

2-3-2022

Bilingual investments of dual-language immersion program alumni

Madina Djuraeva

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/tedfacpub>

Please take our feedback survey at: https://unomaha.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8cchtFmpDyGfBLE

Bilingual investments of dual-language immersion program alumni

Madina Djuraeva ^a, Diep Nguyen^b and Mariana Castro^b

^aDepartment of Instructional Leadership and Academic Curriculum, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK, USA;

^bWIDA at Wisconsin Center for Education Research, University of Wisconsin – Madison, Madison, WI, USA

To cite this article: Madina Djuraeva, Diep Nguyen & Mariana Castro (2022) Bilingual investments of dual-language immersion program alumni, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 25:9, 3214-3227, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2022.2039095>

ABSTRACT

The article explores bilingual investments of dual-language immersion program alumni through an intersectional narrative analysis. Focusing on the experiences of bilingualism of six alumni, we investigate how they continue to be invested in bilingualism, the factors that shape their self-positionings as bilinguals, and the extent to which race is implicated in their experiences as bilingual speakers of Spanish and English. The analysis revealed that investment is not always agentive and is obligatory, and habitualless conscious linguistic behavior. While individual efforts sustain bilingual investment, biculturalism requires a collective practice. Bilingual experiences are racialized, and raciolinguistic ideologies at home school, and society at large shape alumni's bilingual investments. Across all findings, we discuss individual and collective similarities and differences among Hispanic/Latinx and White alumni. The article ends with implications for future research and practical recommendations for designing equitable bilingual programs.

KEYWORDS

Investment; bilingual education; linguistic disposition; raciolinguistic ideologies; belonging; intersectionality

Families choose to enroll their children in the dual-language immersion program (DLIP) because of its potential to offer academic, social, and cultural advantages (Parkes 2008). DLIPs have proliferated among families with home languages other than English, and among White, middle-class, and wealthy parents of English-dominant students, for whom these programs represent a form of enrichment for their children (Cervantes-Soon et al. 2017). Such proliferation has led researchers to investigate and identify issues related to power asymmetries and educational inequities in bilingual education, focusing on program design (López and Fránquiz 2009), academic achievement (Brutt-Griffler and Jang 2022), and investment (Potowski 2004). They have also highlighted a lack of research on the identities of emergent bilingual learners and the ways they experience and perceive their own bilingualism (Hamman-Ortiz 2020; Lindholm-Leary 2016), which we address by extending our research focus to the examination of bilingual investments of alumni – former DLIP students. We examine the processes that constrain and contribute to their continuous investment in bilingualism, which are essential in understanding how society in general and DLIPs in particular have shaped alumni’s bilingual investments.

Using Darvin and Norton’s (2015) model of investment – how and why language learners invest in language learning – we critically examine the bilingual experiences of six K-8 DLIP alumni. The research questions that guide this study are the following: How do DLIP alumni continue to be invested in bilingualism? What factors shape their self-positionings¹ as bilinguals? To what extent is race implicated in their experiences as bilingual speakers of Spanish and English? Theoretically, we show the utility of investment in conceptualizing the ways these alumni continue to sustain their bilingualism beyond the structured language-learning program. We also demonstrate the value of an intersectional approach to narrative analysis in revealing how power is negotiated in participants’ bilingual investments. Empirically, we add to scholarship on raciolinguistic ideologies and racialized identities (Flores 2016), addressing inequity in bilingual education and *beyond* by shedding light on experiences of Hispanic/Latinx² and White Spanish–English bilinguals.

We first review the literature on young and adult bi/multilingual learners’

perceptions of bilingualism and bilingual identity, and racialized experiences in formal and less formal educational spaces. We then rethink the model of investment as the bilingual investment. Next, we describe our methods and present analysis and interpretation of the most salient themes in participants' narratives. We conclude with a discussion of implications for research and practice.

Bilingual education and inequity

Bilingual education research has examined issues vis-à-vis students' academic achievements (Brutt-Griffler and Jang 2022), bilingual development (Lindholm-Leary 2016), inclusion (Potowski 2004), and more. Dual-language immersion (DLI) is one type of bilingual education in the United States, designed to help students develop full proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing in two languages, show grade-appropriate academic progress, and gain sociocultural competence (Parkes 2008). DLI has gained much attention in recent years for its advantages in equipping minoritized learners with proficiency in their heritage languages and the dominant national language (Brutt-Griffler and Jang 2022). Despite these advantages, scholars have questioned DLIPs' integrity in providing equitable learning opportunities, particularly, for minoritized students.

Learners of different backgrounds may experience the advantages of bilingualism differently (Hamman-Ortiz 2020): Hispanic/Latinx students need to maintain their heritage language and acquire its academic variety along with English whereas White students receive an additional benefit of learning another language (Potowski 2004). Internalization of ideologies around the unequal value of languages among the families of non-privileged students affects families' goals for their children to acquire a 'native-like' proficiency in the language of power, leading to a limited focus on the oral language development of the minoritized language (Paia et al. 2015). These distinctions are issues of power, privilege, and racism that perpetuate existing sociolinguistic, educational, and political inequities (Scanlan and Palmer 2009) as observed in DLI settings designed around the needs of privileged English-dominant groups (Freire, Valdez, and Delavan 2016).

Speakers' perceptions of their own bilingualism are central in shaping their

attitudes toward it (Block 2012; Lindholm-Leary 2016). Sociolinguistic research has demonstrated parental language attitudes and associated moral and linguistic values (Catedral and Djuraeva 2018) along with multi-lingual learners' desired social memberships (Djuraeva 2021) affect multilinguals' attitudes toward their own multilingualism and sociocultural belonging. As such, (digital) communication with English speakers positioned as non-native and metalinguistic self-reflection on habitual linguistic experiences can contribute positively to language learners' multilingual identities and to their interest in sustaining multilingual and multicultural practices (Djuraeva and Catedral 2020; Ke and Cahyani 2014). Within the United States, resiliency becomes highly relevant for raciolinguistically minoritized and marginalized multilinguals including Latinx communities (Rosa 2019).

