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Dual-Language Advocates and Their Arguments: A Comparison of Utah and New York

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Frank Smith, a famous psycholinguist who is recognized for his contributions to linguistics and cognitive psychology, once said, “One language sets you in a corridor for life. Two languages open every door along the way.” (Frank Smith > Quotes). With today’s rapid globalization and technology advancement, this phrase is truer than ever, because preparing the next generation of youth to speak more than one language has become a necessity. Currently, over half of the world's population is bilingual (Grosjean, 1), enabling them to exchange ideas with people from other nations in today’s interconnected world.

One model of bilingual education that has attracted both praise and controversy is dual language immersion, where half of class time is taught in a native language and the other half in a second language, but all students learn both. While there is no exact number on dual-language programs in the US, advocates claim that they are “the fastest and most effective type of foreign language program currently available in U.S. schools” (Dual Language Program, 2016). Two of the fastest growing areas are New York City, with 192 dual language programs (NYC Department of Education), and surprisingly the state of Utah, with 118 dual-language programs (Leite and Cook, 84). Therefore, this study seeks to answer these questions: What arguments and evidence do Spanish-English dual-language advocates use in racially diverse New York City vs. predominantly White Utah? In addition, what challenges do these advocates face when attempting to persuade different audiences to support dual-language schooling?

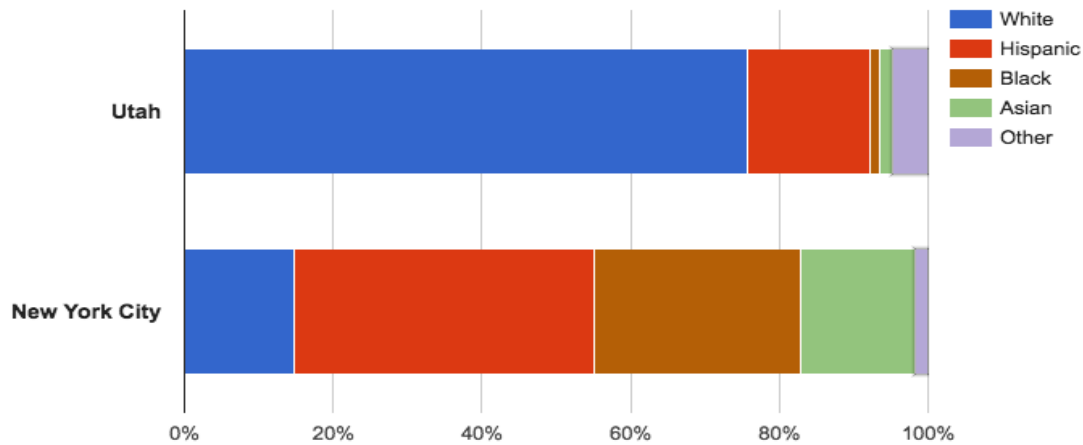
Overall, based on all of the interviews and documents obtained for this study, the primary argument voiced by advocates was economic. Dual-language immersion programs were defined as an economic asset to benefit both the students and the nation at large. Following the economic argument, a cultural argument was also used to promote dual language immersion schools. When comparing the two states, Utah advocates favored the economic argument, while the New York

City advocates were evenly mixed between economic and cultural arguments, but in different ways due to demographics. Finally, all those interviewed expressed that it is very challenging to convince others to support dual language programs. The challenges included difficulty finding qualified teachers to hire, difficulty persuading parents to understand that allowing their children to learn in two languages does not put them behind in their academic work in English, and difficulty attracting students to become interested in learning Spanish as a second language.

Demographic differences between NYC and Utah:

The demographic differences of public school students and popularity of dual-language programs made NYC and Utah perfect settings to compare in my research. As you can see on figure 1, the public school student populations of the two places are very different. Utah has 76% White and 16% Hispanic as the second largest group, while NYC has 15% White and 40% Hispanic. In other words, Utah's student population is predominantly White while New York City's student population is much more diverse with Latinos/Hispanics as its largest group. (U.S. Department of Education, Common Core of Data CCD). Because the first and second largest population of public school students in Utah and New York City are White and Hispanics, focusing my research on the Spanish-English dual-language immersion programs made sense.

Figure 1: Public School Students by Percent Race/Ethnicity, 2014-15



I also chose to investigate Utah and NYC because of the strong support for dual-language programs both areas have to offer. Utah is also a state that is religiously and politically conservative with a predominantly white population. Also, Utah was actually the “first and largest state supported immersion initiative in the United States” (Leite and Cook, 84). It is surprising that Utah is so supportive of dual language programs, which makes it fascinating to research how they advocated to gain so much strong support. By 2014, Utah had 25,000 students enrolled in 118 dual language programs in public schools, and 37 of these programs were Spanish-English two-way immersion. (Leite and Cook, 84-92). Finally, journalist Elizabeth A. Harris stated that, “in Utah, 9 percent of the state’s public elementary students are enrolled in dual-language programs” (Harris, 2015) The statistics show very high number of dual language programs for a state with predominantly White student body.

