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MAKING SPACE TO “BE OURSELVES”: BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANT CHILDREN AS
TWO-WAY IMMERSION PROGRAM IMPLEMENTERS AND TRANSBORDER
THINKERS

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ABSTRACT

Making Space to “Be Ourselves”: Brazilian Immigrant Children as Two-Way Immersion

Program Implementers and Transborder Thinkers

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This research study investigates how young Brazilian immigrant students (ages 5-9) experience their education in a Two-Way Immersion (TWI) program (Portuguese-English) at one elementary school in the U.S. Northeast. TWI is a bilingual education model that has become popular in recent years but has also come under scrutiny with growing concerns for equity. This multi-year ethnographic study examined students’ roles as thinkers and knowers who contribute to the social world of schooling in a bilingual program that was originally envisioned to serve their needs. Data sources are: participant observations in classrooms and schoolwide and program-specific meetings; interviews with school staff members, children, and caregivers; and a collection of in-class assignments.

Findings from this study point to the paradoxical relationship that the focal school had with young immigrant children. First, children of Brazilian descent contributed to the successful implementation and survival of the new bilingual strand in their school through daily language practices and by leveraging their lived experiences and memories during instruction. Second, Brazilian immigrant students carved out spaces in their TWI classrooms to deploy and co-construct subalternized knowledges based on their transborder experiences. At the same time, they faced conflicting orientations concerning their role and participation in the TWI program as well as dynamics of in/visibility. Third, following these students at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, during fully remote learning, revealed how the children negotiated compounded

constraints. I show how young students humanized their virtual TWI classrooms, made space for playfulness, and centered their care-full lives in their formal schooling during remote learning.

Investigating the educational realities of Brazilians, a rapidly growing but understudied segment of the U.S. Latinx population, not only sheds light on unique facets of their experience, but also generates insights as to how to (re)think educational models, programs, and responses to minoritized populations in the U.S. Precisely, together, the findings advocate for a holistic focus on childhoods, as opposed to the current emphasis on language-as-subject, in TWI education.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Eu morei no Brasil, foi minha primeira cidade, agora essa é minha cidade. Eu gosto dos dois lugares ao mesmo tempo. Mas aqui a gente não pode ser a gente, entendeu? Porque tem muita gente que não gosta da gente. (Marcela, 7 year-old Brazilian immigrant student)

(I lived in Brazil, [it] was my first city, now this is my city. I like both places at the same time. But here we cannot be ourselves, you know? Because there are a lot of people who don't like us.)

Young immigrant children traverse multiple borders every day. They are thinkers and knowers who make space for their perspectives and experiences across multiple social worlds (Oliveira & Gallo, 2021). While working on an in-class activity in her bilingual classroom in the U.S., seven-year-old Marcela shared her perspective about one of the borders that shaped how she lived and learned in the new place she called “her city.” She described the negative views and discrimination against people “like us,” immigrants. This dissertation centers the narratives and experiences of Brazilian immigrant children¹ (ages 5-8) in one elementary school in the U.S. It aims to show how the children carved out spaces to “be ourselves” in their schooling while navigating dynamics of in/visibility, silences, possibilities, and conflicting views and discourses around their role and participation in a newly-implemented bilingual program. Ultimately, this dissertation addresses the overarching question: How are the education experiences of a group of

¹ In this dissertation I use “immigrant children” as an umbrella term to refer to children with recent histories of immigration. This includes first-generation immigrants (i.e., born in Brazil and later migrated to the U.S.) and second-generation immigrants (i.e., born in the U.S. to at least one Brazilian parent). I also employ the term “newcomer” to differentiate the first-generation immigrant children who arrived in the U.S. within the year of the research being conducted.

Brazilian immigrant children shaped by their participation in the newly-implemented bilingual program (Portuguese-English) at their public elementary school?

U.S. public schools are on the verge of a new demographic era, with projections that, by 2050, more than one-third of U.S. children younger than 17 will be either immigrants themselves or the children of at least one immigrant parent, according to the Pew Research Center (Tamer, 2014). Brazilian migration to the United States has tripled since 2018, with more Brazilian immigrant families being apprehended at the U.S.-Mexico border than in previous years (Lellis, 2021; Simas, 2021). Recent estimates suggest that 1.7 million Brazilians now live in the U.S. (Lellis, 2021), with Massachusetts being the U.S. state with the highest concentration of Brazilian nationals in 2015-2016 with 350,000 residents of Brazilian descent (Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2016). According to the Migration Policy Institute, in 2019 the greater share of Brazilian immigrants were of working age (between 18 and 64) and participated in the civilian labor force at high rates (70%) in areas including sales, service occupations, and management/business/arts (Waters & Batalova, 2022). Brazilian immigrants were also reported to experience poverty at a higher rate (at 15%) than the U.S.-born population (at 12%), be considerably less likely than the overall immigrant population to be naturalized U.S. citizens, and be less likely to have health insurance coverage. Over 4,600 Brazilians were beneficiaries of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, making Brazil the 7th largest country of origin among beneficiaries, as of March 2022 (Waters & Batalova, 2022).

Migration and education scholarship has not focused extensively on Portuguese-speaking Brazilians in the United States, and U.S. schools continue to base their instruction and curricula on available resources in Spanish as a false equivalent to Portuguese. With migration flows into the U.S. intensifying in response to political, economic, environmental, and social causes around

the world, researchers must support schools in developing appropriate responses to the growing numbers of migrants from linguistic and cultural backgrounds that are less dominant and familiar to school personnel. This ethnographic study addresses this gap by centering the experiences of Portuguese-speaking, Brazilian immigrant children at their school in a Two-Way Immersion (TWI) bilingual education program (Portuguese-English) in the United States. Investigating the education realities of this rapidly growing but understudied segment of the U.S. population of Latin American descent not only sheds light on the unique facets of their education experience, but also generates insights as to how to (re)think educational models, programs, and responses to minoritized populations in the United States.

In this introductory chapter, I first present the study rationale and research questions, followed by an overview of the context that situates this dissertation project and the case for foregrounding issues related to Brazil and Brazilian immigrants in education research. Next, I turn to the conceptual framework, followed by a brief overview of the methods employed in this study. Then, I explain the theoretical, applied, and methodological significance of this dissertation project. Finally, I conclude this chapter by presenting the roadmap of this dissertation and a summary of the themes approached in this introduction.

Purpose of the Study

Given the limited understanding of Brazilian immigrant children's educational lives, and the importance of learning from and leveraging minoritized students' funds of knowledge in their entirety and complexity, I explored the education experiences of 70 Brazilian immigrant children in the U.S. over three school calendar years. The following research questions guided this study:

1. How are the education experiences of a group of Brazilian immigrant children shaped by their participation in the newly-implemented TWI bilingual program (Portuguese-English) at their public elementary school?
 - a. How does this group of Brazilian immigrant children contribute to the day-to-day implementation of the new TWI program? How are their contributions perceived by educators and school staff members serving at the school?
 - b. How are the transborder experiences of this group of Brazilian immigrant children leveraged as they (co-)create knowledge in their TWI classrooms?
2. How did remote learning during the Covid-19 global pandemic shape this group of Brazilian immigrant children's education experiences in the 2020-2021 school year?

Background

Massachusetts, emerging from a fifteen-year ban on bilingual education, has recently passed legislation that now allows schools the flexibility to pursue various language education models to better serve their English Language Learners (ELL as per state category), including two-way immersion programs (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2018). In TWI programming, the goal is to support the English language development and native-language maintenance of minoritized students while allowing English-speaking children to learn a foreign language in the same classrooms (Cervantes-Soon, 2014). According to Kim and colleagues (2015), TWI (also referred to as “dual-language education”) includes the popular “90:10” and “50:50” language allocation models. In the former arrangement, the students have subject-area content classes in the minoritized language for 90% of their school day and 10% in English in the kindergarten. This proportion changes as students move through the grade levels, reaching 80%-20% in the first grade, 70%-30% in the second grade, 60%-40%

in the third grade, and 50%-50% in the fourth and fifth grades. In the 50:50 model, in turn, students have half of their classes in English and half in the minoritized language from kindergarten forward (Kim et al., 2015). TWI programs have been positioned by scholars as a hopeful development in public schools (Cortina et al., 2015; Dorner, 2016) for their ability to improve educational experiences for students. However, research has also identified inequitable conditions within TWI programs, including hidden curricula that places English as the most valuable language and the commodification of minoritized languages (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Cervantes-Soon et al., 2021; Chávez-Moreno, 2018; Flores, 2016; Martinez Negrette, 2022; Valdés, 1997; Varghese & Park, 2010). Few studies (Oliveira et al., 2020; Oliveira et al., 2021; Rubinstein-Avila, 2002) have looked into these dynamics within Portuguese-English TWI programs and therefore more investigations are needed that examine how Brazilian immigrant children experience their education in these settings.

Although in the 2016-2017 school year thirty-five states offered dual-language education in eighteen languages across the country (Mitchell, 2020), most research studies in the field of bilingual education concerning minoritized children's experience in these settings foregrounded the realities of Spanish-speaking Latinx students. Resources available online aimed to support bilingual instruction and curriculum development primarily concern the needs and realities of Spanish-English programs. For example, on the webpage dedicated to two-way immersion on the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) website, a plethora of tools and materials are available for practitioners in Spanish-English programs, such as Spanish standards benchmarks and Spanish-language assessments (CAL, 2016). On the website Colorín Colorado, which targets a broad audience of "educators and families of English language learners," most resources related to TWI or dual-language education are related to the Spanish language (Colorín Colorado, n./d.).

Educators in Massachusetts school struggled to find equivalent mentor texts, assessment tools, books, and curricula in the Portuguese language. There is a material impact on districts not having access to any curricula, guidelines, or resources tailored for Portuguese-English bilingual education and not having time to develop much in house, which puts many programs at risk.

The degree to which students' lived experiences and knowledges are acknowledged and leveraged in educational spaces also profoundly affects their experiences of education (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Paris, 2012). However, Latinx and other minoritized students have historically been denied their ways of being and knowing through processes of subtractive schooling and the persistent legacies of colonization embedded in school curricula and instruction (Calderon, 2014; Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Keenan, 2019; Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Valenzuela, 1999). Additionally, in a broader social context that reinforces monolingual and mononational lives as the norm and that is marked by anti-immigrant policy and sentiment, immigrant children's roles as transborder knowers and thinkers are frequently silenced in their U.S. classrooms (Gallo & Link, 2015, 2016; Gallo, 2021a, 2021b). Children with recent histories of immigration have to learn to navigate formal schooling amidst rampant tensions around immigration, carve out safe spaces to engage in trust-based relationships and express their knowledge of topics that have been constructed as controversial. These knowledges, created in contexts of power asymmetries within and across national systems, are critical for immigrant children's and families' survival and navigation of their social worlds, including that of formal schooling. Children's knowledges may embody their *in-betweenness* in two countries (Anzaldúa, 1987; Gallo, 2021a), comparative lens emerged from experiences of multiplicity across transnational social fields (Orellana, 2009), and role as agents who enhance their own and others' well-being and contribute to the education they receive. Therefore, considering the dearth of literature about and the tangible resources to

support Portuguese-English dual language or TWI programs, and the ongoing politicization and invisibility of immigrant students' knowledges, this dissertation aims to elucidate Brazilian immigrant children's educational lives by centering their resourcefulness in a TWI program.

A Focus on Brazil and Brazilian Immigrants

In addition to addressing the scarce research literature about and resources for TWI programs serving Brazilian immigrant children in the U.S., a scholarly focus on immigrants of Brazilian descent is also granted considering Brazil's history, political and economic position on the global stage. As posited by Porzecanski (2015), Brazil's economic and geographical size is undeniable, as it is the world's fifth-largest country in terms of territorial expansion; the fifth most populous country; and Latin America's largest economy. Brazil has also grappled with a complex history, with its government oscillating many times between semi-democratic to authoritarian rule (Becker, 2006). This history includes a military coup in 1964 that started two decades of dictatorial rule and enacted violent repression of its opposition, with further evidence of its atrocities coming to light in recent years (Vieceli & Saldaña, 2022).

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2021) pointed out that Brazil has long-standing structural policy challenges, which are seen in its performance before the worldwide crisis engendered by the Covid-19 global pandemic. For example, the country—still recovering from a recent recession that significantly contracted its economy—has presented a high unemployment rate that was happening before the 2020 crisis. Brazil's persistent inequality is higher than in most advanced economies, with the poorest 20% of households earning 3.1% of total income (OECD, 2021). However, the Covid-19 pandemic exposed Brazil to unprecedented health, social, and economic challenges. For example, since the

onset of the pandemic, at least 1 in 7 Brazilian residents has been infected with the virus, and over 663,700 residents have died from it (New York Times, 2022).

Economically, the pandemic led to a 4.1 percent gross domestic product (GDP) decline in 2020, followed by a rebound in 2021 (World Bank, 2021). In 2021, the Brazilian inflation rate reached an estimated 7.7%, but Brazilians' salaries did not follow this trend (Crédit Agricole Group, 2022). While many countries are seeing growth in the aftermath of the Covid-19 crisis associated with the lifting of pandemic-related restrictions and expanded vaccination drives, Brazil's unemployment rate grew in 2021, reaching 13.8% (Rosati, 2021). The pandemic also jeopardized years of progress in poverty reduction and human capital accumulation in Brazil (World Bank, 2021). For example, the country has suffered significant public schools closures, "which is expected to raise learning poverty from 48 to 70 percent and to disproportionately affect the poor (remote learning benefited less than 50 percent of students in less developed regions, vs. 92 percent in richer parts of the country)" (World Bank, 2021).

Politically, Brazil's former president, Jair Bolsonaro, who took office in January 2019 and stayed in power until December 2022, enacted a far-right political agenda and has been criticized on multiple fronts. Bolsonaro was denounced for threatening democratic rule in the country (Human Rights Watch, 2021) and accused of crimes against humanity. In the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, he was charged with mass homicide and genocide, being accused of letting the virus spread in an attempt for herd immunity (Nicas, 2021). Bolsonaro has pursued a range of anti-rights policies, including women's rights and disability rights, and promoted anti-environmental policies and rhetoric that have had an impact on accelerating the deforestation of the Amazon rainforest (Amnesty International, 2020).

The contentious economic, political, and social conditions in Brazil are intimately linked to the stories of Brazilian immigrant children and families. The poor state of the labor market, along with the desire for access to better social services, such as health care and education, has been indicated as driving international migration (Parreñas, 2005). Many Brazilians were lured to the United States by the chance to find jobs that pay high enough wages, and in considerably less time, to allow them to save money to buy a house, a truck, or pay off debt (Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006; Marcus, 2009; Margolis, 2008). Immigration to the U.S. also becomes a feasible path in light of existing ties and social networks that have connected communities in Brazil and the United States over time, as discussed in Chapter four. For Brazilian immigrant families who have resided in the United States, this backdrop continues to be a part of their history by shaping, for example, the lives of loved ones left behind and the conditions to buy property and invest assets there. This complex scenario stresses the importance of examining and understanding Brazilian childhoods and educational lives, including those enacted in geographical locales other than their own (or the parents') homeland.

Brazilian immigrants & Racial Constructions

Brazilian immigrants arrive in the U.S. with formed (but unstable) understandings of what constitutes a Brazilian national identity and ideas of racial classification that are different from those found there (Martes, 2003; Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006). These understandings undergo processes of reproduction and transformation upon immigration. The literature shows that many Brazilians struggled with or outright rejected U.S. racial and ethnic categories which prescribe racial differences to strict binaries, such as white/black, and white/nonwhite (Marrow, 2003; Becker, 2006; Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006). In Brazil, there are multiple racial categories with groupings fragmented into different shades of skin color and inextricably linked to

socioeconomic status (Marrow, 2003). However, embedded in the Brazilian racial continuum is a hierarchy of desirability that favors whiteness. Looking at the differences in how Brazil and the U.S. have historically treated race, Marrow explained:

[I]n the USA blackness has been defined and solidified historically by the one-drop-of-blood rule of hypodescent, so that anyone with any African ancestry at all is defined as 'black', or at least 'not white', whereas in Brazil blackness has been defined by a different 'one-drop' rule, so that anyone with any European ancestry at all is defined as 'potentially white', or at least 'not black'. This has made whiteness a much more inclusive category in Brazil than in the USA. (p. 428)

Thus, many Brazilian immigrants self-identify as white when asked about their racial identities, including in the U.S. Census, possibly drawing on the meaning of “non-black” in Brazil (Marrow, 2003; Becker, 2006). Brazilian immigrants may also choose to identify as white due to perceptions of higher-class status associated with lighter skin color in Brazil (Marrow, 2003). Siqueira and Lourenço (2006) identified other trends in the ethnic and racial identities of Brazilian immigrants in Massachusetts. First, the authors found that many Brazilians tended to conflate the concepts of race, ethnicity, and nationality; with an overt preference to self-define on the grounds of *nationality* rather than racially or ethnically. This may be related to how race has been traditionally overlooked in Brazil, with widespread assumptions that racial issues are confined to the past or were “resolved” by miscegenation, making the country a racial democracy. Brazilians in the study also tended to overlook their African or Indigenous heritage, rarely describing themselves as mixed race, despite their skin color and cultural backgrounds.

Furthermore, the origins, official census use, and popular use of the Hispanic and Latino classification are intertwined with racialized treatments in the U.S. context, having a strong racial

basis and embedded immigrant analogy (Marrow, 2003). Therefore, many Brazilians resist this identification to escape its stigmatization in the imaginary of U.S. society, with visions of low socioeconomic status, racial discrimination, and the immigrant condition. Scholars posited that Brazilian immigrants frequently construct ethnic identities in the United States on the grounds of opposition, under a “we are not like them” premise (Machado, 2015; Martes, 2003; Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006). Here, “them” refers to other immigrant groups, particularly Hispanics. When differentiating themselves from Spanish-speaking groups, Brazilian immigrants often describe themselves as a unique ethnic group based on language (speaking Portuguese), colonial history (Brazil was the only country colonized by the Portuguese in Latin America), and nationalism (Marrow, 2003; Martes, 2003; Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006; Tosta, 2004). Siqueira and Lourenço (2006) indicated that “othering” Hispanics may also be a strategy that benefits Brazilians in the competition for jobs in the informal economy against other immigrant groups. The authors also suggested that there may be a lack of clarity among Brazilians around U.S. categories such as Latino, Hispanic, Latin American, black, and white. Yet, foregrounding a national identity, as opposed to racial or ethnic ones, may also be a strategy to enable unity and survival against ongoing marginalization (Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006).

These dynamics are compounded by other factors that complicate the racial and ethnic identifications of Brazilian immigrants in the United States. For example, there are tensions among official definitions (e.g. US Census) of Brazilians as non-Hispanics/Latinos, Brazilians’ own self-identification logics as non-Hispanic (and often non-Latinos), and U.S. natives’ perceptions of Brazilians as Hispanics/Latinos. There is widespread consensus that Brazilian immigrants have been consistently undercounted in formal measures (Marcelli et al., 2009; Marcus, 2009; Margolis, 1995; Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006). Siqueira and Lourenço (2006)

suggested that a possible reason for this was that Brazil was not mentioned as a choice for country of origin under the categories Hispanic, Latino, or South American. Brazilians are “officially defined as both non-Hispanic (as of 1980) and non-Latino (as of 2000) on the U.S. census” (Marrow, 2003, p. 431). The vague language in the census has relegated Brazilians to an ambiguous position, (unintentionally) opening spaces for self-identifications as White, Other South Americans, Other Hispanic, or Latino. This undermines the counting of Brazilian immigrants, corroborating their invisibility and perpetuating the lack of services that target this group’s specific needs. Another reason for this traditional undercount in the census may be the high number of undocumented Brazilians in the U.S. who are less likely to participate in formal counts and surveys (Rubinstein-Avila, 2005; Becker, 2006; Marcelli et al., 2009).

U.S. natives frequently do not differentiate Brazil (and Brazilians) from Hispanic countries (Machado, 2015). They often draw on linguistic, geographic, and racial logic to fit Brazilians within the boundaries of the Hispanic/Latino pan-ethnicity (Marrow, 2003). Since they are assigned to a specific racial and ethnic grouping (non-white, Hispanic or Latino) despite their own understandings of race, ethnicity, and their self-identifications, Brazilian immigrants are racialized. Racialization consists of an ideological and historically-specific process in which a previously racially unclassified group, social practice, or relationship comes to be attributed racial meaning (Omi & Winant, 1994). The racialization of Brazilian immigrants highlights that racial categories and the meanings of race operate in specific social relations and historical contexts. In this study, participants—including children, caregivers, and teachers, described themselves as Brazilian, foregrounding a national identification rather than racial or ethnic identities. How Brazilian immigrant communities are perceived and racialized constitute a

significant border that young Brazilian immigrant children traverse every day in U.S. schools, including in TWI programs designed to better serve them.

Conceptual Framework

Renewed attention to the schooling experiences and literacy practices of children and youth with immigrant status is reflected in the recent “*trans-* turn” in scholarship (Machado & Hartman, 2021). This movement aims to disrupt historical borders and binaries that too often have been used to frame the lives of this student population in the education research literature (Sánchez & Machado-Casas, 2009). Despite the widespread proliferation of TWI programs in the U.S. in recent years, few studies have accounted for the education experiences of racialized bilingual students in TWI settings in ways that acknowledge their transborder lives and agentic practices (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2021; Lima Becker & Oliveira, 2022; Pacheco & Hamilton, 2020). Instead, bilingual education research has traditionally focused on issues of program design and the effects of TWI programming on students’ academic achievement as measured through standardized tests (Brutt-Griffler & Jang, 2019; de Jong, 2014; Lindholm-Leary & Howard, 2008; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010; Marian et al., 2013; Padilla et al., 2013; Padilla et al., 2022). In the past, the field of immigration studies traditionally dismissed the roles and agency of young children as “baggage” (Orellana et al., 2001) or “citizens in the making” who lack the consensual identifications that would enable them to meaningfully engage in their communities (Bhabha, 2009). At the intersection of and contributing to both fields, immigration and bilingual education, this dissertation draws from critical, decolonial, and Global South²

² While critiques are important about labeling Global North and Global South as comprehensive categories, I have been intentional about using frameworks that are the closest to children’s experiences in a concerted effort not to simply impose U.S.-only or Eurocentric conceptualizations of mobility and childhood.

frames to center on Portuguese-speaking Brazilian immigrant children, a largely understudied population, as they navigate their day-to-day lives in a newly-implemented TWI program.

The conceptual framework used in this dissertation has one overarching lens: critical perspectives on (immigrant) childhood, which position the child as knowing subject (Luttrell, 2010, 2020; Pufall & Unsworth, 2004; Orellana, 2009) and the immigrant child as protagonist in transnational migration processes (Dreby, 2007; Glockner & Álvarez, 2021; Orellana et al., 2001). Upon this foundation, I leverage three conceptual pillars in my analysis and interpretation of the data: 1) the transborder lens (Gallo, 2021a, 2021b; Gallo & Corral, forthcoming) and the related concept of politicized funds of knowledge (Gallo & Link, 2015, 2016; Gallo et al., 2019); 2) Brazilian sociological theorizing on inequality and Brazilian childhoods (Arenhart, 2016); and 3) Conceptions of care (Luttrell, 2010, 2013; 2020), space, and place (Massey, 1991, 1995).

The first pillar—or transborder approaches and politicized funds of knowledge—centers young children as transborder thinkers who develop and deploy multifaceted experiences and knowledges on the margins within and across national systems, some of which are silenced as taboo in their schooling. For the second pillar, I leverage the conceptualization of inequality by Brazilian sociologist Deise Arenhart to stress *desigualdade de classe* (socioeconomic inequality) in the meanings that Brazilian children attribute to their experiences and im/material condition across borders. Children in Brazil experience compounding inequalities along intersecting axes of difference; and socioeconomic inequality has been theorized as a salient mechanism that has historically curtailed their rights and been imbricated with racial discrimination in the Brazilian context (Arenhart, 2016; Souza, 2005). The third and final pillar points to immigrant children’s “care-full” lives—or their existence in expansive networks of care as agents responsible for their own and others’ well-being. Manifestations of immigrant children’s care-full lives may include

their engagement in language brokering (Alvarez, 2017; Dorner et al., 2008; Gallo, 2014; García-Sánchez, 2014; Orellana, 2009) or translation/interpreting work to support family and community members. During remote learning at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, immigrant children's care-full lives became more visible and entangled with their bilingual schooling. Young immigrant children's care-full lives span their social worlds, and these social worlds unfold across multiple places, or sites of human activity, interaction, and meaning-making. These three pillars, grounded on a critical orientation to (immigrant) childhood, are tied to salient themes that emerged during my prolonged fieldwork with a group of 70 Brazilian immigrant children in their TWI classrooms and have informed the processes of data analysis.

Overview of Methods

This study takes place within the Brazilian community in Parker City (pseudonym) in Massachusetts, a city where over 41% of households speak a language other than English (U.S. Census, 2020) and where over 6,600 foreign-born Brazilians reside (Granberry & Agarwal, 2022). The research site for this dissertation study is a Portuguese-English TWI program established in 2018-2019 at Parker Elementary School (pseudonym). This dissertation project consists of an ethnographic study (Emerson et al., 2011) with a multimodal approach (Flewitt, 2011) conducted over three school calendar years. To conduct my dissertation study, I built on relationships forged with teachers, students, and families during my involvement in the larger mixed-methods research project (Principal Investigator: Dr. Gabrielle Oliveira) that afforded me entry into Parker Elementary in 2018 and authorization to stay in the district as a field researcher until spring 2021. My identities as a former language teacher in the Brazilian Northeast, a recent immigrant from Brazil, and a native Portuguese speaker have also allowed me to build strong rapport in the community, including with students, caregivers, and teachers in the TWI program.

For this study, I explored the education experiences of 87 children spread across four TWI classrooms during three calendar years (August 2018 – May 2021), from the beginning of their studies in kindergarten and first grade up until the end of their school year in second grade and third grade, respectively. From this cohort of 87 students, 70 children had a recent Brazilian immigrant background, being either first-generation (i.e., born in Brazil and later migrated to the U.S.) or second-generation (e.g., born in the U.S. to one or more Brazilian parents) immigrants. The data used in this dissertation was generated by two fieldworkers (myself and the project PI, Dr. Gabrielle Oliveira). Data sources include: 1) 3-4 hours of weekly participant observations (Emerson et al., 2011) in person (August 2018 – early March 2020) and online (September 2020 – March 2021) (~500 hrs. total). During these observations, we took fieldnotes, had informal conversations with the children, and collected artifacts (e.g., samples of written assignments, drawings, video assignments); 2) Participant observations at 10 schoolwide events and staff meetings (~30 hrs.); 3) 22 qualitative semi-structured interviews (Weiss, 1994) with 17 school staff members (~26 hrs. of audio-recording); and 4) life story interviews (Rios, 2011) with 8 Brazilian immigrant caregivers (~15 hrs. of audio-recording). Data for this dissertation spanned two pre-pandemic school years and TWI students' seven months of fully remote instruction due to the nationwide school closures to mitigate the spread of the Covid-19 virus.

Data analysis for this project has involved an iterative approach combining inductive and deductive thematic coding (Miles et al., 2014). The analysis of field notes of participant observation at the school (in bilingual classrooms and school events) and interview transcripts involved cross-case comparison, a search for discrepant data, and an emphasis on recurring patterns (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Site artifacts went through a process of visual analysis (Luttrell, 2010). I also composed portraits of eight children based on informal conversations with

the children and the life story interviews with their parents or caregivers. I provide details on my methodological approach in Chapter four.

Significance of the Study

This study offers theoretical, methodological, and applied implications that can help educational researchers and TWI stakeholders in their efforts to provide an equitable education to immigrant students. This study adds to the field of education for culturally and linguistically diverse students by taking as its starting point young immigrant students' agency, resistance to dynamics of silence and invisibility, resourcefulness, and generative position of in-betweenness. This adds complexity to the theorizing of funds of knowledge research (Moll et al., 1992), answering critiques that studies from this tradition have often issued vague calls to build on minoritized students' cultural and linguistic knowledge and based their inquiry on superficial knowledge about non-dominant communities (García-Sánchez & Orellana, 2019). In terms of methodology, this project also provides contributions by intertwining a range of methods of data generation (e.g., participant observation, semi-structured interviews, artifacts) centered on what young immigrant children did and said as they went about their daily lives in their TWI program. Centering on the children and deploying various methods of data generation are needed to better explore the complexities and nuances of their bilingual education experiences.

This research also has the potential to contribute to policymakers, school districts interested in implementing TWI programming, and K-5 educators who serve culturally and linguistically diverse student populations. First, the insights from this project can contribute to the improvement of language education policy in the state of Massachusetts in ways that are attuned to language-minoritized students' needs and strengths. They can also inform the implementation of new TWI programs nationwide, as this model continues to grow in popularity.

Second, by elucidating Brazilian immigrant students' transborder knowledges, experiences, and lenses, this study can inform culturally sustaining TWI curriculum, instruction, and assessment. Finally, this study can be used in school professional development sessions aimed to prepare ideologically clear (bilingual) teachers (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). Ideologically clear educators critically reflect on how their belief systems uphold or disrupt unjust social orders and actively work toward continually developing a critical consciousness of their students' funds of knowledge. The findings of this dissertation project promote dialogue and reflection on the complex ways in which institutional demands, educators' practices, and local social structures shape the experiences of young immigrant students.

Roadmap of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters. Chapter one provides an overview of the study, situating it in the broader social context of increased Brazilian immigration to the U.S. and the need to learn from Brazilian immigrant children's knowledges and lived experiences. Chapter two describes the conceptual framework used in this dissertation, focusing on explaining the overarching lens, critical perspectives on childhood, and the three conceptual pillars used in this dissertation: 1) politicized funds of knowledge and transborder approaches; 2) inequality and Brazilian childhoods; and 3) care, space, and place. Chapter three reviews the existing literature that informs and dialogues with this dissertation study, such as developments in the fields of immigration and bilingual education. Furthermore, Chapter four explains the ethnographic approach taken in this dissertation project, including the research sites, participants, methods of data generation, and analytic plan for the study.

The study findings are presented in Chapters five, six and seven. Chapter five focuses on Brazilian immigrant children's role as TWI implementers through everyday practices enacted

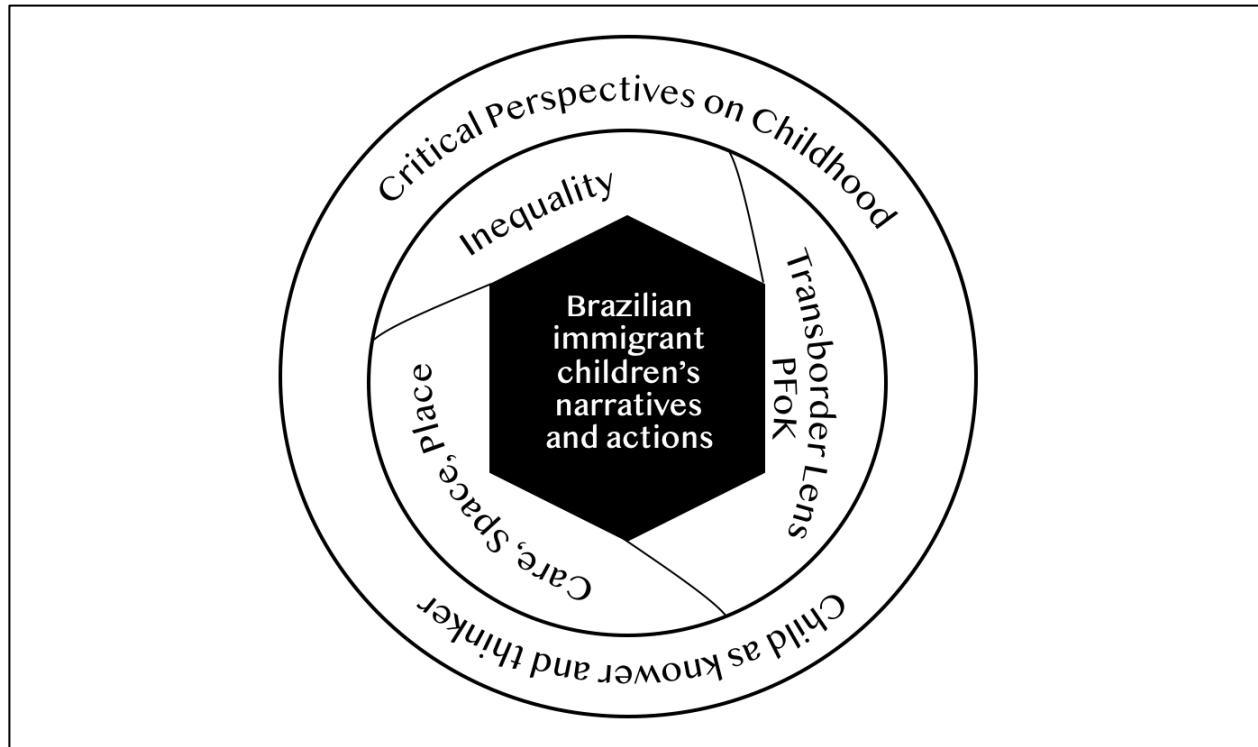
across “English” and “Portuguese” instructional time, namely language brokering and the sharing of transborder memories during instruction. In this chapter, I also share insights on how TWI educators and school staff members perceived Brazilian immigrant children’s roles and participation in the new language program. Chapter six explores children’s co-creation of spaces to develop, deploy, and make sense of their transborder experiences and politicized funds of knowledge. I also juxtapose children’s complex narratives in liminal, less supervised spaces in their bilingual classrooms (such as during group work at their desks) with educators’ awareness of and ambivalence to incorporate these students’ questions and interests in their teaching. Chapter seven is dedicated to the data collected exclusively during remote learning at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, and reports on how students carved out spaces to “be themselves” (following Marcela’s quote above) in a new architecture that blurred the lines between bilingual education and control (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2021). The goal of Chapter seven is not to compare students’ experiences before and during the pandemic, but to showcase a unique subset of the data collected during the pandemic that generates further insights into a group of Brazilian immigrant students’ experiences of education. Chapter eight highlights my main findings and issues a call for an emphasis on childhoods, as opposed to language-as-subject (Valdés, 2018), in TWI education. I also share this study’s implications for classroom teaching, teacher education, policy, and future research.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the overarching lens and specific concepts that have informed the design of this study and the analysis of the data about the education experiences of Brazilian TWI students in one elementary school in the United States. The framework that I assembled is grounded upon critical perspectives on childhood as the overarching lens through which I situate and engage with three specific conceptual pillars. The pillars include: 1) transborder approaches (Gallo, 2021a; Gallo & Corral, forthcoming) and politicized funds of knowledge (Gallo & Link, 2015, 2016); 2) Brazilian childhoods and inequality (Arenhart, 2016); and 3) perspectives on care, space, and place (Luttrell, 2010, 2013, 2020; Massey, 1991, 1995; Relph, 1993). I dedicate the first section in this chapter to revisiting critical perspectives on childhood and then zeroing in on critical studies on immigrant childhoods specifically. Next, I discuss the origins, theorizing, and empirical studies based on transborder approaches and the concept of politicized funds of knowledge. Following this, I turn to empirical and conceptual studies about Brazilian children and inequality as theorized by Brazilian scholars. Finally, I discuss care, followed by space and place, as crucial constructs to understanding the “full” lives of children with recent histories of migration from Brazil. See Figure 1 below, modeled after Luttrell (2010), for a representation of the overarching lens and the three specific conceptual pillars used in this dissertation.

Figure 1*Overarching Lens and Conceptual Pillars*

The juxtaposition of these conceptual pillars, and with an overarching critical orientation to the child as knower and thinker (Gallo, 2021a; Luttrell, 2010, p. 231), attunes my analysis to the knowledges and practices that young immigrant children develop and deploy as they navigate contexts of liminality and power differences across their multiple social worlds. In this research, I am particularly interested in how these knowledges and practices factor into the social world of schooling, particularly in a newly-implemented TWI program envisioned to better serve the local Brazilian immigrant community. In the next section, I explain the overarching lens that guides this study, namely critical perspectives on childhood and recent theorizing on immigrant childhoods.

Critical Perspectives on Childhood

Children have traditionally been positioned in social science research as “innocent victims” or “becomings,” as opposed to fully human beings (Pufall & Unsworth, 2004). Countering this tradition, studies that take on a critical perspective on childhood position children as resourceful agents of social transformation (James & Prout, 1990; Luttrell, 2020; Pufall & Unsworth, 2004; Orellana, 2009). From this critical perspective, children are interpreters and inventors of culture as opposed to mere targets of adult socialization. Additionally, Luttrell (2020) posited that studies in the U.S. working from a critical perspective on childhood must address the legacy of slavery, institutional racism, and colorism that shape who is granted the protected status of “child.” This perspective compels critical childhood scholars to attend to the racialized ways of seeing and differentiating historically minoritized children across their social worlds, including formal schooling. This consideration is important in this study given the widespread discourses in the U.S. that have historically constructed Latin American immigrants and their children as burdens or impending threats (Chavez, 2008; Heidbrink, 2020).

According to Punch (2002), “there has been a tendency to perceive research with children as one of two extremes: just the same or entirely different from adults” (p. 322). In the first approach, which has been a mainstay in social science research, scholars run the risk of not addressing the relationships and power arrangements between children and adult researchers (Simões & Lima, 2016). The second approach means that researchers need to spend prolonged amounts of time with children to try to understand their realities. This approach has engendered attempts to reduce adult authority in research settings, including the “peer culture tradition” (Spyrou, 2011, p. 4), which encourages researchers to minimize adult-like features and

behaviors while conducting participant observation to facilitate their immersion into children's activities (Mandell, 1988; Harwood, 2010). However, attempts to reduce adult authority have been challenged by critical scholars who argue that researchers must acknowledge that children occupy a subordinated role in relation to adults (Spyrou, 2011). Confronting these power asymmetries, taking on a critical perspective on childhood compel scholars to position themselves as *wanting to learn from children*, as adult researchers lack the knowledge that children have about their own childhood (Oliveira & Gallo, 2021; Spyrou, 2011; Harwood, 2010). This also entails studying children “for who they are in the moment, in their own terms” (Luttrell, 2020, p. 23).

Global South scholarship also elucidates different ways in which children and childhoods have been conceptualized and critiqued the normative image of “Minority World childhoods” (Lacy, 2015; Punch, 2000) in which children only play and attend school (Arenhart, 2016; Honorato, 2016; Sarmiento & Tomás, 2020). For example, Punch's (2000) ethnographic study with children and youth in rural Bolivia showed how they used strategies to affirm their autonomy, negotiating the use of time and space in the community to create play spaces. This negotiation unfolded in a context characterized by unequal power relations between adults and children and the work demands imposed on children in rural areas (Punch, 2000). The author stressed that the experiences of integrating work, school, and play--described in connection to children in a rural community in Bolivia--reflect the experiences of most children in the world. This analysis adds complexity to critical perspectives on childhood theorized from Global North standpoints.

Critical Perspectives on Immigrant Childhoods

The voices and experiences of immigrant children offer unique insights into the social invention of childhood and defy normative beliefs about socialization and child development (Orellana, 2009). Studies taking on a critical perspective on childhood position young children as powerful participants in migration processes (Dreby, 2007, Moskal, 2014; Orellana et al., 2001). For example, Dreby (2007) investigated the impacts of parental migration on Mexican children who stayed in Mexico (ages 5-15). The author identified four typical responses to parental migration that affected the emotional state of the adults in the children's lives, leading to decisions that shaped families' migration trajectories. Children's responses included: 1) "naming" caregivers (but not migrant mothers) with endearment terms such as *mamá*; 2) feigning indifference about their parents, pointing to children's views of their parents as not living up to their expectations; 3) deferring to caregivers for permission, even when parents return to visit or permanently; and 4) refusing to migrate to be reunited with their parents. Dreby (2007) showed that children in Mexico were deeply affected by their parents' absences, but they were not powerless in their families; instead, they were influential in their families' migration decisions and trajectories.

Scholars have also explored how the childhoods enacted in contexts of migration and mobility diverge from those of U.S.-born children whose families have resided in the country for generations. For instance, researchers have shown that transborder children navigate their lives with a comparative lens (Moskal, 2014; Oliveira 2018, 2019; Orellana, 2009; Tereshchenko & Araújo, 2011) or a lens of multiplicity (Gallo, 2021a). That is, they often make sense of their realities, unfolding identities, and experiences by drawing upon funds of knowledge developed across national systems. Immigrant children's lens of multiplicity is informed by a wide-ranging

web of geographical locations—as opposed to a simple binary of sending and receiving contexts—which are intertwined in their imaginations and positioned on par in terms of their attraction and accessibility (Orellana, 2016).

Immigrant childhoods are also shaped by the need to negotiate the cultural practices and traditions valued by children’s families and the cultural norms and expectations of the new country (Orellana, 2009). When discussing Moroccan immigrant children’s roles as language brokers, or translators and interpreters, in encounters between their families and institutions in Spain, García-Sánchez (2014) described a process in which children become “translators of culture” (p. 221). That is, rather than neutral interpreters, the children actively adapted their translations to reconcile the conflicting sociocultural expectations of the multiple communities that they navigated. For example, the children in the study refrained from opening up their families to institutional scrutiny when translating for doctors. They also made adaptations when speaking to their family members during translation encounters to respect generational and cultural expectations. Thus, from the position of being both insider and outsider at the same time (García-Sánchez, 2014), or straddling between cultures (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Carter, 2005), immigrant childhoods exist in the negotiation of a third way or belief system, creating a singular worldview or standpoint (Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020).

Immigrant childhoods are also enacted within diverse language and literacy milieus. New language and literacy practices are established within immigrant households in connection with new demands, such as language brokering (Dorner et al., 2008; Gallo, 2014; García-Sánchez, 2014; Orellana, 2009) and translanguaging (García, 2009; Song 2016). The latter has to do with bi/multilingual children’s and families’ flexible deployment of their full linguistic resources to facilitate communication with others and construct deeper meanings and understandings,

transcending taken-for-granted distinctions between named languages. There is also a range of literacy practices that immigrant children engage in to remain connected to their own or their parents' homelands, many of whom are not acknowledged or leveraged in U.S. schools (Compton-Lilly et al., 2019; Kwon, 2020, Lima Becker, 2021; Orellana et al., 2001).

Furthermore, Latin American scholars Glockner and Álvarez (2021) have argued that childhood is a mobile social construction that (re)produces and is produced by sociocultural processes that assemble time and space. Therefore, to understand immigrant childhoods, it is key to examine the continuities and connections among childhood experiences in spaces across geopolitical borders, but also explore the singularities that emerged in distinct territories, spaces, and material and/or imagined contexts. The authors also described children's protagonism as a situated, everyday "collective exercise," based on a web of collaboration, interdependence, and mutual acknowledgment between the children and other actors in their lives. This critical view disrupts typical approaches to seeing and raising children based on individualism, entitlement, and competition cultivated in middle-class families in the Global North (Lareau, 2011).

Taking on a critical perspective on childhood that centers on the experiences and realities of migrant children from the Global South, Glockner and Álvarez (2021) proposed that children's protagonism in contemporary migration should be analyzed and interpreted according to three dimensions. The first dimension refers to the (re)production of everyday life, which highlights that children's political gestures often occur in the intimacies of their daily lives, or moments when they politicize private spaces by assembling, negotiating, and making sense of social and collective issues. This perspective positions children's knowledges, subjectivities, strategies, and connections as key components of their everyday lives and, as such, are central to understanding contemporary migration processes. The second dimension concerns children's

construction of social spaces, including not only their everyday lives as a sociopolitical space, but also the local space, the nation-state, transnational space, and imagined space. This dimension acknowledges that young people are actors that are engaged in the construction of multi-scale spatialities and temporalities that, in turn, are linked to how they are positioned in society. The final dimension resignifies im/mobility practices from a binary to a dialectic relation that forms a continuum. This relation, while situated in specific geographies and histories, produces space(s) and is imbricated in power dynamics; as such, it offers the potential for transformation and resistance.

This dissertation centers on a group of Brazilian immigrant children as protagonists who mobilize imaginaries, lived experiences, and ties that span national borders when navigating formal schooling in a bilingual program in the U.S. The critical perspectives on (immigrant) childhoods reviewed in this section, from scholars in the Global North and the Global South, attuned my analytical approach to children's roles as social actors and to the unique facets of their experiences and narratives that connect them to broader networks across space and time. As such, a critical perspective on childhood worked an overarching lens through the participating children in this study were seen across the three analytical pillars of 1) transborder approaches and politicized funds of knowledge; 2) inequality; and 3) care, space, and place.