Raciolinguistic ideologies such as discourses of native-speakerism are prevalent even among second-grade bilingual learners (Hamman-Ortiz 2020), perpetuating White speakers' bilingualism as exceptional whereas Hispanic/Latinx speakers' bilingualism as simply expected (Flores 2016). With DLIPs and parental role being central to bilinguals' development of resiliency (Block 2012), we must consider raciolinguistic ideologies circulated in these spaces.

Bilingual education research has primarily focused on learners attending DLIPs. We focus on DLIP alumni to understand their long-term bilingual trajectories and factors shaping their bilingual investments. Because DLIP's language-associated values can instill conflicting language ideologies in learners (Babino and Stewart 2019), an examination of their ongoing experiences offers insights into enduring bilingual dispositions that may (not) have been shaped by DLIPs. Furthermore, we respond to a call for research on students' sense making of their bilingualism (Hamman-Ortiz 2020) by foregrounding participants' emic perspectives through intersectional narrative analysis.

Bilingual investment

Investment – a sociohistorically grounded critical concept of language-learning theory – foregrounds language-learner identity and agency: learners invest in learning a language when they envision greater returns with knowing that

language (Norton 1995). Darvin and Norton (2015) expanded the concept through a model of investment highlighting intersections of ideology, capital, and identity, and to uncover systemic patterns of control – normative beliefs and actions through which language learners navigate the world. *Ideologies* allow us to examine normative power manifestations and negotiations in communicative practices. *Capital* reveals learner-perceived material or symbolic gains in a given context (Bourdieu 1991). *Identity* is ever changing and ‘is a struggle of habitus and desire, of competing ideologies and imagined identities’ (Darvin and Norton 2015, 45). While identity is performative and dynamic, it is also inscribed through social categories of race, ethnicity, gender, class, and others (Block 2013). These concepts equip us to examine larger ideological and structural phenomena through bilinguals’ more intimate day-to-day durable linguistic dispositions (Bourdieu 1984; Djuraeva and Catedral 2020). We rethink the investment model by accounting for the contexts that form alumni’s lives.

We position our participants as bilingual speakers, which is how they position themselves. Their investment in dual-language learning differ from investment in sustaining bilingualism at present because they no longer participate in the structured bilingual program and have already developed bilingual and biliterate skills. Thus, these alumni are bilingual speakers and occasionally, continuing learners sustaining their bilingualism. For them, investment does not stem from monolingualism or emerging bilingualism; it stems from bilingualism. We use *bilingual investment* to underscore socio- linguistic affordances shaping participants’ continuous commitment to sustaining bilingualism. We foreground *capital* and *identity* in examining participants’ bilingual investments and language- associated values. We consider *race* in shaping alumni’s bilingual identities and experiences at the intersection of *ideology*, *race*, and *capital* by drawing from *raciolinguistic ideologies* – linguistic practices of the dominant culture as normative or unmarked and others as deficient and marked (Rosa 2019). We extend conceptualization of *investment* beyond traditional images of language-learner and language-learning space by focusing on bilingual speakers, former DLI learners. Additionally, we highlight perceptual and experiential differences and similarities between

Hispanic/Latinx and White DLI alumni.

Methods

Participants, context, and data collection

We present the second phase of a larger study focused on alumni's educational and linguistic trajectories and DLIP evaluation by examining individual interviews with six DLI alumni who agreed to participate. Broader ethnographic observations of DLIP made over the course of the study have informed our analysis of these interviews. Participants entered DLIP in kindergarten spending at least seven consecutive years in the program. When interviewed, participants' exit from the program dated back to 5–10 years. They continued living in large and highly diverse Midwestern city where Hispanic/Latinx and White communities comprise over half of city-dwellers. The city's linguistic ecology is densely multilingual: over 100 languages are spoken at home. While participants could physically access the city's diverse linguistic spaces, their occupation and families determined how much bilingual exposure participants had.

DLIP our participants attended opened in 1994 with one kindergarten class in a large Midwestern suburban school district serving ethnically and linguistically diverse, largely middle-class community. Participants attended Spanish–English DLIP where students were classified based on their first languages – ‘native’³ English speakers and ‘native’ Spanish speakers – despite having learners speaking languages other than Spanish and English. Many Hispanic/Latinx in the program had been identified as English Learners (ELs). The state where DLIP was located mandated transitional bilingual education in schools serving more than 20 ELs speaking the same first language. Participation in this program was an alternative to receiving transitional bilingual education for Spanish speakers identified as ELs. For ‘native’ English speakers, it was an alternative to monolingual English- medium general education. The program's mission statement outlined three overarching goals: to develop language and literacy in Spanish and English, ensure academic achievement in both languages, and develop students' intercultural competence.

Six 1- to 2-hour-long narratives collected through video-recorded interviews

with six alumni had the same list of reflective open-ended questions posed to each participant by the second author: e.g. if someone asked you if you were bilingual and/or bicultural, how would you respond to them? Could you speak about your experience in the DLIP? In what ways do you continue to use the languages you know? In responding to questions designed to investigate participants' attitudes toward DLIP, perceptions of bilingualism, bilingual experiences, and social memberships, participants frequently drew from their lived stories. Hence, our analysis and discussion revolve around the most salient themes in their lived stories of knowing and sustaining two languages.