Similar to Utah, New York City, has many dual-language programs. By the 2015- 2016 academic year, there were 153 Spanish/English dual language programs in New York City (Dual

Language and Transitional Bilingual Education Programs List SY 2015-16, 2015). With financial incentives, NYC's Chancellor Carmen Farina also announced an expansion in 2016-2017 that includes 29 Dual Language (20 in Spanish- English dual language) and nine Transitional Bilingual Educational programs, which will be implemented across 36 schools and serve more than 1,200 students across the City (NYC Department of Education: News and Speeches). The large number and continuous expansion of dual language programs in New York City makes it a great city to focus my research on. As a result, I believe that conducting a research that sheds light to the arguments that Spanish-English dual-language advocates use in New York City and Utah used to persuade different audiences to support dual-language schooling and the challenges in advocacy. The arguments found are significant to educational studies and can help other advocates interested in creating Spanish-English dual-language schools to have greater success advocating and gaining support and as a result creating more dual language schools. Ultimately, more students from United States can have the opportunity to become bilingual and bicultural.

In addition, my research is also significant to educational studies because compared to other nations, the United States has a valuable yet untapped resource within the estimated 4.6 million students learning English that come to school already speaking a variety of home languages, most commonly Spanish, Vietnamese, Chinese and Arabic (U.S. Department of Education Office of English Language Acquisition, Pg.2). With the large number of English language learners who speak languages other than English in the nation and dual language immersion programs growing rapidly in the United States, it makes sense to understand how to advocate for dual language programs.

Origin and History of Bilingual Education in the United States: The politics of bilingual education

The trajectory of bilingual education must first be explored in order to better understand dual language programs. Educator Diego Castellano stated that bilingual education was introduced in the United States as early as the arrival of the Spanish and the Colonial Period in the mid 1500s, when Spaniards and the French settled in North America (Castellano, 15-18). Soon after, the Germans came by the mid-eighteenth century and settled in the northeastern United States. Unimpressed with the Anglo-American education and language, they opened their own German private schools and kept their language (Castellano, 20). Eventually the Revolutionary period came along with xenophobia, which is a fear or dislike of people from other countries. After the revolution won in 1782, French-American writer Michel - Guillaume-Jean de Crevecoeur said of his adopted land: "Individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men," and created a dominant philosophy in America's history where the English language was seen with greater importance although non-English classes continued in many schools founded by immigrants (Castellano, 22). Castellano argued that although immigration was skyrocketing in the 1800s, the idea of bilingualism and multilingualism declined especially in school settings. This shows that from the very beginning of in-migration to the United States, English-only schools became favored over bilingual ones.

Since the early 1900s, the law illustrated how the US government strongly favored English over other languages. For example, In 1906 the Nationalization Act was passed, requiring immigrants to speak English if they wished to become naturalized citizens. In addition, President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907 said "We have room for but one language... and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans

and of American Nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house” (Nieto 62). Roosevelt's statement is representative of how many political figures felt about non-English languages. At the political level, all languages, other than English were seen as inferior. Although the Nationality Act was eventually abolished, it reinforced the stigmas around bilingual education and immigrants, especially regarding Spanish speakers. Deficit views about Spanish speaking children in the 20th century were popularized. In the 1920s, Latinos were considered mentally retarded based on their IQ scores, and in the 1930s, bilingualism was considered a problem with the argument that learning English is already difficult, and that Spanish not only impaired them but also further prevented them from learning English (Flores 92). Other myths and falsehoods that bilingual education prevented students from learning English successfully continued throughout the mid 1900s.

As the power of the Civil Rights Movement picked up, many civil rights activists fought for educational equity. The passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination (Nieto 63) and in 1967 the Mexican American Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) as well La Raza Unida were formed. They advocated for bilingual education leading to the passage of the 1986 federal Bilingual Education Act also known as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Pedraza and Rivera 68). The Title VII affirmed the right for non-English speaking children to receive appropriate instruction and federal funds (Pedraza and Rivera, 68). By the 1970s, activism was helping create “equal opportunity for the culturally and ‘linguistically’ different child” (Flores 92).