Transborder Approaches & Politicized Funds of Knowledge

Transborder approaches to the study of immigrant children's and youth's experiences and realities are grounded in theories of border thinking (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020; Mignolo, 2000). Mignolo's (2000) theory of border thinking builds on Anzaldúa's (1987) framing of the borderlands as a physical and geographical place but also a metaphorical condition created by the emotional residue of unnatural borders and margins based

on colonial legacies (Anzaldúa, 1987; Durán & Aguilera, 2022; Espinoza et al., 2021). From this perspective, the legacies of European colonialism—which are deeply embedded in contemporary social orders through racial, political, and social hierarchies—create epistemic borderlands where the colonial/modern global design intersects with local histories (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016). It is in this interstitial space that those who have faced the subjugation of their knowledge generate border thinking, or knowledge from a subaltern perspective that creates “a new logic that counters the hegemonic knowledge instituted through Western thought, modernity, and modern reason” (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016, p. 285). As explained by Mignolo (2020), “border thinking structures itself on a double consciousness, a double critique operating on the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system, of modernity/coloniality” (p. 87). As such, the emergence of border thinking, as a response to the legacies and perpetuation of colonial logics, allows those inhabiting marginal positions to navigate two or more epistemologies (Espinoza et al., 2021; Gallo, 2021a, 2021b).

Border thinking is a configuration that allows one to think from dichotomous concepts, generated from a dichotomous locus of enunciation (Mignolo, 2000) but that refuses to order the world through dichotomies. That is, attempts to replace Euro-western epistemologies with the socially situated knowledges of subalternized communities would only reproduce binaries of coloniality (Ghiso & Campano, 2013). According to Ghiso and Campano (2013), while border thinking centers on subalternized perspectives, it is also a form of critical inquiry that troubles any knowledge regime that creates hierarchies and is used to marginalize others. Thus, border thinking offers avenues to demystify dominant narratives, ideologies, and representations of experience through critical perspectives, the unsettling of taken-for-granted geographical demarcations, and the centering of subordinated communities’ epistemologies. Understandings

of border thinking have engendered scholarship on border literacies (Degollado et al., 2022) and border pedagogies (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016) aimed at privileging the epistemologies and ways of being derived from living on the margins and experiencing delegitimization linked to longstanding histories of colonization and hegemony.

Grounded in these understandings, a transborder lens consists of a decolonizing approach that acknowledges that movements across borders are not finite trajectories of assimilation nor linear stories about the contours of nation-states (Gallo & Corral, forthcoming; Stephen, 2007). Instead, Gallo and Corral (forthcoming) emphasized that transborder people experience an *in-betweenness* as part of their daily lives that counters mononational assumptions and generates border thinking, or subaltern knowledge. Therefore, this approach emphasizes the importance of young people's direct experiences crossing various borders—including linguistic, cultural, physical, institutional, and epistemological ones—as they generate unique forms of thinking and knowing (Gallo, 2021a; Stephen, 2007). Studies have shown, for example, how the experiences on the margins of parents in transborder families were leveraged to support their children's educational lives across borders, despite a range of institutional constraints (Gallo & Corral, forthcoming; Gallo, 2021b).

Importantly, thinking from the borders and the perspective of subalternity requires that we bring to the theoretical and analytical forefront in education research the narratives and ways of thinking that have been silenced by the Modern project but not repressed (Mignolo, 2000; Prout, 2011). This includes young children from the Global South who exert their autonomy in contexts of poverty and social inequalities (Arenhart, 2016; Pérez et al., 2017; Punch, 2000) and children on the move whose protagonism and mobility span national systems (Glockner & Álvarez, 2021; Heidbrink, 2014). Young immigrant children's lived experiences with physical

and metaphorical boundaries also generate ways of being, knowing, and thinking that embody an in-betweenness of two or more countries and a critique of mononational standards (Gallo, 2021a). As such, following Gallo's (2021a) transborder approach, immigrant children are "transborder thinkers" (p. 5) who draw on multiple experiences within and across national systems to flexibly navigate their social worlds, including formal schooling. Young children's border thinking allows them to see and understand complex intercultural dynamics, inhabit ambiguity, and connect the personal to the political (Durán & Aguilera, 2022). For example, Nuñez and Urrieta (2021) showed how a small group of *transfronterizo* children (eight years old) developed complex identities, cultural understandings, and literacies through their continued border-crossing experiences. In their daily negotiations of physical and metaphorical borders to attend school in the U.S. coming from Mexico, the children in the study strategically enacted "acceptable" border crossing identities and demonstrated a heightened surveillance consciousness, that is, close familiarity with surveillance and its functions.

Young children's transborder experiences, and the border thinking that these experiences create and embody, offer imaginative possibilities for school teaching and learning (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020; Espinoza et al., 2021). This includes pedagogical approaches that recognize and cultivate the subaltern knowledges of historically minoritized students, including their politicized knowledges and experiences (Gallo & Link, 2015; 2016; Gallo et al., 2019). The children in this study may (or may not) have traversed the physical U.S.-Mexico borderland in their journey north from Brazil, but they have experienced various metaphorical borderlands that shaped their life and learning and that were not particular to the U.S. Southwest (Anzaldúa, 1987). A transborder lens guides my analysis of Brazilian immigrant children's narratives and actions in their U.S. bilingual classrooms, pointing to the

complex ways in which they embodied an in-betweenness that countered mononational norms and generated knowledge. In what follows, I discuss recent theorizing on politicized funds of knowledge--a related intellectual asset to border thinking (Durán & Aguilera, 2022) and the transborder approach (Gallo, 2021a)--which also informs my analysis of Brazilian immigrant children's educational lives in their U.S. TWI classrooms.

Politicized Funds of Knowledge

The concept of “funds of knowledge” in the field of education was put forth by the influential work of Moll and colleagues in 1992. They explored the cultural and intellectual resources within working-class, Mexican American students’ households and classrooms. These contexts have historically been constructed through a deficit lens as providing “poor” quality experiences for children. Through their inquiry into the historical, sociopolitical, and economic context of nondominant children’s households, the authors made a case for the accumulated bodies of knowledge within those contexts. They coined the term “funds of knowledge” to refer to the broad, varied bodies of knowledge and skills that are essential for household or individual daily life, which have been historically accumulated and culturally ingrained. Importantly, Moll and colleagues (1992) stressed two key characteristics of students’ households: first, the “thick” nature of their networks. Here, a child is acknowledged to nurture multi-stranded relationships, making the “teachers” in home-based contexts have a holistic knowledge of the child from spheres of activity and identities beyond that of “student.” Second, the social relationships in the home and community contexts are based on reciprocity, which establishes obligations between individuals and creates conditions for mutual trust and long-term ties. The authors explained that children’s interactions with family and community members encompassed not only the execution of practical activities but also engendered learning contexts spurred through children’s interests

and questions (Moll et al., 2012). This groundbreaking study founded a scholarship tradition that aims at bridging the home and community practices, resources, and histories of non-dominant students with dominant school ones in meaningful ways that can inform pedagogy and curricula (Bartolomé, 2011; Denton & Borrego, 2021; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014).

In recent years, scholars have acknowledged the powerful contributions that the funds of knowledge tradition have generated to the field of education, but also identified limitations in how the approach has been applied in education research. For example, “funds of knowledge” studies have been critiqued for at times issuing vague calls to recognize and build on minoritized students’ cultural and linguistic knowledge and base their inquiry on superficial knowledge about non-dominant communities (García-Sánchez & Orellana, 2019). Paris (2012) argued that assumptions among researchers and practitioners that construct a direct and universal correlation between race, ethnicity, language, and cultural ways of being led to the simplification of resource pedagogies, including the funds of knowledge scholarship. Consequently, education stakeholders have been asked to incorporate minoritized students’ home-based practices in classroom teaching without also considering how these practices are everchanging and dynamic. Scholars have also indicated that funds of knowledge studies have tended to focus on less controversial topics, such as auto mechanics and carpentry, evading pressing issues for immigrant children that are rarely talked about in classrooms, such as documentation status (Gallo & Link, 2015). Countering this trend, Gallo & Link (2015) argued that children’s experiences and narratives of immigration are starting points for learning, constituting manifestations of their *politicized funds of knowledge*. These funds of knowledge refer to “the real-world experiences, knowledges, and skills that young people deploy and develop across contexts of learning that are often positioned as taboo or unsafe to incorporate into classroom learning” (p. 361).

Children of all ages are aware of issues related to immigration and migratory status and are grappling with their effects (Gallo, 2014; Gallo & Link, 2015; Mangual Figueroa, 2011; Oliveira, 2018; Racherbaumer & Machado, 2020). Mangual Figueroa's (2011) ethnographic study of mixed-status Mexican families focused on how they negotiated school and home definitions of citizenship during homework completion routines. The author found that focal families talked about citizenship when children brought school documents into the home that contained allusions to the term (e.g., citizenship grade) and evaluations of academic achievement. These documents led parents to initiate conversations that intertwined the child's migratory status, their school achievement, and possible future outcomes as undocumented individuals in the U.S. Mangual Figueroa also found that elementary school officials were unaware of the meaning that families attributed to "citizenship" in their school correspondence. Here, school officials focused on the language of school documents sent home (e.g., English, Spanish), considering instances of miscommunication to be issues of language proficiency, rather than due to the different meanings of citizenship at stake in migrant families' homes and school bureaucracy. Although this study did not use the frame of politicized funds of knowledge, its findings suggest that children are developing politicized funds of knowledge from everyday interactions with family members at home.

The pedagogical potential of tapping into politicized topics of pressing relevance in children's lives has also been stressed in the literature (Brownell, 2022; Brownell & Rashid, 2020; Durán & Aguilera, 2022; Payne & Journell, 2019; Rousseau et al., 2003). For example, Payne and Journell (2019) showed how a white fifth-grade teacher serving primarily students of color helped them make sense of contentious issues that they brought up in her classroom in the wake of the 2016 U.S. presidential election. The teacher allocated time and space for students to

make robust connections to current issues and openly referenced immigration status, race, and gender, despite receiving parental pushback at times. Drawing on this teacher's classroom practices, the authors recommended that other elementary teachers address contentious politics and engage students in controversial issues through "caring relationships anchored in identity recognition, purposeful and recursive pedagogical spaces, and by responsive teaching that engages current contentious political issues" (p. 77). Gallo and colleagues (2019) argued that elementary school civic education could be reimaged and built around students' politicized experiences, rather than focusing on their knowledge of civics and facts about U.S. history and government. The authors proposed a vision of civic education that taps into students' experiences, includes critical issues and controversies, provides opportunities for interactive learning, builds knowledge of young students' rights and responsibilities, and carefully considers labels (e.g., citizen).

When children from mixed-status families remain silent around issues such as migratory status in schools, this may be linked to their growing awareness of circulating discourses that negatively construct immigrants and worry that their classrooms are unsafe spaces to share their experiences (Gallo & Link, 2015, 2016; Mangual Figueroa, 2017). Despite this fear, studies of immigrant children's experiences in U.S. schools revealed that these students "were searching for safe spaces and caring adults to help them navigate immigration experiences" (Gallo & Link, 2016, p. 187). However, a major challenge to having young students' immigration experiences recognized and tapped into for learning purposes in schools has to do with how educators feel about children's politicized funds of knowledge. For example, Gallo and Link (2016) explored seven elementary school teachers' perspectives on immigration practices (e.g., enforcement of deportation-based immigration policies) and schooling. They found that the teachers differed in

their awareness of the immigration practices taking place in the community—with upper-elementary teachers being more aware of these practices—and had insecurities about how to approach the topic of immigration with students. The authors indicated that teachers’ responses fell along a continuum from “avoidance of” to “acknowledgment of” to “entry into” borderland places and spaces, or in their willingness to push beyond their comfort zones to take on new roles, learn from students, and find avenues to draw on children’s knowledges (Gallo & Link, 2016). For educators in the “avoidance” end, there was a confluence of misinformation about how to navigate immigration status and schooling (e.g., mandated reporting as including disclosure of students’ unauthorized status) and the belief that schools should focus only on academics rather than “personal issues.” Teachers who “acknowledged” the borderlands supported students who experienced difficult family situations and were sensitive to how immigration status affected their students’ lives, but they felt unsure of how to approach the topic without overstepping perceived boundaries. The only teacher in the study who was described as “entering” the borderlands developed relationships of *confianza*, or mutual trust, with students, created learning spaces that built on their personal experiences, and engaged in difficult conversations with them to learn about issues affecting their performance at school. Gallo and Link (2016) argued for reimagining teachers as border crossers in the classroom on issues of immigration, issuing a call for teacher education to prepare teachers to cross lines of difference based on immigration status and address issues of power and inequity.

Politicized funds of knowledge are often developed through direct experiences crossing physical and metaphorical borders (Nuñez & Urrieta, 2021). They can be indicative of how young people draw on and make sense of their varied experiences living and learning within and across national systems (Gallo, 2021a). These funds of knowledge may also work to undermine

mononational dominant narratives. For this reason, these related intellectual assets stand as a crucial conceptual pillar that guides my analysis of Brazilian immigrant children's experiences in their TWI classrooms. In the next section, I turn to the second conceptual pillar of this research, based on Brazilian scholarship on childhood and inequality, reviewing theoretical developments.

Brazilian Children & (In)equality

During my fieldwork, Brazilian immigrant children often invoked memories of lived experiences in Brazil (pre-migration) that were not acknowledged or approached in classroom instruction. These narratives included children's perceptions of political corruption, encounters with and fear of violence, and experiences with poverty in Brazil. The children also compared their experiences of im/material inequalities in Brazil with those endured in the U.S., despite (and at times imbricated with) the promises of economic prosperity to be found upon migration (see Chapter 6). When narrating these stories, the children deployed a lens of multiplicity (Gallo, 2021a) that foregrounded inequality. They also articulated facets of their complex politicized funds of knowledge (Gallo & Link, 2015), since these narratives escaped more acceptable or school-sanctioned narratives of immigration for children, such as missing one's family and/or familiar places. In this section, I focus on the Brazilian context to consider the meanings and experiences of inequality in childhoods enacted there. This can further illuminate the complexities of Brazilian immigrant children's narratives in their bilingual program in the U.S.

According to Rosemberg (2006), young children ages 0 to 6 comprised the populational segment with the highest percentage of poverty and extreme poverty, associated with the worst social indicators in Brazil. Homes and families with children aged 0 to 6 in Brazil also occupied a disadvantaged position in comparison to families that did not have young children in their households, pointing to the need for governmental programs directed at Brazilian pre-school-

aged children. Rosenberg (2006) argued that the alarming rates of poverty experienced by this group reflect the focus on economic and social policies that prioritize the production and administration of wealth to the detriment of social reproduction. For several Brazilian families with young children who migrate to wealthier nations such as the U.S. to escape poverty and other compounding forms of inequality, it is crucial to consider how pre-migration conditions, resources, and experiences have shaped their children's perceptions, knowledge, and practices.

In an ethnographic study focusing on the childhood cultures and realities of Brazilian children who dwell in Brazil, sociologist Arenhart (2016) positioned *desigualdades de classe*, or socioeconomic inequalities, along with generational exclusion, to be important mechanisms that curtail the rights afforded to Brazilian children. Here, Arenhart elaborated on the conception of inequality from sociologist Bernard Lahire (2003) by adopting a historical and critical approach and stressing the centrality of socioeconomic disparities to grasp the dynamics of inequality in Brazil. Precisely, she explained that “difference becomes inequality when, in a historical process, it has been defined that they (the differences) influence in the greater or lesser access to goods, opportunities, practices, products that collectively have been defined as desirable” (p. 39-40). As such, inequality can only be perceived as such in light of what has been collectively defined as desirable to all. Arenhart (2016) explained that Brazil has grappled with the legacy of social, economic, and cultural expropriation, attached to different historical moments (e.g., slavery, the Industrial Revolution) that have led to the intensification of the social inequalities found today. According to the author, these different moments in Brazilian history created conditions that prevented large numbers of Brazilian children, living in poverty, from experiencing childhoods that follow normative ideals dictated in the Modern project. These normative ideals establish that childhoods are to be grounded upon protection and separation from the adult world, consisting of

a time when children are expected to only study and play, in preparation to eventually “become” productive participants in society, and have their needs attended by their family and school. In contrast, several children in Brazil are actively involved in ensuring their own and their families’ survival, such as through labor in factories, fields, and streets of urban centers, and by engaging in domestic chores and caring for younger siblings.

Arenhart (2016) argued for the analysis of Brazilian children’s contemporary social condition in relation to the contexts where they are located and to the lived experiences and meanings that they attribute to their childhoods and their material conditions. As such, it is key to understand and examine the dynamics of inequality--which position children differently vis-à-vis access to symbolic and material goods--and sociocultural differences from the perspectives of children themselves. Although Arenhart’s work focused on Brazilian childhoods lived in Brazil, I draw on her theorizing to foreground the critical role of socioeconomic disparities in Brazilian children’s perceptions of social worlds. I argue that Brazilian immigrant children’s experiences with im/material inequalities, which were developed within and across national systems, shape how they perceive and navigate their lives in the United States. Attuning to Brazilian children’s understandings of inequality in the context of migration and im/mobility can generate insights that contribute to addressing social inequalities, which is vital to fomenting a democratic perspective in schools that opposes injustice and oppression (Kramer, 2006).

In the next section, I discuss scholarship from the field of geography that attend to the linkages between care, space, and place--comprising the final conceptual pillar used in this study to interpret Brazilian immigrant children’s experiences and narratives in their U.S. classrooms.

Care, Space, & Place

Care work has been culturally and historically devalued and rendered invisible as the feminized, private work of home and is disproportionally carried out by ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women (Duffy, 2011; Lawson, 2007). Scholarly interest in issues of care has been growing in recent years in various fields, including human geography (Hanrahan & Smith, 2018; McEwan & Goodman, 2010; Milligan et al., 2007), migration studies (Dwyer, 2004; Heidbrink, 2020), and education (Ghiso, 2016; Kwon, 2020). From the field of geography, Conradson (2003) defined care as a set of relations and practices that shape human geographies beyond typical sites of care provision, involving complex negotiations of trust, disclosure, and vulnerability. Lawson (2007) argued that care has relational, spatially extensive, and public dimensions, creating power-laden arrangements and spatialities (i.e., geographies). From this stance, “care is woven into the fabric of particular social spaces and communities, at times supporting individuals and facilitating their well-being; at times breaking down and leaving significant gaps; and often requiring very significant amounts of effort” (Conradson, 2003, p. 453). From this perspective, I understand Brazilian immigrant children to have *care-full* lives, or lives as social actors who take up responsibility to enhance their own and others’ well-being—a process that is based on and further develops social relationships of mutuality and trust.

Children’s engagement in care work has traditionally been ignored, as they are often constructed as in need of protection (Arenhart, 2016) and the mere target of caring practices. However, immigrant children are actively engaged in collective processes described by Luttrell (2013) as “‘helping’, ‘wanting to help’ and ‘expressing gratitude for care received’” (p. 306). Immigrant children’s care work has been documented to involve, for example, performing domestic chores and caring for younger siblings as well as language brokering for family and

community members who do not speak the societal dominant language (Gallo, 2014; García-Sánchez, 2014; Dorner et al., 2008; Orellana, 2009). Luttrell (2020) introduced the concept of “choreographies of care” (p. 5)—or the people, rhythms, and routines involved in the daily reproduction of care—to account for the centrality of children in care arrangements. The author elucidated the care work performed by the children themselves as they grew up in poor and working-class families, some with recent histories of migration, and attended under-resourced schools. Luttrell showed that care work was framed by the children as a positive practice of mutuality and interdependence. Children’s accounts and photographs also pointed to their admiration for those who cared for them. Heidbrink (2020) explored how Indigenous Guatemalan youth engaged in diverse forms of migration (e.g., seasonal, regional, rural-to-urban, transnational) as a means of household well-being, family survival, and intergenerational caregiving. Subverting depictions of children as left behind in the Global South or beneficiaries of caregiving in the Global North, the author positioned the youth as “agents of transnational caregiving” (p. 34) through their decision to migrate, unpaid care work, and financial contributions to their families. Heidbrink explained that Indigenous children in Guatemala contribute to their household economies from a young age (e.g., helping in family businesses, domestic labor, and childcare), and these experiences generate knowledge and skills, and instill work ethics. Importantly, these early experiences—which establish cultural norms, social obligations, and belonging within kinship networks—entangled youth’s social agency in interdependent social networks (Heidbrink, 2020; Bellino, 2017).

In U.S. schooling, where neoliberal ideals of individualism and competition are often encouraged (Luttrell, 2013; Yoon & Templeton, 2019), immigrant children’s care-full lives are not only devalued but are also seen as outside of the parameters of normative developmental

trajectories (Dorner et al., 2008). Valenzuela (1999), for example, showed that non-Latino high school teachers were concerned with “non-personal” content and expected Mexican students to show that they “care about” schooling through a commitment to ideas and practices that could lead to academic achievement. However, immigrant youth were “committed to an authentic form of caring that emphasizes relations of reciprocity between teachers and students” (p. 61), that is, a form of caring that nurtures and values relationships. Similarly, Luttrell (2013) posited that poor and working-class children develop capabilities and achievements through sustained involvement in family care work, but these affordances go unrecognized or are viewed in deficit terms in schools. The author showed that children assembled visions and valuations that resisted widespread discourses that devalue care, suggesting that “what brokers children’s educational wellbeing rests in group life, not individuals, and on the work, not just the rhetoric, of love and care, including children’s own agency in and benefit from the care-giving and care-receiving dynamic” (p. 306).

Brazilian immigrant children’s care-full lives, lens of multiplicity (Gallo, 2021a), and politicized funds of knowledge (Gallo & Link, 2015; 2016) developed from life on the margins within and across national systems are imbued with orientations to space and place. In the next section, I explain the conceptions that guide my interpretation of Brazilian immigrant children’s narratives, also drawing from the field of geography.

Space & Place

Although a contested construct in times of intensified globalization, migration, and technological and cultural dissemination, “place” remains a powerful component of the human experience (Relph, 1993). A focus on place is also critical to understand contemporary children and youth’s identities and everyday lives (Farrugia, 2014; Moskal, 2014). Defying static notions

based upon bounded territory or internalized history, Massey (1991) proposed a conception of place that emphasizes broader constellations of social relationships. She posited that places are “articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings” (p. 8) assembled on a larger scale than what is perceived at a given moment. Relph (1993) argued that place, although impalpable and impossible to delineate, is grounded upon three basic components: a specific landscape, social activities, and webs of personal and shared meanings. From this view, a focus on physical spaces is insufficient to understand place-related processes and practices. Instead, place must also be understood in the context of everyday activities, patterns of relationships, and meanings that are actively negotiated through actions, perceptions, and shared experiences (Relph, 1993). Illuminating a different facet of the concept, Massey (1995) explored the links between past and present in places. She argued that the present is punctured by a multi-vocal presence of the past through, for example, material manifestations (e.g. repurposed buildings) and individuals’ memories. Here, the past/history of places is not purely preserved through memories or material forms, but is actively constructed in the present and transforms it, just as the present creates and changes the past (Massey, 1995). Drawing on these frames, “place,” a concept that was often invoked in the narratives of Brazilian immigrant children, is positioned as social and relational, constituting sites of human activity, interaction, and meaning-making (Relph, 1993; Denov & Akesson, 2013).

According to Farrugia (2014), central dimensions of childhood and youth such as play, education, and work are situated in places that are embedded in local social structures, such as family economies and education systems, and broader global processes. However, rather than victims of these structures and processes, children actively make sense of these interlocking dynamics, including maternal migration and transnational families (Dreby & Adkins, 2011;

Oliveira, 2018), material inequalities (Tereshchenko and Araújo, 2011; Oliveira, 2019), and the physicality of national borders (Gallo et al., 2019; Soto & Garza, 2011; Vega, 2023). For example, Soto and Garza (2011) illustrate Mexican immigrant children's engagement in the U.S. with the topic of immigration and their awareness of border-crossing politics. In their study, through drawings and narratives, children shared their knowledge of how and why people cross the U.S.-Mexico border, the dangers related to crossing it, and the risk of deportation. The children tapped into their parents' experience of migration, stories told by siblings and others, and what they saw in movies and other media to portray images of border crossing that blur reality and imagination. They also shared rationales for migration based on the promise of a better life and financial stability.

Children actively forge identities through the construction and negotiation of places as well as encounter and resist social exclusion and control within such places (Farrugia, 2014). This stance allows us to see young people as actors of placemaking; that is, agents who transform and maintain the social and physical spaces that they navigate and make connections with others, creating a sense of community (Denov & Akesson, 2013). These placemaking practices have become increasingly transnational, as children and youth navigate multiple physical terrains and create social networks that transcend geopolitical borders. For example, prior studies documented children's active involvement in the establishment of transnational networks, particularly those formed along kinship ties (Bak & von Brössem, 2010; Lima Becker, 2021; Mand, 2010; Orellana et al., 2001). Moreover, larger processes of corporatization that commodify place qualities for profit and the increased awareness of distant geographies through widespread telecommunications profoundly shape not only the social and physical environments but also the ways children (re)claim and construct place (Relph, 1993).

Several studies shed light on children and youth's placemaking in the context of mobility and displacement. For example, Moskal (2014), studying the experiences of Polish immigrant children in Scotland, illustrated how these children's construction of place was complex and dynamic, an ongoing process of "turning the unknown into the known, by turning spaces into places" (p. 149). Here, the gradual establishment of quotidian routines and routes in the receiving context was important in children's construction of a new place and was typically juxtaposed to other daily routines (e.g. phone calls to Poland) that cultivated multiple degrees of attachments to various physical terrains. Christou and Spyrou (2012) explored Greek Cypriot children's construction of ethnic difference and a sense of place when crossing the Green Line into the occupied part of Cyprus. They found that, on one hand, the children expressed feelings of distrust, anxiety, and fear before and during their visit north, suggesting that their prior understandings of Turks and Turkish Cypriots were influenced by mass media, teachers' discourse, school curricula, and familial stories about the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. On the other hand, the movement north allowed some of the children to experience ambivalence from moments of empathy that clashed with official discourses about the 'other'. Interestingly, once mapping their visit north, the children did not reference Turks or Turkish Cypriots but instead represented an idealized version of the territory with landmarks depicted in history books and a range of rural elements seen during the trip. This illustrates how children's placemaking may combine collective imagination, memorized landscapes, and embodied experience.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the overarching lens, critical perspectives on childhood, and the three conceptual pillars used in this dissertation: 1) politicized funds of knowledge and transborder approaches; 2) inequality and Brazilian childhoods; and 3) care,

space, and place. This chapter oriented the reader to the origins, theorizing and definitions, and empirical findings concerning this overarching lens and three pillars. Immigrant children bring to U.S. schools complex narratives, perspectives, and knowledges every day. The framework presented in this chapter allowed me to attune my inquiry to less visible funds of knowledge that immigrant children deployed when navigating a bilingual education program in the United States. First, the transborder lens and the concept of politicized funds of knowledge position children as transborder thinkers who draw upon multiple experiences within and across national systems, some of which are silenced as taboo in their schooling. Next, the concept of inequality, as theorized by Brazilian scholars in relation to Brazilian childhoods, compels nuanced analyses of Brazilian children's narratives of multiplicity that compare and assess im/material conditions across national systems. Although Brazilian children experience inequalities along multiple intersecting axes of difference—such as gender, race, and ability—I follow this scholarship to foreground socioeconomic inequality in the meanings that children attribute to their lived experiences. Then, I turn to the in/visibility of immigrant children's care-full lives—or lives as active agents in care-giving and -receiving networks in their social worlds. These worlds unfold across multiple places, or sites of human activity, interaction, and meaning-making. These three pillars are underlaid by an overarching lens that positions young immigrant children as agents of social transformation and uncontested experts of their own childhoods. The concepts and research described in this chapter have informed the analysis and interpretation of the study data and findings. The next chapter presents a literature review of the research from the intersecting fields of immigration and bilingual education. This dissertation project is situated at the juncture between these scholarly areas and dialogues with both of them.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This research is situated at the intersection of the fields of immigration and bilingual education. In this chapter, I explore the relevant research literature derived from these scholarly areas that dialogue with and situate this study. I begin this chapter by providing a background of migration theories and consider how children have been framed in migration processes. Then, I review scholarship on the education of immigrant children in the U.S., zeroing in on promises and challenges of TWI education. I also report on the documented experiences of racialized bilingual students in this type of bilingual programming. The vast majority of the current scholarship on immigrants' educational experiences in the United States focuses on Spanish-speaking Latinx populations. In this chapter, I draw on the theoretical and empirical work generated across various disciplines—including anthropology, sociology, and education—to inform this ethnographic study from a range of vantage points. I argue that the juncture between these different but intersecting fields constitutes a productive space to describe and theorize immigrant children's everyday lives and participation in a newly-implemented TWI program.

Children & Immigration

In this section, I explore theories of migration and locate children in the migration scholarship. I begin this section by approaching historical trends in migration theory, noting their primary focus on economics to explain migration flows and the invisibility of migrant children and childhoods in the chronology of classical migration theories. This section ends with a discussion on immigrant children and global inequality. The theoretical and empirical

contributions reviewed in this section not only situate this dissertation in a longer lineage of scholarly efforts dedicated to understanding human migration more broadly, and children's agentic role in migration processes specifically, but also offer insights that have informed my data generation and analysis.

Historical Trends in Migration Theory

Migration only became an area of priority for scholars in the field of anthropology in the 1950s and 1960s, when they noted the high rate of rural-to-urban migration, particularly in Latin America and Africa (Horevitz, 2009). Four main theories were proposed to explain the link between development and migration, accounting for the different flows of information, money, people, media, culture, etc. around the world. These four key theories—namely modernization theory, dependency theory, world-systems approach, and globalization movements—have significantly informed policy and practice in the last century. Economics, as in push and pull factors, and the nation-state are at the center of how these frameworks were conceptualized. Migrant children, their roles and childhood, are notably absent from theorizing and discussions across these four threads. I briefly revisit these theories in this section as they have informed how scholars have described and theorized migration around the world.

In the 1960s, modernization theory was proposed to account for the social changes that occurred in Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century, including industrialization, urbanization, and the birth of political democracy (Eyerman, 1992). The notion of “modern” was created in opposition to the “traditional,” transcending a heuristic to encompass a new experience of the world as a human construction (Eyerman, 1992). In this perspective, “modern” society also gave rise to a new sense of self and future orientation grounded in profound changes in property relations, demographics, and relationships between people and the supernatural that

came along with industrialization. Notably, industrialization drew masses of individuals from rural communities to urban centers, a process described as involving a physical and mental rupture from the rural, family-based community, giving rise to new (voluntary) social networks and therefore new social and political identities. The modern nation-state, representing a new balance between individual freedom and collective responsibility, constituted the framework and the object of this new, modern political identity (Eyerman, 1992).

Therefore, from the perspective of modernization theory, migration was conceptualized as rural to urban, or along the folk-urban continuum as characterized on one side by an almost “uncivilized” group and on the other side by a highly productive “civilized” one (Redfield, 1940; 1947). Migration was seen as a positive phenomenon that could come to support the processes of modernization and urbanization, as migrants were expected to spread in their home communities the innovations and knowledge acquired in modern urban centers that were needed to undermine traditionalism (Redfield & Singer, 1954). Drawing on anthropological and sociological studies, Horevitz (2009) explained that modernization theory brought about a bipolar framework of migration that stressed the economic decisions made by individuals in response to significant discrepancies in the distribution of land, labor, and capital between sending and receiving areas. Placing the individual as the main unit of analysis, migration was seen as a chosen process or a cost-benefit decision by individual migrants.

Modernization theory was critiqued by Latin American anthropologists and economists for its ahistorical bias and Eurocentric assumptions. These scholars developed a specific theory speaking from and for the Latin American context, shifting away from the individual level of analysis to a macro-focus through an approach known as dependency theory (Cardoso, 1977). According to Grosfoguel (2000), dependency theory seeks to explain why Latin American

countries, as a “periphery” (less developed areas), did not develop similarly to the “center” or wealthy states. In this approach, development and underdevelopment are seen as mutually constitutive, pointing to structures of domination and exploitation at the (capitalist) world-system level. Precisely, the flow of resources, values, techniques, and ideas from the periphery to the center nations enriches the latter while contributing to the subordination of underdeveloped countries in the international capitalist system. Gunder Frank (1964) provided an example of these dynamics by examining the disparity between capital inflow from and outflow to Brazil in relation to the United States. His analysis of loans, concessions, and foreign exchange privileges exposed the exploitative nature of the relationship between the two countries, which deteriorates the Brazilian economic and industrial structure and ultimately maintains its underdevelopment. Dichotomies such as modern-traditional, thus, are understood as abstractions, fixed at the national level, that do not capture or appropriately explain the social processes undergirding development and underdevelopment. To elucidate such processes, a historical approach is needed that starts from the emergence of social formations and also emphasizes the specificity of dependency situations in relation to societies in the economic center (Cardoso, 1977).

In terms of human migration, dependency theory sees this phenomenon as a transference of surplus from periphery areas to center nations. Dependency theory focuses its analysis on the effects of migration on migrants’ contexts of resettlement, namely core states (Horevitz, 2009). Importantly, this theory rejects prior bipolar frameworks, such as modernization theory, to emphasize “inequities between labor-exporting, low-wage countries and labor-importing, high-wage countries” engendered by the world capitalist system (Brettell, 2020, p. 103 cited by Horevitz, 2009, p. 750). For example, the framework of dependency theory begs the analysis of skilled migration from the Global South to the Global North. Here, the skills of professionals

from several developing nations are enlisted and deployed to further develop wealthy, Western nations while their homelands suffer from losing their best workers—a process called “brain drain”—and remain in a precarious position in terms of development (Omobowale, 2013). Nonetheless, starting in the 1970s dependency theory was critiqued for still operating within developmentalist ideologies and modernist logic (Grosfoguel, 2000) and for being “too macro” to operationalize in the analysis of local-level economic, social, and political relationships (Horevitz, 2009).

Framed as a North American adaptation of dependency theory (Chirot & Hall, 1982), the world-systems approach has been attributed to Immanuel Wallerstein and consists of a macro-scale, multidisciplinary approach to world history and social change. This theory follows a similar logic to dependency theory in that it posits the existence of “core” and “periphery” areas on the world stage, where the former exploits and buys cheap primary products from the latter in return for valued manufacturing goods (Chirot & Hall, 1982). However, it also adds a third category and unit of social analysis, the semiperiphery, between the core and periphery societies regarding economic power. In this scenario, uneven development is characterized as a basic component of capitalism. Additionally, according to Chirot and Hall (1982), from the stance of world-systems theory, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are worldwide classes that transcend national boundaries, and the class structures within states are linked to the international capitalist division of labor. As such, this approach emphasizes world systems as unit(s) with a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems, instead of nation-states as the main unit of social analysis.

Migration, then, in the world-systems theory, is viewed in the context of a global market system. It is often framed as a forced extraction by the global capitalist market system than a

voluntary, individual choice (Horevitz, 2009). Horevitz explained that this theoretical approach “has been used to understand the movement of people and products across borders, particularly in the context of migration from ‘under-developed’ countries to developed countries” (p. 751). While migration is still framed in this approach as a transfer of surplus from the periphery to core areas, it goes a step further in its ability to conceptualize migrant labor within complex circuits of capital and commodities. Specifically, Horevitz (2009) argued that world-systems theory better captured the effects of migration in both receiving and sending communities, also allowing the analysis of local realities.

Finally, globalization as a theory refers to the process of growing interconnectedness and interrelatedness of all aspects of society across international borders, encompassing economic, political, social, and cultural relations (Jones, 2010). Globalization is often described as a process aimed at transcendental political and socio-economic homogenization across the globe. Jones (2010) outlined four philosophical principles underlying existing theories of globalization that are stressed by various scholars to different degrees. First, the author emphasized the dimensions of space and time, positing that globalization amounts to “a transformation in the nature of our own and other people’s experience of space and time” (p. 5). This entails the reconfiguration of relationships between individuals, groups, and organizations, as these relations become stretched through information and technological diffusion, and the widespread accessibility of media and transportation. Second, Jones (2010) introduced the dimensions of territory and scale, arguing that globalization has transformed the relationship between social practices and territory and, as such, scholars have used multi-scalar frameworks to study the transformation of social relations in a globalized world. Third, the author pointed to the tenet of system and structure, suggesting that globalization is a world systemic phenomenon that occurs beyond the individual or small

group levels, that is, centering nation-states in the international state system or market forces in the global trading system. Here, “organizations and wider collective interactions are (more) important in explaining contemporary globalization” (p. 6). Finally, Jones pointed to the debate around the concepts of process and agency in globalization, including disagreements concerning whether globalization refers to one or many processes. In scholarship that approaches migration through the lens of globalization, several authors emphasized international migrants’ movement from countries with fewer opportunities to wealthier states in response to transnational flows of capital and exacerbating global inequalities derived from globalization (Ciarnienė & Kumpikaitė, 2008; Sanderson & Kentor, 2009; Segal, 2019).

The four classical theories of migration and development reviewed above privilege the sovereign borders of the nation-state and economic push and pull factors (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). While these theories provided lenses to understand the systemic causes of global inequality over time, they positioned economics as the primary source of explanation as to why and how people move. They emphasized, for example, the interplay between push factors—such as violence, the lack of social and economic opportunities, and mismatches between occupation and skill in sending regions/nations—and pull factors (e.g., labor recruitment) in host/receiving nations. These theories underexplored the role of race in the analysis of migratory processes (Jung, 2009). Their emphasis on economics also occurred at the expense of elucidating migrants’ sociocultural worlds (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2013) and the participation of children in migratory processes. These traditional frameworks implicitly focus on adults as *typical* migrants, which has hindered the creation of comprehensive theories and accounts about children’s participation in migration as well as the psychosocial effects of immigration on children and

youth (García Coll & Magnuson, 2005). Children were framed as (or assumed to be) appended to otherwise mobile parents (Orellana et al., 2001).

Along with classical migration theories, prominent sociological studies concerning the experiences of immigrant children and youth have overlooked their perspectives. Sociological thinking for much of twentieth century focused on immigrant assimilation, which assumed that migrants were pulled in the direction of the host culture while drawn by the culture of their sending community; eventually, however, diverse forces would “melt” immigrants into what is considered to be the mainstream society. As such, assimilationist theories assumed a range of normative processes, such as adaptation or losing one’s original cultures, languages, and values (Ogbu, 1987). Later versions of assimilationist theories, such as segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993), posited that assimilation does not always accrue benefits. From this perspective, immigrants assimilating in an impoverished inner-city area may become incorporated into the urban “underclass,” leading to stagnant or decreasing educational and economic outcomes. Assimilationist theories have become prominent in the field of education (see, for example, Nuñez, 2004; Greenman, 2011). They have been denounced for taking a deficit view of immigrant populations and for their lack of treatment of race (Jung, 2009). In the next section, I turn to transnationalism, a prominent approach to immigration from the field of anthropology.

Transnationalism

Transnationalism, which emerged in the 1990s (Schiller et al., 1992), is an alternative approach to understanding contemporary international migration. Historically, transnationalism has been part of the effort to reconfigure anthropological thinking to reflect current transformations in the ways that time and space are experienced by immigrants. Indeed, in a global context of improved transportation and wide accessibility and affordability of means of

communication, immigrants can maintain close ties to their homelands and develop complex relationships within and across more than one physical terrain (Abu El-Haj, 2015). As such, transnationalism compels scholars to transcend the locational politics of global-local or center-periphery, to cut across borders (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994), or critically engage the realities that are created through border crossings. García and Velasco (2013) explained that this paradigm for the analysis of migration rejects the view of nation-states and societies as monolithic and “natural” institutions. Thus, this perspective compels researchers to investigate children’s engagement in social and economic networks that transcend national borders and link places through multiple practices (Gardner, 2012). At its inception, Basch et al. (1994) defined transnationalism as,

The processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call this process transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders. (p. 7)

In light of this definition, transnationalism establishes different priorities in the study of immigration than seen in prior theories. It sets forth a research agenda that seeks to examine how migration is shaped by and contributes to the global capitalist system; the analytical categories that have been used to study migration; and how transmigrants construct identities along the axes of race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, and nationality (Schiller et al., 1992).

Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2013) pointed to aspects of migration that the transnational lens elucidates by focusing on the links between sending and receiving societies. For example, the migration experience is about both migrants and nonmigrants, as they occupy the same social space. The lives of nonmigrants are influenced by the regular circulation of goods, people, ideas,

capital, and behaviors on a transnational landscape, and they imagine distant realities (Oliveira, 2019; 2018). These dynamics also profoundly affect the meaning of migrant incorporation, since “the migrant experience that this transnational process embodies is not a linear, irreversible journey from one membership to another” (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2013, p. 71). Thus, instead of fully assimilating or remaining completely attached to their homelands, migrants can create flexible combinations of the two in response to life events, political elections, economic crises, and climate disasters (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2013).

This approach also allows the conceptualization of so-called *transnational families*, which are typically defined as family groups that include members who are physically distant, distributed between two or more nation-states, but who sustain ties and relationships from a distance (Abrego, 2014; Shih, 2016). According to Shih (2016), although transnational families are not a new phenomenon, their diverse patterns and living arrangements have received increased scholarly attention since the 1990s. The transnational migration of family members may occur voluntarily or involuntarily and take various forms, including migrant mothers, migrant fathers, migrant children, and family members left behind. Transnational families differ in terms of race, class, and national origin, with members of elite families often choosing to migrate to pursue professional or educational opportunities, while poor families, oftentimes from the Global South, engage in transnational migration to find work that pays a living wage (Schmalzbauer, 2004).

Several studies identified various ways in which the transnational migration of family members shaped individuals’ day-to-day experiences, household practices, and gendered roles and norms “here and there” (Boehm, 2008; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Oliveira, 2018; Parreñas, 2005; Schmalzbauer, 2004). For example, focusing on a group of Honduran transnational

families, Schmalzbauer (2004) elucidated the role of motherwork, kinwork, and economic remittances as family survival strategies that emerged upon the migration of family members. The author found that among poor Honduran families, a key role was played by *other-mothers* or female relatives, friends, and neighbors in the homeland who ensured the well-being of kin, maintained family unity, and eased the emotional strains of children separated from their migrant parents. These families coupled the care work provided by other-mothers in Honduras with the economic care work provided by immigrants in the United States.

Schools worldwide have been profoundly impacted by migration, changing their role in society and becoming an integral part of the transnational fabric of care weaved by transnational families (García & Velasco, 2013). For example, school systems in receiving contexts have adopted new strategies and instructional programs, including bilingual education, to serve the needs of children from immigrant households. In sending societies, schools have had to face the reality of children and youth with absent parents as well as students who often have to decide between continuing their studies or migrating abroad to be reunited with their family members either formally or by informal means (García & Velasco, 2013; Oliveira, 2018). Schooling is central to migrant parents' rationale for migration and the "sacrifices" that it entails since providing children with educational opportunities in sending communities requires substantial economic resources (Dreby, 2010; Fresnoza-Flot, 2013). However, García and Velasco (2013) emphasized that very little research has been done on the impacts that migration has on school systems from a transnational perspective. In education research, the lens of transnationalism—which foregrounds the maintenance of social ties and the assemblage of identities across physical terrains—seeks to avoid framing children's experiences in terms of ruptures or binaries, such as origin/destination, push/pull factors, and immigrant/citizen (Sánchez & Machado-Casas, 2009).

It is important to highlight, however, that scholars also critiqued or issued cautionary notes regarding transnationalism as an approach to studying international immigration. This includes concerns over continued methodological nationalism, that is, limiting inquiry to looking at relations between two settings (sending and receiving societies) as opposed to considering “how these settings are also influenced by other places and scales of social experience” (Levitt, 2012, p. 3). Others have pointed out that the activities that have been described as transnational have been in operation for centuries, begging the question if there is a need to coin new terms for analyzing old movements (Dunn, 2005). The transnational lens undergirds my inquiry in various ways. First, it allows an orientation to young immigrant children as agents that forge and sustain multi-stranded relations across geographic, cultural, and political borders (Orellana et al., 2001). Additionally, a transnational perspective also informs transborder approaches in the conceptual framework described in Chapter 2. As explained by Gallo (2021a), a transnational lens highlights individuals’ psychological and physical ties across borders (even if they do not physically cross national borders). Transborder approaches, drawing from border thinking and epistemologies of the Global South (Anzaldúa, 1987; Mignolo, 2000), stress “the importance of direct experiences crossing physical, institutional, and linguistic borders” (Gallo, 2021a, p. 5).

