built, increased opportunities for contact, and thus cross-cultural *educación*, among groups. As a result of court orders (such as the 1970 Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education Supreme Court case) to integrate *de jure* segregated schools, several large districts in the state became nationally known for the steps they took to desegregate schools, which included merging city and county districts, as happened in Charlotte and Lowell, as well as designing plans that ensured a balance of socioeconomic diversity in schools, such as those implemented in Wake County and Amherst (Orfield, 2009). Also, in recent years, North Carolina has become an important new immigrant destination, challenging the longstanding “binary conception of race” (Marrow, 2008, p. 211-212) that focused solely on African Americans and Whites. Between 1980 and 2000, the area’s Latin@ population grew by 1,180%, the highest rate in the nation (McClain, et al., 2006). Desegregation and immigration have led to an increasing number of multiracial schools (Orfield, 2009) and disrupted established patterns of interaction, creating greater possibilities for cross-cultural *educación*.

However, several academics have pointed out the strong link between the recent embrace of ethnic and cultural diversity among many in North Carolina and “the neoliberal project that has guided the political and economic vision in

American society since the 1980's" (Cervantes-Soon, 2014, p. 3). They have noted a tendency to value ethnic diversity for its economic value, rather than a commitment to equity. As critical race theorists note, this mindset sets the stage for "interest convergence" (Bell, 2004), in which dominant groups support programs benefitting marginalized groups, but only to the extent that they also benefit them and allow them to maintain their dominance. This presents several challenges to promoting cross-cultural learning within the state's schools. First, it has allowed North Carolina to roll back many of its progressive desegregation policies. Secondly, a focus on global competition, rather than the cooperative interdependence emphasized in contact theory, creates challenging conditions for contact, especially between marginalized groups. Last, the needs of culturally- and linguistically-diverse students that are distinct from those of the dominant group are likely to be ignored, and the resources these students possess are likely to be devalued unless they have obvious worth to dominant group members (Yosso, 2006). In North Carolina, this has been particularly true for Limited English Proficient students. While this focus on diversity for economics', rather than equity's, sake is not limited to North Carolina, sociologist Paul Luebke argues that North Carolina is an "outstanding example" of how the "basic idea of equity as a priority of public policy [is] lacking throughout the South" (in Appelbome, 1990).

Over the past fifteen years, there has been a trend towards replacing the progressive desegregation policies described above towards an emphasis on allowing students to attend their neighborhood school and providing access to magnet options; for instance, neither Charlotte nor Wake County uses race or socioeconomic status in student assignment decisions. This has resulted in

increased segregation, and in at least one case, less access to schools of choice and less academic growth for Black students (Godwin, et al., 2006; Smith, 2010; Williams & Houck, 2013). While this is due in part to recent court orders declaring districts unitary and to the 2007 Meredith Supreme Court decisions, which ban the use of race in student assignment policies (Linn & Welner, 2007; Orfield, 2009; Williams & Houck, 2013), Smith (2010) argues that the flux in desegregation efforts in North Carolina has been an example of interest convergence (Bell, 2004), in that progressive desegregation policies countered the view of “southern backwardness” (p. 208) and helped attract businesses and residents from around the world. However, as these policies are no longer important to the state’s economic growth now that its reputation is established, they have gradually been dismantled. This “pursuit of globalization’s promises of increased prosperity and cultural diversity” along with “willful amnesia about Brown v. Board of Education’s loftier promise of social and racial justice” (p. 213) has likely implications for cross-cultural *educación* in North Carolina schools – both in limiting the racial and socioeconomic diversity of students’ peers and in creating macrosystemic conditions that deny the importance of equal status between groups.

Moreover, an emphasis on “maintain[ing] and increas[ing] our competitive advantage” in statewide discourse, rather than the cooperation highlighted in contact theory, may create anxiety and threaten relations between groups, especially those who are not in the “pole position”³² (Public Schools of North Carolina, 2013a, p. 5). One result of North Carolina’s globalization has

³² I borrow this term, which refers to the lead starting position in a NASCAR race, from the recent report of the state task force on global education.

been the development of a large economic divide between rural areas reliant on farming and manufacturing and urban areas that developed financial, technology, and research industries, such as that encompassing Amherst and Lowell (Appelbome, 1990; Center on Globalization, Governance, and Competitiveness, 2014). Not surprisingly, this economic divide mirrors a political one, reflected in recent votes on immigration-related issues, such as identification requirements (North Carolina General Assembly, 2015).

Researchers have also documented particular tension between African-Americans and Latin@s, who often share low-income neighborhoods and schools and seek similar jobs (Marrow, 2008). In a survey of residents in one North Carolina city, McClain, et al. (2006) found evidence of negative attitudes between Latin@s and African Americans, with over half of Latin@s feeling that few or no Blacks can be trusted (only 10 percent of Whites felt this way) and one-third of Blacks trusting few or no Latin@s.

Thus, economic structures privileging metropolitan and White residents serve to create distrust and dissension between Latin@s and other marginalized groups, rather than encouraging the formation of alliances that might serve to equalize conditions (Smith, 2010). Under these conditions, it is unlikely that members of these groups will seek out enriching opportunities for cross-cultural *educación*, such as two-way immersion programs, even when they are available. Moreover, to the extent that these groups are represented in two-way immersion programs, there is likely to be a need to counteract these competitive forces in order to create the conditions of cooperative interdependence that support cross-cultural learning. Given the focus on not “los[ing] ground to our international peers” (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2014) in the Common Core

standards adopted by North Carolina and other states, it is unlikely that devoting temporal and material resources to creating these conditions is likely to be a priority.

Finally, in spite of two-way immersion programs' reputation for being a particularly strong approach for supporting the needs of Limited English Proficient students (Thomas & Collier, 2012), there is little statewide infrastructure to ensure that LEP students' needs are being met. Whereas dual-immersion programs in many areas of the country arose from a desire to promote educational equity for English Language Learners, North Carolina's programs started with a Foreign Language Assistance Program grant targeting English speakers in elementary schools (Cervantes-Soon, 2014). Around the same time, North Carolina's legislature defied federal regulations and repeatedly failed to allocate any funding to programs for English Language Learners until 1999, and many teachers still lack preparation for supporting linguistically-diverse students (Shofer, forthcoming). Though leaders in a few progressive schools and districts, including Amherst and Sunset, creatively used the foreign language funding to design two-way immersion programs in hopes of meeting this unmet need, they have done so with little infrastructure; for instance, there is no state bilingual education certification, few opportunities for training in best practices at state universities, and, until recently, all assessments have been in English.³³ Yet, as North Carolina has globalized and programs have demonstrated success, interest in dual immersion programs has grown rapidly.

³³ The required MCLASS reading assessment for students in grades K-3 is now available in Spanish. However, the Spanish version lacks many features, making it more difficult to use, and has errors and misunderstandings built into the test that limit its validity, as several teachers at both schools noted.

The number of dual language programs statewide has grown from seven in 2005 to over ninety today (Public Schools of North Carolina, 2014) with the lofty goal of “statewide access” through the use of regional magnet schools by 2018 (Public Schools of North Carolina, 2013). Cervantes-Soon (2014) presents a powerful critique of North Carolina’s approach to dual immersion, which I will return to in Chapter 6. Cervantes-Soon argues that, in contrast to other areas of the country with a legacy of bilingual education, dual immersion programs in North Carolina emphasize foreign language development rather than the promotion of equity for language minority students and treat Spanish as a commodity to be exchanged, rather than recognizing Spanish speakers’ full humanity. In this context, Villenas (2001) found that Spanish speakers are likely to be seen as educationally deficient and their strengths, such as their dedication to providing a broad moral and relational *educación* for their families, are likely to be ignored. In her study of Latina mothers in one North Carolina town, she described how this insidious, “benevolent” racism prevented them from meeting their families’ needs.

Like the North Carolina clay underneath their foundations, which often limits plants’ abilities to put down roots and grow, state discourse, policies, and initiatives that provide for the expansion of dual immersion programs with a focus on global competitiveness at the expense of equity and without infrastructure to ensure teachers have adequate preparation and resources undermine programs’ efforts to enact effective cross-cultural *educación*. In line with the ecological model of development, I hypothesize that both the contact conditions within each school and the neoliberal characteristics of North Carolina’s macrosystem described here are likely to impact the processes of cross-

cultural *educación* at John Dewey and Sunset. The following three chapters describe the processes of *educación* themselves, looking at the research subquestion, “What patterns exist in cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors among students, and how are these patterns associated with the process of cross-cultural *educación* within their classroom and school?,” in hopes of generating more specific hypotheses about the relationship between these contextual factors and cross-cultural learning among students. By detailing the processes of cross-cultural *educación* at the two schools, I identify potential mechanisms by which contact conditions and macrosystemic forces may influence the development of student attitudes and behaviors. Chapter 4 focuses on one difference I found in those processes and patterns across schools – the way teachers and students talked about cultural difference.

Chapter 4: Contrasting conversations – Color-blind collectivism and dynamic dissonance

My overall goal is to show the idea that we're all human beings... to show that we all have similarities and we all have really important lives... Our lives are important, our lives mean something. It doesn't matter where you're coming from, what background you have... we all have the same kind of heart; we all have the same kind of veins; we all have the same function... They need to know that we're like 99% the same and these differences are very superficial; they make things pretty; they make things nice. There is no reason to be getting upset or calling people names or doing anything against anybody for the reasons of those differences. (Ms. Ortiz, John Dewey)

Whenever we do something I show them all the things that are different. Everyone has cars, stoplights, and houses, but I want them to understand that being in a different country doesn't just mean that we're far away, that we speak a different language, but rather that there are many little things that people do that are different... They can't really analyze it all yet, but at least it's in their little heads and hopefully one day when they're 16 years old, it will click and all make sense. (Ms. Melero, Sunset)

In the first quote above, Ms. Ortiz described her overarching goal for a project entitled *My Inner and Outer Life*, in which her 5th grade students learned about the systems of the human body and genetic traits, creating life-size drawings, stop-motion videos, and autobiographies of both their physical and cultural selves. At the conclusion of this engaging project, teachers, students, and families at John Dewey came together to celebrate students' work and reinforce a message of what Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy (2009) call "color-blind collectivism" (p. 10): While people have valuable differences, especially linguistic ones, we are "99% the same." In contrast, in the second quote, Ms. Melero reflected on her efforts to help her kindergarten students notice and appreciate difference. She described their curiosity and fascination as they learned about the "many little things...that are different" in daily life between Spain and the United States, such as how window shades are designed and what happens

when a child loses a tooth, as well as the challenges she faced in getting them to recognize difference, rather than only similarities to their own lives. Together, Ms. Ortiz's and Ms. Melero's quotes show a key difference between John Dewey and Sunset; while Ms. Ortiz and other teachers at John Dewey focused on commonality, Ms. Melero and her colleagues at Sunset emphasized group difference.

In the next three chapters, I directly examine the processes of cross-cultural *educación* at John Dewey and Sunset, as well as the patterns of student attitudes and behaviors that appear to be associated with those contexts and learning processes. It is important to note that I am not attempting to establish a pattern of causality between contextual characteristics, learning processes, and student outcomes. Rather, I am attempting to identify and describe the processes of cross-cultural *educación* and the ecology that surrounds them. Once identified, it is possible to generate hypotheses about the relationships between context, processes, and outcomes, and test them through the design of interventions in learning processes. As Seidman (2012) notes (quoting Sarason, 1972), "the existence of...programmatic regularities [social processes] should force us to ask two questions: 'What is the rationale for the regularity? And what is the universe of alternatives that could be considered?'" (p. 3); he argues that doing so sets the stage for powerful action research in which the "aim [is] to alter the pattern of microsystem transactions, regularities, or practices that seemed to be associated with negative outcomes or to amplify those regularities that [are] associated with more positive outcomes" (p. 11). Thus, after identifying the social processes that entail cross-cultural *educación* at John Dewey and Sunset, I hope to engage others in examining their rationale and identifying a "universe of alternatives" that can

then be tested in hopes of continuously improving cross-cultural *educación* at the two schools.

As I looked at how teachers drew upon available resources and facilitated interactions centered around cross-cultural learning goals, I noted unique ways of talking about cultural difference at the two schools. In this chapter, I first illustrate how at John Dewey, non-linguistic difference was often addressed using discourse of “color-blind collectivism” (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009) that emphasized commonalities rather than group differences. This served to build community and consistency at the new school, but also limited the potential for meaningful interactions across lines of difference. In contrast, at Sunset a dynamic discourse of dissonance emerged as teachers wrestled with the challenges of meeting the needs and expectations of a diverse school community with limited programmatic resources and little support of authority. While these conversations often began with instances of conflict or confusion, they created an opening for important discussions of difference. Finally, I show how these different discourses were associated with distinct patterns of cross-cultural learning among students by examining their attitudes towards and conversations about difference. I hypothesize that the salience and relatively equal status of multiple cultural groups at Sunset allowed students to more fully engage in a dynamic developmental process of categorization, decategorization, and recategorization that allowed them to recognize difference, learn about students of other backgrounds, and question their own cultural identities.

“We’re 99% the same”: The prevalence of “color-blind collectivism” at John Dewey

“Unity in diversity...like pieces of a puzzle”

“All families are givers and all are takers in some fashion.” John Dewey’s principal repeated this mantra several times during our conversation. She went on to explain a perception she had observed among many White families of “Brown families [as] takers,” the needy recipients of the school’s social justice goals. In spite of her awareness of the socioeconomic, and often corresponding ethnic, divisions discussed in Chapter 3, she hoped that consistently communicating the message that “all families are givers and...takers” to parents would help bridge the socioeconomic and cultural divides at the new school and help form a strong community at the new school, an expansive “us.” In doing so, she attempted to promote decategorization, or attention to individual, but not group, differences, as well as the creation of a shared superordinate identity, or recategorization (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

Like their leader, all three teachers at John Dewey repeatedly used a discourse of “color-blind collectivism” (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009) when discussing desired student interactions and challenges. As I discuss in Chapter 1, this way of talking emphasized recategorization, or the salience of superordinate identities such as a class or humanity as a whole (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2011), though it was at times combined with decategorization, or a focus on individual, rather than group, difference. This discourse avoided explicit categorization (identification of group difference) among students at the school; the one exception to this pattern was the

identification of linguistic differences, which were central to the program model. These discourse patterns appeared to reflect and reinforce the contact conditions at John Dewey discussed in Chapter 3, in which there were strong institutional support structures for cross-cultural learning but non-linguistic differences within the school community were rarely made salient and addressed.

Emphasizing similarities while recognizing the importance of some individual differences (especially linguistic ones) was seen as a way to build community and make students, families, and staff feel comfortable and safe. Ms. Ortiz explained that “It’s about bringing unity in diversity. It’s not to make everybody uniform, but to say, we’re all different, we’re all like pieces of a puzzle. How can we make this fit together?” Ms. Castro’s class even constructed a class puzzle at the beginning of the school year in which each student designed a piece illustrating what they would contribute to their community. When non-linguistic group differences were emphasized, they were attributed to far-away cultures, such as the countries studied for Hispanic Heritage Month, and Ms. Castro suggested that perhaps similarities should be emphasized even more in those contexts.

The other day I was talking to a teacher, we were going over the whole year to see what we can improve for next year, what can be changed, and she said, and it got me thinking, “We shouldn’t focus on the differences as much but on the similarities.” So I was like, “Good point,” because it’s not just differences but similarities, like “In the United States we do this. In Colombia we also do this, a little bit different but we also do it.”

Both Ms. Nowak and Ms. Castro used recategorization as a technique for creating a community based on shared expectations and experiences.

Developing a sense of “color-blind collectivism” was an important tool for

classroom management, but the two teachers also saw it as a way to teach students to “recognize, advocate and take action on issues for social justice,” one of the school’s central beliefs. When asked how they helped students to meet this program goal, Ms. Castro responded

You teach with your example, right? You teach them and they see that the teacher is fair with all students, has the same rules for all the students, doesn’t prefer any or another. So that’s the way you teach it.

Similarly, Ms. Nowak replied

I tend to break it down – social justice, I think, well, what’s right? How do you act in our community? What’s the best action for you to help our class to make it a better place? So, that’s kind of like how like I teach that. And that, if you see someone is being picked on, don’t just let it happen. Stand up for them, or come and get a teacher.

The emphasis on the “the same rules” and “the best way” allowed for orderly classroom environments, yet they focused on students’ assimilation to classroom culture, not recognition or incorporation of cultural differences students may have brought to the classroom. Thus, their assimilationist vision of “social justice” encouraged students to recategorize, or value their membership in the shared culture of their classroom, but not to recognize and value group differences that might challenge classroom expectations. While shared expectations are important in any classroom, they could have been created in ways that were more inclusive of students’ diverse experiences; for instance, teachers could have encouraged students to discuss behavioral expectations their families had for them and to use them to collaboratively construct an agreement on appropriate classroom behavior. In both classes, “social justice” was seen as resulting from the consistent application of rules and procedures, or ideas of

“what’s right,” that were assumed to be universal, rather than recognition of diverse viewpoints and values.

When students were given opportunities to share differences, it was in the context of a highly-structured activity with little chance for elaboration or explanation. Personal differences could thus be shared, but not in a way that challenged the overarching focus on commonality or supported the identification of group identities. For instance, when studying community helpers, Ms. Nowak read a book entitled *Yo quiero ser* (“I want to be”) and asked each student to individually share what they wanted to be when they grew up, using the sentence frame “Yo quiero ser ____.” Students gave a variety of responses, including spy, veterinarian (several times over), firefighter, teacher, doctor, dentist, and mailgirl. In Ms. Castro’s class, students constructed houses out of construction paper to show differences among their families according to a template, which she describes below:

There were like five items, so if you live with your parents, then your roof is going to be white. Or if you live with your grandma or grandparents, your roof is going to be orange. It was like family, who you live with, where you live. In a house? In an apartment? In a trailer? And your age is the flowers and the door was something maybe about pets. And it was like a list. They had to read it and make the house according to their own lives.

While this activity invited students to share unique features of their lives, such as social class and family roles, it did so in a way that homogenized their expression and reinforced dominant norms (such as the desirability of single-family homes with a yard); the houses ended up being each unique but looking quite similar. Moreover, the activity was structured so that these differences were shared but not discussed. In both classes, classroom activities and discourse were

structured to guide students towards fitting their own unique “puzzle piece” into a superordinate vision of “social justice” and education that included following classroom rules now, and appeared to subtly lead students towards a future of “color-blind collectivism.” While becoming a community helper and owning one’s own single-family home (with many flowers and the roof color of their choice) would likely be an appealing vision to many families, it also normalizes a rather narrow worldview that defines one’s “*ser*,” or being, primarily by career and possessions – limiting possibilities for cross-cultural *educación*.

