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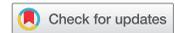


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RESEARCH ARTICLE



Parent and teacher perceptions of a Brazilian Portuguese two-way immersion program

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ABSTRACT

As the popularity of two-way immersion (TWI) programs increases across the U.S., recent scholarship has drawn attention to inequities in who benefits from these programs and how they are implemented. These findings have drawn the field's attention to the instrumental part played by particular stakeholders in TWI program implementation. While this research has been partially focused in documenting the key role played by parents and teachers in TWI programming, rarely have the roles of parents and teachers been addressed simultaneously. Thus, this study examines the overlap and dissonance between parent and teacher perceptions of a recently implemented TWI program in Massachusetts. As a Portuguese-English TWI program in an area serving Brazilian immigrant communities, this program exists in a relatively unique linguistic landscape in relation to the previous literature on TWI programming in the U.S. Currently, the Portuguese-English language dynamic, as well as the Brazilian Latinx immigrant identity, have been explored little in the extant literature on bilingual education. This study shows a convergence between teachers and parents, who hold parallel perceptions around a newly implemented TWI program, at times exhibiting in their fear and uncertainty, but also sharing excitement and hope for the future.

Introduction

As the popularity of two-way immersion (TWI) programs increases across the U.S., recent scholarship has drawn attention to inequities in who benefits from these programs and how they are implemented (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Valdez, Freire, & Delavan, 2016). These findings have drawn the field's attention to the instrumental part played by particular stakeholders in TWI program implementation. While this research has been partially focused on documenting the key role played by parents and teachers in TWI programming, rarely have the roles of parents and teachers been addressed

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simultaneously. Thus, this study examines the overlaps and dissonances between parent and teacher perceptions of a recently implemented TWI program in Massachusetts.¹ As a Portuguese-English TWI program in an area serving Brazilian immigrant communities, this program reflects a relatively unique linguistic landscape in relation to the existing literature on TWI programming in the U.S. While there exists a notable history of research on the Portuguese-English language dynamic, as well as the Brazilian Latinx immigrant identity (e.g. Ferreira, 2005; Macedo, 1980; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2002, 2005), studies of these communities remain rare in the literature on TWI programming.

Raising the stakes of this program's implementation, the state of Massachusetts recently emerged from a period of mandated English-only education (McField, 2014). Thus, the implementation of new TWI programs in the next few years will set an important precedent for the state. This context offers a window into how TWI programs emerge at a time of more widespread knowledge around the benefits of TWI programs as well as the inequities that can reside therein. Coupled with the current scarcity of literature examining the intersections of parent/teacher perceptions of TWI programming, and on the Brazilian Latinx experience in such programs, our study sheds light on these dynamics by asking: How do parents and teachers understand the purpose and implementation of a new two-way immersion program in relation to (1) who benefits from the program, (2) how the program impacts the broader school community and (3) how information about the program is communicated to stakeholders both inside and outside of the program?

As both parents and teachers play a key role in shaping school communities, this study explored convergences between teachers' and parents' perceptions of how their school community is shaped by the implementation of the new TWI program. In addition, by examining a TWI program that exists as a separate strand within a school, our study highlights the importance of considering the perspectives of stakeholders both inside and outside a TWI program as part of the community. Our goal is to shed light on the overlapping concerns and hopes of these groups to better understand how TWI programs can be implemented and sustained through open communication around a broad range of stakeholder needs. While individuals in our study exhibited particular fears and uncertainties around loss and change in relation to the newly implemented program, they also shared an excitement and hope for the future. Specifically, both teachers and parents exhibited a sophisticated awareness of changes within their broader school community in relation to the TWI program—what we explore below as *community consciousness*. Ultimately, this exploration sheds light on how a community consciousness approach has the potential to broaden notions of who is impacted by, involved in, and ultimately derives benefit from program changes across a school community.

Context: Brazilian migration to the Northeast of the U.S

Brazilian immigration into the United States began in the 1930s and 1940s. In the 1940s, during World War II, Americans came to the Brazilian municipality Governador Valadares in the State of Minas Gerais for mica extraction and development work. The economic recession in the 1980s and a decline in social mobility of the middle class led Brazilians to emigrate and move to the United States (Braga Martes, 2011). Due to low wages and lack of employment, Brazilians sought economic refuge in the United States (Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006). Throughout the 1980s, the majority of Brazilian immigrants to the United States came from Governador Valadares, due to the relationship previously established in World War II (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2005). Thus, as Siqueira (2008) mentions, “all families in Governador Valadares have a relative or friend who is, was, or wants to be an emigrant to the United States” (p. 178).

Cape Verdean and Portuguese populations have historically been situated in the Northeast of the U.S., so the linguistic factor of having Portuguese language brought more Brazilian immigrants to the region (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2005). In the early 1990s, the Portuguese language in the region shifted from Iberian/European Portuguese to Brazilian Portuguese. As a result, schools hired Brazilian high school teachers who were in the United States on work visas (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2005). In the mid-1990s, Public Schools became the first K-8 Portuguese/English dual immersion program in the United States,

with a goal of creating bilingual and biliterate students. Bilingual programs were common up until 2002, when English-Only policies were enforced (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2005). Bilingual educational programming became legal again only recently in Massachusetts where our research was conducted, as the state mandated English-only education from 2002–2017. With the recent change in policy, the dual-language program at Lake Elementary (pseudonym) offered the opportunity to document a system's tentative return to bilingual education, with implications across the state. Thus, while Brazilian immigration to the region has had longstanding ties, the dual language program was only allowed to start after the change in policy. This brief overview serves as a way to situate the findings presented in this article.

Theoretical framework: Community consciousness in TWI education

We join with other scholars and practitioners in cautious optimism around the growing popularity of TWI education programming and bilingual education more broadly—particularly in the context of the U.S., with its long history of skepticism toward such programming (Crawford, 2000). However, while we understand such programs have the potential to disrupt the linguistic, economic, and racial inequalities commonly faced by students learning English as a second or additional language, we reject the idea that the introduction of bilingual programming in and of itself will disrupt these inequities. Rather, we assert that issues of equity must be grappled with consistently and explicitly in TWI programming through intentionally engaging a broad range of community stakeholders. Without such intentionality, the introduction of new programming may be more likely to reproduce the current inequities of the school and community than to disrupt them (Flores, 2017). Specifically, there is growing evidence that TWI programs are increasingly pressured to cater to the needs of English-speaking students, who end up deriving disproportionate benefit from such programming in terms of access to TWI programs, language learning within the programs, and future employment prospects (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Colomer & Chang-Bacon, 2020; Valdez et al., 2016).