Immigrant Children & (In)equality

Contemporary migration patterns are a product of global inequalities (Dreby & Adkins, 2010). Parreñas (2005), for example, demonstrated how the formation of transnational families through macro-processes of care resource extraction, which compels women from the Global South to migrate to the Global North as a strategy of household survival, is associated with global inequalities, including the political-economic inequality of global restructuring. Importantly, this international division of care work reproduces inequalities of race, class, and

citizenship among women while exacerbating disparities in the prospects for their children (Parreñas, 2005). Similarly, in their analysis of the contemporary transnational family literature, Dreby and Adkins (2010) highlighted how global structures of inequality at the macro-level affected individuals' lives, not only engendering the formation of transnational families but also giving rise to specific patterns of cooperation and conflict within these family groups spread across geopolitical borders. Furthermore, the rise in immigration across post-industrial nations co-occurred with the intensification of inequalities on various indicators that profoundly affect children's lives, including income distribution, child poverty, residential segregation, and academic outcomes (Suárez-Orozco et al, 2015). According to Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2015), immigrant children in transnational families tend to be positioned at the nexus of intersecting inequalities, which may result in poor academic, economic, and health outcomes. These intersecting inequalities—including income poverty, language barriers, racialization, and undocumented status—are tied to membership in social categories that are interrelated and that combine pre-migration conditions and resources and post-migration contexts and experiences.

Previous studies have approached many facets of inequality that affect the everyday lives of immigrant children and youth, including undocumented status (Díaz-Strong et al., 2010; Gonzales, 2011, 2016), racialization in schools (Lee et al., 2017; Souto-Manning et al., 2021), present-day anti-immigration policies (Brownell & Rashid, 2020), disparities in income and wealth (Thiede et al., 2021), and access to material resources (Coe, 2011; Dreby, 2010; Oliveira, 2019). Importantly, several of these studies demonstrate that immigrant children were aware of and often grappled with the meanings of unequal dynamics in their own and their families' lives. Illustrating children's sensemaking of material and economic inequalities, Oliveira (2019) showed that children in transnational families often evaluated the lives of their siblings on "the

other side” of the U.S.-Mexico border on the bases of material goods. The children that stayed in Mexico assumed that their siblings in the U.S. had a better life due to access to material goods and money. The U.S. was described in the children’s narratives through symbols of development (e.g., urban setting, money) that also produced a deficit view of Mexico. Dreby (2010) explained that the children of migrants who stayed in Mexico experienced greater prosperity, and possibly greater social standing, than their peers who lacked access to monetary remittances. On the other hand, the children of migrants did not want their parents’ migration to differentiate them from their peers and purposefully refrained from displaying signs of wealth or material advantages in places like their schools to avoid being perceived as pretentious.

An important facet of inequality encountered by several immigrant children and youth has to do with the disjuncture between migrant families’ expectations and aspirations before migration and their experiences upon settlement (Bartlett et al., 2018; Leo, 2022; Negy et al., 2009). These dynamics are connected to what Marcus (2009) described as “geographical imagination,” or the “spatial knowledge – real or abstract – that allows individuals to imagine place” (p. 481). Here, one’s geographical imagination encompasses the search for adventure and fascination for the images and lifestyle portrayed in Hollywood movies, photos, and reports from acquaintances living in the U.S. about their increased accumulation of wealth. For Marcus, (2009) this imagination was a significant factor that motivated Brazilian migrants in his study to leave for the U.S., along with financial reasons, to initiate family reunification, and pursue a better education. Similarly, Levitt (1999) spoke about a “U.S.-fever” among the residents of the municipality of Governador Valadares in Brazil, who reported thinking about migrating to the U.S. from the time they were young.

However, these powerfully hopeful images held before migration frequently create high expectations for educational and economic advancement that are at odds with the challenging material and social conditions in receiving contexts. These challenges include precarious housing and work conditions and anti-immigrant sentiment (Bartlett et al., 2018; Leo, 2022; Orellana et al., 2001; Suárez-Orozco, 2005). Bartlett et al (2018) documented the contradictions embedded in Dominican immigrants' and their mothers' high expectations and optimism regarding their educational achievement and upward mobility upon migration and resettlement in the U.S. The high hopes for a better future and optimism that education was the primary avenue for success ignored children and youth's actual experiences with "forces like high rates of poverty, racialized labor markets, legal status, residential segregation, limited social networks, and the hyperradial times in which language, race, and documentation status are conflated" (p. 448). Importantly, when immigrant children and youth faced significant educational challenges and did not meet maternal expectations for formal schooling, this failure was seen as stemming from their actions, rather than caused by and indicative of larger social problems.

Compounded with the in/equalities brought about by processes of immigration described above, dynamics within schools also impact immigrant young people's well-being, sense of safety and belonging, and education trajectories and aspirations (Oliveira, 2018; Valenzuela, 1999). In the next section, I turn to a review of the literature about the education of immigrant children and youth in the U.S., focusing on scholarship concerning TWI for racialized bilingual students.

Bilingual Education in the United States

This section focuses on bilingual education for immigrant children in the United States. My goal is to situate bilingual education in the lineage of U.S. language policies in education,

explain its development into “dual language” or “two-way” bilingual education, and revisit the documented experiences of language-minoritized children in these settings. I begin this section by briefly discussing the anthropological and sociological research literature about the education of immigrant children and youth in the U.S. schooling system more broadly. Next, I turn to an overview of U.S. language policy in education, focusing on how bilingual education factors in this history. Understanding the U.S. language policy landscape not only situates the focal TWI program in the broader sociohistorical context but also sheds light on societal orientations to bilingual education that affect immigrant children’s experiences of education. Following this, I report on hopeful developments of TWI programming as well as recent accounts of persistent inequities in these settings. This section ends with a review of empirical studies that approached daily dynamics within TWI classrooms, particularly how racialized bilingual students navigated these spaces, a body of work that this dissertation aims to contribute to.

Immigrant Children & U.S. Schooling

To account for the complex reality of immigration and schooling, several studies in the anthropological and sociological traditions have documented different facets of the educational experiences of immigrant children and youth from a variety of backgrounds in the United States (Abu El-Haj, 2015; Bajaj et al., 2016; Ghaffar-Kucher, 2008; Valenzuela et al., 2012). These studies have moved away from a focus on academic outcomes and deficit models toward broader analyses of institutional and structural barriers that affect the educational lives of these students. For example, scholars investigated how nondominant children and youth were affected by U.S. deportation-based immigration policies (Gallo & Link, 2015), neighborhood characteristics (e.g., poverty, racial segregation), and school factors (e.g., tracking, high teacher turnover, condition of the school building, textbooks, curricula) (Carter, 2005; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009).

Other authors have explored the positions and dynamics among different stakeholders within schools. This includes educators' contradictory language ideologies that frame immigrant adolescents as deficient (Allard et al., 2014; Gallo et al., 2014) and their acceptance of popular narratives, such as the "word gap" discourse (Adair et al., 2017), and orientations to instruction, such as additive approaches to language education (Flores & Rosa, 2015), that may reproduce educational discrimination against immigrant students. Moreover, investigations into immigrant parents' relationship with their children's U.S. schools elucidated how they were excluded from conventional avenues for parental involvement that required cultural knowledge associated with the white dominant group (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991). Immigrant parents were also considered a "problem" by school staff members when critiquing unequal power relations and the politics of exclusion that prevented their meaningful participation in their children's schooling (Dyrness, 2008). Together, this literature stitches a complex portrait of the material, structural, and ideological challenges faced by immigrant children and youth who are part of U.S. schooling. In light of this literature, it is possible to say that immigrant students are susceptible to subtractive schooling, which deprives them of "important social and cultural resources, leaving them progressively vulnerable to academic failure" (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 3).

Other anthropologists and sociologists of education and qualitative researchers, using a sociocultural lens, have dedicated their efforts to demonstrating the complex social, cultural, cognitive, and linguistic competencies embedded in the everyday practices of immigrant students and their families in the U.S. (García-Sánchez & Orellana, 2019). This strand of studies has documented, for example, the multiple languages and literacy skills cultivated by immigrant children through participation in youth classes and services at churches (Ek, 2019; Pacheco & Morales, 2019) and language brokering (Alvarez, 2017; Dorner et al., 2008; Orellana, 2009).

This “funds of knowledge” orientation, as described in Chapter 2, positions the knowledge that immigrant students and families bring to schools as crucial for educational engagement and transformation (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

In light of the challenges that immigrant students face in traditional English-monolingual K-12 classrooms, bilingual education represents an alternative that can bring about positive change in their schooling experiences. The next section takes a closer look at the position that bilingual education for language-minoritized students has occupied in U.S. language policy in education, which sheds light on its current standing in U.S. society to date.

A Brief Look into U.S. Language Policy in Education

In the second half of the 20th century, U.S. language policy in education saw the so-called “renaissance of bilingual education” (García, 2009, p. 168), presenting a more tolerant approach than in earlier decades. García (2009) explained that the dawn of the Civil Rights era brought about legislative precedents and principles that would have a critical role in the education of language-minoritized students. This includes the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education*, which established that “same” was not always equal in education, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in public facilities. Moreover, the U.S. Congress passed Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, known as the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), which allocated funds to school districts with high numbers of language-minority students and were interested in implementing bilingual education or creating instructional materials. This legislation, however, did not require that schools engaged in programing related to bilingual education (García, 2009). In the same decade, U.S. immigration policy also underwent considerable changes with the 1965 Hart-Celler Immigration Act, which eliminated the national origins quota system established previously in

the Immigration Act of 1924, created pathways for family reunifications, and indicated a preference for highly skilled workers (Hoffnung-Garskof, 2015). Importantly, while both pieces of legislation are commonly thought to be part of a “multicultural turn” in the U.S., the former was established with the purpose to promote the English language acquisition of language-minoritized students (García, 2009). The latter was part of larger efforts to maintain the privileged position of the U.S. in the postwar global economy and reflected U.S. geopolitical interests (Ngai, 2013). In the mid-1960s there was also the birth of the bilingual education movement, gathering language educators, academic researchers, and politicians committed to improving the dire schooling conditions of Spanish-speaking children (Crawford, 2004).

The 1970s was also a critical period in U.S. language policy in education that affected the schooling of language-minoritized children and youth. Here, civil-rights activism played a key role in pushing new legislation forward, including through lawsuits filed by Mexican American, Chinese American, and Puerto Rican parents denouncing the failure of public schools to address their children’s language needs and school boycotts organized by the militant Chicano group La Raza Unida Party (Crawford, 2004). For example, García (2009) outlined that the first reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act in 1974 expanded the eligibility for bilingual education, including students of any socioeconomic status who had limited English-speaking ability. Concurrently, in 1974 the Supreme Court ruled in *Lau v. Nichols* that the English-only instruction offered nationwide, commonly known as sink-or-swim, violated the equal educational opportunities provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The court did not specify a methodology to be adopted by schools as a remedy, and bilingual education programs continued to be rare.

In the 1980s, different reauthorizations of the BEA gradually emphasized and allocated funds to English-only programs that provided minimal and temporary support to language-

minoritized students. These important alterations co-occurred with attempts in the U.S. Senate to make English the official language of the United States and, while these efforts failed at the federal level, several states have passed English-only laws since then. These increasingly restrictive language policies in education took place against a backdrop of rising racial nativism directed at Asian and Latino immigrants from both sides of the political spectrum (Sánchez, 1997). Notably, the growing political backlash against subsidies to preserve minority languages and cultures was fueled by research with serious methodological flaws that found no evidence for the overall effectiveness of bilingual education (Crawford, 2004). Scholars such as Ravitch (1985) denounced bilingual programs as an example of the “politicization of education” that segregated non-English speakers from same-age peers without any significant proof that these programs work.

In more recent history, as the enrollment numbers of immigrant children rapidly increased in U.S. schools, bilingual education has come under attack, leading several states to introduce legislation that prohibited the use of students’ native languages for instruction (e.g., Proposition 227 in California; Proposition 203 in Arizona). Massachusetts residents, in response to Question 2 of the 2002 ballot, voted to cement Structured English Immersion (SEI), where only English is used with added support for a short period (no longer than a year), as the sole program type to be used to address the needs of emergent bilingual students. Almost concurrently, Title III of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 specified that schools should have educational programs aimed at developing English language proficiency for limited English proficient (LEP) students and preparing them for entering into general education classes taught solely in English (Kim et al., 2015). Crawford (2004) stressed that the pedagogical effectiveness of the different language education programs was not the only factor swaying public opinion

toward English-only legislation and education. Rather, concerns over the assimilation of immigrants, stereotypes about specific ethnic groups, and opposition to public expenditures that benefit minorities point to forms of symbolic racism that have generated hostility toward bilingual education.

Therefore, for almost two decades, bilingual education was effectively dismantled in the state of Massachusetts. It was not until 2017 when the Language Opportunity for Our Kids (LOOK) Act was signed into law. This recent legislation provides more flexibility to school districts in selecting language education programs that better address the needs of their student population (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2018). In consequence, as of 2021, the state of Massachusetts presents 38 two-way immersion programs, with official languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, Vietnamese, Haitian Creole, and Mandarin (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2022). According to the Institute of Education Sciences (n./a.), over 5 million English learners were enrolled in U.S. public schools in the fall of 2019, or 10.4% of the total K-12 student body. While Spanish has been the most widely spoken language among students learning English in most U.S. states, statistics from the U.S. Department of Education (n./a.) also points to the great diversity of 400 languages spoken by these students nationwide. Thus, as pointed out by García (2009), “in the United States, bilingualism is not simply about English + Spanish. Increasingly, and especially outside of the states that were once Mexico, it’s English + Many Languages = Bilingualism for the children, and Multilingualism for the state” (p. 177). In Massachusetts, while about 55% of English Learners (43,306 students) are Spanish speakers, over 7% speak Portuguese (5,725 youth), 5% speak Chinese (3,964), and 4.8% speak Haitian Creole (3,801).

With growing social, economic, and political instability around the world, the number of migrants in the United States is expected to grow, which will bear consequences for the nation's schools. For example, tens of thousands of Afghans have resettled across the country since the U.S. withdrawal of military forces from Afghanistan in August 2021 (PBS, 2022) and there has been a surge of Ukrainians at the U.S. border with Mexico fleeing Russia's invasion of Ukraine (Jordan, 2022). Although Brazilian migration to the United States dates back to the 20th century, as is explained in greater depth in the next chapter, it has surged since 2018, when right-wing President Jair Bolsonaro was elected. Recent reports estimate that the number of Brazilians detained at the U.S. southern border jumped by 1,100% in 2019 in comparison to the previous fiscal year (Stargardter, 2021). Considering such intensifying global migration flows, debates over the language education programs for immigrant students in U.S. schools, including the effects of bilingual education programming, may re-sparkle and bring about consequences to immigrant children's education trajectories. As such, it is key to investigate current responses to waves of migrants enrolling in public schools from backgrounds that are less familiar to U.S. school personnel, especially in the context of bilingual education, which has historically been under attack in the United States. In the next section, I turn to studies in the field of bilingual education that investigated the promises and challenges in Two-Way Immersion programming.

(In)equity in TWI Education

As described above, throughout U.S. history, bilingual education has occupied a marginalized position and has been repeatedly challenged by English-only and nativist movements (de Jong, 2006). As a consequence, bi/multilingual students with immigrant backgrounds have been denied access to bilingual programming across generations (Flores & García, 2017; García, 2009). Recently, however, there is rising compelling evidence of the

cognitive and economic benefits of bilingualism (Bialystok, 2011; Grosjean, 2010) as well as increasing awareness that children and youth must be prepared to participate in a global and multilingual economy (Shin, 2017). As such, interest in bilingualism and bilingual education appears to be on the rise, as it is evident in the proliferation of bilingual education programming nationwide in recent years (Chang-Bacon, 2021) and in the state of Massachusetts specifically (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2018).

Prior studies indicated the positive effects of TWI programming on minoritized students' language development and academic performance (Collier & Thomas, 2004; Murphy, 2014). For example, Padilla et al. (2013) compared the academic performance of a group of 40 students enrolled in a public Mandarin-English two-way immersion program (80-20 model) in California with same-age peers in the same school but not in the program, as these students progressed from kindergarten through fifth grade. First, Padilla et al (2013) found that TWI students had high-level performance in oral/listening, reading, and writing in Mandarin across grades. Second, non-immersion students from the same school in the second and third grades had higher scores on the English Language Arts and Math-mandated California standardized tests, but TWI students scored higher than their peers who were not in the program in both subject areas in the upper grades. Similarly, Lindholm-Leary and Block (2010) focused on the performance on standardized tests of 659 Hispanic students in TWI programs (90-10 model) in predominantly Hispanic and low SES schools, comparing their performance to that of school and statewide comparison groups. They found that Hispanic students in TWI programs achieved similar or higher levels compared to their non-TWI peers in tests of English. TWI students also achieved above grade level in assessments in Spanish.

However, studies adopting a critical perspective have problematized the embracing of bilingual education observed in recent years (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017; Flores, 2016; Flores & García, 2017). For example, Katznelson and Bernstein (2017) traced the current movement to “rebrand” bilingual education as “dual language” education, with the latter being associated with higher status and privilege. This occurs, in part, through the addition of English monolingual students in TWI classrooms so that this population can benefit from “foreign” language learning (Cervantes-Soon, 2014). Flores and García (2017) described this process as bringing bilingual education “from basements and pride to boutiques and profit” (p. 14). Over two decades ago, Valdés (1997) warned education researchers and practitioners that TWI could come to generate disproportionate benefits for English-speaking students and families from privileged backgrounds at the expense of bilingual populations with recent histories of immigration. This could occur even though several TWI programs have been designed with the goal of better serving local immigrant children, families, and communities.

Since these early warnings, inequitable practices, and dynamics in TWI programming have been documented nationwide, but these studies mostly focus on the realities of Spanish-English programs. Dorner (2016), for example, explained that issues of access impose critical challenges to TWI implementation. She argued that several schools offer TWI programs in areas that are higher income or among racially homogenous populations. Similarly, Morales and Rao (2015) discussed the inequitable distribution of TWI programs in Illinois, where these programs are offered primarily in white middle-class communities rather than in lower socioeconomic, predominantly Spanish-speaking ones. Valdez et al (2016) found comparable dynamics in their analysis of the demographics in schools hosting dual language programs in the state of Utah, concluding that these programs are often housed in schools serving privileged populations within

racial, economic, and linguistic power hierarchies. Moreover, through the analysis of Utah dual language policy documents, Valdez and colleagues found that the discourse of “mainstreaming” dual language education was imbued with hegemonic discourses that targeted privileged students as the main beneficiaries of these programs. Additionally, depictions of dual language programs in online news articles across varied states visually center “world language” populations to the detriment of students who attend these language programs for linguistic and cultural maintenance (Hamann & Catalano, 2021).

In addition to issues of access, several studies described inequitable dynamics in the day-to-day realities of TWI programs. For instance, Cervantes-Soon (2014) demonstrated that Spanish-speaking Latinx students in TWI classrooms often had their linguistic resources commodified for the benefit of English-speaking students who are learning Spanish. Frieson (2022) discussed the complacency of TWI programs in the perpetuation of systemic inequities for many Black students, including through the erasure of languages that escape standardized forms of English and Spanish, such as African American Language (AAL). The author argued that strict language policies in Spanish-English TWI programs often led the elementary school teachers in her ethnographic case study to engage in dehumanizing pedagogical practices that policed, silenced, and marginalized the experiences, identities, and practices of Black American students. Fitts (2006) reported on a year-long ethnographic study at one Spanish-English dual language school in Colorado that focused on the language ideologies that permeated the fifth-grade TWI classroom. The author found that school personnel and students alike drew upon an ideology of equality in their discursive practices while reinforcing color-blind attitudes in their everyday practices at the school. Fitts argued that these dynamics are indicative of “a lack of understanding as to the real social inequalities that different groups of people in our society

continue to face” (p. 356), stressing the need for deeper examinations of critical issues in dual language classrooms and the interrogation of problematic student attitudes.

TWI implementation also generates challenges for educators who must navigate the contradictions of having to prepare students for monolingual, high stakes, standardized tests while attempting to fulfill their TWI program goals of bilingualism, biliteracy, biculturalism, and positive cross-cultural interactions (Palmer et al., 2016). Other issues identified by Palmer and colleagues that led to the eventual dismantling of the TWI programs in their study included limited professional development opportunities, lack of resources, and mixed messages received by TWI teachers from the school and the district leadership regarding language policies. The daily implementation of TWI, and thus students’ education experiences, can also be affected by a negative school climate sparked by perceptions of divisiveness between the TWI strand and general education teachers, and the latter group’s opposition to TWI programs (Freire & Alemán, 2021).

The studies reviewed above assemble a complex portrait of the promises and persistent inequities found in TWI programs nationwide that shape immigrant students’ experiences of education. Immigrant children are aware of and often push back against inequities in TWI classrooms (Oliveira et al., 2020). These acts of resistance not only present great pedagogical potential, but also open possibilities for elucidating and interrupting dominant ideologies and hegemonic practices, and preparing ideologically clear dual-language teachers (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Alfaro, 2019). In the next section, I turn to empirical studies that have explored the educational experiences of racialized bilingual students in TWI settings.

Immigrant Children's Experiences in TWI

Various facets of racialized bilingual students' experiences in dual-language education in the United States have been approached in the burgeoning literature from the field of bilingual education. Scholars have documented dual-language students' participation in specific classroom activities and contexts. For example, Martínez-Álvarez (2017) examined how students (ages 6 and 7) in Spanish-English dual language programs leveraged their full linguistic resources in classrooms where translanguaging was encouraged. The author found that emergent bilingual students negotiated named languages and linguistic resources (e.g., idiolects) in a hybrid curricular space where they were encouraged to take agency of their learning, suggesting that dual language programs' strict language separation policies may hinder children's creation of stories. Along these lines, studies focused on leveraging student translanguaging as an avenue to foster meaningful learning experiences in TWI contexts (Alamillo et al., 2017; Esquinca et al., 2014; García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Hamman, 2018; Palmer et al., 2014; Talamantes, 2015; Tian, 2021; Zheng, 2021). Investigating the affective factors in the schooling experience of six newly-arrived immigrants in Spanish-English dual-language classes, Talamantes (2015) drew on participant observations and interviews with students and teachers and found that newcomers were affected differently by their PK-5 bilingual teachers' pedagogical practices. Newcomers encountered a more welcoming environment in their adaptation to the school in classes where the teacher engaged in translanguaging practices. Conversely, newcomers experienced academic and personal challenges, including encounters with linguistic bullying, in classes where teachers imposed a strict language separation policy or were not able to monitor students when working in cooperative groups. Somerville and Faltis (2019) discussed how the institutional structure of dual language programs shapes students' language practices. Examining dynamics within fourth-

grade math and social studies lessons in a Spanish-English dual language program, they reported the emergence of “dual languaging” as a strategy, or using language in institutionally sanctioned ways (e.g., speaking in Spanish in math lessons taught in Spanish). Translanguaging was used by students as a language tactic, an everyday way of using language that diverged from and at times subverted sanctioned strategies in response to the school’s traditional TWI model. While students’ translanguaging practices generate significant meaning-making opportunities, Hamman (2018) showed that translanguaging was not equally distributed across students and languages in her study, with most student translanguaging occurring as they moved from Spanish to English and only on rare occasions when students used Spanish during teacher-led instruction in English.

Several recent studies have focused on how minoritized students have their education experience shaped by the co-construction of race and language through raciolinguistic ideologies in dual language settings (Chávez-Moreno, 2018; 2021; Flores et al., 2020; Hernandez, 2017; Martinez Negrette, 2022). Raciolinguistic ideologies construct the linguistic practices of racialized bodies as deficient in relation to standardized linguistic practices deemed “appropriate” for academic settings, regardless of how closely they follow these standardized norms of appropriateness (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa, 2019). For example, Martinez Negrette’s (2022) year-long ethnographic case study explored how notions of language use, race, and ethnicity were socially constructed in an elementary school that hosted a new TWI program (Spanish-English). Using the theory of intersectionality and the framework of raciolinguistics, the author described incidents in the school where raciolinguistic ideologies of race, ethnicity, and bilingualism intersected to generate inclusion/exclusion. These dynamics also communicated messages that negatively framed the use of the Spanish language in the school, reinforced English as the language of belonging, and constructed difference along racial, ethnic, and

linguistic lines. Importantly, Martinez Negrette showed that kindergarten TWI learners attuned to and made sense of these social constructions by re-shaping them as part of the social world they inhabited at school. For example, after witnessing incidents that devalued the use of Spanish in the school, students transformed the message they received from their social environment into a shared social and linguistic norm, establishing that Spanish can only be spoken in their TWI classroom.

The complex and dynamic identities and subjectivities of language-minoritized students in dual-language settings have been problematized in the literature (Di Stefano & Camicia, 2018; Fielding & Harbon, 2013; Hamman-Ortiz, 2020; Pacheco & Hamilton, 2020). For instance, Pacheco and Hamilton (2020) conducted a qualitative study that examined the subjectivities and embodied knowledges of a group of Latina/o/x students as they participated in second-grade TWI classrooms (Spanish-English). The authors found that students were aware of the cultural, linguistic, and racial/ethnic borders that shaped their daily lives and embodied bilingualism in ways that showed their understanding of the distinctions between their lives in the borderlands and those of their white peers learning Spanish at school. Pacheco and Hamilton also examined Latina/o/x bilingual students' participation in classroom interaction and academic tasks, pointing to the relationships, ways of being, and knowledges that they leveraged to support their peers in class. For example, these students helped their peers who were experiencing the challenges of being between languages, validated their Latina/o/x peers' contributions, and mitigated their intellectual contributions. The authors argued that TWI, despite artificial language separation policies, allowed students to demonstrate their borderland subjectivities and use languages in ways that surfaced their tacit and hidden, or subalternized, sensitivities and epistemologies.

Other facets of language-minoritized student experience in TWI settings have been approached in the research literature, including their perceptions of their schooling (Leung et al., 2018) and attitudes toward their languages and biculturalism (Block, 2011). However, few have taken on a longitudinal, ethnographic lens to understand the daily dynamics of TWI programs while centering student experience through their classroom participation and narratives. Moreover, the majority of the studies take place in Spanish-English TWI programs, confirming that little is known about the Portuguese-speaking Latinx experience (Rubinstein-Avila, 2002, 2005). While there may be similarities in the experiences of Latinx Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking populations, there is evidence of differences to be further explored. In our study (see Oliveira et al., 2020), we showed that perceptions of Portuguese as a less “valuable” or “useful” language in a U.S. community shaped individuals’ negative orientation toward a new bilingual program aimed to serve Brazilian immigrant children.

Summary

This literature review provides an overview of historical trends and current discussions from the fields of immigration and bilingual education, centering on the schooling of children with recent histories of migration. This chapter orients the reader to specific issues concerning children’s roles in migration processes and the education that has been provided to immigrant students in the United States. Although immigrant children and their lived experiences have not been accounted for in classical migration theories, developments in the field of anthropology through the approach of transnationalism and transborder thinking allow for the centering of immigrant children in migration research. Additionally, education researchers are compelled to grapple with the historical failures of U.S. language policy in education to address the needs of minoritized children and understand how these students experience formal schooling spaces that

are promised to better serve them, such as TWI programs. The empirical studies and current understandings described in this chapter have informed my data generation, analysis, and interpretation processes. The study findings will be presented and discussed in chapters five, six, and seven.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study explores the experiences of education of 87 elementary TWI students, 70 of whom are Brazilian immigrant children. This ethnographic study (Emerson et al., 2011) used multimodal tools and activities (Flewitt, 2011) and took place at Parker Elementary from fall 2018 to spring 2021. The following research questions have guided the current study:

1. How are the education experiences of a group of Brazilian immigrant children shaped by their participation in the newly-implemented TWI bilingual program (Portuguese-English) at their public elementary school?
 - a. How does this group of Brazilian immigrant children contribute to the day-to-day implementation of the new TWI program? How are their contributions perceived by educators and school staff members serving at the school?
 - b. How are the transborder experiences of this group of Brazilian immigrant children leveraged as they (co-)create knowledge in their TWI classrooms?
2. How did remote learning during the Covid-19 global pandemic shape this group of Brazilian immigrant children's education experiences in the 2020-2021 school year?

In this chapter, I detail the methodology of the study. Based on the literature discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the study design reflects the need to 1) develop holistic portraits of childhoods and schooling of Portuguese-speaking children of Latin American descent in the United States; 2) explore the dynamics of politicized funds of knowledge and inequality in children's narratives and actions in the context of bilingual education; and 3) examine how immigrant children carve

out spaces for their transborder experiences and care-full lives in their formal schooling. The following sections include detailed explanations of the study design, participants, setting, data sources, data generation methods, and analytic plan.

Study Design: Ethnography

In this dissertation project, I approach ethnography as a method of inquiry that seeks to understand and describe social worlds (Emerson et al., 2011) while also leveraging multimodal tools and perspectives (Flewitt, 2011). Here, social worlds are not taken to be literal realities, but instead are seen as interpreted worlds, (re)produced and sustained in and through interactions with others, when individuals co-construct meanings in different groups and situations. Emerson and colleagues (2011) explained that ethnographies are distinctively concerned with *process*, or “with sequences of interaction and interpretation that render meanings and outcomes both unpredictable and emergent” (p. 2). This is reflected in Geertz’s (1973) view of ethnography as an elaborate venture on thick description, as he argued that the ethnographer, faced with a multiplicity of complex and juxtaposed conceptual structures, must focus on their import as opposed to their ontological status.

Considering this emphasis on social worlds, conducting ethnographic research involves studying individuals and groups as they navigate their everyday lives. This involves entering a social setting, becoming familiar and developing relationships with the people engaged in it, participating in the daily routines of this setting, and observing events as they unfold in real-time (Emerson et al., 2011). For Goffman (1989), when engaging in participant observation, a key technique of data generation in ethnographic studies, one is physically and ecologically well-positioned to witness individuals’ responses to their social situation and “note their gestural, visual, bodily response to what’s going on around them” (p. 125). Geertz (1973) explained the

rationale behind this emphasis on daily settings, social groups, and experiences: “understanding a people’s culture exposes their normalness without reducing their particularity. [...] [B]y setting them on the frame of their own banalities, it dissolves their opacity” (p. 7). Thus, ethnographic studies call for a process of *deep hanging out*, or engaging research participants as collaborators whose experiences, ideas, and practices construct knowledge in situ (Walmsley, 2018). To have insights into human behavior, LeCompte and Preissle (1993) argued that ethnographic studies must employ strategies that are 1) conducive to the collection of phenomenological data, which represent the worldviews of the study participants; 2) empirical and naturalistic, or used to obtain firsthand accounts of observed phenomena as they occur in real-time; and 3) holistic, following complex interrelationships that affect behavior toward and belief about a phenomenon.

Ethnographies are described in the literature as presenting the potential for theory-building through the process of systematic observing, documenting, and analyzing human action and behavior as situated in specific contexts and interactions (Heath & Street, 2008). This cycle should also be iterative—involving multiple rounds of observing, documenting, writing, and returning to the site of study to test theories and check interpretations with participants (Murfhey & Falout, 2010). While inserting themselves as one more character in the unfolding story (Behar, 2007), the ethnographer aims to represent participants in their whole and embodied selves, as opposed to unidimensional caricatures, capturing the nuance and messiness of human life and leveraging multiple avenues to best represent participants’ voices. Importantly, ethnographers are compelled to employ reflexivity or consider one’s subjectivity when entering into dialogue with others; that, reflexivity as a method as opposed to an end goal (Cobb & Hoang, 2015).

It is also important, however, to grapple with the problematic origins and critiques of ethnography as an investigative model. It originated from the field of anthropology in the late

nineteenth and early twentieth century, serving as a key tool in cultural theorists' project to "discover" and describe non-Western-European societies (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). In the 1980s and 1990s, however, the field of cultural anthropology went into crisis as critical, feminist, postcolonial, and postmodern scholars denounced "the various ways in which ethnography had been implicated in colonization, racialization, 'othering,' and placing non-Western populations, who lived in the present, in the past" (Rios, 2011, p. 173). In response to such critiques, Rios (2011) explained that a range of innovations to the ethnographic method emerged, including critical ethnography, feminist ethnography, and new methodologies put forth by formal colonial subjects and Indigenous peoples. To date, authors continue to refine and rethink ethnography as a method of inquiry by centering, for example, on the moral dilemmas of field research (Fine, 1993), critiquing scholar-centered approaches to reflexivity (Cobb & Hoang, 2015), and proposing strategies to increase reliability by attending to aspects that have been previously excluded from the ethnographer's analysis (Duneier, 2011). Importantly, Flewitt (2011) argued that multimodality can offer a set of analytic tools to ethnographic studies that can "reveal the intricacies of how social and cultural norms, relationships and identities are played out through discursive and institutional processes in diverse modes and media" (p. 297). Multimodality here refers to methods and theoretical approaches that center on the interplay of diverse modes (e.g., visual, gestural, kinesthetic, linguistic) as resources for meaning-making. From this perspective, ethnographic inquiry can be strengthened through the incorporation of multimodal tools, such as visual technologies for data generation, leading to more grounded and holistic insights.

For this dissertation project, conducting an ethnographic study was important for several reasons. First, young Brazilian immigrant children (5 to 9 years old) are a hard-to-access group who occupy social locations constructed along several intersecting axes of difference that render

them vulnerable (e.g., age, immigration status, socioeconomic status, racial/ethnic backgrounds). As such, an ethnographic endeavor allowed me to build long-term relationships with and follow the children (Orellana, 2009) as they responded to their social situations and narrated their own experiences at their elementary school. Second, the ethnographic research process allowed me to attune to the link between macro forces—including mass migration and U.S. language policies in education—with local contexts and actors. This is crucial since, to grasp any social phenomenon, it is necessary to understand the relationship between human action and social structure (Rios, 2011). Thus, it is important to also account for the cultural, political, and economic processes that produced the ecologies that Brazilian immigrant children navigated in Brazil and the United States. Moreover, ethnographies have a notable methodological strength of providing insight into the saying-doing relationship. In light of the limits to what can be gleaned from verbal accounts, ethnographic tools can help identify continuities and discrepancies in research participants' accounts and actions (Khan & Jerolmack, 2013). Finally, many of the ethnographic studies conducted in/about schools focus on institutions where there was an evident perpetuation of inequities or oppositions among various groups of actors (Cervantes-Soon, 2017). As such, as explained by Cervantes-Soon (2017), there is a need for school-based ethnographic studies that center on student agency and counterhegemonic practices. The present study seeks to contribute to this scholarship by centering on Brazilian immigrant children's experiences of education.

Research Setting

Brazilian Migration to the United States and Massachusetts

The presence of Brazilian immigrants in the U.S. has been noted since the 1930s-1940s (Tosta, 2005). The first Brazilians to come to the U.S., before the 1980s, were typically artists, government officials, and upper-middle-class tourists or exchange students. This pattern of

movement to the United States considerably changed towards the end of the twentieth century due to U.S. military and commercial interests in Brazilian resources during World War II, the early formation of networks and ties between Brazilians and U.S. nationals, and later economic and political events in Brazil that deteriorated the living conditions there. These dynamics are briefly explained below.

According to Marcus (2009), in the 1940s, the southwestern area of the state of Goiás and the east-central region of the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, became areas of mica/quartz (crystal) extraction during WW II, attracting Boston-based mining companies and U.S. engineers and geologists. These professionals settled in the region and implemented a system of mechanized mica extraction (Marcus, 2009). Besides mica, the city of Governador Valadares, in Minas Gerais, and the surrounding Rio Doce valley, were rich in iron ore, which was needed for steel production and was in short supply due to WWII (Becker, 2006). To optimize mineral extraction, significant investments in infrastructure and public health initiatives were made by the U.S. government (Levitt, 1999). For example, the malaria outbreak in Brazil, which threatened the health of workers and thus the entire enterprise of mineral extraction, prompted the Rockefeller Foundation to develop the Rio Doce Valley program (1952-1960). This initiative included sewage and water treatment and supply and provided sanitation education for residents (Costa et al., 2018). These developments promoted ongoing contact between local residents and U.S. nationals, which led to the creation of ties that sustained subsequent migration (Marcus, 2009). Levitt (1999), for example, posited that mining executives who returned to Boston after WWII brought with them young Brazilian women to work as domestic servants; these women developed social networks that later encouraged large-scale migration. These early contacts between Americans and Brazilians from the Governador Valadares area also opened avenues for

upper-middle-class Brazilian youth to study abroad in the U.S., and their experiences were prominently portrayed in Brazilian newspapers, inspiring local residents to imagine a distant geography (Marcus, 2009). There are also reports of later ties formed between Brazilians from Minas Gerais and Americans from Massachusetts in subsequent decades. For example, during the 1970s and 1980s, U.S. Protestant missionaries went to the southeast region of Brazil and established long-lasting ties with residents (Marcus, 2009). These ties generated and maintained successive migration, and through them, local Brazilian residents gained access to religious and labor-market networks, including job positions in construction.

However, the end of the twentieth century emerged as a period of significant shifts in Brazilian history, from having one of the highest economic growth rates in the world to recession and stagnation, as the country grappled with the aftermath of over two decades of dictatorial rule (1964-85). During the 1980s, the so-called “lost decade,” Brazil shifted from being a historically immigrant nation, which accommodated immigrant groups from Europe and Asia for centuries, to one with increasing rates of emigration (Rubinstein-Avila, 2005). Goza (1994) argued that the political and economic crisis years of the 1980s and 1990s significantly worsened the position of the Brazilian middle class, leading affected families to consider migration as a private solution to cope with macro-level conditions. As such, there was an increase in the number of Brazilians departing for the United States and Canada, and the nature of these travels also changed. Goza (1994) stated that “most pre-1980 nonimmigrants were short-term tourists. During the mid- and late-1980s, however, an ever-increasing proportion of those arriving came primarily to seek remunerated employment and more stable social conditions than those found in Brazil” (p. 137). Moreover, looking at Brazilian migration to North America, Goza estimated that over 64 percent of all immigrants in the late 1980s and early 1990s were from the state of Minas Gerais.

Massachusetts has been a particularly attractive locale for Brazilian migrants for a variety of reasons. First, the existence of personal transnational networks, such as the one that links the Governador Valadares area and Massachusetts, have expanded over time and encompassed a range of family members, friends, and personal contacts leading to the phenomenon of chain migration. These networks are key in helping newcomers settle in Massachusetts; they facilitate the processes of finding employment, housing, places for worship, and schools for the children (Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006). Second, the strong presence of the Portuguese language in New England, associated with the Iberian immigration that dates back to the seventeenth century, attracted Brazilians to towns in Massachusetts where Portuguese speakers represented a critical mass (Rubinstein-Avila, 2005; Becker, 2006). Third, Massachusetts is believed by members of the Brazilian immigrant community to provide decent services, such as public schools and health insurance, to immigrants, attracting them to the region. Moreover, the presence of longstanding community-based organizations, such as the Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS) established in 1993, also draws Brazilians to the state, since these institutions play an active role in providing them with health and social-related services (Rubinstein-Avila, 2005).

As explained in Chapter 1, Massachusetts has an estimated 350,000 residents of Brazilian descent (Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2016), but these numbers must be taken with caution, since there is widespread consensus that Brazilian immigrants have been consistently undercounted in formal measures in the U.S., including the U.S. Census (Marcelli et al. 2009; Marcus 2009). A possible reason for such mismatches and challenges to obtain more precise figures may be connected to Brazilians' racial identifications. Many Brazilian immigrants do not identify themselves or their children as 'Hispanic' or 'Hispanic/Latino' in official measures and documents, including in school demographic questionnaires, but instead, categorize themselves

as ‘white.’ When identifying as white, immigrants frequently mean “non-black” in Brazil, yet to Americans, many are seen as black or nonwhite (Martes, 2011).

Parker City, MA

Parker City (pseudonym) has historically received Brazilian immigrants (Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006). Hosting over 72,000 residents (U.S. Census, 2020), Parker City has the highest percentage of Brazilians in the state. Several scholars have located a specific migration pattern that connects Parker City, U.S., and the Governador Valadares area, in Minas Gerais, Brazil, indicating the strength of early ties and social networks in facilitating the movement of Brazilians to Massachusetts (Siqueira & Lourenço, 2006). Levitt (1999) referred to the link between areas in Massachusetts and the city of Governador Valadares as a typical case of *urban to urban* transnational community. She explained that the local economy of Governador Valadares, Parker City’s “sister city” (Campbell, 2015), has undergone a process of almost total dollarization, with migrants exerting strong economic influence on their sending community through monetary remittances. Several children in this study shared that they were originally from the Governador Valadares area and currently live in Parker City.

Parker City also offers a range of social services and supports for Brazilian immigrants, including through the community-based, non-profit organization Brazilian-American Center (BRACE). BRACE is often the “first stop” for many newcomer Brazilian immigrants in the surrounding area since it helps individuals find housing and provides donations (e.g., furniture, clothes, and food), services (e.g., English as a Second Language [ESL] and computer classes), and key information (e.g., about visas and immigration status, how to obtain documents such as a driver’s license and social security number).

Parker City Public Schools (PCPS) served 9,478 K-12 students in 9 elementary schools, 3 middle schools, and 1 high school (PCPS, 2019). According to the district's website, as of 2019, PCPS students spoke 72 world languages and about 23.5% of the total number of students were identified as English Language Learners (ELLs). While about 43.2% of all PCPS students speak a language in addition to or other than English at home, the largest proportion of these students, at 45%, speak Portuguese, illustrating the strong presence of Brazilian immigrants in this school district. In response to the needs of this diverse student population, PCPS has offered a range of language programs, including Portuguese-English transitional bilingual education (TBE), sheltered English immersion (SEI), and, since 2018, Portuguese-English TWI programs.

Parker Elementary School and the TWI Program

Parker Elementary has a high concentration of Brazilian students, as is illustrated in the following statistics shared by school officials: From Parker Elementary's 513 K-5 students in 2019-20, 253 children spoke Portuguese and had a recent Brazilian immigrant background and 180 students were classified as ELLs. This school used to implement a TBE program for its Portuguese-speaking newcomers, where these students received content-area instruction in their native language, while also studying English through ESL classes. After one to three years, these students would be transferred to general education classrooms conducted in English, revealing the program's goal to ultimately transition students to English-only instruction (Dorner, 2011). Parker Elementary's TBE program was dismantled in 2015 due to concerns over the school's ranking in standardized tests and resistance from non-Brazilian, English-speaking families to the growing number of Brazilian immigrant children enrolled in the school (Chang-Bacon et al, forthcoming).

However, the recent surge in Brazilian immigration to Parker City, coupled with the passing of new legislation that authorized bilingual education at the state level in late 2017, led PCPS to implement a new program type, TWI, to better serve the growing number of Brazilian immigrant children in the district schools. Thus, in 2018-2019, Parker Elementary implemented the district's first Portuguese-English TWI program. The new language program also grew from the activism and advocacy of Brazilian bilingual teachers who were committed to its potential for greater equity for language-minoritized populations.

The initial cohort of students in this new TWI program included 92 students distributed into two kindergartens and two first-grade classrooms. Parker Elementary and its district have expanded this TWI program by one grade each year. Inside Parker Elementary's TWI program, kindergarten students were expected to spend 80% of their school day immersed in Portuguese, while the remaining 20% was dedicated to instruction in English. This proportion continued to change in first grade (70% in Portuguese; 30% in English) and second grade (60% in Portuguese; 40% in English). When the students reached third grade, the language allocation changed once again to 50%-50%, a proportion that remained the same until the end of their time in elementary school (grades 3-5).

In K-2 TWI classrooms, six Brazilian bilingual teachers were responsible for instruction only in Portuguese, covering Portuguese literacy and math in their respective classrooms. Two English Language Development (ELD) teachers and one ESL educator, who self-described as monolingual English speakers who had some knowledge of languages other than Portuguese, led instruction in English which covered social studies and science. Thus, literacy was taught only in Portuguese from kindergarten through second grade, with English literacy introduced only in the third grade, when the language proportion reached 50%-50%. Reinforcing a strict language

separation policy, TWI students in kindergarten through second grade started their school day in Portuguese, with circle time led by Brazilian bilingual classroom teachers.