At the front of Ms. Ortiz’s classroom hung a banner that proclaimed “La tierra es un solo país, y la humanidad sus ciudadanos” (The Earth is only one country, and humanity its citizens). For Ms. Ortiz, the desire to recognize commonalities was not only a professional imperative, but a spiritual need related to her Baha’i faith. She explained that

One of the tenets of the Baha’i Faith is that all the religions come from God and that all of us are one human family. And that we need to promote the welfare of all of humanity and that every single human being needs to move towards assisting one another and, of course thereby helping themselves to become the best people they can be. So, this means that they need to not only read and write, and you know, do all of the calculations, mathematically and all of that, but you have to have a purpose. So, the purpose is to serve humanity...you probably know the iceberg model that culture goes under – it’s huge, but you see the tip of the iceberg which is the food and the songs and the dances, and you’ve got the deep, underlying way of thinking. But I think there’s a bigger iceberg than that, and I think that is human beings. So, for me, it’s like recognizing that each child is a human being and has a spirit and has, you know, some sort of aspiration, whether they know it or not, and helping them to recognize that, like, goes beyond culture, so I’m really trying hard to get to that for the kids.

She acted on her beliefs through projects such as the project on the human body described at the beginning of the chapter, as well as the creation of an afterschool service club, the Junior Youth Service Club. The club involved a large number of both Anglos and Latin@s from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds in exploring a theme like “justice,” “kindness,” or “love” through arts and games, and then doing a related service activity. These activities included a food drive and a bake sale for an organization supporting victims of childhood cancer. While Ms. Ortiz was most passionate about the activities that promoted exploration of students’ common humanity, she adopted the Cultural Heritage Stories for Kids described in Chapter 3 in an effort to expose students to different cultures, “to just kind of get those stories out there and show that every culture’s important, that we do have similarities, we do have differences, and they’re all good.” Thus, her students were engaged in collaboratively exploring both the “tip of the iceberg” and the “bigger iceberg...of human beings,”³⁴ with a focus on recategorizing at the highest level – recognizing the common humanity of all people. However, their exploration rarely included the treacherous part of the iceberg, the “deep, underlying way[s] of thinking” most likely to cause discomfort or conflict. Without this exploration, their learning and service were limited to “safe” zones, non-controversial topics and projects such as songs, dances, food drives, and bake sales; other more controversial issues relevant to students’ lives, such as immigration, were not addressed.

³⁴ Hall’s (1976) commonly-used metaphor of culture as an iceberg asserts that the visible part of culture, such as food or customs, is the tip of the iceberg. It is connected to a much larger, invisible cultural worldview hidden beneath the surface.

Another attempt to promote positive cross-cultural interactions through “color-blind collectivism” was the schoolwide implementation of the Second Step anti-bullying program, which instructional assistants taught to each class. All four teachers identified it as a central component of the school’s efforts to meet cross-cultural learning goals, and Ms. Castro attributed the fact that she “hadn’t noticed any issues in relationships between boys and girls, for instance, or between like the American Whites and Hispanics” to the program. However, Ms. Callahan felt that the 5th graders were “already very kind of tweeny and skeptical about it” and had difficulty transferring what they had learned in the scripted curriculum to real-life situations, and especially the class- and ethnicity-based tensions discussed in Chapter 3. Both teacher reports and a review of the curriculum (Committee for Children, n.d.) suggested that it “doesn’t say much about culture.” Instead, it attempts to teach universal skills that can apply across school contexts and friendship groups, such as “friendly behaviors” like “finding things in common” and “giving compliments,” as well as anti-bullying strategies such as not spreading rumors or being a bystander. Thus, it encouraged students to both decategorize and recategorize, developing universal strategies for relating to others as individuals and as humans, but not as group members. On the rare occasions when specific outgroups were used in scenarios, they tended to be those that would be applicable across school contexts (such as boys and girls and younger and older students), rather than the specific categories, such as ethnicity and class, that were present but not made salient in discourse at the school. Drawing on Pettigrew and Tropp’s (2011) recognition of the importance of group salience in the transfer of positive attitudes and behaviors,

this may have been one factor in the challenges students faced in transferring learning from scenarios to interactions at the school.

The pervasive focus on individuality within commonality, or “color-blind collectivism,” at John Dewey played several important roles. It helped create a sense of community and belonging at a new school that brought together students from several different schools and teachers from many different countries. As Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) note, this decategorization is likely to be particularly important at the beginning of a contact experience. Shared expectations created an orderly environment that supported student learning, and scaffolds for structuring conversations, such as sentence frames, helped students communicate in a new language. Moreover, as Pettigrew and Tropp (2006; 2011) find, shared goals and identity, or recategorization, are an important factor in creating positive intergroup relations. Activities such as the Junior Youth Service Club, as well as events and programs for teachers and families described in other sections, allowed culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically diverse members of the school community to come together for a common purpose.

“I would want them to be my twins”: Color-blind collectivism and student learning

One other potential consequence of the focus on “color-blind collectivism” at John Dewey, along with the recognition of the value of linguistic difference and institutional supports for bilingualism, was revealed as students completed the picture sort.³⁵ Both Latin@ and non-Latin@ students at John Dewey

³⁵ As described in Chapter 2, I used a picture sort activity as a consistent assessment of students’ attitudes towards unknown children of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds across classrooms and schools. My analysis includes

displayed a strong affinity for and interest in Latin@ cultures. Two-thirds of Latin@ students at John Dewey picked at least one culturally-marked Latin@ student (wearing a folklórico dress or Mexican soccer jersey) as a friend, and Latin@ students at John Dewey were more than twice as likely (67 to 30 percent; $\chi^2 = .053$) to want to ask questions about Latin@ students as those at Sunset.

Thus, a majority of Latin@ students at John Dewey displayed positive attitudes towards others of their ethnic background and were interested in learning more about them, suggesting that the strong programmatic supports for the elevation of Spanish language and exploration and celebration of “target” cultures provided important identity support (echoing the findings of Reyes & Vallone, 2007). One Latina 5th grader exemplified this trend, excitedly saying in Spanish upon seeing the culturally-marked Latina “She is from Mexico, because my mom had a dress like that when she was a girl.” She then hesitated to pick her as “someone she would want to learn more about” because “I can ask my mom,” but then changed her mind: “I’d also want to ask her questions because she’s younger and many things can change.” She then selected a hybrid identity when choosing who she was most similar to, picking both the White and culturally-marked Latin@ girls.

both numerical data from the two schools and analysis of student comments. However, it is important to remember that the quantitative data is purely descriptive; due to the relatively small sample of students and the large number of choices for each question, the statistical power of this data is not strong and it should not be used to draw any generalizable conclusions. Nevertheless, by analyzing the distinct patterns in this data and using an ecological framework for analysis, I find that the ways of talking about difference at John Dewey and Sunset likely interact with and reinforce both the contact conditions at the school and the attitudes towards difference developed by students.

The strength of the immersion program at John Dewey also appeared to contribute to non-Latin@s' affection for and comfort with Latin@ students; however, these feelings often appeared to emanate from interest in perceived similarities rather than differences. Two-thirds of non-Latin@ students picked at least one of the culturally-unmarked Latin@s as someone they would be comfortable sitting next to in class, and half picked one as a potential friend. Moreover, some non-Latin@ students at John Dewey embraced a Latin@ identity, with 29 percent identifying themselves as similar to at least one Latin@ student ($\chi^2=.059$), compared to no non-Latin@ students at Sunset. One White fifth-grade boy explained that he picked the White and unmarked Latino boys as the people he would be comfortable sitting next to in class because "These two look like they speak the languages I do, so it would be easier to communicate. And usually I like to do things with boys." A White kindergarten girl, who picked the Asian, unmarked Latina, and White girls as potential friends, said of the Latina: "I would talk in English, and if she didn't understand I'd talk in Spanish, cause I speak Spanish too...I would want them to be my twins (White and Latina) girl - I want a twin." Later, in explaining why the Latina inspired her to be more like her, she said "I kind of know about Mexico and I really like Mexico because they have the same food they give you at Mexican restaurants. And they're really good people and they do soccer and they do the same things we do, they just speak a different language." Thus, students within the program demonstrated limited allophilia between Whites and Latin@s, but within a discourse of commonality, a desire to have a "twin" rather than a cross-cultural interaction.

The prevalence of "color-blind collectivism" was also evident during class activities. In Ms. Ortiz's class, students listened to a story by Olga Loya and

compared and contrasted their family's traditions with those of the storyteller's Mexican family. Students readily identified similarities, like the importance of traditional foods; however, many students struggled to name specific differences between their family and Olga's, instead writing what their family did not have, such as "My grandmother doesn't have a store," "I don't eat pinenuts," and "We don't catch tarantulas." In doing so, they revealed the difficulties they faced in attempting to categorize themselves as members of a family or ethnic group with unique characteristics.

In a 2nd grade unit on citizenship, in which students listened to Ms. Castro read aloud the following selection from *We Live Here Too! Kids Talk About Good Citizenship* (Loewen, 2003), which they had found in the school library.

Hi Frank,

There's a new boy in my class. He wears funny clothes and eats weird food. I can't even pronounce his name. My teacher asked me to show him around, but I don't want to. What if my friends think I actually LIKE him?

Robert

Dear Robert:

Well, what if you DO actually like him? It's kind of nice to have someone around who hasn't heard all your jokes. And what seems weird to you now will seem pretty normal after a while. When my friend Mikhail started coming to baseball practice, he didn't even know how to swing a bat. But now he's so good everyone wants to be on his team. (If he goes pro, I'm going to be his manager).

A few days ago, I read something in my social studies book that blew me away. It said there are more than six BILLION people in the world. (That's a million, times a thousand, times six – and then some.) And then there are something like 6,800 languages, 267 countries, and 14 major religions. The way I figure it, that makes us ALL a little weird to somebody.

I guess what I'm saying is, you need to chill out on this one. Maybe if you give the new kid a chance, your friends will, too. You might even end up having a lot of fun!

Frank B. Wize

After Ms. Castro finished reading, she asked students to share what the author's main point was. "He's trying to say his advice would be give him a chance," replied one Latina student. "He's trying to say that maybe he'll be his best friend," said a White girl. "If there's somebody you don't like, you should be nice," added another student. None of the students picked up on the themes of cultural difference in the article, the idea that "we're all a little weird to somebody." This culture-neutral conception of citizenship was also reflected in an anchor chart that the class had constructed, based on a reading from the website PebbleGo. Titled "How to be a Good Citizen," it proclaimed that "You need: Cooperation, Courage, Honesty, Leadership, Patriotism, Loyalty, Respect, Responsibility, Self-discipline, Tolerance, [and] Sportsmanship." However, in using a commercial, U.S.-based website, rather than multiple sources (such as interviews with community members, books from different cultures, or even conversations with diverse peers), students were not pushed to consider what those traits might look like in different contexts. At the end of the unit, students wrote a letter to the mayor proposing improvements for their town; while some students did write about issues in local news, such as teacher salaries and gay rights, Ms. Castro said that specific, local knowledge came from "conversations with parents" and that "I would never mention [gay rights] to second graders, then I would have to explain." She did not see "having to explain" potentially controversial differences as part of her responsibility in teaching citizenship. Thus, like the students in Ms. Ortiz's class, both she and her students avoided categorization, or the identification of (potentially controversial) group differences. Instead, she recategorized, focusing on an ideal "good citizen" using color-blind discourse, in spite of the limited viewpoint it entailed. Without

opportunities to engage with difference, students likely learned how to be “participatory” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) citizens who could lead within established systems and structures, but were not pushed to develop the capacities of “justice-oriented” citizens who can use their “ability to communicate with and learn from those who hold different perspectives” (p. 243) in order to “question, debate, and change established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice” (p. 240).

A missing piece?

In spite of the importance of this message of commonality, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy (2009) critique the idea of “color-blind collectivism” and suggest that it is likely to lead to negative cross-cultural interactions in most contexts. As I discussed in Chapter 1, they argue that emphasizing a superordinate identity without attention to the group difference within that collective can marginalize minority groups and heighten bias. Likewise, Pittinsky (2012) finds that creating a shared “we” is “absolutely critical...but not sufficient” (p. 178) for several reasons. First, group identities that are subordinated to a larger group identity often reemerge as conditions change (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007; Pittinsky, 2012). As described in Chapter 3, the message of common humanity and shared expectations espoused in John Dewey classrooms did not always transfer to the playground, bus, and cafeteria, especially as issues of class became salient. Moreover, Bigler & Liben (2007) warn that deemphasizing difference through the avoidance of explicit labeling and conversation does not keep children from engaging in the categorization process. Rather, they assert that “social grouping without explanation,” such as

the token presence of certain ethnic groups or the high correlation of ethnicity and class at John Dewey, provides “a cognitive puzzle for children to solve” (p. 164) that makes group difference salient even when it is not discussed. While teachers’ talk about the importance of each individual piece (person) and of humanity as a whole, their students are trying to piece the puzzle together on their own, actively categorizing themselves and others and constructing explanations for group difference which may or may not lead to the development of positive attitudes and behaviors.

Secondly, a discourse of “color-blind collectivism” imposes a worldview, generally that of those in power, on the entire group. Limiting the discussion of difference and what is seen as “normal” marginalizes the perspectives of many group members (Mansbridge, 1984; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009) and constrains the flexibility and creativity of the entire group (Pittinsky, 2012). Leaders at John Dewey did create space for parents and teachers to express alternative ideas through strategies such as end-of-the-year focus groups for families from underrepresented backgrounds and having what the principal described as a “pre-meeting, pre-pre-meeting, meeting, and post-meeting” (personal communication, November 27, 2013) to promote more equitable participation in decisionmaking about important issues. However, while administrators did appear to value those perspectives, many of those ideas did not appear to enter into and challenge the prevailing discourse at the school. In the picture sort, a whopping 83 percent of White students chose at least one White student as someone they liked, someone they felt comfortable sitting next to, and a potential friend. However, only 29.1 percent of Whites, and 40 percent of non-Whites, at John Dewey wanted to find out more about at least one of the

White students, suggesting that Whiteness was normalized and thus not very interesting. A higher percentage of Latin@s also displayed affection, comfort, and kinship towards White students than towards Latin@ students. These high levels of affection, comfort, and kinship, paired with relatively low levels of curiosity, suggests that Whiteness was still viewed as normal and desirable in the school, community, and wider society. Moreover, as Ms. Callahan reflected, John Dewey was “still a very American school model;” expectations for student learning and parent involvement tended to be those of middle-class, predominately White (or cosmopolitan) parents. One example of this was the concern expressed by several Latin@ parents in end-of-the-year focus groups over the expectation that they “practice reading” with their children, in spite of their uncertainty about what their role was or what teachers expected them to do. As Ms. Callahan noted, while teachers in the United States tend to see reading and practicing sight words at home as a critical role for parents to play in their children’s education, it was not completely clear to parents how this fit into their children’s broader *educación*, which valued academic literacy but also included other priorities. The use of color-blind discourse at John Dewey maintained and exacerbated the marginalization of alternative perspectives by presenting certain points-of-view, such as the homework expectations described above, as universal.

The final reason Pittinsky gives for promoting recognition of group difference alongside collectivism is that his research finds that specific allophilic attitudes are more effective than general universal ones at motivating positive cross-group interactions. The picture sort also suggested a need for this approach at the school. While John Dewey’s strong programmatic supports and

collectivist discourse allowed students to see those who they saw as similar to themselves in a positive light, many were hesitant to reach out to those they saw as different or to identify and discuss differences. Even at young ages, students expressed opinions that had an unfortunate resemblance to negative stereotypes towards Muslims and Blacks common in the wider society. For instance, one White kindergarten girl said the Muslim boy “looks like someone in the desert who would throw sand on people” and a White 5th grader explained that she thought the Muslim girl and the Black girl might have a difficult time with schoolwork because the Muslim girl “seems like she might have to do a lot of housework or garden work, and for some reason [the Black girl] seems poor.” One 2nd grade girl, after picking the two Latina girls and the White girl as people she’d feel comfortable sitting next to in class, said of the Muslim and Black students, “I could tell they weren’t from here because of their clothes and their skin color,” while another said that she did not aspire to be like the Black girl because “she looks mean, and I don’t want to be a mean person.”

Moreover, by 5th grade, students showed discomfort in discussing issues of racial and cultural difference, telling me “Usually I don't ask questions about personal details like that” or “I’d like to know them before I say that.” Two other 5th graders, both White girls, qualified many of their comments with statements like “not to be racist” and “this might be a bit racist,” although they expressed different levels of allophilia. However, as shown below, fear of being labeled “racist” or being an “outcast” was directly primarily toward the Black students. They explained:

I like meeting different people, and people of different cultures. In my group, we have Hispanic people and, not to be racist, we have

Black people. Next year that's going to help me because I'm going to a new school.

Out of the boys, (the White boy) would probably be my friend. They all seem nice, but I'm closer to people of my skin color because we feel more comfortable with people who look like us. If you're standing next to (Muslim boy), you're so vastly different. I have light hair and light skin. If I got in a group with (blacks and Muslim), I would feel like an outcast. If I got in a group with (Whites and Asian girl), she (Asian) might feel like an outcast, but all three seem really friendly.

This difficulty in identifying and discussing difference corresponded to less allophilia and more negative attitudes towards groups other than their own than students at Sunset, as I will detail in the next section. As the ecological model of development suggests, this pattern is likely the result of multiple social processes taking place not only at school, but also in students' homes and community. There is no data to suggest that the "discourse of color-blind collectivism" at John Dewey causes students' attitudes and behaviors. In fact, that way of talking is an understandable response to contact conditions at the school, given its newness, the large status differences there, and the small numbers of students from some ethnic groups. However, while contextual factors impact the social processes in a setting, it is important to remember that the social processes themselves are what drive development. It is likely that not being pushed to identify and engage with differences, especially differences that were controversial or affected them personally, may have limited students' abilities to develop allophilia and cross-cultural understanding.

“En puntillas”: Tiptoeing towards new perspectives at Sunset

“Little things that...are different”

“We’re a family. They’re like siblings...They fight like that,” said Ms. DiBenedetto with a mixture of pride and exasperation. As her quote demonstrated, teachers at Sunset also used discourse emphasizing commonality to build community and consistency within their classrooms; in addition to Ms. DiBenedetto’s repeated descriptions of her class as a “family,” Ms. Melero regularly referred to her students as “pilotos” (pilots), creating a sense of team unity. However, Ms. DiBenedetto’s comment also illustrated that this collectivism was complicated by a heightened awareness among teachers that, as Ms. Melero stated in this chapter’s introduction, “there are many little things that people do that are different” and that these “little things” could provoke confusion and conflict, along with curiosity. While teachers may have at times preferred to avoid some of these “little things,” especially those which were controversial, this was not an option; both the school’s racial and cultural diversity and the more precarious state of the two-way immersion program at the school led to situations in which teachers were pushed to question or defend their existing beliefs and practices. Thus, teachers at Sunset were pressed towards a dialogue of dissonance, in which they were forced to consider new perspectives. In turn, they pushed their students towards categorizing, or learning about and from difference.