Therefore, we frame this research around the notion of *community consciousness*. Through this framing, we build off recent scholarship by Palmer, Cervantes-Soon, Dorner, and Heiman (2019) who have proposed critical consciousness as a key “fourth pillar” of dual-language education (in addition to the three traditional pillars of academic achievement, bilingualism and biliteracy, and sociocultural competence). The authors described critical consciousness as fostering “an awareness of the structural oppression that surrounds us and a readiness to take action to correct it,” and offer suggestions for facilitating such awareness through “interrogating power, critical listening, historicizing schools, and embracing discomfort” (Palmer et al., 2019, p. 121). We concur with the notion that the entire school community, including parents, can benefit from critically appraising power dynamics in relation to TWI programming. Through our study, we draw on this notion of critical consciousness, but specifically examine the broader community implications that accompany the introduction of a TWI program into a previously-established school community. Thus, we use the phrase *community consciousness* to signal the collaborative effort that goes into sustaining critical interrogation and the continuous reflection necessary to introduce and maintain equitable TWI programming. In particular, the notion of community consciousness compels awareness around the ways in which programmatic changes reverberate across an entire school community—even those who are not directly involved in the specific program in question. While the level of critical consciousness may vary among the subgroups within teachers and parents, the encompassing direction of this particular community is to ensure the success of a TWI program. We argue that such community consciousness, alongside a broadened definition of who is included in this community, is key in determining the success and equitable implementation of TWI. Thus, through this lens, we explore how the introduction of a TWI program brought broader school and community inequities to the forefront of community discussion at our research site, and how these

dynamics were understood and addressed between teachers and parents across the school community.

Literature review

As the popularity of TWI increases throughout the U.S., a range of studies have explored how these programs are implemented and maintained. With no specific regulatory body to codify what exactly constitutes a TWI program, a broad range of models describe themselves as TWI or DLI (dual-language immersion). Recognizing the variations that exist in the range of localized implementations of these models, we review literature below that uses both TWI and DLI terminology. However, for consistency, we use the term TWI as an umbrella for this range of programming (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2016). Based on our research questions for this study, we offer a broad overview of literature on (1) the implementation of TWI, (2) parent perceptions of TWI, and (3) teacher perceptions of TWI.

Implementation of TWI programs

Program implementation

Thomas and Collier (2012) documented the characteristics of TWI programming, laying out empirical evidence of the effectiveness of such programming for students from a broad range of linguistic and racial backgrounds. Howard et al. (2018) links Thomas and Collier's work to a broad range of other scholars whose research has demonstrated the effectiveness of TWI programming (e.g. August, McCardle, & Shanahan, 2014; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2006; Howard, Christian, & Genesee, 2004; Lindholm-Leary & Genesee, 2010; Steele et al., 2017) to put forth a set of "guiding principles" for TWI programs. These guiding principles represent three core goals: (1) grade-level academic achievement that is standards-aligned and achieved in both languages, (2) bilingualism and biliteracy from an additive perspective that recognizes the assets of developing linguistic resources across multiple languages, and (3) sociocultural competence promoted across school personnel, students, and families.

Lindholm-Leary (2012) documented the potential for success in TWI programming for meeting the needs of students from a broad range of linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds. However, her study also pointed to challenges including determining language allocation (i.e. amount of time spent focusing on each language), making sure students designated as ELLs meet the Federal adequate yearly progress requirements on standardized English tests, and (conversely) the lack of clear expectations around assessing or demonstrating proficiency in the partner language. In addition, a range of scholars have documented inequities in the implementation of TWI programming in terms of their benefits to English-dominant students versus students from other linguistic backgrounds. While there has been a renewed interest in this work in the past few years, it is important to note that scholars and practitioners have been cautioning the field around the potential inequities of TWI programming for multiple decades (see Valdés, 1997). In fact, in one of the only other studies of a Portuguese-English TWI program we located, Rubinstein-Ávila (2002) questioned the degree to which the "dual" nature of dual-language education could be prioritized in the face of English dominance and static interpretations of language varieties.

Such concerns around equity resonate in more recent research as well. Cervantes-Soon (2014) cautioned that "TWI can serve as a double-edged sword that commodifies Latin@s' linguistic resources" (p. 64), particularly in the haste with which these increasingly popular programs are implemented. Both Henderson and Palmer (2015) and Zúñiga (2016) found a combination of teacher ideological stances and pressure from standardized assessment contributing to disproportionate prioritization of English in pedagogical instruction. In light of these difficulties, Forman (2016) drew attention to the need to consider interpersonal relationships and competing goals between school staff and central offices in the implementation of TWI programming. Conflicting goals in

one middle school studied by Forman (2016) demonstrated how tensions can emerge between staff members and between the program's implementation as compared to its intent. Such results underscore the need for coherence and communication around the goals of TWI programming.

Program maintenance

In addition to the complexities of initiating TWI programs, successfully maintaining such programs offers additional challenges as the initial excitement around the program wears down and the realities of the program's sustained implementation set in. Alanís and Rodríguez (2008) offered a framework for sustaining successful TWI programming, identifying pedagogical equity, qualified bilingual teachers, active parent-home collaboration, and knowledgeable leadership as key components of program maintenance. The authors lauded the potential of TWI programming, but warned that programs often struggle to maintain fidelity to equitable programming, instead reverting to more remedial approaches to bilingual education, often due to pressure from monolingual-oriented state and district standards and assessments.

Communication around program goals appears to be particularly important to sustaining TWI programming. de Jong and Bearse (2014) pointed to the difficulties of maintaining a TWI program when such a program is a separate strand in a larger school as such programs can come to be misunderstood by those outside of the program strand itself. Similarly, Palmer, Henderson, Wall, Zúñiga, and Berthelsen (2016) documented tensions between individual schools' TWI programming and larger district goals, particularly pressure to prepare for monolingual standardized tests, absence of training, a lack of materials, and conflicting curricular mandates, all of which eventually led to the closure of both TWI programs under study.