In spite of the many actions taken to offer a fairer education for all children as seen in the previous paragraph, anti-bilingualism was persistent. For example, in 1998, California passed proposition 227, a law that eliminated bilingual education and the use of languages other than

English for instruction in the public schools in their state. Similar propositions followed in Arizona and Colorado. Furthermore, although George W. Bush did not officially ban bilingual education, he imposed high-stakes tests in English that promoted and implemented English-only instruction by introducing the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) in 2001 (Nieto 64). The various anti-bilingualism propositions and George W. Bush's words reflect how political figures and many others felt about non-English language in the 1990s. Thankfully, although controversy over bilingual education continues to persist today, there is a clear link between educational achievement and bilingual education which educators and researchers try to show in their work. For example, Nieto, a distinguished professor and researcher of Language, Literacy and Culture at the School of Education in University of Massachusetts Amherst, cites James Crawford's idea "there is no contradiction between promoting fluent bilingualism and promoting academic achievement in English; indeed, these goals are mutually supporting" (Nieto 69). In other words, in spite the fact that anti-bilingualism was persistent in past and continues to exist today, educators have begun showing data that shows the advantages of bilingual education.

Overview: What does a Bilingual Education look like?

At its most basic level, bilingual education is a method of instruction where two languages are used in a classroom. In the United States, bilingual education can also referred to the idea of teaching English to immigrants and those who are not proficient in English with instruction in both their native language and English (Castellano, 10). However, bilingual education can be a lot more intricate with different models or approaches of instruction. Researchers Patricia

Gandara and Megan Hopkins illustrate three different models of bilingual education, which are briefly summarized below (161).

1. *Early Exit or Transitional Bilingual Education*- In this model, 90-50% of the instruction is taught in student's native language. Literacy and some subject matters are taught in the native language while ESL and subject matter instruction is at the student's level of English. Students transition to a complete English curriculum in one to three years.

2. *Late Exit or Developmental Bilingual Education* –Similar to the first model, in this model 90-50% of the instruction is taught in student's native language. Literacy and some subject matter are also taught in the home language while ESL and subject matters are taught at student's level of English. However, they transition at a slower pace. These students take between five to six years to transition to English only curriculum.

3. *Two-Way Bilingual Education or Dual Immersion* – In this program, half of the students speak one's native language (such as Spanish) and the other half speaks another native language (such as English). Both literacy and subjects are taught in both native languages. In a dual-language class, students begins using 90% of their native language and 10% of their second language then gradually increase using the second language until the 50:50 model is accomplished. The students then stay in the 50:50 model. The duration of the program is approximately 5-6 years.

My research focuses on the two-way or dual immersion model of bilingual education because research has shown that dual-language immersion has proven to be the most effective in teaching both English speakers and non-native English speakers learn another language, improve test scores and cultivate cultural sensitivity when compared to the other models of bilingual education and the traditional monolingual education.

Previous research on effectiveness of dual language programs

The next few paragraphs explore existing research, which argue that the dual language approach is better than the other models of bilingual education and traditional public education. Professors Iliana Alanís Mariela Rodríguez (2008) conducted research that explored the success of one kindergarten to fifth grade, Spanish-English dual language program in the inner city of Texas. Their research found that the length of time spent in a dual language program was positively correlated with academic achievement (309). Based on the English Texas Assessment of knowledge and Skills (TAKS) given to students in the 5th grade, students exhibited scores in the high 80 to 100 range and outscored students across the district four out of the five consecutive years from 2000 to 2005 although they did not receive any formal English reading before the third grade (Alanis & Rodriguez, 310). The fact that students in the dual-language program did not start learning formal English reading before the third grade because K-3rd grade was mostly taught in Spanish, yet they outscored students who were placed in English-only classrooms or transitional bilingual language in terms of academic performance as shown in test scores indicates the effectiveness of dual language immersion programs.

Rather than preventing academic success, the dual-immersion program helped students increase scores in various subjects as well as in culture immersion. The findings from Alanis &

Rodriguez also showed students in Spanish-English dual-language getting high degrees of achievement in the sciences as well as in the math TAKS test (310). The mathematics scores were especially exceptional: 100% of its 5th grade students passed the mathematics exam throughout 2000-2002 (308-311). Their research also showed that learning another language, in this case, Spanish, did not hinder the student's development of English and academic success which was true for both English-dominant or Spanish-dominant students (Alanis & Rodriguez, 310). Finally, the authors also argued that dual language enrichment model offers, "an environment is empowering, and addressing issues of equity..."(Alanis & Rodriguez, 312) which is important for positive learning.

Another study by educational researchers Patricia Gandara and Megan Hopkins (2010) further expanded the existing academic literature on dual language programs. Gándara and Hopkins compared the European Union multilingual culture to the U.S. culture of English-only monolinguals while looking at language policies. They stated that while the European Union educational policy follows a "mother tongue plus two foreign languages" principle for citizens, the U.S. education policy favored English-only models for students (20). This means that while European Union supports learning languages at the national and political level, the United States does the opposite.

