Integration as Perpetuation:
Learning from Race Evasive Approaches to ESL Program Reform

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ABSTRACT

Background: Currently, most Latinx emergent bilingual (EB) students are educated in English-medium programs alongside English-dominant peers. Legally-mandated social integration of EB students coincides with a prescriptive linguistic emphasis on content-language integration in ESL; both integrative approaches are particularly salient in the current hyperracial climate in the United States.
Focus of Study: We explore two schools' responses to Latinx EB population growth via the intersecting racial and language ideologies informing and influenced by programmatic changes, educator perceptions, and pedagogical practices.
Research Design: This qualitative multiple case study spans two Texas schools selected by purposeful maximal sampling over the course of two separate academic years. Data include semi-structured and focus group interviews, and participant observations.
Findings: We find that institutional structures across the sites tended to promote a denial of responsibility for racial stratification and a concomitant disciplining of the school curriculum. We argue that both integrative approaches ultimately perpetuated white racial domination.
Conclusions/Recommendations: We suggest that ESL research and practice would benefit from an explicit questioning of racializing discourses and boundaries of academic disciplines as part of a racially literate critical practice designed to counter the normalization of whiteness.

Executive Summary

Raciolinguistic stratification in education, or the hierarchical segregation of students according to race and language, has been central to education in the United States and continues to contribute to deep educational inequities for language-minoritized students and other students of color. One such reflection of raciolinguistic stratification is that most Latinx emergent bilingual (EB) students are currently educated in English-medium programs alongside English-dominant peers, despite longstanding collective struggles for bilingual education. Two prevalent approaches to educating EB students, and ostensibly enhancing educational equity, center on integration: legally-mandated social integration of EB students coincides with a prescriptive linguistic emphasis on content-language integration in ESL.

In this qualitative multiple case study, we explore two schools' responses to increasing numbers of Latinx EB students in two rural Texas communities, paying particular attention to the intersecting racial and language ideologies that inform the schools' decisions to modify their ESL programs. We conceptualize the school responses as programmatic changes, educator perceptions, and pedagogical practices. The study spans two Texas schools selected by purposeful maximal sampling over the course of two separate academic years. Data include semi-structured and focus group interviews, and participant observations. Understanding a unity between the institutional and individual, our analytical approach forefronts the role of whiteness and raciolinguistic ideologies in the schools' integration efforts.

At Granite Middle School, the ubiquity of high-stakes accountability systems encouraged educators to judge students' worth primarily by their standardized test results. Nonetheless, the

documented benefits of bilingual education did not sway a white superintendent from his stated commitment to English-only schooling for Latinx EB students. Discourses around ESL "push-in" at the school repeatedly referenced Special Education in a way that tended to interpret language and ability differences as deficits. Finally, an institutional channeling of EB students and other students of color to the district's alternative school site bore troubling parallels to the nearby immigrant detention center. Despite the principal's desire to enhance educational equity at Granite Middle School, the deficit discourses and disciplinary practices pervading the institution did not seem to change as a result of the ESL program integration.

Aegis Elementary teachers participated with us in the co-design of a curriculum that sought to integrate STEM content with a focus on language instruction for EB students. However, certain teachers' discourses during a week of professional development workshops seemed to reject information about systemic raciolinguistic stratification in the United States by emphasizing supposedly 'positive' aspects of slavery. This white racial knowledge contrasted with various participants' articulated admiration of and desire to work with Latinx EB students. The workshops appeared to facilitate a shift in various teachers' implicit theories of language, from language as discrete structures to language as social practice. However, a tacit apoliticality throughout the school seemed to maintain a race evasive, individual- and family-centric understanding of Latinx EB students, thereby leaving untroubled the structural inequalities that construct and replicate social stratification in the United States. Thus, teachers regularly asserted the legitimacy of their planned classroom content while failing to consider their EB students' political comments as valid and meaningful departure points for learning.

The cross-case findings suggest that the pedagogical practices of teachers took place within a broader institutional denial of responsibility for equitably educating Latinx EB students. These active processes only sanctioned discussions of race through a lens of whiteness. Moreover, we noted a related and widespread race evasion that emphasized a sameness between EB students and their non-EL identified peers. In practice, this discourse justified not accommodating instruction or modifying curricular content, since Latinx students' knowledge was often positioned as 'non-academic.' Our professional development sessions seemed to allow for a certain degree of critique, especially in relation to the dominative patriarchal positioning of the STEM disciplines. Despite individual teachers' reports of increased STEM interest, as a whole they did not seem to extend their insights about STEM accessibility to their Latinx EB students. Because the ESL program changes across the two schools in this study did not substantively alter raciolinguistic stratification, we suggest that these/our efforts, wittingly or not, constituted specific forms of integration as perpetuation of white supremacist practices. Ultimately, we argue that the Texas accountability system coalesced with the schools' race evasion and curricular disciplining.

We conclude that both schools' implementation of common ESL approaches—one that integrates students, and the other, content and language—could benefit from a sustained critical orientation designed to push back against processes and structures that center whiteness as the norm. We draw from a range of scholarship to suggest a strategy of *questioning the content language*: a critical consideration of particular subject areas and their boundaries, specifically how discussions of the language(s) of science, literature, biology, math, etc. might ultimately reinscribe dominative conceptualizations of these disciplines and their related racialization processes. As an extension of this work to education policy, we argue that federal and state funding must prioritize equitable per-pupil allotments, language-minoritized students'

multilingualism, and anti-racist teacher training, research, and assessment that seek restitution for the longstanding, raciolinguistic inequities inherent in schooling in the United States.

Introduction

Emergent bilingual (EB) students[1] are born into or arrive to a complex language policy landscape shaped by decades of determined legal and political activism seeking to challenge the historical segregation of bilingual, and especially Latinx, students in U.S. schools (G. G. González, 1999). The results of these efforts have both opened possibilities for EB students and retrenched dominant monolingual schooling practices (García, 2009a). For example, court-ordered desegregation designed to minimize racial segregation largely resulted in tracking, or the academic segregation of students' learning, both *within* and across U.S. schools (S. R. Lucas & Berends, 2007). In the U.S. context, even when schools are racially integrated, academic segregation along racial, ethnic, and linguistic lines combines with and deepens resource-based inequity (Muller, Riegle-Crumb, Schiller, Wilkinson, & Frank, 2010; Palardy, Rumberger, & Butler, 2015). The ongoing segregation of Latinx EB students as a systemic set of practices has resulted in linguistic marginalization, physical and social isolation, deficit labeling, and separate but unequal schooling (Faltis & Arias, 2007; Thompson, 2013). It is in this struggle to both integrate Latinx EB students and provide an equitable academic foundation that we center the present inquiry.

These historical and material conditions remain even during dramatic demographic change. Currently, the bilingual population, including both current and former EBs, comprises 22% of U.S. K-12 students (Ryan, 2013), and is growing at a much higher rate than native English speakers (Batalova & McHugh, 2010). Throughout the 20th century, certain advocates argued that bilingual programming was a way to integrate bilingual students academically and

socially in U.S. schools, while others saw it as part of a larger movement for equality and language rights (Del Valle, 2003). In particular, dual language education (DLE) programs are meant to employ a resource-oriented approach to educate EB students and their monolingual English-speaking peers together (López, 2018), such that both groups work towards bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism (Crawford, 1989; Ricento, 2005). When implemented with a social justice orientation, DLE has the potential to achieve and move beyond these ends (Cervantes-Soon, et al., 2017; López, 2016). However, while DLE programs currently experience considerable popularity among wealthy white U.S. families (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Valdez, Freire, & Delavan, 2016), most Latinx EB students in U.S. schools are educated in English-medium programs, even in states that historically enroll high shares of Latinx students (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). The appropriation of DLE by English dominant families illustrates how U.S. educational systems facilitate opportunity hoarding (Kelly & Price, 2011) by those who are already advantaged, at the expense of EBs and other students of color.