The analytic approach

To investigate DLI alumni's bilingual investments, we employed an intersectional approach to narrative analysis. Intersectionality examines how power intersects with identity through various socially and culturally recognized categories (Crenshaw 1989). The intersectional approach is closely linked to everyday life and often involves the use of narrative accounts (Christensen and Jensen 2012). The narrative analysis enables researchers to explore power as both structural and ideological and as relational and agentive (Chadwick 2017). In language studies, intersectionality was used to study teacher, learner, and speaker identities (Block and Corona 2016) vis-à-vis racialized notions of native-speakerism (Lawrence and Nagashima 2020), transnational migration (Rottmann and Nimer 2021), and DLI (Martinez Negrette 2020). Such an analytical approach thus allows to examine complex relationships among socially prescribed and discursively negotiated positionings and affordances alumni found meaningful whilst sharing their experiences as bilinguals.

We made use of narrative analytic tools to explore these complex intersections. Specifically, we focused on (a) participants' orientation to time and place (Bell 2013), (b) reported speech and discursive strategies of inclusion and exclusion through pronouns such as *we* vs. *them* and racialized ideals such as native vs. non-native (Von Esch, Motha, and Kubota 2020), and (c) shifts between storied and storytelling world (Bamberg 1997): participants' accounts of an event *there* and *then*

to its evaluation *here* and *now*. These shifts often manifested through an affective discourse (Arnold 2011) reflecting participants' pride, ownership, belonging, and resistance manifested in their bilingual investments. An intersectional approach to narrative analysis helped us recognize the power relations constructed across all our narrative toolkits.

Researcher positionality

Our researcher positionalities stem from our identification as multilingual Central Asian, Asian American, and Chicana language educators of linguistically and culturally diverse students. Together we bring over 30 years of expertise working with multilingual learners, and our own experiences as language learners, transnational migrants, and members of minoritized communities in the United States. These positionalities have informed and enhanced our analysis and interpretations of contexts shaping participants' bilingual investments.

Analysis and interpretation

Our analysis revealed three most salient themes in participants' lived stories of knowing and using two languages. Below, we will present our analysis and interpretations of excerpts that depict well the themes invoked in participants' narratives that are also representative of the processes of racialization made in our ethnographic observations of DLIP, and that advance our argument on bilingual investment and the issues relevant to understanding bilingual education.

The first theme presents narratives demonstrating how DLI alumni continue to use two languages in their day-to-day lives revealing the intersection between participants' linguistic capitals and dis- positions. This intersection foregrounds *effort* – conscious and intentional, and *habit* – less conscious, but more enduring linguistic behaviors in participants' bilingual investments. Effort and habit were theorized by Djuraeva and Cathedral (2020) based on Bourdieu's (1984) *habitus* and *durable dispositions*. The second theme underscores the moments when alumni are positioned as Hispanic/Latinx or White and the ways they evaluate and negotiate these ascribed positionings as bilinguals. In interpreting these storied moments, we

account for the overt and covert intersection of race with ideology and bilingual competence. The third theme highlights participants' sociocultural belonging and discursive construction of their own biculturalism that Ramirez and Ross (2019) claim to be key in the development of learners' bilingualism. This theme enhanced our understanding of alumni's language-associated values that are indexical of their lasting language investment (Fishman 1964). Across all themes, we discuss similarities and differences in bilingual investments of Hispanic/Latinx and White DLI alumni.

Narratives of habit and effort

"I do a lot of Spanglish, I try to do everything in Spanish, Whenever I'm translating"

All participants talked about how they engaged in bilingualism daily and what these bilingual practices looked like. Attention to these daily practices is crucial for understanding what spaces are accessible and accessed by former DLI learners, how they continue to leverage their linguistic repertoires and why. Our analysis demonstrated: while some bilingual practices result from habitual – less conscious linguistic behaviors, others are more effortful in that they require intentionality – a greater level of agency. This intersectional examination of capital and linguistic dispositions revealed agency to be nearly non-existent when the bilingual investment becomes more habitual and less conscious. For example, family interactions provided Lorena a space to utilize bilingualism through Spanglish, Spanish, and English with different age groups in her family:

A lot of the time when I'm talking to younger people in my family, I do a lot of Spanglish and I'll just mix them in there with both languages but usually when I'm talking to the older generation of my family, like Aunts, Uncles, Grandma it's usually Spanish. They know English, but it's easier to talk with them in Spanish.

For Lorena, these bilingual practices have become habitual. Her agency becomes more explicit upon justifying her choice of Spanish over English when talking to elders as 'it's easier' and upon reflecting on her and her cousins' Spanish competency. Lorena says, 'I have cousins who do not know Spanish and are taking Spanish in high school. Learning a language, they were never really taught',

position- ing herself as having superior knowledge of Spanish in comparison to her cousins who received formal Spanish-language education only in high school. Unlike Lorena for whom it has become habitual to leverage her bilingualism amongst family, Joyce and Kris invoked specific times and spaces they accessed or actions they took to practice Spanish, which they did not reflect upon vis-à-vis English. Joyce sustained her Spanish in very similar ways to her former DLI environment. She continued to use it primarily during designated classroom periods and doing homework, which demonstrates a certain level of agency necessary to enroll in college Spanish as opposed to family interactions described by Lorena.

I use English all the time. Spanish, I don't use it as much. I use it when I have Spanish class 3 days a week and then when I'm doing my homework.

Kris, on the other hand, showed a greater level of agency than Joyce by constructing a narrative of effort, that is, he was intentional about the ways he could engage in Spanish without a structured learning environment:

English, I mean, every time I talk with my friends and family, but Spanish – I'll watch movies. I'll read books. I'm reading like all the Harry Potter books right now in Spanish. I'll listen to talk radio that's based out of southern Spain, with the Internet. I gotta do that at work when instead of listening to music in the morning I can listen to some talk radio. So, that's always enjoyable. I try to make an effort too cause you can always look up something in English and it makes it seem a lot easier, but I try to do everything in Spanish.