The authors then presented dual language programs as an effective method of instruction to counter the "English only" model existing today in the majority of US schools. They argue that the dual language immersion programs aim to teach students both ELLs and Native English Speakers to become bilingual, bilateral and bicultural (Gandara and Hopkins, 161). This program better serves both English language students and native English speakers as they both learn from each other and become fluent in two languages as opposed to having to segregate English

language learners and English native speakers in different classrooms. Segregation, as argued in the 1947 Mendez v. Westminster case, fosters harmful feelings of inferiority and rejection in children and that the isolation delays acculturation and English language learning (Moll, 452). When both ELLs and Native English speakers are placed in the same classroom, they can learn together, but more importantly mobilize culture, language, and practices, as they learn to challenge the “entrenched institutional norms” (Moll, 455). In short, dual language programs enable both ELL and Native English speakers to develop positive self-identities and break down stereotypes and misconceptions about race and ethnicity which can not happen in a transitional bilingual class where all students speak the same language and come from similar cultures (Gandara and Hopkins, 175).

In short, many existing research focused on finding the effectiveness of bilingual education and dual language programs. My study acknowledges that dual language programs are effective in educating both native English speakers and non-native English speakers to learn a new language, improve test scores and cultivate cultural sensitivity and as a result more of these programs should be created. My research moves beyond understanding the advantages of dual languages programs and into figuring out what previous advocates have said to gain support for dual language programs considering that New York City and Utah are so successful. Understanding the arguments they use to gain support can help others argue for the creation of similar programs in other part across the United States. In short, my research aims to promote the arguments that will enable those interested in creating dual languages schools to have greater success advocating and gaining support for the implementation of dual language programs.

Methodology:

In order to gain better insight as to what arguments Spanish-English dual-language advocates used in New York City and Utah when attempting to persuade different audiences to support their programs, I conducted interviews and analyzed public documents. The interviews were conducted only with participants who have advocated for Spanish-English dual-language programs and orally gave consent to use of their full names in my study. I did not conduct interviews with people who request to be anonymous. Also, I only recorded interviewees who granted me permission to do so; otherwise, I took notes. Moreover, my research purposely controlled for advocates that have advocated form Spanish-English dual-language programs because based on the student demographics in Utah and New York City, where White and Hispanic students represented the two largest groups. Limiting my research to only Spanish-English dual-language programs also enabled me to narrow down the number of existing dual-language programs in the two areas and gain richer insight of participants who advocated for a specific group of students.

To identify a group of diverse participants including principals, school representatives, teachers among others who were directly involved in the creation of a dual-language school for my interview, I first looked into the websites of Spanish-English dual-language programs in Utah and New York City. Then I looked up the contact information for the principal of the schools to email and/or call them. Following that, I identified more advocates by looking into news and journal articles and government websites such as Utah's State Board of Education and NYC Department of Education to gather a more ample group of advocates. Then, I used a spreadsheet to track 1) advocate's contact information, 2) whom I've sent an invitation, 3) who responded, 4) who denied or accepted, and 5) confirmed interview time. Finally, I sent out invitations to ten

individuals from Utah and ten from New York City. I also tried calling many of them. See appendix A for sample email sent to possible participants and Appendix B for interview guide and interview questions located at the end of this paper. The interviewing process concluded with three successful interviews.

From the successful interviews, the interview questions that were most successful in obtaining useful information included: How did you persuade others to do support the creation of the school?, What is the most challenging about persuading others to support dual-language programs?, and Did you find yourself using different arguments to advocate for Dual Language program change when speaking with different people? (Ex. politicians, superintendents, teachers from non- dual language programs, parents etc). To analyze the interviewees description of success in advocacy, I took notes from interviews performed without recordings and transcribed recorded interviews. The transcribed data gathered from interviews offered rich insight into arguments that the advocates have said to gain support for dual-language programs. Their responses enabled me to identify patterns of similarities and differences between all the interviews in terms of success, if the advocacy led to the creation of a dual language program, then the advocacy was deemed as successful.

Aside from the interviews, I also analyzed public documents to further understand advocacy for Spanish-English dual-language programs in Utah and New York City. To identify public documents to read for this study, I first went to the librarian at Trinity College who helped me navigate the different search engines. During my interviews, I also asked the participants if they know of any proposals, newspaper articles and or documents that showed the language used to advocate for Spanish-English dual-language programs. I looked at the abstract and briefly skimmed through approximately fifteen documents and found two articles, one book

and a video to be very useful to my research question. The articles appear on a published book, government websites and education studies publications all of which were made public in the past few years.

When analyzing the documents, I tried to look into the language they used that lead to successfully advocating such as when laws passed, schools were created, and/or funding regardless of public or private was granted. Finally, the insights gained from the book, news articles, and video enabled me to further compare and contrast the similarities and differences between the language expressed in public documents to gain support for dual language programs in comparison to what was said by the interviewees and as a result gain greater understand of how to advocate for Spanish-English dual language programs.