In sum, while there is no single model of TWI programming, the research to date has offered a relatively coherent range of guiding principles around facilitating successful TWI programs (e.g. Howard et al., 2018). However, with studies continuing to point out the importance of community perception in shaping how TWI programs are established and maintained (e.g. Dorner, 2011), it is not only the establishment of an effective program that determines a TWI program's success but also how the program's successes are defined and perceived by various stakeholders. Reflecting the historical trend of research in language policy and planning more broadly (e.g. McCarty & May, 2017; Ricento, 2006; Ruiz, 1984), thoughtful implementation around the goals of language policies and programs in relation to the populations they are intended to serve is key to program success and equitable implementation. Conversely, mismatched expectations between schools, communities, districts, and school staff can be derailing, especially for the successful development and continuance of TWI programming.

Parent perceptions of TWI

One group of stakeholders particularly germane to shaping the implementation and maintenance of TWI programs are parents. As TWI programming is not generally mandated by schools or districts, the initiation of such programming largely depends on the existence of parent demand. The literature demonstrates that such demand is growing—though there is evidence that this growth stems largely from monolingual English-speaking families, as demand for bilingual education has been a consistent presence in traditionally multilingual communities (Flores, 2017). Thus, the question of *which* parents exert the most influence and how is key when studying TWI.

Parent choice of TWI

Giachino-Baker and Piller (2006) studied parental perceptions of a TWI program in California. They found both similarities and differences between the motivation of Spanish- and English-dominant parents for enrolling their students in the program. Similarities included parents' desire for their children to be able to speak and write bilingually, secure employment, and participate in an increasingly bilingual landscape of the U.S. overall. Differences included a higher emphasis among Spanish-

speaking parents on preserving a home language and on students' ability to act as an interpreter for others. However, the authors found similarities among all parents around emphasizing core-content standards across both languages. In other words, parents had high expectations that students would be developing both language and academic content through the program. Subsequent studies have confirmed such priorities. Wesely and Baig (2012) surveyed 131 parents around their decision to enroll their children in a TWI program and their reasons for subsequently keeping their children in the program (parents who decided *not* to enroll in the program were not surveyed). Their study found that their initial decision was based on parents' desire for students to learn language and culture, whereas their decision to maintain their students' enrollment prioritized the educational opportunities of the program and their children's own desire to stay in the program.

Parent expectations of TWI

Dorner (2015) compared discourses among parents and school leaders in a one-way language immersion program, finding that both groups articulated language as a right and resource for students (reflecting Ruiz, 1984) and as a skill for facilitating broader global engagement. Parents in the study, however, extended these notions to prioritize language as a marker of identity and community engagement. Gerena (2011) interviewed parents whose children had participated in a newly implemented TWI program for two years. Grouping parents into English- and Spanish-dominant subgroups, Gerena (2011) noted common expectations around students having more future opportunities and intercultural understanding as a result of the program. Finding parents to be generally satisfied with their children's TWI program, Gerena (2011) nonetheless noted subtle differences in parental expectations, such as Spanish-dominant parents' prioritization of students maintaining cultural connections through their heritage language maintenance whereas English-dominant parents tended to prioritize future employability through the acquisition of another language. Chaparro (2020) drew further attention to the differing expectations of parents around TWI programming, particularly in relation to power and privilege in regard to parents' language background, race, and social class. Song (2019) documented explicit tensions in parents' viewpoints, particularly for immigrant parents who, due to their awareness of the social valuation of English in U.S. contexts, often struggled to encourage their children to maintain their bilingualism in relation to the persistent pressure to prioritize English. This pressure was a recurrent feature across much of the reviewed literature across state, district, parent, and societal expectations. Thus, TWI programs face numerous challenges in "swimming against" a current of monolingual orientations and English-dominance.

Teacher perceptions of TWI

Teacher agency/influence

Beyond parents, the literature on TWI programming has also documented the importance of teachers, and school staff more broadly, in determining how and toward what ends TWI programs are implemented. Paciotto and Delany-Barmann (2011) highlighted inconsistencies in implementation resulting from a "top down" (p. 221) district mandate for a particular TWI program model, but did not provide sufficient resources or training for teachers. Conversely, Li, Steele, Slater, Bacon, and Miller (2016) observed TWI practices across a large, urban school district, and found relative consistency of practices and language allocation in a district that had provided clear instructional expectations for teachers. However, as the literature below suggests, teacher-level differences can have a significant impact on program implementation even under relatively consistent district/school expectations.

Teacher beliefs around TWI

In particular, teacher beliefs or ideologies around language and language learning have proved to be especially noteworthy in research on TWI implementation (Fitzsimmons-Doolan, Palmer, & Henderson, 2017). Henderson and Palmer (2015) documented how two different teachers in the same TWI program held contrasting beliefs around the separation of languages and the prioritization

of English, resulting in substantially different experiences for students. Additionally, Murphy, Torff, and Sessions (2019) found that educators' beliefs around students' language proficiencies were consistent predictors of what program models teachers recommended for particular students, with TWI programming most heavily preferred for students whose English proficiencies were considered to be high.

As such, while program model and district implementation play a key role, the reviewed literature demonstrates the importance of teachers' beliefs around language, the goals of TWI programming, and the program models in determining how TWI programs are implemented. Overall, the research on TWI has been generative in providing broad guidelines for program implementation. Perhaps most notably, this literature has pointed to the problems that arise when there is a mismatch of expectations between various stakeholders, with teachers and parents playing a particularly salient role. However, across the reviewed literature, studies tended to focus on *either* teachers' or parents' perceptions, rather than on the overlap and interaction between the two. Therefore, the goal of the current study is to examine perceptions of both teachers and parents simultaneously in order to further the field's knowledge of how these perspectives interact to influence the implementation and sustaining of TWI programming. Furthermore, our study also includes the perspectives of parents/teachers who were *not* involved in the TWI program to examine their impact on TWI programming as well.

Methodology

Research site

Data for this article were drawn from a larger three-year research project that focused on how children, parents, and teachers navigate the cultural complexities related to Brazilian immigration in Lake Elementary School (pseudonym), a public elementary school in the northeast of the United States with a high percentage of Brazilian students, especially newcomer Brazilian children. One third of the district's students were English Language Learners. At Lake Elementary, teachers surveyed varied in experience and knowledge of bilingual education. Teachers had between two months and thirty-five years of experience. One third of staff and teachers had some form of training in bilingual education. Five teachers and two aids were Brazilian. One fourth of the Lake Elementary student population were on free or reduced lunch. There were over 500 students total and almost 200 are classified as English language learners. The highest percentage of country of origin was Brazil with over 80%. Brazilian immigrant parent's occupations included construction workers, cleaning homes, child care professionals, mechanics, home repair professionals among others.