One such “little thing” that Ms. Melero faced was the question of which two students would represent her class on stage in the school’s kindergarten graduation. Since her class was a two-way immersion class, she felt like both a

native English speaker and native Spanish speaker should be represented; however, at the time of the interview, she was wrestling with the question of whether the English-speaking student should be White or Black. She explained her confusion.

It's not like I can ask the other [teachers] "Hey, what color should the kids on stage from our classes be?" because it looks a little bad, right? But it would be really bad if when they're on stage there are more kids of one color than another when the majority of the school [is Black].

While Ms. Melero's comments illustrated her discomfort in talking about race with her colleagues, they also revealed her growing concern about questions of representation of Black students in the two-way immersion program, which she described as something she had "never thought about before," but continued to ask about, first in one-on-one conversations, but later in more public forums, such as a recent meeting about the identification of gifted and talented students. As a newcomer to the United States, in what she described as her first time in a socioeconomically and ethnically diverse school and community, she found it challenging to negotiate the many new perspectives she needed to consider in order to maintain positive relationships with her colleagues and support her students. She asked

It's very difficult for people from here. How do you do it? How do you try to contribute your little grain of sand so that things evolve...without affecting others negatively?...On these topics I honestly prefer to stay a bit out of it, *en puntillas* (on tiptoes), because I don't know how it will affect people or not.

In spite of her desire to "stay a bit out of it," Ms. Melero's questions (here as well as in Chapter 6) indicate an active struggle to learn about race relations in the United States so that she can "contribute her little grain of sand" in a just and

positive way. While being “on tiptoes” was clearly an uncomfortable position for her, it also had a positive side – that of new perspectives. This dual sensation created from being *en puntillas* aligns with research on intergroup contact that shows that interracial interactions create increased anxiety and discomfort, but over time lead to more positive attitudes and interactions (Tropp & Godsil, 2014). Gorski (2009) explains how facilitating the creation and exploration of this cognitive dissonance is a critical component of preparing teachers to teach for social justice, as it pushes them to question their own established beliefs and construct new understandings of the relationships between cultures, contexts, and learning.

While Ms. DiBenedetto and Ms. González had spent more time in the United States and at Sunset, and thus were more accustomed to intergroup relations in those contexts, each discussed instances that they too were “on tiptoes” as they waded through dissonant perspectives, roles, and expectations. Ms. DiBenedetto described the challenges of working on her grade-level team, which also consisted of Ms. Jones, a longtime African-American teacher at Sunset, Ms. Wright, a Black Jamaican teacher who had just come to the school and country that year (through VIF, like Ms. Melero and Ms. Castro), and Ms. Smith, a White teacher who was new to Sunset but had taught elsewhere in North Carolina for many years. Like her other two-way immersion colleagues at Sunset, she faced the challenge of advocating for the unique needs of her two-way immersion students when school and district policies, procedures, and materials were not designed with the program in mind. As a novice teacher, this could be especially daunting; she had to question whether the practices suggested by her more veteran colleagues would work in a two-way immersion

classroom. Moreover, while feeling largely on her own in terms of planning and the other challenges of being a new teacher, she found herself negotiating racial division within the team during recess and team meetings. Since her classroom was across from Ms. Smith's, while Ms. Jones' and Ms. Wright's rooms were across from each other, she often found herself interacting more with Ms. Smith than her other teammates; for instance, they exchanged district assessment papers for grading. They also sat together at recess, with Ms. Jones and Ms. Wright near the basketball courts (where many of their predominantly Black students played) and Ms. DiBenedetto and Ms. Smith near the soccer fields (where many of her Latino students played). However, Ms. Smith displayed behavior that her colleagues saw as insensitive and racist, even referring to the Black teachers as "colored folk" in one disturbing incident, after which she was confronted by both Ms. DiBenedetto and Ms. Jones. Thus, Ms. DiBenedetto was uncomfortably "on tiptoes" as she wrestled with not only the stress of being a first-year classroom teacher in a two-way immersion program with minimal support, but also her role as a White colleague on a team characterized by racial separation and conflict.

For Ms. González, her students' discussion of religion was a particularly challenging topic that she felt should be off-limits; she did not feel it was her place to expose students to different ideas that might contradict their parents' religious teachings. However, when she had a female Pakistani Muslim student with a head covering in her class, this topic became unavoidable; she remarked that "at some point it's going to come out, because it's part of who they are and they can see it, the covering of the face." In spite of her discomfort, however, she described how her students learned not only about elements of Islam, but also

developed a keener attention to cultural difference more generally. She explained that

There's a lot of variety, so students get really interested, like why do you use that headscarf, or why do Japanese and Filipino people talk so fast, or how many dialects are in your language?...With Hispanics, I think that they don't really sometimes appreciate the differences in their own culture and...they don't really know exactly the traditions that are among them. [But] if I have Mexican kids and kids from El Salvador and from Honduras and a non-Hispanic kid is listening to them, I think they notice more the differences between their cultures...

While she did not feel completely prepared for or comfortable with the conversations surrounding religion that emerged in her class, Ms. González was able to use those conversations to provoke some reflection among students on their own cultures, as well as those of other classmates. As I will discuss in the next section, during these impromptu conversations students often not only demonstrated an ability to notice difference, but to use it to question and broaden their worldviews.

"Wait, is bacon pig?": Dynamic dissonance and student learning

The perspectives gained from being *en puntillas* can be particularly advantageous for children, and classroom observations at Sunset suggested the dissonance there allowed students to make connections between diverse worldviews and expand their own. This exchange was evident in a class discussion centered around the word "discrimination," which took place in Ms. DiBenedetto's class:

"Sometimes people discriminate [against others] because they're super smart," says Sebastian.

"Like nerds" adds Luca...

"Because they used to have black and white schools," says Jacqueline.

Emily echoes, “They didn’t accept black people and white people.”

“In our history, there was a time when we didn’t accept black people and white people as equal,” summarizes Ms. DiBenedetto.

Roy explains “One way they used to fight [that was an example of] discrimination was they would turn hoses on people, turn dogs on people...They even killed four little girls.”

“There are other times in the US that people were treated unfairly, discriminated against,” says Ms. DiBenedetto.

“Susan B. Anthony” offers Jacqueline.

“Yep. Do you see anything today, where people are discriminated because they are a boy or girl?”

Jacqueline speaks again. “Colors. People say pink is for girls.”

“Remember the conversation we had yesterday after recess, when names were thrown around. People in US are being discriminated against because they’re gay,” adds Ms. DiBenedetto.

“We haven’t had a woman president,” adds Jacqueline.

“Good idea. Do you think that’s a form of discrimination?”

“Cause they’re trying to make Barack Obama quit his job,” continues Jacqueline.

“Some people don’t think there should be a woman president because they’re a woman,” says Ms. DiBenedetto.

Roy says “In India I think they voted the first woman president, so some countries have different forms of discrimination.”

“Like discriminating against people who aren’t Americans when they can’t vote” says Fernando.

“My dad was discriminated against because he couldn’t go in New Jersey,” says Sebastian.

“Sometimes there are laws like that. Where is your dad from?”³⁶

“Honduras”

“Sometimes people discriminate against Asian people by doing things with their eyes,” says Jacqueline.

Here, while students struggle to clearly define discrimination and Ms.

DiBenedetto does not push them towards this learning goal, students quickly identify multiple examples of discrimination, prejudice, and structural racism

³⁶ While the circumstances of why Sebastian’s dad could not go to New Jersey are not completely clear in this conversation, other conversations with Sebastian as well as the fact that his comments followed Fernando’s (about non-citizens not voting) suggest that he is referring to challenges his undocumented father faced in being able to move and travel with his family.

against a range of marginalized groups, drawing on knowledge they gained from not only school and the news, but also interactions with peers (“Sometimes people discriminate against Asian people by doing things with their eyes”) and experiences of family members (“My dad was discriminated against”). Several teachers at Sunset were among the first African-American students to desegregate their respective schools, and students also contributed what they had learned from them later in the conversation. After the conversation and a viewing of Martin Luther King, Jr.’s “I Have a Dream” speech, students were asked to write in response to the prompt, “I have a dream that one day...” Many individual responses reflected not only their own concerns, but also incorporated those of their classmates. For instance, Emily, whose parents immigrated from Guatemala, first wrote about her personal dream that one day “they let people come to the United States without visas because those people wait and wait and die alone without seeing their families.” However, she then drew on the discussion of the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing by Roy, an African-American who had recently visited several Civil Rights Movement landmarks with his mom, dreaming that “they never again destroy churches or burn people.”

While 3rd and 4th grade students did not always display immediate openness to ideas coming from other cultures, they frequently asked questions that allowed them to gain new perspectives and, at times, increased acceptance. This growing enthusiasm for and interest for new cultures was evident in a discussion Ms. DiBenedetto had with small group of students.

“I live in a neighborhood where there are lots of Indians.
And I have a friend who is Hindu. How many gods do you

have?...Hindus have hundreds. A god for shoes, a god for babies..."

"A god of chocolate?"

The students start naming treats, asking if each has its own god in Hinduism.

"This is different than what I believe. How do you think I reacted?"

"Weird"

"Scared"

"I would be like, cool!"

"That's what I said. Cool! Tell me about them!" said Ms. DiBenedetto.

"Can you tell me about them?" asked the student who had just said "weird."

In Ms. González's class, learning about new foods such as cactus and goat during student presentations on foreign countries provoked several moments of dissonance. For instance, after one student explained that goat was a popular dish in Jamaica, there was a chorus of "Ewww." However, one student responded, "It's not any worse than eating pigs...or a hot dog," leading one of the loudest groaners to ask "What's in a hot dog? Wait, is bacon pig?" In the first instance, through interactions with a teacher and peers with diverse experiences, the student questioned their own negative reactions to ideas from different cultures. In the second, the student engaged in what Pettigrew & Tropp (2011) call deprovincialization, or a reassessment of one's own cultural practices based on contact with an outgroup. They argue that engaging in this cognitive process promotes a more general positive orientation towards outgroups, in that it signals a more complex view of one's group in relation to others.

However, Ms. Melero suggested that this skill was difficult for her kindergarten students, "They still don't ask much. More than asking, they comment. They look for something in their own lives, that they know ...If you don't make them stop in those little details, it doesn't seem different to them."

Teachers, too, though often aware of the importance of “those little details,” often drew upon incomplete or inaccurate views of other cultures (as evidenced in many of the above quotes) as they attempted to create inclusive and expansive learning experiences for their students with little institutional support. Though it was messy and uncomfortable at times, the salience of multiple forms of diversity at Sunset appeared to help create cognitive dissonance, a powerful tool for learning. As teachers wrestled with their own feelings of dissonance, they in turn pushed students to “stop in those little details,” reflect and ask questions. Over time, through this dynamic process of experiencing dissonance, categorizing, decategorizing, and recategorizing, students appeared to push each other, and themselves, towards new, more inclusive worldviews – views that may only be possible when “on tiptoes.”

These more inclusive worldviews were evident as Sunset students completed the picture sort. While the differences were not always statistically significant, students at Sunset displayed more positive attitudes towards all groups of color than students at John Dewey (the mean allophilia composite towards Whites was almost identical at the two schools). The difference between schools was particularly striking in the case of outgroup attitudes towards Black students; non-Black students at Sunset were almost twice as likely to pick a Black student in response to the question “Which students do you think would become your closest friends” (40 percent to 21 percent; $\chi^2=.05$) and the mean allophilia composite towards Black students among non-Black students was almost a point higher at Sunset (where on average, students picked a Black student in 2.73 out of 10 total possibilities, compared to John Dewey with an average of 1.70) ($p=.031$). Moreover, students’ comments were characterized by a tendency to ask

questions about the pictured students (something that six Sunset students, but no John Dewey students, did) and by the same dynamic, contradictory attitudes towards difference noted in the classroom observations above. For instance, immediately after one Latino kindergartener at Sunset picked all the girls in the picture sort as likely to be “mean,” he then offered a contradictory example: “In our school, Carlos (a Latino boy) stole our markers. Isabella (a White girl), Jaylin (an African-American boy), Ruby (a Latina girl), and I share.” While these findings are not causal and more research is needed to understand the interplay between demographic composition, discourse styles, and attitudes and behaviors, it appears that students’ ongoing experience interacting with and talking about difference has the potential to challenge rigid, exclusive worldviews and develop allophilic attitudes.

Building a space for dynamic dissonance: Learning from John Dewey and Sunset

As illustrated above, the dissonance at Sunset was rarely intentional, but rather emerged through both the school’s illuminating “windows” - its diverse student and teacher population of relatively equal status – as well as the many cracks in program structure. Nevertheless, it appeared to be a powerful tool in helping both teachers and students to recognize, discuss, and – ultimately - appreciate and learn from difference. Students readily asked questions and made connections between cultures, engaging in a dynamic process of decategorization, categorization, and recategorization that allowed them to develop more complex understandings of other groups. At times, students also demonstrated evidence of deprovincialization, or questioning their own cultural

practices in a way that allows them to refine their group identity (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). The importance of a diverse school context in students' cross-cultural learning is often undervalued (Rubin, 2007; Orfield, 2009). One reason for this may be that there has been little attention to the mechanisms by which diversity affects outcomes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011), or in other words, why a diverse context matters for student learning. The findings in this chapter suggest that there may be a link between the diversity and contact conditions in a context and how people talk about difference. This social process is likely to impact how students engage in the cognitive processes of decategorization, categorization, and recategorization and develop cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors.

While many two-way immersion programs strive to maintain a balance of native English speaking and native Spanish speaking students, there is much less emphasis on working to ensure that those students are representative of the racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity of English and Spanish speakers in a community. While school demographics are the product of many factors that may be beyond the control of school and district leaders, the creation of any magnet or choice program simultaneously leads to opportunities for boarding up or opening wide a program's "windows," as was shown in the case of John Dewey in Chapter 3. As two-way immersion programs continue to grow, I argue that greater attention to the ways in which program demographics make available or limit human resources for cross-cultural learning, as well as creative ways of ensuring that choice programs are representative of a community's diversity³⁷, are essential components of meeting goals for cross-cultural learning.

³⁷ These might include housing several programs (appealing to different cultures or language groups) in a single school, targeting recruitment of students and

Moreover, how teachers and other school leaders talk about the difference within their school walls is also likely to be important; as Pittinsky states, collectivism is “necessary but not sufficient,” and school leaders must create supportive spaces for standing *en puntillas* so that diversity creates opportunities for growth, along with discomfort. Diversity in itself does introduce teachers to new perspectives, but critical reflection is essential for “recognizing and respecting difference” (Fox & Diaz-Greenberg, 2006, p. 417), or moving from discomfort to allophilia. All three teachers at Sunset mentioned the importance of a “cultural confidante” (Benhalim, 2013) who both understood the teachers’ own cultures (whether classroom, team, ethnic, or national) and had a better understanding of the cultures they were trying to negotiate. These instructional assistants and teammates allowed teachers to “sit down and break things apart,” providing emotional support, practical wisdom, and a trusted outside perspective as they confronted the many everyday “little things that people do that are different.” However, these “mirrors,” or opportunities for reflection with colleagues wrestling with similar feelings of dissonance, also need to be more intentional. With the support of a stronger two-way immersion PLC and program leadership, it is likely that teachers at Sunset would have been able to facilitate conversations about difference, even controversial ones, with greater confidence and success.

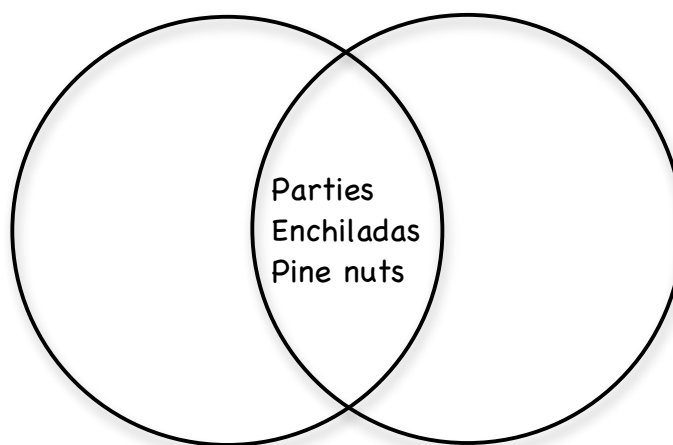
I hypothesize that “foundations” of institutional support as well as the “mirrors” and “windows” available in a context in which diversity is salient likely structure classroom conversations about difference, and these

teachers, and researching the reasons that certain subgroups might be attracted to or feel excluded from a two-way immersion program.

conversations are likely to be one of many social processes that impact student attitudes and behaviors. Teaching students to dynamically decategorize, categorize, and recategorize when faced with a variety of group differences, rather than engage in “color-blind collectivism,” is likely an important way in which two-way immersion programs can open their “doors” to positive, productive cross-cultural interactions that help them to meet program goals such as “recognizing, advocating, and taking action on issues for social justice” (John Dewey) and developing “cross-cultural thoughtfulness” (Sunset). But where do the doors at Sunset and John Dewey lead? In the next two chapters, I argue that both schools are nestled in the context of a rapidly globalizing state in the Common Core era, leading them to share important characteristics that may create social processes that limit the development of cross-cultural learning.

Chapter 5: Confining commonality I - The integration of cross-cultural learning with literacy standards

Same	Different
There are cars Parents	Costumes Mickey Mouse Cars honk Pirates Hot/cold



The two graphic organizers above were copied from the board during my observations at John Dewey and Sunset and translated. The first, from Ms. Melero's kindergarten class at Sunset, was constructed with students after they watched videos of student Carnival parades in Spain and Venezuela. While students were most excited by the pirates, ninjas, Mickey Mouse, and other costumes, Ms. Melero pushed them to consider other differences apparent in the videos, including the style of surrounding buildings and the climate in February. The second, from the 5th grade class at John Dewey, was drafted by Ms. Ortiz to model how she expected students to compare and contrast their family's traditions with those of Olga, the storyteller in the Cultural Heritage for Kids story they had just read. As she filled in the Venn diagram, she explained to

students that her family “is from New Mexico, which is a lot like Mexico. We don’t eat tamales, but we do eat enchiladas. And lots of pine nuts. But my grandmother doesn’t have a store.”