Facing both demographic change and legal challenges, school districts across the U.S. have responded with a range of programs to increase academic and demographic integration, efforts often motivated by standards-based accountability systems (Valdés, Kibler, & Walqui, 2014). The current shift to "push-in" ESL models echoes calls for the inclusion of EB students in standards-based instruction (Harper & de Jong, 2009; O. Lee, Quinn, & Valdés, 2013; Linquanti & Hakuta, 2012). These sociolinguistic integration efforts, however, occur within the context of large-scale accountability systems which have prompted bilingual and ESL classroom practice to increase the amount of English instruction, linking performance on standardized, content area tests in English to any number of high stakes outcomes. The subsequent use of test results for grade promotion, high school graduation, and further academic segregation, has been particularly harmful to EB students for whom English-medium exams measure English proficiency as much, if not more, than the content being tested (Menken, 2010; Valenzuela, 2005). Furthermore, EB educational program reform via integration occurs within broader social contexts that affect implementation. Historically, Latinx EB students' triple segregation based on race, language, and socioeconomic status (Gándara, 2010) has hindered academic performance.

In this paper, we explore two schools' responses to increasing numbers of Latinx EB students in two rural Texas communities, paying particular attention to the intersecting racial and language ideologies that inform the schools' decisions to modify their ESL programs. Specifically, we analyze program implementation, educator perceptions, and pedagogical practices by considering the role of whiteness and raciolinguistic ideologies (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Leonardo, 2009) in the schools' integration efforts. Our findings suggest that both schools' implementation of common ESL approaches—one that integrates students, and the other, content and language—could benefit from a sustained critical orientation designed to push back against processes and structures that center whiteness as the norm. We suggest that without racial literacy and a radical integration of knowledges (Guinier, 2004; Santos, 2014), the integration of Latinx EB students' linguistic development into academic content instruction will likely perpetuate the schools' white racial domination.

Review of the Literature

School Structures and Raciolinguistic Stratification

Social reproduction scholarship has drawn attention to schools' replication of class-based societal norms (Bowles & Gintis, 1976), inequality, and privileging of certain forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Although these theories have been rightly criticized for sidelining racial

analyses and neglecting the agency of people of color (Leonardo, 2012), they provide important critiques of school systems' participation in social inequality. With respect to EB students, U.S. language policies and educational practices have tended to reproduce a monolingual English norm (García, 2009a; Palmer & Lynch, 2008; Ricento & Wright, 2008), despite considerable empirical work documenting the cognitive, psychological, and societal (Author, 2014) advantages to bilingualism and bilingual instruction.

Cross-disciplinary research has demonstrated increasing racial segregation since the Jim Crow era, physically (i.e., neighborhoods), and academically (i.e., within and between schools) (S. R. Lucas & Berends, 2007; Orfield & Eaton, 1996). Historical segregation has resulted in long-term material disparities and reduced economic opportunities for people of color (Benson & Borman, 2010). In particular, educational *tracking*, the academic segregation and limiting of opportunities for students of color in U.S. schools (Muller, et al., 2010; Palardy, et al., 2015), has been a central practice of white domination. Merry (2016) positions the segregation of students of color into academically weak programs and schools as a direct instantiation of the U.S. tradition of white supremacy. In a study using nationally representative high school data, Muller and colleagues (2010) find that even in integrated schools, racial stratification, especially in advanced math courses, contributes to inequalities of educational opportunity. Initial disparities in early high school math enrollment continued throughout students' secondary studies, even after controlling for measures of socioeconomic status and academic preparation. Thus, racialized sorting practices led to the systemic underrepresentation of African American and Latinx students in advanced math classes, although the degree of underrepresentation varied across schools. Muller and colleagues (2010) call for further research to elucidate the particular stratifying mechanisms and how they influence students' academic achievement and attainment.

Teachers' beliefs about themselves and their students have been identified as one particular mechanism associated with raciolinguistic stratification (Agirdag, Van Avermaet, & Van Houtte, 2013; T. Lucas, Villegas, Martin, & Fives, 2015; Pulinx, Van Avermaet, & Agirdag, 2017). Seeking to explain the durability of school practices that perpetuate educational disparities, McKenzie and Scheurich (2004) propose the construct of equity traps, or "ways of thinking or assumptions that prevent educators from believing that their students of color can be successful learners" (pp. 601-602). The authors describe four of these uncritical habits of mind: deficit views, racial erasure, avoidance and use of surveilling practices, and false reasoning. Each of the equity traps related to the research participants' denial of responsibility for educating their students of color. Through practices focusing on students' funds of knowledge (N. González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005), white racial knowledge, participatory school procedures, and specific professional development experiences, McKenzie and Scheurich (2004) suggest that schools and leadership preparation programs can proactively respond to these equity traps.

Beyond individual beliefs and motivation, learning (and unlearning) opportunities for teachers are partly structured by school district infrastructure and resources. In a mixed methods study of a Midwest school district with an increasing Latinx population, Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, and Sweet (2015) describe relations between teachers' opportunities to learn about instruction for EB students and the district's ESL resources (i.e., language assessments and support services, professional positions, and PD). The researchers argue that the interactions among general education and ESL teachers differed by the subject area, per both the district's and the individual educators' privileging of English Language Arts as the domain of ESL.

Research exploring schools as systems has demonstrated different ways in which specific structures recreate racial and linguistic stratification, influence educators' beliefs, and reproduce

disparate educational opportunities for both students and teachers (Agirdag, et al., 2013; T. Lucas, et al., 2015; Pulinx, et al., 2017). Such structures consistently deepen the education debt (Ladson-Billings, 2006) the U.S. owes to EBs and other students of color. In the next two sections, we synthesize research on two educational approaches designed to ameliorate the historical marginalization of EB students in U.S. schools through programs integrating students and pedagogy integrating language and content.

ESL Integration: Students

Inclusion or "push-in" into general education is a relatively new challenge for ESL professionals, prompted by efforts to improve standards-based assessment outcomes (Valdés, et al., 2014). Simultaneously, ESL certification has shifted from a specialist degree earned by a select few, to an embedded or add-on certification for all teacher candidates. Harper and de Jong (2009) argue that the confluence of increased inclusion of EB students in English-medium classrooms alongside the dilution of ESL professional knowledge has resulted in "the deprofessionalization of ESL teachers rather than the specialization of mainstream teachers" (p. 142). Teacher preparation programs designed to provide all graduates with an ESL credential have noted similar effects (Coady, Harper, & de Jong, 2016). However, ESL expertise is critical to integrative programs, where ESL specialists advocate for their EB students beyond the classroom (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Haneda & Alexander, 2015), supporting them against inequitable school structures. Often, the infusion of ESL into the generalist certification process neglects this critical component of the specialist's training.

In school districts with growing immigrant populations, especially in rural areas, inclusion policies have sought to safeguard against racial and linguistic segregation, most evident in the form of tracking, or academic segregation (Author, 2005; 2010). However, local enactment of state-level policies often proves challenging. Drawing from a mixed methods examination of rural Wisconsin communities' responses to increasing populations of EB children, Lee and Hawkins (2015) identify various institutional and individual challenges impeding Latinx and Somali EB students' education. While staffing challenges, teacher isolation, and ESL marginalization were prevalent across all schools in the sample, most salient was the widespread deficit thinking the authors documented among general and ESL teachers (S. J. Lee & Hawkins, 2015). Ultimately, teachers' preconceived notions about the students determined local negotiation of what might have been a progressive education policy. Academic inclusion policies open both possibilities and challenges regarding ESL expertise, teacher collaboration, and instructional modifications.

ESL Integration: Content & Language

Language and content integration constitutes a major focus in ESL/ELT research and practice (Harper & de Jong, 2009; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2012). Two blanket terms that describe language and content integration are Content-Based Instruction (CBI) and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). The two research traditions are similar in their underlying conceptualizations of language and content, their priorities, and motivations. Given the wide range of program features common to the CBI and CLIL labels, several researchers have conceptualized these programmatic approaches. Tedick and Cammarata (2012) situate such programs using a matrix of content-driven versus language-driven, with another axis indicating time intensity (high versus low). In reviewing CLIL programs in Europe, Coyle (2007) offers a framework based on a cognitivist-sociocultural view of learning that includes four components: content, communication, cognition, and culture. Further, Coyle's framework underscores the multiple and varied connections between learning language, content, and culture. It is precisely

these relationships that become increasingly salient in ESL/ELT contact zones (Kubota & Lin, 2006, 2009). As such, Lee (2015) cautions that 'culture' is often used as a proxy for race in ESL programs, perpetuating essentialist views of culture, as well as evasive and cultural deficit understandings of race.