These dynamics changed when students reached 3rd grade in the TWI program. Now, one Brazilian bilingual educator led instructional time in her classroom only in Portuguese and another Brazilian bilingual educator led instructional time in her classroom only in English. In this setup, third graders swapped classrooms every day after the lunch break and recess to obtain an equal amount of instructional time in each language daily. For example, a group of students spent the morning in the Portuguese-led classroom and the afternoon in the English led-classroom. Every two weeks, third graders would also rotate classrooms altogether. That is, instead of beginning their school day in the “Portuguese” classroom, they would now spend their mornings in the “English” classroom for two weeks and transition to the “Portuguese” classroom after lunch. This rotation every two weeks ensured that third graders had access to instruction and learned new content in the four content areas (literacy, math, science, and social studies) in the two official languages of the program.

This TWI program’s goals emphasized bilingualism and biliteracy in Portuguese and English, academic achievement in the same curriculum used in standard classrooms, and the development of positive cross-cultural relationships for all students. These program objectives align with the literature on the potential benefits of TWI (Crawford 2004; García 2009). The implementation of a new bilingual education program type at Parker Elementary has had a strong impact not only within the school walls but importantly on the community at large. Now all prospective Parker Elementary families had the option to matriculate their children either in standard classrooms, with lessons completely taught in English (with SEI support for ELLs), or in the new bilingual program. Also, since all parents could apply for “open enrollment” to send

their children to a specific school in this district, several Brazilian immigrant families wanted to send their children to Parker Elementary because of the TWI program. This occurred even though several Brazilian immigrant families lived near the city center while this school was located in a distant suburb in a more affluent part of town. Parker Elementary was selected to be part of this study based on its high concentration of Brazilian students and its new TWI program, which was implemented in the first year of data collection (2018-2019).

Participants

TWI Students

In the three consecutive years of this study (2018-2021), there were several changes in the focal cohort of students for this project for a variety of reasons, including families relocating to different cities or returning to Brazil, new students enrolling in the TWI program, or children transitioning from the TWI program to general education classrooms in the same or at a different school. Although the four initial TWI classrooms in this project gathered 92 students in the 2018-2019 school year (SY), over three school calendar years, 23 students joined the focal classrooms and 20 students eventually left the TWI program. See Table 1 for a breakdown of the number of students who joined or left the program.

Table 1

Students Enrolled in the TWI Program (2018-2021)

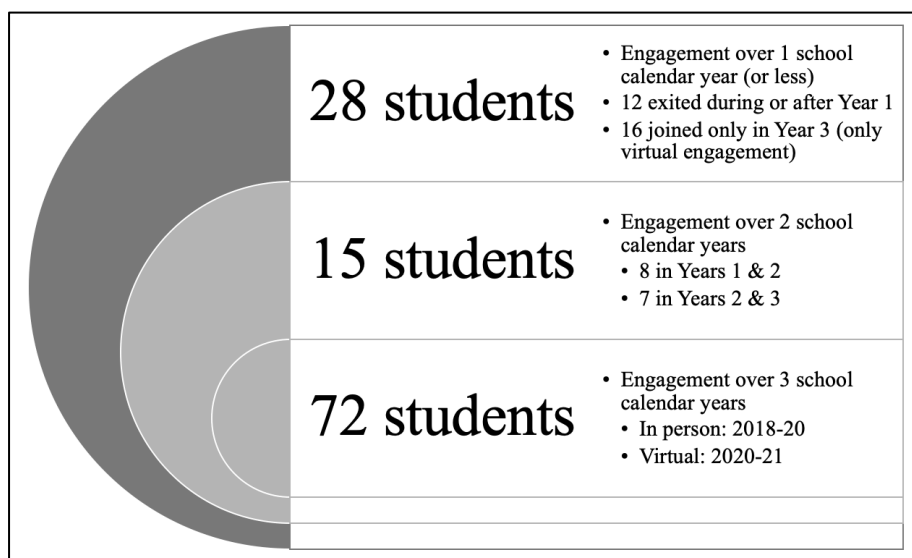
	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21 [Remote]
Students matriculated	92	87	93
New students who joined the TWI program at the beginning or during the SY		+7	+16
Students who left the TWI program before or during the SY		-12	-8

As can be seen from Table 1 above, a total of 115 students attended the program at some point, although their number of years participating in the program varied. As such, I had different levels of engagement (Oliveira, 2018) with the 115 children that attended the program. I was able to closely follow 72 participants over 3 school calendar years, engaging in participant observation, consistent relationship-building, and multiple one-on-one conversations (see the inner circle of Figure 2 below). My engagement with them also occurred primarily in person at their physical elementary school, before the school shutdowns and sheltering-in-place measures to stop the spread of Covid-19 that began in mid-March 2020. I was also able to follow 15 students for 2 school calendar years, as these children joined the program either in Year 1 (2018-2019) or Year 2 (2019-2020) of this project (see the middle circle of Figure 2 below).

Finally, 28 students only took part in this study for 1 school year or less. They either joined the program in Year 1 and exited the program during or by the end of that school year (12 children), or they only joined the language program in Year 3 of this project (2020-2021) (16 children). For this latter group of children, I only had the chance to see them participating in their classrooms and interact with them virtually, via Google Classroom, since the entire school was engaged in fully remote learning from September 2020 to March 2021 due to the Covid-19 pandemic. While my level of engagement with these three sub-groups differs, ethnographic research reflects precisely that: the constant change in human life.

Figure 2

Levels of Engagement with 115 Students in the TWI program (2018-2021)



Although this study is informed by the perspectives of all 115 students who attended the focal classrooms in the TWI program in 2018-2021, I define the two inner levels of engagement to consist of my focal group of students, thus including 87 children (45 female and 42 male). See Appendix A for a list of all 115 students who attended this program.

The new TWI program at Parker Elementary was envisioned to host an equal number of language majority and minority students, but the reality on the ground was quite different. In the cohort of 87 students for this study, 70 children had a recent Brazilian immigrant background and 17 were non-Brazilian students with no ties to Brazil. From reviewing student records and based on interactions with classroom teachers, children, and families, it is estimated that 33 children (out of the 70 students of Brazilian descent) are first-generation immigrants, that is, they were born in Brazil and later migrated to the United States. This group also includes newcomer immigrants, meaning the students who arrived in the U.S. within the year. As such, the remaining 37 students are estimated to be second-generation immigrants, that is, they were born

in the U.S. to one or more Brazilian parents. This unbalanced proportion corroborates reports from school and district officials that they have seen a surge in the enrollment of Brazilian immigrant children.

Moreover, from the group of 87 students, 6 students had an Individualized Education Plan (IEP), 53 were classified as ELLs and 34 were non-ELLs. See Table 2 below for a summary of students' demographic information. Signed assent forms to participating in the larger mixed-methods project (PI: Dr. Gabrielle Oliveira) were collected in the fall semesters of three consecutive school years (2018-19, 2019-20, and 2020-21) from parents and guardians.

Table 2

Demographic Information of Focal Participants

Categories	Brazilian immigrant background (70 students)		Non-Brazilian immigrant background (17 students)	
Gender at Birth	35 female	35 male	10 female	7 male
ELL Status	52 ELLs	18 non-ELLs	1 ELL	16 non-ELLs
IEP Status	5 with IEPs		1 with IEPs	

TWI Classroom Teachers

The eight TWI teachers (all names are pseudonyms) whose classrooms were visited as part of this project have considerable transnational experience; they were born and raised in different parts of Brazil and later immigrated to the United States (except Ms. Pacheco who was born in the U.S.). Two of these teachers were crucial in the implementation of the TWI program in 2018. The eight teachers have acted as strong advocates for its consolidation. Table 3 below situates each teacher in the program during the phase of data collection.

Table 3*TWI Teachers*

Grade Level	Year	Language Allocation	TWI Teachers
Kindergarten	2018-19	80% Port. – 20% Eng.	Ms. Leite & Ms. Toledo
1 st grade	2018-19 2019-20	70% Port. – 30% Eng.	Ms. Matos & Ms. Duarte
2 nd grade	2019-20 2020-21	60% Port. – 40% Eng.	Ms. Dantas & Ms. Tavares
3 rd grade	2020-21	50% Port. – 50% Eng.	Ms. Gutierrez & Ms. Pacheco

Ms. Leite, a kindergarten teacher in the TWI program, was from a small community in Brazil. Upon arriving in the United States in the early 2000s she worked in various jobs and later majored in early childhood education. Her first teaching job was in the TBE program at Parker Elementary. Ms. Leite had a leading role in the effort to change the model of bilingual education implemented in the school from TBE to TWI. Also a kindergarten teacher in the TWI program, Ms. Toledo had considerable transnational experiences moving back and forth between Brazil and the United States from an early age. After some time in Brazil, Ms. Toledo moved back to the United States to finish high school and later majored in elementary education. Her first year of teaching co-occurred with the start of the TWI program at Parker Elementary.

The first-grade TWI teacher, Ms. Duarte, was born and raised in Brazil where she worked as a Portuguese teacher for grades 8-12. She immigrated to the U.S. and worked as a substitute teacher and teacher aide in several transitional bilingual programs. Ms. Duarte applied for her first full-time teaching position in the TWI program at Parker Elementary in 2018. At the time of data collection, she was pursuing a Master's degree in ESL. Moreover, Ms. Matos, another first-grade teacher in the language program, had extensive teaching experience in public elementary

schools in Brazil before she immigrated to the U.S. in the early 2000s. Since then, she has taught K-5 students in different bilingual education program types, including the former TBE program and the new TWI program at Parker Elementary.

The second-grade teacher, Ms. Dantas, worked as a Portuguese-English bilingual teacher in private schools in Brazil before migration. Once in the United States in the early 2000s, she became a classroom teacher in English-medium general education classrooms at Parker Elementary. She transitioned to the TWI program in 2019-2020 as the school administration recruited her to join the program. The other 2nd-grade teacher, Ms. Tavares, had a career in business in Brazil but became interested in changing professional paths after immigrating to the United States and working as a teacher aide in schools that served large populations of Brazilian immigrant students. At the beginning of data collection (Year 1), she was pursuing a degree in social work and acted as a floating paraprofessional for the first-grade classrooms. In Year 2, due to the sudden departure of the TWI 2nd-grade teacher halfway through the fall semester of 2019, Ms. Tavares was recruited by the school leadership to step up as the new second-grade teacher. She did not hold a degree in elementary education at the time but was able to accept the position by obtaining a teaching license waiver.

The third-grade teacher, Ms. Gutierrez, worked as a journalist in Brazil for over a decade, later becoming involved in the field of education upon migration to the United States. She taught Portuguese to high schoolers and also in adult education programs in the U.S. Northeast. In the 2020-2021 school year, during the peak of the Covid-19 pandemic, she transitioned from an administrative position in the district to being a TWI 3rd-grade classroom teacher, working with elementary-aged children for the first time. Finally, Ms. Pacheco, another third-grade teacher in the program, was born in the U.S. to Brazilian immigrant parents. She had recently received her

initial elementary education teaching license and was pursuing a Master's degree in special education at the time of data collection. She had worked as a teacher aide and long-term substitute teacher for a year before taking the position as a third-grade TWI classroom teacher at Parker Elementary.

In sum, these eight TWI educators had a range of personal and professional experiences. They were licensed, pursuing a teaching license, or leveraged teaching license waivers with the support of the school and district leadership. They also had between one and twenty years of teaching experience. All of them had recent ties to Brazil.

Positionality

I identify as a Brazilian Latina who grew up in a working-class family in the Brazilian northeast, in the urban city center of Recife in the state of Pernambuco, Brazil. I worked for years as an English as a foreign language educator at private schools and language institutes in Brazil, working closely with elementary- and middle-school-aged children as well as adults. I later immigrated to the United States as an adult in 2015, where I have lived ever since, but sustain strong ties with loved ones in Brazil. In this dissertation study, I work with and navigate a vibrant Brazilian immigrant community to understand the complexity of their educational lives. I was able to build a strong rapport with young students, families, and teachers by drawing on my lived experiences as a former teacher, a recent immigrant from Brazil, and a Portuguese speaker. On one hand, my membership in a U.S. university and position as a researcher generated power asymmetries between me and the research participants, especially children and families. On the other hand, my role as a research assistant (fieldworker) in a larger research project, age, and enrollment in a degree in education, also generated proximity from classroom teachers and other school personnel. As such, during fieldwork in the TWI program, I had to navigate different

power relations at the same time, with teachers often orienting to me as an apprentice educator while the students saw me as a teacher, or school-based agent, with full authority. I had to remind children and families, time and time again, that I was not a teacher at the moment.

My intersecting identities introduce several biases in my inquiry. First, while I typically share with the children, families, and teachers in this project a native language (Brazilian Portuguese), my research participants and I are positioned differently as immigrants in the United States. My privileged location—along racial and socioeconomic lines and educational background (as an educated, white, middle-class Brazilian woman)—cannot be underestimated and affect our interactions and shape processes of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Additionally, my generational position as an adult influences my approach as a researcher and introduces the risk of imposing an adult ideological viewpoint (Speier, 1976) on children's social worlds. This risk compels me to accept my limitations and center my inquiry on children as experts in their own experiences.

Sources of Data

The research design of this dissertation, and its data collection process, acknowledged and leveraged children's multiple ways of knowing and modes of expression (Dyson, 1990; Flewitt, 2011). Data has been collected from familiar settings to the participating children, such as their classrooms, the school playground, and the cafeteria. This project also follows the routines and progression of their daily lives at school. Specifically, data sources for this study include: 1) field notes from participant observations of TWI (in-person and remote) instruction; 2) artifacts collected at the school in person or virtually during remote learning; 2) informal conversations with the children during in-person school visits; 3) qualitative interviews with eight TWI teachers and nine school staff members; and 4) life story interviews with caregivers.

Therefore, this ethnographic study takes on a multimodal approach and is designed to collect data from multiple participants beyond the focal cohort of students, also including the perspectives of teachers and other school personnel who interacted with the children regularly. This study is also designed to collect data of various modes and types, such as written artifacts (e.g., classroom assignments) and drawings, and audio recordings of informal conversations and interviews. By leveraging multiple participants' accounts and sources of data generation, I aim to obtain holistic insights into a group of Brazilian immigrant children's experience of education.

My purpose is not to use multiple sources of evidence to triangulate my findings and “fact-check” or confirm children's narratives about their experiences and practices. Rather, I take on a social-ecological approach that considers young children's lives as embedded in reciprocal interactions with their social contexts (Suárez-Orozco & Yoshikawa, 2013). From this stance, children's individual experiences are understood to shape and be shaped by nested systems that include, for example, relationships in the immediate environment of family life, dynamics in the neighborhoods and civic institutions, and societal, policy, and cultural belief systems. As such, this study is designed to engage these interrelated layers by including the voices and perspectives of various agents who interacted with the children in different capacities and embodied different orientations to their schooling. Below I provide specific descriptions of each data source.

Participant Observations at Parker Elementary

The goal of this project (2018-2021) was to trace the experiences of education of 87 elementary students in Parker Elementary's TWI program, 70 of whom had a recent Brazilian immigrant background. Specifically, experiences of education here include, for example, focal students' participation in class, interactions with peers and school personnel, and feelings of belonging or, conversely, alienation in TWI classrooms. As such, I conducted regular participant

observations (Emerson et al., 2011) at the elementary school, following the group of students from the beginning of their studies in kindergarten and first grade in the bilingual program (fall 2018) to the end of their school year in second grade and third grade (spring 2021), respectively. Participant observation, an important strategy of data generation in ethnographic studies, allowed me to check for nonverbal actions and witness how Brazilian immigrant students, teachers, and other school personnel in the focal bilingual program interacted, experienced, and responded to their social situations (Goffman, 1989).

Specifically, in the first two years of data collection (August 2018 to June 2019; August 2019 to March 2020), the project PI and I visited the school in person and conducted about 6 hours of weekly participant observation, rotating every week between the two classrooms where the focal cohort studied (~430 hours total). The focal cohort of 87 students was divided into two kindergartens and two first-grade classrooms in 2018-2019. In the following school calendar year (2019-2020), these students were part of two 1st-grade classrooms and two 2nd-grade classrooms. During my in-person school participant observations, I wrote detailed field notes, attending to 1) thick description of space and place (e.g., posters on the hallways, classroom setups); 2) interactions among the students during classroom activities; and 3) social activities that involved Brazilian immigrant children, including instructional sequences and classroom discussions. In the first year of data collection (2018-2019), my ethnographic notes were primarily inductive; that is, my goal was to document as much as possible during my school visits without specific a theoretical lens or narrow research topic/question. Then, in the subsequent years of school-based participant observation, I re-entered the school with more targeted deductive codes, derived from the inductive observations of my first year of school visits, while also remaining attuned to new dynamics in the school that escaped these pre-

established codes. More on the coding process is explained below in the section dedicated to analytical procedures.

Moreover, during my participant observations at Parker Elementary, I also wrote field notes and audio-recorded informal conversations with the children. These conversations occurred inside the classrooms during transitions between activities or when the students finished their tasks earlier and were authorized by their teachers to read a book, draw, or chat. Informal conversations lasted between 5 to 20 minutes and were largely unstructured and dynamic; other children usually joined the conversation and the subject under discussion changed fluidly. At the onset of the project, these informal conversations began with one open-ended, researcher-posed question, such as ‘where are you from?’, and then would not follow any other script. Over time, as the children grew accustomed to my presence in their classrooms, they often approached me and asked questions, which generated informal interviews. Finally, during my observations, I also took pictures of students’ work displayed on the school hallways and classroom walls as well as assignments that the children were working on during my visits or that they (or their teachers) explicitly wanted to share with me (~50 artifacts collected over three SYs).

In addition, in the first two years of data collection, I attended and conducted participant observations during the following school events that occurred outside of my regular weekly visits to the TWI program: 2 Curriculum Night events; 1 Parent Teacher Organization (PTO) meeting; 2 School staff meetings; 1 TWI staff meeting; 1 Bilingual Parent Advisory Council (BPAC) meeting; 1 School “Fun Run” Fundraiser event; and 2 Holiday Celebration events. In these ten events (~30 hours total), I intentionally engaged with the participants involved (e.g., parents, families, community members, school staff members) and documented, through detailed field notes, aspects of the physical setting, unfolding interactions, and ongoing social activities.

As the Covid-19 pandemic began in March 2020, and the consequent nationwide school shutdowns to prevent the spread of the virus, my data collection was halted from March to August 2020. While I was able to keep in touch with participants and teachers by participating in Google Meet sessions during the spring of 2020, I resumed structured data collection for this project in September 2020, a time when Parker Elementary, and all other schools in its district, offered fully remote instruction (from September 2020 to March 2021) through the learning platform Google Classroom. Due to a statewide mandate, Parker Elementary offered hybrid instruction from mid-March to June 2021. In this latter model, students were gradually phased back into physical classrooms, but families could opt out of in-person instruction and their children had the option to continue to access instruction remotely. In light of these constraints, the third year (2020-2021) of weekly participant observations occurred entirely online via Google Classroom, each observation lasting about 3 hours (~80 hours total). I had to coordinate my visits ahead of time with each of the two second-grade teachers and two third-grade teachers; they had to send me an “invite” link to their virtual classrooms on the day of my visit so that I could join their classrooms. During my online participant observations, I took screenshots and wrote field notes about student participation in their virtual classrooms, including their use of the classroom chatbox. In this final year of the study, I had limited opportunities to have informal conversations with the students due to the heavily teacher-mediated structure of these virtual environments.

As Parker Elementary limited the number of people at the school to prevent the spread of Covid-19 once all of the students returned to their physical classrooms by the end of March 2021, it was not feasible for me to resume in-person data collection. Thus, I ended the process of data collection in late March of 2021, before the end of the school year. As such, I was able to

follow students throughout their 7 months of fully remote instruction (September 2020 to March 2021) and observe (through Google Classroom) the transition from fully remote to hybrid instruction. In sum, this project has gathered over 500 hours of participant observations in person and online, following students over 3 school calendar years. Participant observations included: 18 months of in-person school-based participant observation (~430 hours), attendance at 10 in-person school events (~30 hours), and 7 months of virtual classroom observations (~80 hours).

Qualitative Interviews with Staff Members

I conducted qualitative interviews (Weiss, 1994) with eight TWI classroom teachers and nine school staff members who served the students in the bilingual program over the 3 school years of this study (2018-21). See Table 4 below for more information about the position of each interviewee in the school as well as when, where, and how long each interview unfolded. Following Weiss (1994), the insights generated in qualitative interviews escape the fragmentary nature of the information often obtained in quantitative survey studies that prioritize standardized precision. As such, qualitative interviews do not require that interviewees are asked the same set of questions. Instead, interviewers have more freedom to tailor questions to specific respondents and ask them for further examples, explanations, or discussions as it becomes relevant throughout the interview to understand their full story (Weiss, 1994). Although I entered the interviews with a set of guidelines and topics that I was interested in approaching with the 17 school staff members, I tailored my questions to each respondent during the interviews. The set of interview guidelines (see Appendix B) was developed by the research team for the larger mixed-methods research project (PI: Dr. Gabrielle Oliveira) under which this dissertation study was developed. My priority was not to cover the topics of my interview guidelines, but instead to

follow the interviewees' lead in terms of what and how much they wanted to share regarding their personal and professional trajectories and their experiences serving Brazilian students.

Table 4

Participants in Qualitative Interviews

Professional role	Country of origin	When and how long the interviews lasted	Where the interviews occurred
Kindergarten teacher (Ms. Leite)	Brazil	November 2018 (2'15'') December 2019 (1'1'')	Researcher's home Local restaurant
Kindergarten teacher (Ms. Toledo)	Brazil	November 2018 (38'')	Parker Elementary
1st-grade teacher (Ms. Matos)	Brazil	November 2018 (36'') December 2019 (1'37'')	Parker Elementary Local restaurant
1st-grade teacher (Ms. Duarte)	Brazil	November 2018 (1'40'') November 2019 (2'17'')	Participant's home Local restaurant
2nd-grade teacher (Ms. Dantas)	Brazil	December 2019 (1'52'') March 2021 (1'44'')	Local restaurant Phone interview
2nd-grade teacher (Ms. Tavares)	Brazil	December 2019 (1'20'') March 2021 (56'')	Participant's home Phone interview
3rd-grade teacher (Ms. Gutierrez)	Brazil	February 2021 (1'54'')	Interview via Google Classroom
3rd-grade teacher (Ms. Pacheco)	U.S.A.	February 2021 (59'')	Interview via Google Classroom
Special Ed. teacher	Brazil	April 2019 (40'')	Parker Elementary
Social worker	Brazil	April 2019 (39'')	Parker Elementary
Psychologist	Brazil	May 2019 (60'')	Parker Elementary
Nurse	U.S.A.	April 2019 (30'')	Parker Elementary
ESL teacher	U.S.A.	April 2019 (29'')	Parker Elementary
ELD teacher	U.S.A.	March 2019 (25'')	Parker Elementary
Literacy coach	U.S.A.	May 2019 (42'')	Parker Elementary
Language development coach	European country	April 2019 (42'')	Parker Elementary

1st-grade Floating Paraprofessional	Brazil	April 2019 (50’')	Parker Elementary
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As can be seen from Table 5 above, this study includes interviews with school staff members from different fields and degrees of proximity to the cohort of Brazilian immigrant students. For example, TWI classroom teachers interacted with the focal cohort every day, while the school nurse served students from general education classrooms and those in the bilingual program and did not see or closely engaged with the focal students daily. A wide range of school professionals was interviewed because they view Brazilian immigrant children’s education from different perspectives and know about different aspects of it. Thus, through qualitative interviews with a “wide-ranging *panel of knowledgeable informants*” (Weiss, 1994, p. 17), I obtained a more nuanced understanding of how Brazilian immigrant students experienced education at Parker Elementary School.

All interviews were audio-recorded with participants’ permission, lasted between 25-137 minutes, and took place at the school or in other places in the community, via phone, or online (through Google Classroom). They included topics such as the interviewee’s professional trajectories, perceived benefits and challenges of implementing a TWI program in Parker City, and their role in the education of immigrant students. Five TWI teachers were interviewed twice each, and these interviews were about one year apart. The remaining participants were interviewed once, due to their availability. In sum, approximately 26 hours of individual qualitative interviews with school staff members were collected for this project.

Life Stories Interviews with Caregivers

Life stories have the potential to bring to light how the hidden structure of larger political processes is experienced in the everyday lives of social subjects in local contexts (Rios, 2011). In

this project, eliciting life stories from caregivers has allowed me to understand families' lived experiences across time and space, generating critical insight into the interplay between their agency and the social structures that impact their lives, including U.S. immigration policy and U.S. language policies in education. After reaching out to several parents and families with the support and following the recommendations of TWI teachers, I was able to visit the homes of eight Brazilian immigrant children to conduct life stories interviews with their caregivers.

I conducted life story interviews with three families in November 2018, one family in December 2019, and four families in October 2021 (a total of ~15 hours). All interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the research participants. The life stories interviews occurred in participants' homes (living rooms or kitchens), in their language of choice, Portuguese, and lasted between 60-120 minutes. In each interview, I focused on the following topics: 1) Lived experiences in Brazil (pre-migration), including professions, housing situation, and their children's schooling; 2) Lived experiences en route (in-migration), including contributing factors and rationale for migration, memories and feelings toward their journey North, and experiences soon after resettlement (e.g., housing, employment, education); and 3) Current lived experiences, including recent interactions with social institutions, such as their children's school, hospitals, and churches, their thoughts on their current living situation, continued connections with loved ones in Brazil, and their future aspirations for their children. In all the interviews, the children were present in the room. They actively listened and at times contributed to the conversation with their own thoughts and feelings. In four life stories interviews, only mothers were present and narrated their stories. In the remaining four, I was able to engage both mothers and fathers.

Data Collection Timeline

Data collection has occurred over three years, encompassing a total of 25 months (non-sequential), between August 2018 to March 2021, with additional interviews with caregivers also taking place in October 2021 (once Covid-related restrictions were relaxed and I was able to visit families in person again). A timeline of the data collection plan by data source is available in Table 5 below. Data collection has overlapped with data analysis to inform the process of data generation for this project. As explained above, several changes were made throughout the data collection process so that I could continue to engage research participants and ensure the collection of adequate data to generate ethnographic insight into the educational experiences of a group of Brazilian immigrant children before and during a global pandemic. I gathered sufficient evidence from two or more different sources to address my research questions and to explore negative cases and discrepant cases (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

Table 5

Data Collection Timeline

Data Collection	(SY 1) August 2018 to June 2019		(SY 2) August 2019 to early March 2020 (Lockdown)		(SY 3) September 2020 to March 2021		Follow-up October 2021
	Fall	Spring	Fall	Spring	Fall	Spring	
School personnel consent	X		X		X		
Parental consent and child assent	X		X		X		
School-based participant observation (in-person)	X	X	X	X			
School-based participant observation (virtual)					X	X	
Qualitative interviews with TWI teachers	X		X		X		

Qualitative interviews with school staff members	X			
Interviews with caregivers	X	X		X

Using an external hard drive, I kept each form and unit of data as a separate computer file, but in categorized folders (e.g., interviews, field notes of classroom observation). I also created two documents using Excel that helped me account for all the data sources that were collected. First, I created a general chronological log to document the data collection and analysis work (Miles et al., 2014). In this data log, I included a list of each site visit by date and time, a description of what was accomplished (e.g., a visit to Parker Elementary, participant observation in Ms. Duarte's classroom), and information about the data collected. Moreover, I created an index document of all materials that were stored in the external hard drive to be retrieved and retained for data analysis. These materials include raw data, such as field notes, audio recordings, and site documents; partially processed data, such as write-ups and transcripts; coded data; memos; data displays; and written research reports.

Child assent forms and consent forms from guardians, educators, and other school staff members were collected at the beginning of each school year to protect the rights of participants. Throughout my fieldwork at Parker Elementary, I reiterated multiple times the main purpose of the study and how I would ensure participants' confidentiality. I also asked permission to record my conversations with the participants (e.g., children, and teachers) and explained their rights to withdraw from this project at any time without consequences. The children had the option to choose their own pseudonyms and had control over which assignments they would share with me and which interactions I would write down or audio-record. See Table 6 below for a summary of the study methods.

Table 6*Ethnographic Methods Study Design Diagram*

Study	Process	Data
<p>Research Questions:</p> <p>1. How are the education experiences of a group of Brazilian immigrant children shaped by their participation in the TWI program at their public elementary school?</p> <p>[A]. How does this group of Brazilian immigrant children contribute to the day-to-day implementation of the new TWI program? How are their contributions perceived by educators and school staff members serving at the school?</p> <p>[B]. How are the transborder experiences of this group of Brazilian immigrant children leveraged as they (co-)create knowledge in their TWI classrooms?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> About 430 hours of <u>participant observations</u> (Emerson et al., 2011) in 8 TWI classrooms in person at Parker Elementary (2018-2019 and 2019-2020). Participant observations in 10 school events and staff meetings. <u>22 qualitative interviews</u> (Weiss, 1994) with 17 staff members from Parker Elementary (~26 hours of audio-recording) [in person]. <u>Collection of artifacts</u> created by the students in TWI classrooms: ~50 pictures of students' drawings, written compositions, and other school assignments. <u>Life stories interviews</u> (Rios, 2011) with 4 families (60-120 min per interview). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnographic field notes, jottings, and memos of participant observations in TWI classrooms, school events, and school staff meetings (Saldaña, 2009). Transcripts of formal interviews (school personnel) and informal conversations with the children during in-person school visits. Transcripts of interviews (caregivers) Inductive and deductive coding scheme and analysis across field notes and interview transcripts. See Table 9 for a sample. Visual analysis of site artifacts (Dreby & Adkins, 2011; Luttrell, 2010). Ethnographical portraits of eight children and their families based on life stories interviews with caregivers and field notes of classroom observations.
<p>Research Question:</p> <p>2. How did remote learning during the Covid-19 pandemic shape this group of Brazilian immigrant children's education experiences in the 2020-2021 school year?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> About 80 hours of <u>participant observations</u> (Emerson et al., 2011) in 4 TWI classrooms online (2020 - 2021) via Google Classroom. <u>4 qualitative interviews</u> (Weiss, 1994) with 4 staff members from Parker Elementary (~26 hours of audio-recording) [online]. Collection of 20 artifacts created during fully remote learning (e.g., written assignments, video activities). <u>Life stories interviews</u> (Rios, 2011) with 4 families (60-120 min per interview). 	

Analytic Plan

The purpose of the data analysis is to investigate and develop an understanding of the educational experiences of a group of Brazilian immigrant children in their TWI program in the United States. To this end, I have engaged in a process of data analysis that includes: 1) the thematic coding of multiple data sources; 2) the visual analysis of student assignments, including drawings and video compositions; and 3) the development of children's portraits.

Before engaging in these analytical procedures, I processed all data sources in specific ways. First, all handwritten field notes taken during participant observations taken during in-person and remote classroom visits were typed and stored in an external hard drive for analysis within 48 hours of their collection. As I typed these field notes, I expanded them into more comprehensive write-ups and engaged in preliminary analysis through pre-coding and jottings (Saldaña, 2009). I color-coded excerpts and added comments to the margins of these documents. Second, audio recordings of qualitative interviews were sent out to an independent transcription service with personnel who were able to transcribe data originally recorded in English as well as Brazilian Portuguese. Finally, all artifacts were cataloged within 48 hours of their collection.

Data Coding

Thematic coding has been used in the analysis of expanded field notes of participant observations in TWI classrooms (in-person and remote), school events, and staff meetings. I have also employed coding to analyze transcripts from audio-recorded qualitative interviews with school personnel and life story interviews with caregivers. I engaged in assigning and generating codes for this study manually, using Excel, and this process has unfolded in two main stages: first-cycle and second-cycle coding. Following Miles and colleagues (2014), first-cycle coding comprises codes initially assigned to chunks of data, while second-cycle coding typically works with the resulting first-cycle codes themselves. In this project, the first cycle of coding

involved carefully reviewing all field notes and interview transcripts separately, coding them according to deductive and inductive codes, and writing detailed analytical memos.

Deductive codes are codes created before fieldwork, involving a list of labels (words and short phrases) derived from the theories that guide this study, my research questions, and problem areas. My initial list of deductive codes for these materials included: class participation; transborder experiences; identity; sense of belonging; politicized funds of knowledge; inequality; contributions to the program, children as brokers of language and culture; perception of Brazilian children's role in TWI. Additionally, inductive codes are those that emerge progressively throughout the data collection phase. They have strong empirical grounds and reflect the flexibility and dynamicity needed to account for complex local phenomena (Miles et al., 2014). Inductive codes created in the process of reviewing field notes and interview transcripts include: "positive" immigration narratives; evading students' stories; rules and routines; "helping out" classmates; mala (suitcase); avião e aeroporto (flight and airport); visto (visa); green card; "saudades" (nostalgic longing); and ties in Brazil. Codes were revised, eliminated, and expanded in my data analysis process. Analytic memos and jottings were written throughout the coding phase, signaling emerging ideas, connections, and interpretations. Table 8 below captures a sample of my table of data analysis. In Table 7 below, all names are pseudonyms and all sample excerpts were translated by me into English from their original versions in Portuguese.

Table 7

Sample Table of Analysis

Category	Codes	Evidence 1	Evidence 2
Brazilian immigrant children's participation	Storytelling	The next word that this 1st-grade group will spell out: SHUTTLECOCK [PETECA]. Patricia: "There are shuttlecocks only in Brazil. There isn't such a	In the story being read aloud, the frogs think that a crocodile is a chicken. Ms. Duarte interrupts the reading and asks if the students had already

in bilingual classrooms	<p>thing here [in the U.S.]. And it sounds like the song ‘the funny duck’” (o pato pateta). Ms. Matos says to Patricia that it is precisely that story that will discuss today in class. The story of the “funny duck broke the mug” (o pato pateta quebrou a caneca). <i>[field notes collected on 11/05/2018]</i></p>	<p>seen a chicken in person. Luluca (first grader): “I’ve seen many chickens. In my grandma’s house in Brazil there was a henhouse” ((she goes on and tells a story about picking eggs with her cousins at her grandmother’s house)) <i>[field notes collected on 03/14/2019]</i></p>
Using a dual frame of reference	<p>A duo is talking in Portuguese after the teacher explained what will happen today. They are talking about the upcoming fire drills. Danilo says: “they are saying to act like when there is a shooting in Brazil” <i>[field notes collected on 09/12/2018]</i></p>	<p>Hugo, a newcomer, enters the classroom and asks his classmates: “why are the desks round like this in this school? It looks like a restaurant here! Is this how (one) studies here?!” <i>[field notes collected on 09/12/2018]</i></p>
Identity as a Portuguese speaker	<p>Reinaldo and Hugo are near each other and begin to argue. They begin to physically push one another when Reinaldo screams to the teacher: “he (Hugo) is me bothering [<i>sic</i>]!” Hugo corrects him: “That’s not how you say it! It is: You are bothering me! No one knows how to speak [Portuguese] properly here!” <i>[field notes collected on 10/24/2018]</i></p>	<p>Bianca shares with me as the other children are still working on their in-class assignment: “Everyone speaks Portuguese here! Me, my dad, my mom. I know many people in my building. Everyone comes from Brazil.” <i>[field notes collected on 03/13/2019]</i></p>
“Helping out” classmates	<p>“Hugo, sit down!” - says Ms. Sanchez “Hugo, vai sentar” – Maria Paula translates to Hugo. “Hugo, if you don’t sit down I will have to call the principal’s office” - says Ms. Sanchez “Se você não se comportar ela falou que vai ligar para o <i>principal</i>, Hugo” – Maria Paula translates. “Maria Paula, no more Portuguese!” - says Ms. Sanchez Maria Paula: “But he doesn’t understand” Ms. Sanchez: “I know, but he is</p>	<p>Ms. Leite moves on to talking about the weather. She asks the students “how is the day outside?” Ava (non-Brazilian child): “You help me” (she says this to Laila) Laila (Brazilian): “ok, ok, I’ll help you out.” Ms. Leite sings “cabeça, ombro, joelho e pés” (head, shoulders, knees and toes). Leila puts Ava’s hands on the parts of the body that are being mentioned in the song.</p>

learning, don't worry about him, now please..."	<i>[field notes collected on 09/12/18]</i>
<i>[field notes collected on 09/12/18]</i>	

Once field notes and transcripts go through this first cycle of coding, I engaged in pattern coding, as a second cycle method (Miles et al., 2014). Specifically, these coded data sources were integrated into the process of creating overarching categories, so that each category included a range of codes that are substantiated with evidence from different data types, such as excerpts of field notes and transcripts from interviews with teachers. Once categories were established, I developed narrative descriptions that explain the connections within and across categories. These narratives also included assertions of summative synthesis that are supported by evidence from the data. Importantly, during the second cycle of coding, I also looked for negative cases, or exceptions to emergent patterns, and discrepant cases, that is, instances that modify, refine, or elaborate a construct (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). See Table 10 below for a sample of overarching categories that were created to integrate deductive and inductive codes:

Table 8

Sample Analytical Categories and Codes

Categories	Codes
Transborder experiences	"visto" (visa); "green card"; "avião" (plane); "aeroporto" (airport); "passaporte" (passport); "papéis"/"documentos" (papers/documents); "advogado" (lawyer); "polícia" (police)
Memories	"saudade" (nostalgic longing); family and friends in Brazil; "no Brasil era assim..." (in Brazil I used to...); lens of multiplicity
Everyday language practices	reinforcing language policy; "helping out"; modeling; brokering; translanguaging
Access to Instruction (Remote learning)	space; "barulhento" (noisy); technology; new classroom rules
Care-full lives (Remote learning)	caring for others; Being cared for; Narratives of family during instruction

Immigrant caregivers and school readiness (Remote learning)	reaching out to the teacher; daily acts of care; helping out with assignments; helping out with technology; discipline
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Visual Analysis

Visual artifacts collected during in-person and virtual (50 artifacts total) visits to TWI classrooms went through a process of visual analysis³. I followed strategies outlined by Luttrell (2010) to understand the complexities and intimacies of Brazilian children's videos and other pictorial representations produced as part of in-classroom assignments. First, taking on an inductive approach to the content analysis of the artifacts (Dreby & Adkins, 2011), I generated a list of codes based on the information appearing in the multimodal assignments, as opposed to making inferences about the children's intention (Luttrell, 2010). Examples of inductive codes include people (e.g., children/adults, relatives/friends); things (e.g., airplanes, toys, games); and settings (e.g., bedroom; outdoors; birthday party, church). Deductive codes were similar to those listed in the previous section.

Next, following Luttrell (2010), I carried out a separate analysis of children's narratives about their artifacts (when these narratives were available), searching for salient themes and patterns. It was important to conduct an in-depth case-based analysis of accompanying narratives to understand what each child aimed to communicate through the assignment. To this end, I also analyzed the manifestation of two sets of linkages within the narratives of each child about their artifact: links between autobiographical details and larger social conditions; and listening for children's preferred identities and ambiguities about self (Luttrell, 2010). In sum, this analytical

³ Although the visual analysis of site artifacts informs my overall understanding of Brazilian immigrant children's perspectives and narratives at their school, the findings generated specifically from the process of visual analysis are not approached in this dissertation document.

approach accounted for various intertwined sites of meaning-making, including the background (hi)stories, content, and the use of these artifacts.

Children's Portraits

I read through the transcripts of informal conversations with the children generated in their bilingual classrooms, transcripts of life story interviews with caregivers, and field notes of classroom observations to create case summaries for the children describing their life stories and key themes. I then expanded on these case summaries to assemble ethnographic portraits of each student. I generated portraits for eight children; these children were the ones that I was able to visit at their homes and conduct life story interviews with their caregivers. Although these eight portraits themselves are not included in this dissertation document, they served as an important analytical tool that allowed me to contextualize and further understand immigrant children's narratives and actions in the TWI program at Parker Elementary.

Ethnographic portraits have been written across time in the field of education (Anthony-Stevens & Stevens, 2017; Trainor, 2008; Valdés, 1996). Portraits, while allowing me to delve into the complexities, intimacies, and choreographies of a group of Brazilian immigrant children, also open spaces to understand social lives in connection to public policy, social action, and dynamics of (in)equality. When creating case summaries and expanding these summaries into portraits, I drew on tenets of the phenomenological methodology titled *portraiture* (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2016; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). Following Lawrence-Lightfoot (2016), portraiture is intentionally inclusive, written for multiple and diverse audiences, and is explicitly focused on documenting "what's strong and worthy" (p. 20) to counterpoint the tendency in social scientific research to pathologize and center pain and weakness (Tuck, 2009). By focusing on documenting "goodness" in great detail, it becomes possible to create avenues to transport

these strengths to other contexts and transform them. This is an important approach to take when documenting the realities of Brazilian immigrant children since for several decades education research understood the funds of knowledge of nondominant students and families through a deficit or difference lens (Paris, 2012). Moreover, portraiture is aimed at exploring and understanding, compelling researchers to go deeply into an individual's story to capture more universal themes. Portraitures also emphasize the importance of context—physical, socio-cultural, and aesthetic—for interpreting a child's words, actions, and meanings. These central principles of portraiture guided my writing as I expanded case summaries, created in the process of analyzing multiple sources of data, into portraits of specific children.

Summary

This study has been designed as an ethnographic investigation with a multimodal approach to explore the experiences of education of a group of Brazilian immigrant children in TWI classrooms in the U.S. state of Massachusetts. A group of 87 children was followed for up to three school years (2018-2021) in their elementary school. Data sources for this dissertation include 1) participant observation of TWI classrooms, school events, and staff meetings; 2) qualitative interviews with TWI educators and other school staff members; 3) informal conversations with the children during school visits, and 4) children-created artifacts, particularly school-based assignments. These data sources provide a range of perspectives and insight into a group of Brazilian children's realities while centering children's narratives and actions as they navigate the meaningful social world of school.

Data collection has taken place over three school calendar years, from August 2018 to March 2021. The processes of data collection and data analysis were recorded in a chronological log and a general index document. The data analysis mobilized the following procedures: 1) the

thematic coding of multiple data sources; 2) the visual analysis of ~70 artifacts; and 3) the development of ethnographic portraits of eight children. Taking on a critical childhoods approach, researcher-child relationships are grounded on wanting to learn from young children, since they are the protagonists of their own childhoods and authors of their own experiences.

CHAPTER 5: IMMIGRANT CHILDREN'S IN/VISIBLE WORK OF SUSTAINING THEIR TWO-WAY IMMERSION EDUCATION

In this chapter, I report on the contradictory relationship that the school had with young bilingual children with recent histories of migration from Brazil. I show that Brazilian immigrant children were critical implementers of the new TWI program at Parker Elementary while having to navigate school personnel's conflicting orientations regarding their role and value in the TWI program. I begin this chapter by situating the focal language program, explaining how its initial two years were fraught with schoolwide tensions and contextual factors that undermined the stability and survival of the nascent two-way strand at the school. Next, I describe significant ways in which young Brazilian immigrant students (K-2) supported and enriched the bilingual instruction that they received. Specifically, I discuss: A) Immigrant children's translation work (Orellana, 2009) in English-led and Portuguese-led spaces as everyday labor that contributed to the survival of the TWI program; and B) Immigrant children's invocation of transborder stories, memories, and experiences as an avenue for their classroom participation. Both of these child-led practices—translation work and connections between transborder memories and the academic content taught in class—were *noticed* by educators but were not *seen* as forms of knowledge and intelligence that interplay with schooling spaces (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016). Finally, I report on the perceptions of school staff members associated with the TWI program (e.g., classroom teachers, school psychologist, social worker, nurse) concerning Brazilian immigrant

students' participation in the newly-implemented language program. In the concluding remarks for this section, I argue that the in/visibility of young Brazilian immigrant children's work as TWI implementers, compounded with school personnel's perceptions of students that focused on (mis)behavior and issues of language, created inequitable dynamics in the language program that had ramifications for immigrant children's experience of education.