Together, the two graphic organizers show two trends observed across grade levels and both schools – a focus on integrating the study of “other” cultures with tested literacy skills, especially identifying, comparing, and contrasting textual details, and a stress on the nation as the focus of cultural analysis (as opposed to other cultural groups rooted in a region, ethnicity, or profession, or even school, classroom, or family). In the next two chapters, I focus on these similarities in the process of cross-cultural learning at John Dewey and Sunset and illustrate how their shared context, that of being schools in a globally-focused state in the Common Core era, likely shapes cross-cultural learning at the two schools. First, in this chapter, I show how teaching for cross-cultural learning at both schools was guided by the demands of the Common Core literacy standards. When possible, cultural content was integrated into lesson plans; however, these plans prioritized the acquisition of generalizable literacy skills, not deep, transferable cross-cultural learning. As a result, cross-cultural instruction focused on identifying, comparing, and contrasting details of particular cultures rather than developing transferable skills, attitudes, and behaviors that could facilitate positive cross-cultural interactions.

“When do we teach culture?...There’s no time”

A common theme across all six classrooms studied was, as Ms. Castro stated, “a lack of time to purposely teach culture.” “When do we teach culture?” Ms. Melero asked in frustration at a planning meeting, explaining that she did

not know how she could prepare her kindergarten students to contribute to a Hispanic Heritage Month celebration. The September-October dates coincided not only with beginning-of-the-school-year demands of acculturating new kindergartners to elementary school expectations and, for native English speakers, the Spanish language; it was also a busy time for state-mandated individual literacy tests and district performance assessments. In an earlier interview, she explained that “I try to expose them, through dances, songs, showing them things I like, like Carnival chirigotas and flamenco. We’ve seen less than I’d like, it ends up being just a brushstroke because there’s no time to go deeper. I’d like to go deeper, but there’s no room for that.”

While complaints of what Ms. DiBenedetto described as being “pulled in forty different directions every day” are hardly unique to North Carolina two-way immersion teachers, the teachers in this study did face unique curricular pressures that impacted their ability to devote time to cross-cultural learning. North Carolina adopted the Common Core standards for English language arts and mathematics in 2010, with implementation beginning in the 2012-13 school year.³⁸ Thus, at the time of data collection for this study, teachers at both schools were not only adjusting to the demands of new schools, positions, and even countries (only Ms. González was in the same position as the previous year), but also adapting to the “instructional shifts” being demanded of teachers by the Common Core: “regular practice with complex texts and their academic language,” “reading, writing, and speaking grounded in evidence from texts, both literary and informational,” and “building knowledge through content-rich

³⁸ North Carolina’s legislature has now voted to repeal the Common Core standards; however, they are still in place until new standards can be drafted.

nonfiction” (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2014). Moreover, in theory, elementary two-way immersion teachers were expected to draw from multiple standards documents in their planning – not only the Common Core for literacy and mathematics, but also state essential standards for science, social studies, and world languages (including dual-language programs), WIDA standards for English Language Learners, and potentially other standards documents geared towards Spanish Language Learners, such as the WIDA Spanish development standards and the Spanish version of the Common Core (developed by the California Department of Education). As they negotiated hundreds of expectations for student learning, teachers depended on guidance from school and district administrators to help determine priorities for instruction. A clear priority at both schools (and nationwide) was the implementation of the Common Core standards. Developing a deeper understanding of the Common Core was the predominant focus of required schoolwide professional development activities at both schools, although John Dewey did devote sessions to strategies for promoting second language development, such as Total Physical Response and the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol.

“Sometimes it’s been easy”: Curricular integration at John Dewey

As part of the Common Core’s emphasis on “building knowledge through content-rich nonfiction,” both schools emphasized “integration” of social studies content and literacy skills. Nevertheless, the term “integration” had a different meaning at each school. At John Dewey, the school’s focus on project-based learning meant that teachers began with big themes, questions, or units (often

taken from science and social studies standards) and then considered how to integrate the literacy standards into those projects, as Ms. Ortiz explained, “We did look at Common Core and just said “Okay, what does it look like? How does it look in the classroom? What are the standards for XYZ? How do these fit with your units?”” resulted in described in Chapter 3

However, this tight alignment between cultural, academic, and linguistic goals was not always realized, leading to the deprioritization of cultural objectives. As Ms. Ortiz explained, while at times “cultural connections...fit in quite nicely,” school administrators were “not expecting that from us.” Ms. Castro identified the “culture and sound” unit described in Chapter 3 as the one time she had successfully integrated cultural objectives into a unit, and Ms. Nowak admitted that she had not done so yet, though she was planning to do more with the “community helpers” unit the following year. Although all teachers at the school were introduced to the Two-Way Immersion Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) (Howard, Sugarman, & Coburn, 2006), a planning and observation tool that incorporates cultural, along with academic and language objectives, into the planning process, the cultural goals were not seen as essential parts of a unit. Ms. Castro explained that, compared to prior years, the focus on project-based learning and the Common Core, with the study of fewer topics in more depth, led to a reduction in the amount of cross-cultural instruction in her class. Whereas she used to share Colombian traditions with her students, especially around holidays, she reported that now “I just say ‘In Colombia we celebrate that, and let’s go on with math now’ - that’s the real project. Sometimes it’s been easy to integrate but sometimes we just couldn’t.”

Moreover, although the principal stated that John Dewey was given more curricular freedom than many schools (personal communication, November 27, 2013), teachers sometimes were forced to find a way to integrate curricular demands coming from the district or state level with the commitment to project-based biliteracy. One example of this was the district's multiyear contract with the University of Pittsburgh's Institute for Learning to provide Common Core-aligned professional development and curricular materials in literacy and math. While Ms. Castro found the strategies emphasized in the program helpful, Ms. Ortiz was frustrated that the requirement to use their curriculum led to jettisoning their plans for a unit on civil rights. She explained

The IFL [Institute for Learning] this year for fifth grade has been a unit about space...It has no connection to our social studies or science curriculum. We've been trying to find ways to make it fit...But we really would have wanted to do Civil Rights this quarter. We couldn't do any Civil Rights except one day when they had the Brown v. Board of Education Day. She did a clip from the movie about Ruby Bridges...That's all she could do about Civil Rights this quarter. So it's very frustrating when they throw something at us. We could have gotten into so many good cultural discussions and that was our original plan...Next year, who knows what they're going to give us, so in the meantime we'll just be flexible.

Thus, at John Dewey, there were opportunities for rich "integration" of cross-cultural learning into the project-based curriculum. However, at times, the pressure to integrate all learning into a Common Core-aligned, project-based curriculum meant that teachers were not able to take advantage of other opportunities for cross-cultural learning that did not fit with those goals. Moreover, in spite of teacher and administrator efforts, this type of "integration" was not always possible as the school worked to meet demands coming from the

district and state level, including implementation of specific Common Core curricula.

“That was all I could fit into literacy”: Curricular integration at Sunset

These external pressures were much more intense at Sunset, where “integration” meant that social studies all but disappeared in many classrooms; here, opportunities for cross-cultural learning were rare and random. McGuire (2007) describes how the standards and testing movement has led to a de-emphasis on social studies instruction as schools focused on meeting literacy and math standards, especially in low-income schools and districts (see also Darling-Hammond, 2004).³⁹ She goes on to explain that many schools and publishers have responded to these pressures by developing “integrated social studies” curricula, which are related to social studies topics or themes but designed to teach literacy skills rather than social studies concepts. However, as Monte-Sano (2011) notes, there is a tendency to focus on generalizable basic comprehension skills (such as summarization) rather than more advanced, discipline-specific literacy skills, such as analyzing and interpreting evidence from multiple perspectives. This form of “integration” was obvious at Sunset. While the district curriculum map listed a social studies theme and list of state standards for each quarter, these standards were not “unpacked” in district curriculum documents or discussed in professional learning communities. Moreover, in

³⁹ While both schools are Title I schools with similar percentages of students qualifying for free and reduced-price lunch, the percentage of students qualifying for free and reduced-price lunch at the district level in Lowell (59.4 percent) is over twice that of Amherst (23.7 percent). As curricular frameworks and common assessments were developed at the district level in Lowell, the high level of poverty at the district level likely played a role in the marginalization of social studies there.

contrast to a calendar packed with a slew of district and state assessments in math and language arts, there were none in social studies.⁴⁰ Thus, while teachers occasionally integrated cross-cultural content into lessons, there was no expectation that students meet particular cross-cultural learning goals.

Interviews with Sunset teachers illustrated how their planning was organized around Common Core literacy standards and the school's calendar for practicing the "Tested Seven," a set of focal literacy skills that included identifying the main idea and important details of a selection, comparing and contrasting, making inferences, differentiating between fact and opinion, identifying cause and effect, sequencing events in a passage, and recognizing text elements and their purpose. Although they expressed a desire to incorporate more cross-cultural learning into their curricula, they were forced to subjugate those goals to expectations for literacy development. Ms. González explained

As far as cultural things, we did the culture projects [in which students wrote a research paper and gave an oral presentation on a country related to their family's background] and also the Spanish teachers [in which students paired up to read Spanish texts during center time]. That was really all I could fit into literacy.

While the culture projects lasted for two months, they were primarily done independently (students worked at home and during center time,

⁴⁰ This has changed for the 2014-15 school year, with the development of curriculum maps and district performance assessments for social studies. However, it is still not clear that deep understanding of social studies concepts is a district goal. For instance, a recent third-grade study of local, state, and national leaders relied heavily on distilling facts from a textbook that still listed George W. Bush as President. Also, in spite of this being a significant change in curricula, teacher training has been nonexistent, leaving many teachers feeling unprepared. When I recently asked one teacher how I could best support her one ESL student (in my role as an ESL teacher), she responded: "You've been to other countries, right? Do you want to teach [my entire class] social studies?"

when the teacher was leading reading groups). Thus, students received little guidance in their cross-cultural learning.

As Ms. Melero reflected on how she might integrate more cross-cultural learning into her teaching in the upcoming year, she identified several possibilities. However, her thoughts were guided by the need to teach the literacy skills of comparing and contrasting and making inferences, rather than goals for cross-cultural understanding.

I would like to be able to do a bit more in the time I have, keeping in mind what I have to do in math, in science, and thinking about how I can pair up things that are related and integrate it more. I don't know, if we are comparing and contrasting, this year it went well learning about Ratoncito Perez [the rat that acts as the "tooth fairy" in many Spanish-speaking countries]. For example, if the time for inferences coincides with the Día del Libro [Day of the Book] in April, I can find something. I don't know how to organize everything, but maybe I can have readings and videos a bit more prepared.

When I asked Ms. DiBenedetto how she facilitated students meeting the program's goal for cross-cultural thoughtfulness, she responded, "In my little guided reading groups, we have a lot of cross-cultural discussions. And in my technology center I'll do a lot of independent research on different holidays, why we celebrate them." Like her colleagues, she attempted to integrate cross-cultural learning into a framework that prioritized literacy skill development. While this did occasionally allow for rich discussions centered around a text, there was no curricular space set aside for the purposeful development of cross-cultural skills and the exploration of multiple perspectives on big ideas. Developing these skills and perspectives, which are most often found in social studies or foreign language standards, requires organizing curriculum around them at times. Because it was organized around big ideas in literacy, but never

cross-cultural learning goals, students' cross-cultural learning at Sunset was limited to "disconnected bits of information" (McGuire, 2007, p. 622), or at best, what Banks (1989) describes as an episodic "Heroes and Holidays" approach.

In spite of differences in how Common Core literacy standards were integrated into curricula at John Dewey and Sunset, the emphasis on the Common Core at both schools left teachers asking "*When* do we teach culture?" instead of the more reflective "*How* do we teach culture?" Teachers were expected to "integrate" cross-cultural learning, when possible, with Common Core literacy standards; however, professional development and curricula prioritized the literacy standards without broaching issues of cross-cultural learning. As I will show in the next section, this had implications for the depth of students' cross-cultural learning.

Issues with "integration": The Common Core and cross-cultural learning

In order to better understand how standards drove students' cross-cultural learning, I mapped each of the lessons I observed to relevant literacy (Common Core), social studies, and world language standards through using written or stated objectives, or, when these were not available, inferring the goal(s) of the lesson based on the lesson's content. I found that, in spite of the claim that "literacy standards in the content areas are intended to complement the content standards, not supplant them" (Lafond, 2012), Common Core literacy standards – and particularly those represented by the "Tested Seven" – drove the type of cross-cultural learning I observed at both schools. Of the sixteen lessons I observed (not including visits to the schools for special events), nine focused

primarily on one of the following three Common Core anchor standards for reading: CCRA.R.1 “Cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text,” CCRA.R.5 “Analyze the structure of texts, including how specific sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text relate to each other and the whole” and CCRA.R.9 “Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take” (Common Core State Standards, 2014). For instance, Ms. Ortiz’s objectives for the lesson in which she created the Venn diagram at the beginning of the chapter stated: “We are going to read and watch a video of the story *Piñones* and write a comparison of Mexico and the United States” (CCRA.R.9) and “We can understand aspects of Mexican culture” (CCRA.R.1). Less frequently, teachers addressed Common Core writing or speaking and listening standards as a primary focus. In only three observations did the lesson appear to focus equally or primarily on grade-level social studies standards rather than literacy goals. While true integration of knowledge across disciplines can be extremely valuable, I argue that treating culture as content that is subjugated to the demands of literacy instruction, rather than a discipline in its own right, is likely to have two negative consequences.

Limited understandings of literacy

First, the Common Core standards, and especially the End of Grade tests administered in North Carolina schools (which test reading standards but not writing, speaking, or listening) value a limited conception of literacy; not surprisingly, this mirrors the understanding of literacy in the dominant culture, which emphasizes “building knowledge about the world through TEXT”

(Engage NY, 2012). This privileges those students and families who are most comfortable in learning about the world in this way (often White, middle-class families), while simultaneously limiting their ability to develop critical new skills. Cross-cultural learning requires the capacity to gain and integrate knowledge from a range of texts, such as people, places, and artifacts - in the words of Freire and Macedo (1987), to “read the word and the world.” If students are skilled in gleaning knowledge only from written texts, their ability to interact cross-culturally is severely limited. At John Dewey, several teachers and parents recognized the potential limitations of an intense focus on reading written texts, an insight Ms. Ortiz gained (somewhat ironically) from her participation in a book club focused on Beeman and Urow’s (2012) *Teaching for Biliteracy*:

I’ve heard this from the Latino teachers, reading is not as important as talking to each other, talking to people. Whereas in the United States they put such a huge emphasis on reading...In dual language you have to talk in order to be able to learn the language. So you have these conflicting things. We’ve got the Americans in my case who are like, “Stop talking you’re supposed to be doing this” or the Latinos are like, “Yeah okay, let’s talk” but when it comes time to read, it’s finding that balance of getting the oral language and getting the literacy. Book club has been helping us to figure out that balance and hear from each other and bounce ideas off of each other.

Strength in “talking to people” is both a means of developing reading and writing skills and an important competency in itself that allows for the development of a more dynamic and holistic understanding of other cultures. Students who are only able to identify, compare, and contrast details learned about other cultures through written texts (as the most observed Common Core standards direct) risk developing an essentialized and shallow understanding of those groups, rather than the nuanced understanding of other worldviews necessary for positive cross-cultural interactions. Ms. Callahan noted that, from

a parent's perspective, she felt pushed to devote time to developing her son's written literacy skills at the expense of other important capacities, and felt that this was especially alienating to many Latin@ parents, including her husband.

In the US schools expect a lot from parents, like "Are you reading your syllables and are you making your flashcards?"...What concept do Spanish-speaking parents in the US have about what is *educación*? What's my role? What are you expecting me to do? I think [my husband, originally from Mexico] is a little bit shocked by that...I think parents as a group are working very hard...and we're asking them to do a lot on top of that and stuff that they may be unfamiliar with and might be culturally kind of [scrunches face].

Ms. Callahan went on to suggest that the school's myopic focus on literacy in the narrow, written sense was likely to discourage the involvement of many parents, particularly poor Latin@s, who had rich experiences to contribute to students' *educación*. Exploring the concept of *educación* (and the multiple social and academic literacies it entails, rather than only those addressed in Common Core standards) more deeply, from an allophilic stance, might allow two-way immersion schools to more fully realize goals like preparing students to face "real world problems" and promoting "social justice," "cross-cultural thoughtfulness," and "global competence."

Inattention to metacognitive and motivational competencies

In addition, the focus on Common Core literacy standards, and especially the standards that are assessed on the multiple-choice state test, is likely to limit exploration of culture to a purely cognitive process at relatively low levels of processing. This inhibits students' ability to transfer cross-cultural learning to new situations. Marzano and Kendall (2007) identify three "systems of thinking" – the cognitive, metacognitive, and self (or motivational, which includes one's sense of efficacy, emotional response, and the perceived importance of learning).

When confronted with a new task, a person's self-system first "decides to engage," the metacognitive system "sets goals and strategies," and the cognitive system then "processes relevant information" (p. 11). Different "levels of processing" - retrieval, comprehension, analysis, and knowledge utilization (similar to the more commonly used Bloom's Taxonomy) - require increasingly higher levels of conscious control. As students identified, compared and contrasted elements of cultures in observed lessons, they processed knowledge at the levels of retrieval, comprehension, and analysis. Because conscious attention was often devoted to literacy goals in lieu of cross-cultural learning, students were not pushed to use cross-cultural knowledge to make decisions, solve problems, experiment, and investigate in novel situations. They did not have time to grapple with specific information about cultures and tie it to more abstract cross-cultural understandings, which Bransford, Brown, and Cocking (1999) argue is essential to the ability to transfer learning to new contexts and Pettigrew & Tropp (2011) suggests results in the deprovincialization that leads to generalized positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors. Moreover, without conscious work to engage the metacognitive and motivational systems before learning, not only was there a lower potential for transfer (Bransford, Brown, & Cocking, 1999), but many affective cross-cultural competencies, including skills such as perspective taking and the attitudes comprising allophilia, were neglected. As students primarily studied culture at the level of the nation-state (as I will discuss in the next section), students were likely left unprepared for many everyday interactions, lacking metacognitive and self knowledge needed to help them relate to many other "outgroups" that they regularly encountered (and created) and will encounter as they mature. Possessing these skills may

have helped them to negotiate some sources of tension identified in observations and interviews, such as conflicts about variations in soccer rules at recess at John Dewey and difficulties 3rd and 4th grade students at Sunset faced in incorporating new students into their classes, which had been together since kindergarten.

Ms. González did make an attempt to engage in reflective activities that engaged students' metacognitive and motivational systems after her students completed research projects and presentations on foreign countries. However, as she explained below, the lack of time for this "extra" project limited the extent to which she could facilitate these important activities, and it was not clear that students actually were able to process their learning at higher levels, such as applying it to their lives.