Another approach to understanding language and content integration has been to evaluate the academic performance of EB students in these programs. Discrepant standardized test results between EB students and their peers deemed English-proficient have been attributed both to language and content in general education settings (Valle, Waxman, Diaz, & Padrón, 2013). Certain language-heavy programs may distract from the academic and STEM instruction EB students require (O. Lee, et al., 2013), as does traditional ESL instruction that prioritizes English proficiency over academics; both jeopardize EB students' academic growth and exacerbate the academic disparities that currently constrain their post-secondary preparation (Author 2010; Kanno & Harklau, 2012). The pedagogical focus on providing linguistic support services alongside rigorous academic content may mask underlying, racializing processes that constrain the education of EB students, largely the children of immigrant, foreign-born parents.

As the entrenched, triple segregation of Latinx EB students continues through academic means (Author, 2005; Gándara, 2010), policy makers, school administrators, and educators have responded in various ways, often attempting to more fully integrate these students into existing school structures through institutional "push-in" or individual pedagogical reform. Because ESL/ELT has been mainly construed as a "nice field" (Kubota, 2002), its historical lack of theorizing race and racism has been complicit in perpetuating colonizing, whitestream practices (Kubota & Lin, 2006, 2009; Motha, 2014). In response, we join a growing group of scholars who employ critical race analysis toward a disruption of these patterns in ESL/ELT research and practice (i.e. Guerrettaz & Zahler, 2017; Taylor, 2006; Vandrick, 2015). At the same time, our analysis makes important contributions. Conceptually, our analysis of two common ESL integrative approaches through a raciolinguistic lens is unique. Methodologically, our work with both ESL and general education teachers across two schools seeks to make sense of the dialectics between institutions and individuals that shape these integrative approaches. We describe our theoretical grounding in the next section.

Theoretical Framework

In this paper, we conduct a raciolinguistic analysis that seeks to examine the institutional structures and processes that perpetuate white racial domination. In doing so, we are careful to emphasize the difference between whiteness and white individuals, the latter imbued with complex personhood (Tuck, 2009) and the continual potential and ethical imperative to disassociate with white epistemologies and racial knowledge (without falling into the fantasies of unity through erasure of difference described by De Lissovoy & Brown, 2013). We conceptualize race as socially and linguistically constructed, and materially practiced and experienced in ways far beyond phenotype. As such, race is not an essentialized phenomenon, and it is always intersected with other social signifiers and positions such as gender, legal status, ability, and national origin, among others (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). The relationships between class and race present a unique point of debate among social theorists, especially Marxist and critical race scholars. For Brown and De Lissovoy (2011), class functions dialectically with race, rather than as a fundamental social location in its own right. In this manner, race and class (and their analytical separation) form part of the underlying logic of capital, and constitute 'economies of racism' that organize material realities, discourses, and subjectivities around the world (Brown

& De Lissovoy, 2011; De Lissovoy, 2015). While we focus our discussion here on the intersections of race and language, it is important to note the underlying logic of capital that fundamentally connects these processes to economic exploitation and injury.

In the US, racism manifests itself in educational spaces through whitestreaming, a term that seeks to decenter whiteness as the norm (Grande, 2015). Urrieta (2009) describes whitestream schools as:

> [A]ll schools from kindergarten through graduate school and to the official and unofficial texts, used in U.S. schools that are founded on the practices, principles, morals, and values of white supremacy and that highlight the history of white Anglo-American culture (p. 181).

Here, Urrieta highlights the importance of historicizing whiteness and examining how its ongoing maintenance results in institutional practices in education. This focus on processes of domination coincides with Leonardo's (2009) description of white supremacy as "those acts, decisions, and policies that white subjects perpetrate on people of color" (p. 75). Throughout the paper, we use the terms 'white supremacy' and 'whitestreaming' to refer to these institutional processes of white racial domination. Clearly, these processes operate far beyond the spaces of schooling, and in this sense, individual teachers are not uniquely responsible for the repeated promulgation of the whitestream.

From legal studies to sociology to education, scholars have theorized racism in a post-Civil Rights era, pointing to a pervasive evasion of race (Gotanda, 1991; Stoll, 2014). In a seminal work, Bonilla-Silva (2017) identifies four frames of evasive racism: *abstract liberalism* (using market logics and individualism to promote fairness); *naturalization* (explaining racial segregation as natural); *cultural racism* (perceiving practices outside of whiteness as culturally inferior); and *minimization* (emphasizing a supposed decline in the importance of race). These frames constitute rationalizations that mostly (but not exclusively) white people employ to deny responsibility for the contemporary racial stratification of U.S. society. Although this variation of racism is frequently referred to as "colorblind," Annamma, Jackson, and Morrison (2017) provide a cogent DisCrit critique of the term. They argue that while "colorblind racism" frames race as a social construction, it fails to recognize another important social construct in dis/ability labeling, which tacitly frames ability differences as deficits (Annamma, et al., 2017). Moreover, the authors suggest that 'evasion' rather than 'blindness' connotes an active process, which we understand to more accurately describe whitestreaming.

Prior research has theorized the connections between race and language; a raciolinguistic lens considers language and race as mutually constitutive, such that the discursive practices in schools are also racialization processes (Alim, Rickford, & Ball, 2016). Flores and Rosa's (2015) raciolinguistic ideologies theory explains how valuations of speakers vary greatly due to racialization processes rather than objective language practices: "Raciolinguistic ideologies produce racialized speaking subjects who are constructed as linguistically deviant even when engaging in linguistic practices positioned as normative or innovative when produced by privileged white subjects" (p. 150). We draw on Flores and Rosa's theoretical construct of the white listening subject[2], who always hears deficiency regardless of how close a speaker of color comes to an idealized and mythical white norm. In this way, discourses about the *dis/ability* to speak and perform 'academic English' are part of the broader whitestreaming processes we examine across the two schools and their/our attempts at student and pedagogical integration.

Situating Ourselves in the Work

Before turning to a description of our research purpose and questions, we find it important to share some experiences that have contributed to this analysis. We are both white, middle-class academics who have been fortunate to work closely with children, families, friends, and critical scholars of color, as well as critical white allies. Race/class may have served as a marker of identification with our participants, but our roles as bilingual researchers set us apart. We attempted to honor the teachers' embodied knowledge and reduce the formality in our interactions, yet the research process was shaped very much by these differences. Ultimately, in writing this report, we attempt to differentiate between discourses and practices on one hand, and people on the other. Our theoretical approach focuses on racialization processes, discourses, and practices, which always implicate individual people. While we draw on individual actors' behaviors within the school contexts, our goal is to depict the discriminatory institutions and structures within which our participants live, teach, and interact. We thus highlight the conflicting incentives facing educators whose professional success is largely measured by their compliance with white standards of accountability.

Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of this multiple case study (Stake, 2005) is to analyze the interplay between race and language at its critical intersection with ESL program reform. In this article, we examine how two Texas schools responded to increasing numbers of Latinx EB students. This approach responds to Valdés, Kibler, and Walqui's (2014) challenges facing the ESL/ELT field by adopting a raciolinguistic lens to analyze schools' programmatic changes related to the integration of students, as well as language and content. A raciolinguistic lens allows researchers to focus on language as a central component of racism (Alim, et al., 2016). Accordingly, our study is guided by the central question: *What evidence exists to illustrate the intersections of race and language in school responses to increasing numbers of Latinx EB students in two schools in rural Texas communities?* Here, we understand 'responses' to include school program changes, educator perceptions, and pedagogical practices.

Methodology

The two schools in this study were in the early stages of implementing structural and programmatic responses related to the growing EB population. In both cases the dominant pedagogical approach entailed students' integration in content area classroom instruction. Our use of a multiple case study seeks to illustrate differences and similarities across the schools' responses, which we analyze as the primary phenomenon. In this report, we draw from two (initially separate) research projects, one at Granite Middle School and the other at Aegis Elementary[3], both traditional public schools in Texas.

The first research project began in 2013 at the request of a Granite administrator who had recently transformed the school's ESL instructional program to integrate EB students in grade-level content area classes with additional instructional support. The initial study sought to build on this change in the academic program to investigate EB students' social and academic integration. Of the eleven participants, nine were teachers and two were administrators (see Table 1); in addition, there were two university-based members of the research team.