The Advocates: Biographical Details

Together, the advocates from Utah and New York represented people from very different walks of life. Some were statehouse specialists while others were classroom educators. Gregg Roberts from Utah is a specialist in World Languages who works at Utah's state office of education. He has been a dual-language advocate and believer since 2006 when he realized that kids can learn another language better when they are younger rather than waiting until they are in high school or college. Riana DiPalma from New York teaches English, ESL and runs a library program at Port Richmond High School in Staten Island. DiPalma has been working with other staff from the high school to create a Spanish-English dual-language program at the school which will be in full effect in September 2017, with an incoming class who has been in Spanish/English dual language program from K-8th grade. Finally, George Lock is the assistant principal at Manhattan Bridges High School in New York. Lock is a knowledgeable advocate

who although was not involved in the creation of the school, he continues that advocacy as the program continues to grow and receive new students.

All three advocates for Spanish/English dual-language programs stated that there is a growing number of Spanish speaking children in both Utah and New York City. Roberts said that Utah has 161 bilingual schools including one way-programs and two-way immersion programs and that 33 of those are Spanish-English two immersion programs, which represents the growing Spanish speaking population in Utah. Moreover, according to Leite and Cook: “By the autumn of 2014, Utah had made immersion a mainstream option in 118 public schools across the state (84). In short the number of dual language programs is higher than expected for Utah, given the population of Utah compared to the US overall.

Similarly DiPalma states: “In Staten Island, especially in North Shore, there is a growing number of different cultures and different languages ... mostly Spanish, some others speak Arabicwe have a good amount of other kids that Spanish...”. In addition to Roberts and DiPalma, Lock from New York also mentions that their dual-language program was created to help Spanish-speaking children. He says that Manhattan Bridges High School was “first designed to support English Language Learners,” then became a Spanish-English bilingual program. But, “one of the issues was that the students...in their conversations were always going to... Spanish,” so after a few years, the bilingual school turned into a Spanish-English dual-language school and brought more English speakers so that both English speakers and Spanish speakers can learn from each other. In short, Manhattan Bridges High School became a Spanish-English dual-language school to better assist the growing Spanish speaking population of the school and community. All three interviewees mentioned the growing Spanish-speaking population led to the creation Spanish-English dual-language programs to better assist them.

Economics of Dual-Language Programs

The primary argument for the creation of Spanish-English dual-language programs voiced by advocates was economic. When asked what arguments he found to be the most successful in gathering support, Roberts, the Utah world language specialist, indicated that people are responsive to the idea that dual language can lead to economic competition in the global world. Roberts stated that Utah is no longer competing for jobs, just to get students from Colorado but to get students from Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the world. Roberts also added that dual-language programs will enable students to later on be more competitive in the global world but for that “they must be multilingual and have intercultural classmates.” Roberts’ words illustrate that the argument that educating students in dual language programs can lead those students to compete in the global world and as a result increase the economic growth of the United States.

Aside from the interview with Roberts, the language of public documents and the videos for Utah’s dual-language schools also expressed the effectiveness of gaining support by using economic arguments. Jamie Leite, who works at the Utah State Office of Education, and Racquel Cook, associate professor of secondary education at Utah Valley University, stated: “In March 2007, using future economic growth as a selling point, Senator Stephenson helped pass two bills in the Utah legislative that were critical to the future development of these and other language programmes across the state. Senate Bill 2 provided \$100000 for ongoing funding...” (86). Clearly, by using the economic argument as a selling point, advocates were able to get bills passed along with financial rewards to continue growing and improving dual-language schools in Utah. And as consequence, benefiting the creation and bettering of more Spanish-English dual-

language programs. Additionally, in a video created and made public by Utah's Public Education, Gregg Roberts said, "There is no program that is tight greater to future economic development in Utah than the dual-language program"[Utah Dual Immersion, 10:47-10:53]. Clearly in Utah, using the economic argument has been effective in gathering support for dual-language programs.

Surprisingly, dual-language programs were not only supported by the Utah State Office of Education and the government but also strongly supported by private businesses. As Leite and Cook state: "Under the auspices of the governor's office and with the support of key stakeholders from the education and business communities, three summits served as a mechanism for creating a long-term language plan for the state"(87). The terms 'stakeholders' and 'business communities' already give the impression of that the economic argument played a big role. The economic argument is the driving mechanism for stakeholders from business communities to support dual-language programs in Utah.

In Utah, the economic argument gets a lot of support when advocating for dual-language programs, but getting support is like a business affair in itself. Local businesses support dual-language immersion programs but will also have influence over decisions of how the programs should be: "The summits drew influential people including K-12 administrators, local university professors and renowned national language experts... [And] 15 representatives from local businesses who could provide insight and ideas regarding the need for language and cultural skills in navigating a global economy" (Leite and Cook,87). Clearly, the economic argument is effective in gathering support for the creating and further implementation of dual-language programs, but it is important to highlight that in the process, the curriculum of the programs are also being shaped by those individuals such as businessman.