Effort in sustaining Spanish was not expressed by White alumni only. Fabiola shared how her daily bilingual practices involved helping her sister sustain Spanish: 'I think with my sister it's because I want her to, like, grasp the language and know how to use it. So, I keep practicing with her in Spanish'. What makes Fabiola's effort different from Joyce's and Kris's is that her bilingual investment is directed outward at her sister. Like Lorena, Fabiola 'got used to' speaking Spanish with her brother indexing habitual over an intentional dimension of this linguistic practices: 'With my brother I just start out always speaking in Spanish with him and got used to that'.

Another example of the narratives of habit and effort comes from research on

language brokering. Although language brokering has been well documented among Hispanic/Latinx learners, we know little about White English-dominant bilingual learners. Indeed, stories of daily language brokering were prevalent in Hispanic/Latinx alumni's narratives, which we also found in Naomi's reported daily language practices that involved helping her mother shop in Hispanic markets and understanding students' Spanish writing. Naomi also provided bilingual support for Spanish and English speakers as a dual-language teacher at school:

Definitely going on vacation and going somewhere where my family isn't able to speak the language. And, in school, definitely translating words or vocabulary from English into Spanish or vice versa for the Spanish speakers. I would say even if I go to certain grocery stores or things that my Mom isn't aware of where it is, so I have to ask for her and I have to find things that maybe her students bring home, and she doesn't know how to read.

Like Hispanic/Latinx alumni, Naomi engaged in language brokering inside and outside her family circle some of which became habitual as part of Naomi's daily interactions and activities. Naomi's stories of language brokering may be supported by her positioning as a dual-language teacher through which she accessed spaces that required language support. Similarly, Hispanic/Latinx alumni's language brokering experience may be interpreted through spaces accessible to them in which they were obligated to help family members, e.g. reading mail. Overall, Hispanic/Latinx alumni's narratives revealed a greater awareness of linguistic barriers people may encounter in different domains including grocery stores, doctor's office, and public transportation.

Examining participants' linguistic dispositions as habitual and effortful highlighted the impact of their larger social realm on how alumni sustained bilingualism; how agentive they were in sustaining bilingualism and how they capitalized on their linguistic competences daily. Use of Spanish, English, and Spanglish was more habitual for Hispanic/Latinx alumni engaging in home and community-based bilingual practices. However, Fabiola's case demonstrated her effort using Spanish to help her sister learn and sustain Spanish, which is also an example of how Fabiola capitalized on her Spanish competency daily. Lorena

capitalized on her ability to move across languages to communicate with the younger and older generations and through her positionality as a bilingual speaker with DLIP experience. Naomi's narrative demonstrated how her job and community spaces helped her sustain bilingualism through language brokering. Her narrative does not suggest these bilingual practices being effortful for her. Rather, she developed an enduring disposition of language brokering by capitalizing on her bilingualism through continuous engagement in these spaces. Joyce and Kris showed were more agentive in their daily stories of sustaining Spanish. Joyce put an effort to enroll in Spanish class at college, thus repeating the structured approach to learning Spanish without expanding her comfort zone (classroom use). Kris, on the other hand, relied on his own motivation and discipline to sustain and capitalize on Spanish through digital entertainment in unstructured settings such as home.

Overall, bilingual engagement happens at the spectrum of being more or less agentive and more or less conscious for DLI alumni. Exposure to multilingual ecologies accommodates for bilingual interactions being more habitual and less conscious for Lorena and Naomi but more conscious and effortful for Joyce and Kris. Fabiola's case reveals that existing multilingual ecology (home) can still require effort that can become habitual whereas Kris's ways of sustaining bilingualism stood out as most effortful due to the lack of constant exposure to multilingual ecology. Thus, the accessibility of bilingual spaces is a sociolinguistic capital enabling more enduring linguistic dis- positions, which may require intentionality, especially, vis-à-vis sustaining Spanish.

Narratives of bilingual (dis)balance and (dis)comfort

"It's always really hard to balance, like having to prove yourself"

Ideologies, integral to bilingual investment, shape and impact learners' becoming bilingual, being bilingual, and practices sustaining bilingualism. In addition to daily bilingual and bicultural practices, participants invoked the events in which others re-affirmed or challenged their bilingualism. Discrepancies in Hispanic/Latinx and White DLI alumni's lived experiences of racialized ideologies were

the most salient in alumni's self-positionings as bilinguals.

Hispanic/Latinx alumni addressed raciolinguistic ideologies explicitly in their lived experiences of bilingualism by constructing marginalization through being positioned as non-White. Participants' evaluation of their feeling during the moments of marginalization emerged as a discursive discomfort. Fabiola shared how people around her were often the ones noticing and commenting on her Spanish, using a reported speech to exemplify those moments, 'Oh no, listen to her, listen to her'. Although in evaluating the event, she noted that she herself did not feel any different when moving between languages, her discomfort may be observed in her less conscious action of 'going off like to the side' to be able to speak comfortably. At another point of her narrative, she noted how she was expected to know English in junior high 'already' and therefore, she expressed the need for English to be taught 'early on in elementary school'. The combination of feeling discomfort when others commented on her Spanish and her perceived need to speak English well before junior high shows that while she is accepting of her bilingualism, her feelings of discomfort are triggered by others who project non-affirming stance of her bilingual practices, positioning her as a bilingual person who is navigating a monolingually normed context.

Hispanic/Latinx alumni also constructed resiliency by embracing their racialized identities throughout their narratives. For example, Lorena, too, talked about events in which she was positioned as 'the other' and that she had to balance her bilingual affordances. When in Mexico, Lorena was cautious about using English among her extended family and that this linguistic balancing was 'hard, because speaking English came naturally'. However, the feeling of being positioned as *the other* was not unique to Mexico.

I haven't been specifically a target of racism, but it started coming up in high school in senior year. A lot of my friends who are Caucasian started talking about "Oh yeah, you obviously are gonna get a lot of money", like "you're Latina". I understand where they are coming from about having the government help you out and give you money. I find it hurtful because they were questioning my education and my ability, where I was like, "I appreciate the money that the government's

giving me, but I also want to know that getting into these colleges was because of my ability and my education thus far". So, it's always really hard to balance, like having to prove yourself and then seeing the success of who you are.