In the fall of 2018, the school began implementing a two-way immersion (TWI) program as an option strand offered to students in two kindergarten and two grade 1 classrooms, with plans to expand the program through subsequent grades in the following years. The district itself had a long history of providing the option of transitional bilingual classrooms due to the high immigrant population. Thus, the TWI program started in the fall of 2018, but the presence of majority Portuguese speakers and teachers who were Brazilian and spoke Portuguese had been a characteristic of the district for decades. This study was conducted by a team of five researchers. Two researchers are Brazilian, bilingual and were on site twice a week. In order to start the study the researchers got in touch with the bilingual department at the district and presented them with the idea of documenting the first three years of implementation of the TWI program in one school. The district was encouraging of the research focus on the experience of parents, teachers and children in a newly established TWI program. While we engaged in long-term qualitative research we also designed the research project to include all stakeholders at the school, not just those in the TWI program. Thus, the survey below was distributed to all parents, teachers, and staff at the school in order to gain a broad range of community perspectives.

Data sources

The survey sample

Ninety-three parents and thirty-four teachers in the school completed the survey ($n = 127$). The parents' survey was distributed in two versions: English and Portuguese. It allowed for participants to answer the survey using their language of preference. Out of 134 parents who started the survey, 93 (69%) completed it. Out of 87 parents who identified their country of birth, 26 parents (30%) identified as from Brazil. Of the other 55 parents, (63%) were born in the United States, and 6 parents (less than 1%) were from five other countries. Sixty-eight respondents (73%) filled out the English version of the survey and twenty-five respondents (27%) selected the survey in Portuguese. Most survey respondents identified as Female (83%), white (81%), and as communicating very confidently in English (73%; note the similarity of English responses and English confidence). Thirty-two (34%) parents identified as immigrants, most of these parents ($n = 26/27\%$) were originally from Brazil and had lived in the United States for less than 20 years. One third of immigrant parents surveyed responded as feeling very confident about speaking in English, though all but one Brazilian parent completed the survey in Portuguese. All participants who completed the survey in Portuguese identified Brazil as their country of origin ($n = 25$), and all but one (parent) who chose the English survey identified a different country of origin, the majority of whom ($n = 55$) were born in the U.S (See [Table 1](#)). In light of these respondent demographics, and the focus of the study on Portuguese-English TWI, we chose to group both parents and teachers into their country of origin in subgroups of *Brazilian* ($n = 26/28\%$) and *non-Brazilian* ($n = 67/72\%$). We use these categories because we did not want to perpetuate the language of "native born" and "foreign born" and in order to prioritize Brazilians as the focal group since this was the primary population that made the TWI program possible.

For the teachers' survey, all teachers working for Lake Elementary School were invited to fill out the survey. Thirty-four out of forty-seven teachers on staff (72%) completed the survey. Out of the thirty-four, five teachers who immigrated to the United States from Brazil identified themselves as Brazilian (15%), twenty-four teachers identified only as American (70.6%), five teachers preferred not to answer this question (14%). Importantly, due to the relatively low number of teachers who identified as Brazilian, we have chosen *not* to identify teachers as Brazillian or non-Brazillian in our reporting below. This choice was made in order to preserve anonymity within a relatively close-knit faculty at Lake Elementary. Since anonymity was not a concern among parents due to larger sample sizes, we disaggregate parent responses in relation to Brazilian and non-Brazilian identification within our analysis in order to explore nuances in perceptions of the program between these groups of community stakeholders.

The survey instrument

Two surveys were developed for this study. First, a survey for parents was informed by a measure of family engagement for Latino children by McWayne and Melzi (2014). We augmented the survey with items representing specific areas of concern identified by Lake Elementary's TWI program staff which included expectations and concerns about the TWI program (see [Table 2](#)). The survey items consisted of three subparts regarding (a) general family engagement (42 multiple choice questions); (b) perceptions around expectations of and relationships within the TWI program (3 open-ended questions); and (c) demographics (10 multiple choice).

Table 1. Total responses by survey.

Parents' Survey ($n = 93$)	Teacher Survey ($n = 34$)
Brazilian parents ($n = 26$),	Brazilian teachers ($n = 5$)
Non-Brazilian parents ($n = 67$)	Non-Brazilian teachers ($n = 24$)
	Not reported ($n = 5$)

Table 2. Open-ended questions for parents and teachers.

Parents Survey	
Q1.	What are your expectations about the Two-Way Portuguese Immersion program?
Q2.	Do you believe the relationship between Lake Elementary and non-English native speaking families will improve as a result of the TWI program?
Q3.	Do you believe the relationship between Lake Elementary and English native speaking families will improve as a result of the TWI program?
Teacher Survey	
Q1.	Do you believe the relationship between Lake Elementary and non-English native speaking families will improve as a result of the TWI program?
Q2.	Do you believe the relationship between Lake Elementary and English native speaking families will improve as a result of the TWI program?
Q3.	Why will the TWI program be a permanent feature of Lake Elementary?
Q4.	What if anything worked well on the preparation to implement the TWI program?
Q5.	What if anything would you change from the TWI program implementation process?

A survey for teachers was designed to measure teachers' perceptions and implementation process of the TWI program (see Table 2). This survey was developed by modifying the survey items from the three instruments designed to assess the teachers' language program implementation (Doolittle, 2015), an organization's process of policy implementation (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2010), and the quality of project activity (Pica, 2015). In total, the survey was composed of 18 multiple choice items and additional open-ended questions regarding (a) preparation activities for the TWI program; (b) voices in the program; (c) expectations of and beliefs around the program; (d) support from the program; (e) impact of the program; and (g) demographics.