Similarly, the economic argument is also used in New York. DiPalma from New York City explained: “The first thing is to know that [a dual language program] is essentially a wonderful center for students to be bilingual and bicultural and it’ll actually help them in today’s workforce as we move forward in this country.” Helping students in the workforce is a form of economic asset for the nation. Aside from DiPalma, Lock, also from New York City said: “...There is different reasons that it is also practical... but we have always been promoting the idea that being bilingual is an asset in the job market, not only just in life but in the job market as well. That is definitely an argument...”. All three advocates highlighted that being able to communicate in two languages as opposed to one language will put them ahead of the game in the workforce. Clearly, using an economic argument can lead to gaining support for the creating for dual language programs.

The economic argument is also expressed in public documents and videos as effective to gaining support in advocacy. In a video created by Michael Lamon of VIO News, Milady Baez, the deputy chancellor of New York City said: “Our city has become extremely diverse... we...need to prepare out students for jobs in the future. The jobs of our future require that our students know more than one language. They going to be traveling abroad... communicating with people from all other the world. This will open doors for them” [VOA News, 0:18-0:43]. New York City’s Chancellor Milady Baez’s words illustrate the usage of the economic argument as she promotes dual-language immersion programs for New York City.

Moreover, the language used in the News and Speeches section of the New York City Department of Education website also showed the benefits of using economic arguments when advocating for dual-language programs. For example, Bronx Borough President Ruben Diaz Jr. stated: “Helping children to become bilingual or multilingual is helping them to be fully prepared

for a global economy.” Later on, Manhattan Borough President Gale A. Brewer adds: “In the 21st century, multilingualism and multiculturalism are keys that unlock countless doors for our children.” (NYC Department of Education: News and Speeches). The language used by Ruben Diaz Jr and Gale A. Brewer illustrate the use of the economic argument with key terms such as global economy and unlocking doors to gain support when advocating for dual-language programs.

Interestingly, advocates used slightly different types of arguments about the economic advantages of dual-language schools. In Utah, the economic argument was expressed in terms of global competitiveness. Roberts from Utah highlighted the importance of preparing students to become “competitive in the global world”. Similarly Jamie and Cook share: “A major outcome was the Utah Language Roadmap, which established an ambitious language education plan to prepare Utah students to enter a global economy for the benefit of Utah’s businesses, education system, government agencies and citizens” (87). Clearly, Utah’s advocates show that using the economic argument in terms of competing with other nations can be effective in gaining support.

By contrast, the economic argument in New York focused on both the economic market in the United States as well as globally. The interviewees DiPalma from New York claimed “it’ll actually help them in today’s workforce as we move forward in this country” and Lock also from New York said: “...is an asset in the job market...”. But, the language used previously by Bronx Borough President Ruben Diaz Jr. and Manhattan Borough President Gale A. Brewer emphasized helping them [children] to be “fully prepared for a global economy” and “keys that unlock countless doors for our children” respectively. In short, while Utah’s economic argument favored the aspect of competing at a global scale, New York City’s economic arguments were mixed between economic market in the United States as well as globally.

Advocates from Utah and New York clearly differ in the emphasis of their economic argument. While Robert's economic argument points to preparing students who will have the opportunity to interact, work and make deals with other countries, DiPalma and Lock from New York point their arguments to preparing students for the competitive workforce in the United States. The although slight difference in economic emphasis can be significant because to some extent it highlights that while the schools in New York City where DiPalma and Lock work are preparing students for the workforce in the United States, Gregg from Utah focuses on preparing students to compete with other nations in today's interconnected and globalized world. Nonetheless, the advocates indicated that using an economic argument to gain support for the creation of dual language programs was effective as we can see their programs were successfully created and running.

Cultural argument of Dual-Language Programs

Although the economic argument for the creation of dual-language schools prevailed, the cultural argument came second. In other words, another common theme advocates from both Utah and New York shared was the cultural argument for the creation of dual-language schools. In Utah, the cultural argument was expressed in the aspect of cultivating empathy and bringing the community together. Roberts from Utah said that dual-language programs help "students to become multilingual and culturally competent...people are more empathetic". Later on, Roberts adds " these are opportunities especially where there are minorities in the communities ... branch's community together..." . The cultural argument for gaining support for Spanish-English dual-language programs was clearly used.

Aside from the interview with Roberts, a Utah Dual Immersion video also portrays the use of cultural arguments for the creation of dual-language programs. For example, Tristin West, a Spanish Instructional Specialist points out: “In the dual-language immersion program, not only are students learning a language but are actually experiencing different cultures.” [07:30-07:38]. In other words, students in dual-language in Utah can learn about other cultures. Additionally, the video states: “We prepare them to see the world differently. It's like they have this whole new global awareness”[07:38-07:43]. Finally, a student from a Chinese-English dual-language program shares his experience in the school: “And our teacher bring stuff from China and we have dumplings and then we eat them with chopsticks” [07:43-07:50]. Clearly, experiencing different cultures, learning to see the world differently, and getting to try foods are culturally enriching for the students, and the arguments can be used to gather support for the creation of dual-language programs. But the video voiced only the economic argument for the first seven and a half minutes of the whole video while only about one and a half minute of the total video voiced the cultural argument. The great disparity between economic argument vs. brief cultural argument clearly shows that the cultural argument to gather support comes second to the economic argument.