We had some reflection time that I wanted to be written, so they did take notes every time we did a presentation, in their notebooks for them to transfer into a reflection. But we didn't really have time to write it up, so the last day that we presented, we just spoke out loud about it. The kids just asked questions that they still had about some of the countries, we talked about the similarities and differences and about how they felt and about their presentations... They loved to talk about those things that make them who they are, that part of history, the slaves that came and were brought to different countries and little Caribbean islands. I gave my example, you know that Puerto Ricans are a mix of Spanish, Indians, and Africans, and they were like "Wow." It's like they don't know their history. I think we Latinos are pretty strong in that, in where we're coming from and where we're going. It's just that we don't really have time now that social studies isn't being emphasized.

Skills of reflection, asking questions, and understanding "the things that make them who they are" are critical components of "reading the world" through cross-cultural learning that, as I will argue in Chapter 7, often can be integrated with Common Core literacy standards. However, if two-way immersion programs are to support students in gaining cross-cultural understandings and

developing positive attitudes and behaviors, they must prioritize devoting curricular space and professional development to these goals along with the demands of standards and accountability frameworks. While integration of written literacy with deep cross-cultural learning is often a desirable goal, this integration must respect the value not only of tested literacy skills but also skills specific to cross-cultural interaction. In Chapter 7, I outline what such teaching might look like. However, in Chapter 6, I first discuss another commonality in cross-cultural *educación* at the two schools – a focus on the cultures of foreign countries as the object of cross-cultural learning.

Chapter 6: Confining commonality II - Globalism and cross-cultural learning

“Who can tell me what culture is?” Ms. DiBenedetto asked her guided reading group. Students shouted out their responses.

“Groups”
 “A place, like a country”
 “A family, a club”
 “Community”
 “A meeting”
 “A family meeting”
 “Culture, like our culture”

“What is our culture?” Ms. DiBenedetto inquired. “I want you to think about it as you read this,” directing students to turn over their paper, a passage entitled “What is Culture?” (printed from www.k12reader.com). After reading the first paragraph, Ms. DiBenedetto asked students to identify important words in the selection. As they read, students picked out “group,” “family,” and “relationship.” Ms. DiBenedetto pointed out the word “tradition” and asked students to share a tradition they had. They described Christmas trees, piñatas, and holiday meals, and then Ms. DiBenedetto added, “In my culture, my ancestors are from Italy. Mom’s are from Germany, Dad’s from Italy. So my culture is a little different from Guatemala or Mexico.” She went on to tell students about her family’s tradition of hiding a pickle in their Christmas tree.

In spite of no mention of culture as a country by either the reading or her students, Ms. DiBenedetto’s comment reveals a trend in the way she and her colleagues answered the question “What is culture?” Often, the answer was not that given by the worksheet - “the way we behave in a group” that “begins with each individual family.” Rather, the primary focus of cross-cultural learning at

both schools was that of foreign cultures. In this chapter, I explore how and why teachers focused cross-cultural learning on foreign countries, rather than smaller and more local cultures that might be more accessible to students. I argue that while this focus aligned with teachers' own cross-cultural experiences and a macrosystemic focus on globalism, it privileged a cosmopolitan perspective that ignored the cultural backgrounds of many students, reinforced inequities based on race and class, and limited opportunities for students to engage in learning about cultures they interacted with on a daily basis.

A scan of the last three chapters shows that much of the cross-cultural learning I observed was geared towards the study of foreign countries – students learned about Guatemalan quetzales, Australian digeridoos, Puerto Rican⁴¹ folktales, Venezuelan Carnival celebrations, and Mexican tamales. In fact, in many conversations, the terms “other cultures” and “foreign countries” were almost interchangeable, even though culture exists at various levels, from the organizational to the global (Deardorff, 2009; Bennett, 2012). For instance, when I asked teachers an open-ended question about which cultures they were most familiar with and why, five of the six teachers asked named countries (Two also said “Hispanic” or “Latino,” and two named subcultures they saw as nestled

⁴¹ Puerto Rico is technically a U.S. territory. However, interestingly, it was often included in the Spanish-speaking “countries” featured in festivals, curriculum, etc. with little or no discussion of its unique status. This validated the territory's (and Puerto Rican teachers') unique cultural heritage without addressing more contentious issues related to colonization, statehood, and political power. In our interview, Ms. González “If you ask me directly, I say that I'm Boricua Puerto Rican, because it's my patriotic pride, saying where you're from. That's how we identify ourselves although we're almost part of the United States; you can't take where you were born out of your heart.” In line with her (and other teachers') cultural self-identification, I include it as another Spanish-speaking “country” in this analysis.

within a national or regional culture, such as Navajos in New Mexico or Arabs in Spain).

This emphasis on “culture as country” among teachers carried over to instruction. For instance, before one lesson, Ms. Callahan wrote the word “multicultural” on the board and asked students to talk to their partner about it. I overheard students say “it’s a place with lots of people from lots of cultures” and “a person with lots of cultures.” Ms. Callahan closed the conversation by saying, “If we’re talking about a multicultural environment, we’re talking about people from different countries.” Ms. Ortiz then added, “We’re going to have a multicultural festival on the 28th. Each class will have a country.”

In both this instance and the lesson described at the beginning of this chapter, initial student responses suggested at least a tentative understanding of cultures at different levels of abstraction as well as their dynamism and intersectionality. However, each teacher emphasized cultures at the national level rather than other possibilities such as a “community” or “club.” While there were exceptions to this focus, such as the study of local government by Ms. Castro’s class, a 5th grade unit on Native Americans, and the discussion of Martin Luther King, Jr.’s “I Have a Dream” speech in Ms. DiBenedetto’s 3rd grade class, these did not extend beyond what one might expect to see in a school with no explicit goals for cross-cultural learning. For instance, the Martin Luther King, Jr. lesson was the Friday before the national holiday, and a major assessment during the Native Americans unit was a comic strip based on an assigned European explorer’s encounters with Native Americans. One comic strip had Amerigo Vespucci looking frantically for “chinos” (Chinese) and not finding them, another says that the “true story” of Pocahontas is that she saved John

White's life; thus, they seemed to echo, rather than add to or challenge, the common narratives of exploration and colonization found in many history books. Moreover, these topics were framed primarily as history lessons; current cultural differences among residents of students' local community or region that might affect their daily interactions were not explored. Thus, the subjects of student cross-cultural learning were often the long ago or far away, rather than the many cultures present in their schools and communities today. This emphasis on cross-cultural learning about foreign countries appeared to be fueled by both teacher background and a statewide discourse that valued "preparing students for the world" (North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 2013), as I will describe in the next section.

Why globalism?

"Border crossing": Personal influences on globalism

All of the teachers in the study had significant experience living and traveling outside the United States and displayed a great deal of allophilia towards a range of foreign cultures; while many of these cultures were predominately Spanish- and English-speaking, teachers in the study also described impactful experiences in Hungary, Israel, and Morocco, and Ms. Ortiz had spent several years traveling around the world with her husband, a musician originally from Peru. Three of the seven teachers were married to spouses of a different national origin, and each gave examples of how, in the words of Ms. González, their cross-cultural marriage "influenced and made [them] better," whether as a parent, a cook, or an educator. Teachers used words like "fun" and

“awesome” to describe their many personal experiences interacting with new languages and cultures, and now actively sought out these experiences in big and small ways. Like many participants, Ms. DiBenedetto discussed both everyday interactions and once-in-a-lifetime experiences that allowed her to experience foreign cultures.

I'm really good friends with a girl from Colombia...every opportunity I have to speak Spanish, I like to take it.... I just like the culture and the way that they make me feel. It's always a kiss on the cheek when you arrive there, it's hugs, it's "What can I get you?" I mean, they're just good people. And I don't really have that anywhere else, you know?

She also made an effort to travel during summers, traveling to Colombia with the friend discussed above, working as a nanny in Spain, and applying to a program for teachers in China. As the youngest and only unmarried teacher, Ms. DiBenedetto was perhaps most able to “take...every opportunity” at this point in her life. However, Ms. Melero described how living abroad was “was always something there, always an idea” as she and her spouse juggled work and family responsibilities in Spain before moving to the United States with their three elementary-aged children. Affection, enthusiasm, engagement, kinship, and comfort with foreign cultures seemed to be a way of life for all of the teachers in the study.

Nevertheless, in spite of their positive experiences as literal “border crossers,” through these experiences teachers had also engaged in what Bartolomé (2004) calls “social or cultural border-crossing experiences, in which they personally felt the attribution of low status or witnessed someone else’s subordination” (p. 172). For Ms. Ortiz, Ms. González, Ms. DiBenedetto and Ms. Nowak, these were vivid memories of “border crossing” from their childhood or

adolescence. Ms. Nowak lived in Guatemala, Spain, and Morocco with her parents, who worked for the State Department, until returning to Buffalo, New York, in her first year of high school, which she described as “culture shock”

I was so excited about my first day. I had on a miniskirt with this really nice top and I go to school and everyone's in jeans. So, I was like, embarrassed. And it was a hard transition for me because it was freshman year of high school and we had to all stand up, and as they read out middle schools you were supposed to sit down. So, they read off middle schools, so everyone eventually sat down except for me and this other girl... And they were like, “Well, where are you from?” And she's like, “Oh, I moved here from Texas.” And they were like, “Where are you from?” “I'm from Madrid.” “What? Where's that?” “Spain.” Then I felt like I was the different one, you know? And so that made me be quiet.

In New York they had a Regents and then an Honors track. So I started out in Regents and then my sophomore year they moved me up to Honors. But I was still so quiet that I didn't talk in English class at all until we had to do a presentation and everyone had this look on their face. And I was like, “What?” And they're like, “We didn't think you knew how to speak English because you never talked.”

Ms. Ortiz, who moved to Guatemala with her missionary parents at age eight and began attending an American school there, remembered

Most of the other kids had been there for a lot longer than I had, and they already spoke Spanish. And I remember very clearly a time walking on the playground trying to go and meet somebody and just talk to somebody and try to make friends. And the kids would be talking with each other in little clusters and they would see me coming and they would move away. And they would all be speaking in Spanish. And then I would try again and they would move away again. And it made me so frustrated and angry that they could speak Spanish and I couldn't. And I remember not really having any friends at all the six months that I was there and it was very disheartening. And so growing up, it was unconscious until I became a dual language teacher that that's probably how a lot of those kids feel when they come from another country to here. And then it was like, oh, okay, maybe that's one reason why I became a language teacher.

Without prompting, these teachers reflected how these experiences impacted their schooling, suggesting or directly indicating that they drew upon their own “hard” or “disheartening” experiences as children as teachers now. Bartolomé (2004) argues these experiences help teachers to empathize with and support their students, becoming “cultural brokers” who can help them to navigate cultural differences and school expectations in order to succeed.

For Ms. Castro and Ms. Melero, as well as for Ms. González (upon her return to the mainland United States as an adult), these “border crossing” experiences were more recent, occurring when they moved to the United States to teach. Ms. González described the feeling of being “ignored” by other staff members

It was difficult for me just coming from speaking a couple of English words to basically merging myself into using the language constantly. I think the brain acts quick and translating some words was just impossible. I wanted to get my thoughts across but I was afraid it was going to come out the wrong way. So, I think the reaction from people was like, “Okay, let’s pass to the next one. We already heard what basically you wanted to say, let’s listen to the other person”I think that was the most negative experience that I had, like being ignored and not letting me finish my thought, because I was in that transition.

While she did not attribute this pattern to ill intent on the part of her colleagues, it did keep her from fully participating in staff meetings and decisionmaking.

Ms. Melero recalled how this affected her sense of efficacy as a teacher.

When you arrive here, they start talking to you...and it’s like “My God, what am I doing here?” I can’t do this, I don’t understand...It’s one thing when it’s in a store, but when you get to class and you don’t understand the kids, when I arrived to a staff meeting and didn’t understand anything they were talking about. It’s a little frustrating, at the beginning it’s very hard...You don’t understand what you have to do...Sometimes one person gives you information, another gives you different information, and then

another does something different...I don't know what to do and you have responsibility on your shoulders because you aren't here to learn, you're here to work...You have a big responsibility of 25 kids, and it's not their fault that you're from abroad.

Ms. González's and Ms. Melero's comments suggested that "border crossing" experiences can be just as impactful, if not more so, for adults as for children. However, being "here to work" provided little time for the reflection on one's own experience of marginalization that Bartolomé (2004) asserts leads to the "political and ideological clarity" that allows teachers to support marginalized students. Moreover, teachers who are struggling to navigate school and community expectations themselves and voice their own concerns, as both teachers described, are unlikely to be effective "cultural brokers" for their students. However, all three teachers indicated that, over time, they became more comfortable navigating these expectations and finding time not only to "work," but also to "learn" from their experiences.

The widespread experiences with literal and figurative "border crossing" among two-way immersion teachers in the study appeared to prime them for supporting culturally and linguistically diverse students in their classrooms, and for helping students understand the world from a variety of cultural perspectives, as Bartolomé (2004) suggests. Through these experiences, it appears that teachers developed what "cultural sensitivity" (Bennett, 2013), or "the ability to discriminate cultural differences and to experience those differences in communication across cultures" (p. 12). Nevertheless, while high levels of "cultural sensitivity" facilitate the understanding of other cultures, people still need background knowledge and a supportive environment in order to become "competent" in a new culture. Without familiarity with the actual

cultures within their classroom, they are likely to struggle to support culturally- and linguistically-diverse students.

In addition, teachers may be most attentive to students' experiences that mirror their own positive and negative experiences. For teachers whose "border crossing" and cross-cultural *educación* involved crossing national borders, related excitements and challenges such as language acquisition and immigration status may be relatively easy to understand and teach; however, they may be less able to draw on personal knowledge of other concepts with which they have less experience, such as class and race. Later in the chapter, I will discuss how this difference in teachers' ability to empathize and connect to students' experiences may negatively impact particular groups of students. First, however, I will show that the emphasis on other countries is not due only to teachers' own "border crossing" experiences, but also to a statewide focus on globalism.

"Preparing students for the world": Contextual influences on globalism

As discussed in Chapter 3, in the past twenty years, North Carolina has become increasingly connected to the wider world through immigration, trade, and travel. In an effort to respond to these changes, North Carolina has embraced a variety of global education initiatives. Statewide, all teachers are evaluated on their ability to "promote global awareness and its relevance" (Public Schools of North Carolina, 2013b), a standard that both two-way immersion teachers and Sunset's mainstream teachers frequently mentioned, without prompting, when participating in internationally-oriented activities with their students or in professional development. Through the state university system, both World View and the Center for International Understanding, which

aims to “make North Carolina the most globally engaged state in the nation,” provide popular professional development opportunities and classroom resources to teachers. *Preparing students for the world*, a report from the state Board of Education’s task force on Global Education, recognized these and other “strong organizations” and “local...initiatives,” but emphasized the need for a “coordinated and comprehensive strategy” (Public Schools of North Carolina, 2013a, p. 5). Based on this report, current initiatives include the implementation of a “badging” system (similar to an add-on certification or endorsement) in global education and the recognition of “Global Ready” schools and districts.

The expansion of dual immersion programs are a significant part of this global education plan. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, without the supports available in other states, such as bilingual licensure programs and high-quality Spanish assessments, the capacity of individual teachers, schools, and districts to meet student needs is limited. Much of the growth in dual immersion programs has come from the 42 North Carolina schools with VIF International Education’s (2014) SPLASH program, which describes itself as a “turnkey” approach to dual language education, providing resources such as recruitment of international teachers and curricular support. Unlike two-way immersion programs, most of these programs serve predominately English speakers. Moreover, most other immersion programs statewide depend on VIF and other recruiting firms to have sufficient teachers for their programs. Cervantes-Soon (2014) describes the potential pitfalls of this strategy.

This method of staffing dual-language programs, itself a neoliberal approach, has been more viable than recruiting bilingual teachers from U.S. bilingual/bicultural communities, even from other regions of the country. International teachers may also be regarded as more authentic speakers of the target language, worldlier, and

hence more attractive. Although these recruiting corporations may have noble objectives, such as using business to address social and educational needs, an overreliance on them has brought many teachers to TWI programs who do not quite understand nor identify with the U.S. Latin@ population and other minority children and without the proper preparation to face a diversity of race, language, ability, and class in their classrooms that they had not considered before. Consequently, some of these teachers are also vulnerable to adopting the deficit views prevalent in U.S. society about minority children and families, which might be added to their own perceptions of which linguistic variations and other forms of cultural capital should be legitimized in the classroom (p. 74).

As other sections show, it was clear that Ms. Melero and Ms. Castro, as well as other VIF teachers at both schools, worked to “understand” and “identify” with all of their students, although it was at times a challenge for them to do so. Their presence in the classroom also may have helped to make cross-cultural learning more concrete for students, putting a human face on a faraway land, and the VIF teachers in the study contributed to their schools in myriad ways. However, depending solely or primarily on teachers imported from abroad for a limited time⁴², rather than investing in the support needed to prepare committed, diverse teachers who understand student backgrounds and educational expectations in the United States, sends a clear message that the cultural capital valued in North Carolina’s two-way immersion programs is not that of most of its students.

The emphasis on globalism does create exciting and valuable opportunities for students and teachers to explore the world and its rich diversity. However, in the upcoming sections, I will illustrate how an uncritical emphasis on globalism in cross-cultural learning is problematic. First, by examining other cultures at a high level of abstraction, it essentializes the

⁴² The visas and contracts of VIF teachers are valid for up to 5 years.

cultures themselves, as well as expectations for culturally-hybrid students of those backgrounds. Furthermore, the focus on globalism answers the question of “which cultural capital should be legitimized in the classroom” in a way that privileges cosmopolitan middle-class students and marginalizes others, particularly African Americans.

Issues with globalism

Essentializing expectations for 2nd generation students

One issue with studying “other” cultures at the level of a country is that only very vague generalizations about cultural worldviews can be made at this high level of abstraction. Instead, what is typically studied is “Big C” Culture – institutions, practices, and products such as food, art, traditions, or government. However, it is important to remember that this “Big C” Culture is created and recreated in a dynamic interaction with “little c” cultural worldviews.

Conflating the two can lead to an essentialized view of culture that does not allow for shifts in worldview (Bennett, 2013), and is likely to reflect a shallow, monolithic view of each culture that perpetuates stereotypes and hegemony of dominant cultures within a country. This is likely to be especially true in contexts of major social change or migration, in which rapid changes in worldview are likely to happen relatively quickly.