Beginning in 2015, the second study at Aegis Elementary stemmed from a larger research project that sought to modify an established STEM education program through co-design for use with EB students. The larger project examined how EB-focused STEM curriculum and PD workshops may influence teachers' perceptions and instructional practices related to their EB students. Prior to the start of the study, the principal expressed his interest in participating in the

project, which he saw as an opportunity for *all* the school's students, EB and English monolingual alike. Six teachers took part in the initial phase of the study, working with five university-based researchers on co-design and implementation.

<<INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE>>

During iterative analyses of data from both research projects, we began to note common patterns across the contexts. We then selected both sites for this multiple case study through purposeful maximal sampling (Creswell, 2013), in order to show different perspectives toward school responses to growing Latinx EB populations. We conceptualized each ESL integration project—students at Granite and language-content at Aegis— as the bounds of the cases.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection methods included semi-structured individual interviews, focus group interviews, and participant observations. We also analyzed school demographic data, teacher lesson plans, field notes from classroom observations, and census data as secondary sources for this paper. Interviews were promptly transcribed by research team members. We used the NVivo 10 software program to facilitate data management and analysis. Data consisted of 20 interview transcripts with teachers and administrators at Granite, and 11 individual interview and four focus group interview transcripts with Aegis teachers, and field notes from Aegis PD workshops.

Data analysis was iterative and occurred throughout the research projects [[Mertens, 2010). For the current study, we met biweekly to discuss our developing insights, starting in July 2016 and continuing to submission. In revisiting data from both Granite and Aegis with particular attention to the intersections of race and language, we engaged in first cycle coding [[Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014) to identify salient topics, which formed the basis of an initial codebook. For example, a code that emerged frequently from the Granite interviews was *Bilingualism as Appearance of Dis/ability*, which we defined as a "reference to bilingualism or EL-status as an appearance of, or sharing commonalities with, a learning dis/ability of some kind." Both authors coded an interview transcript separately and then discussed the similarities and differences in our applications of the coding scheme. Next, we coded a second transcript separately, which resulted in an interrater reliability of approximately 90 percent. Throughout the coding process, we searched for confirming and disconfirming evidence. Based on the larger phenomenon spanning both research projects, in the second coding cycle we refined and consolidated codes through categorical aggregation (Creswell, 2013). In this process, the broader second cycle code, *Perceptions*, subsumed our initial example code, *Bilingualism as Appearance of Dis/ability*. We then drafted individual case reports with initial findings from each school. The complete second cycle codes, with definitions, examples, and frequencies are available in the Appendix. Our sustained engagement at the sites, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, and use of multiple data sources contribute to the credibility of this study (Mertens, 2010).

Cross-case analysis involved deep engagement with the relationships between the individual case findings and the broader phenomenon, or what Stake [[2005) terms the "Quintain," of school responses to increasing shares of Latinx EB students. He explains this "Case–Quintain dialectic" as "a rhetorical, adversarial procedure, wherein attention to the local situations and attention to the program or phenomenon as a whole contend with each other for emphasis" (p. 46). We created a cross-case matrix with the individual case findings and rated each according to its importance and uniqueness for understanding school responses across the research sites. The resulting synthesis of the individual case findings responds directly to our central research question. While generalizability beyond the research sites is not our goal, our

use of multiple cases enhances the transferability of the findings to other contexts [[Mertens, 2010), an idea we revisit later in the paper.

We summarize our research findings at the individual schools in order to emphasize the situationality of each context [[Stake, 2005). After detailing the program changes and teacher perceptions at Granite Middle School and Aegis Elementary separately, we present findings from our cross-case analysis that suggest patterns between the two schools and their ESL approaches.

Findings

Individual Case Reports

Integrating students: Granite Middle School. Our first case, Granite Middle School, is located in the town of Granite, Texas (2015 Population: 16,700, see Table 2). With a median income slightly below the state average, Granite's economy was driven primarily by its electrical power plant, manufacturing sector, and nearby immigrant detention center[4]. The Granite School District served approximately 3,200 K-12 students on 10 campuses. Predominantly Latinx (61 percent) and low-income (70 percent), the Granite student body also included 14 percent identified as EL.

<<INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE>>

During the 2013-2014 academic year, Granite Middle School (MS) enrolled approximately 710 students, 13% of whom were EL-identified. One of the few Latinx administrators in the district, Principal González reported that the school's EB population doubled in the past five years, leaving the school's predominantly white, monolingual English-speaking teachers searching for new strategies.

Initiated by the principal, the program change at Granite MS entailed moving most of the EB students from self-contained ESL classes to a content-based instructional model for English/Language Arts. Although the school had previously integrated EB students into other content areas, Principal González expected this program shift to bring about more equitable schooling conditions for the quickly-growing EB student population.

Principal González's attention to EB students was unique in the district; he was the only school administrator to create PD goals focused on this student population. Considering the district's changing demographics, this refusal to proactively address EB students' needs could be seen as part of a larger phenomenon of whitestreaming, alluded to by several critically-minded research participants. Although several teachers described Granite as small, and emphasized the connections among the students' families, others highlighted the entrenched and overtly racist practices organizing the town. A Latina, former bilingual teacher and the Bilingual Education Coordinator for the district at the time of the study, Ms. Ontiveros offered the following description of the town and how white racial ideologies affected district teachers:

> I don't know how much history you know with Granite, but they were probably one of the last towns to actually desegregate. And it happened like late seventies, like mid-seventies…We still have a restaurant in town that has signage that says *Blacks only* and *Whites only*…If you've lived here and you're a teacher that was born and raised here, sometimes that mentality trickles into your thinking.

Ms. Ontiveros' reference to the restaurant sign was a poignant illustration of the historical legacy and contemporary practices of white supremacy that permeated many of Granite's institutions. Our classroom observations and interviews supported her explanation of this 'trickling' down through different education spaces. We now present three salient findings related to this

whitestreaming process: accountability saturating the school space, linking ESL and Special Education, and disciplining students.

Finding 1: Accountability saturating the school space. The overwhelming influence of standardized testing and accountability systems in education has been thoroughly documented in prior research, especially in Texas (Valenzuela, 2005). At Granite MS, test scores often served as the sole metric through which teachers made student placement decisions and determined student value. In her second year as the sixth and seventh grade ESL teacher at the time of the study, Ms. Salinas referenced her Latinx background in passing, but never overtly identified as Latinx. She described her use of test scores to persuade her principal during her first months at Granite MS:

> I looked at the scores and I went to our principal…again I don't know kids yet, all I know is numbers, and I said, "Based on their numbers, based on their history, this child should do well in an inclusion setting." And of course, I convinced him enough to get all the kids that had passed or were doing well to bump them out [of the ESL pull-out program].

Ms. Salinas couched her argument for ESL inclusion in a language of accountability, one that equated the students' "history" with prior test scores. The apparent effectiveness of her argument points to the saturation of accountability at Granite. Describing the testing practices at the school, Ms. Salinas continued, "We just took our benchmark which was the STAAR [state standardized assessment] …So they passed the test from last year. So, they were successful." Readministering state assessments from the previous year served not only as preparation for the upcoming state test, but also as justification for program placement, often constituting the primary metric of student "success".

Ms. Nash, a white sixth grade ELA teacher at Granite MS, offered a counterexample to the pervasive discourse of accountability. When comparing the academic performance of her EB and non-EB students, she said of her EB students:

> *Ms. Nash:* They're some of the highest in the class.
> *Interviewer:* And is this based on grades, test scores?
> *Ms. Nash:* Quality of work, grades. Not test scores. We just had this STAAR classroom-based assessment, benchmark, and three of them did not pass, they were right there. But the wording of the STAAR, it confuses anyone, much less someone who is already struggling to put the language together.

Ms. Nash perceived that standardized test scores did not reflect her EB students' "quality of work." Her comments suggested that the STAAR was inescapably a test of language not content (Lam, 1993), and therefore an inappropriate measurement tool for her EB students. Nonetheless, she repeatedly administered the tests along with her peers at Granite MS. In this sense, the accountability system served as an ideological ritual (De Lissovoy, 2015), controlling the Granite teachers' everyday practices, regardless of their beliefs about the validity of the test results.