Nonetheless, although all the stated cultural arguments from Utah were wonderful, the focus of the cultural arguments of teaching empathy seemed to be geared towards its predominantly White population. For example, the key terms Roberts used in interview included: culturally competent, empathetic, bring's community together, all of which teaching culture to White students, yet lacked terms such as Latinos embracing their one's heritage, roots, and identity in their cultural argument. Similarly, the language expressed in Utah's Dual Immersion video, many of the terms were also geared towards teaching the White students. Some terms

include: experiencing new cultures, see world differently, global awareness etc. Again, none of the cultural terms such as affirming immigrant's or ELLs identity or roots is ever mentioned. This may be due to the demographics of Utah's public school student body which is comprised of 76% White students. The demographics influenced the way arguments should be framed to gain the most support. In other words, Utah's advocates may be intentionally framing the cultural argument in a way that draws support from the predominantly White population to have greater success in gaining support for dual-language schools.

Similar to Utah, New York City advocates also expressed the use of cultural arguments when advocating for dual language programs. But, by contrast to Utah's focus on teaching empathy that seems to be geared towards its predominantly White population, New York focused on building an appreciation and learning of students Latino cultural heritage. DiPalma from New York said, "It's wonderful...for students to be bilingual and bicultural...Everyone should be able to speak two languages and that if you were born this way all along, you should really continue on". And Lock also from New York stated that parents often expressed interest in the Spanish-English dual-language program because when they come to the country is kind of hard to maintain those customs and traditions especially if the language is lost so they really "love the idea of students developing knowledge, developing the language of their heritage". Lock's words emphasizes a cultural argument oriented toward Latino families embracing their identity, in contrast to Utah's cultural argument about white families accepting Latino families.

Lock also adds that in helping people understand who they are their roots, "you validating a group of people's culture, you know it could also be about equity you know the fact that you have to sort of bridge for people to pick up a second language". The cultural argument illustrated by DiPalma and Lock in particular shows its focus on providing a space for Latino

students to learn and appreciate their own culture that they may otherwise not be able to learn about.

The cultural argument for the creation of dual-language schools was also present in the language of public documents. NYC's Mayor Bill de Blasio said: "not only do our students and families thrive through bilingual programs and by learning a new language and culture – the entire City does." Mayor DeBlasio used the cultural argument showing that dual-language programs are beneficial not only to the students to learn a new culture but that the whole city benefits from it because when immigrants and Americans meet each other in the city, they are more likely to understand different culture. This is clearly a way to sell dual-language programs by stating that it benefits everyone culturally. Moreover, Milady Baez, Deputy Chancellor for the Division of English Language Learners and Student Support stated that: "These [dual-language programs] are empowering programs where students learn from an early age to respect and appreciate each other's languages and cultures..." (NYC Department of Educ...). No doubt, the terms respect and appreciate other cultures is referring to cultural argument to gain support. In short, advocates from both NY and Utah are aware of the importance of students becoming not only bilingual but also bicultural and they use that as an argument to gain support.

In the end, advocates and the language shown in documents and videos from both Utah and New York City express that the cultural argument is also effective in gathering support the creation and implementation of Spanish-English dual-language schools.

Challenges of Advocating for dual language programs

All three advocates, Roberts from Utah and DiPalma and Lock from New York, agree that there are challenges to convince others to support dual language programs, although they

each highlight very different challenges. Roberts from Utah shared that “there is not one right way to persuade people... it takes multiple resources and multiple voices” to convince others to support dual language programs. He adds that the biggest challenge is that some people are concerned with the lack of teachers. Roberts agrees that finding great teachers is a challenge but comments that: “if you build it, they will come ...we must have programs for teachers to have jobs and if we sit around and wait for teachers to arrive with no jobs, then it’s also a problem...”. In other words, Roberts sees that hiring the right teachers that are prepared to teach in a dual language setting is a challenge, which may be due to Utah’s demographics.

Similarly, DiPalma from New York also expressed the difficulty of advocating for dual language programs. DiPalma said that convincing parents of the benefits of dual language programs was challenging: “Unfortunately, less parents will be notified to come in, we mentioned this as an option to them rather than just a regular classroom...It is actually an honors program” even then, many are hesitant to sign their children up. Parents struggle to grasp the idea that learning in two languages will not put them behind in the academic work in English. They fear that their children won’t be as proficient in English.