Ms. DiBenedetto’s guided reading group introduced earlier in this chapter consisted of five 2nd generation Latin@ students, whose parents came to the United States from Guatemala, El Salvador, and Mexico. Only one, Emily, had returned to visit her parents’ country of origin. While all expressed great pride and interest in learning about their heritage, at various points in the conversation

they challenged Ms. DiBenedetto's expectations for them, which seemed to be based more on her understanding of Latin American countries she had traveled to than her culturally-hybrid students' experiences. At one point she explained

"One thing I've noticed when I travel to Spanish-speaking countries I've noticed that family is very important. Some people here don't think that family is the MOST important thing. You celebrate your birthdays, Christmas with your family there."

"I always say, is family or going to the mall more important?" Betsy jumped in.

"I'm going to Guatemala in June and we're trying to figure out who I'm going with," said Emily.

"I might go to Mexico with Memo. Memo is my dad's friend. He went to the US with Memo," added Chris.

Later, as they discussed food, Emily told the group,

"The first time I tried *arroz con leche* my aunt was taking care of me. I said "I don't want it, it's nasty." Then I tried it. I took the whole bowl upstairs and ate it. "

Ms. DiBenedetto asked "Do your mom and dad drink coffee? Do they put hot milk or cold milk?"

"Hot milk...no, cold milk," thought Betsy.

"My mom makes it in a bowl. Sometimes she puts hot milk in it and it's too hot, so I put cold milk," said Emily.

Many a traveler to Latin America has left appreciating the importance of family and the taste of a steaming *café con leche* (made with hot milk). However, as the above excerpts from the discussion show, generalizing these expectations to the experiences of the children of Latin American immigrants in the United States—the way Ms. DiBenedetto does—fails to acknowledge important shifts in their family's culture due to their migration experience. For example, while she presses the importance of family in Spanish-speaking countries, and blithely assumes that her students would celebrate special events surrounded by family members, her students (many of whom may be separated from extended and even nuclear family due to migration) challenge those assumptions. Chris' comment, for example, highlights an increased reliance on friends like Memo

when family networks are strained by immigration. Generalizing Latin American cultural practices to Latin American families in the United States also fails to recognize the unique experiences of 2nd generation children in navigating multiple cultures here in the United States, as they decide whether to try a traditional dish for the first time, add cold milk to the hot *café con leche* prepared by their mom, or consider “Is family or going to the mall more important?” In order to encourage cross-cultural learning among these students and their peers, it is important not only to recognize the dynamic cultures of their family’s countries of origin, but also the unique hybrid cultures these students help create and the many other groups in which they participate.

Valuing the “cosmopolitan class”

The focus on globalism also inadvertently excluded poor students, as was apparent when I returned to John Dewey after spring break and saw hanging in the hallway the timelines Ms. Castro’s class had made detailing their weeks off.

My fieldnotes read

I’m surprised by (and a bit envious of) all the traveling students did last week – trips to DC, Boston, Savannah, California...Francisco even went to Chile. Amidst all these fun, expensive educational experiences, Daniela’s week stands out. “Miré la tele” (“I watched TV”) and “Me enfermé del polen” (I got sick from the pollen), she wrote.

These timelines showed not only the range of students’ spring break experiences and their mastery of sequencing and the past tense, but also served as inventories of the “cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1986) they possessed.

Bourdieu and others have argued that schools reinforce social inequalities by attributing more value to the habits, attitudes, and preferences of the dominant group, which has long been assumed to be White and middle class. Two-way

bilingual programs challenge this paradigm by valuing the cultural capital of a non-dominant group, although, as discussed in the literature review, researchers disagree to what extent this happens in practice (Valdés, 1997).

However, two-way bilingual programs have framed this non-dominant group in terms of language and culture, while largely disregarding the influence of social class. A look at the timelines, all written in Spanish, suggests that the program may indeed be challenging the hegemony of English and valuing non-Anglo cultures. However, they also suggest a new standard for the “dominant” culture, that of what economist Robert Shiller (2006) calls the “cosmopolitan class,” a group characterized not by ethnic background, language, or country of origin, but by its wealth and global, rather than local, outlook. While a spring break trip to Washington, DC would traditionally have been seen as the ultimate experience for building dominant cultural capital for a North Carolina 2nd grader, it now pales in comparison to Francisco’s trip to Chile.

Students like Francisco, who may be of any ethnicity, have ready access to two essential tools of cosmopolitanism – international travel and the internet. Through these resources, they are able to interact across lines of national origin. However, these same tools may actually decrease people’s ability to interact with those closest to them. Shiller worries about the growing disparity between these “cosmopolitans” and “locals,” two different orientations coined by Merton (1968). Merton found that in the New Jersey town he studied, influential “locals” depended on interpersonal connections to a range of community members, while the influence of the “cosmopolitan” rested on

an imputed expertness rather than upon sympathetic understanding of others...the cosmopolitan influential has a following because *he knows*; the local influential, because *he*

understands. The one is sought out for his specialized skills and experience; the other, for his intimate appreciation of intangible but affectively significant details.

In other words, while cosmopolitans were (slightly, not significantly) more educated, locals were more *educados*, able to use their learning in interpersonal relationships. Like Appiah (2006), I suggest that a blending of the two worldviews is necessary and possible (as I discuss in the next chapter). However, an unreflective emphasis on global learning, without attention to the commitment and caring of a more local approach, is likely to promote the “icy impartiality” of a “hard-core cosmopolitan” (Appiah, 2006, p. xvii). Valuing cosmopolitan cultural capital over more local forms of cultural capital is a form of hubris that ultimately leads to less knowledge of the world, not more. Calhoun (2008) writes that

The class consciousness of frequent travelers involves not only privilege, but the illusion that our experience of diversity and mobility reveals the world as a whole...I have friends around the world. I have traveled on every continent. I feel at home in cities (and hotels and airports) I have never before visited. I drive a foreign car and happily eat food from widely varying cuisines. I care about distant victims of disasters and injustices. The world seems small. Yet none of this makes the world a whole or reveals it to anyone in that wholeness (p. 110).

While students like Francisco may, as they grow, be prone to suffering from a false “illusion that our experience...reveals the world as a whole,” those like Daniela may be susceptible to seeing their experiences as revealing nothing at all. Although students like her are also a part of many local cultures, these cultures have not been deemed worthy of study by their teachers and peers. Moreover, students without access to travel and internet exploration, whether

due to limited income, undocumented status⁴³, or other reasons, may be left behind as they struggle to keep up in a globally-oriented school and society. As approximately half of the students at each of the two schools studied qualify for free and reduced price lunch, it is likely that many families may be unable to afford these resources. As I discuss in Chapter 7, it is important that all students have access to these resources. However, they will be able to engage more fully in cross-cultural exploration (both locally and globally) if their experiences and background knowledge are valued in curriculum and discourse like those of cosmopolitan students.

Also, while social class is not a culture (see Gorski's (2013) critique of the "culture of poverty"), it does impact intergroup relations and cross-cultural learning, as shown in Chapter 3. However, teachers expressed difficulty both empathizing and teaching across lines of class. Though White herself, Ms. DiBenedetto candidly shared her discomfort with both "uppity, rich, snobby White people" and "country, southern White people" (which not only hinted at discomfort with a lower social class, but also with a more local orientation). Ms. Melero described her struggle to support one White kindergartener who, amidst family issues with homelessness, developed a "resistance" to using Spanish; she ended up leaving the program at the end of kindergarten. Students need strategies for positive interactions across lines of social class, a strategy that is admittedly hard for many adults. Even Pittinsky (personal communication,

⁴³ Several Latin@ students in the study were U.S.-born children of undocumented immigrants. While these children may feel connected to a foreign country through their parents' experiences or have cultural capital that is valued by their teachers, both economic and legal barriers prevent them from further "investment" through traveling to that country and interacting with friends and family there.

September 8, 2014) struggled to define how allophilia might exist across lines of class, speculating that affection in this case was likely to take the form of either envy or pity, neither of which are actually positive emotions. Similarly, Ms. González doubted that you could “really teach a kid to have empathy for somebody...when you’re economically up here.” However, Gorski (2013) suggests that teachers can better support students in poverty not only by providing material and logistical support and active learning opportunities in a range of areas, but also by teaching about class and poverty locally and globally and using a discourse of resilience. This honest, yet allophilic, approach may provide a basis for more positive interactions across lines of class.

“Ethnic credits and racial penalties”

Another issue with the intense focus on globalism at John Dewey and Sunset is that it exacerbated what Randolph (2013) describes as a system of “assimilating diversity” that devalues the experiences of African-Americans students (p. 4). In her study of elementary school teachers in a large, segregated Midwestern city, she found that immigrant minorities were given “ethnic credits” because their differences were perceived to be of interest or benefit to the majority, yet African-Americans were stigmatized with “racial penalties.” Being labeled as ethnically different, rather than racially different, benefitted students of immigrant backgrounds; people were not only more curious about their heritage, but also more open to discussing differences, whereas Black students were silently stigmatized. She writes that “teachers simply did not see how Black students, as native-born minorities, benefitted them in a symbolic economy that was preoccupied with ‘foreignness’ (p. 53)” and goes on to explain how this

system “creates new hierarchies among minority students and schools” (p. 5) while at the same time preserving a White, American, mainstream, middle class norm.

As described above, while the norm at Sunset and John Dewey was likely more cosmopolitan and supportive of bilingualism than the schools she studied, the “symbolic economy” was even more “preoccupied with ‘foreignness.’” At John Dewey, with its miniscule African-American population, this led to almost no mention of African Americans in observed lessons or teacher interviews (unless prompted directly).⁴⁴ At Sunset, this resulted in differential treatment of students based on the perceived value of the “diversity” they contributed to the two-way immersion program.

The “ethnic credits” and “racial penalties” offered in this system were particularly striking in the case of the culture projects Ms. González did with her class. As mentioned earlier, students selected a country (usually one from which their families or ancestors came). Then, through both internet research and interviews with family members, they studied topics such as food, history, and music, wrote a paper, and prepared a presentation sharing their learning with the class. For most White and Latin@ students, choosing a country and learning from family was a relatively easy and rewarding task; one student wrote that “I want to explore Argentina’s beauty as well as its political problems so I can understand my mom’s origins better...She has promised me that one day I will

⁴⁴ The small number of African Americans at John Dewey limits my ability to draw conclusions about those students’ experiences. However, the exodus of middle-class African-American families from Amherst to surrounding areas has been identified as an issue in several local newspaper articles. The valuing of both “foreignness” and cosmopolitan cultural capital, paired with the low socioeconomic status of many of Amherst’s African-American residents, may serve to alienate many families.

visit this country with her. I can't wait!" while another reported "Both sides of my family came from Germany...My mom has visited a lot of places in Germany, so I've seen a lot of pictures." However, this process was much less straightforward for African-American students whose descendants were slaves, leaving them unable to trace their ancestry to a specific foreign country. Ms. González admitted

It comes easier for the students to have somebody who's from that place. I feel that especially for African-Americans, it's hard for them to identify with some place, and I don't want to tell them, well, you've got to do a country from Africa because we're talking about where you come from. Most of them got the message without me saying that; one was like "I'm African American, so I should do a place from Africa." But it's still not connecting with who she really is. If they wanted what they should do is a state, like "My parent is from New York so I want to talk about New York." ...It kind of came from them...But I want to go more global, we're doing countries.

Although the African-American students in the class ended up doing countries in Africa, like Uganda and Nigeria, or those with large populations of African origin, like Jamaica, the requirement that "we're doing countries" did not apply to all students. Because there were multiple students of Mexican heritage in the class, those students were allowed to do their projects on the specific cultures of the Mexican states where their families were from, such as Guanajuato and Michoacán. African-American students were not given the opportunity to research their own background through studying a state in the United States, but Mexican students were given an "ethnic credit," an exception to the rule that allowed them to study their own family's history.

Two-way immersion teachers at Sunset also openly admitted their relative unfamiliarity and occasional discomfort with elements of African-American culture. Although all showed evidence of an active struggle with these

perceptions, likely due to both the personal “border crossing” described earlier in this chapter and their everyday interactions with African-Americans, leading to the dissonance depicted in Chapter 4, each described instances where this led to conflicts with colleagues or students or the inability to help resolve student conflicts. As an international teacher, Ms. Melero was particularly open about her lack of background knowledge and interested in making sense of her interactions with African-American students and colleagues. In her initial interview, she named African-Americans as the culture she was interested in learning most about, and said.

I want to study a bit more from the beginning, try to understand the situation that is so different, and why among people of color there are two very different groups. There are people that are integrated into society and people that aren't and, my perception is that they don't want to be. And then there are those that work with Whites, even other teachers, but don't want to be like Whites. Essentially, there are three different groups.

I want to understand what happened long ago and what's still there, because it's still so concrete. You go to a festival, and there's no one there of color, though they live in the same city. People have disappeared, even though no one's told them not to enter. I don't know, I just want to understand it all.

Earlier that month, she had expressed frustration regarding two of the three Black boys in her class, who were having a rough time paying attention and seemed to be resisting the use of Spanish. She gave an example of a lesson where students were practicing completing the sentence “Yo soy...” (I am...) with Spanish words they had discussed as a class. One of the two boys completed his sentence with the English word “brown,” leading Ms. Melero to wonder whether his statement was a simple case of a kindergartener making an observation about his skin color and not having the word he wanted in Spanish, or a larger expression of cultural pride and resistance. She drew on her understandings of

“gitanos” (the Romani in Spain), a cultural group with which she had more familiarity, in an effort to make sense of her students’ behavior, but still felt unsure of how to meet their needs.

Likewise, one of the year’s greatest challenges for Ms. González was a protracted conflict involving the four African-American girls in her class. Zoe and Ella (one of whom was biracial, and another who was new to Sunset) both got into frequent verbal and, on one occasion, physical clashes with Erika, who had been described as “mean” by her 3rd grade teacher, and her best friend Selene (who several teachers had described as a “follower”). While Ms. González described many factors that she saw as contributing to the clash, including personal “baggage” like a divorce and move in one family, the impact of a class being together for five consecutive years due to the single-strand structure of Sunset’s program, and the climate of “competition they have in this classroom,” she went on to reflect that

A little bit had to do with “You know, you’re biracial, I’m African American and I’m jealous about you, about how you look” ...There was a racial part, at some point I didn’t think it was there. But scratching the surface of it, I think these two particular girls, think these Afro-Americans are just too into their culture,...try[ing] to be with a person because you have a particular culture...I hadn’t seen this before and it was very surprising, this group is divided by races, you see them in the playground, I have my Hispanics playing together, I have my two African American girls playing together, this biracial girl who thinks she doesn’t belong so she plays by herself. With the boys there’s more variety, but something with the girls is going on that is just separating them by race.

Both “trying to be with a person because you have a particular culture” and what Ms. DiBenedetto termed the “probationary period” required of her by Black colleagues are typical behaviors that allow African Americans to develop a positive group identity in the face of structural racism that systematically

privileges White, and as Randolph (2013) adds, “foreign” cultures (Tatum, 2003). These experiences are markedly different from teachers’ own experiences of marginalization and difficult for White and immigrant Latin@ teachers to understand. Without a deep understanding of the reasons for these behaviors, teachers can inadvertently assess “racial penalties” or fail to respond to students in a way that supports them navigating the particularly challenging cultural environment of a two-way immersion program.

At the end of the year, both Zoe and Ella ended up leaving Sunset and moving to different neighboring districts, with both parents explaining that the conflict was a large part of their decision to leave the school. Five other students left the program but not the school (indicating that a family move was not the reason for their departure) between the 2013-14 and 2014-15 school years, two of whom were African-American and one of whom was the homeless White kindergartener described earlier. In my role as program coordinator, a disproportionate number of Black families have met with me to question whether the program is right for their child, or simply pulled their child from the program. While these are only anecdotes, they contribute to a sense at both Sunset and more generally that dual immersion education is an elite program that is “not meant for everyone” (Cadez, 2007, in Boudreaux & Olivier, 2009), a perception Ms. Melero felt was shared by her colleagues.

At school [among other staff members] there’s not an understanding that immersion is different. All there is is that there are fewer African Americans in my classes and for this I’m “lucky,” in quotation marks. Sometimes on my team [which consisted of three African-American teachers and one White teacher] I feel a little like “Your class is always so full of parents, you always have so many chaperones, they always bring you everything.” It’s true, but they only see this part.

As discussed in the literature review, the “fewer African Americans” in many two-way immersion classes in the United States, as well as the attrition of students in general, is not addressed in scholarly literature (Boudreaux & Olivier, 2009) or mentioned in the glowing studies that show the academic success of students in two-way immersion programs across racial and socioeconomic groups (Thomas & Collier, 2013). One critical factor identified in studies of dropping out and attrition more generally is the extent to which someone identifies with their school or program (Boudreaux & Olivier, 2009). It is likely that valuing globalism at the expense of the experiences of Black students may contribute to a feeling of not belonging.

Together, both the Common Core and global education are part of a larger neoliberal discourse in education that prioritizes students’ economic competitiveness in the international sphere, rather than their ability to contribute collaboratively to positive social relations both locally and globally. Students are encouraged to learn from the “native speaker held up as the model in foreign language studies, “an idealized figure” based on ‘the middle class, ethnically dominant male citizenry of nation-states,’” rather than their “flesh-and-blood” (Kramsch, 2003, p.255, in Wooten, 2010, p.10) classmates and community members. Allowing this emphasis to drive cross-cultural learning in two-way immersion programs exacerbates divisions based on race and class and undercuts their rich potential to promote stated goals like “cross-cultural thoughtfulness,” “global competence,” and “social justice” for all students.

As Cervantes-Soon (2014) writes,

Despite the growing webs of connection between peoples and places that globalization promotes, the neoliberal philosophy that is at work in the new Latin@ diaspora and in schools can

substantially limit the ability to advance and use such networks as a basis for developing an attitude of conscious engagement, meaningful inclusion, and social justice (p. 78)

In the next chapter, I challenge this limited conception of education and present suggestions for improving *educación* that seeks to develop “conscious engagement, meaningful inclusion, and social justice” at the macrosystemic (national and state), program, and classroom level. In doing so, two-way immersion programs can not only welcome the full range of English and Spanish-speaking students in their communities, but also support them in learning from each other.

Chapter 7: Towards a “sliding glass door”- Glocal cross-cultural *educación*

Each time I enter John Dewey or Sunset, I stop momentarily at the heavy steel doors to pass through the security system. Usually, my key fob or my bilingual greeting and teacherlike smile identify me as someone who belongs there, and I quickly gain access. Occasionally, when no one is in the office or I have lost my keys, it takes longer; I bang on the door in hopes someone might acknowledge me. I sometimes wonder whether these security systems, crafted in response to horrific tragedies like the Sandy Hook school shooting, have the desired effect. Do they keep out true danger? Or, do they just frustrate teachers, students, parents, and community members, forcing them to periodically bang on doors in hopes of recognition or turn away in frustration?