Within this accountability system, standardized testing served as a persuasive tool to greater or lesser effect. Ms. Ontiveros, Granite's Bilingual Education Coordinator, shared her strategy to advocate for the district's Latinx EB students when a new superintendent was hired:

> When he first came in, I said. "Oh, we've got another superintendent. I wanna push the district into a DL program." And I had done all my data, had all kinds of stuff, put together a PowerPoint. I took the initiative and I said, "I wanna meet with you, I wanna talk to you about our program" …Because his mentality, very quickly he said, "They need to learn English. The assessment of the State says, 'You gotta learn English.' So, if we want them to be successful in life, they're

> gonna need to learn English. They can do all that Spanish stuff at home. We gotta do English here."

Ms. Ontiveros drew on testing data to support her argument for the expansion of bilingual education in the district, but the superintendent's response suggested the limits to the persuasiveness of test data. Refusing to consider bilingual education as a means to elevate test scores, the superintendent espoused an English-only, colonizing discourse [[Macedo, 2000) without abandoning the language of accountability. For the superintendent, Spanish and its Latinx speakers had no place in Granite, unless they were assimilating to his vision of a "successful life." We suggest that this saturation of accountability in the superintendent's discourse was in fact, a thinly veiled accountability to whiteness. The superintendent's comments belied the supposed 'objectivity' of the entire accountability system at Granite. Embodying the white listening subject, the superintendent instinctively rejected research-based approaches to education that have been shown to increase Latinx EB students' test scores (Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Instead, he heard only deficit in Ms. Ontiveros' data and words as they conflicted with dominant white racial ideologies and practices.

Finding 2: Linking ESL and special education. In interviews with teachers and administrators at Granite MS, a pattern emerged linking perceptions of EB students with discussions of Special Education. This linkage surfaced in Principal González's rationale for Granite MS's program change toward more inclusion for the school's EB students. In recounting his justification to a group of hesitant 'general education' teachers, Mr. González referred to his experience with Special Education inclusion at his previous school, and how it avoided "AYP," or the sanctions stipulated in *No Child Left Behind*:

> [M]y previous school district, I walked in with a 22% Special Ed. at a high school and this is when AYP, we had a middle school that had gone AYP, and I began making changes to this campus. I did this with the LEP students [at Granite] because I didn't have any LEP or EL students where I was at. But we had a lot of special needs students. And what I decided to do was inclusion, with as many students as I could.

Principal González's justification for integrating EB students into Granite's general ELA classes was based on the standardized test results following systematic inclusion of students in Special Education at his previous school. In fact, Mr. González's enthusiastic discussions of his prior experiences may have influenced the teachers. This is especially apparent in the comments of Ms. Young, a white ESL teacher at the school, who used a similar discursive linkage between ESL and Special Education:

> There's a lot of strategy coming into education itself and how to work with low-level learners and a lot of stuff I learned to be just for ESL students has now carried over into the core classes…I think education as a whole is going more towards, "we're not separating anybody," and I think it came with the push to do inclusion with Special Ed…Let's try to do the same thing with our ELs. No, they're not Special Ed, but they were put into one group…and not included with the whole thing and so you have that environment of, "Well, this is my comfort zone and this is where I'm staying, and wait a minute. You're gonna put me outside of my comfort zone? That's not okay."

While both educators seemed to advocate for more equitable placements for Latinx EB students, the discursive linkage of ESL and Special Education is a complicated endeavor that can support deficit views of bilingualism (MacSwan, 2000; Pérez-Huber, 2011; Rosa, 2016). Moreover, this

discourse leaves untroubled the widespread academic segregation of Latinx EB students into Special Education programs and remedial education tracks (Artiles, Rueda, Salazar, & Higareda, 2005; Baca & Cervantes, 2004; MacSwan & Rolstad, 2006; Umansky, Thompson, & Díaz, 2017). Through Ms. Young's mention of "low-level learners" and her imagined revoicing of her EB students' responses to the school's integration efforts, she articulated a deficit view of EB students' academic achievement. Here, she situates responsibility for disparate standardized test scores on the collective of EB students rather than on the inequitable school structure that segregated them under unequal conditions.

Finding 3: Disciplining students. In addition to discussions of Special Education, the majority of Granite participants mentioned student discipline in relation to their EB students. Oftentimes, these were gendered analyses that positioned Latinx EB females as polite and studious and described their male counterparts as unmotivated and/or disruptive. Ms. Young's appraisal of her EB students coincided with that of several other teachers: "The females tend to be more grounded in needing an education, wanting an education, motivated to learn…The male students, they're either quiet or the behavior becomes an issue." A white eighth grade ELA teacher, Ms. Lowry commented about student discipline and illustrated broader discourses among the staff about male students (of color):

> At the beginning of the year, I took that class to the library and the librarian said, "Wow, they gave you all the hoods, didn't they?" And at first, compared to where I worked, cuz nobody's pulling out a gun, [I] thought, "It's okay." But yes…I have about five boys who literally do nothing in class and talk back incessantly, kids who have been to the alternative campus.

Here, the librarian's use of the racialized term, "hoods," parallels widespread discourses that criminalize boys of color, especially African American boys (Ferguson, 2002). In the context of Granite MS, these discourses extended to the Latinx EB male students who did not fit into the category of 'docile English learner.' Likewise, Ms. Newton, a white sixth grade science teacher, discussed the disruptive behavior in her class, declaring that six of her students "caused havoc. And being an experienced teacher, it got to me. And I thought, 'What am I doing wrong?'" Clearly troubled by what she understood as classroom discipline problems, Ms. Newton asked an important question of her own practice. At her request, various counselors and the school psychologist observed her class and concluded that the student cohort was particularly problematic. Ms. Newton then described her approach with these students after receiving test results that she considered unacceptably low:

> During the second six weeks, there was so much commotion that only 15% of that class passed the CBA [classroom-based assessment]. Which is pretty significant, that's like three kids, two kids that passed that CBA and it's because of all the disruptions in the [class] period. It's gotta stop, so I started one at a time nailing which one was the biggest problem first. And then one of them was written up so many times, non-ELL, got taken to the alternative school.

Ms. Newton's singling out and writing up of students speaks to the desperation that she was experiencing, and here we do not mean to suggest that the students' collective behavior was entirely conducive to learning. However, Ms. Newton's perceptions of her students and her subsequent disciplining practices were related to broader patterns at Granite MS that criminalized students of color, isolating them from their peers for the supposed benefit of the school environment. Annamma, Connor, and Ferri (2013) describe a similar partitioning of students at the intersection of racism and ableism, "enacted through normalizing practices such

as labeling a student 'at-risk' for simply being a person of color, thereby reinforcing the unmarked norms of whiteness, and signaling to many that the student is not capable in body and mind" (2013, p. 11). At Granite MS, the linking of ESL and Special Education combined with disciplining practices that targeted students of color to perpetuate the schools' 'unmarked norms of whiteness.'

Other teachers' comments suggested that this disciplining and normalizing occurred across grades and resulted in an institutional practice of segregating students via placement in the district's alternative school. For example, a white 8th grade science teacher, Ms. Goodall had to answer a question about the number of EB students in her class by discussing the district's alternative school placement:

> *Ms. Goodall:* I guess I should say I have five total but two are at the alternative center.
> *Interviewer:* How do kids go to the alternative center? How is that decision made?
> *Ms. Goodall:* The principals; they have to have a hearing with the teacher and the principal and the parents. And, usually prior to going there, they have had some warning, but if it's fighting, they go right away. There's not like a, "Oh, you got in a fight. This is your warning." They just go. Or drugs.
> *Interviewer:* They're little still, they're in eighth grade.
> *Ms. Goodall:* I know. They know more than me.

When the interviewer suggested that such disciplinary practices might be excessive for the 11 to 14-year-old students at Granite MS, Ms. Goodall expressed her complacency by deferring to the administrators' disciplinary authority. Thus, Latinx EB male students, in addition to the district's larger group of male students of color, experienced an apparent zero-tolerance disciplinary policy. The frequency with which the teachers discussed discipline and alternative school placements for their Latinx EB students had troubling parallels to a central institution in the town, the immigrant detention center. Such institutionalized discourses and practices illustrate Granite's unique iteration of the school to prison pipeline (Alexander, 2012) and the economic profit generated by racializing and criminalizing immigrants and youth of color.