Lock from New York also expressed that it is challenging to persuade others to become interested in the Spanish-English dual-language program even when the program is up and running effectively. He mentions that students are actually the most challenging to persuade: “...students themselves in the dual language program, they only speak English. They may speak some Spanish at a conversational level, they may not speak any Spanish at home, so we noticed that the teenagers themselves, they often not so interested in learning Spanish as a second language at first...” The program is at a High school level so the classes can be challenging on

it's own. Convincing students to become interested in studying subjects in Spanish is definitely can definitely be challenging.

In short, the three interviewees and advocates for Spanish-English dual-language programs faced different challenges including finding teachers, persuading parents, and attracting students but that did not stop them from continuing their advocacy for Spanish-English dual-language programs.

Conclusions and Limitation:

In the end, Roberts from Utah, and DiPalma and Lock from New York, as well as various public sources shared that advocating for dual language can be effective when using the economic and cultural argument and framing it in a way that reflect the demographics of each location when advocating and seeking support for dual-language programs. Reflecting on Utah's predominantly White population vs. diverse New York City, the former favored economic arguments while the latter mixed economic with cultural arguments to better reflect the student demographics in each perspective location. Finally, advocates highlighted that advocating for Spanish-English dual-language programs was not an easy task. Advocates faced challenges on finding teachers, persuading parents, and attracting students. Nonetheless, the goal is to continue advocating for the creation and successful implementation of Spanish-English dual language programs

Finally, while my research contributes new insights and valuable information such as findings that can help those interested in the creation of Spanish-English dual-language programs to have a better understanding of arguments that Utah and New York City advocates used, I acknowledge that there were limitations in my research. First of all, due to time constraints, I

was only able to successfully interview three advocates. In other words, the participants' sample size was quite small. I think that if I had the opportunity to interview more people, my findings may be influenced. Second, everyone interviewed and all the documents I looked into expressed a pro Spanish-English dual-language advocates. In other words, the research lacked an opposing view.

If I were to further expand on this research in the future, I would increase the interviews sample size and the amount of time on the research. I would also consider interviewing participants who are opposed to the creation of dual-language programs. Finally, doing this research also made me realize that if I were to create a new research about dual-language programs, I should track the progress of dual-language programs in the US because at the moment, the exact number of dual language programs is not known making it impossible to track how fast they are growing over the years.

Appendix A:

Sample email sent to possible participants:

Dear _____,

I am writing to you because you are a successful advocate for dual-language programs/schools and I would like to talk to you more about your story and what you did/do for (insert school / program name). As you were involved/are involved in advocating for dual language programs to others you are in an ideal position to offer me valuable first hand information from your perspective. If possible, our phone conversation would only take about 30 minutes. I am simply trying to capture your perspective of what being said and done (?) helps gain supports for dual language programs. The responses including your name will be used as full public record. However, your participation will be a valuable contribution to my research and findings could enable many who are interested in creating and advocating for their own bilingual schools or programs to have a better sense of what they can say to successfully gain

both financial and social support. This research can also lead to greater public understanding of the benefits of dual language programs.

Sincerely,
Minying Cao

Appendix B:

Interview Guide:

My name is Minying Cao, senior at Trinity College in Hartford CT. As an Educational Studies and Hispanic Studies double major, I am interested in conducting a research about advocating for Dual Language Programs/ Schools. For my senior research project, I am interviewing advocates including principals, school representatives, and teachers who were directly involved advocating for dual language programs. After researching about the various Spanish/English dual programs and schools in the US, you were selected as a great candidate for my research. The entire process of the interview is voluntary. The interview will take approximately 30 minutes, and you may stop at any time. I would like your permission to use your name as well as to record your interview. When I record you, I am going to ask you to agree that you will grant full public record of what you tell me today.

- 1) "My understanding is that you and other people were advocates for the creation of [x school]. Can you tell me more about the role you played?
- 2) How did you persuade others to do support the creation of the school? Possible follow ups: (Can you remember some of the arguments you used?; Which of the arguments you found to be the most successful in gathering support and which one's not so much?)
- 3) What is the most challenging about persuading others to support dual-language programs?
- 4) Did you find yourself using different arguments to advocate for Dual Language program change when speaking with different people? (Ex. politicians, superintendents, teachers from non- dual language programs, parents etc).
- 5) Can you tell me of the time when you had to convince people who knew nothing about the advantages of the dual language program?

- 6) From your everyday observations and interactions in the dual-language school setting, what are the things you are the most proud of?
- 7) Do you have any proposals, newspaper articles and or documents you've written that showed the language you used at that time?
- 8) Can you recommend me to other people who are also advocates for dual-language programs that I could speak with?
- 9) What are you the most proud of from the work you do? (In other words, why are you working/ advocating for dual language programs?)
- 10) Last but not least, how long have you been involved in advocating for dual language programs?

Thank you very much for your time.

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