This chapter addresses my overarching research question, which concerns the role of the TWI program in shaping the education experiences of Brazilian immigrant children, by tackling the specific research questions: (A) *How does this group of Brazilian immigrant children contribute to the day-to-day implementation of the new TWI program? How are their contributions perceived by educators and school staff members serving at the school?* To this end, for this chapter, I draw on the data collected in the first two years of the program: field notes of classroom observations and semi-structured interviews with school staff members. Data was collected as I followed the focal cohort of students from the beginning of their studies in the TWI kindergarten and first grade (August 2018 – June 2019) to the end of their in-person schooling in first grade and second grade (August 2019 - March 2020), before the school closures due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Existing in a Bilingual Strand: Schoolwide Tensions Around The New TWI Program

Talia (2nd grader): *“Lá era tudo em português e aqui a escola é dividida inglês e português.”*

(There [in Brazil] everything was in Portuguese and here the school is divided English and Portuguese) (11/19/19)

In 2018-19, Parker Elementary began the long-term project of implementing a two-way bilingual strand in an English-medium school. The TWI program started small, involving four classrooms in its first year of implementation (two kindergarten and two 1st-grade classrooms).

As the students in this initial cohort progressed through the grade levels, the bilingual strand continued to grow and gain physical grounds in the school building. By 2022-23, the bilingual strand was expected to have reached the 5th grade; and thus be represented at each elementary grade level with two TWI classrooms. This process of growth, however, created tensions in the school. As described by the second-grader Talia, a first-generation Brazilian immigrant child, there was a perceived division in the school that was visibly marked by language: the general education classrooms and two-way strand were kept fairly separate. Several students in the TWI program commented also on a sense of isolation of the bilingual strand in the first two years of its implementation. First-grader Samuel, a second-generation child of Brazilian immigrants, spoke about this sense of division when referring to the location of the classrooms in the school: “Lá em cima tem um menino que fala português, mas todos os outros falam inglês” (upstairs there is one boy that speaks Portuguese, but everyone else speaks English) (12/10/19). Samuel’s words reflected the fact that the TWI classrooms at that point were concentrated on the school’s first floor, while “upstairs” was where the general education classrooms were located. Although several Brazilian immigrant students who spoke Portuguese studied in the general education classrooms “upstairs,” Samuel, like Talia, alluded to a perceived division between the student populations that attended different floors in the school. Both children’s focus on “language” to talk about perceived divisions in the school aligned with how other stakeholders, such as teachers and staff members, talked about the two-way strand in relation to the general education classrooms. However, foregrounding language often came at the expense of accounting for how culture, race, class, and other factors influence the establishment of TWI programs and the creation of (bilingual) learning spaces (Palmer, 2010; Scanlan & Palmer, 2009).

In the first two years of the program, existing in a nascent and separate bilingual strand in an English-medium school generated questions from the children about the need for the TWI program. Paulo, a 2nd-generation child of Brazilian parents in Ms. Matos' 1st-grade classroom, asked me during an in-classroom activity: “Tia, por que a gente tem que falar em português? Na segunda série a gente tem que falar inglês” (auntie, why do we have to speak in Portuguese? In the second grade we [will] have to speak English) (09/12/18). Along these lines, the kindergarten teacher Ms. Leite was asked a similar question by Erick, a Brazilian second-generation child, during her morning Portuguese literacy lesson. The teacher and students were gathered on the classroom rug during the lesson when the following exchange unfolded:

<p>Ms. Leite: A primeira letra é do nome da Ava e da Amelia. Qual é a letra que começa o nome delas?</p> <p>Alunos em coro: “A” (pronuncia em inglês)</p> <p>Ms. Leite: Mas como fala em português?</p> <p>Alunos em coro: “A” (pronuncia em português)</p> <p>Ms. Leite: E essa letra? (mostrando placa com D)</p> <p>Alunos em coro: Deeeeee</p> <p>Ms. Leite: Como é “D” em português?</p> <p>Alunos em coro: Dê (pronuncia em português)</p> <p>[Interação semelhante sobre as letras R e V]</p> <p>Erick: Por que tem que falar as duas? (09/12/18)</p>	<p>Ms. Leite: The first letter is in the names of Ava and Amelia. What’s the first letter of their names?</p> <p>Students in unison: A (English pronunciation)</p> <p>Ms. Leite: But how do you say it in Portuguese?</p> <p>Students in unison: A (Portuguese pronunciation)</p> <p>Ms. Leite: And this letter? (show sign of letter D)</p> <p>Students in unison: Deeeeee</p> <p>Ms. Leite: How do you say D in Portuguese?</p> <p>Students in unison: D (Portuguese pronunciation)</p> <p>[Similar interaction involving the letters R and V]</p> <p>Erick: Why do we have to say in two [languages]?</p>
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In both examples, Paulo and Erick questioned the rationale for the new TWI strand. They wanted to know why they had to speak Portuguese in school, since it was an English-medium institution and, eventually in their schooling, they would have to transition to English. The example from Ms. Leite’s literacy lesson also illustrates the everyday work that it took to carve

out a bilingual strand in a context where English was dominant, despite the bilingualism of many children in the classroom who had been raised speaking Portuguese in their households.

In addition to challenges involving students' perceptions of the validity and standing of the bilingual program in the school more broadly, the TWI program faced additional obstacles. Since this program was new, substitute teachers and some paraprofessionals in the classrooms did not speak Portuguese. All afternoon specials were done in English (e.g., arts, music, P.E.), and most schoolwide announcements were not frequently translated. Therefore, the time students were required to speak Portuguese (i.e., 80% of the school day for kindergarteners; 70% for 1st graders; 60% for 2nd graders) felt proportionally less than the time they actually spoke it. For some students, this became stressful. As Eliana, a 1st-generation Brazilian kindergarten student, shared, “na hora do inglês eu não sei e depois que a gente lancha eu não sei... eu sei na hora que a Ms. Leite fala comigo, mas ela não [me] escuta!” (during English time I don't know and after we eat lunch I don't know... I know when Ms. Jones talks to me, but she doesn't listen [to me]) (10/18/18).

During internal schoolwide events, the limited space for the Portuguese language in the school was also at times on display. For example, in late November 2018, the kindergarteners and first-graders from the general education classrooms and the two-way strand gathered in the cafeteria area for a Thanksgiving play to be enacted by the kindergarteners. Ms. Leite introduced the play in Portuguese. In her speech, she addressed the student audience: “Todo mundo aqui fala português né? Vou falar só português” (everyone here speaks Portuguese, right? I'll only speak Portuguese), to which a large portion of the students responded with a cheer. However, the play itself was read by a sole narrator, Ms. Damiano (the English as a Second Language [ESL] teacher), completely in English (11/26/19). In another instance, the whole school was expected to

celebrate Portuguese Heritage Day in May 2019. Ms. Matos decided to take her TWI first-grade students to sing a song in Portuguese on the microphone located in the school reception so that the whole school would hear them through the loudspeakers during the schoolwide morning announcements. The school principal, however, seemed surprised to see Ms. Matos and her students in the school reception and, while saying he would be “flexible,” he did not like that he was not informed of the teacher’s plan in advance. The TWI first-graders children sang the song in Portuguese on the microphone broadcasting for the whole school, but Ms. Matos was upset as she felt that the principal did not support her or the celebration of Portuguese Heritage Day (05/16/19).

There was also little schoolwide support for the program in its first two years stemming from a feeling of divisiveness among the faculty (Freire & Alemán, 2021). In interviews and informal conversations with several staff members, there was a sense of lack of clarity about the TWI program and some staff felt threatened by this growing strand in the school. For example, the kindergarten teacher aide in Ms. Leite’s TWI classroom, who was Brazilian, approached me at the beginning of the school day to share her impression that the monolingual English-speaking teachers in the school were apprehensive about the expansion of the program (10/24/18). This concern was also a theme during an interview with the English Language Development (ELD) teacher Ms. Sanchez in March 2019. She shared: “I know that some teachers are getting worried because they might be a fan of the two-way program. And- but it’s also, they might be losing their jobs. And that can be frustrating for teachers.” This feeling was echoed in the account of the kindergarten teacher aide in Ms. Toledo’s classroom, who was a non-Brazilian monolingual English-speaking staff member. Even though this teacher aide was supportive of the program, was employed in a TWI classroom, and understood the reasoning behind its creation, she did not

speak Portuguese and thus could not continue being an aide. She was disappointed with the school and expressed her worries during an informal conversation: “that’s what happens when you have a program like this, things change. [...] I just don’t agree with how they have communicated changes here, the anxiety we carry is awful” (04/03/19).

In interviews and conversations with school staff members, the lack of support for and integration of the new TWI program into the school culture was frequently attributed to how the district leadership rolled out the program. As explained by the special education teacher who served the children in the TWI program during an interview in April 2019, “na minha opinião a escola não estava pronta pra ter esse novo programa. E... na trajetória, né, do programa, eu acho que não teve, assim, um suporte esperado. Porque existem muitas perguntas ainda que não têm respostas [...] então... foi precipitado” (in my opinion, the school was not ready to have this new program. And... in the trajectory, right, of the program, I think that there wasn’t, like, support [that we] expected. Because there are still many questions that haven’t been answered [...] so... it [the implementation] was hasty). Ms. Matos, a TWI teacher, in an interview in November 2018, also talked about the daily impact of how the new TWI program was rolled out: “A gente começou meio que aos trancos e barrancos, foi anunciado que ia começar muito tarde... mais pro meio, assim, do ano. E não foi planejado pra que ele acontecesse, é por isso que eu acho que a gente tá sofrendo tanto pra implementar esse programa” (we began, it was like an uphill battle, it was announced that [the TWI program] would start very late... close to, like, the middle of the year. And there wasn’t a plan for it to happen, that’s why I think that we are suffering so much to implement this program). As a result of rolling out a new program without enough notice and preparation, TWI classroom teachers were (over)tasked with a range of responsibilities they had not anticipated and were not acknowledged or compensated for. These additional tasks included

developing curricula as they implemented the program, creating and translating many classroom materials and physical resources, teaching literacy and math in Portuguese without mentoring or specific (sustained) training, and garnering parental and school-wide support to consolidate the program. The top-down implementation of TWI programs has been shown in the literature to generate mixed messages to elementary educators and heightened pressure that may lead to the eventual dismantling of bilingual programs (Palmer et al., 2016).

As such, while there was excitement and hope among the six TWI teachers in the first two years of implementation of the program, there was also a sense that the program was fragile. Feelings of division between the general education and the two-way strand in the school, felt by students and staff alike, were undergirded by the predominance of English in the school building. Perceptions of division also stemmed from anxiety among English-monolingual personnel about their job security, lack of clarity concerning where the new program was headed, and the quick roll-out of the new program without support for bilingual teachers and coordinated preparation.

While TWI teachers had a critical role in implementing and ensuring the long-term survival of the language program, I argue that Brazilian immigrant children were also key social actors in the consolidation of the bilingual strand at their school, a theme that I explore in the next two sections. In the “trancos e barrancos” (uphill battle) described by Ms. Matos to establish the program, bilingual educators were at the frontlines; they were visible and held responsible in their roles as TWI implementers, despite facing the marginalization that intersected with their identities as first-generation immigrant women (Flores, 2017). As I explore next, Brazilian immigrant children, on the other hand, were invisible as implementers. While their language and knowledge were noticed by educators, their perspectives, experiences, and contributions to the program were not taken into consideration in the decision-making concerning their bilingual

schooling. As such, Brazilian immigrant children were in the trenches of this uphill battle; they were actively engaged in the daily, invisible work of sustaining their TWI education. In the next sections, I outline specific ways in which Brazilian immigrant children supported their bilingual instruction and contributed to the consolidation of the new TWI program in an uncertain school context.

Brazilian Immigrant Children as Language Brokers

Immigrant children and youth in various resettlement contexts leverage their skills in two (or more) languages to read, write, listen, speak, and accomplish various tasks for their families (Alvarez, 2014; 2017; Antonini, 2016; Dorner et al., 2007; Dorner et al., 2008; Gallo, 2014; García-Sánchez, 2014; Kwon, 2014; Orellana, 2009; Morales et al., 2012). Orellana's (2009) seminal work on immigrant childhoods described language brokering as a cultural practice that is shaped by the experience of being an immigrant, challenging normative assumptions of what counts as normal in child development and family processes. Research has documented the ways in which children and youth's translation work was a critical avenue to care for others, contribute to their families' and communities' survival, and shape the practices of their households (Dorner et al., 2008; Gallo, 2014; García-Sánchez, 2014; Orellana, 2009). While these studies have centered on young people's translation work for their families across contexts, fewer scholars explored language brokering within school and classroom contexts, involving only students and school personnel (Bayley et al., 2005; Coyoca & Lee, 2009; Lee et al., 2011).

This data section contributes to the literature that aims to address the "invisibility of children's daily work as translators" (Orellana, 2009, p. 3) by foregrounding Brazilian immigrant students' work as language brokers in K-2 TWI classrooms at Parker Elementary from August 2018 to March 2020. I show how Brazilian immigrant children's translation at school reflected

their transborder histories, demonstrated care for others (Alvarez, 2017), and contributed to the implementation of a TWI program in an uncertain school context. However, my analysis also points to the paradoxical relationship schools have with bilingual immigrant children. These students were noticed and valued when needed, but they were not valued for themselves.

Brazilian immigrant children's language brokering, as instantiations of bilanguaging (Mignolo, 2000), also indicated the prevalent ideology of monolanguaging in their school, or the preference for speaking, writing, and thinking within a single named language. As such, while the children leveraged their dichotomous locus of enunciation (Mignolo, 2000) to support one another in traversing linguistic and institutional borders at Parker Elementary, their contribution to the implementation of the TWI program remained largely invisible in their academic potential.

In what follows, I explore Brazilian immigrant children's language brokering inside classrooms through the lens of specific TWI students, such as Maria Paula and Beatriz among others, whose translation work was extensively documented during classroom observations. The instances shared here are representative of a larger collection of episodes in the data. In the field notes of classroom observations from years 1 and 2 (08/2018-03/2020), Brazilian immigrant children were involved in 57 episodes of language brokering across English- and Portuguese-led instructional spaces. I begin by focusing on their translation work within English classrooms and then turn to the instructional time dedicated to the minoritized language, Portuguese.

Language Brokering in English-Dominant Spaces

On a September morning in 2018, the twenty-three students in Ms. Duarte's first-grade classrooms were having their ESL period. Five of these students had recently arrived in the U.S. from Brazil, only two or three months before in the summer of 2018. Two teachers, Ms. Sanchez (ELD) and Ms. Damiano (ESL) were leading the session, often taking opportunities to reinforce

their classroom language policy: “You will do a turn and talk activity now and the topic will be ‘how do you stay safe’, please try to talk ONLY in English” (09/12/18). The second-generation Brazilian student, Maria Paula, was busy that day trying to help a newcomer classmate from Brazil, Hugo, who seemed distracted. Hugo spoke primarily in Portuguese; that day, he walked around the classroom and initiated conversations with several peers in his first language.

Illustrative of Maria Paula’s attempts to help Hugo, the following exchange occurred when the group gathered on the classroom rug at the beginning of the ESL period:

Ms. Sanchez: “Hugo, sit down”

Maria Paula: “Hugo, vai sentar” [Hugo, go sit down]

Ms. Sanchez: “Hugo, if you don’t sit down I will have to call the principal’s office”

Maria Paula: “Se você não se comportar ela falou que vai ligar para o *principal*, Hugo” [If you don’t behave she said that she will call the *principal*, Hugo]

Ms. Sanchez: “Maria Paula, no more Portuguese!”

Maria Paula (shaking her head): “Mas ele não entende” [But he doesn’t understand]

Ms. Sanchez: “I know, but he is learning, don’t worry about him, now please” (09/12/18)

Maria Paula used her ability in the official languages of the program to translate Ms. Sanchez’s directives to Hugo, trying to help him evade harsh disciplinary measures (e.g., being sent to the principal’s office). In her fluid mediation between her teacher and the classmate, Maria Paula’s translation (“if you don’t behave”) differed from her teacher’s original command (“if you don’t sit down”). This indicates the child’s focus on translating a broader classroom rule as opposed to just what was asked of Hugo at that moment (to sit down). In this “English-only” session in the newly-implemented TWI program, students were expected to follow the rules and behave according to the teachers’ directions, even if they did not understand the expectations. As such, Maria Paula’s translation supported her newly-arrived peer in navigating unfamiliar rules in a new classroom environment. Additionally, Maria Paula was reprimanded when translating Ms. Sanchez’s directives to Hugo, as the teacher asked her to refrain from using her Portuguese in class. This was a common approach by the teachers in this TWI program who often focused

on which language the children were using in designated spaces, as opposed to considering the content, purpose, and potential of their fluid language usage. In this case, Maria Paula leveraged her knowledge of Portuguese to help Hugo understand what was asked of him and thus allow him to participate in class in ways that were valued by the teachers. She helped him belong.

Maria Paula's knowledge of Portuguese and English derived from lived experiences across geopolitical borders. Maria Paula was born in the U.S. to Brazilian parents but after only three months of life moved to Brazil with her parents, where she lived for over four years. In Brazil, Maria Paula attended daycare and nurtured close relationships with many relatives who lived nearby. However, as their quality of life deteriorated and Maria Paula's mother became pregnant with her second child, her parents decided to return to the U.S. so that they could provide both daughters with the same opportunities as U.S. citizens: a better education, health care, and safety. In 2016, Maria Paula (then four years old) and her parents made their way from Brazil to Mexico, where they planned to enter the United States through the process Brazilian immigrants refer to as "cai-cai," (fall-fall). Cai-cai meant that once a family arrived at the U.S.-Mexico border, they voluntarily surrendered themselves at an immigration checkpoint. They stayed in detention for an average of three days and then were released from the Department of Homeland Security custody pending their immigration court proceedings. At the time of data collection, Maria Paula's family had been living in the U.S. for two years; they had hired a lawyer and were waiting for their day in immigration court to determine their case. A few months after the family arrived in Parker City, Maria Paula began to attend the general education kindergarten at Parker Elementary. Her parents were happy to hear that the TWI program was going to be offered at the school and transitioned Maria Paula to the program in its first year of implementation. Her parents were glad that the child had developed strong Portuguese skills

while living in Brazil and hoped that the program would further develop her linguistic abilities: “mesmo se não tiver que voltar, eu [mãe] acho que é muito importante. É a nossa língua. É a língua dos pais, da minha mãe. Como que ela vai falar com a avó?” (even if we don’t have to go back [to Brazil], I [Maria Paula’s mother] think it’s very important. It’s our language. It’s the language of her parents, of my mother. How will she talk to her grandmother?) (October 2019).

As the school year progressed, Maria Paula continued to leverage her Portuguese to help newcomer peers during the ESL period. For example, during an ESL lesson (11/26/18), students sat at their desks, which grouped 3-4 children, while Ms. Sanchez gave them directions for an activity. Maria Paula, who had just arrived in class from a doctor’s appointment, sat with Danilo and Marcela. When Maria Paula joined them, Danilo (a 2nd-generation Brazilian student) was helping Marcela, a newcomer from Brazil, by translating to her what the teacher was saying. Marcela complained, “eu não entendo nada quando elas falam em inglês” (I don’t understand anything when they speak in English). Maria Paula joined the conversation: “É assim, ó, o que é para fazer. Vem aqui, senta. Eu explico” (it’s like this, look, what we have to do. Come closer, sit here. I can explain). As Maria Paula worked with Marcela on the assignment, the newcomer asked, “quando que ela [professora] vai parar de falar desse jeito que eu não entendo” (when will she [teacher] stop to speak in this way that I don’t understand?). When Marcela expressed her frustration again, this time by saying, “eu quero que essa aula acabe, não gosto da voz dessa professora” (I want this lesson to be over, I don’t like the voice of this teacher), Maria Paula became very serious. She looked at her peer and rebutted: “ué, mas não tem escolha, tem que aprender inglês, Marcela” (why, but there’s no choice, [you] have to learn English, Marcela). In this example, Maria Paula once again used Portuguese and English to support a newcomer peer understand their teacher’s expectations. Her support was both in terms of explaining the in-class

assignment as well as the push for immigrant students to learn English. By doing so, the child engaged multiple linguistic codes to scaffold Marcela's participation in class and, by extension, contributed to the successful execution of her teachers' ESL lesson. This work, however, took place in the margins of the classroom (Carhill-Poza, 2018), when students were told to work independently, but resorted to one another under their teachers' radar for linguistic and academic support.

The ESL and ELD teachers in the first and second years of the new TWI program were explicitly against immigrant students' practices of language brokering. The educators reinforced the bounds of an English-only space within the bilingual program, positioning their students' fluid language use as detrimental to their autonomy and motivation to learn independently (Coyoca & Lee, 2009). However, English monolingual educators that served students in the TWI program drew upon immigrant children's language brokerage, such as the teachers of afternoon specials, to instruct and teach. In March 2020, I followed the 2nd-generation Brazilian student, Larissa, from Ms. Duarte's TWI first-grade classroom to her music lesson (03/04/20). We walked across the gym and entered the music teacher's small classroom, where there were twenty-three first-grade students from both the TWI program and general education classrooms. The teacher relied on Larissa's bilingualism and brokering abilities several times in class. When the class was engaged in an activity in which each row of students played a different instrument (e.g., sticks, tambourines), the music teacher turned to Larissa and asked her to translate for a peer: "Tell him not to put his instrument in his mouth. Nobody will want this instrument if he puts it in his mouth." Then, after the group watched a short video in English about confidence, the teacher asked Larissa to explain to her peers, in Portuguese, what confidence meant. While these dynamics happen often in classrooms serving bi/multilingual students around the country

(Bayley et al., 2005) and the world, for a school and program that was so focused on developing and strengthening students' Portuguese language identity, a lot was left for young students to do.

Other instances of English monolingual school staff members explicitly relying on the linguistic resources and skills of Brazilian immigrant children occurred throughout the year. As Ms. Matos' first-grade students formed a line to go to their afternoon special, Marisa (second-generation Brazilian) asked me if I could accompany her group to "drums alive," a class where "há bolas grandes e os todos batem nas coisas pra fazer barulho" (there're big balls and everyone bangs on things to make noise) (01/08/20). We walked towards a stage in the back of the school cafeteria, joining the teacher and group of first graders from other classes (general education and TWI). As we approached the group, Marisa whispered: "ele fala inglês" (he [the teacher] speaks English). When the class began, the drums alive teacher announced that today the student Harper (a non-Brazilian child from a general education classroom) would be the class helper. The TWI students sat far from the teacher, on the margins of the semi-circled formed by general education students. During the first activity of the lesson, the teacher called on Marisa for help when two Portuguese-speaking students were not following his directions: "Marisa, get them to be in this order." After a few minutes, the teacher asked for Marisa's help again; this time to go after two students (Portuguese-speaking) who were missing from the class. Marisa left the cafeteria for several minutes and missed a portion of the class. When she came back she declared, "Mr. Smith, José is in the office and Narciso is in the bathroom." When Marisa rejoined the group, she delimited a group of girls chatting in Portuguese: "Maria? Maria, Maria, senta!" (sit down). In the next activity, all students were told to form a circle and pass a yoga ball to one another without letting it drop. The teacher announced: "Marisa will be at the end of the circle"; a strategic position that would allow her to assist the teacher if needed. In this lesson, although

Harper was designated the “helper” for the day, Marisa was the one who supported the execution of the lesson. Her bilingualism and brokering allowed her to mediate several messages from the teacher to his Portuguese-speaking students.

Students with a recent Brazilian immigrant background, such as Maria Paula, Larissa, and Marisa, played a key role in spaces within their school and the TWI program where English monolingualism was the norm. These students contributed to their teachers’ lessons by making the understanding and participation of several Portuguese-speaking peers possible. Immigrant children’s translation work was critical for their TWI program—although it remained invisible to the school and district leadership and was largely unacknowledged by educators.

Language Brokering in the Portuguese Classroom

In addition to supporting Portuguese-speaking students from Brazil during ESL lessons, Brazilian immigrant children also engaged in language brokering to help several non-Brazilian, majority-English-speaking students during Portuguese-led lessons in the bilingual program. During these moments, Brazilian immigrant children demonstrated their knowledge in oral, grammar, and written Portuguese, learned possibly from home usage and/or through their lived experiences in Brazil. They also demonstrated how they harnessed this knowledge to support TWI educators in achieving their pedagogical goals. Maria Paula, now in 2nd grade and her second year in the TWI program, helped Bettina (a non-Brazilian student) read a book in Portuguese (02/26/20). The students were tasked with independent reading and Maria Paula used both Portuguese and English to help Bettina understand the meaning of many words, such as “guardar” (to put away) and the difference between “matar” (to kill) and “morrer” (to die). However, her translation work that day remained invisible and unacknowledged by her teacher.

Beatriz, a first-generation child from Brazil, was frequently relied upon by educators to act as a role model. In her TWI classrooms, she was known among Portuguese-language teachers and other students as a “helper” and was often paired with children who did not speak much Portuguese to assist them during classwork. At school, home, and the community, Beatriz served as a language broker, offering, for example, to translate for her mother at doctor’s appointments and trips to the mall. In informal conversations, Beatriz talked about playing this role for her family. For example, when she was a first-grader in 2018, Beatriz commented, “Minha mãe não sabe falar em inglês. Quando vamos no McDonald’s eu peço a comida dela ‘um café e um Big Mac’” (my mom doesn’t know how to speak English. When we go to McDonald’s I order her food, ‘a coffee and a Big Mac’) (12/03/18). When revoicing her mother’s order at the restaurant, Beatriz imitated her mother’s accent and laughed. Later in that school year, Beatriz commented that she had been feeling stomachaches and that she would have to tell the doctor what she felt “ué porque meus pais não conseguem muito” (why, because my parents can’t really [talk to the doctor] much) (04/24/19).

Beatriz arrived in the U.S. at age 3 with her mother and father. Her family decided to leave Brazil to improve their quality of life, find a safe place to live, and provide Beatriz with opportunities to learn English and have a better education. The pressure to migrate to the U.S. intensified in 2016 with the then-upcoming presidential election. The fear of a victory of then-candidate Donald Trump sped up their decision to migrate, and they did so before the November elections, drawing on a network of friends and former neighbors who had undergone the same process. After a few failed attempts, the family obtained tourist visas and flew to the U.S. in 2015. They overstayed the time allowed on their U.S. visas and—due to curtailed immigrant rights and lack of pathways to adjustment of status—had no prospects of obtaining authorization

to stay. In Brazil, Beatriz attended different daycares and pre-schools and was often looked after by her grandparents. Upon arrival in the U.S., Beatriz stayed home with her mother until she was able to begin her kindergarten studies at Parker Elementary. Although her father preferred that she studied in English-only classrooms, Beatriz's mother enrolled the child in the program and had hopes that she would further develop her Portuguese, including learning to read and write.

Ms. Matos asked the sixteen first-grade students who were present that day to work in pairs on a math exercise (i.e., break down a number into specific coins), followed by an activity to compose sentences using the vocabulary covered in class (11/05/18). Beatriz worked with Deborah, a non-Brazilian student, who expressed in English that she did not know how to even begin her sentence. Beatriz patiently tapped on Deborah's leg and walked her through the task. Beatriz translated portions of the activity into English for Deborah and modeled sentences, such as "eu gosto de passar manteiga no pão" (I like to spread butter on bread). Deborah struggled in formulating a reply: "peanut butter e pão" (*peanut butter* and bread). Beatriz smiled after her peer got through a whole sentence and complimented her in English, "good job!" A few weeks later, Ms. Matos gathered her students on the classroom rug and asked them to turn to a partner to say what they liked to eat for breakfast (12/04/18). When the teacher called on Mackenzie, a non-Brazilian student, to share her response with her whole group, the child replied "I don't know how to say it in Portuguese!" Beatriz, who had partnered with Mackenzie, interjected, providing a translation of her peer's response using both Portuguese and English: "ela disse que ela gosta de *milk*" (she said she likes *milk*). The teacher briefly thanked Beatriz and moved on to elicit other responses from different students. After the winter break, Beatriz supported her peer Bettina, who was also non-Brazilian, in the reading of a book. Throughout the time dedicated to independent reading, Bettina pointed to specific images in her book and asked Beatriz: "what is

this?” Beatriz had to stop reading her own book several times to look over Bettina’s shoulder and say, for example, “é chamado um soldado de chumbo” (it’s called a tin soldier) (02/13/2019).

When Ms. Matos read a book about soccer to her first graders gathered on the classroom rug, the word “canelada” came up in the story, prompting several non-Brazilian students to ask what it meant. Beatriz asked to speak. She held her right knee and enacted the meaning of “canelada,” saying: “Aiii! Hoje no ônibus uma menina chutou aqui” (Ouch! Today on the bus a girl kicked me here). The teacher nodded at Beatriz and then proceeded with the book reading (05/01/2019).

Across these examples, Beatriz confidently positioned herself as a Portuguese language expert in relation to her non-Brazilian peers Bettina, Deborah, and Mackenzie. She leveraged her knowledge across languages to support her classmates and, consequently, assisted Ms. Matos’ pedagogical goals. Because of Brazilian immigrant children like Beatriz, the teacher had strong linguistic role models available in her classroom and mentors for majority-English-speaking students who were learning Portuguese as a heritage or second language. Beatriz played this important role in her classroom as a language broker during pair or group activities, in tasks that students were expected to execute independently, and during whole group instruction. However, although TWI teachers counted on Beatriz’s expertise and work as a language broker, the student was only briefly complemented (if at all) for her multiple contributions in class. Additionally, without educators’ critical awareness and acknowledgment of the translation work performed by Brazilian immigrant children, Beatriz’s and others’ translation work in Portuguese-led classes seemed to primarily benefit non-Brazilian, English-speaking students. Prior research has shown that extensive translation can potentially take language brokers’ time away from learning and exploring other content and knowledge in their bilingual classrooms (Coyoca & Lee, 2009). To

counter these dynamics, language brokering should be incorporated into classroom learning in ways that enhance school language and literacy development (Gallo, 2014).

Transborder Memories and Classroom Participation

On a busy morning in November 2018, Ms. Matos engaged her first-grade TWI students in a Portuguese literacy lesson about the letter “p” and its “família silábica” (syllabic family) (11/05/18). She began by going through the consonants and the vowels in Portuguese to show that the letters can “hold hands” to form syllables. After distributing small dry-erase boards for each student on the classroom rug, who sat in a circle, she asked the children to write down the words that she was going to say out loud, which would begin with the letter “p.” The first word she said was “pé” (foot). Nilson (first-generation Brazilian child) wrote it down quickly and yelled, “isso é UM pé [emphasis added]. Um pé é muito fácil” (this is A foot [emphasis added]. A foot is so easy). On his dry-erase board, Nilson added the indefinite article that often precedes the noun “pé” in Portuguese, properly inflecting the noun for gender (masculine) and number (singular), going beyond what the teacher had asked.

The next word announced by the teacher was “peteca” (shuttlecock), which prompted the first-generation Brazilian student Patricia to speak up: “Peteca só tem no Brasil. Não tem aqui. E parece com a música do ‘pato pateta.’ (There are only shuttlecocks in Brazil. [They] don’t have it here. And it sounds like that song of the ‘goofy duck’). In Portuguese, the combination of words in “pato pateta” (“goofy duck”) is an example of alliteration, since both words begin with the letter “p” and also include the letter “t,” thus resembling in spelling and sound. Ms. Matos seemed a bit surprised; she said to Patricia that today’s class would be precisely about “a história do pato pateta que quebrou a caneca” (the story of the goofy duck who broke the mug). In this

example, Patricia brought up a traditional children's song composed by Brazilian composers Toquinho and Vinícius de Moraes, introducing the main text to be discussed in that day's lesson. Following Patricia's lead, Ms. Matos divided the students into small groups to read the story of the goofy duck. Valentina (second-generation Brazilian) was paired with Sean (non-Brazilian); she explained each passage of the text, enacting excerpts with animated gestures, and asking Sean constantly "você entende?" (do you understand?). At the end of the story, Valentina shared, "é assim que conta na minha casa" (this is how we tell [this story] in my house). Other Brazilian immigrant students also took the lead in reading and enacting the story of the goofy duck in their groups, including Paulo (second-generation Brazilian) who told the story in his group, which included Nilson and Janet (non-Brazilian). Thus, several Brazilian immigrant children leveraged their prior knowledge of the original Brazilian poem and song "o pato" (the duck) to actively participate in Ms. Matos' lesson. In doing so, they enriched the instruction they received; they introduced the theme of the lesson and not only read the words from the pages but enacted the story, making meaningful and robust connections that effectively moved instruction forward.

During another Portuguese literacy lesson, Ms. Matos announced to her first-grade students who were sitting on the classroom rug that they were going to read a book about the "Saçi Pererê" (01/30/19). She explained, using a mysterious tone: "Ele vem lá das lendas do Brasil. Ele gosta de andar pelas fazendas assustando os animais" (he comes from the myths of Brazil. He likes to walk around the farms and scare the animals). The first-generation Brazilian student Valter stood up and interrupted the teacher's explanation: "E ele pode fazer furacão assim ó! VUUMM" (and he can make a hurricane like this, look, VUUMM), twirling quickly on the classroom rug. A student followed up: "Ele existe?" (does he exist?) to which Valter (still standing) responded: "Não. O dinossauro existiu, o Saçi não existe" (no. Dinosaurs existed, but

the Saçi does not exist). Ms. Matos agreed with Valter and proceeded to tell an overview of the story about the Saçi Pererê, a Brazilian folk tale character. She explained that someone cast a spell on the Saçi Pererê, turning him into a “cuscuz,” a corn-based dish in Brazilian cuisine. Patricia shared excitedly: “Eu gosto de comer cuscuz. Quando eu era pequenininha no Brasil, eu comia cuscuz o tempo todo” (I like to eat cuscuz. When I was little in Brazil, I used to eat cuscus all the time). Representative of what was typically seen in Ms. Matos’ TWI classroom, Brazilian cultural aspects were incorporated in her teaching of the Portuguese language. This allowed Brazilian immigrant students to take pride and ownership over the lesson, such as when Valter assumed the role of the teacher during her explanation of the Saçi Pererê. It also allowed students to make meaningful connections between the content approached in class and their transborder memories in Brazil or the stories told by Brazilian family members. As a result, Brazilian immigrant children enriched their bilingual lessons through their contributions.

In other TWI classrooms, there were also several instances in which Brazilian immigrant children engaged their transborder memories and funds of knowledge while participating in class, making a significant contribution to the successful execution of their teachers’ lessons and the implementation of the bilingual program. Ms. Duarte and her first-grade students were on the classroom rug in the morning for the Portuguese literacy lesson. The teacher was reading a book to her students, asking questions, and stopping for comments and interaction at almost every page. Ms. Duarte showed to students a page in the book that depicted a crying baby, which generated several comments from students:

<p>Luluca conta uma história sobre a irmã dela nascendo, concluindo: “Lá no Brasil ela nasceu e todo mundo chorou.”</p> <p>Letícia: “Esse bebê é um menino.”</p> <p>Ms. Duarte: “Por que?”</p> <p>Letícia: “Porque ele está chorando e meninos choram mais que meninas!”</p>	<p>Luluca tells a story about the day her sister was born, concluding: “There in Brazil she was born and everyone cried.”</p> <p>Letícia: “That baby is a boy.”</p> <p>Ms. Duarte: “Why?”</p> <p>Letícia: “Because he is crying and boys cry more than girls.”</p>
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<p>Danilo (exasperado): “Não... não é verdade!”</p> <p>Ms. Duarte: “Calma, gente, vamos dar uma chance dos meninos se defenderem. Danilo, por que você não acha que esse bebê é menino?”</p> <p>Danilo: “Uma vez quando a gente pegou um novo casa, a mamãe chorou muito. A mamãe falou ‘eu nunca tive uma casa nova, eu nunca tive uma casa no Brasil e agora a gente tem!’ E ela chorou, chorou. Então a minha mãe chorou e ela é menina.”</p>	<p>Danilo (exasperated): “No... that’s not true!”</p> <p>Ms. Duarte: “Calm down, everyone, let’s give the boys a chance to defend themselves. Danilo, why do you think this baby is not a boy?”</p> <p>Danilo: “Once when we got a new house, [my] mom cried so much. My mom said ‘I have never had a new house, I never had a house in Brazil and now we have [one]!’ And she cried and cried. So my mother cried and she is a girl. (01/23/19)</p>
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In this part of the lesson where students had the freedom to speak and make connections to the story being read, Brazilian immigrant students participated actively by sharing lived experiences. Luluca (a newcomer from Brazil) linked the picture of the crying baby to the birth story of her younger sister in Brazil, narrating how she witnessed and participated in the event. Danilo (2nd-generation Brazilian) linked the discussion to the day that he saw his mother crying for having purchased their first home in the United States. His narrative invoked memories of his mother’s lived experiences across contexts, from not affording to buy a house in Brazil to finally being able to buy a house in the U.S., and how much that meant for her. The juxtaposition of lived experiences here and there by both Luluca and Danilo enriched the ongoing discussion around the book, engendered class participation, and moved Ms. Duarte’s instruction forward, supporting her instructional goals. Other Brazilian immigrant students assembled similarly robust connections between memories of life in Brazil and the target content in Ms. Duarte’s lessons. Later in the semester, Ms. Duarte was reading another book with her students on the classroom rug in her morning literacy lesson. When she reached the part of the story where the frogs (characters) thought that the crocodile was a chicken, Ms. Duarte interrupted the reading to ask if students had ever seen a real chicken. Luluca replied with excitement, “Eu já vi um monte de galinha. Na casa da minha bisã tinha um galinheiro” (I’ve seen lots of chicken. In my great-grandma’s house there was a chicken coop) (03/14/19). Luluca proceeded to list all of the other

animals on her great-grandmother's property and how she used to help her great-grandmother care for them. The teacher smiled and the discussion suddenly followed a different direction as several students raised their hands to say that they agreed with the frogs; they also thought that the crocodile looked like a chicken based on the picture in the book.

As this cohort of first-grade students from Ms. Matos' and Ms. Duarte's TWI classrooms transitioned to the TWI second-grade, Ms. Dantas' and Ms. Tavares' classrooms, they continued to infuse their lessons with their transborder memories and funds of knowledge. For example, to get her lesson started at 9 AM, Ms. Dantas clapped her hands five times to signal to her twenty-two students in class, who were working on a math worksheet and/or eating breakfast at their desks, to transition to the classroom rug (09/24/19). When all of the children were sitting on the rug forming a circle, Ms. Dantas distributed post-it notes and pencils and asked students to think and write about a day when they felt very happy. Patricia (1st-generation Brazilian) raised her hand to summon her teacher's attention: "Tia, cê sabe desenhar a estátua do Cristo Redentor no Rio de Janeiro? Eu lembro de ir lá com os meus pais" (auntie, do you know how to draw the statue of the Christ the Redeemer in Rio de Janeiro? I remember going there with my parents). Similar to what was seen in the previous year, children with Brazilian immigrant backgrounds participated in their class by sharing their transborder memories in their classrooms.

During instruction, Ms. Dantas played the traditional Brazilian Northeastern song "Asa Branca" by Luis Gonzaga as background music while students worked on an in-classroom task in groups at their desks. The second-grader Ana Maria (first-generation Brazilian) raised her hand to ask: "Tia, o nome dessa música é Asa Branca? Eu cantava essa música todo dia no Brasil. Eu dançava forró com minha irmã" (auntie, is this song called Asa Branca? I used to sing this song every day in Brazil. I used to dance forró [Brazilian musical genre] with my sister)

(02/12/20). Days later, during the class rehearsal of “Asa Branca” for a presentation for parents, Marcela blurted out: “Dançar assim me lembra do Brasil, parece festa junina!” (dancing like this reminds me of Brazil, it’s like the June party). Dário, a Brazilian newcomer who was in the back of the classroom smiled and repeated: “Parece festa junina!” (it’s like the June party) (02/26/20). Ms. Dantas’ choice of song for the presentation for parents resonated with several Brazilian immigrant children in her class. The children did not just reproduce the steps in the choreography or the lyrics of the song during rehearsals. Many of the children demonstrated that they already knew the song; they involved transborder memories and subalternized knowledge of Brazilian immigrant communities who continue to engage in cultural traditions such as dancing “forró” and celebrating the “June party.” As a result, the children elaborated on and elevated the group’s knowledge about “Asa Branca,” transcending Ms. Dantas’ original goal of teaching the song for a presentation to parents.

Even in moments when the teachers were not directly supervising students, such as when the children were working on an assignment at their desks, Brazilian immigrant students created robust connections between the academic activity and their transborder lives and memories. The first-grade teacher Ms. Matos asked her students during instruction to discuss in their groups if they preferred the rain or the snow and then write down their opinion on a worksheet. Paloma, a newcomer student who had arrived from Brazil and joined Ms. Matos’ group about two months before that lesson, shared with her group: “Eu prefiro sol e neve! No Brasil, meu pai sentia frio, mas aqui ele vive com frio. Minha mãe fica falando ‘Ah no Brasil você reclamava do calor!’” (I prefer the sun and snow. In Brazil, my dad felt cold, but here he’s always cold. My mom keeps saying ‘Ah in Brazil you used to complain about the heat!’) (03/20/19). In Ms. Dantas’ 2nd-grade classroom, the teacher asked her students to choose a book, read, and write on post-it notes the

words that they did not understand. As the teacher walked around the room, checking in with her students, Paulo (2nd-generation Brazilian) talked to his peers on the same group of desks about his book. Paulo's book was about a family that had Brazilian and American members:

<p>Paulo: Olha! Eu sou desse lado aqui [aponta para os personagens brasileiros]. Eu e a Beatriz tamos desse lado, o Aiden e a Bettina estão desse lado [aponta para os personagens americanos]. Eu sou brasileiro, eu nasci em São Paulo. Eu só viajei pra cá, mas eu moro no Brasil. Lá no Brasil, eu sei falar várias palavras. Eu sei a palavra tolerância, é bem grande e eu sei até escrever.</p> <p>(lê página do livro em que os personagens não se entendem porque falam línguas diferentes)</p> <p>Paulo: Eu não falo com o meu pai ou minha mãe em inglês, só com o meu irmão. Meu irmão fala bem pouquinho em português.</p>	<p>Paulo: Look! I'm on this side [points to the Brazilian characters]. I and Beatriz are on this side, and Aiden and Bettina are on that side [points to the American characters]. I'm Brazilian, I was born in Sao Paulo. I only traveled here, but I live in Brazil. There in Brazil, I know how to say many words. I know the word tolerance, which is very long and I even know how to write [it].</p> <p>(he reads a page in which the characters can't understand each other because of language differences)</p> <p>Paulo: I don't speak with my dad or my mom in English, only with my brother. My brother speaks very little Portuguese. (09/24/19)</p>
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As illustrated in the data, Brazilian immigrant children often drew upon their transborder understandings and comparative lens (Gallo, 2021a; Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020; Orellana, 2009) to participate in class. As they did so, they formed meaningful connections with the content taught in class and complexified the discussions initially envisioned or proposed by their teachers. In activities where the children were asked to express their preference for rain or snow or to simply read and write down words that they did not understand on post-it notes, Brazilian immigrant children assembled complex transborder articulations (Gallo, 2021a). Paloma and Paulo had different emotional and physical ties and experiences across borders. In her group of first-graders, Paloma invoked memories to participate in the classroom activity. She leaned on how her father used to feel about the cold (and the heat) in Brazil and juxtaposed it with their conditions now, living in a much colder place.

Paulo, in turn, was the U.S.-born child of undocumented immigrants from Brazil and had never physically been to Brazil. Yet, Paulo's narratives in response to reading a book in the 2nd-

grade classroom tapped into his transborder imaginary, foregrounding ways of knowing and doing that differed from local mononational standards (Gallo, 2021a; Oliveira, 2019). In this activity, Paulo drew on the characters of the book to create real-life distinctions between non-Brazilians (Aiden and Bettina) and Brazilians, positioning himself on par with Beatriz, a child who had been born in Brazil. He also created his own story of migration; speaking of being born and living in Sao Paulo and then traveling to the U.S., drawing on funds of knowledge developed in relation to his family history and experiences of immigration in the local community. Finally, Paulo connected the communication breakdowns among the characters from the story plot to the linguistic landscape in his own home. In doing so, he showed how he negotiated two languages within his household, being able to communicate with both his older brother (who spoke mainly in English) and his parents, who spoke primarily Portuguese.

Data presented in this section showed the complex dynamics that Brazilian immigrant children as transborder thinkers navigated in their TWI program. Their language practices (translation/interpreting work) and expressions of ties and experiences across borders allowed immigrant children to shape and participate in their classes. As such, young Brazilian immigrant children contributed to the day-to-day implementation of the TWI program in significant ways. Educators, however, demonstrated contradictory responses to these children's contributions. As demonstrated in the data, teachers' instruction (in Portuguese- and English-led classes) benefited from immigrant children's language brokering, either directly (in the case of the drums alive and music teachers) or indirectly (when students worked in groups in ESL/ELD classes). Portuguese-led instruction also benefited from immigrant students' transborder stories, shared in Portuguese, which enriched the lessons by elevating the complexity of ongoing discussions and classroom activities. While educators across spaces in the program at times issued tokens to show that they

had *noticed* these students' contributions (e.g., smiles, nods), the children were not recognized for bringing to school funds of knowledge with critical implications for academic learning. This points to the contrasting dynamics in the TWI program that immigrant children navigated daily.