Data analysis

To compare the perceptions of parents and teachers, we particularly focused on themes within the open-ended questions across both parents and teachers. Data analysis of open-ended survey questions (Table 2) relied on Saldaña's (2015) open coding and axial coding. We embraced an iterative approach to qualitative research and data analysis (Maxwell, 2012). After completing the survey phase, we started coding, seeking discrepant data, and looking for recurring patterns in the experiences of the teachers, staff and parents. Based on the preliminary data coding we developed an outline to answer each of the research questions. As we did that, we derived thematic categories through the following three stages. First, we read through each answer generated by parents (English respondents and Portuguese respondents) and teachers. Initially we found that teachers and parents expressed both hope and fear when discussing the implementation of the program. Then we started open coding which provided us with more specific codes within the "hope" and "fear" categories like

Table 3. Coding for parents survey (Q2 & Q3) and teacher survey (Q1 & Q2).

Axial	Definition & Example	Code
Yes	Believing the relationship between Lake Elementary and <u>non-English</u> native speaking families or <u>English</u> native speaking families will improve as a result of the TWI program. E.g., I think from the beginning the relationship is good since parents want their kids to engage with another nationality and traditions and language.	Y_P, Y_T
No	Believing the relationship between Lake Elementary and <u>non-English</u> native speaking families or <u>English</u> native speaking families will not improve as a result of the TWI program. E.g., No, I do not think it will improve.	N_P, N_T
Uncertainty	Expressing a lack of conviction E.g., I'm not sure. I believe the relationship between Lake Elementary and English speaking families is pretty good right now.	U_P, U_T

Each capital letter indicates as follows – Y: Yes, P: Parent, T: Teacher, N: No, U: Uncertainty

“benefit”, “advantages”, “language”, “literacy”, “community” and “communication”. Last, we tallied answers to questions with yes/no/uncertain answers as shown in [Table 3](#) (missing values in which participants did not answer were excluded), calculating the frequency and percentage of each code. In the final stage, we grouped thematic statements from the open-ended questions into (1) topics addressed, and (2) whether the statements expressed praise for the program, concerns about the program, or neutrality. Afterward, we sorted this analysis in relation to different groups of community stakeholders (e.g. parents/teachers; Brazilian/non-Brazilian parents) in order to answer the study’s core research questions (see [Table 3](#)).

Results

Parents and teachers shared hopes and concerns about the program. Since these two population groups are rarely put into conversation in terms of their perceptions, our analysis shed light on the uneasiness of some parents and teachers about a TWI program and key reasons for this unease. Teachers involved in the TWI program did not meet regularly with teachers from other classrooms. Teachers reported that there was little communication or understanding between staff at the school. Parents reported similar perceptions: little communication on the program and its inner workings. Thus, parents and teachers reported similar perceptions of the program.

We describe this phenomenon as *parallel perceptions*. Just as parallel lines mirror one another, but never intersect, both teachers and staff, Brazilian and non-Brazilian had high expectations around the program and feared that it would change the status quo of the school. These two groups, teachers and parents, were often on parallel trajectories “talking past” one another. By documenting these parallel trajectories, our findings demonstrate that the hopes and concerns of parents and teachers around TWI more often mirror one another. While perspectives across groups appear to contradict one another at times, our data demonstrated that these differences actually originated from similar concerns around (1) Benefits of TWI, (2) Impact on the school community, and (3) Communication.

(1) Benefits of TWI: Who Does this Community Serve?

This section addresses how parents and teachers understand the purpose and implementation of a new two-way immersion program in relation to (1) who benefits from the program, (2) how the new program impacts the broader school community. The overarching parallels across these groups had to do with who the TWI program was designed to benefit and how. We first report on the perspectives of teachers, followed by parent perceptions—which are disaggregated into Brazilian and non-Brazilian stakeholder groups. Teacher responses were not disaggregated in order to preserve anonymity among the small number of teachers who identified as Brazilian.

Teachers

All teachers who responded to the survey believed that the TWI program would be beneficial to Brazilian families and the teachers within the TWI program ($n = 21/100\%$). In contrast, more than half of the teachers ($n = 14/61\%$) were unsure or did not think it would be beneficial to non-Brazilian families (see [Table 4](#)).

In other words, most of the teachers indicated their belief that this program would likely benefit Brazilian families only. In open responses, teachers reported that being able to learn Portuguese in the school would be a rare chance for Brazilian students. Moreover, they saw the advent of the TWI program would “give minorities access to school (Teacher 3043).” As this teacher clarified,

The town/city has a 25+ year history of supporting language learning and has often been ahead of state initiatives with implementation, support, and pedagogy of bilingual programs. The model is the best offered and is a necessity given the many immigrant families we serve. Offering strength based language programming gives minorities access to schools when in fact they may not live in the neighborhood (Teacher 3043)

Table 4. Benefit: differences between parents and teachers.

Category	Parents		Teachers	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Do you believe the relationship between Lake Elementary and <u>non-English</u> native speaking families will improve as a result of the TWI program?				
Do you believe the relationship between Lake Elementary and <u>English</u> native speaking families will improve as a result of the TWI program?				
Yes and Yes	38	55	8	35
Yes and No	7	10	1	4
No and Yes	0	0	0	0
No and No	2	3	0	0
Uncertainty*	22	32	14	61
Total	69	100	23	100

*Uncertainty: ex. I don't know, I hope so, maybe, possibly. If a respondent expresses uncertainty at least one of the two questions, we coded it as "Uncertainty"

As shown above, some teachers went further by stating that there was a benefit to learning language and even found the program to be compelling in terms of school access. They believed the TWI program would strengthen the community at large. As another teacher affirmed, “the community needs bilingual and biliterate citizens” (Teacher 3026) as a benefit for Brazilian and non-Brazilian populations.

For the benefits that the non-Brazilian families might gain, teachers had divided opinions. Some teachers did not see the TWI program as benefiting non-Brazilian families since the relationship between these families and the school was already described as *good*. Therefore, some asserted that this program would not improve an already-positive relationship further. Teachers who viewed non-Brazilian families as gaining benefit emphasized that the benefit would be for students to be bilingual – framed as a benefit in and of itself. They expressed their excitement about seeing students conversing in two languages by saying they were “so excited to see ALL the students (not just Portuguese native speakers) conversing in Portuguese and jumping right in with both feet!” (Teacher 3026).

Parents

Most parents who responded to the survey believed that this program would benefit both groups of families (n = 38/55%) or at least hoped it would happen (n = 22/32%). In this regard, compared to the teachers who responded to the survey, parents were more likely to indicate belief that the TWI program would improve the relationship between school and families of both groups. Regarding the specific kinds of benefits that each group of families could get, parents’ answers mirrored that of teachers (see Tables 5 and 6): The top expectation both Brazilian and non-Brazilian parents had about the TWI program was that their children would learn two languages (n = 38/83%) followed by appreciating cultural diversity (n = 10/22%) and understanding others (n = 9/20%).