Lorena recalled her classmates' words regarding her being Latina and therefore, getting monetary support from the government. She used a reported speech to support her statement 'Oh yeah, you obviously are gonna get a lot of money' and linked it to her Hispanic/Latinx heritage. Lorena evaluated this situation in several ways. First, she stated that she was not 'specifically target of racism'. Then, she discursively self-positioned as Latina by positioning her friends as Caucasian. Following the reported speech, Lorena used her inner voice to explain why this was 'hurtful'—because she had invested in her education but could not enjoy the return to its fullest and because of being positioned as Latina who received a government support. Although Lorena first rejected the evaluation of this event as racist, she nevertheless invoked the image of a White listening subject (Rosa and Flores 2017) by positioning her friends through racialized lens. She then invoked resilience discourse as a response to marginalization:

Growing up you don't understand racism, but you know it's there. So, as a child, I'm like "all my friends are joining, so let me do this". Whereas at home my Mom would always question "why I was acting a certain way, why I wasn't wanting to speak Spanish out". I watch soap operas because I enjoy being Latina, being proud to call myself Latina. I'm trying to embrace it a little more as I get older.

Looking back at her bilingual development, Lorena used her inner voice to express her unwillingness to speak Spanish to be like all her friends. Switching to present, Lorena said, 'I enjoy being Latina'. To demonstrate her investment in Latina identity, she mentioned watching soap operas and finding pride in being Latina. The affective discourse of 'enjoying' and 'being proud' points to Lorena's resiliency toward deficit discourses she encountered growing up.

"It's the people making us feel proud of that"

Like Hispanic/Latinx alumni, White DLI alumni also perceived themselves through the eyes of the others; however, they did not resist identities assigned to

them and reflect explicitly upon race. These alumni recalled events when strangers, parents, classmates, and school principals were understanding, proud, and helpful in their bilingual journeys, through discourses of comfort and balance vis-à-vis bilingualism and Spanish in particular. Naomi invoked comfort by positioning herself as a second language learner, 'others are aware of that and they are very helpful so it makes me feel more comfortable knowing that someone will help me out'. When reminiscing the DLIP time, she says:

You remember so much of it and you are learning it along with people who don't know your language, so you kind of feed off of each other. I just think it's the people making us feel proud of that.

Naomi projected ownership of English as she differentiated herself from DLI classmates that did not know *her* language, which was a raciolinguistic discourse of native-speakerism. While Naomi invoked this discourse unconsciously, her remark highlighted deeply rooted ideologies vis-à-vis her multilingual classmates, which did not change and instead, were likely perpetuated while in the program. Naomi also projected a belief that the pride of being bilingual others instilled in her was also instilled in her classmates, showing unawareness of raciolinguistic marginalization her Hispanic/Latinx classmates encountered.

Kris shared many stories when his bilingualism was applauded by others including his parents who were 'very proud' of him. His Spanish competency was acknowledged by many after his valedictorian speech, leaving a big impression on him. Kris also invoked native speaker ideal by positioning himself as 'native' English speaker and by being positioned as 'native' Spanish speaker because he acquired Spanish 'so early'. People accepted and re-affirmed his Spanish knowledge during his high school years and study abroad:

I was the valedictorian of my junior high school and I decided to do this speech in English as well as Spanish. A lot of people remember that. A LOT. I remember the principal being ecstatic. They really were like "wow, he sounds fairly good". They said I sounded more native than other students that started it in high school, you know.

Kris uses affirmative adjectives to express others' feelings during his speech in Spanish and remarks about his Spanish. These positive evaluations left a lasting impression contributing to his sense of bilingual competency and confidence.

The intersectional approach to analysis revealed how race, ideology, and capital shape DLI alumni's identities and bilingual competency informing their bilingual investments. Despite attending the same program and developing English and Spanish competency, bilingual identities and associated capitals of participants were regulated through the raciolinguistic ideologies they encountered and enacted. While Hispanic/Latinx alumni's bilingual identities and capital were questioned and considered trivial, they were supported and celebrated in White alumni's narratives. Hispanic/Latinx alumni had to navigate their racialized identities inside and outside the United States, which was not the case for White alumni because they were accepted for who they were. Furthermore, developing resiliency and embracing her Latina identity was a meaningful process for Lorena in her continuous commitment to sustaining bilingualism. Pride instilled by others empowered Kris's confidence as a Spanish speaker. These differences between Hispanic/Latinx and White alumni suggest: (1) race takes primacy in their narratives of bilingual (dis)balance and (dis)comfort and (2) it is the racialization process that devalues Hispanic/Latinx alumni and values White alumni's bilingualism making Whiteness a capital, which is invisible to White alumni.

Narratives of bilingual sociocultural belonging

"I am blended", "I've been exposed but not immersed in another culture"

Sociocultural belonging was another salient theme across alumni's narratives revealing their perceived sociocultural identities as they discursively constructed biculturalism vis-à-vis bilingualism at the intersection of belonging and language-associated values. Hispanic/Latinx and White alumni constructed the relationship between biculturalism and bilingualism differently.

Joaquin positioned himself as Mexican-American and Hispanic noting that he is 'blended' and can 'speak English and Spanish'. He justified these positionings by saying 'Mexican part, having parents from Mexico, Mexican cuisine, celebrations.

American part, everyday living', which shows that spatial belonging is an important identity denominator for Joaquin. In his 'I know that knowing the Spanish language more it made me a lot closer to my family in Mexico', Joaquin aligns being bicultural with being bilingual, where the latter is a capital that contributed to building a stronger relationship with his family in Mexico. Lorena also positioned herself as bicultural by exemplifying language-associated cultural values and positioning herself as different from her American friends:

Bicultural comes out in just the way I act. I have come to learn that a lot of my American friends don't necessarily see their extended family on a daily basis or a weekly basis. Like they see them on bigger holidays whereas I see mine every Sunday.