Up to this point, the experiences of Brazilian immigrant children in TWI classrooms have been centered. In the next section, I take on how the professionals serving Brazilian immigrant students perceived their participation and roles in the language program at Parker Elementary. Drawing from the perspectives of educators and other school personnel contributes an additional layer of complexity and nuance to the dynamics described in previous sections: that immigrant children's key contributions were noticed and valued by educators, but the children themselves were hardly positioned as program implementers or as bringing assets to school that could inform/transform their teaching.

Educators' Perceptions of Brazilian Immigrant Children in the School

Brazilian immigrant children's contribution to the implementation of the TWI program through language brokering and the invocation of transborder memories was at times *noticed* (or nodded at) by educators but remained *invisible*. That is, children's contributions were largely unacknowledged for their critical, everyday support to the newly-established TWI program and untapped during classroom instruction for academic learning. As will be discussed in this section, the invisibility of immigrant children's multifaceted funds of knowledge stemmed from dynamics of discrimination and colonial thinking that undergirded educators' perceptions of these students' roles in the language program. In formal interviews and informal conversations with fifteen school staff members serving the children enrolled in the TWI program, Brazilian immigrant children's behavior in class and at school came up as challenges. Additionally, school personnel also framed Brazilian immigrant students' linguistic abilities and practices through a

deficit lens. Staff members' emphasis on behavior or language (issues) kept them away from the most important work that the children were doing.

The school social worker, a Brazilian woman who had worked at Parker Elementary for almost 15 years at the time of data collection, shared during a formal interview her perceptions of the challenges of serving Brazilian immigrant children in the school. Her answer was representative of the perspectives of other school staff members, as it is shown below:

<p>Assistente social: Eles não têm a experiência de saber que quando você vai pra escola, você tem momentos que você tem que se regular e esperar. Então são crianças que não tem tanto essa experiência. Acho que é porque não foram pra pré-escola que existe com rotina. Acho que creche é uma situação diferente. Então eles vêm com experiência de ficar com baby-sitter, que muitas vezes é um número de horas em frente a televisão enorme. Mas essas outras regrinhas que eles vão precisar pra... entrar em fila, esperar a hora de falar, a hora de correr e gritar é lá fora no pátio... isso eles vêm muito crus, em relação a isso. Eles vão começar a aprender isso aqui na escola. Então, leva um tempo. Leva um tempo maior. (April 2019)</p>	<p>Social worker: They don't have the experience of knowing that when you go to school, there are moments when you have to self-regulate and wait. So they are children who don't have this experience all that much. I think it's because they didn't go to preschool where there is a routine. I think daycare is a different situation. They come with the experience of staying with a babysitter, which many times is a huge number of hours in front of the TV. But the rules that they'll need to... get in line, wait for their turn to speak, [know that] the time to run and scream is outside in the playground... they come very crude, in relation to these things. They'll begin to learn this here at school. So it takes time. It takes more time.</p>
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In her response, the social worker constructed Brazilian immigrant children as coming to school without having had the “experience” to self-regulate and wait, which engenders a range of perceived behavioral issues, including difficulties getting in line, waiting for their turn to speak, as well as running and screaming inside the school building. She attributed this perceived “lack of experience” with routines and rules to the children receiving early care through daycares or babysitters before starting kindergarten, as opposed to attending preschools (Oliveira et al., 2021). This concern with children's behavior was also present during a formal interview with a TWI kindergarten teacher aide, a U.S.-born woman with no ties to Brazil, occurred in June 2019. When speaking about her interactions with other staff members and specialists about Brazilian

immigrant students, she shared that a common theme was behavioral issues. She explained:

“some of the kids, I find, you know, can be challenging. You know, with their behavior. Instead of getting frustrated, you know, I’m just trying to understand what might be going on at home [...] you learn about the family, or if they’re, you know, if they just came here from Brazil.

There’s a lot of, you know, uncertainty.” This TWI teacher aide connected the perceived behavioral issues of Brazilian immigrant children to their home and family situation, mentioning the high stress and uncertainty brought about by immigration. Although this rationale differed from that articulated by the school social worker, who focused on students’ early care and education before kindergarten, both of these professionals positioned Brazilian students’ behavior as challenges in their work. Similarly, the ELD teacher Ms. Sanchez also spoke about the challenges of teaching in the TWI program during her interview, focusing on Brazilian immigrant children’s behavior in response to the adopted language allocation model:

Ms. Sanchez: Sometimes especially in the two-way program since they are learning in Portuguese all day except for the English time, they don’t want to learn English as much as the other kids. They like shutdown and just know that eventually, the English will be over. You know? [...] Cause it’s hard for them. So the Brazilian, I wouldn’t say all of the Brazilian kids but the newcomers, who speak Portuguese only, I find, in the beginning of the year it was very challenging to get them to want to-motivated to learn English. Because they know that once we leave, it’s back to being in Portuguese all day. (March 2019)

Ms. Sanchez perceived her Brazilian immigrant students as unmotivated to learn English in her ESL classes due to their awareness of the unequal time allocation for instruction in English and Portuguese. This, in turn, was constructed as affecting these students’ classroom behavior; they “shut down.” Common in the discourse of “well-intentioned” school officials (Marx, 2009), Ms. Sanchez’s negative construction of Brazilian immigrant children’s behavior in her ESL class was rationalized as stemming from the structure of the program and because “it’s hard for them.”

Among the six TWI classroom teachers in 2018-20, who were all Brazilian immigrant women, the first-grade teacher Ms. Duarte brought up Brazilian children's behavior as a major challenge in her work in the program. In her second year teaching in the program (2019-20), she described during an interview in November 2019: “Tem muito problema de comportamento, de não ouvir, eles não escutam mesmo” (there's a lot of problems of behavior, of not listening, they really don't listen). Ms. Duarte proceeded to attribute the behavioral issues of her students, who were primarily Brazilian immigrant children, to a lack of maturity: “quando você tá dando lição, ninguém tá te ouvindo, ninguém tem maturidade, ninguém não, vai, três, quatro crianças — tem maturidade” (when you are teaching a lesson and no one is listening to you, no one has maturity. Not ‘no one’, okay, three or four children have maturity). In these examples from interviews, school personnel centered Brazilian students' behavior in narratives of challenge. Prior studies showed that deficit perspectives—including accounts of what a student lacks, such as academic motivation--have been frequently applied to Latinx bilingual students, causing lasting effects on children's self-concept, socio-emotional growth, and academic behavior (Espana & Herrera, 2020; Carales & López, 2020). In this study, I argue that the accounts of school staff members (Brazilian or non-Brazilian) that centered on Brazilian immigrant children's behavior rendered these students' contributions to the consolidation of the TWI program invisible.

Issues of Language: Students Un/balancing TWI Classrooms

In addition to sharing perceptions of Brazilian immigrant children's (mis)behavior in class, school staff members—and particularly TWI teachers—emphasized issues of language. Here, school personnel stressed perceptions of what Brazilian immigrant children, particularly 2nd-generation immigrant students, *lacked* in terms of their linguistic abilities and background. These accounts stood in stark contrast to first- and second-generation Brazilian immigrant

students' complex practices of language brokering and invocation of transborder memories documented during classroom observations and discussed above. Students' fluid language practices in TWI classrooms, which involved using English in Portuguese spaces, were also framed as detrimental to the successful implementation of the TWI program. When TWI staff members were not discussing young immigrant students' "language issues," they turned to issues of language. That is, these professionals talked about the children in relation to the language goals of the program, glossing over the multidimensionality and the array of knowledges that immigrant children brought into their classrooms.

More than half of the students with recent histories of immigration enrolled in the TWI program were second-generation children, being born in the United States to Brazilian parent(s). Yet, this population's linguistic abilities and resources were framed by educators and school staff members in negative terms. For example, Ms. Tavares, who served in the TWI program as a floating paraprofessional in 2018-19 before becoming a classroom teacher in 2019-20, outlined the specific obstacles that she perceived second-generation children to face in the program:

Ms. Tavares: As crianças que nascem aqui, filhos de imigrantes que nascem e vem pro programa, o que eu sinto é que eles não têm vocabulário. Nem em português e nem em inglês. Então fica essa criança que não consegue se explicar, não consegue ter... um pensamento critico, porque falta palavras. (May, 2019)	Ms. Tavares: The kids who are born here, the children of immigrants who are born [here] and come to the program, what I feel is that they don't have vocabulary. Neither in Portuguese nor in English. So we end up having this child that can't express themselves, can't have... critical thinking, cause they're missing words.
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In this narrative, Ms. Tavares constructed 2nd-generation students as lacking vocabulary and occupying an impossible position "in-between" languages. Tropes of "caught in between" have been widely used to explain the educational lives of immigrant children and are a lasting legacy of acculturation and assimilation models (García-Sánchez, 2014). As such, Ms. Tavares' description of 2nd-generation immigrant students is undergirded by linear and developmental

expectations that these students must eventually leave this ‘in-between’ position and integrate themselves into the dominant language over time. Similarly, the school psychologist, a Brazilian woman who had worked at Parker Elementary for over ten years, spoke during an interview in March 2019 about the potential contribution of the new TWI program to the local immigrant community. She argued that the program could alleviate an issue involving second-generation immigrant children: “Temos muitas crianças que os pais falavam português e eles falam inglês, a primeira língua deles é o inglês. Que eu já considero essas crianças como *language deprived*. Se você fala uma língua, e tua mãe fala outra, você aprendeu inglês com a televisão” (we have many children whose parents speak Portuguese and they speak English, their first language is English. I already consider these children as *language deprived*. If you speak one language and your mother speaks another, you’ve learned English with the television).

TWI classroom teachers frequently framed the importance of the new bilingual program by alluding to the research that argues that concepts learned in one language remain available in—and thus are transferrable to—other languages (Cummins, 1979). Drawing on this research, the 2nd-grade teacher Ms. Dantas spoke during a formal interview in January 2020 about a recent composition written by a non-Brazilian majority-English-speaking student in her class: “Os erros dela foram mínimos. Mínimos. Mas o que que é isso? Só porque tá aprendendo português? Não, o inglês dela é bom!” (she had minimal errors. Minimal. But what is that? Is this only because she’s learning Portuguese? No, [it’s because] her English is good!). In contrast, Ms. Dantas then commented on the children in her classroom learning Portuguese as a heritage language, who she perceived as coming into the TWI program lacking in both Portuguese and English: “Por isso vai ficar capengando durante um tempo. Até fechar vai demorar” (that’s why [the student] will be stumbling for some time. I’ll be a while until it [the gap between languages] closes). Ms. Dantas’

comparative thinking, which was common among teachers, positioned 2nd-generation immigrant students at a disadvantage in relation to both non-Brazilians (who were framed as having strong and transferable English skills) and 1st-generation Brazilian children (who were framed as having acquired strong Portuguese skills in Brazil).

Both the first-grade teacher Ms. Matos and the kindergarten teacher Ms. Leite during individual interviews felt frustrated about how students were allocated to the TWI program. They argued that having several students who were born in the U.S. to Brazilian parents and spoke English (but also spoke Portuguese as a heritage language) created the conditions for all students in the classroom to use more English than Portuguese. This, in turn, undermined the goal of the TWI program to create a rich and protected space for the minoritized language. This perception stands in stark contrast with that of the ESL teacher Ms. Sanchez (above), who believed that the Brazilian immigrant students in the program (and particularly the newcomers) were unmotivated to speak English in their classrooms. During an interview in December 2018, Ms. Leite spoke about her experience teaching in the TWI program in its first year of implementation: “agora, com o two-way... tinha que ser um pouquinho mais equilibrado. A maioria dos meus alunos fala inglês. Eles falam inglês. Eles falam português e inglês, eles nasceram aqui. Então tinha que ter mais aluno recém-chegado do Brasil” (now, with the two-way [immersion program]... it had to be a bit more balanced. The majority of my students speak English. They speak English. They speak Portuguese and English, they were born here. So we needed to have more newcomer students from Brazil). Along these lines, in an interview with Ms. Matos in December 2019, she explained the dynamics in her classroom in the second year of implementation of the program:

Ms. Matos: Esse ano... Eu não tenho tantas crianças que sejam <i>newcomers</i> . [...] Então esse ano a minha turma não tá balanceada. O que eu tô sentindo, por não ter isso, tá muito mais difícil as crianças falarem português na sala de aula do que	Ms. Matos: This year... I don't have that many children who are <i>newcomers</i> . [...] So this year my classroom is not balanced. What I'm feeling, because I don't have this, it's harder for the kids to speak Portuguese in the classroom than English
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inglês [...] Eu tenho muita criança que já é bilíngue porque nasceu aqui, já tá exposta ao inglês há muito tempo e fala o português só quando os pais conversam em português. (December 2019)	[...] I have many kids who already are bilingual cause they were born here, have already been exposed to English for a long time, and speak Portuguese only when their parents talk to them in Portuguese.
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These teachers' narratives indicate that second-generation Brazilian immigrant children were often framed on deficit terms regarding their linguistic abilities, positioned as trapped in an abyss "in-between" languages. As framed by Ms. Dantas, these students were at an impasse because they had to build, from their abyssal location, a bridge to connect the "gap" between their languages. Only then these students would be able to transfer their academic knowledge and skills across languages. From both Ms. Leite's and Ms. Matos' narratives, we see that 2nd-generation Brazilian immigrant students were also positioned as "unbalancing" their bilingual classrooms toward more English usage, thus undermining TWI teachers' instructional goals and the TWI program's mission to create a rich and protected space for the minoritized language.

TWI teachers' accounts during interviews also revealed their reliance on first-generation Brazilian immigrant students to hold ground for the Portuguese language. Five of the six TWI educators interviewed in 2018-2020 expressed expectations that newcomers and first-generation Brazilian students would reinforce the use of Portuguese and "balance" their TWI classrooms. For example, in a formal interview in December 2019, Ms. Matos regretted not having enough newcomer students from Brazil in her second year implementing the program: "Agora, criança que não fala inglês, que tem o português, que é aquela troca... Que precisa- que força você a falar o português, porque ela não entende o inglês ainda, eu não tenho na minha sala de aula esse ano" (now, children who don't speak English, who have Portuguese, who [create] that exchange... [kids] that need- that force you to speak Portuguese because they don't understand English yet, I don't have [them] in my classroom this year). In Ms. Matos' view, the success of the TWI

program depended on the newcomer and first-generation Brazilian children's language usage, mainly their ability and commitment to speak only Portuguese and therefore encourage others to also use the minoritized language. This teacher's account also suggests the rigid nature of the language program as implemented at Parker Elementary and the necessity of the teacher felt to deliver in a clear-cut way that children in fact "spoke" and "learned" Portuguese.

Ms. Leite expressed a similar view during her interview in December 2018. After commenting that she had a large number of 2nd-generation Brazilian students, she added: "Tô precisando de mais criança recém-chegada, pra poder trazer mais a cultura. Aquela coisa mais orgânica" (I'm in need for more newcomer children, who can bring more of the culture. That thing [that is] more organic). She elaborated on this point during the interview:

Ms. Leite: Então não tá equilibrada a sala. E eles falam inglês entre eles o tempo inteiro. Bem... então eu sinto assim, que preciso de mais desses dois, Silvio e Ana Maria, que nasceram no Brasil e... que tem mais vocabulário, coisa assim, básica do Brasil, e conta história do Brasil... "Ah, porque quando eu tava lá em Brasília, e não sei o que, não sei o que." (December, 2018)	Ms. Leite: So the classroom is not balanced. And they speak English among themselves all the time. Well... so I feel like this, I need more [kids] like these two, Silvio and Ana Maria, who were born in Brazil and... that have more vocabulary, things like these, basic from Brazil, and tell stories of Brazil... "Ah, because when I was in Brasilia and so forth."
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Ms. Leite's emphasis on her "need" for newcomers points to the expectation that first-generation Brazilian immigrant children support the creation of learning spaces through their Portuguese usage and cultural practices. While Ms. Matos stressed the role of newcomer children from Brazil in forging spaces where English-speaking children must speak Portuguese, Ms. Leite also acknowledged the role of their stories about life in Brazil in supporting her instruction. She was the only TWI teacher in this study over three years that spoke about the value of immigrant children's narratives of memories and lived experiences in the bilingual program. However, only newcomers and first-generation Brazilian students were perceived by TWI educators as bringing linguistic resources in Portuguese and experiential affordances into their classrooms. Moreover,

these resources and affordances were only valued to the extent that they promoted that other students in the program spoke Portuguese. Teachers' reliance on newcomers and first-generation Brazilian students to uphold the space for the Portuguese language and Brazilian culture did not lead them to center their curriculum and instruction on the funds of knowledge of these children. As such, educators' focus on newcomer and first-generation immigrant students' resources and presence as catalysts to "force you to speak Portuguese," worked to commodify these students' linguistic resources to the benefit of English-dominant children (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Oliveira et al., 2020). This trend became evident in this context since only "some" Brazilian immigrant children were positioned as bringing strengths into the program.

Although the teachers often drew on Brazilian cultural practices to contextualize their instruction, the actual curriculum was heavily centered on language structures and alphabetic print literacies throughout the three years of classroom observations (2018-21). Ms. Leite recognized the importance of newcomer and first-generation immigrant children's narratives as "bringing more of the culture" in so-called "organic" or authentic ways, but she (and other educators) did not attempt to support or further develop young immigrant students' language brokering abilities. The only staff member who brought up immigrant children's translation work during the interviews, and that positioned it as a strength, was the school nurse (non-Portuguese speaker) in a formal interview. When asked about serving the Brazilian immigrant children in the TWI program, she expressed:

<p>School nurse: I think, um, it's funny, if we have a new child, which we get them all the time, and there is really no English, it's fun to watch what the kids will come up. The teacher will send them with somebody with a strong English and they'll translate for me. This could be a 6-year-old. And they bring their friend and it's funny to see them communicate and, and get the message to me why they're here [in her office]. If I can't quite get what the problem is, I'll utilize an adult. But- but it's fun to see the kids, they just are so welcoming and so, want to help the new immigrants and make them feel, um, [...] It's real teamwork. And they really pick up on that right away. (April 2019)</p>
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Based on the school nurse's account and our classroom observations in 2018-2020 as described in prior sections, teachers drew upon Brazilian immigrant students' language brokering often; they did so, for example, when strategically grouping Brazilian immigrant children with non-Brazilian children, or when having a bi/multilingual peer accompany a newcomer to the nurse's office. Ms. Leite also appreciated student-generated stories about life in Brazil to support her instruction. However, Brazilian immigrant children's language brokering and transborder stories were not positioned as a critical contribution to the implementation of the TWI program. Educators' conflicting orientations to Brazilian immigrant students' roles in the program, and descriptions of the assets that the children brought (or not) into their classrooms, rendered these students' contributions to the new TWI program invisible.

Conclusion: Inequities in Young Immigrant Students' Experience

The first- and second-generation Brazilian immigrant children in this study engaged in the invisible work of sustaining the new two-way immersion program in their elementary school. Scholars have approached the invisibility of women's work, including paid reproductive labor and unpaid domestic labor, challenging their characterization as expressions of women's natural role (Duffy, 2011). However, the tendency to romanticize young children by portraying them as embodiments of innocence or not-yet-fully humans has often rendered invisible their ability to act on their own behalf, whether to ensure their interests or to modify the world around them (Pufall & Unsworth, 2004; Orellana, 2009). In migration studies and public policy, children have also been historically overlooked, either considered as 'luggage' (Orellana, 2009) or as miniature adults within family migration statistics or not counted at all (Heidbrink, 2020). Countering this trend, scholars who worked with immigrant children and youth foregrounded dimensions of children's roles and obligations to their immigrant families as "work" that goes unrecognized,

including financial contributions and emotional labor (Delgado, 2023; Heidbrink, 2020). This chapter aimed to contribute to this scholarship by uncovering a group of Brazilian immigrant children's invisible labor within their school, particularly in a newly-implemented TWI program that faced considerable pushback and isolation from the broader school context.

In this chapter, I drew upon detailed accounts of classroom observations to explore how Brazilian immigrant children participated in the day-to-day business of their TWI classrooms. In doing so, I foregrounded how the children constructed and experienced their social realities in English- and Portuguese-instructed classes, and how their actions had the effect of contributing to the successful implementation of their bilingual program in an uncertain school context. First, I showed how Brazilian immigrant children acted as language brokers across various contexts at their school, supporting one another's participation in class. When doing so, they also modeled holistic bilingual identities in the context of a two-way immersion program with a strict language separation policy. Teachers varied in their orientation to immigrant students' language brokering; some were explicitly against it (as the ESL and ELD teachers), others openly drew upon it during their instruction (like the drums alive and music teachers), and yet others expressed small tokens of appreciation in response (such as Portuguese-language teachers). Despite these conflicting orientations, instruction across languages in the TWI program appeared to benefit from Brazilian immigrant children's translation work. As such, these children's language brokering became a resource that teachers often drew on (directly or indirectly) but did not incorporate into their curriculum and instruction as an ability to be cultivated and that holds the potential to improve bilingual students' academic learning and achievement (Dorner et al., 2007; Gallo, 2014).

Second, Brazilian immigrant children shared complex transborder stories and memories during Portuguese-led instruction, which elevated ongoing classroom discussions and activities,

working to support TWI educators' instructional goals. Students assembled strong connections between their transborder experiences and the academic content under study in lessons where teachers allowed them to share spontaneously and used instructional materials based on Brazilian cultural practices, traditions, and resources. However, while these contributions were noticed by teachers who at times expressed tokens of appreciation, immigrant students' transborder lived experiences and imaginaries were not centered in the curriculum.

Third, Brazilian immigrant children's contributions were often rendered invisible due to negative perceptions held by school staff members. For example, school personnel perceived Brazilian immigrant children through the lens of "behavioral issues," as opposed to seeing their contributions to the program. In their accounts, TWI educators and other school staff members also characterized second-generation immigrant students as caught "in-between" languages and as "unbalancing" the instructional space for the minoritized language, therefore undermining the bilingual program's goals. At the same time, teachers expressed their reliance on newcomers and first-generation immigrant children to create the desired spaces for the Portuguese language, foregrounding the latter student group's linguistic knowledge and resources. As such, newcomer and first-generation immigrant students were pinned as the solution to (re-)balance the program. Constructed distinctions among students indicate the colonial logic and thinking (Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020) that undergirded orientations and practices in the day-to-day implementation of the new language program.

Overall, my analysis suggests that the mismatch between Brazilian immigrant children's contributions in their bilingual classrooms and school staff members' negative perceptions of their participation and roles in the program created inequitable dynamics that shaped students' educational experiences. Specifically, TWI teachers' emphasis on language issues, including

their strong concern with shedding away English usage, seemed to prevent them from *listening* to the children in their classrooms, *seeing* children's contributions to the program's survival, and *leveraging* students' contributions for school language and literacy learning. For example, although TWI teachers like Ms. Matos (first grade) and Ms. Dantas (second grade) used elements of Brazilian cultural practices to contextualize their teaching of academic content, the TWI curriculum and instruction still focused heavily on Portuguese language acquisition and alphabetic print literacies, demonstrating a traditional language-as-subject orientation (Valdés, 2018). Preoccupations with “macro alternations” in the program (Orellana & García, 2014)—such as when to use one language or the other—took precedence over several micro-moments in classrooms when immigrant children engaged in creative practices that mobilized their full selves and that bore critical implications and potential for school learning. Together, the data showcased in this chapter reveals an intricate and complex microcosm of macro relationships of discrimination, colonial thinking, and power.

There is great importance in recognizing immigrant children's labor to sustain their bilingual schooling. Normalizing the invisibility of these students' contributions avoids critical discussions around the monolinguing (Mignolo, 2000) and mononational orientations that prevailed in their schools. Brazilian immigrant children engaged in language brokering to support one another in English-led spaces that reinforced monolingual policies and that had limited structures in place to support newcomer immigrant or Portuguese-speaking students. Moreover, in Portuguese-led spaces, the invisibility of Brazilian immigrant children's work to sustain the TWI program obscured persistent inequities that privileged non-Brazilian, English-speaking students. In this chapter, several examples were provided in which non-Brazilian students benefited from Brazilian immigrant children's linguistic resources and practices as well

as from their cultural and experiential backgrounds throughout the school day. As such, it is crucial to acknowledge immigrant children's deployment of their linguistic and cultural resources as assets for their classroom and school community, but also to critically assess how school and classroom spaces are set up to marginalize these funds of knowledge or use them to the advantage of the societal dominant group.

In the next chapter, I turn to a different facet of how this group of Brazilian immigrant children's participation in a new TWI program shaped their education experiences in 2018-2020. In what follows, I approach the complex ways in which these students carved out spaces in their bilingual classrooms to make sense of their transborder experiences. I foreground how students, as TWI implementers, leveraged structural aspects of their TWI program to reflect on, compare and understand transborder living.

CHAPTER 6: BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANT CHILDREN'S TRANSBORDER ARTICULATIONS IN THE TWI PROGRAM

This chapter examines Brazilian immigrant students' narratives about the different sides of the U.S.-Brazil *ponte aérea* (air bridge) through everyday activities and interactions in less supervised spaces in their TWI classrooms. I use the term *ponte aérea* to recognize that border crossing into the U.S. for Brazilian immigrants involves some degree of air traveling, often along well-established routes that connect these locations. An *air bridge*, rather than a physical border, also better captures the extended journey through which Brazilian and other South American migrants have to undertake to reach the U.S., traversing multiple geopolitical (air) spaces and border regimes (Velasco, 2020). This specificity in immigration trajectory was reflected in the narratives of the participants in this study through allusions to airplanes, airports, suitcases, and visas when sharing lived experiences. Furthermore, this chapter relies on data collected through weekly classroom observations, student written assignments, and formal interviews and informal conversations with TWI educators collected between August 2018 through early March 2020, or before the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic. This chapter contributes an additional layer of complexity in answering the overarching research question of this study, which concerns how the education experiences of the focal group of children were shaped by their participation in the TWI program. Mainly, this chapter aims to answer the question: (B) *How are the transborder experiences of this group of Brazilian immigrant children leveraged as they (co-)create knowledge in their TWI classrooms?*

In this chapter, I focus on two dimensions of Brazilian immigrant children's sensemaking around transborder experiences (Gallo, 2021a, 2021b) that occurred in liminal or marginal spaces (Carhill-Poza, 2018) in their TWI classrooms. Liminal spaces here refer to less supervised spaces

within classrooms and during formal instruction, such as conversations during group work or when students were expected to work “independently” at their desks. First, I explore children’s narratives and perspectives of im/material inequalities across national systems, or how they compared and assessed access to material goods, violence and fear, and housing conditions in Brazil and the United States. Next, I turn to how children with various immigration backgrounds engaged one another in conversations about politicized topics of pressing relevance in their personal lives (Gallo & Link, 2015), such as documentation status, transnational (im)mobility, and aerial border crossing. I argue that these complex interactions in liminal spaces in their TWI classrooms allowed these students to deploy and co-produce subaltern knowledge, embodying border thinking (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020; Mignolo, 2000). These interactions also made space for sensemaking around issues and experiences that were rendered invisible during teacher-led, whole-group instruction (Gallo, 2015, 2016).

Finally, I address bilingual educators’ responses to children’s transborder articulations. I report on whether TWI teachers were aware of the complex narratives assembled in the day-to-day of their bilingual classrooms and examine teachers’ orientations to approaching children’s politicized lived experiences for academic learning. By foregrounding children’s words and juxtaposing them with TWI educators’ ambivalent orientations, I argue that Brazilian immigrant students carved out spaces for their own knowledges, experiences, perspectives, and truths at the margins of their classrooms. I conclude this chapter with reflections on the generative potential of young immigrant students’ experiences of multiplicity (Gallo, 2021a) and politicized funds of knowledge (Durán & Aguilera, 2022; Gallo & Link, 2015, 2016; Gallo et al., 2019) for TWI K-5 teaching and learning.

Making Sense of Im/material Inequality

Leticia: “*O paraíso fica nas cidades pequeninhas do Brasil. O problema é que lá é pobre.*”

(Paradise is in the small cities in Brazil. The problem is that it is poor there) (08/29/19)

Immigrant children in the TWI program at Parker Elementary regularly compared and assessed im/material inequalities in Brazil and in the United States. The topics present when students described life here and there in conversations with one another included the availability and price of material goods, assessing them as cheap or expensive, the prevalence of violence, and access to different types of housing. Analysis of field notes of classroom observations located 61 occurrences that were recorded within the analytical category of *im/material inequalities*, which included codes such as poverty, wealth, and violence. Importantly, immigrant children’s narratives of perceived or real inequalities opened up spaces for them to talk about and imagine the im/material conditions in Brazil in the classroom. As such, children with different immigration backgrounds made sense of distance and assessed what it meant to live in the United States by considering access to wealth and safety (Oliveira, 2019). These assessments were not linear characterizations, as the children entangled narratives of inequality with memories and kinship ties in Brazil, accounts from family members, promises of prosperity in the U.S., and their current material conditions as immigrants.

The Dollar Tree: Bianca, Danilo, and Letícia

Brazil was often constructed by the children in the TWI program as a poor place where material goods and resources were scarce and therefore expensive. The 1st-generation Brazilian student Bianca, who was a first-grader in Ms. Duarte’s classroom in 2018-19, compared the price of material goods “here” in the U.S. and “there” in Brazil. Although she was one year old when she migrated to the U.S. with her parents and had not been able to return to Brazil, Bianca often

talked about what she “remembered” from her time in the country where she was born. In a conversation with Bianca, she shared one of these memories: “No Brasil quando você está no banho tem problema elétrico. Morar aqui é *fun*! As coisas aqui é mais barato que lá. Aqui tem *Dollar Tree*” (In Brazil when you’re in the shower there are electrical problems. Living here is *fun*! The things here are cheaper than there. Here there’s the *Dollar Tree*) (02/27/19). Later in the school year, during free time in Ms. Duarte’s class, students were allowed to read, draw or play quietly. Children had delivered their individual science presentations about different animals and were engaged in free choice. Many students chose to draw and write their own and their parents’ names on their notebooks. While Bianca, sitting on a round table with peers, worked on her drawing, she commented to her classmates: “Eu sou lá da roça, eu pego o cachorro com piolho e não lavo a mão porque gasta energia” (I’m from the farmlands, I grab dogs with lice and I don’t wash my hands because it wastes [electric] power) (06/07/19). Across her narratives, Bianca assembled an imaginary of Brazil as a place where electric bills were expensive, which restricted everyday water usage (e.g., taking showers, washing hands). In contrast, living in the U.S. was “fun” and provided access to more material goods for cheaper prices, as exemplified by the store Dollar Tree. Bianca’s account of the Brazilian “roça,” or the farmlands in the countryside, stood in contrast to the U.S. Dollar Tree and its symbolic links to urban settings, abundant consumer goods, and money.

Similarly, second-generation Brazilian student Danilo, Bianca’s classmate in Ms. Duarte’s first-grade classroom in 2018-19, shared his perceptions of Brazil and the U.S. while the other students were rehearsing their parts for an upcoming presentation for parents on the big stage of the school cafeteria. Although he had never physically been to Brazil at the time of data collection, he compared life in life Brazil and the U.S. through an inequality lens:

<p>Danilo: Eu tô querendo ficar por aqui mesmo. Lá no Brasil, tem lugares estranhos, banheiros estragados e sujo. Cachorro entra e faz cocô e xixi. Eu sabe porque mamãe nasceu no Brasil e ela falou para eu. Meu vô mora no Brasil. Mas a minha família, eu, meu irmão de treze anos moramos aqui nos Estados Unidos. [...] Aqui nos Estados Unidos é legal, tem lugares com piscina. Lugares que pode comprar coisas: jogos e roupas bonitas, lugar de pegar comida que é bom. Nos Estados Unidos, tem mais água que no Brasil para comprar. Água aqui é mais barato. Eu moro numa casa que tem quatro portas. Lá no Brasil não. (05/15/19)</p>	<p>Danilo: I'm wanting to stay here [U.S.]. There in Brazil, there are strange places, spoiled and dirty bathrooms. Dogs come inside and poop and pee. I know because my mom was born in Brazil and told me. My grandpa lives in Brazil. But my family, me, my thirteen-year-old brother live here in the United States. [...] Here in the United States it's cool, there are places with swimming pool. Places where [we] can buy things: games and pretty clothes, place to grab food that is good. In the United States, there is more water than in Brazil to buy. Water here is cheaper. I live in a house that has four doors. There in Brazil, [I] don't.</p>
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Danilo described sharp contrasts between Brazil and the United States in his narrative. He explicitly drew on his mother's experiences across national systems to construct an imaginary of Brazil as dirty and strange as well as a place of scarcity: the high prices in Brazil restricted one's ability to access things like houses with four doors and water. In contrast, the U.S. was framed as a place of abundance: swimming pools, plentiful water, house, and where one can buy things like games, clothes, and food. Similar to Bianca's account of the U.S. as *fun*, the abundance of affordable material goods marked the United States as "cool" for Danilo. Importantly, Danilo's account of real and perceived inequalities between the two countries seemed to shape this decision of "wanting to stay here," in the United States, as he explained above.

Similar dual narratives were assembled by Letícia, also a second-generation Brazilian immigrant student in Ms. Duarte's first-grade classroom in 2018-19. Letícia had already visited her parent's hometown in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais several times. She did so with the help of a family friend who had U.S. permanent residency and chaperoned her (and other U.S.-citizen children in the community) during the plane ride. Letícia's parents were undocumented migrants in the U.S. who did not travel back and forth. During a conversation in her classroom, Letícia talked about spending the summers in Brazil and having fun with her cousins there. She

also shared her perception of Brazil as a place of material scarcity: “Eu acho os dois lugares bom, mas lá nas Minas Gerais é longe. As coisas no Brasil são muito caras, só comprar duas coisas e já dá cem reais!” (I think both places are good, but there in the Minas Gerais it’s far. The things in Brazil are very expensive, only buying two things and it’s already one hundred reais [currency]) (01/23/19). Leticia drew upon her direct experiences across geopolitical borders to describe Brazil as a faraway space where material goods are expensive, limiting one’s ability to purchase goods. Although she positioned both places as “good,” this material inequality made the U.S. a more attractive place for Leticia.

Brazilian immigrant children such as Bianca, Danilo, and Leticia were attuned to real and perceived inequalities across the U.S.-Brazil *ponte aérea*, often comparing the distribution of and access to material goods across national systems. Despite their strong ties to Brazil—such as Danilo’s relatives living there and Leticia’s description of Brazilian small cities as “paradise” in the opening quote for this section—ideas of Brazil as a place of scarcity informed children’s view of the U.S. as a more attractive place. This occurred despite children’s reports of multiple experiences of inequalities as immigrants in the United States. Leticia, for example, commented several times in her TWI first-grade classroom that her mother cleaned houses for a living and her father worked with construction, and that although both worked very hard, they could not return to Brazil because “eles não tem passaporte nem dinheiro” (they don’t have passports or money) (06/07/19). Bianca, who framed the U.S. as more appealing than Brazil for being “fun” and having cheaper things to buy, also spoke about feeling worried for her family in the U.S. due to their unauthorized status: “Eu to muito preocupada com os meus pais porque eles querem ir ver os pais deles no Brasil e não dá. Tipo, se alguém morre a gente não pode ir ver a pessoa. É triste. Porque a gente chega aqui e fica sem os documentos. Aí não dá para sair. Porque se sair,

não entra mais” (I’m very worried about my parents because they want to go to Brazil and it’s not possible. Like, if someone dies we can’t go see the person. It’s sad. Because we get here and stay without the documents. So we can’t leave. Because if [we] leave, [we] can’t enter anymore) (02/27/19). Leticia’s and Bianca’s direct experiences from inhabiting and navigating the margins across Brazil and the U.S. provided them with a comparative lens (Orellana, 2009) that stressed im/material inequalities in these contexts, including socioeconomic disparities (Arenhart, 2016).

“No Brasil é violento” (in Brazil it’s violent): Marcela, Bianca, and Beatriz

Brazilian immigrant children’s narratives of inequality also encompassed perspectives on violence and safety across the U.S.-Brazil *ponte aérea*. The children in this study spoke about Brazil as a dangerous place that elicited fear. In the words of the kindergartener Samuel, a 2nd-generation Brazilian child in Ms. Leite’s class in 2018-19, in a conversation with a classmate: “No Brasil é violento” (in Brazil it’s violent). These perceptions, real or imagined, often helped families rationalize their migration to the United States as well as their aspiration to stay in the country for the long run. In this section, I hone in on the narratives of three first-generation Brazilian children--Marcela, Bianca, and Beatriz--to explore perceptions of violence and safety across geopolitical borders.

In early December of 2018, a Brazilian newcomer student in Ms. Duarte’s TWI first-grade classroom named Marcela weighed the pros and cons of living in the U.S. and Brazil. She spoke about these perceived differences while she worked on an in-class activity at her desk:

<p>Marcela: Eu morei no Brasil, foi minha primeira cidade, agora essa é minha cidade. Eu gosto dos dois lugares ao mesmo tempo. Mas aqui a gente não pode ser a gente, entendeu? Porque tem muita gente que não gosta da gente. Mas minha mãe foi assaltada e o ladrão levou o carro dela no Brasil. No Brasil é assim. E aí a gente vem para cá.</p>	<p>Marcela: I lived in Brazil, [it] was my first city, now this is my city. I like both places at the same time. But here we cannot be ourselves, you know? Because there is a lot of people who don’t like us. But my mom was robbed and the robber took her car in Brazil. That’s just how it is in Brazil. So we came here. (12/12/18)</p>
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In her commentary, Marcela demonstrated a sense of ownership and familiarity with the U.S. and Brazil as her “cities.” She also reflected upon negative aspects of her lived experiences across both national systems. She articulated that there were limitations to what one could do as an immigrant in the U.S. to not attract negative attention (i.e. “here we cannot be ourselves”). Her direct experience from life in the margins generated important knowledge as to how to navigate life in the U.S. (Gallo, 2021b). Yet, despite knowing that there are “a lot of people who don’t like us,” the United States was not framed as potentially unsafe for immigrants in the explicit ways Brazil was. By contrast, Brazil offered more freedom for one to “be themselves,” but there were profound concerns about urban violence there, which stemmed from a robbery involving her mother. Rather than an isolated episode involving a family member, violence in Brazil was perceived as far-reaching and inherent to the country, as Marcela concluded with “No Brasil é assim” (that’s just how it is in Brazil). Rampant violence in Brazil was positioned as a crucial justification for her family to leave the country, surpassing any negative aspects of living in the United States as an immigrant.

Other 1st-grade students in Ms. Duarte’s TWI classroom had conversations in class that stressed perceptions of violence in Brazil, real or imagined. For example, Bianca (1st-generation Brazilian) and Eduardo (2nd-generation Brazilian) had a conversation at their desks about where they were from, the shifting language expectations for Portuguese and English usage that they had to navigate, and whether they would go to Brazil if given the chance. During this informal conversation at their desks, while the teacher monitored other students’ progress in an in-class assignment, Bianca shared her perspective with Eduardo:

Bianca: Eu e minha mãe fomos na igreja em Parker City, mas antes eu ia na do Brasil. Eu vim para cá com 1 aninho. [...] Tem gente na minha família esperando o <i>green card</i> . Mas tudo bem porque a gente fica agradecido que fala português	Bianca: I and my mom went to church in Parker City, but before I used to [go to church] in Brazil. I came here when I was one. [...] there are people in my family waiting for a <i>green card</i> . But that’s fine because we’re grateful that we speak English
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e inglês. Eu falo em português e inglês. Com <i>green card</i> você pode ir para qualquer lugar que você quiser. Mas no Brasil eu tenho medo porque as pessoas pegam você <i>easily</i> . Brasil é perigoso.	and Portuguese. I speak Portuguese and English. With a <i>green card</i> , you can go anywhere you want. But in Brazil, I have fear because the people take you <i>easily</i> . Brazil is dangerous. (02/27/19)
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Bianca was one year old when she left Brazil and yet she expressed strong feelings and impressions of the country as dangerous. When commenting that some people in her family were in the process of obtaining a green card, which would finally allow them to “go anywhere [they] want,” she hesitated at the possibility of returning to Brazil. Feelings of fear, which stemmed from perceptions of Brazil as a dangerous place where the people “take you easily” (kidnapping), justified this hesitation. In Bianca’s narrative, avoiding potential violence in Brazil trumped evading ongoing experiences of inequality and marginalization in the U.S., including restricted mobility due to unauthorized status. While having knowledge and concerns around immigration status in the U.S., Bianca mitigated the constraints she and her family faced in the country (e.g., inability to “go anywhere” without a green card) by alluding to feelings of gratefulness for being provided with bilingual education in Portuguese and English.

In Ms. Matos’ TWI first-grade classroom in 2018-19, Beatriz (1st-generation Brazilian) was a student that commonly assembled narratives and perceptions of inequality across borders. Issues of violence in Brazil were framed as a crucial factor that justified her family’s migration to and continued stay in the United States, despite experiencing inequalities in the country that stemmed from their unauthorized immigration status. In a lesson in early November 2018, after Beatriz had completed an independent reading task and was allowed by Ms. Matos to go to the classroom rug to read more books, play or talk quietly with friends, she shared about her lived experiences in Brazil and the United States during an informal conversation:

Beatriz: Eu estou aqui nos Estados Unidos faz dois anos. Eu não posso voltar para o Brasil porque meu visto venceu então estamos sem os	Beatriz: I am here in the United States has been two years. I can’t go back to Brazil because my visa expired so we are without the documents. My
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documentos. Meus pais tem advogado e tudo que ajudou a gente, mas mesmo assim não podemos viajar para o Brasil mais. Eu sou de lá, mas não posso voltar para lá, sabe? Lá no Brasil eu vivia medrosa. Eu tinha medo de um palhaço assassino. Mas aqui não. (11/05/18)	parents have a lawyer and everything that helped us, but even so, we can't travel to Brazil anymore. I am from there, but I can't go back there, you know? There in Brazil, I used to live in fear. I was afraid of a killer clown. But not here.
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Beatriz emphasized several times in her narrative that she could not return to Brazil due to an expired visa. From following Beatriz over the years, it was clear that the impossibility of returning to Brazil was a source of sadness and frustration for her, as she missed many relatives there, particularly her paternal grandparents. However, experiencing inequalities as an immigrant in the U.S. was perceived as more acceptable than “living in fear” in Brazil. The dangers, real or imagined, in Brazil justified her migration to the United States and co-existed with the frustration over being “from there” and yet not being able to “go back there.” Additionally, while Beatriz reported feeling fear in Brazil, it is valid to highlight that her family had experienced encounters with violence in the U.S. In a conversation with Beatriz’s parents, her mother reported feeling unsafe in the urban neighborhood where they lived in Parker City, including when someone tried to break into her car at a traffic light on her way home from a nearby bakery. Beatriz knew of her mother’s past experience and concern with violence in their U.S. neighborhood; yet, the child shared that she feared a “killer clown” in Brazil, “but not here” in the United States.

Months later, Beatriz again finished her in-classroom assignment early and took the opportunity to comment on a presentation for students that occurred the day before in Ms. Matos’ first-grade classroom: “Ontem eles vieram aqui falar de um negócio de um aplicativo que se a criança se perde a polícia chega mais rápido. Imagina que no Brasil não tem nada, nadinha disso! Porque lá a corrupção corre solta! Agora com esse presidente vai ser melhor!” (yesterday they came here to talk about this thing of an application that if a child gets lost the police arrive faster. Imagine that, in Brazil, there is nothing, really nothing like this! Because there the

corruption runs free! Now with this president, it'll get better) (03/13/19). Beatriz continued to construct Brazil as a more dangerous place than the United States, this time because it lacked resources available in the host country to ensure children's safety, including a cellphone application to promptly reach the police if a child gets lost. She attributed this unequal distribution of resources (and feelings of safety) to the rampant political corruption in Brazil, which was now poised to be solved by then recently-inaugurated Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro. Her words echoed far-right candidate Bolsonaro's 2019 presidential campaign, which became known for its harsh tough-on-crime stance (Londoño & Andreoni, 2018).