The principal's program changes to integrate EB students with their peers deemed English-proficient took place within a broader set of discourses that judged students' worth according to standardized test results. These discourses often associated EB students with Special Education and criminality. The school's related disciplinary practices repeatedly sent Latinx EB students and their peers of color to alternative school placements, which did not seem to change as a result of the ESL program integration. We now detail the findings from our second case, an elementary school in the town of Aegis.

Integrating content and language: Aegis Elementary School. Our second case, Aegis Elementary School, is located Aegis, Texas, relatively close to Granite. At the time of the study, Aegis was undergoing considerable transformation, with its population growing by over 17 times its original size between 2000 to 2015 (see Table 3). The city website advertised "low crime, quality schools, (and) moderate taxes," all the while promising strong community pride from its "first" Swedish and German settlers. There was no mention of the Tonkawa, Karankawa, Coahuiltecan, or additional Indigenous peoples who inhabited and inhabit the area (Foster, 2008), or the Mexican citizens who lived there before the border crossed them. At the time of the study, the city's economy was primarily driven by the health care, software, and education industries.

<<INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE>>

The Aegis district served approximately 6,200 K-12 students on 10 campuses. Latinx students formed the largest racial/ethnic group at 42 percent, with whites at 40 percent, and African Americans at 13 percent. 42 percent of Aegis families qualified as 'economically disadvantaged,' and approximately 10 percent of the student population was EL-identified. As in Granite, Aegis teachers responded in different ways to the growing influx of EB students.

As a school, Aegis Elementary retained the district's 'clustering' approach that combined EL-identified students in certain homerooms and students receiving Special Education services in others. The curriculum and PD process focused on the integration of language development and STEM instruction. We began the work of revising an existing STEM curriculum for elementary students with a resource orientation to highlight the linguistic and cultural strengths of EB students, such as the ability to negotiate multiple language and cultural practices from a young age (Author 2013; Bialystok & Majumder, 1998; Cooper, Cooper, Azmitia, Chavira, & Gullatt, 2002). In June 2016, we conducted initial interviews with the six focal teachers and then facilitated a week of PD sessions, attempting to balance the teachers' articulated desire to learn practical classroom activities with opportunities to critically reflect on white racial ideologies in relation to language, power, and oppression. We also held three half-day workshops each semester, observed classroom STEM lessons, and maintained electronic communication with the teachers to respond to their concerns. We now present three salient findings related to this language and content integration project: storying backlash and admiration, shifting theories of language, and professing apoliticality.

Finding 1: Storying backlash and admiration. The week of PD and curriculum co-design began with a historical overview of bilingualism and bilingual education in the U.S., which emphasized civil and legal struggles to transform the race- and class-based oppression that defines U.S. social structures (Macias, 2014). During the discussion-based afternoon session the following day, the participants revisited the topic of "compulsory ignorance laws" that prohibited African Americans from attending schools in the South. Rather than serving as a point of reflection on the teachers' own socialization, racialization, and privilege, these ideas prompted several 'backlash' stories about African Americans who waved the Confederate flag and vague statements interpretable as attempts to legitimize slavery. Our field notes from the second day's workshop illustrate how Ms. Myers, a white kindergarten teacher, talked at length about her views of slavery:

> Ms. Myers mentioned that the U.S. was built up through the system of slavery, so in a sense it was needed in order to have the 'positive' society we now have. She said, "There *had to* be slavery to work all of that land." Author1 asked her if there *had* to be slavery or if a different economic system could have been worked out. She said that was an interesting question and did not have an immediate answer.

The urge to emphasize 'positive' aspects of slavery that certain teachers seemed to express coincides with Leonardo's (2009) argument that when white racial ideologies are challenged white people can vociferously defend their views. Instead of lacking knowledge about race and racism, these views constitute a particular white epistemology that echoes Urrieta's (2009) description of whitestreaming.

Ms. Myers' comments about slavery contrasted with her own and other participants' articulated admiration of and desire to work with Latinx EB students. For example, in response to a question about Latinx EB students' academic abilities during our initial interview, Ms. Myers enthused, "I think they're very smart! To know another language and to be able to speak one language and learn another language, that's *ridiculously smart*!" While such tensions in

raciolinguistic ideologies may be associated with anti-Black racism and whiteness' strategic partitioning of certain people of color as 'model minorities,' we also understand them as points of departure to more deeply consider the subalternized assets of students of color and the profound contradictions of whiteness.

Finding 2: Shifting theories of language. In the initial participant interviews, the teachers tended to express an implicit theory of language as patterns of structure (Moyer, 2008), usually focused at the word-level. When asked about the strategies they used to accommodate EB students, some mentioned building relationships in the classroom, while all mentioned explicit vocabulary teaching as a primary instructional strategy. Ms. Rogers, a white second grade teacher at Aegis, expressed a typical perspective of language as discrete building blocks. Here, we observe that individual words are central to her pedagogy:

> We stress vocabulary a lot here, so that's one of the big ones. Vocabulary for sure, having it up in picture form with the definition attached to it so that they can see what we're talking about. And *really* hitting that vocabulary as hard as we can.

Noting that this understanding of language may foreclose sociocultural perspectives that conceive of language as social practice, we dedicated an afternoon of the PD week to raising consciousness of and making explicit different theories of language that underlie pedagogical practice (Valdés, et al., 2014). During this workshop, Author1 used photographs of unfamiliar street signs to illustrate the concepts of transfer and translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014; MacSwan, 2017), hoping to challenge the idea that students' funds of knowledge could only be expressed in English. We emphasized that the fluid selection of linguistic features traditionally associated with discrete named languages (i.e. 'English' as separate from 'Spanish') is indeed the norm for bilinguals (García & Wei, 2014). In the focus group at the end of the week, Ms. Parker, a white third grade teacher at Aegis, expressed a greater awareness of our language practices as workshop facilitators:

> *Ms. Parker:* And I don't know if y'all planned this beforehand, but I noticed that nobody, none of y'all, Author2 included, spoke Spanish until the day we talked about translanguaging. And the next day, the two of you were talking to each other a lot in Spanish. And I don't know if y'all discussed ((laughs)) that, like if you had it planned or not?
>
> *Author1:* Yeah, no, we didn't ((laughs)).
>
> *Ms. Parker:* But that was pretty perfect to help us … understand the concept.

While we note the difficulty, even in this manuscript, of moving beyond the phrasing of named languages like 'Spanish' and 'English,' Ms. Parker attended to our spontaneous languaging and noted our fluid use of Spanish and English. This appears to signal an important shift in her theory of language, one that began to consider alternatives to the dominative conception of Latinx EB students' languaging as incomplete (MacSwan, 2017; Rosa, 2016).

Our end-of-semester interviews also indicated the teachers' greater awareness of social aspects of second language development. When asked if their understanding of language had changed, only one teacher reaffirmed the importance of teaching at the word-level whereas several others emphasized individual EBs' language socialization. For example, Ms. Phelps, a white fifth grade science and math teacher, described one of her students, a Puerto Rican boy who had moved to the continental U.S. the previous school year. While Ms. Phelps noted that she had not previously taught many EL-identified students, she mentioned that the PD might have helped her attend more closely to this student's language development:

> It's amazing to me to think about how he's only had really one year of English plus half a year here, and how well he's doing. So just kind of thinking about that and I'd never really thought much about it before.

This apparent shift in various teachers' implicit theories of language, from language as discrete structures to language as social practice, seems to coincide with their increasing attention to the unique lived experiences of their Latinx EB students. Even so, the school-sanctioned ideologies of the 'social' appear to maintain a race evasive, individual- and family-centric understanding of Latinx EB students, leaving untroubled the structural inequalities that construct and replicate social stratification in the US. This emphasis on individual and family language practices relates to our third case finding. By describing their classrooms and curriculum as neutral academic spaces--- thereby denying societal and institutional influences on their practice--- the teachers drew upon whitestream discourses that positioned their work as apolitical.