The reinforced steel doors at both schools contrast with “sliding glass doors.” Extending the “mirrors” and “windows” metaphor used to describe multicultural children’s literature, Bishop (1990) describes a sliding glass door as a window, a view of another world, that one only has to “walk through in imagination to become part of whatever world has been created or recreated by the author.” Sliding glass doors not only provide a broad view of the world, but encourage sustained interaction. They open up a space, helping to build community and facilitate conversation, while still allowing people to position themselves in distinct places and move between being “insiders” and “outsiders”. Yet, sliding glass doors also are characterized by perceived inefficiency and danger. It is important to recognize that the climate is often different on each side of the door, and so it requires extra energy. However,

when the climate is right, the air breathed through the open door feels a bit fresher. The one in our basement is also probably the easiest way for someone with malicious intentions to break into our house, and has already resulted in minor discomforts - collisions with almost-invisible screens and smashed toddler fingers. For these reasons, the choice to have reinforced steel, rather than sliding glass, doors at John Dewey and Sunset appears rational.

However, in spite of their drawbacks, I assert that the “authors” of two-way immersion programs need to create more metaphorical “sliding glass doors” – structures and practices that promote broad worldviews and inclusive interaction, in spite of (and perhaps embracing) perceived inefficiencies and dangers. These characteristics of sliding glass doors are embodied in Palmer’s (2007) recognition of two-way immersion programs as “contact zones,” or “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power” (Pratt, 1998, p. 173). Palmer explains that “Contact zones are ‘unsafe’ places, and while the rewards are great for entering them, our tendency is to avoid them at all costs” (2007, p. 760); however, “it is only there that the possibility exists for attaining the authentic equity that all members of this school community claim to desire” (2010, p. 110). The structure of two-way immersion programs means that, to some extent, they are inevitably “contact zones” or “sliding glass doors” – places where cultures meet and negotiate, usually under conditions of unequal status. Though sharing the same space, the groups there often perceive different climates, and significant energy is required to create equitable conditions and realize the benefits of these broadened worldviews. Thus, “sliding glass doors” can be viewed as dangerous or inefficient, and thus boarded up, often inadvertently - by avoiding difficult

conversations or excluding certain groups from the program or its decisionmaking processes. Palmer (2007) points out that, in the California program she studied

Some families in Medgar Evers' two-way immersion, even as they seek authentic integration and cross-cultural contact for their children, avoid the more dangerous-feeling contact zones of race and class diversity, preferring instead to engage in what appears to be seen as a 'safer' diversity along cultural and linguistic lines (p. 760).

While John Dewey and Sunset's programs have important differences from that of Medgar Evers, my findings both echo Palmer's and also suggest that it is not only families that "seek authentic integration and cross-cultural contact...but avoid the more dangerous-feeling contact zones of race and class diversity;" rather, school, district, and state policies, practices, and priorities can help to shape two-way immersion programs into contexts where inclusive cross-cultural *educación* is a stated, but often unfulfilled, goal. *Educación* requires holding open the "sliding glass door," fully embracing two-way immersion programs' position as "contact zones" and finding ways to make them contexts for positive relationships and learning across many different lines of difference.

In this dissertation, I have examined how both the contact conditions within a school and characteristics of the wider macrosystem affect the placement of "sliding glass doors," or opportunities for cross-cultural *educación*, within two two-way immersion programs. I also have described some social processes within classrooms – the ways teachers talk about difference, as well as the way curricular priorities place greater value on the learning resources (or cultural capital) possessed by some students – that may serve to board up or open wide these "sliding glass doors." In Chapters 3 and 4, I found that John

Dewey and Sunset offered different strengths in providing students' with a strong cross-cultural *educación*. The support of school and district authorities at John Dewey for both two-way immersion and for project-based learning facilitated intentional opportunities for cross-cultural learning both in classrooms and schoolwide. However, "the more dangerous-feeling contact zones of race and class diversity," (Palmer, 2007, p. 760), while very much present, were rarely made explicitly salient. Instead, a discourse of "color-blind collectivism" (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009) that valued limited cultural and linguistic difference, but within a framework of commonality, was common. In contrast, at Sunset, a lack of school and district supports meant that, at times, the explicit cross-cultural curriculum was almost nonexistent. However, the racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity there kept students and teachers *en puntillas*; though uncomfortable at times, the dissonance experienced in this "contact zone" pushed them to engage in a dynamic process of decategorization, categorization, and recategorization, in which they recognized difference and found ways of incorporating it into their worldview. In Chapter 5, I illustrated that, at both schools, the Common Core's emphasis on testing a limited repertoire of literacy skills closed the door on both multiple ways of knowing and the opportunity to acquire deep cross-cultural learning likely to be transferable to new contexts and situations. In the current climate of testing and accountability, the efficiency of "integration" with literacy standards, rather than true engagement, was prioritized. Finally, in Chapter 6, I found that one common way of maintaining the sense of safety that Palmer describes is by keeping one's distance through the adoption of a cosmopolitan, "global" worldview that celebrates foreignness and linguistic diversity, but not other

differences. While both these patterns likely stem from macrosystemic influences, they are operationalized as classroom social processes that ascribe greater value to some students' cultural capital than others and limit opportunities for cross-cultural learning among all students.

In this chapter, I examine how it might be possible to rework those priorities, policies, practices, and processes in order to build two-way immersion programs not only with firm "foundations" and shiny "windows" and "mirrors," but also the opportunities for sustained interaction that "sliding glass doors," when opened wide, can provide. Once again drawing on the ecological model of development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; 2006), I consider what the implications of this research might be at three levels: the macrosystem (research and policy at the state and national level), the microsystem (program), and classroom social processes. First, I argue that, at the state and national level, researchers, policymakers, and other advocates of two-way immersion programs need to emphasize a commitment to equity that is not limited to equalizing the status of language groups, but also diverse racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups. Priorities and policies should help ensure that programs are prepared to include and meet the needs of the broad range of English- and Spanish-speakers in a given community, and issues of underrepresentation and attrition need to be given more attention. Moreover, these educational leaders can play a role in tempering the widespread emphasis on global competition with recognition of the importance of a cooperative, "glocal" (Brooks & Normore, 2011) perspective that recognizes the connections between people, as well as between the local and global. In doing so, they may be able to create improved contact conditions within schools and communities.

Then, at the program level, I suggest using contact theory as a lens to analyze programs' strengths and weaknesses in creating conditions for cross-cultural *educación*, as I do here. This can be a tool for broadening the conversation about creating opportunities for cross-cultural learning to include recognition of how linguistic, cultural, racial, and class identities intersect in particular communities and how those intersections impact the status between groups, as well as the collaborative consideration of a wider range of two-way immersion program models. Finally, I respond to Pratt's (1998) call for "pedagogical arts of the contact zone" (p. 184), or tools that teachers can use to help their students open the "sliding glass door." I argue that explicit opportunities for cross-cultural learning should teach students to recognize difference and develop transferable skills for cross-cultural learning. Thus, I suggest the use of a glocal, transformative, allophilic (Sarroub, 2008; Banks, 1989; Pittinsky, 2009; 2011) approach in which students use anthropological techniques to identify the "funds of knowledge" (González, et al., 1995) of cultures they interact with on a daily basis. Together, these strategies can shift the focus of cross-cultural learning from content to relationships, connecting abstractions such as program models, goals, and academic content to the specific strengths and needs of students and communities. As both programs and students learn to *care for* the diverse people and communities around them, rather than only *about* the wider world, they broaden the capacity of two-way immersion programs to provide an *educación* that engages all students in learning to read – and interact with – both "the [bilingual] word and the [multicultural] world" (Freire & Macedo, 1987).

Ensuring equity, catalyzing cooperation: The role of macrosystemic priorities and policies

In Chapters 1 and 3, I described how discourse and policies in state and national macrosystems have created challenging conditions in which two-way immersion programs must attempt to meet their goals of cross-cultural *educación*. These include increasing resegregation of schools, the status differences and emphasis on competition brought on by globalization, and a focus on meeting the needs of native English speakers rather than English Language Learners. In Chapters 5 and 6, I identified two ways in which these forces appeared to influence classroom social processes. A focus on written literacy for the sake of global competition – embodied in state tests of the Common Core standards – limited students' exposure to diverse ways of knowing, while an emphasis on globalism marginalized particular groups of students – U.S.-born Latin@s (and particularly the children of undocumented immigrants), African-Americans, and economically-disadvantaged students. Members of these groups not only deserve (and often lack) enriching educational experiences such as two-way immersion education, but they also have valuable, and often misunderstood, perspectives to contribute to all students' cross-cultural *educación*. Researchers and policymakers committed to two-way immersion education can support programs in meeting goals for cross-cultural *educación* by adopting a broader equity stance that insures the full inclusion of this range of English- and Spanish-speakers and identifies and compensates for systemic inequities that limit participation. They can also help create improved conditions for positive cross-cultural interactions by reframing the pervasive discourse of global competition

to emphasize the importance of “glocal” (Brooks & Normore, 2010) understandings and cooperation.

Beyond bilingualism: Towards equity and inclusiveness

One way in which researchers and policymakers can support two-way immersion programs in meeting goals for equitable cross-cultural *educación* is to devote more attention to helping programs attract and retain student and teacher populations that are representative of Spanish and English speakers in the surrounding community in terms of ethnic and class diversity. The demographics of both John Dewey and Sunset, as well as research by Parchia (2000), Palmer (2007), and others, reveal that the students and teachers in two-way immersion programs frequently are not representative of the English and Spanish speakers in the surrounding community. While most two-way immersion programs devote attention to ensuring that the two linguistic groups are equally represented and equitably supported within the program (Howard, Sugarman, & Christian, 2007), there is less attention within both research literature (Valdés, 2002; Palmer, 2010) and educational leaders’ discourse to issues of ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic inclusiveness; adopting this stance is critical to ensuring that two-way immersion programs can be a tool for promoting equity and *educación*, rather than division.

Researchers have a critical role to play in broadening the notion of equity in two-way immersion research beyond the dimensions of language. As discussed in Chapter 1, large-scale studies hail the academic benefits of two-way immersion education for socioeconomically- and ethnically-diverse students (Thomas & Collier, 2012), but fail to examine the underrepresentation and

attrition of students, most notably African-Americans, identified in smaller-scale studies (Parchia, 2000; Madison Metropolitan School District, 2013). This brings into question the validity of these quantitative studies' samples, and makes it difficult to examine on a larger scale how two-way immersion practices may value or devalue the perspectives and experiences of some subgroups. Thus, large-scale studies on program composition and attrition are needed. In addition, based on my findings in Chapter 3 and 4, I hypothesize that resources and contact conditions within a context and ways of talking about diversity are likely to interact in ways that lead to different outcomes in students' cross-cultural learning. Testing the impact of these influences, both through large-scale quantitative studies and action research in particular contexts, can help schools to adapt their programs so that they are places of both belonging and learning for a wide range of students. In particular, as the demographic differences between program models at John Dewey suggest and as I will discuss in more depth in the next section, researchers may be able to support schools by examining how the choice of program model may impact the inclusion of a broad range of students.

One critical way that policymakers can help two-way immersion programs to be inclusive and supportive of the diverse student populations in their state is to facilitate the preparation of teachers coming from these backgrounds. These teachers are more likely to be able to facilitate social processes that recognize and build upon students' cultural strengths (Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Sleeter, 2007; Delpit, 2008). As discussed in Chapter 6, North Carolina's dependence on foreign teachers in its two-way immersion programs limits programs' capacity to understand and meet the

needs of a diverse range of students. While foreign teachers present one valuable opportunity for cross-cultural learning, they are less likely to possess the knowledge of student backgrounds needed to help them navigate their own experiences of “border crossing” (Bartolomé, 2004) and cross-cultural learning. Thus, the money invested in this large-scale recruitment of foreign teachers could be used to develop programs that better prepare North Carolina educators for teaching in two-way immersion programs. This includes the development of a bilingual education endorsement, which would ensure that all two-way immersion teachers had basic knowledge of the principles of two-way immersion education and strategies for meeting those goals. In addition, there is a need for special programs to support African-Americans and first- and second-generation Mexican and Central American immigrants in gaining the skills and knowledge needed for success as educators in two-way immersion programs. Teachers from these groups are almost nonexistent in the programs at John Dewey and Sunset, even though there are many students from those groups in both Amherst and Lowell who could benefit from role models - “mirrors” to guide them around the tricky corners they face in their cross-cultural learning. Helpful programs could include scholarships for summer immersion programs for African-American teachers with some proficiency in a second language, as well as study abroad scholarships for African-American teacher candidates, in order to build their capacity for teaching in a two-way immersion program (Two African-American teachers at Sunset with limited Spanish skills have expressed interest in this). Partnerships between North Carolina’s many historically Black colleges and universities and growing number of two-way immersion programs (as suggested by Parchia, 2000) could also create opportunities for learning among students,

prospective teachers, and academics. Inexpensive, feasible pathways to teacher certification are also needed for bilingual Latin@s already in the state, including in-state tuition for undocumented students and evening and summer scholarship programs designed to help instructional assistants already working in schools to become teachers (such as that run by the BUENO Center at the University of Colorado). By attempting to more fully identify and broaden who participates in two-way immersion programs, researchers and policymakers can help them become a tool to challenge, rather than mirror, inequitable macrosystemic conditions.

Changing the conversations: From global competition to glocal cooperation

Researchers and policymakers can not only play a role in influencing who is part of two-way immersion programs, but in situating programs within larger national and state discourses, and when necessary, helping to reframe these conversations. One pervasive discourse that may negatively influence cross-cultural learning processes is the current emphasis on global education for the sake of economic competitiveness, of which two-way immersion programs are an integral part (North Carolina Public Schools, 2013a). In its current form, global education may marginalize many students, as I discuss in Chapter 6. Moreover, as I argue in Chapter 3, both it and the related standards and accountability movement emphasize competition rather than the cooperation needed for positive cross-cultural interactions.

I argue that instead of prioritizing globalism, educational thought leaders – and particularly those promoting two-way immersion programs – should shift their focus towards cooperative *glocalism*. The term “glocal,” originating in the

field of economics, describes phenomena that are simultaneously local and global, in which global products or ideas are manifested in distinct, local ways, according to particular conditions and contexts (Sarroub, 2009; Brooks & Normore, 2010). A glocal orientation challenges essentialized and objective views of culture, recognizing that “global trends and influences do not replace local specificities or realities; they interact with them in a ceaseless, dynamic, and asymmetrical fashion” (Skalli, 2006, p. 3). Thus, it prioritizes understanding how the local and global intersect, recognizing one’s unique position but also how it relates to that of others and favoring exploration of these *connections* over discrete cultural *content*.

Adopting a glocal, rather than global, outlook is critical for improving cross-cultural *educación* in two-way immersion programs for several reasons. First, it encourages the recognition of non-linguistic difference within a school community, not just in the outside world, and avoids the marginalization of students who do not have easy access to international perspectives and experiences. This creates a supportive, learning-focused space for surfacing and processing dissonant perspectives. By valuing sustained interaction, a glocal outlook also enhances the possibility of promoting cooperation and socioemotional development - which both catalyze cognitive growth and in themselves are necessary for cross-cultural learning. Additionally, these interactions offer students practice with interpersonal, as well as written and digital, literacies or ways of knowing. Researchers and policymakers can not only begin to talk about glocalism, but model it through the engagement of diverse local communities in research and decisionmaking, thus making those activities part of an inclusive process of glocal cross-cultural *educación* that builds

upon local strengths and meets community needs, rather than an exclusive form of global education. While this approach will not fully counter the limited worldviews and inequities of the current neoliberal macrosystem, it does provide opportunities to effect change within microsystems, where the social processes that most directly impact students' development take place.

Constructing contact: The role of programs

In Chapter 3, I used the lens of contact theory to analyze to what extent John Dewey and Sunset created the conditions likely to support the development of positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors: the support of institutional authority, cooperative interdependence, equal status between groups, and the salience of group, as well as individual and superordinate, identities. I found that while neither program displayed the interrelated conditions likely to lead to the most positive cross-cultural learning outcomes, each had strengths and weaknesses likely to impact the processes of cross-cultural *educación* at the school. This theoretical lens was a helpful tool that could be used by other programs to assess their strengths and weaknesses in cross-cultural *educación*, perhaps through the design of observational protocols or surveys to be used by diverse groups of stakeholders.

My analysis at John Dewey and Southwest pointed to the importance of recognizing the intersectionality of linguistic, cultural, racial, and class identities within particular communities in order to assess both the status and salience of groups within a school. Program leaders need to move beyond generalizations and assumptions based on unidimensional demographic data, such as the conflation of Latin@ and poor at John Dewey, and instead identify the multiple

groups that exist in particular communities. Then, it is possible to ask how the program and cross-cultural interactions might be structured in a way that helps to equalize the status of particular marginalized groups. For instance, in a recent parent meeting at Sunset, we discussed the tension between conducting meetings primarily in Spanish with English translation (to help equalize the status of Spanish and Spanish-speakers) and recognizing the discomfort expressed by several poor, African-American parents (a group that appears to be particularly underrepresented in the program).

Relatedly, one particularly important choice made at the program level is the choice of language allocation model. As I discuss in Chapter 3, different groups may perceive different advantages to 90/10 and 50/50 models, which in turn may affect who participates in a given program. However, these concerns are not addressed in research literature, and were not openly discussed in the planning process at Sunset or John Dewey; Sunset's model was adopted based on the recommendation of a renowned researcher, with little input from stakeholders, and John Dewey parents were given the option of choosing between the two most common program models with little guidance. In both cases, the lack of inclusivity and thought in the planning process at the local level appears to have created lasting challenges related to students' cross-cultural *educación* – the underrepresentation of many students of color and the within-school segregation at John Dewey discussed in Chapter 3, and the frequent concern about the progress of African-American students and their higher rates of attrition at Sunset, as noted in Chapter 6.

I suggest that the choice of program model should be a collaborative and creative process that involves a diverse range of the target language speakers in a

community, and especially those underrepresented in two-way immersion programs, such as African-Americans. Wiese (2010) recognizes that program models are “socially constructed, not implemented, at both the school and classroom level” (p. 86). Thus, program models need to be seen as flexible guides, rather than strict templates; leaders need to move beyond choosing between 50/50 and 90/10 models and rather use them a starting point for facilitating conversations that draw upon diverse stakeholders’ unique understandings of their context to construct a equitable and inclusive program that meets their goals (Howard, Sugarman, & Christian, 2007). This stands in stark contrast to the “turnkey” (VIF International Education, 2014) approach being adopted by many programs as two-way immersion programs rapidly expand in North Carolina and elsewhere as part of a push for expanded global education. Researchers can provide support to schools in this process by both profiling alternative two-way immersion models that may work in particular contexts, such as a modified 50/50 model shared by Gómez, Freeman, and Freeman (2010), and even more importantly, profiles of what inclusive, collaborative development of two-way immersion program models can look like. Though, like a sliding glass door, this process may be inefficient at times, it is likely to make difference salient and equalize status between groups, creating the conditions for inclusive cross-cultural *educación* as the program develops and modeling cross-cultural *educación* for students.