For Lorena, family is the key denominator of identity as she invoked family interactions in construction of her linguistic disposition and to draw on differences between being American and being Latina.

On the other hand, biculturalism was not perceived as part of daily bilingual practices by White alumni. They positioned themselves as bilinguals without constructing multiple sociocultural belongings. For example, like Hispanic/Latinx alumni, Naomi associated celebrating different holidays and cultures with biculturalism. Different from them, she talked about having these experiences at school when she was bicultural, but not anymore. Joyce noted that as a 'non-native' speaker of Spanish, she did not have the opportunity to speak it for the past four years and if she 'had a chance someday to study abroad', she 'would feel bicultural'. Joyce justified her positioning:

I've just been exposed but I have not been immersed in another culture. I've thought about doing Teach for America in another country.

She perceives limited opportunity to speak Spanish and lack of study abroad experiences as hurdles to becoming bicultural, voicing the need to be immersed in another culture by living abroad. Joyce's belief in cultural immersion through which one constantly uses the language as an indicator of biculturalism is a common raciolinguistic ideology in the field of Language Education. This ideology promotes an ideal 'native' speaker image of the target language such as Spanish

who lives elsewhere abroad but not in the United States. By positioning herself as a 'non-native' speaker of Spanish, Joyce implies that her 'native' language is English, highlighting the ways Whiteness and native-English-speakerism are erased as sociolinguistically unmarked categories in the United States. Overall, being bicultural was a matter of identity for Hispanic/Latinx participants. The day-to-day practices they associated with biculturalism were constructed through discourses of habit, that is, they constructed biculturalism as pertinent to who they are and how they act. They positioned themselves as both bilingual and bicultural justifying the latter at the intersection of race/ethnicity, linguistic and cultural values, and sociocultural practices drawing from multiple positionings through their families' histories as immigrants and day-to-day socializations enmeshed in their stories of bilingual sociocultural belonging. These alumni did not limit themselves to static categories of race, rather they provided examples through which they enacted biculturalism including speaking two languages or developing a close relationship with family members. In contrast, White alumni did not claim bicultural belonging despite positioning themselves as bilinguals. They voiced the need to be immersed in another culture by living abroad due to the lack of opportunities to use Spanish and engage in sociocultural activities through which they could enact the values associated with another language and/or culture. While these alumni could sustain Spanish through day-to-day individual efforts, biculturalism was perceived as a belonging to a collective practice that they were not part of as opposed to Hispanic/Latinx alumni who had familial ties to justify their bicultural positionings. This difference makes the issue of access and agency become salient in understanding the difference in bilingual sociocultural belonging between Hispanic/Latinx and White DLI alumni. For White alumni, the bilingual investment would require being agentive in order to access the spaces, develop and sustain relationships through which they could enact biculturalism. The latter is especially crucial in understanding experiences of White DLI alumni, because Naomi's daily exposure to multilingual ecology through her occupation does not automatically transfer to bicultural identity whereas Joyce's belief that biculturalism can be acquired only through an immersion abroad may constrain her vision to practice

biculturalism in her highly diverse multilingual home- town. Finally, both groups of alumni constructed the presence or absence of biculturalism through historically and politically rooted, and socially widely circulated ideologies of race and language.

Conclusion

In this paper, we explored bilingual investment through the intersectional analysis of DLI alumni's narratives, highlighting that bilingual investment is not necessarily agentic, especially when bilingual linguistic dispositions become habitual and effortless. While these dispositions provide communicative affordances for alumni, the spaces, and situations in which they developed such dispositions are a matter of access (family) and obligation (language brokering). The benefits of accessibility become more obvious in comparison to those bilingual investments that require effort and therefore, a greater level of agency. This adds to recent theorizations of investment that foregrounded learners' imagined identities (Dawson 2017; Norton 2016) as powerful mechanisms for learning. Instead, we argue that a continuous investment in a language depends on daily language encounters through which bilingual speakers sustain their bilingualism and therefore, their learning. Hence, investment needs to be rethought to include *access*, *obligation*, and *sustainable language practices*, which also have consequences for bilingual speakers' bicultural positionings. While bilingualism can be sustained through individual efforts, biculturalism is perceived as a collective identity and practice that in turn allows for the development of more enduring linguistic and cultural dispositions. We also demonstrated that bilingual investment is racialized, that is, not only how DLI alumni position themselves, but also how they are being positioned impacts their identities and capitals. These processes are systemic patterns of control (Darvin and Norton 2015), which are weaved into bilinguals' day-to-day experiences making power become invisible and experiences regarded as 'normal'. This normalized exercise of power is reflected in White bilingual alumni's narratives who developed comfort and confidence in their bilingual competency without reflecting explicitly on *privilege*, because raciolinguistic ideologies circulated by others were not questioned but

accepted as a norm. On the other hand, bilingual Hispanic/Latinx alumni developed resiliency and embraced their racialized identities in response to *marginalization* that they encountered. For the theorization of bilingual investment in the US-context, raciolinguistic ideologies thus take primacy as they foreshadow DLI alumni's investment trajectories toward sustaining their bilingualism and developing bicultural dispositions.