Several ironies emerged from immigrant children's juxtapositions of the conditions in the United States and Brazil concerning violence and safety. Marcela, Bianca, and Beatriz were 1st-generation Brazilian students who faced considerable vulnerabilities as children growing up with unauthorized status in the U.S. (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Collectively, they reported having to cope with obstacles to visit Brazil, restricted ability to be their full selves and do what they wanted to avoid attracting negative attention, and awareness of the anti-immigrant sentiment in the local and broader social context. These students also lived in the same urban neighborhood in Parker City where Beatriz's mother felt unsafe in the area surrounding their apartment complex. Yet, concerns with violence did not come up as an issue for them in the United States. Despite their lived experiences, and their shared concerns regarding immigration status, they continued to frame the U.S. as a place of increased safety and abundant material goods. In contrast, Brazil was typically brought up in connection to real or imagined violence, danger, and fear—which was compounded by scarce material goods and poverty. It is also ironic that former president Jair Bolsonaro's election was positioned as a hopeful development to solve corruption and violence in Brazil in Beatriz's account as well as in the words of other immigrant children and parents in

the TWI program. During his presidency, Brazil experienced out migration in record numbers, with recent estimates that over 6 million Brazilians are living away from the country (Lellis, 2021). This juxtaposition of un/safety here and there, grounded on perceptions of inequality across borders, influenced children's aspirations to stay in the United States as opposed to eventually returning to Brazil in the future.

Big Houses, Little Houses: Dário, Paulo, and Ernesto

As explored above, Brazilian immigrant children in this consistently described the United States as a place of economic prosperity and material abundance. However, for some children, the critical discrepancies between this geographical imagination (Marcus, 2009) and their current material conditions upon resettlement in the country at times generated tensions and frustration. In my analysis of field notes of classroom observations, in-vivo codes associated with housing (e.g., mansion, apartment, house) captured children's use of an inequality lens to make sense of these tensions. In this subsection, I explore Brazilian immigrant children's perceptions of material inequalities expressed in their narratives of housing, constructed as they navigated their TWI classrooms, through the lens of three students: Dário, Paulo, and Ernesto.

The second-grader Dário started in the TWI program at Parker Elementary in the 2019-20 school year. He arrived from Brazil in the summer of 2019, a few weeks before the start of the fall semester. From his first week in the program, he leveraged Ms. Dantas' Portuguese-led instructional time to display his strong language and literacy abilities in Portuguese as well as talk about his life in Brazil. In different classroom visits, Dário openly shared with his teacher and peers that he came from the "roça," or the farmlands of the state of Minas Gerais, and felt intense "saudade," or a nostalgic longing, for relatives who stayed behind, like his grandmother and cousins. During a visit to Ms. Dantas' TWI second-grade classroom in late September 2019,

I followed Dário during an English-led social studies lesson that gathered students from general education classrooms and the TWI program. A monolingual English-speaking substitute teacher led the instruction that day and told students to work in small groups to create posters about rural communities. Dário's group included two other Brazilian immigrant children from the bilingual program and one non-Brazilian child from a general education classroom. The three children from the TWI program talked together in Portuguese throughout the time for this activity as they drew trees and animals on their shared poster. Among the topics discussed by these students, were whether money could grow on trees and if five-hundred-dollar bills existed. Dário shared that he was worried that his grandfather might die this year in Brazil because he smoked too much. Dário also talked about his origins in Brazil and expectations for life in the U.S.:

<p>Dário: Eu morava numa chácara no Brasil. Eu acordava cedo, botava minha bota azul e ia tirar leite da vaca. Nossa que <i>saudade</i>! Aqui eu tô morando numa casinha bem feia e pequena, é uma casa de pobre. No final do ano meu pai quer comprar uma casa bem grande, acho que uma mansão, como aquele casa branca aqui na frente da escola. [...] Aqui eu não tenho tanto espaço pra andar de bicicleta. Eu acho que nunca vou me acostumar a morar aqui.</p>	<p>Dário: I used to live on a farm in Brazil. I used to wake up early, wear my blue boots and go milk the cow. Wow, I feel <i>saudade</i> (nostalgic longing) it! Here I am living in a little house that is very ugly and small, it's a house of the poor. At the end of the year, my dad wants to buy a very big house, I think it will be a mansion, like the white house here in front of the school. [...] Here I don't have much space to ride a bike. I think I'll never get used to living here. (09/24/19)</p>
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In his narrative, Dário compared and evaluated his current conditions in the U.S. through the lens of inequality, foregrounding profound ruptures experienced through changes in housing. He began by contrasting what he had in Brazil in the past—a large farm with animals and room to play—with what he had now in the U.S.: “a little house” that is “very ugly and small” without space to ride a bike. Through his invocation of feelings of *saudade* or nostalgic longing for the past, it is possible to see his frustration over the mismatch between what he had in the past and what he has now upon resettlement in the United States. Dário then continued to speak about what his father promised him for the near future: “a very big house.” The juxtaposition of past,

present, and (imagined) future housing revealed yet another layer of inequality as experienced and perceived by Dário; between what was promised upon migration (e.g., bigger home, more wealth) and his current conditions. Furthermore, Dário perceived yet additional inequalities that came along with his immigration to the United States associated with restricted mobility due to his immigration status. Dário spoke fondly of Brazil in class; he often reminisced about visiting his grandmother in the “roça,” going fishing, and playing in the mud with cousins and friends. At times, classmates would suggest that he go to Brazil for a visit. When this happened, Dário explained, “Eu já disse pra minha mãe para ela fazer o visto!” (I already told my mom for her to do the visa!) (09/24/19). Thus, Dário navigated his life across the U.S.-Brazil *ponte aérea* with a lens of inequality. His social location in his TWI classroom stood in relation to multiple contexts, lived experiences, and the meanings that he attributed to his childhood and material conditions (Arenhart, 2016).

Other Brazilian immigrant children in the TWI program spoke with frustration about their current housing arrangements, at times contrasting the size of their homes here and there. In Ms. Tavares’ TWI second-grade classroom, the Brazilian newcomer student Ernesto shared about mismatches in housing size during an activity in an English-led social studies lesson in October 2019. After the teacher played a video entirely in English about three types of communities (rural, urban, and suburban), the students were asked to go to their desks to draw a community of their choosing. When I followed Ernesto to his desk, he disclosed that he did not understand the video or the teacher’s directions for the task because they were in English. He then announced that he was going to make a drawing based on what he saw in a scene of the video that depicted an urban area with several buildings of different sizes and colors. Referring to the smallest building in the video, Ernesto explained: “O meu é aquele azulzinho ali. Eu moro num prédio

pequeninho. Eu moro na Rota X onde nada é perto. Tem dois apartamentos lá e eu vou ao redor deles com a minha mãe. Eu vi um passarinho morto. É diferente de onde eu morava no Brasil” (Mine is the little blue one there. I live in a tiny little apartment. I live on Route Z where nothing is nearby. There are two buildings there and I go around them with my mom. I saw a dead bird there. It’s different from where I used to live in Brazil) (10/08/19).

Along these lines, in Ms. Dantas’ TWI 2nd-grade classroom, Maria Paula (2nd-generation Brazilian) reported to the class in response to a prompt to think and share about a day when she felt very happy: “Quando eu fiz dois anos porque eu morava em uma mansão” (when I turned two years old because I used to live in a mansion) (09/24/19). Also in Ms. Dantas’ TWI second-grade classroom, the students were gathered in small groups at their desks to work on an activity as part of the socio-emotional learning curriculum on a sunny morning in late October 2019. The children were asked to write down on a post-it note what they could do to leave the “yellow zone” and enter the “green zone,” or brainstorm strategies to self-regulate in stressful moments. In this activity, Paulo (2nd-generation Brazilian) interrupted the brief moment of silence in his group to share: “Eu moro numa casa que parece um prédio. Eu moro embaixo. Sabe aquelas casas grandes? A minha casa parece uma mansão mas não é” (I live in a house that is like an apartment building. I live in the basement. You know those big houses? My house looks like a mansion but it is not) (10/22/19).

Brazilian immigrant children like the TWI second-graders Dário, Ernesto, Maria Paula, and Paulo actively made sense of inequality by evaluating their housing conditions before and after migration, or in comparison with other “big houses” in their surroundings in the United States. The young children in this study had considerable experience traversing varied physical, linguistic, cultural, institutional, and epistemological borders in their everyday lives (Cervantes-

Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Lima Becker & Oliveira, 2022). As transborder crossers and thinkers (Gallo, 2021a), they drew on lived experiences within and across national systems to reflect on the disparities and inequalities in their material conditions in various contexts and communities that they had navigated. Importantly, while the children foregrounded the sizes and conditions of physical houses and buildings, constructions of place are always linked to everyday activities, patterns of relationships, and meanings that are actively negotiated through actions, perceptions, and experiences (Relph, 1993). As such, Dário's farm and Maria Paula's mansion in Brazil were not just relevant because of their (large) sizes, but because they were articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings (Massey, 1991). In Dário's case, for example, the farm was imbricated with memories of social activities and relationships, such as milking the cows, visiting his grandmother in the "roça," and fishing with cousins. In children's narratives, depictions of the present (in small houses) were punctuated by a multi-vocal presence of the past (Massey, 1995), through memories of housing in Brazil, and visions for the future, through high expectations for and comparisons with bigger homes.

Collective Consciousness on (Im)Mobility

Brazilian immigrant children engaged in conversations with one another in their bilingual classrooms about transnational (im)mobility. In this section, I use the term *transnational* to refer to the fluid ways in which the children talked about international traveling that foregrounded ties (social, emotional, and physical) as opposed to geographical, cultural, and political boundaries (Basch et al., 1994). When discussing the children and their direct experiences crossing physical, institutional, and linguistic borders, I use the term *transborder* (Gallo, 2021a). As explained in Chapter 2, *transborder* stems from decolonial approaches and stress the emergence of subaltern knowledge from children's position of "in-betweenness" of both countries and their direct lived

experiences at the margins (Anzaldúa, 1987; Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2012; Gallo, 2021a; Mignolo, 2000).

While the children oriented to multiple places as intertwined and on par (Orellana, 2016), they also talked about the materiality and constraints of borders, including the emotional hurdles that they impose (Oliveira, 2018). For example, they discussed people in their families and local communities who could or could not travel back to Brazil and distinguished those who lived here or there. Children also discussed many places within and across Brazil and the U.S. where they wanted versus could (not) go. As Brazilian immigrant children talked to one another about these ideas, they carved out spaces in their bilingual classrooms for collective sensemaking on issues of immigration status and (im)mobility. These dynamics were salient in field notes of classroom observation through the analysis of in-vivo and descriptive codes from children's interactions, such as "visto" (visa), "green card," "mala" (suitcase), "avião" (airplane), "aeroporto" (airport), "passaporte" (passport), "papéis" (papers), "documentos" (documents), "advogado" (lawyer), and kinship ties in Brazil. These codes, gathered under the broader category of *transborder experiences*, were documented 69 times in focal children's narratives. The following subsections approach immigrant students' sensemaking around documentation status and (im)mobility, transnational families and impasses, and aerial border crossing through the lens of specific groups of children.

"Se eu tivesse *visa*..." (If I had a *visa*): Paulo and Beatriz

Paulo was the youngest in a mixed-status family. His parents immigrated from Brazil in 2002, had two children in the United States (Paulo and his older brother), and had not returned to Brazil ever since due to their immigration status. As explained by Paulo's mother during a home visit in the fall of 2018: "Porque tem filho, que a gente vê as possibilidades que tem aqui. Escola

boa, saúde [...] Então a gente fica com medo de ir. As pessoas reclama demais de como as coisas tá lá. Então a gente não pega conta de ir. Porque eu não tenho documentos, né? Se fosse pra eu ir, voltar, você não tem certeza de voltar” (because [we] have children, we see the possibilities that exist here. Good schools, health [...] So we are afraid to go [to Brazil]. The people complain so much about how things are there. So we don’t dare to go. Because I don’t have documents, right? If it was for me to go, to return, you are not sure to come back). Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter 5, Paulo navigated complex language expectations in his household, with his parents being predominant-Portuguese speakers and his older brother being a predominant-English speaker. Paulo’s parents expressed gratitude for and satisfaction with the TWI program at Parker Elementary since it had allowed Paulo to develop and maintain his Portuguese, “a língua da gente” (our language). They also regretted that bilingual education had not been an option for their older child throughout his schooling.

In late October 2019, Paulo and his fellow second-graders in Ms. Dantas’ TWI classroom were in a session led by a substitute teacher. After reading a book in English to the students, the educator distributed colorful paper, worksheets, scissors, and glue sticks to all in the classroom with the help of some students. The substitute teacher then explained the directions for a cut-and-paste task and told the students: “No one talks right now, zero noise, starting now!” However, there was animated chatter coming from the five groups of desks throughout the activity. After she handed glue sticks to those in her group, Beatriz (1st-generation Brazilian student) joined Paulo, and Bettina and Aiden (non-Brazilians). Beatriz constantly alternated between shushing her group members when the teacher asked for silence and having conversations with Paulo. Beatriz and Paulo had been classmates in the previous year when they were both in Ms. Matos’ TWI first-grade classroom. Among their conversations, in which I also participated, Beatriz and

Paulo shared that they lived very close to each other. Then Paulo announced to Beatriz and me that he and his family would move to Florida soon, engendering the following conversation:

<p>Paulo: Eu vou me mudar pra Florida. Eu vou me mudar... ano que vem. A minha mãe quer, mas eu não quero. Ela viveu no Brasil por... dezoito anos.</p> <p>Mari [R]: A sua mãe? Ela quer ir pra Florida?</p> <p>Paulo: Que tem furação lá.</p> <p>Mariana [R]: Mas por que?</p> <p>Paulo: Porque ela não vai pro Brasil. Então... mas eu, mas eu não tenho visa. Se eu tivesse visa eu podia ir lá pro Brasil. Mas eu não tenho. Mas eu só posso viajar pras partes dos Estados Unidos como o Texas.</p> <p>Beatriz: Se eu for pro Brasil eu vou ter que morar lá. Se eu for pro Brasil eu vou ter que morar lá.</p> <p>Mari [R]: E você queria fazer isso?</p> <p>Beatriz: Eu gosto de ficar aqui mas eu tenho saudade da minha avó.</p> <p>Paulo: Eu gosto de ficar lá no... Belo Horizonte (cidade brasileira).</p> <p>Beatriz: Eu queria ir lá na casa antiga da minha avó.</p> <p>Paulo: Eu gosto mais do Brasil. Porque eu já viajei pro Espírito Santo (estado brasileiro).</p> <p>Beatriz: Não mas eu morro de saudade da minha avó ela... ela foi embora bem perto do meu aniversário.</p> <p>Paulo: Onde que sua vó mora? A minha avó mora em Ipatinga.</p> <p>Beatriz: Ela foi embora lá pro céu.</p> <p>Paulo: A tua avó morreu?! Mas onde que ela morava?</p> <p>Beatriz: No Brasil ué.</p>	<p>Paulo: I'll move to Florida. I'll move... next year. My mom wants it, but I don't want it. She lived in Brazil for like... eighteen years.</p> <p>Mari [R]: Your mom? She wants to go to Florida?</p> <p>Paulo: There are hurricanes there.</p> <p>Mari [R]: But why?</p> <p>Paulo: Because she won't go to Brazil. So... but me, I don't have a visa. If I had a visa I could go there to Brazil. But I don't have [a visa]. But I can travel only to parts of the United States like Texas.</p> <p>Beatriz: If I go to Brazil I will have to live there. If I go to Brazil I will have to live there.</p> <p>Mari [R]: And would you want to do that?</p> <p>Beatriz: I like to stay here but I have <i>saudade</i> (nostalgic longing) for my grandmother.</p> <p>Paulo: I like to stay there in... Belo Horizonte (city in Brazil).</p> <p>Beatriz: I wanted to go there to the old house of my grandmother.</p> <p>Paulo: I like Brazil more [than here]. Because I've already traveled to Espírito Santo (state in Brazil).</p> <p>Beatriz: No but I'm dying of <i>saudade</i> (nostalgic longing) for my grandmother... she left very close to my birthday.</p> <p>Paulo: Where does your grandma live? My grandmother lives in Ipatinga.</p> <p>Beatriz: She left for heaven (passed away).</p> <p>Paulo: Your grandmother died?! But where did she live?</p> <p>Beatriz: In Brazil, why. (10/22/19)</p>
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During this conversation, Paulo articulated different locations within and across borders as well as points in time. He juxtaposed moving to Florida in the future with his mother's past living in Brazil and then offered an elaborate account of his own past life and journeys within the Brazilian territory. Although Paulo had never physically been to Brazil, his conversation with Beatriz and me allowed him to imagine life there, as he talked about staying in Belo Horizonte (the capital of Minas Gerais, the state where his parents were from), having "traveled" to Espírito

Santo (a neighboring state of Minas Gerais), and having a grandmother in Ipatinga (municipality in Minas Gerais). Paulo spoke about not having “a visa,” a condition that resonated with Beatriz. Collectively, the children built off of each other and articulated specific constraints of not having a visa: one “can travel only to parts of the United States like Texas” (Paulo) and if one leaves the U.S. to go to Brazil they “will have to live there” (Beatriz), since re-entering the U.S. comes with an added set of challenges. Interspersed in Paulo’s detailed explanation of his life and movement within Brazil were Beatriz’s accounts about her feelings of “saudade” (nostalgic longing) for her grandmother. She contrasted her need to stay in the U.S., due to her restricted mobility stemming from her unauthorized status, with her desire to see her grandmother’s “old house” in Brazil, a key locus in Beatriz’s pre-migration memories.

Paulo’s nuanced descriptions of his condition and experiences as an unauthorized immigrant reflect and refract transborder knowledges from his family and local community (Gallo, 2021b). As Paulo navigated social worlds shaped by Brazilian immigration—across the contexts of school, home, and the local community—he had learned from others’ experiences of living, working, and traveling within and across varying national systems. How he drew on discourses of mobility and immigration in his social worlds embodied his transnational ties, imaginaries, and in-betweenness while pushing against rigid mononational norms (Anzaldúa, 1987; Gallo, 2021b). Beatriz’s expression of intense “saudade” for her grandmother, similar to Dário’s “saudade” of life in the “roça” (farmlands) discussed above, also conveys her in-betweenness of both countries as well as a critical experience with and awareness of inequality across borders. “Saudade” for the children in his study came with an understanding that this feeling was unlikely to be resolved due to restricted mobility due to their documentation status.

Furthermore, the conversation between Paulo and Beatriz also illustrates how immigrant

children leveraged the space of their TWI classroom to carve out opportunities for sensemaking around issues that remained invisible during instruction. This includes documentation status—what one can or cannot do, or can or cannot go without a U.S. visa, illness and/or death of loved ones physically far away, and what happens when unauthorized status in the U.S. and the death of a relative in Brazil collide. Several Brazilian immigrant children in this study expressed worry about what would happen if a relative’s health conditions deteriorated in Brazil, leading to their death, knowing that they would not be able to return to see them due to not having “a visa.”

Transnational Families and Impasses: Natan and Ernesto

In mid-January 2020, Ms. Tavares’ second graders were busy doing research and writing books about animals. Some students were writing their own books drawing from resources on their desks, like informational textbooks and printed pages from their research in the computer lab. Others like the Brazilian newcomer Natan were copying on their notebooks a premade text given by the teacher. Ms. Tavares shared with the class that Luluca (1st-generation Brazilian child) had already finished writing her book; she complimented the student for being “muito avançada” (very advanced) and charged Luluca with helping Natan. Luluca sat with Natan, looked carefully at his notebook as he copied words from the text onto his notebook, and used the highlighter (given by the teacher) to signal the words that he should copy next. Luluca also helped Natan with the mechanics of his text, teaching him how to break up a word that did not fit on the line: “Se não caber tudo aqui, cê bota o ‘P’ aqui, se couber o ‘S’ você coloca aqui, e depois tudo embaixo” (If [the word] doesn’t fit entirely here, you put the ‘P’ here, if the ‘S’ fits, then you put it here, and then everything else [in the line] below). As they worked on the writing task, Luluca and Natan talked about various topics, including the words that they had searched on Google to learn their meaning, like “girino” (tadpole) and “glossário” (glossary). Ana Maria

(1st-generation Brazilian child) and the student that she was in charge of helping, Brazilian newcomer Ernesto, joined Luluca and Natan at their group of desks in an animated conversation:

<p>(Luluca continua falando que ela usa o seu celular para ligar pra mãe, pai, avó, amigas nos EUA. Ela também diz que usa o seu celular para falar com as primas, tias e amigas no Brasil)</p> <p>Natan: Eu tô aqui com minha mãe e meu pai tá com meus irmãos no Brasil. Ela vai mandar dinheiro para ele vir.</p> <p>Ernesto: Sabe quem eu queria que tivesse lá quando eu chegar em casa? Minha avó. E meu avô, mas ele morreu. Minha avó, o figado dela parou de funcionar, aconteceu um monte de coisa com ela. Minha mãe quer voltar pro Brasil mas a minha outra avó diz que vai ter um infarto se ela fizer isso.</p> <p>Natan: Eu só tinha um amigo lá, o Raone.</p> <p>Mariana [R]: Ele era o seu vizinho?</p> <p>Natan: Não. Ele era o meu amigo. Eu podia ir pra casa dele e ele podia ir pra minha casa. Eu também tenho um primo lá, o João. Meu irmão Danilo tem 14 anos e tá lá e meu outro irmão tem 17 anos. [...] Eu sinto saudade dos meus irmãos, do meu pai, do Raone... de tudo.</p> <p>Sandro (chegou depois): Você veio pra América só com a sua mãe? (tom casual)</p> <p>Conversa interrompida. Ms. Tavares anuncia que vai colocar um vídeo no projetor sobre o uso do R e do RR (aula de gramática).</p>	<p>(Luluca goes on to say that she uses her phone to call her mom, dad, grandmother, and friends in the USA. She also says that uses her phone to talk with her cousins, aunts, and friends in Brazil)</p> <p>Natan: I'm here with my mom, and my dad is with my brothers in Brazil. She'll send money for him to come over.</p> <p>Ernesto: You know who I wanted to be there when I arrive home? My grandmother. And my grandfather, but he died. My grandmother, her liver stopped working, many things happened to her. My mom wants to go back to Brazil but my other grandmother said she'll have a heart attack if she [mom] does that.</p> <p>Natan: I only had one friend there [Brazil], Raone.</p> <p>Mariana [R]: Was he your neighbor?</p> <p>Natan: No. He was my friend. I could go to his house and he could come to mine. I also have a cousin there, João. My brother Danilo is 14 years old and he's there and my other brother is 17 years old. [...] I feel <i>saudade</i> of my brothers, of my father, of Raone... of everything.</p> <p>Sandro (arrived later): Did you come to America only with your mom? (casual tone)</p> <p>Conversation interrupted. Ms. Tavares announces that she'll play a video on the projector about the use of the letters R and RR (grammar). (01/15/20)</p>
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Natan and Ernesto, two Brazilian children who had very recently arrived in the U.S. and joined this TWI 2nd-grade classroom, were positioned by Ms. Tavares as students who needed help. They were tasked with copying words from a premade text and received assistance from Luluca and Ana Maria, respectively. Yet, in this child-led conversation during their Portuguese morning block, Natan and Ernesto took the lead in the complex narratives of lived experiences at the margins. Building off of Luluca's comments about family and friends here and there, Natan positioned himself as a member of a transnational family (Abrego, 2014; Shih, 2016), or having family members who are distributed between two nation-states but who sustain ties across a

distance. Precisely, he explained that he had immigrated to the U.S. with his mother, leaving his father and brothers behind in Brazil, but hoped to have his family reunited as soon as his mother was able to remit enough money to bring the other family members over. Resonating with Natan's account, Ernesto commented about a challenge that he faced as an immigrant in the U.S. with restricted mobility: he wished that he could see his grandmother, who was very ill, but returning to Brazil was not a straightforward decision. He and his mother wanted to return to Brazil upon the news of his grandmother's health conditions, but other family members opposed their decision to go back. Here, Natan and Ernesto co-constructed specific impasses faced by transnational families: physical distance without a specific date for reunification (Natan) and restricted mobility, due to documentation status, in face of a relative's deteriorating health condition in Brazil (Ernesto). The conversation continues with Natan providing additional details to his classmates about his friend (Raone) and brothers and cousin who stayed in Brazil. Natan also invoked feelings of *saudade*, juxtaposing his longing for "everything" in Brazil with the awareness that returning there was highly unlikely. Feelings of *saudade* in the narratives of young Brazilian immigrant children—like Natan, Beatriz, and Dário—fueled their *consciousness of contradiction* (Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020), as they articulated the tensions of moving physically away from loved ones in Brazil to have a better life while facing restricted mobility and elusive belonging in the U.S.

Conversations involving the complex themes of transnational families, (im)mobility, and documentation status were not unusual among the immigrant children in this study throughout any given school day. Sandro, a U.S.-born child of Brazilian and Russian immigrants, joined the conversation later when Natan and Ernesto were talking about their respective transnational families. Trying to catch up, he casually checked if he had understood Natan correctly, asking,

“did you come to America only with your mom?” As transborder thinkers, young immigrant children drew on their experiences and subalternized knowledges to carve out safe and caring spaces within their classrooms to talk about pressing issues in their lives (Gallo & Link, 2015). In their conversation, the children listened to each other’s accounts, built off of each other’s histories, and teased out challenges faced by their family members across contexts. Children’s dexterity in building spaces for *confiança* (trust) that normalized their immigration experiences—reflected in Sandro’s casual tone when asking about Natan’s immigration journey—opens possibilities for validating and incorporating politicized funds of knowledge in their classroom (Gallo & Link, 2015, 2016). Despite this potential, in this example, the students’ conversation was suddenly interrupted by the teacher, who announced that it was time to resume whole group instruction. The students were going to watch a video about Portuguese grammar, focusing on differentiating when to use a single “r” or double “r” in Portuguese words. The contrast between these students’ complex conversation and the teacher’s instructional focus on language-as-subject (Valdés, 2018) indicates how the emphasis on language/biliteracy in the TWI program may restrict opportunities to listen to immigrant children and center their funds of knowledge.

Airports, Airplanes, Suitcases: Aerial Border Crossing

In March 2019, Ms. Leite’s TWI kindergarten was learning about different “emoções” (emotions or feelings). Toward the end of the month, she prepared her students to engage in an activity in which they had to name emotions according to different characters from a book read during morning circle time on the classroom rug. The children formed groups and went to their desks to work on the activity together. In one cluster of desks, a group formed by Silvio (1st-generation Brazilian), Marina (2nd-generation Brazilian), and Cory (non-Brazilian) shared their thoughts concerning their connections to the emotions named in class:

<p>Marina: Eu sou a feliz. (se referindo à imagem do livro)</p> <p>Cory: Feliz <i>is over there</i>. (aponta para o espaço na ficha)</p> <p>Marina: Essa [personagem] é a triste... chuva me deixa triste. Eu fico triste quando chuva e quando eu fica longe do Brasil e da vovó.</p> <p>Silvio: Eu nasci no Brasil. Quando eu nasci no Brasil a gente tinha um irmão Gabriel. Eu gostava muito dele mas meu pai levou ele até o aeroporto mas ele não veio. Ele ficou no Brasil e não veio. Não é todos pessoas que vem [pros EUA]. Umas vem, outra vai ficar.</p>	<p>Marina: I am the happy [one]. (referring to image from the book)</p> <p>Cory: Happy is over there. (points to spot on the worksheet)</p> <p>Marina: This [character] is the sad one... the rain makes me sad. I get sad when it rains and when I'm away from Brazil and my grandma.</p> <p>Silvio: I was born in Brazil. When I was born in Brazil we had a brother, Gabriel. I liked him very much but my dad took him to the airport but he didn't come. He stayed in Brazil and didn't come. It's not everybody that comes [to the U.S.]. Some come, others will stay. (03/20/2019)</p>
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As the children in this small group worked together, Marina connected “sadness” to the book character, following the assignment expectations, but also to how she felt when it rained and when she was “away from Brazil” and her grandmother who lived there. Marina had never physically been to Brazil; although she was a U.S. citizen, her mother was unauthorized, having overstayed her U.S. tourist visa almost fifteen years ago at the time of data collection. Marina’s mother had not returned to Brazil ever since but cultivated her daughter’s relationship with their relatives in Brazil through everyday interactions using the messaging application WhatsApp. Marina had seen her “vovó” (grandma) in person once when the relative came to the U.S. for a visit but nurtured a strong connection with her from afar. Marina’s narrative blurred the lines between Brazil, as a physical terrain and parental homeland, and a family member (Lima Becker et al., 2021), orienting to place as meaningful networks of social relations (Massey, 1991; 1995).

Silvio then responded to Marina by sharing about his own connections to Brazil and loved ones physically there through an account of his aerial border crossing journey. Silvio recalled going to the airport in Brazil with family members, including his father and a brother, but that his sibling did not accompany him on the journey north, staying behind in Brazil. From this experience, the child rationalized transnational (im)mobility, concluding: “It’s not everybody

that comes. Some come, others will stay.” Silvio’s narrative illustrates his subaltern knowledge generated from lived experiences with exterior borders of the modern/colonial world system (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016). From his epistemic position in the borderlands, Silvio made sense of how transnational macro-forces intersected with his micro context and history, shaping different trajectories for members of his family. Importantly, this complex sensemaking process took place within a TWI classroom, during a group assignment in the Portuguese morning block. As such, immigrant children like Marina and Silvio leveraged the space of their bilingual classroom and the sanctioned use of the Portuguese language to create robust linkages across each other’s life stories as well as with the content of the activity. The children built off of each other’s histories, forged connections grounded on *confiança*, and created avenues for belonging through invocations of memories and transnational social ties (Lima Becker & Oliveira, 2022).

In Ms. Toledo’s TWI kindergarten classroom, before the first circle time of the day, students usually ate breakfast at their desks, played and chatted with one another in different parts of the classroom, or draw and colored at their desks while listening to children’s music in Portuguese in the background. The students Danielle (1st-generation Brazilian) and Fabiana (2nd-generation Brazilian), who usually sat together in class, were eating breakfast, drawing on their notebooks, and chatting before class started in a hectic classroom atmosphere where several children walked around, ran, cried, talked, and laughed out loud (05/13/19). Danielle commented to her classmate: “Eu estou morando em outro apartamento. Eu sou um bebê do Brasil. Tem minha mãe, meu pai, e minha irmã que também chama Helen” (I am living in another apartment now. I am a baby from Brazil. There’s my mother, my father, and my sister who’s also called Helen). Fabiana replied: “Eu era uma bebê na barriga da minha mãe e ela veio de avião para a América. Essa é a minha mamãe brincando comigo no aniversário da minha irmã” (I was a baby

in my mom's belly when she came to America on an airplane. This is my mom playing with me at my sister's birthday party). Throughout the morning on that school day—as the two students attended Ms. Toledo's morning meeting on the classroom rug, followed by ESL class, and then a Portuguese-led math session—they continued to talk about their ties with Brazil when they had a chance. For example, as they worked on an assignment at their desks during the math session, Danielle and Fabiana talked about feeling *saudade* of Brazil. Danielle commented, “Eu tenho saudade das pessoas lá, que abraçam” (I have *saudade* of the people there, who hug [you]). In their conversations, Danielle and Fabiana built off of each other's immigration histories. They discussed similarities in their experiences, such as continued feelings of *saudade* or longing for loved ones far away, while also identifying differences in their trajectories. Danielle was “a baby from Brazil” who migrated to the U.S. at an older age, and Fabiana was “a baby in [her] mom's belly when she came to America on an airplane,” which resulted in Fabiana being born in the United States. Such conversations in their TWI classroom created opportunities for collective sensemaking on immigration. They also opened spaces for the cultivation of border thinking, or knowledges from the subalternized perspectives of young immigrant children from the Global South, conceived from their own and their families' diverse and direct experiences with exterior borders of the modern/ colonial world system (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020).

The TWI first-grade teacher Ms. Duarte gathered her students on the classroom rug to explain the upcoming activity after they had spent almost one hour on their Chromebooks using math learning software. The next activity would be a worksheet for the students to draw and write complete sentences, as explained by the teacher: “É pra fazer sentença de primeira série! Quem fizer sentença de *kindergarten* vai voltar pro *kindergarten*” (It's [for you] to make first-

grade [level] sentences! Who makes sentences of *kindergarten* will go back to *kindergarten*) (01//22/20). As the students went to their desks to complete the worksheet, I sat with a group formed by Antônia (2nd-generation Brazilian), Beto (2nd-generation Brazilian), and Nico (1st-generation Brazilian). Soon after Antônia left her original group to join other peers, the students (Beto and Nico) and I engaged in the following conversation:

<p>Beto: Como que se escreve <i>avião</i>? É como e ou i?</p> <p>Mariana [R]: Por que você escolheu desenhar um avião?</p> <p>Beto: Porque eu vou pro Brasil com minha vizinha pra ver a minha avó que mora lá.</p> <p>Mariana [R]: Eita! Eu posso ir com você? Eu posso ir dentro da mala!</p> <p>(Beto e Nico com ar de riso)</p> <p>Beto: Você não vai caber na mala. Minha mala é pequenininha (faz gesto do tamanho c/ os dedos)</p> <p>Nico: Eu tenho uma mala!</p> <p>Beto: Eu também.</p> <p>Nico: A minha mala é desse tamanho (faz um gesto para indicar a altura/tamanho da mala)</p> <p>Beto: A minha é desse tamanho (faz gesto posicionando a mão mais alta do que a de Beto) (Alunos continuam trabalhando)</p> <p>Nico: Eu tenho um gêmeo.</p> <p>Beto: Eu também tenho um gêmeo!</p> <p>Nico: Nããão...</p> <p>Beto: Eu tenho um gêmeo que é um <i>bully</i>. Ele é um <i>bully</i>. Ele tem nove anos. Ele brincava comigo mas agora quando eu chamo ele pra brincar ele só quer jogar vídeo game. Ele mora no Brasil. Eu também tenho outro irmão de 22 anos que mora aqui. (Professora chama todos para o tapete)</p>	<p>Beto: How do you write <i>airplane</i>? It's with e or i?</p> <p>Mariana [R]: Why did you choose to draw an airplane?</p> <p>Beto: Because I'm going to Brazil with my neighbor to see my grandmother who lives there.</p> <p>Mariana [R]: Wow! Can I go with you? I can go inside the suitcase!</p> <p>(Beto and Nico smile)</p> <p>Beto: You won't fit in the suitcase. My suitcase is tiny (gestures the size with his fingers)</p> <p>Nico: I have a suitcase!</p> <p>Beto: Me too.</p> <p>Nico: My suitcase is this size (makes a gesture to indicate the height/size of the suitcase)</p> <p>Beto: Mine is this size (makes gesture positioning his hand higher than Nico's)</p> <p>(Students continue to work on the assignment)</p> <p>Nico: I have a twin.</p> <p>Beto: I also have a twin!</p> <p>Nico: Noooo...</p> <p>Beto: I have a twin who is a <i>bully</i>. He's a <i>bully</i>. He's nine years old. He used to play with me but now when I call him to play he only wants to play video games. He lives in Brazil. I also have another brother who is 22 years old and lives here. (Teacher calls everyone to the rug) (01//22/20)</p>
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For this assignment, Beto wanted to write sentences to match his drawing of an airplane, an image that was symbolic of his upcoming trip to Brazil to visit his grandmother. As a U.S.-citizen child of unauthorized Brazilian immigrant parents, Beto could leave and re-enter the United States without legal repercussions, but his parents could not move across geopolitical borders as easily. As such, Beto talked about the arrangements that would enable him to go to Brazil, which involved being chaperoned on the journey by a neighbor who was documented.

Other 2nd-generation Brazilian children in the program, like Leticia (discussed above), talked about going to Brazil during the summers with adult family friends or community members who chaperoned them as they traversed the U.S.-Brazil *ponte aérea*. Beto shared about the arrangements of his upcoming trip to Brazil and, along with Nico, excitedly reacted to my comment about his suitcase. Even though I introduced it, “suitcases” seemed to be a meaningful topic for both children, as they compared the different sizes and shapes of their luggage through multiple hand gestures. Nico and Beto continued to talk about their lives and families, turning the conversation to the topic of siblings. Again, Beto took the lead in sharing about his family arrangements, describing a transnational family configuration with siblings on both sides of the U.S.-Brazil *ponte aérea*.

Beto’s narratives during this informal conversation in his bilingual classroom illustrate his perspective on his family’s strategies and subaltern knowledges used to navigate institutions while living without formal documentation (Gallo, 2021b; Gallo & Corral, forthcoming). These strategies—which include having U.S.-citizen children visit Brazil under the guardianship of a documented neighbor as well as assembling a transnational family configuration—support diasporic families such as Beto’s to creatively survive within racialized national systems. In these systems, children and families have to navigate an immigration apparatus rooted in xenophobic laws (Gallo & Corral, forthcoming), heightened surveillance (Urrieta & Nuñez, 2021), and widespread discourses that frame them as burdens or impending threats (Chavez, 2008; Heidbrink, 2020). They also have to cope with political instability and socioeconomic disparities that are entrenched in racial discrimination (Arenhart, 2016; Souza, 2005). These circumstances often position migration as a strategy for household survival (Parreñas, 2005). However, as demonstrated in Beto’s account, children and families are not passive in face of

these compounding constraints; their experiences in the margins generate strategic knowledges that allow them to carefully navigate racialized systems (Gallo & Corral, forthcoming).

In his accounts, first-grader Beto also demonstrated that his protagonism as a mobile transnational agent was based upon a web of collaborations and interdependencies between the child and various actors that participated in his daily life (Glockner & Álvarez, 2021). As Beto shared about his complex traveling and familial arrangements with Nico and me, he carved out a space to center his transborder knowledges. This rich space that centered immigrant children's protagonism occurred, however, at the margins of TWI curriculum and instruction.


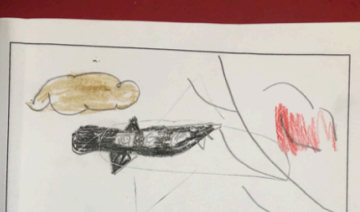
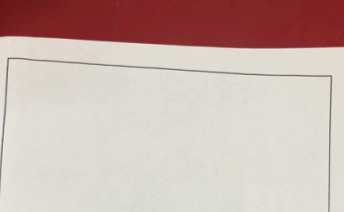
Border Thinking in Classroom Assignments: Beatriz

In the TWI first-grade classrooms, sensemaking around aerial border crossing took many forms. Beatriz (1st-generation Brazilian) approached the theme in different in-class assignments throughout her school year as a first grader in Ms. Matos' classroom in 2018-19. When working in her group on a worksheet on verbal conjugation in Portuguese, Beatriz pointed to the picture of a suitcase on the worksheet and commented: "Só de ver a mala eu me lembro que a minha vó tá chegando, ela conseguiu o passaporte" (By only looking at a suitcase I remember that my grandma is coming, she got a passport) (01/09/19). Although no one in her group reacted to what Beatriz said, as the children continued to work on their worksheets in silence, Beatriz nonetheless continued to share her thoughts out loud from time to time during the activity. For example, she interrupted the silence again to say: "meu pai fala um pouquinho de inglês e acaba com português" (my dad speaks a little bit in English and then finishes with Portuguese). In her commentary, the image of a suitcase on the worksheet became a symbol and sign of transnational mobility, a reminder at that time that her grandmother was about to traverse the Brazil-U.S. *ponte aérea* and that her family would be reunified.

In other written assignments in Ms. Matos' TWI first-grade classroom, Beatriz assembled narratives that involved aerial border crossing; and although these accounts were developed in individual compositions, they were often read to and discussed with classmates. For instance, when students were working on their realistic fictional books, which they had begun earlier in the week, Beatriz shared in her group of desks: “eu escrevi sobre o Talison, meu amigo lá do Brasil” (I wrote about Talison, my friend there in Brazil) (05/01/19). Once I asked to read her story, she cautioned me that not everything was true, since the assignment consisted of a realistic *fiction* about a person, thing, or event of her choosing. See Figure 3 for part of Beatriz's story:

Figure 3

Realistic Fiction [Beatriz]

 <p>Numa noite turbulenta ele acordou vomitando. 3:00 depois ele percebeu que seus pais não estavam na casa ele estava com o coração acelerado. Talison!!! Cade você disserão seus pais desesperados eles correrão</p>	 <p>Talison correu até seus pais lá: eles se perderam no meio do nada lá na califórnia e seus pais em rio de janeiro? Ele foi para o aeroporto o avião dele era gigante ele foi para o.</p>	 <p>Rio de janeiro e in con. Trou seu pais eles se abraçaram seus pais</p>
<p>In a tubulent night he woke up vomiting. 3:00 then he realized that his parents were not there in the hut his heart beat fast. Talison!!! Where are you - said his desperate parents they ran</p>	<p>Talison ran until his parents 12:12 he got lost in the middle of nowhere there in califórnia and his parents in rio de janeiro? He went to the airport and his airplane was huge he went to</p>	<p>Rio de janeiro and met his parents they hugged their parents.</p>

In her writing assignment, Beatriz chose to author a complex transborder plot in which her friend from Brazil got lost from his parents “in the middle of nowhere in California.” After a

dramatic sequence of events—with Talison vomiting, running to his parents, and the “desperate parents” running and searching for him—the protagonist finally went to the airport and boards an airplane to Rio de Janeiro to be reunited with his family. In this writing activity, the student carved out a space to tap into her transnational network and imaginary. In Beatriz’s composition, seemingly disparate locales, like California and Rio de Janeiro, were positioned on par and as intertwined (Orellana, 2016). Additionally, aerial border crossing—reflected through invocations of “airport” and “airplane” leading up to family reunification—punctured literal demarcations of international boundaries. Thus, Beatriz’s border thinking, manifested in her composition, offered an alternative logic to the hegemonic assumption of mononational lives as the norm (Gallo & Corral, forthcoming). In other in-classroom assignments, Beatriz also wrote about traveling via airplane as a means to bring people together or apart. For example, she shared the following composition in April 2019 when she organized the papers in her Portuguese literacy binder (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Graphic Organizer [Beatriz]

Graphic Organizer					
Palavras de Transição:	Primeiro	Depois	Então	Mais tarde	Depois disso
					First my father went to pack a suitcase I got very sad and cried a lot and said can I go too he said no.
					Then he went to travel for 11 days and when I went to sleep I cried and couldn't sleep and stayed awake.
					So awake and I ate cheesy bread and saw cartoon and drank milk with chocolate and played school and drew a house

This activity had TWI first graders practice using transitional expressions to connect different thoughts and sentences, with the support of a graphic organizer and a word bank. Again, Beatriz used the space of her TWI bilingual classroom and the writing assignment to narrate a story that speaks to the themes of physical distance/proximity to loved ones. When asked about what led her to write that story, Beatriz shared that soon after her family (formed by her father, mother, and then-three-year-old Beatriz) moved to the United States her father had to travel away for eleven days, leaving her and her mother by themselves in the new country in the meantime. This physical separation, although brief, generated feelings of fear and insecurity for Beatriz, who had recently departed from Brazil and separated from other loved ones. Drawing from her experiences on the margins, Beatriz built and actively utilized her subaltern knowledges (Gallo & Corral, forthcoming) to navigate the bilingual program and in-class assignments.

Throughout this section, I focused on how Brazilian immigrant children weaved in their understandings of immigration and (im)mobility into rich conversations in their TWI classrooms during less supervised moments and spaces. Formal instruction and assignments were not spaces where such complex conversations were encouraged. Teachers proposed assignments and group work to pursue their instructional goals—which included practicing verbal conjugations, using transition expressions, writing full sentences, and matching book characters with emotion labels. However, the children leveraged the Portuguese language to carve out spaces where their transborder experiences and knowledges were welcome, valued, and safe. These spaces were grounded on *confiança* and caring relationships among young children with diverse immigrant generations and histories, documentation status, and degrees of knowledge of the Portuguese language and the Brazilian territory. In the next section, I turn to how TWI teachers perceived

immigrant children's conversations about issues of immigration and (im)mobility in their classrooms.