Finding 3: Professing apoliticality. In our end-of-semester interviews in December 2016, we asked the teachers if the post-election political climate had affected their work. All of the participants began by saying that it had not, but then several shared instances when students had initiated conversations about the presidential elections in their classrooms. Ms. Myers, a kindergarten teacher, invoked shielding imagery when she described the following interaction after her students brought up their parents' voting preferences:

> It doesn't really affect what goes on in my classroom. We kind of are our own little nest. What happens in the outside world, thank god we're five and you know, they're oblivious. And sometimes they're like, "My parents are voting for Hillary Clinton. My parents are voting for Trump." I'm like, "Okay, that's great, but you know, right here we're gonna be working on this. And this is what we're gonna talk about today."

Ms. Myers's deflection of the students' comments mirrored that of other participants, although she explained her response by referring to her students' young age. Still, politics and the presidential elections were construed as distractions from the planned lesson. Ms. Phelps in fifth grade responded to the question about the post-election political climate in a similar manner:

> *Ms. Phelps:* I don't think so. I've had kids, when the election was going on, they would mention things, but I don't, I just kind of don't discuss *that* really in class. And so no, I don't think so.
>
> *Interviewer:* What did you notice that the kids said?...
>
> *Ms. Phelps:* They would kind of make comments about, oh, this sounds awful, "building walls" or things, kind of to that degree…and then went, "Oh, well he won." Or they would ask me, "Well, were you happy that so-and-so won?" Or "how do you feel about it?" And I just kind of would, "Let's move on. That's not the topic we're gonna discuss." But no, I don't feel like it's changed anything as far as what *I'm* doing.

In her response, Ms. Phelps articulated an apolitical stance by refusing to use the names of presidential candidates. Moreover, her discomfort in repeating her students' comments about "building walls" (after being asked by the interviewer, she later clarified that her students were opposed to Donald Trump's anti-Mexican rhetoric) suggests that the topic was beginning to belie the school-sanctioned race evasive discourse. Both Ms. Myers and Ms. Phelps asserted the "appropriateness" (Flores & Rosa, 2015) of their planned classroom content while failing to consider their students' political comments as valid and meaningful departure points for learning.

The teachers' professed apoliticality points to the complex ways that languaging and academic content intersected in the implementation of CBI at Aegis Elementary.

Patterns across the Cases

Denying responsibility. Across both research sites, even in the midst of programmatic efforts designed to improve Latinx EB student achievement, deficit perceptions pervaded school discourses, as many teachers and administrators repeatedly adopted the ideological positions of both white gazing and listening subjects (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Paris & Alim, 2014). In studies exploring racialization processes in ESL programs, as well as U.S. education more broadly, deficit thinking has been an enduring feature (Marx, 2009). Although important individual exceptions existed in our multiple case study, deficit thinking spanned both research sites, indicating an institutional orientation to seeing and hearing as inferior Latinx EB students' academic abilities, use of Spanish, and family dynamics.

At the same time, many of our participants evoked discourses of sameness when discussing their EB students to underscore commonalities with native English speakers. De Jong and Harper (2005) problematize the discourse of *ESL as 'just good teaching'*, arguing that quality instruction for EB students involves knowledge of the nature of language, the processes of second language development, and importantly, the complex interactions among language, culture, and schooling from a bilingual/bicultural perspective. While the school-based discourses we present above touch on de Jong and Harper's first two tenets, they lack attention to the third. Ultimately, the supposed commonalities between EB students and their non-EB peers regularly served to justify a one-size-fits-all approach to instruction. For example, after observing a lesson on teen pregnancy, Author2 asked Ms. Goodall, Granite MS's eighth grade science teacher, about her accommodations for EB students in her class:

> *Ms. Goodall:* So how did I make it different for the ELs? I didn't really. They were there, we had the discussion and all the kids I have this year, they speak English. They speak Spanish to each other and maybe they were having a conversation with each other in Spanish.
> *Interviewer:* But you can't tell.
> *Ms. Goodall:* Yeah, I don't know. But I mean they were engaged as much as everybody else. But I didn't do anything special for them because I didn't think that they needed it.

In this case and others, the 'sameness' articulated by teachers serves to justify not modifying instruction. Herrera and Rodríguez-Morales (2009) describe a similar phenomenon as "colorblind nonaccommodative denial":

> Teachers' discourse in this study not only indicated colorblindness as a denial of biases (the reduction of anxiety by the unconscious exclusion from the mind of intolerable thoughts, feelings, or facts) but also consequent denial (the refusal to recognize, acknowledge, or confront a need, claim, or request) of accommodation in classroom structures or instruction necessary (Nieto, 1992) to meet the particular and often language-based needs of Mexican-American students (Herrera & Rodriguez-Morales, 2009, p. 202)

Similarly, teachers' race evasive nonaccommodative denial across both sites in our study constituted a denial, and not avoidance, of responsibility to the Latinx EB students, underscoring the individual layer of whitestreaming. Importantly, teachers articulated these responses within a broader set of institutional practices that purportedly served to integrate Latinx EB students without accounting for the racializing processes that organized schooling at both sites. Our

raciolinguistic interpretation thus departs from Herrera and Rodríguez-Morales (2009), as the students' "language-based needs" were inseparable from and interpreted by the ideological position of the white listening subject, reflective of an institutional denial of responsibility for guaranteeing an equitable education.

Disciplining curricular content. Even when individual teachers acknowledged the unique "language-based needs" of some of their Latinx EB students, they tended to discuss academic disciplines and content in ways that reinforced whitestreaming. For example, Ms. Arteaga, a white social studies teacher at Granite MS, claimed that her school subject was uniquely difficult for EB students. After noting her EB students' lower academic performance in comparison to their non-EL identified peers, Ms. Arteaga said:

> Some of it is language, I think it's sixth grade, too. A lot of it is just the topic. It's social studies and it's just really difficult. They're having a hard time sometimes with their own culture and…United States culture, and I'm trying to get them to do all these other cultures. So it's kind of a little bit overwhelming…So I think part of it is definitely language but I also think part of it is kind of that experience in being opened up to those other kind of cultures and be able to see that.

While Ms. Arteaga's comments may reflect a certain understanding of the emotional toll that her Latinx EB students and their families face as they navigate multiple oppressive structures in U.S. society [[Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008), her discourse about the difficulty of social studies content positioned these same students as deficient, negating potential knowledges often developed through lived experiences of immigration [[Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2008; López, 2018). A raciolinguistic lens interrogates these disciplinary discourses as processes of racialization. Thus, the assumed "United States culture" must be questioned for its potential erasures: of the legacies of Mexican Americans and others left out of the nation's majoritarian stories [[Delgado, 1989); of the schema that Latinx EB and other language-minoritized students may have already built in relation to these legacies; and of the role of the white subject that constructs dominative perspectives of appropriateness [[Flores & Rosa, 2015).

A similar tendency to define Latinx students' knowledge as 'non-academic' can be seen in the Aegis teachers' disciplining of academic content discussed above; the students' perspectives on the presidential candidates were met with prompt rejoinders to return to legitimated classroom topics. Our PD sessions seemed to allow for a certain degree of critique, especially in relation to the dominative patriarchal positioning of the STEM disciplines. Despite individual teachers' reports of increased STEM interest, as a whole they did not seem to extend their insights about STEM accessibility to their Latinx EB students. Not surprisingly, in a society where discussions of race largely remain taboo, the participants felt more comfortable discussing a race evasive 'STEM' than the intersections of race and power in teaching.

Practicing integration as perpetuation. When analyzing both schools' integrative ESL reform efforts, we saw parallels to the large body of research that questions the lack of tangible change engendered by the largely race evasive legislation of racial and linguistic integration in U.S. education, from *Brown v. Board of Education Topeka* to the Bilingual Education Act to *No Child Left Behind* (as discussed in Guinier, 2004; Orfield & Eaton, 1996; Orfield & Frankenberg, 2014; Sinclair, 2016). Judge Robert Carter, one of the NAACP lawyers in *Brown*, explained this elusive quest for racial justice:

> Both northern and southern white liberals and blacks looked upon racial segregation by law as *the primary* race relations evil in this country. It was not until *Brown I* was decided that blacks were able to understand that the

> fundamental vice was not legally enforced *racial segregation* itself; that this was a mere by-product, a symptom of the greater and more pernicious disease---white supremacy (as quoted in Guinier, 2004, p. 99, italics in original).

Similarly, the ESL program changes across the two schools in this study did not substantively alter raciolinguistic stratification. Therefore, we suggest that these/our efforts, wittingly or not, constituted specific forms of integration as perpetuation of white supremacist practices. Ultimately, we argue that the Texas accountability system coalesced with the schools' race evasive nonaccommodative denial (Herrera & Rodriguez-Morales, 2009) and curricular disciplining.