Table 5. Benefit: differences by language group of parents.

Category	Non-Brazilian Parent		Brazilian Parent	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Do you believe the relationship between Lake Elementary and <u>non-English</u> native speaking families will improve as a result of the TWI program?				
Do you believe the relationship between Lake Elementary and <u>English</u> native speaking families will improve as a result of the TWI program?				
Yes and Yes	23	47	15	75
Yes and No	7	14	0	0
No and Yes	0	0	0	0
No and No	2	4	0	0
Uncertainty*	17	35	5	17
Total	49	100	20	100

*Uncertainty: ex. I don't know, I hope so, maybe, possibly. If a respondent expresses uncertainty at least one of the two questions, we coded it as "Uncertainty"

Table 6. Expectation: differences within parents.

	Non-Brazilian Parent		Brazilian Parent	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Parents
Learning two languages	16	52	13	87
Learning two languages and appreciating cultural diversity	7	23	0	0
Understanding others (e.g. welcoming, empathy)	5	16	2	13
Learning two languages, appreciating cultural diversity and understanding others	2	6	0	0
Appreciating cultural diversity	1	3	0	0
Total	31	100	15	100

There were key differences between Brazilian and non-Brazilian parents regarding *why* these factors were important. For Brazilian parents, the TWI program was described as a real opportunity to sustain their cultural and linguistic heritage. Particularly, Brazilian parents wanted their children to learn English but not at the expense of losing their home language of Portuguese. Some expressed hope around the fact that their children were able to learn Portuguese at school.

Que o meus filhos consigam acompanhar a língua predominante no país mas sem perder a essência do seu [país] de origem.

That my children are able to follow the predominant language in the country but without losing the essence of their [country] of origin. (Parent 2021)

For non-Brazilian parents, the TWI program was framed as a way to help their monolingual children to develop additional assets – primarily a second language, but also empathy and a regard for cultural diversity. These parents expected their children to “become more intercultural[y] competent,” which they felt would “have a major effect on our community” (Parent 1057). Parent 1041 outlined the connections she saw between biliteracy, empathy, and respect for diversity she expected the program to foster for her children.

[I expect] for my children to gain literacy in English and Portuguese. I also want my children to experience what it feels like to be “other” because they entered the program without any Portuguese. As part of a white, middle class family, my children will almost always exist in the public sphere as the “default” not the “other.” I am hoping this experience will build empathy and compassion for those different from themselves and those who are marginalized in American society. I am also excited for them to have cross-cultural friendships. I was raised in a very homogenized, white city that lacked diversity. We moved our family to [this town] so we could live in a diverse town/city. I am hoping the program helps my children recognize the strength in diversity (Parent 1041).

Unlike Brazilian parents, who generally agreed that the program would be helpful for both Brazilian and non-Brazilian students, there was group of non-Brazilian parents ($n = 7/14\%$) who reported that the TWI program celebrated Brazilian culture to a disproportionate degree in relation to the rest of this community (See Table 5). Non-Brazilian parents expressed concerns that the program seemed to exclusively focus on the language and the culture of Brazil at the expense of other populations in the city.

As of right now, a lot of stuff in the school appears to be geared towards appeasing [the Brazilian] population even though there are other populations in the school (English and non-English native). For example, [holding an] Independence Day parade for a particular country? There are many countries represented at [our] school (Parent 1003/Q4)

Table 7. Parents' perception of improvement on the relationship between the school and non-English speaking.

	Non-Brazilian parents	Brazilian parents
	Frequency (Percentage %)	Frequency (Percentage %)
Yes	31 (63%)	15 (75%)
No	2 (4%)	0 (0%)
Uncertainty	16 (33%)	5 (15%)
Total	49 (100%)	20 (100%)

Table 8. Parents' perception of improvement on the relationship between the school and English speaking families.

	Non-Brazilian parents Frequency (Percentage%)	Brazilian parents Frequency (Percentage%)
Yes	24 (49%)	16 (80%)
No	9 (18%)	0 (0%)
Uncertainty	16 (32%)	4 (20%)
Total	49 (100%)	20 (100%)

In this regard, it appeared that parents such as Parent 1003 felt the specific celebration of Brazilian culture within the TWI program was unnecessary or exclusionary to other “English and non-English native” populations represented in the school. For the teachers, the parade was a way to link the teaching of Portuguese language with the historical context of the country of Brazil. However, some parents who did not have children in the program discussed feeling *excluded* from the Brazilian-emphatic narrative of the program, a tension we revisit in the discussion section.

Overall, both teachers and parents from Brazilian and non-Brazilian backgrounds exhibited parallel hopes around the program as a beneficial endeavor. Teachers tended to expect most of these benefits would be for Brazilian students, whereas parents expected more mutual benefit. However, differences surfaced between the expectations of Brazilian and non-Brazilian parents as to what exactly these benefits were and the prioritization of Brazilian identity within the program. Brazilian parents seemed to view the program as a means to maintain and celebrate Brazilian identity specifically, whereas non-Brazilian parents saw the program as an avenue toward broader exposure for their children to more unspecified notions of “diversity.” This misalignment, combined with the uncertainty around program changes explored below, began to surface tensions throughout the program’s initial implementation year (see Table 7 and Table 8).

(2) Impact on School Community: Who Sustains this Community?

Teachers

The initiation of the TWI program required a substantial amount of effort, and thus had a significant impact on the broader school community. Particularly notable were questions of whose work sustained this program. As one teacher stated, “every day I see teachers, staff members, and the community working extremely hard for the program to become a permanent feature of Lake Elementary” (Teacher ID 3014).” This teacher recognized that there was an effort to invest in the TWI program. However, what some perceived as collaborative effort, others perceived as rapid change to the traditional structure of the school and its curriculum, which left some stakeholders worried about the consequences of this transition for the reputation, structure, and staffing of the school.