The findings have implications for the ways DLI programs are designed. The native/non-native dichotomy was at the heart of the program our participants attended as its rhetoric was 50% 'native' English and 50% 'native' Spanish speakers, which created a simplified dichotomy that is more harmful than useful. For instance, White alumni's narratives suggested that this rhetoric was internalized by them during the program as they projected ownership of English at the time of the interview. Because of the racialization, bilingualism of White alumni is regarded as elite, while bilingualism of Hispanic/Latinx alumni is perceived as ordinary. This is also reflected across all the narratives in which the accounts are given primarily for Spanish with few exceptions when Hispanic/Latinx alumni voiced the comfort in using English. This mirrors the power dynamics of the larger social context in which the knowledge of English is expected, a discourse that puts Hispanic/Latinx alumni in a less favorable position as they are expected to know both English (because they live in the United States) and Spanish (because they are Hispanic/Latinx). We recommend DLIPs to remove native/non-native dichotomy from their program design and school discourse and instead promote plurilingual asset-based views of language learners. One way of applying this into the classroom discourse could be incorporating explicit metalinguistic conversations about learners' daily use of languages, as well as conversations about bi/multilingualism.

DLIPs have a unique capability to de-naturalize the power in the wider social contexts through their curriculum, values, and vision. Helping all their learners build ownership of languages they speak, social memberships that would last after their graduation, and awareness of the implicit ideologies of race and language should be in the agenda of DLIPs. In doing so, these programs can help students build bicultural identities in addition to the transactional benefits of being bilingual. DLIPs

could work with students' families to explicitly discuss the impact of race and ethnicity on their children's bilingual development and identities. What this study demonstrated very clearly is that systemic patterns of control are bolstered by educators, family, friends, and strangers in the contexts of DLI, home, university, and foreign country. What becomes central in the alumni's investment is the ways in which they internalize, produce, and/or respond to prescribed ideologies, identities, and capitals. Thus, teaching DLI learners to recognize, navigate, and respond to moments of inequity can prevent them from re-producing inequitable power dynamics. Additionally, we want to emphasize researchers' roles in bringing equity into the context of bilingual education when they make their work accessible to various DLI stakeholders. For example, the third author delivered practice-oriented workshops to DLI administrators, teachers, and parents through a collaboration with dual-language equity institute. The daily work of all three authors of this paper prioritizes helping pre-service and in-service bilingual educators make sense of the arguments made in scholarly work and the implications of research findings.

In this study, we were not able to address why White alumni did not develop social memberships through which they could 'immerse in a different culture', which we hope to focus on in a future study. In an attempt to foreground participants' emic perspectives, we have separated Spanish and English throughout the analysis, which does not do justice to the complexity of bilingual investment. Observations of naturally occurring talk in bi/multilingual contexts could address this limitation and offer additional insights for how to conceptualize *linguaging* as part of the investment framework. Finally, we have responded to the call for additional research that examines bilingual learners' identities and perceptions of their bilingualism through a focus on DLI alumni. In doing so, we accounted for more enduring model of bilingual investment as our participants were no longer part of the built-in bilingual program. We discussed the findings in relation to the larger social context and K-8 DLIP, and made recommendations for future research and practice.

Notes

1. We use *positioning* and *identity* interchangeably.
2. We refer to our participants as Hispanic/Latinx and White DLI alumni throughout the paper to show explicitly the racialization processes in their narrated bilingual experiences. We follow more recent conceptualization of *racialization process* in which race and ethnicity ‘cannot be cleanly disentangled because of the subjective, problematic, and inherently reproductive nature of their construction’ (Von Esch, Motha, and Kubota 2020, 394).
3. We put ‘native’ in quotation marks because it is a raciolinguistic term that does not reflect the sociolinguistic reality of our participants.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank our study participants and the school district administrators who supported this study. We also express our gratitude to Daniella Molle and Lydia Cathedral for their valuable feedback.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Madina Djuraeva is a Senior Post Doctoral Research Fellow at the Jeannine Rainbolt College of Education at the University of Oklahoma. Her research examines language ideologies, education, and identity in multilingual communities. She has published on issues of language policy, linguistic ownership, (non)nativeness, and morality in multilingual transnational contexts.

Diep Nguyen is the Director of Professional Learning at WIDA housed in the Wisconsin Center for Education Research at the University of Wisconsin – Madison. Using a critical sociolinguistic lens, she focuses on language education, teachers’ ideologies, and school leadership. Her most recent work explores the role of professional learning in promoting linguistically responsive pedagogies among content teachers.

Mariana Castro is a Research Scientist and a Deputy Director of the

Wisconsin Center for Education Research at the University of Wisconsin – Madison. Her research focuses on the language practices of (bi)multilingual learners, bilingual teacher pedagogy and practice, and social justice in bilingual education. She has contributed to the development of K- 12 Language Proficiency Standards and Assessments in Spanish and English and is currently developing Spanish Language Arts Framework.

References

- Arnold, J. 2011. "Attention to Affect in Language Learning." *Anglistik: International Journal of English Studies* 22 (1): 11– 22.
- Babino, A., and M. A. Stewart. 2019. "Multiple Pathways to Multilingual Investment: A Collective Case Study of Self- Identified Mexican Students in the U.S." *International Multilingual Research Journal* 13 (3): 152–167.
- Bamberg, M. 1997. "Oral Versions of Personal Experience: Three Decades of Narrative Analysis." *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1–4): 177–184.
- Bell, S. E. 2013. "Seeing Narratives." In *Doing Narrative Research*, edited by M. Andrews, C. Squire, and M. Tamboukou, 142–158. London: Sage.
- Block, N. C. 2012. "Perceived Impact of Two-Way Dual Immersion Programs on Latino Students' Relationships in Their Families and Communities." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 15 (2): 235–257.
- Block, D. 2013. "Issues in Language and Identity Research in Applied Linguistics." *Estudios de lingüística inglesa aplicada* 13: 11–46.
- Block, D., and V. Corona. 2016. *Intersectionality in Language and Identity Research*. London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Harvard University Press.
- Brutt-Griffler, J., and E. Jang. 2022. "Dual Language Programs: An Exploration of Bilingual Students' Academic Achievement, Language Proficiencies and Engagement Using a Mixed Methods Approach." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 25 (1): 1–22.