The purpose of this multiple case study is not to generalize the individual case findings or cross-case patterns beyond the local contexts. Both research projects took place in rural Texas, with its particular colonizations and majoritarian stories. Hence, the participants' experiences and knowledges related to race may differ substantially from those of white teachers and teachers of color in different parts of the U.S. However, the current makeup of the U.S. teaching force, the pervasiveness of racism, and the hegemony of English in the U.S. suggest that our raciolinguistic analysis of whitestreaming in ESL/ELT may provide transferable insights for educators and scholars working with Latinx EBs and other students of color. Naming these/our particular integrative efforts as perpetuation is not the same as forecasting their inevitability. Indeed, through this work we hope to contribute to a disruption and dismantling of these practices. We take up the implications of this work for ESL/ELT research, practice, and policy in the final section.

Concluding Remarks

ESL "push-in" often emerges as an institutional attempt to comply with educational regulations governing EB students' schooling. It also appears to bolster institutional efforts to prepare for high-stakes testing, while at the same time appeasing vocal English-only proponents. In a similar vein, language-content integration in ESL/ELT has most often been framed as a prescriptive linguistic approach to improving individual teachers' pedagogy for EB students. In this multiple case study, we have adopted a dialectical perspective that understands a unity between the institutional and individual, and thus we view each of these approaches as askew and incomplete. Moreover, our raciolinguistic analysis suggests that the schools' enactment of both of these approaches denied the pervasiveness of race and racism in U.S. society.

We recognize that our argument of *integration as perpetuation* raises many questions about the adequacy of our PD program to date at Aegis, as well as our responsibilities to the research participants after the study is done (E. Lee & Simon-Maeda, 2006). As researchers, it seems we have not worked sufficiently with the teachers and other school-community members to understand social-structural stratification processes in the school. Our reflections on this work, and the related tensions and questions that we continue to confront, have led us to meditate on the origins of intervention-based educational research, especially when the participants are not necessarily committed to social transformation. While we acknowledge the importance of antiracist interventions in our research sites, insights from these projects suggest that building solidarity begins, rather than ends, when teachers and researchers reach a critical commitment (2013), allowing a deeper, more reciprocal educational praxis to emerge. We continue to work toward such a moment of critical commitment with the teachers participating in the ongoing research project.

The durability of white supremacist ideologies in U.S. schooling means that any change in research and practice is embedded within overlapping institutional structures that perpetuate multiple and intersecting oppressions. Still, we cannot discount the role of personal and collective agency through differently-targeted education projects. We propose that research and practice related to ESL/ELT strive for a critical integration of radically different knowledges (Santos, 2014). This does not imply a complete rejection of Euro-Western ways of knowing, but rather their decentering and reframing for critical scrutiny. Thus, while we agree that a focus on discipline-specific language can be an important feature of ESL/ELT instruction (de Oliveira, 2016; Turkan & Schramm-Possinger, 2014), our work suggests that without direct and sustained attention to race and racism, especially in teacher training and professional development, an asset-based approach to content-language integration alone can leave untroubled U.S. schooling's inherent racism and whiteness (Apple, 2004; Leonardo, 2009). *Questioning the content language* invites a critical consideration of particular subject areas and their boundaries, specifically how discussions of the language(s) of science, literature, biology, math, etc. might ultimately reinscribe dominative conceptualizations of these disciplines and their related racialization processes. Similar questions have been explored in seminal works in ESL/ELT [[i.e. Ibrahim, 1999), as well as in language education approaches like critical language awareness [[i.e. Alim, 2005). Beyond education, scholars have long questioned the limits and borders of academic disciplines, such as those of sociology, psychology, history, and the social sciences more broadly [[e.g. Smith, 2012; Walsh, et al., 2002). As schools increasingly emphasize language and content integration, we draw from the work of these scholars to suggest that ESL/ELT research and practice include explicit examination of the supposed limits among academic disciplines, and how these discourses constitute racialization processes.

As an extension of this work to state education policy, we join other scholars to suggest that redistribution of resources constitutes a central aspect of educational justice [[Aggarwal, 2016; Flores, 2018). State funding must prioritize equitable per-pupil allotments, and anti-racist teacher training, research, and assessment that seek restitution for the U.S.'s longstanding education debt [[Ladson-Billings, 2006). Specifically regarding ESL/ELT policies, language-minoritized students' multilingualism must be cultivated. Accordingly, states should carefully consider the equity potential of dual language education (DLE). While far from a feasible or even desirable program design for all U.S. schools, DLE begins with an asset-based premise that all students bring valuable and varied knowledges to their formal schooling experiences. As Cervantes-Soon and colleagues argue (2017), when infused with a commitment to critical consciousness, DLE presents the potential to disrupt undercurrents of whitestream schooling and provide a more equitable education for language-minoritized students.

Until ESL/ELT researchers and practitioners are equipped to refuse efforts that simply integrate EB students of color and their language practices into the fundamentally unequal and marginalizing processes of whitestream schooling, educational reforms will continue to falter. The prescriptive and legalistic approaches to integration—of content and of students—will only perpetuate raciolinguistic stratification. Our insights from this work push us to envision and enact site-specific, unsettling, and antiracist praxis. We invite other ESL/ELT researchers and educators to join the collective of people long engaged in these efforts.

ENDNOTES

1. A note on terminology: Here, and in most instances throughout the paper, we use the term 'emergent bilinguals' (García, 2009b) to refer to the subset of bilingual youth identified by the K-12 school system as in need of linguistic support services. In reference to official government designations, we occasionally use the label 'English learner' (EL), which replaced the overtly deficit term, 'Limited English Proficient' (LEP). Our use of 'English as a Second Language' (ESL) reflects the terminology commonly employed in U.S. schools, while we include 'English Language Teaching' (ELT) to discuss the field of ESL/ELT in recognition of the variety of program labels beyond the US. Our use of the 'x' ending in the Spanish-influenced term, 'Latinx,' is meant to challenge binary notions of gender. In this paper, we use this term to refer to people of Latin American ancestry. However, we also recognize its limits as a construction of Occidentalism that obscures various identifications and peoples, such as African-descendant and Indigenous peoples throughout the Americas or people of Mexican ancestry in the U.S. (Martínez, 2017)).
2. This concept builds on Paris & Alim's (2014) discussion of the white gaze, borrowed in turn from Toni Morrison. Also inspired by Morrison, Yancy (2008) explains the white gaze as "that performance of distortional 'seeing' that evolves out of and is inextricably linked to various raced and racist myths, white discursive practices, and centripetal processes of white systemic power and white solipsism" (p. xviii).
3. All names of towns, schools, and educators are pseudonyms.
4. It is important to note that none of the participants mentioned the detention center despite its high profile in state and national politics as a site of extreme isolation and punishment of asylum seekers facing human rights abuses both in the U.S. and their native countries.

TABLE 1:
Research Participants

	Number		Percentage		
School	**Teachers**	**Administrators**	**White-Identifying**	**Latinx-Identifying**	**ESL-Certified**
Granite Middle	9	2	73	27	33
Aegis Elementary	6	0	100	0	50

TABLE 2:
Granite Town and School District Select Demographics, Rounded

	Total Population		Percentage Latinx		Percentage White		Percentage ELL	
	2000	**2015**	**2000**	**2015**	**2000**	**2015**	**2000***	**2015**
Town	13,600	16,700	34	45	51	42	N/A	N/A
District	3000	3200	43	61	38	26	6	14

* Indicates percentage of students enrolled in bilingual/ESL education, the terminology reported at this time.
Compiled from ACS, TEA, and U.S. Census Bureau data

TABLE 3:
Aegis Town and School District Select Demographics, Rounded

	Total Population		Percentage Latinx		Percentage White		Percentage ELL	
	2000	**2015**	**2000**	**2015**	**2000**	**2015**	**2000***	**2015**
Town	1,300	22,700	27	34	70	50	N/A	N/A
District	1,000	6,600	20	42	76	40	3	10

* Indicates percentage of students enrolled in bilingual/ESL education, the terminology reported at this time.
Compiled from ACS, TEA, and U.S. Census Bureau data

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