Most notably, some teachers discussed fear of losing their jobs due to their own inability to speak Portuguese as TWI program advanced to further grades. Some felt that “Not enough information has been communicated [about the program] to the rest of the school outside of the teachers who are [TWI] teachers” (Teacher ID 3009). These teachers discussed wanting to know more about how the program was functioning, and in particular, how it would impact their jobs or whether they would eventually be moved to other schools. The lack of communication around this topic amplified fear of teacher turnover. As one teacher noted,

Communication, as limited and confusing as it was at first, there was some knowledge of the fact that [the program] would be [phased into] the school. I think the process of [whether] to eliminate positions and notify teachers of changes should not be a last minute surprise for those affected (Teacher ID 3033).

Other teachers were worried less about the program's expansion than about the possibility of the program suddenly disappearing. Many said that they had observed multiple new programs implemented by the district that were eventually abandoned. A respondent specifically mentioned her experience at other schools prior to Lake Elementary with a program that did not survive after one year. These teachers wanted a clearer vision at both the school and district level about whether this bilingual program really would be a permanent feature of this school, and how this would affect staffing.

Parents

Non-Brazilian parents shared similar views with the teachers in regard to structural uncertainties of school. These parents' worries paralleled those of teachers around staffing changes. They indicated fear about losing "wonderful teachers" (Parent 1036), presumably those who could not speak Portuguese and, therefore, parents concluded, would eventually be cut from the school staff. With this in mind, some non-Brazilian parents were again worried that the TWI program would end up disproportionately benefiting Brazilian families. Some parents framed the problem as a lack of communication. Parent 1036 posited that,

I would be more supportive of TWI program if it had been rolled out differently. The fact that we have school choice in [our district] and [this program] wasn't even mentioned when we were touring schools 2 years ago is problematic for me. I also worry about losing wonderful teachers because they can't teach in the two-way program. That issue hasn't been adequately addressed to parents. (Parent 1036).

In contrast to teachers and non-Brazilian parents, Brazilian parents were more likely to express unconditional gratitude for this program, even with the structural uncertainties it brought about. The school was defined as place for which Brazilian parents were grateful for their children's opportunities to develop a sense of cultural belonging. While non-Brazilian parents expressed dismay about potential teacher turnover and the change in the quality of the school, Brazilian parents were looking forward to more staff who could speak both languages so that the quality of the program could remain.

Espero que melhore pois como só tem minha filha que não fala inglês na sala ela sente muito a falta da professora auxiliar em sala, pois ela diz que ela fica pouco e ela não aprende muito durante as aulas (Parent 2008).

I hope that it gets better. Since my daughter is the only one who can't speak English in her class, she really misses the assistant teacher in the classroom. The assistant teacher stays very little in the classroom and my daughter doesn't learn much from the lessons.

The parallel piece here became apparent as both sets of parents and teachers were interested in improving the quality of the school and providing a better learning experience for their children. Both groups craved a certain stability and, most importantly, clear communication about changes that would lie ahead. All groups appeared open, even eager for the changes the TWI program represented. However, when individuals felt that communication around the future and a larger vision for the program was lacking, a certain hesitancy emerged, which was targeted toward the program itself.

(3) Communication: Broadening Information and Involvement

Teachers

While most teachers were supportive of the pedagogical goals of the TWI program, issues arose around information, school-wide training, and communication. In general, teachers asserted that there should have been more time for preparation before implementing the program. As Teacher 3029 said, "I would've focused on teacher preparation, staff training and curriculum writing for one year. Then I would have implement[ed the program] the following year."

Some teachers worried about the weight of responsibility falling upon the teachers in the TWI program, suggesting that they needed more structural preparation for curriculum planning and more resources. Some teachers said that their colleagues were “in tears because they don’t know what they’re supposed to teach or have the tools” (Teacher ID 3012) to implement the program. Before the TWI program was implemented, school-sponsored activities and workshops were conducted and administration support was implemented at the school level, but still teachers felt burdened with responsibilities.

The way we are doing currently, there’s a lot of responsibility on the two-way teachers’ shoulders. To name some: curriculum writing after school, creating materials after school, and networking with out of district teachers for guidance and support (Teacher ID 3033)

Thus, teachers agreed with the intentions behind the program, but were not satisfied with the current status of its implementation. Collectively they asserted that they would have liked to have more agency in the process of implementation.

Parents

In order to benefit both Brazilian and non-Brazilian parents, non-Brazilian parents wanted more information and communication about the directions and logistics of the TWI program. Non-Brazilian parents consistently asked for more clarity in the communication about the program and more transparency regarding potential staff change. However, for the non-Brazilian parents who had their own children in the program the issues with lack of clarity were outweighed by the promises of a bilingual education.

Brazilian parents saw community-building as an ultimate goal of TWI program. Like non-Brazilian parents, they expressed a desire that the school to offer a “good” bilingual program, but they also wanted the program to go beyond transmitting knowledge about language and to move toward emphasizing “Parceria e trocas de experiências culturais [que] são a base do programa” *Partnerships and the sharing of cultural experiences [that] are at the heart of the program* (Parent 2002). To achieve this goal, some Brazilian parents expressed their willingness to actively share their knowledge and skills.

Quero ser convidada para palestras educacionais. Ajudar um projetos sociais. Parabéns pela iniciativa. Acredito no futuro com pessoas comprometidas.

I’d like to be invited for educational lectures and help in social projects. Congratulations on this initiative. Dedicated people make me believe in the future. (Parent 2002)

In this way, both parents and teachers articulated the need for more communication and time to understand the new program. For teachers, training, support and curriculum development were important. However, they also wanted to understand what the program meant for the school as a whole. Since this program was a strand within the school, at times, the insecurities about job placement took over the narrative of the new program. For parents, many just wanted clarity around the direction of the program. In this regard, Brazilian parents were eager to contribute their knowledge to assure the continuity of the program.

Discussion

The implementation of a new school program model is necessarily complex. Within this study, a variety of perspectives arose from both teachers and parents around the value and consequences derived from this complexity. Our goal in this study was to ask how parents and teachers understand the purpose and benefits of a new TWI program in relation to their school community, specifically noting differences and similarities across various stakeholder groups. We found parents and teachers held common hopes and concerns around (1) who benefits from the TWI program, (2) how the

program impacts the school community, and (3) communication about the program both inside and outside of the program itself.