Catedral, L., and M. Djuraeva. 2018. "Language Ideologies and (Im)moral Images of Personhood in Multilingual Family Language Planning." *Language Policy* 17: 501–522.

Cervantes-Soon, C. G., L. Dorner, D. Palmer, D. Heiman, R. Schwerdtfeger, and J. Choi. 2017. "Combating Inequalities in Two-Way Language Immersion Programs: Toward Critical Consciousness in Bilingual Education Spaces." *Review of Research in Education* 41: 403–427.

Chadwick, R. 2017. "Thinking Intersectionally with/through Narrative Methodologies." *Agenda (Durban, South Africa)* 31(1): 5–13.

Christensen, A.-D., and S. Q. Jensen. 2012. "Doing Intersectional Analysis: Methodological Implications for Qualitative Research." *NORA – Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 20 (2): 109–125.

Crenshaw, K. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989 (1): 139–167.

Darvin, R., and B. Norton. 2015. "Identity and a Model of Investment in Applied Linguistics." *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 35: 36–56.

Dawson, S. 2017. "An Investigation into the Identity/Imagined Community Relationship: A Case Study of Two Language Learners in New Zealand." *Language, Discourse, & Society* 5 (1/9): 11–33.

Djuraeva, M. 2021. "Multilingualism, Nation Branding, and the Ownership of English in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan." *World Englishes* 41 (1): 92–103.

Djuraeva, M., and L. Catedral. 2020. "Habitus and Imagined Ideals: Attending to (Un)consciousness in Discourses of (Non)nativeness." *International Multilingual Research Journal* 14 (3): 270–285.

Fishman, J. A. 1964. "Language Maintenance and Language Shift as a field of inquiry. A definition of the field and suggestions for its further development." *Linguistics* 2 (9): 32–70.

Flores, N. 2016. "A Tale of Two Visions." *Educational Policy* 30 (1): 13–38.

Freire, J. A., V. E. Valdez, and M. G. Delavan. 2016. "The (Dis)inclusion of Latina/o Interests from Utah's Dual Language Education Boom." *Journal of Latinos*

and *Education* 8431: 1–14.

Hamman-Ortiz, L. 2020. "Becoming Bilingual in Two-Way Immersion: Patterns of Investment in a Second-Grade Classroom." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. doi:10.1080/13670050.2020.1783637.

Ke, I.-C., and H. Cahyani. 2014. "Learning to Become Users of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF): How ELF Online Communication Affects Taiwanese Learners' Beliefs of English." *System* 46 (1): 28–38.

Lawrence, L., and Y. Nagashima. 2020. "The Intersectionality of Gender, Sexuality, Race, and Native-Speakerness: Investigating ELT Teacher Identity through Duoethnography." *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 19 (1): 42–55.

Lindholm-Leary, K. 2016. "Students' Perceptions of Bilingualism in Spanish and Mandarin Dual Language Programs." *International Multilingual Research Journal* 10 (1): 59–70.

López, M. M., and M. E. Fránquiz. 2009. "We Teach Reading This Way Because It Is the Model We've Adopted: Asymmetries in Language and Literacy Policies in a Two-Way Immersion Programme." *Research Papers in Education* 24: 175–200.

Martinez Negrette, G. 2020. "'You Don't Speak Spanish in the Cafeteria': An Intersectional Analysis of Language and Social Constructions in a Kindergarten Dual Language Immersion Class." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. doi:10.1080/13670050.2020.1767536.

Norton, B. 1995. "Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning." *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (1): 9–31. Norton, B. 2016. "Identity and Language Learning: Back to the Future." *TESOL Quarterly* 50 (2): 475–479.

Paia, M., J. Cummins, I. Nocus, M. Salaun, and J. Vernaundon. 2015. "Intersections of Language Ideology, Power, and Identity: Bilingual Education and Indigenous Language Revitalization in French Polynesia." In *The Handbook of Bilingual and Multilingual Education*, edited by W. Wright, S. Boun, and O. García, 145–162. Oxford: Wiley.

Parkes, J. 2008. "Who Chooses Dual Language Education for Their Children and Why." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 11 (6): 635–

660.

Potowski, K. 2004. "Student Spanish Use and Investment in a Dual Immersion Classroom: Implications for Second Language Acquisition and Heritage Language Maintenance." *The Modern Language Journal* 88 (1): 75–101.

Ramirez, P., and L. Ross. 2019. "Secondary Dual-Language Learners and Emerging Pedagogies: The Intersectionality of Language, Culture, and Community." *Theory Into Practice* 58: 176–184.

Rosa, J. 2019. *Looking Like a Language, Sounding Like a Race: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and the Learning of Latinidad*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rosa, J., and N. Flores. 2017. "Unsettling Race and Language: Toward a Raciolinguistic Perspective." *Language in Society* 46 (5): 621–647.

Rottmann, S., and M. Nimer. 2021. "Language Learning Through an Intersectional Lens: Gender, Migrant Status and Gain in Symbolic Capital for Syrian Refugee Women in Turkey." *Multilingua* 40 (1): 67–85.

Scanlan, M., and D. Palmer. 2009. "Race, Power, and (In)equity within Two-Way Immersion Settings." *The Urban Review* 41 (5): 391–415.

Von Esch, K., S. Motha, and R. Kubota. 2020. "Race and Language Teaching." *Language Teaching* 53 (4): 391–421.

Appendix

Table A1. Information about the participants.

Name	Occupation/Major	Self-identified first language
Fabiola ^a	Undergraduate student/Bilingual Elementary Education	Spanish
Joaquin	Undergraduate student/Business	I am perfectly bilingual
Lorena	Undergraduate students/Early Childhood Education	I consider both as my first language
Joyce	Undergraduate student/Chemistry	English
Kris	Undergraduate student/Double Major in Accounting and Spanish	English
Naomi	Dual-Language Elementary Teacher	English

^aAll participant names are pseudonyms.