Making glocal cross-cultural *educación* happen: The role of teachers

While not exhaustive, the above recommendations should help to strengthen the support structures for cross-cultural *educación* within two-way

immersion programs – the “foundations,” “mirrors,” “windows,” and “sliding glass doors,” that enable programs to effectively capitalize on their unique status as “contact zones” to promote the development of positive cross-cultural interactions, attitudes, and behaviors. However, it is ultimately the educators within those programs that facilitate the learning processes in which students’ explicit cross-cultural learning happens. In Chapters 4 and 5, I discussed the limitations of talking about difference using a discourse of “color-blind collectivism” (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009) and integrating globally-themed content into literacy instruction; these approaches not only marginalized the experiences of many students, but also limited opportunities for exploring the many ways of knowing that diverse cultures have to offer and for learning in a deep way that promoted transfer to new situations. Here, I propose several alternatives. First, I suggest that teachers should work to make multiple “dual identities” (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009) salient in the classroom. Secondly, I present the rationale for using a “glocal,” rather than “global” approach in the classroom. Finally, I hypothesize that one way of doing this may be a disciplinary approach that teaches students how to learn about cultures through direct instruction in ethnographic techniques and application of those skills in interactions with “other” cultures in their school and community. In particular, I draw upon González, et al.’s (1995) “funds of knowledge” approach, arguing that it can be applied to students to promote cross-cultural learning that is glocal (Sarroub, 2008), allophilic (Pittinsky, 2012) and transformative (Banks, 1989).

In Chapter 4, I identified the distinct ways that teachers talked about difference at John Dewey and Sunset; I hypothesized that, while these social processes were one of many affecting the development of cross-cultural attitudes

and behaviors, they were likely to influence how students engaged in the important developmental process of decategorization, categorization, and recategorization (Bigler & Liben, 2007; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). I argued that the discourse of “color-blind collectivism” (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009) at John Dewey discouraged categorization and thus inadvertently marginalized non-dominant students and limited possibilities for cross-cultural learning. Like Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy (2009), I advocate for making multiple “dual identities” salient in the classroom by simultaneously affirming students’ membership in the classroom community and as members of multiple cultural groups. Teachers should recognize categorization as a normal developmental process; thus rather than attempting to avoid it in conversations with students, they should teach students how to dynamically decategorize, categorize, and recategorize in increasingly complex ways. At Sunset, this occasionally happened informally, as students made connections between multiple cultures, asked questions, and reassessed their own worldviews; however, intentionally engaging students in a more dissonant discourse is likely to be more successful in meeting learning goals.

Teachers at both schools expressed hesitation about opening this “sliding glass door” to what Nieto (2010) calls “dangerous discourses” (p.146), discussions that challenge the ideologies usually represented in curricular materials and may raise issues that teachers feel uncomfortable discussing, such as race, religion, and class. There will be smashed fingers and bumped noses; it is important for both teachers and students to know that discomfort is normal (Singleton & Hayes, 2008). However, it is also essential to provide teachers strategies to both work through the discomfort and maximize the new learning

that can be gained from making multiple group identities salient in the classroom. One way to do this is by teaching educators ethnographic techniques in order to identify the “funds of knowledge” and multiple cultures present in the homes of their students (González, et al., 1995), and then designing culturally-relevant curriculum units building upon those understandings. Through this process, culturally-sensitive teachers can gain competence regarding cultures new to them while developing confidence in navigating the risks inherent in emphasizing difference (and, as I will suggest later in this section, may even be able to implement it with students in order to meet cross-cultural learning goals).

In Chapter 5, I discussed the limitations of a global approach focused on foreign countries in promoting cross-cultural learning. Instead, I recommend that teachers also adopt the “glocal” outlook discussed earlier in this chapter, which emphasizes the connections between the local and the global (Sarroub, 2008; Brooks & Normore, 2010). A glocal perspective requires not only the “systems thinking,” in which students learn to “analyze how parts of a whole interact with each other to produce overall outcomes in complex systems,” of a 21st century education (Partnership for 21st Century Skills, 2009, p.4), but also the “moral ethic of caring that nurtures and values relationships” (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 22) of a 21st century *educación*. Striking a balance between the local and cosmopolitan outlooks discussed in Chapter 5, a “glocal” perspective permits one to focus deeply on particular people and places, while at the same placing those understandings in dialogue with other perspectives and with a broader knowledge of the world. Weissbourd and Jones (2014) describe how practicing – and seeing role models practice - this capacity to “zoom in” and “zoom out”

helps to develop empathy and caring and broaden one's "circle of concern" (p. 3). Likewise, Calhoun (2008) suggests that this approach can help to mediate some of the classism found in a cosmopolitan perspective, writing that

Cosmopolitans who think in terms of connections—and their incompleteness and partiality—are less likely to turn a blind eye to the material inequalities that shape the ways in which different people can belong to specific groups while still inhabiting the world as a whole. (p.113)

He argues that when we look at issues glocally, paying attention to the specific ways in which people are connected and disconnected, rather than abstract, universalist understandings of the world, we are better able to understand what builds solidarity and causes division across lines of difference. Teachers can encourage students to think glocally by focusing on making deep connections (and disconnections) between their lived experiences and broader global and cultural phenomena, creating an inclusive classroom and facilitating the teaching of transferable skills and understandings that students can apply to the unique and unpredictable cross-cultural interactions they will encounter throughout their lives.

One particular way to engage students, especially in the upper elementary grades and above, in both identifying their own and others' multiple group identities and in thinking glocally may be to engage them in the ethnographic process of identifying "funds of knowledge" (González, et al., 1995) discussed above. By teaching students specific skills from the discipline of anthropology, such as asking questions, triangulating data from multiple sources, reflecting on one's positionality and emotional response, and seeking out and incorporating dissonant perspectives, students have the potential to learn transferable strategies for how to learn about other cultures and develop the capacity to take

multiple perspectives, the foundation of transformative curricula and inclusive social action and decisionmaking (Banks, 1989). In addition, this approach could allow students to apply basic literacy skills, such as those delineated in the Common Core standards, to answering important questions about human lives and communities (Gardner & Boix-Mansilla, 1994). Moreover, González, et al. (1995) note that for teachers engaged in using the “funds of knowledge” approach, “ethnography surfaced as more than techniques. It surfaced as a filter through which the households were conceptualized as multidimensional and vibrant entities” (p. 451). Similarly, teaching students to think like anthropologists may help them to categorize in more cognitively complex ways, encouraging them to resist essentialism and see the vibrancy of other cultures. Students can practice ethnographic skills in projects focused on cultures they encounter in their school and community, identifying the cultures that are part of their lives and considering how these cultures can help them better understand, participate in, and help others participate in their school, community, and world. These cultures are unlikely to be as abstract as the cultures of a nation-state; rather, they are likely to be local (a class, family, or sports team culture) or glocal (e.g. Karen refugees in Amherst). Students can also be encouraged to apply this learning, like González’s teachers, to improving the (hidden) curricula of their school and community, working to ensure that structures, practices, and interactions value the rich, dynamic, and multiple cultures in their school.

Teaching students ethnographic skills and encouraging them to apply them to understand their glocal community frames cross-cultural learning as a process, rather than a possession. Rather than having cosmopolitan cultural capital distributed to them unequally in a “banking” model (Freire, 1970), as

discussed in Chapter 5, students learn how to earn “glocal” cultural capital; these transferable skills have exchange value, allowing them to be successful in a range of cultures. Moreover, rather than granting value to the exclusionary, cosmopolitan “target” cultures traditionally privileged in language education, it draws upon the “funds of knowledge” that students of all backgrounds possess. This approach does not preclude global education; rather, it first gives students practice with the cultures closest to them so that they are able to engage in deep analysis and understanding as they venture further afield. Rather than hoping that students catch some interesting glimpses through “windows” to other cultures within the books they read, it teaches them skills for opening the “sliding glass door” – first to learn about their immediate surroundings, but then to confidently walk away to encounter new people and places.

...

The doors at Sunset and John Dewey open up to the whole world; if I left my Sunset classroom, turned right, and headed south down the trail just beyond the playground, I could eventually reach Antarctica. More importantly, however, these doors open out to the people and cultures I interact with each day and care *for* (Valenzuela, 1999), just as the doors of each two-way immersion program open onto their own glocal context. The doors are still heavy steel, but in writing this I attempt to hold them open, in hopes of creating a broader point of view and an equitable climate within these particular settings, facilitating interactions that promote development, and over time, making the “air we breathe” (Tatum, 2003) - the macrosystemic structures, policies, and discourses that shape our everyday interactions across lines of difference - a bit healthier. I

invite inside the researchers, educational leaders, and practitioners who care *about* two-way immersion programs so that through allophilia and action, critique and conversation, and dissonance and decisionmaking, we can collaboratively build their capacity for cross-cultural *educación*.

Appendix A: Sample interview protocol

Beginning of year:

Beliefs and prior experiences

1. Tell me about why you became a teacher.
 - a. What are your greatest goals for your students?
2. How did you become a teacher in the two-way bilingual program?
 - a. What attracted you to that position?
3. What cultures are you most familiar with and why?
4. Which cultures would you most like to learn more about? Why? How?
5. Tell me about your experience learning a second language and culture.
 - a. What was most exciting?
 - b. Most difficult or frustrating?
 - c. Most rewarding?
6. What culture or cultures do you belong to now?
 - a. Do you consider yourself bicultural as well as bilingual?
7. Tell me about a time that you've had a negative experience in interacting with someone of another cultural or linguistic background. What happened, and why?
 - a. Does this happen often in your personal life?
 - b. Your professional life?
8. Based on your experiences at your school so far, how would you describe the relationships between students of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds?
 - a. Can you give an example that illustrates this?
9. Based on your experiences at your school so far, how would you describe the relationships between adults (teachers, staff, parents) of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds?
 - a. Can you give an example that illustrates this?

Relationship to practice

10. How does your cultural background and knowledge affect you as a teacher?
11. Do you have any education or professional development focused on multicultural education (or anything else that will help prepare you for meeting culture & collaboration goals)?
 - a. Do you feel that education was effective? Why or why not?
 - b. What do you remember and use most from those experiences?
12. I want to ask you some questions about your program's cross-cultural learning goal(s). Please read it carefully.
 - a. Which words stand out to you as the most important? How would you say it in your own words in kid-friendly language?
 - b. What are your hopes for helping students reach this goal this year?
 - c. What have you done in the past to encourage this learning in students, and what challenges have you had?

- d. As our PLC at Sunset discussed this goal last spring, there were some interesting discussions that arose. I'd like to ask your thoughts about some of these "tough questions" that came up.
- i. One thing that we talked about was students' "attitudes of curiosity," and how sometimes being curious conflicts with being PC or socially appropriate. How much do you think teachers should allow or encourage students to explore other cultures even when it means making potentially offensive mistakes?
 1. Can you think of a time this has happened in your classroom? How did you react?
 - ii. Another thing that we hope students demonstrate is "cultural self-awareness," but we discussed how at times students may not have the same understanding of their culture as the adults around them (For instance, a student of Guatemalan origin who thinks they are Mexican, or a biracial student who doesn't identify strongly with one part of that identity, in spite of their parents' wishes). What do you think the role of teachers in helping students' develop cultural self-awareness?
 1. How is this similar or different to the role of parents? Others (students, community members)?
 2. Can you think of a time this has been a challenge in your classroom? What happened, and what did you do?
 - iii. Finally, we want students to demonstrate the "skill of... empathy," but some of our discussions suggested that there can be a tension between being empathetic and recognizing that you often can't fully understand someone else's perspective (and that it's important to respect their diversity of experience). Do you think there are limits to a person's capacity to empathize, especially with someone of a very different cultural background or with very different life experiences?
 1. Can you think of a time, professionally or personally, that being empathetic wasn't possible or desirable? What happened, and what did you do?
 2. As a teacher, how do you teach students to be empathetic? Do you also have to teach students to recognize its limits? If so, how?
 - iv. Looking closely at the goal one more time, are there any other "tough questions" that you think might arise as you work to help students reach this goal?

- e. What are your hopes for teaching students cross-cultural thoughtfulness this year?
- f. What have you done in the past to encourage this learning in students, and what challenges have you had?

Culture-specific questions

I'm going to ask some questions about specific cultural groups who are part of our school and community. I know this is a bit repetitive and may also be somewhat sensitive or feel overgeneralized, but I appreciate your honesty and thoughtfulness.

- 13. Tell me about your interactions with Latino cultures now.
 - a. Do you regularly interact with Latinos? In what circumstances?
 - b. Do you have close friends who are Latino?
 - c. Do you feel comfortable within a group of Latinos?
 - d. What experiences do you think have led you to feel this way?
- 14. Please tell me about your interactions with people who speak a language you don't (i.e. not Spanish or English).
 - a. Do you regularly interact with them? In what circumstances?
 - b. Do you have close friends who are not proficient in English/Spanish?
 - c. Do you feel comfortable within a group of non-English/Spanish speakers?
 - d. What experiences do you think have led you to feel this way?

(Repeat for Whites, African Americans, Asians)

- 15. We've come to the end of our interview. Is there anything else you've been thinking about as we've talked that you'd like to share?

End of year:*Classroom intergroup behaviors and attitudes*

1. If possible, provide teacher with sticky notes with student names. Ask teachers: If it was free time, show me what I'm likely to see. How would students group themselves?
 - a. Looking at this, tell me about your students' interactions with each other in class (both academic and social).
 - b. What is going well?
 - c. What are you concerned about?
 - d. Do you notice any patterns to their interactions based on language, racial, and/or cultural groups?
2. Tell me about your students' interactions with you (both academic and social).
 - a. What is going well?
 - b. What are you concerned about?
 - c. Do you notice any patterns to their interactions based on language, racial, and/or cultural groups?
 - d. (Describe a student that you have a particularly good relationship/difficult relationship with this year. What is good/difficult about this relationship, and why?
3. (Share fieldnote excerpts from observation and student data). What stands out to you?
 - a. What thoughts or explanations do you have?
 - b. (Ask specific questions that emerge from fieldnotes).

Reflection on instruction

4. Thinking back over the year, I'm wondering if you can tell me about a time when your students seemed particularly:
 - a. Caring?
 - b. Close?
 - c. Excited?
 - d. Curious?
 - e. Comfortable?
 What was happening? How do you explain these feelings?
5. (Ask teacher to read school cross-cultural goals). What have you done to help students meet these goals this year? Please be as specific as possible.
 - a. What went well? How do you know?
 - b. What challenges have you had?
 - c. Did you feel prepared? If not, what would have helped you to feel more prepared?

6. (Ask teachers to share strongest, weakest, and an “average” example of student work from cross-cultural project). Looking at these samples of student work, what stands out to you as strengths?
 - a. How do you explain those patterns?
7. Looking at these samples of student work, what stands out to you as areas for improvement?
 - a. How do you explain those patterns?
 - b. What ideas do you have for supporting students in those areas?
8. Teachers are expected to interact cross-culturally in PLCs (professional learning communities). How are we doing, as a TWLIP PLC, in meeting goals of cross-cultural learning ourselves?
 - a. What is going well, and what could be improved?
 - b. How would you answer this question for your grade-level PLC?
9. Have you participated in any other professional development this year that might help you help your students meet cross-cultural learning goals? If so, please tell me about it.
 - a. How have you used it in your practice?

Personal reflection

10. How do you feel that you’ve changed this year as a teacher?
 - a. How, if at all, do these changes affect how you teach students for cross-cultural learning?
11. We’ve come to the end of our interview. Is there anything else you’ve been thinking about as we’ve talked that you’d like to share?

Appendix B: Picture sort activity

Imagine you went to a new school. These are a few kids at the new school. I'm going to ask you some questions about these kids. For each question, you can pick as many kids as you want and put them in this box. It's ok to pick no kids, one kid, a few kids, or even all the kids. It's ok to pick the same kids for different questions, or pick different kids. Except for the first question, which is a practice, there are no right answers; I just want to know what you think. If you want to explain what you're thinking, you can tell me about why you picked the kids you did.

5. Which kids are girls/boys?

1. Which kids do you think you would like (feel good about)? (Affection)
2. Which kids do you think might be selfish (wouldn't share with others)? (Negative)
3. Which kids would you be comfortable sitting next to in class? (Comfort)
4. Which kids would you be interested in learning more about (want to ask more about their family, culture, etc.)? (Engagement)
5. Which kids do you think might be mean (hurting other kids)? (Negative)
6. Which kids do you think might be your closest friends? (Kinship)
7. Which kids do you think might have a hard time doing their schoolwork? (Negative)
8. Which kids would be a good influence, who would inspire you to be more like them? (Enthusiasm)
9. Which of these kids seems most like you / most similar to you?

Imagina que fueras a otra escuela. Estos son unos estudiantes en la nueva escuela. Te voy a hacer unas preguntas sobre estos estudiantes. Para cada pregunta, puedes escoger los estudiantes que quieras y ponerlos en esta caja. Puedes escoger ningún estudiante, un estudiante, unos estudiantes, o todos los estudiantes. Puedes escoger los mismos estudiantes varias veces, o escoger estudiantes diferentes. Con la excepción de la primera pregunta, que es de práctica, no hay respuestas correctas; sólo quiero saber lo que piensas tú. Si quieres explicar lo que estás pensando, me puedes decir porque escogiste los estudiantes que escogiste.

5. ¿Cuáles estudiantes son niños (varones)/niñas?

1. ¿Cuáles estudiantes te caen bien (te hacen sentir bien)?
2. ¿Cuáles estudiantes podrían ser egoístas (no comparten con otros)?
3. ¿Con cuáles estudiantes te sentirías cómodo/a sentado/a a su lado en tu clase?
4. ¿De cuales estudiantes querrías aprender más (querrías aprender más de su familia, cultura, etc.)?
5. ¿Cuáles estudiantes podrían ser malos (podrían dañar a otros niños)?
6. ¿Cuáles estudiantes podrían ser tus amigos más cercanos?
7. ¿Cuáles estudiantes podrían tener dificultades con cumplir sus tareas?
8. ¿Cuáles estudiantes podrían ser una influencia positiva, podrían inspirarte a ser como ellos?
9. ¿Cuáles estudiantes te parecen más/son más similares a ti?

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⁴⁵ As this is a research site, I use the same pseudonyms here as I do throughout the dissertation.