In addition to documenting the parallel perspectives of teachers and parents, our findings also shed light on the broader notion of community consciousness. We found that both parents and teachers demonstrated a keen awareness that the TWI program had, and would continue to have, a major impact on their school community more broadly. While different individuals differed on their interpretation of this impact, and whose interests it would serve, their community consciousness was demonstrated by their consistent view that the impact of the program would go far beyond traditional notions of biliteracy and bilingualism that are generally prioritized in TWI programming (Howard et al., 2018). In fact, in contrast to previous research on parent expectations of TWI (e.g. Dorner, 2015; Gerena, 2011; Song, 2019) these traditional linguistic goals of TWI education were rarely discussed in-depth by participants. Perhaps the idea that the program would increase students' language and literacy abilities was simply taken as a given. However, we argue that these findings indicate the presence of a deeper level of awareness around the broader implications of language education. In other words, parents and teachers *knew* the implications of this program went far beyond language learning in ways that would impact community relationships and even power dynamics. This level of awareness underscores the importance of developing community consciousness in relation to TWI—an awareness of the complexity of community dynamics and the ability to negotiate these dynamics to a broadened range of program stakeholders.

Most notably, these findings shed light on the need for clarity and communication between schools and parents and between parents themselves. As previous studies have demonstrated (e.g. Forman, 2016; Palmer et al., 2016), problems quickly arise within TWI when there is a lack of communication around the goals and intended outcomes of a new program. While there was broad stakeholder support for the *idea* of the TWI program, misunderstandings led to various degrees of skepticism around how and if the program should be continued. In particular, a lack of communication with parents and teachers who are *not* part of the program, also appeared to produce problematic anxieties. While previous research has documented the importance of clarity of communication around a program's goals for stakeholders *involved with* the program, our research highlights the importance of communication with teachers, parents, and families *outside* the program as well. These dynamics are especially relevant to TWI programs that exist as a strand within a larger school (de Jong & Bearse, 2014). Thus, our research suggests that the idea of *stakeholders* extends beyond merely program participants, but to the full school community.

Therefore, we argue that community consciousness involves broadening views of who is impacted by, and who should therefore be involved with, informed about, and even trained on the implementation of new school programming. While our research explores these dynamics in relation to TWI programming, we suggest the notion of community consciousness around programmatic changes and policy implementation of educational policies more broadly. However, community consciousness as derived from broader work on critical consciousness (e.g. Palmer et al., 2019) emphasizes the need to interrogate power dynamics and equity. Thus, it remains useful to explore the differences in perceptions among various groups of stakeholders, particularly when one group has historically been privileged within the traditional schooling model that is being changed.

Within our study, these power dynamics manifested through non-Brazilian parents appearing to be worried about changes in the environment that they had grown used to and trusted so much. This may indicate fear of a certain loss of privilege to which parents with privileged linguistic, class, and racial backgrounds are often accustomed (Chaparro, 2020). For example, the worry that the TWI program and its celebration of Brazilian language and culture is exclusive to Brazilians can be an interesting starting point for discussions of privilege and the degree to which non-Brazilian, particularly white, middle-class English-dominant American culture, has been previously celebrated to a degree that had gone unnoticed until celebration of another culture stood out as excessive. Similarly, teachers who fear losing their jobs due to an inability to speak Portuguese may be able to have a productive discussion around how this mirrors the experience of their Portuguese-speaking students who are compelled to

learn English as an additional language to succeed in schools, while English-dominant teachers have long since been able to remain monolingual.

However, on the other side of this continuum there are Brazilian parents who finally felt empowered and included in the narrative of schooling and education. Parents and teachers across both groups indicated belief in the value that Portuguese language instruction has not just from a cognitive perspective, but also from a cultural one. However, it is often the parents with the most power and community influence whose perspectives exert the most influence. In most cases, immigrant parents are not part of the groups that have this degree of influence (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Flores, 2017; Valdez et al., 2016). Thus, paradoxically, the goal of supporting the growth of the TWI program at Lake Elementary and other similar programs will involve addressing the concerns of parents and teachers across populations, even those who are *not* specifically involved in the program, and extending communication and clarity around the goals and benefits of TWI for all students. However, if conducted in a thoughtful manner, this could be a chance to recognize the parallel perceptions that unite parents and teachers around their children's collective success, while also opening up spaces to discuss aspects of power and privilege that can improve the community's relationships more broadly. Such discussions are not possible without open communication and relationship building across various community stakeholders. Thus, the notion of community consciousness demonstrates the need to build awareness of community power dynamics, but also the relationship-building necessary to explicitly engage with these issues.

Conclusion

This paper explored the perceptions of parents and teachers around the implementation of a new TWI program. Findings indicated a range of parallels across these populations, articulated in subtly different ways that, on the surface, made them appear to contrast with one another. Our analysis demonstrated the need to communicate about program goals and implementation processes across a broad range of stakeholders openly, frequently, and through a lens of community consciousness. As our study demonstrated, there is a need in both current and future implementations of TWI programs for cross-community communication around the perceptions of TWI programming. This study has shown that a community consciousness approach can further the implementation of TWI programming by broadening the scope of who is impacted by, involved in, and benefit from program changes across a school community. We have also shown that not every member of this community shares the same level of community consciousness, since the program is not yet schoolwide, and communication around the program and its goals has been, at times, inconsistent. In our study, we were not able to analyze data based on participants' affiliation with the TWI program and that is a limitation. Another limitation of our study is that this data reflects only the perceptions of parents and teachers and not of students.

In this vein, the field will benefit from future research that explores how communities engage in these discussions in ways that promote open dialogue and equity. In a time of growing popularity for TWI, where many schools and districts are rushing to implement such programming, this study draws attention to the need for additional research on misperceptions that may arise from a lack of open communication. At the same time, our findings offer a reassurance around the viability and excitement around these programs across a variety of stakeholder groups. As we continue our work alongside teachers and parents at Lake Elementary, conducting follow up research to document the continued trajectory of this program, the field will benefit from additional long-term research that explores how TWI programs evolve within and across communities. While these findings are specific to TWI programming within this particular community and the Brazilian families who have had a historical relationship with the town where the school is, the importance of community consciousness ultimately extends to broader arenas of educational policy change, where open, critical communication across stakeholder groups is necessary for the successful introduction and equitable maintenance of innovative educational programming.

Note

1. This study takes place in the U.S. state of Massachusetts, which has just emerged from a fifteen-year period of English-only legislation. Massachusetts voters outlawed bilingual education between 2002 and 2017 through a referendum that largely dismantled bilingual education throughout the state. With new legislation in 2017, schools now have more flexibility to pursue a broader variety of language education models, including two-way immersion.

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