TWI Educators' Responses to Children's Transborder Articulations

From informal conversations and formal interviews with TWI classroom teachers from 2018-21, seven out of eight educators (except Ms. Dantas) reported seeing their students talking about immigration-related topics in their classrooms. Corroborating the data discussed above, the seven educators described seeing young children talking about immigration during in-class group activities, but also at times during whole group instruction. These educators recalled moments when students brought up their own or their families' immigration trajectories during classroom instruction, and how they responded to their students at those moments. In this section, I draw on bilingual educators' narratives and recollections to explore how they perceived K-3 TWI students' politicized lived experiences and their implications for academic learning.

During her second formal interview, Ms. Matos (first-grade teacher in the TWI program) described an episode that occurred during a Portuguese phonics lesson where she was teaching her students about the letter "F," focusing on the word "fivela" (buckle). She reported that a non-Brazilian student asked about the meaning of "fivela," which prompted the teacher to show her own belt and boot buckles. At that moment, another student raised their hand to say, Ms. Matos recalled: "Meu tio tem um desse, mas o do meu tio é um negocinho que tem aqui ó, na canela, é que não... Que ele não pode sair porque ele não tem documentos" (my uncle has one of these, but his [buckle] is something small here, look, on his ankle, it's that he can't... that he can't leave because he doesn't have documents) (December 2019). In this example, Ms. Matos highlighted how her first-grade students with a recent immigrant background spontaneously connected the

academic content in her literacy lesson with their experiences and knowledges from life in the margins. In this example, Ms. Matos recalled a student's connection between the word *fivela* (buckle) with his uncle's ankle monitor, a device employed by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement to electronically surveil immigrants who await their immigration proceedings. While this student spoke about a pressing issue in his life (e.g., his uncle's immigration status), the teacher reported being caught off guard and quickly changing the subject in class.

Ms. Matos then shared another example that occurred more recently in her TWI first-grade classroom. She explained that a book in Portuguese showed up damaged in the classroom library, which led her to gather the students to say that they had to be more careful with the classroom books, otherwise she would have to go to Brazil to purchase more books. This led to the following exchange, in Ms. Matos' words: "Aí eu não lembro quem foi, 'Ô, teacher, mas não pode ir lá buscar no Brasil. Não pode ir pro Brasil, não. Minha mãe foi pro Brasil e não entrou mais aqui.' Falei, 'É, não é bom, então vamos cuidar do livro, vamos mudar de assunto...'" (Then I don't remember who said this, 'Look, teacher, but [you] can't go there to pick up [books] in Brazil. [You] can't go to Brazil, no. My mother went to Brazil and couldn't enter here anymore.' I said, 'Yeah, it's not good, then let's take care of our book, let's change the subject.') In both examples, Ms. Matos recognized the complexity of these students' connections, but she quickly redirected the issuing conversation to her instructional goals, foreclosing opportunities to further engage with the children around the points they brought up.

When asked if she had ever heard kindergarteners talking about immigration and issues of (im)mobility in her TWI classroom, Ms. Leite promptly responded:

Ms. Leite: Direto! A semana passada, mesmo, do nada. Eu tava ensinando fonética. Eu não sei que palavra que foi, que um dos meninos... aí eles praticaram, e foi todo mundo pro tapete. Aí ela ficou pra trás. "Tia, você sabia que quando eu	Ms. Leite: All the time! Last week, even, out of nowhere. Once I was teaching phonics. I don't know what word it was, that one of the kids... so they practiced, and everyone went to the rug. Then she stayed behind. "Auntie, did you know
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<p>cheguei aqui, a policia que trouxe a gente até aqui?" Aí eu falei, "Ah, foi? Como assim, você foi no carro da policia?" "Não, a gente teve que correr muito. Correr muito na poeira. Aí chegou e tinha um policial. Aí eu corri tanto que minha touca caiu, era minha touca preferida." Nossa, aquilo já deu um nó na garganta. "Ah, é?" "Ah, então, aí a gente pegou avião, aí foi rapidinho." E ela queria continuar mais, só que tipo assim, eu falei, "Nossa, obrigada por contar essa história, não sei o que, eu quero saber mais."</p>	<p>that when I got here, it was the police who brought us here?" Then I said, "Oh, was it? What do you mean, did you come in the police car?" "No, we had to run a lot. Run a lot in the dust. Then there was a policeman. Then I ran so much that my cap fell, it was my favorite cap." Wow, that made me speechless. "Is that so?" "Ah, then we got on an airplane, that was quick." And she wanted to continue, but like, I said, "Wow, thanks for telling this story, so on, I want to know more." (December 2019)</p>
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Ms. Leite not only confirmed that her students engaged in conversations that mobilized their politicized funds of knowledge but also gave an example of encountering such narratives during classroom instruction. This account contrasted with the findings from prior studies in which early-grade teachers had few openings to engage with the topic of immigration in their classrooms because the children rarely talked about life-changing events at school (Gallo & Link, 2016). While affirming that her students talked about immigration "all the time," Ms. Leite described feeling unsure about how to engage with the topic when the chance emerged. She had to navigate her desire to acknowledge and support students, "to know more," with the imperative to cover the content prescribed in the curriculum and proceed with the lesson.

For the TWI educators that described seeing students talking about their immigration experiences at school, these students showcased a unique form of knowledge. For example, Ms. Duarte shared about witnessing a conversation between the students Bianca (1st-generation Brazilian) and Letícia (2nd-generation Brazilian) in which Bianca shared that she did not have a green card because she came to the U.S. as a baby. Bianca continued by saying that her grandmother had a green card and that this would allow her father to get one and then she would eventually be able to have a green card as well. According to Ms. Duarte, Letícia listened carefully, nodded, and added, "É, e quem tem *green card* pode sair pra qualquer lugar, pode

viajar para qualquer lugar” (Yes, and who has *green card* can leave to [go] anywhere, can travel anywhere) (November 2019). Ms. Duarte seemed impressed that the two first graders knew what a green card was, the complex process of obtaining one, and the privileges that it entailed.

Similarly, Ms. Matos reported witnessing an exchange between two first-generation Brazilian first-graders, Valter and Nilson. During an in-class activity, Ms. Matos explained, “eu escutei Valter contando a história dele” (I heard Valter telling his story). Nilson listened to Valter and reacted: “Mas como assim seu pai morreu? Onde, foi na hora com o coioote?” (but what do you mean your father died? Where? Did it happen with the coyote?). Ms. Matos added, “Criança de sete anos sabe esse vocabulário. Sabe o que que é coyote!” (Seven-year-old children know this vocabulary! Know what a coyote is!) (December 2019). Ms. Matos was impressed that her students knew immigration-related terminology and meanings, including “coyote,” which refers to someone who smuggles immigrants across the U.S.-Mexico border. Like six other teachers, Ms. Matos reported seeing expressions of her students’ politicized funds of knowledge (Gallo & Link 2015, 2016) frequently; either when she was directly addressed during formal instruction or when overhearing students’ conversations amongst themselves (indirectly). Like Ms. Duarte, Ms. Matos seemed stunned that students “this young” had this knowledge, indicating her reliance on universalizing perspectives on child development. This orientation was a common theme in the narratives of TWI K-3 teachers.

Challenges to Approach Children’s Immigration Stories

While all but one TWI teacher in the program was aware that their elementary-school students brought up complex narratives about immigration in their classrooms, educators had different orientations concerning approaching themes such as anti-immigrant sentiment, border crossing journeys, and transnational families with the children. Educators such as Ms. Leite and

Ms. Pacheco expressed feeling unsure about approaching these themes with their kindergarten and third-grade students, respectively, because of their young age. Similar to Ms. Duarte and Ms. Matos above, Ms. Leite's and Ms. Pacheco's concerns with their students' age reflect normative perspectives on child development. Furthermore, TWI teachers also highlighted the absence of professional development (PD) sessions that support teachers in how to navigate the intersections between immigration, schooling, and psychological issues of child development. This lack of PD affected their feelings of preparedness to tackle pressing issues in immigrant children's lives in their instruction.

For example, in her interview in December 2019, Ms. Leite shared that courses offered on cultural sensitivity did not deal with this subject, and training sessions on trauma-informed approaches, although "valid," were "superficial." This aligns with Ms. Pacheco's comments about participating in several PDs that were "vague" or "always the same." Ms. Pacheco wished that PDs provided concrete recommendations about approaching students' immigration histories and knowledge. She explained, "Eu acho que, como é um tópico tão sensível, que tanta gente tem tanta visão diferente, eu acho que não é muito claro. Tipo assim, na sala de aula, se uma criança te falar isso, o que você responde? Poderia ser assim. Mas eles não fazem isso nos treinamentos." (I think that, since this is a very sensitive topic that so many people have different views, I think that it is not very clear. Like, in the classroom, if a child tells you this, how do you respond? It could be like this. But they don't do this in the PDs) (February 2021).

Others, like Ms. Duarte, were unwilling to discuss the theme of immigration with their students due to fear of pushback from parents and/or the school leadership. When asked if she would leverage students' narratives of immigration in her pedagogy, Ms. Duarte, a first-grade TWI teacher, responded after a few seconds of silence:

<p>Ms. Duarte: Eu acho que não. Eu acho que não porque... Se um perguntar pra mim o que é <i>green card</i>, eu acho que eu ia falar para eles conversarem em casa com os pais sobre isso. Não na escola. Porque eu não sei o que eu iria falar pra eles. E eu tenho... Meu maior medo seria a repercussão pra os pais do que eu tô falando pras crianças. O que que os pais iam pensar, achar que eu tô ensinando, entendeu? [...] Mas esse negócio... É legal, é ilegal, tem green card, não tem, pode fazer isso, não pode, acho que eles devem conversar em casa com os pais.</p>	<p>Ms. Duarte: I don't think so. I don't think so because... if one [child] asks me what a <i>green card</i> is, I think I'd tell them to talk to their parents at home about it. Not at school. Cause I don't know what I'd tell them. And I have... My biggest fear would be the repercussion with the parents of what I'm talking about with the kids. What will the parents think that I am teaching, you know? [...] But this thing... Is [someone] legal or illegal, has a green card or doesn't, can do this or can't, I think they should talk about it at home with their parents. (November 2019)</p>
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Ms. Duarte demonstrated uncertainty toward pushing beyond her idea of what her role as a teacher entails to learn about students' lived experiences and create safe learning spaces that build on them (Gallo & Link, 2016). She reported that she would direct students to talk to their parents about migration and documentation issues if the topics came up during instruction, an approach that decouples schooling from the students' "personal matters," which should be kept private. Moreover, the fear of what parents would think of her teaching was compounded by other concerns, such as not knowing how to represent diverse perspectives on the theme of immigration and not feeling sure if she had a firm opinion about the current immigration debate, to begin with. Her conflicted position surfaced when she talked about feeling empathy for those who migrate to escape hunger, but that some migrants were "still illegals" who exploited the system by receiving tax-free cash payments and free access to the emergency rooms, while she paid taxes and worked to pay for health insurance. Ms. Duarte was an exception for speaking in these terms, but her concerns with parental pushback and feelings of uncertainty corroborated additional perceived hurdles to approaching students' narratives during instruction.

"Positive" Immigration Narratives

Despite the challenges outlined above, all Portuguese language educators in the focal TWI program expressed openness to tackle the theme of immigration at some level during their

interviews. They differed, however, in what they understood to pertain to “immigration” as a subject to be discussed with K-3 students. Six Portuguese language teachers demonstrated an openness to tackle the theme as long as they focused on less contentious aspects of migration, such as the search for a better life. This perspective is reflected in Ms. Duarte’s words:

Ms. Duarte: Se você estiver falando sair de um lugar.... A ideia do que representa ser imigrante porque você teve que sair de um país, se mudar pro outro, começar uma nova vida, se adaptar a uma nova cultura e língua e mesmo assim não perder a sua, isso é um ponto que talvez eu conseguisse falar com eles. Agora se você tá falando da polêmica de... Ter documento, não ter, ser ilegal ou não ser... Eu não, eu não acho que eu tô completamente preparada, porque é um ponto muito sensível.	Ms. Duarte: If you’re talking about leaving a place... the idea of what being an immigrant represents because you had to leave a country, move to another, start a new life, adapt to a new culture and language and even so not lose your own, this is something that maybe I could talk to them about. Now if you are talking about the polemic of... Having documents or not, being illegal or not... I don’t, I don’t think that I am completely prepared, because this is a very sensitive point. (November 2019)
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In our conversation during the interview in November 2019, Ms. Duarte considered approaching immigration-related topics in her classroom in the future, but only concerning topics considered less “polemic,” particularly “the idea of what being an immigrant represents.” Interestingly, the topics that she demonstrated an openness to approach with her students were ones that she could rely on her own cultural intuition (Pérez Huber, 2009) to guide her practice, including her personal and professional experiences as an authorized immigrant in the U.S. (e.g., adapting to a new culture, learning a language). Issues such as documentation issues, although of pressing relevance for her students’ lives, were off-limits for being “very sensitive” and because she did not feel prepared to approach them. The splitting of immigration narratives into two strands may also be reflective of an ideological distinction between “good” versus “bad” immigrants, with students’ narratives of lack of documentation and halted mobility being attached to the latter.

The TWI third-grade teacher Ms. Pacheco also said that they would embrace “positive” narratives about the immigrant experience. When asked during her interview if she would make room in her instruction for conversations about students’ lived experiences across Brazil and the U.S., including their border-crossing journeys, Ms. Pacheco responded:

<p>Ms. Pacheco: Assim, é bom eles saber, por exemplo, o que lá no Brasil tem... mas eu não acho uma boa, por exemplo, criança falar de violência. Então se eu vejo uma conversa dessa, aí eu já mudaria. Mas se for uma coisa positiva... tipo assim... <i>I don't even know</i>. Mas se for uma coisa positiva, só mostrando que são diferentes, <i>that's fine</i>. Mas se for pro lado de violência ou alguma coisa assim... ou, sei lá, se começar a falar palavrão, não sei. Aí não. Aí eu mudaria. (February 2021)</p>	<p>Ms. Pacheco: Well, it's good for them [students] to know, for example, what Brazil has... but I don't think it's good, for example, children to talk about violence. So if I see a conversation like this, I'd change [the subject]. But if it is something positive... like... <i>I don't even know</i>. But if it is something positive, only showing that they [countries] are different, <i>that's fine</i>. But if it goes to the side of violence or something like... or, I don't know, if [they] start saying swear words, I don't know. Then, no. Then I'd change [subject].</p>
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Ms. Pacheco wondered if engaging in conversations concerning immigrant children’s politicized experiences would be beneficial to “all students” and affirmed twice that she did not think it was appropriate for young children to talk about “violence.” As such, she positioned her students’ border-crossing stories as necessarily about violence and being just as “inappropriate” in elementary settings as allowing children to use swear words. While marking more politicized aspects of immigration as “off limits,” Ms. Pacheco showed an openness to approach positive immigration themes in which the children could draw experiences. This included talking about “what Brazil has” and “showing that they [Brazil and U.S.] are different.” While Ms. Pacheco and other teachers in the program expressed their commitment to the goals of cultural and linguistic maintenance, explicitly rejecting assimilationist discourses, decoupling the complexity of immigration experiences from bilingual education potentially silenced students in search of a safe space and caring adults to tell their stories (Gallo & Link, 2015).

Ms. Leite, in turn, explained in her interview that she already tried to incorporate themes related to immigration to foster deeper connections during classroom discussions. She explained: “Por exemplo, o thanksgiving. Por que os peregrinos deixaram a terra deles? Pra procurar um lugar onde eles poderiam ter liberdade. Aí eu falei, ‘Eu também vim do Brasil,’ e tal, né? ‘A mamãe e o papai de vocês também. Alguns de vocês vieram, né? Porque será que a gente saiu do Brasil e veio pra cá?’” (For example, Thanksgiving. Why did the pilgrims leave their land? To look for a place where they could have freedom. Then I said, ‘I came from Brazil too,’ and so on, right? ‘Your mom and dad too. Some of you came, right? Why did we leave Brazil and come here?’) (December 2019). In this vignette, Ms. Leite tapped into her immigration experiences to elicit children’s contributions as to why one would leave Brazil. This teacher’s own politicized funds of knowledge were used as a strategy, something that was not found among non-migrant teachers (Gallo & Link, 2016). Ms. Leite also elicited students’ lived experiences related to migration when approaching a theme that is part of the dominant curriculum in the U.S., the Thanksgiving holiday. However, her example resembled Ms. Duarte’s willingness to tackle “the idea of what being an immigrant represents,” and not the more politicized aspects of immigrant students’ experiences, including the intersections of documentation status and (im)mobility.

Conclusion: Politicized Funds of Knowledge, Teaching, and Learning

Children’s narratives are central to transnational processes (Orellana et al., 2001) and thus are important to better conceptualize transnational lived experiences (Oliveira, 2019). While curricula and instructional practices in U.S. classrooms serving immigrant students frequently silence their experiences, perspectives, and truths (Gallo & Link, 2015; Valenzuela, 1999), this chapter documented how young children with recent histories of migration pushed back against this pattern. Specifically, this chapter explored how immigrant children in K-2 TWI classrooms

carved out spaces to deploy and co-construct subaltern knowledge. Importantly, the children engaged in complex interactions and sensemaking about their lived experiences despite the TWI program's emphasis on language, or developing students' bilingualism and biliteracy, at times at the expense of valuing minoritized children's experiences and knowledges (Oliveira et al., 2020).

A close analysis of Brazilian immigrant children's conversations and narratives inside TWI classrooms revealed that they regularly compared and assessed their im/material conditions across borders through a lens of inequality. Children's transborder experiences and imaginaries allowed them to develop perceptions of differences here and there, assembling complex visions of transnational distribution of wealth, resources, feelings of un/safety, and spaces to live and play. Through their visions and valuations, immigrant children constructed Brazil through overlapping tensions: on the one hand, Brazil was a place of material scarcity, where consumer goods were few and expensive, and plagued with violence. On the other hand, Brazil provided more freedom and physical space for the children, valued social activities and relations, and thick webs of personal and shared meanings (Relph, 1993). The U.S., in turn, was positioned as a place of abundance, with more available material goods, greater wealth, and safety. Ironically, children's narratives about the U.S. contrasted not only with their descriptions of Brazil but also with their current lived experiences as immigrants, where they reported living in small houses in precarious conditions and where family members had encounters with violence. Yet, Brazilian immigrant children held on to perceptions that people in the U.S. are wealthier (Oliveira, 2018) and that, eventually, they would also partake in this wealth, reaping the promised rewards of economic prosperity and a better life that justified their families' emigration from Brazil. This analysis demonstrates that children's transborder experiences and imaginaries provided them

with a lens of multiplicity (Gallo, 2021a) with which they assessed im/material conditions across transnational contexts.

This chapter also approached how young Brazilian immigrant children carved out spaces in their TWI classrooms to talk about their multidimensional experiences as immigrants who have crossed the U.S.-Brazil *ponte aérea* either physically or through their imaginaries. Close analysis of children's conversations in liminal classroom spaces, such as during group and individual work at their desks, showed how young students engaged one another in their sensemaking of issues at the nexus of documentation status and transnational (im)mobility. In these conversations, the children built off of one another's stories, delved into their transborder experiences, and drew on relationships of *confiança* (trust) in the process. As such, I argue that Brazilian immigrant children, as transborder thinkers (Gallo, 2021a), were engaged in co-creating understandings and identities in liminal spaces in their classrooms. During official instructional time and under their teachers' radar (Wohlwend, 2013), students actively leveraged everyday conversations as a key arena for collective practice and negotiation, including around migration processes and dynamics. Children's transborder ties, knowledges, subjectivities, and strategies—which fueled their conversations in less supervised school spaces—are an important dimension of transnational migration and compel us to question traditional adult-centric accounts of the phenomenon (Glockner & Álvarez, 2021).

Children's transborder articulations have important implications for bilingual education curriculum and instruction. Immigrant students occupy a liminal space as insider-outsider within and across national systems, a position that can be richly generative of critical consciousness and imaginative possibilities toward dismantling hegemonic power structures (Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020; García-Sánchez, 2014). Additionally, as demonstrated in this chapter, young immigrant

children grappled with disparities and inequalities in material conditions across their multiple communities. Children's awareness of inequalities across borders can be leveraged by educators to critically reflect on the disjuncture between idealized prosperity and structural exclusions in the U.S. and to bolster possibilities for democratic citizenship (Dyrness & Abu El-Haj, 2019). Children's politicized funds of knowledge, including experiences with immigration, can also inform K-5 education in ways that foster critical understandings of civic life, including how students can work towards change as social actors in multiple communities (Gallo et al., 2019).

Despite the opportunities brought about by immigrant children's transborder articulations in bilingual classrooms, this chapter also showed TWI educators' ambivalence toward students' politicized funds of knowledge. On one hand, the teachers in the TWI program were aware that their immigrant students regularly shared complex narratives of immigration in their classrooms. The teachers reported that, at times, students had tried to engage them directly in conversations related to their transborder experiences during whole-group instruction. The teachers understood and knew the importance and meaning of these complex conversations for the children but were constrained by school structures, such as the need to cover the prescribed school curriculum and the lack of meaningful support (through PDs) to do so. This led TWI educators to consistently evade opportunities to engage in conversations about immigration with their students. Moreover, tied to teachers' universalizing orientation to child development, they expressed willingness to include a narrow range of "positive" images of immigration in their instruction. This, in turn, further silenced pressing issues for students.

Chapters 5 and 6 drew on ethnographic fieldnotes and qualitative interviews pertaining to the bilingual schooling of Brazilian immigrant children from August 2018 through early March 2020, or before the nationwide school closures to prevent the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic.

In the next Chapter, I turn to the ethnographic data collected during the height of the pandemic, focusing on the period of September 2020 through March 2021, when the TWI program was implemented fully remotely. As such, I hone in on how the Covid-19 pandemic, and virtual learning, impacted the education experiences of the focal cohort of Brazilian immigrant children.

CHAPTER 7: “TEM O CORONAVÍRUS, GENTE!”: TWI EDUCATION DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC AND REMOTE LEARNING

On March 11, 2020, Parker City announced that a parent of a child who attended Parker Elementary School tested presumptively positive for Covid-19. As district and school officials learned about this news and engaged in efforts to figure out how many students and adults were potentially exposed to the virus, the decision was made to dismiss Parker Elementary School at 11:30 a.m. on March 11 for a school deep cleaning. Although local schools and news sources announced that operations in all Parker City Public Schools would be canceled on the following day, March 12, to allow for each public school to be deep cleaned as well, there was an overall sense all school-based activities and events would resume on Friday, March 13, 2020. Soon, however, children and families learned that school buildings in the entire state would be closed through the end of Spring 2020 and that students and teachers would have to engage in “remote” teaching and learning for the remainder of the semester (March-June 2020). Parker City Public School (2020) described the remote instruction provided in Spring 2020 as “crisis learning” and explained that it took many forms in those initial months of lockdown. For example, the first iteration of remote learning consisted of simply providing families with a District-created list of resources to use at home. A few weeks later, remote learning began to encompass teacher-created weekly calendars, but the content was limited to review and deepening of previously taught material. Districts statewide only received clearance from the State Department of Elementary and Secondary Education to move the curriculum forward in mid-May.

On July 31, 2020, the District Superintendent published an open letter to the community recommending that Parker City Public Schools begin the 2020-2021 school year fully remote and then transition into a hybrid model (some remote and some in-person) (PCPS, n./a.).

Students identified as high needs were said to return to school earlier than the general population if considered safe by the Department of Public Health. The Superintendent also shared the District's Back to School Plan that outlined the physical operations, school safety operations, whole child approach, and plans for school personnel and communication to be undertaken in the upcoming 2020-21 school year. Although District leaders reassessed the public health landscape of the state in the hope to transition instruction from fully remote to hybrid in October and December, it was only in March 2021 that this transition was implemented. Most students returned to in-person learning in late April, after the state government issued a policy mandating that schools re-open.

In this chapter, I draw upon a collection of approximately 80 hours of virtual classroom observation, collected over seven months of fully-remote instruction (September 2020-March 2021), in the focal TWI program at Parker Elementary. I continued to follow the same cohort of students described in the two previous chapters, who were now experiencing schooling during the Covid-19 global pandemic. These students were distributed in four classrooms: two second-grade classrooms, led by Ms. Dantas and Ms. Tavares, which followed a 60-40 language allocation model; and two third-grade classrooms, led by Ms. Pacheco (English instructor) and Ms. Gutierrez (Portuguese instructor) following a 50-50 language allocation model. In the "remote learning" model offered throughout Parker City Public Schools, students were expected to receive 100% of their instruction through virtual means. To this end, district public schools provided students with assigned Chromebooks so that they could participate in live synchronous lessons at designated times throughout the school day, and the teachers were expected to take attendance in each course every day. All staff was expected to use the Google Classroom

platform and Google applications (e.g., Google docs) to conduct live instruction and ensure that all elementary-level students had access to the materials and collaborated virtually.

I argue in this chapter that young Brazilian immigrant children negotiated compounded constraints to make space for playfulness and center caring relationships during remote learning. I do that by reporting on how the children had to adapt to remote learning, which in turn shaped their participation in class, their ability to speak and construct belonging, and their engagement in practices seen pre-pandemic, such as language brokering and the invocation of transborder experiences during instruction. As this chapter explores “what happened” for the focal immigrant children during remote learning, it also maps their agency on different levels of constraint imposed by the pandemic but also mediated by their socioeconomic backgrounds (Pastore & Salvi, 2022). This chapter addresses my second research question: *2. How did remote learning during the Covid-19 global pandemic shape this group of Brazilian immigrant children’s education experiences in the 2020-2021 school year?*

Recent scholarship documented how the uncertainties and ruptures engendered by the pandemic brought about increased stress for immigrant families. These studies drew on in-depth interviews with immigrant parents and caregivers, revealing how they attempted to support their children’s education and well-being while coping with structural barriers, including increasingly restrictive immigration policies (Bruhn, 2022; Delgado, 2022; Oliveira & Segel, 2022). While scholars explored children’s experiences and perspectives on the pandemic across geographical contexts (Pascal & Bertram, 2021; Pastore & Salvi, 2022), few examined how remote learning affected the everyday practices and schooling experiences of immigrant children (Popyk, 2021). This chapter seeks to contribute to this emergent literature by placing ethnographic descriptions of Brazilian immigrant children’s day-to-day participation in remote learning, and narratives

from the children themselves, at the center of inquiry and analysis. Thus, while the insights shared here cannot be transposed to other contexts where immigrant children accessed remote learning, this data allows me to assemble a portrait of the focal children's multidimensional experiences during the pandemic beyond concerns with their English language learning.

This chapter begins by situating the reader in the spatial and aural changes that the focal children experienced during remote learning, foregrounding what could be seen and heard from students' small tiles on their Google Classroom view grid. Then, I turn to the implementation of remote learning, describing the new classroom guidelines and expectations and how the children responded to them. Next, this chapter focuses on immigrant children's strategies to infuse playfulness in highly constricted virtual classrooms, followed by a discussion on how students navigated their care-giving and care-receiving responsibilities in their households (Luttrell, 2013; 2020), or their *care-full* lives, during remote instruction. This chapter then turns to a description and reflection on the role played by Brazilian immigrant parents and caregivers in children's remote learning. It ends with a concluding section that considers how Brazilian immigrant children's and families' subaltern knowledge (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Mignolo, 2000), as enacted during classroom observations of remote learning, resisted normative parameters for classroom participation and engagement.

Adjusting to Remote Instruction: Changes in Space, Place, and Sound

My first visit to Ms. Pacheco's third-grade Google classroom occurred in late September 2020. Leticia (2nd-generation Brazilian) sat at a kitchen table and was the first child that I heard that day. She unmuted herself to say to her teacher: "I'm struggling on page five" (09/24/19). Ms. Pacheco asked Leticia to wait; several students were having difficulties accessing the target document for class. Ms. Pacheco patiently shared her screen and demonstrated, step by step, how

to access one's Google email, then click on the waffle in the top right corner, and so forth. About an hour later, Letícia was now accessing the Google classroom through a cellphone. With her camera on, she transitioned to the backseat of a car, holding the cell phone with one hand and a flute with the other, looking around, and occasionally at the cellphone screen. For the remainder of the class, Letícia accessed instruction while in this moving car, with trees and buildings passing in the back. Throughout my observations of remote learning, Letícia participated in remote learning from various locations, like different living rooms, kitchens, the backseat of a car, public spaces (with people wearing masks passing by behind her), and her own bedroom. Letícia's mother worked as a house cleaner and had to continue working throughout the global pandemic; but since she could not afford to hire a babysitter, she had to take Letícia to work with her for most days of remote instruction.

While Letícia rarely missed classes, at times this heightened mobility imposed challenges. When Ms. Gutierrez asked all students to engage in a math activity in Portuguese, Letícia unmuted herself to ask, "Ms. Gutierrez, no momento eu não tenho papel onde eu estou, será que eu posso fazer em um app e desenhar?" (Ms. Gutierrez, at the moment I don't have paper where I am, can I do [the activity] on an app and draw?) (10/02/10). Valentina, Letícia's classmate and also a second-generation Brazilian child whose mother worked cleaning houses throughout the pandemic, shared after Letícia in class that she was with her mother at her work. She asked: "minha desk não tem espaço para escrever, posso fazer no computador?" (my desk doesn't have any room where I can write, can I do [the activity] on the computer?). Similar circumstances were seen in the TWI 2nd-grade classrooms. In Ms. Dantas' classroom in March 2021, Murilo (1st-generation Brazilian) participated in his virtual class from a public space with several adults passing by behind him. The student wore a mask, a heavy winter jacket, and large

headphones. At a moment when Murilo pressed the “electronic hand” button to indicate that he wanted to speak up in class, two adults behind him seemed to engage in an argument. This led Murilo to swivel his chair to see what was happening, turning his back to the computer. Later in the same class, Ms. Dantas asked Murilo to say what the class was going to do next, or revoice what she had just stated. Murilo, however, said that he had just returned to the virtual classroom and did not know how to answer. He added, “eu tava no carro porque eu tava muito longe no trabalho dos meus pais” (I was in the car because I was very far away in my parents’ work) (03/02/21). Immigrant and refugee populations were disproportionately represented in employment in essential critical infrastructure sectors during the pandemic while being marginalized by U.S. immigration and Covid-related policies (Kerwin & Warren, 2020).

Brazilian immigrant students from this TWI program also joined their virtual classrooms from their homes, where they usually sat on couches, beds, or kitchen/dining tables. The children did not seem to have a designated space to study and hardly stayed in the same space for long; they were also on the move inside their homes. For example, in one of Ms. Pacheco’s lessons, Igor (a first-generation Brazilian child) joined the class from home (03/11/21). While he sat by the dining table and attentively looked at his computer screen, three children moved around in his background. Igor decided to move locations, sitting on a couch in the living room, but he was interrupted multiple times by the same three children. He then moved again, this time to a bedroom, and began doing his independent work as requested by the TWI teacher. The three children continued to come into his camera while Igor focused on his work, at times clapping and appearing to sing. In that same class, Igor’s classmate, Sandro (second-generation Brazilian), also moved spaces several times during remote instruction. Sandro initially sat close to the floor in the kitchen, in front of a pantry. He moved to a different room, where two adults constantly

passed by and at times checked on him. During independent reading time, Sandro moved again, this time to read his book next to his baby brother in front of the TV. He changed spaces again as the teacher transitioned to a new activity. In the same lesson, the non-Brazilian students attended the bulk of remote learning from desks and office chairs and there was not a lot of movement in their backgrounds. At times, they would transition to their bedrooms/beds.

As second and third graders adapted to new instructional spaces, they also had to adapt to new sounds. There were approximately twenty moments during classroom observations when immigrant children unmuted themselves and the entire class could hear loud sounds, including young children crying or playing in the background, adults talking on the phone, etc. At times, these sounds effectively impacted the children's ability to participate in class. For example, when Ms. Tavares called on Nelson (2nd-generation Brazilian) to read his poem aloud to the group, to which the child replied, "mas tem muita gente gritando aqui" (but there are many people yelling here) (11/06/20). About a month later, Nelson approached Ms. Tavares during the break to ask the teacher to talk to his mother about not sending him to the babysitter's home anymore during the school day. He justified: "É muito barulho lá, eu não consigo escutar você" (it's too much noise there, I can't hear you) (12/11/20). Another second grader, Antônia (second-generation Brazilian), joined her virtual classroom from home, where her mother ran an informal home daycare. Typically when Andressa unmuted herself, the class could hear loud sounds of babies crying in the background. Once Antônia interrupted Ms. Dantas' instruction during a lesson to say, "O negócio tá muito barulhento por aqui, eu não tô conseguindo escutar!" (the thing is too noisy here, I can't hear you!) (03/02/21).

Similarly, when the third-graders Letícia (2nd-generation Brazilian) and Ana Maria (1st-generation Brazilian) were working together in a breakout room in January 2021, they had to

contend with the noise in Ana Maria's space to accomplish the assignment of reading a book together. When Ana Maria, who sat in front of a white wall, unmuted herself, we could hear a baby crying in the background and the sounds of adults and children talking and passing by. At some point, she interrupted Letícia's reading to say, "just a second, my sister won't stop talking" (01/26/21). Ana Maria turns off her camera, but Letícia and I could hear her patiently talking to her sister that she needed to be in class now. The third-grader Sandro was sitting at the kitchen table when he indicated that he had a question to ask the teacher. When he unmuted himself, the class could hear the sound of a baby crying in the background (10/08/20). Days later, Sandro was trying to answer a math question, but the teacher had a hard time understanding him because of the loud background noise of two small children arguing (10/16/20). In these circumstances, the children did not refrain from unmuting themselves to share their answers, ask questions, and seek opportunities to connect with others. They would often preface their commentaries with an alert to others that it was "barulhento" (noisy) where they were.

TWI teachers differed in their acceptance and response to children's spatial and aural realities during remote learning. In the day-to-day of online instruction, teachers rarely made remarks about students' locations and seemed understanding of their students' circumstances. However, in-classroom activities and routines heavily mirrored those of in-person instruction (e.g., teacher-centered lectures, having students read their writing aloud, and paper-and-pencil tasks). As such, TWI educators did little to accommodate students who joined their classes from less traditional environments, who were primarily children with recent immigrant backgrounds. The 2nd-grade teacher Ms. Tavares at times complimented the students who were able to participate in class and follow her instructions despite their noisy/busy locales. When Nelson read his poem, despite warning the class that "there were many people yelling" where he was,

Ms. Tavares applauded him for his effort: “olha como o Nelson conseguiu ler mesmo com o barulho atrás dele!” (look at how Nelson was able to read even with the noise behind him!). Ms. Dantas at times took a different stance. For example, in response to Fabiano’s (2nd-generation Brazilian) Flipchart video in which he recorded himself reading the book he had written during that unit, she wrote in the comments section: “I like your story, Fabiano, but could you please record it again? Make sure you really show the pages so I can read them. Also, do it after school so it is quieter.”

Immigrant children also demonstrated resilience during remote learning in face of a range of challenges related to technology. Several students complained that they were having problems connecting to the Internet, or that their Internet is “bad” or “really slow.” Issues with the school-provided Chromebooks, including problems with webcams, microphones, speakers, and/or their screen display were reported fourteen times by students. These issues affected students’ ability to fully participate in class, as they had to coordinate a range of tabs, programs, and websites in every lesson. For example, in one of Ms. Dantas’ lessons, Janaína (first-generation Brazilian) unmuted herself to say: “Meu computador tá muito preguiçoso!” (my computer is very lazy!). Janaína’s classmate, Laila (second-generation Brazilian), added: “Miss Dantas, é Laila. A minha internet tá ruim. E minha *voice keeps glitching*” (Miss Dantas, it’s Laila. My Internet is bad. And my voice keeps glitching) (10/29/20). Ms. Dantas was interrupted again by students facing technological issues; Beto (second-generation Brazilian) complained that the program EPIC was “loading and loading” and Fátima said that she was “having trouble with the microphone” (12/10/20) Students like Benita (second-generation Brazilian) (in Ms. Tavares’s class on 12/11/20) and José (first-generation Brazilian) (Ms. Dantas’ class on 01/21/21) were reprimanded by their teachers for not submitting their responses in in-class polls/quizzes; both

children pushed back, arguing that they submitted their answers, but for some reason, their responses did not get uploaded.

Studies have shown that children's socioeconomic backgrounds played a key role in mediating access to school-based learning at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic (Pastore & Salvi, 2022; Sugarman & Lazarín, 2020). In this study, immigrant children of Brazilian descent, who were from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than their non-immigrant counterparts in the focal TWI program, faced additional obstacles to accessing remote learning opportunities. There was a considerable mismatch between the implementation of the program's remote learning and the spatial and aural realities inhabited by the focal students. On one hand, immigrant children had to navigate remote instruction as they physically moved between or within locales, and inhabited soundscapes of home and communal life. On the other hand, TWI educators' strived to transfer typical "in-person" classroom practices and moves to the online environment, with little consideration to or discussion of students' material conditions that could prevent them from meeting educators' expectations for classroom participation and engagement. In the next section, I explore in greater detail how TWI educators structured their instruction during remote learning, elucidating additional facets of the misalignment between the "remote" implementation of this bilingual program and the realities, interests, and practices of Brazilian immigrant children.

"You Don't Let Me Speak": Remote Instruction and Student Regulation

The transition to and daily implementation of remote instruction imposed challenges for all students, families, and school personnel. TWI educators had to adapt to the online interface, implement a TWI program under added uncertainty, and reach students and families who had been severely impacted by the pandemic. They also had to do so with limited preparation and support. When asked whether she had any preparation over the summer to teach online in the

fall, Ms. Tavares described how “a gente, enquanto professor, todo mundo tava procurando aprender por conta própria” (we, as teachers, everyone was trying to learn on their own). In August 2020, Parker Elementary provided a 10-day intensive preparation for remote teaching for educators; however, Ms. Tavares argued that this was not enough: “Só que não seria suficiente, dez dias, pra cabeça da gente aprender tudo. Então, passamos todo o mês de agosto preocupados. Sabe aquela tensão? [...] E isso foi chato, porque muitas vezes, por exemplo, eles falaram com a gente... ‘Ah, vamos usar uma plataforma, vamos usar outra.’” (It’s just that it wouldn’t be enough, ten days, for our heads to learn everything. So we were worried throughout the month of August. You know that tension? [...] And it was annoying, because many times, for example, they told us ‘Ah, let’s use this platform, [then] let’s use another.’”

Ms. Dantas outlined challenges that were specific to being a TWI teacher during remote learning, including having to prepare bilingual materials from scratch (e.g., slide decks for each content area) and the pressure to co-teach with the ELD teacher. She also spoke about the need to participate, twice a week, in a professional learning community (PLC) with math and literacy coaches and general education teachers of the same grade level (2nd grade). According to Ms. Dantas, using her planning time to take part in the PLC was not helpful for her as a TWI teacher:

Ms. Dantas: Essas conversas [do PLC] são para ver onde todo mundo tá no <i>scope and sequence</i> , se tem alguma ideia, alguma dificuldade, o que você quer fazer, olhar alguns slides... mas como é que eu vou dizer, esse tipo de trabalho não traduz, não se traduz como uma coisa prática para eu fazer na minha sala no dia seguinte. Só está roubando meu tempo que eu poderia estar fazendo alguma coisa prática para estar pronto amanhã. (March 2021)	Ms. Dantas: These [PLC] conversations are to see where everyone is with the scope and sequence, if there’s any idea, any difficulty, what you want to do, look at some slides... but how am I going to say this, this type of work does not translate, does not translate to practices that I can enact in my classroom on the next day. So it’s robbing my time away that I could be creating something practical to be ready tomorrow.
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While Ms. Tavares and Ms. Dantas had worked in the TWI program in the previous school year (in-person), both Ms. Gutierrez and Ms. Pacheco were in their first year as

elementary classroom teachers, and the TWI model was also brand new for them. They had to draw on the support and experience of other TWI teachers in the program, who were willing to mentor them, and on a few professional development sessions on TWI instruction offered in the summer of 2020 by the district. As such, TWI teachers were contending with various obstacles as they strived to serve their students at the height of the pandemic and remote learning.

Day-to-Day Classroom Implementation

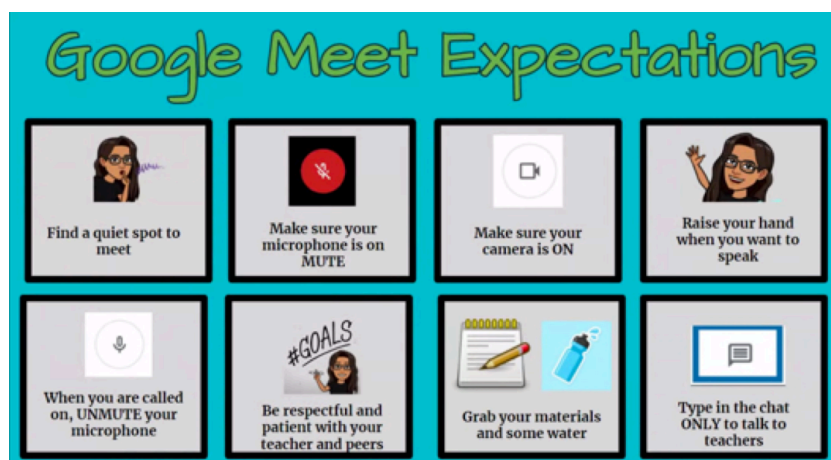
For 2nd and 3rd graders in the focal TWI program at Parker Elementary, remote learning brought about a new set of expectations that they had to navigate to participate in class. TWI teachers had rigid expectations on how the students ought to participate in their virtual lessons. For example, educators expected students to be on mute for the duration of their lessons unless instructed otherwise. Silence, although reinforced before the pandemic during in-person learning, became the *status quo* in the online environment. Peer interactions were seen as particularly disruptive during remote learning, as explained by Ms. Tavares: “a conversa paralela em sala de aula [presencial], ela beneficia, porque se você tá paralelo, mas a pessoa tá te ouvindo, e você tá ouvindo a pessoa, é uma coisa. Se você tá online, duas pessoas conversando, ninguém tá ouvindo ninguém. Então não funciona, e eles [alunos] entendem que não funciona” (a side conversation in a classroom is beneficial, cause if you’re having a side conversation, and the person can hear you and you can hear the person, that’s one thing. But if you’re online, two people are having a conversation, no one can hear. It doesn’t work, and they [students] understand it doesn’t work).

During classroom observations, virtual classrooms were usually silent, with very little interaction among the children. TWI educators strictly reinforced the silence status quo through verbal reminders (e.g., “mute your microphone please!”), visual signs (e.g., holding up a printed

image of a muted microphone), and written means (e.g., “Google Meet Expectations” slide [see Figure 5 below], reminders on the chat box).

Figure 5

Sample Google Meet Expectations [Ms. Pacheco]



When students attempted to unmute themselves without permission, they were often met with resistance by the teachers. For example, in October 2020, Ms. Pacheco played a video for her students and gave them instructions, in both Portuguese and English, for a follow-up activity. The virtual classroom was completely silent for a few minutes until Paulo (second-generation Brazilian) unmuted himself and tried to say something. Ms. Pacheco immediately cut him off, saying “when you finish, you show what you have” (10/08/20). The school social worker held a joint session for both TWI 3rd-grade classrooms about objects and materials that they could use to self-regulate in difficult moments. She showed the students, for example, that they could pop virtual sheets of bubble wrap or watch the fish swim in a virtual aquarium. Beatriz unmuted her microphone to ask: “como que faz para pegar essas coisas?” (what do we do to get these things?) to which the social worker, Ms. Pacheco, and Ms. Gutierrez immediately reacted with: “SHHH!” The social worker then proceeded to show the next object, a virtual glitter jar (12/18/20).

Ms. Tavares was particularly adamant about having a silent virtual classroom and her students often pushed back against this expectation. For example, when Ms. Tavares was teaching a lesson about opinion, she called on Benita (2nd-generation Brazilian) to define the term, and the student said: “opinião é... eu acho que Joe Biden vai ganhar” (opinion is... I think Joe Biden will win) (11/06/20). This prompted Nelson (2nd-generation Brazilian) to unmute himself and respond: “maybe Donald Trump is gonna win, I don’t know.” Ms. Tavares did not take up these students’ answers but instead played a video of the reading of a book entitled “Should I share my ice cream?” When a child unmuted herself to ask “eu posso falar um pouco?” (can I speak a little?), the teacher replied, “Agora não, vamos assistir o filminho” (not now, let’s watch the little movie). As the lesson proceeded, the students were invited to express their opinions related to the content of the video.

Samuel (second-generation Brazilian) unmuted himself after Ms. Tavares explained the next activity, saying: “Ms. Tavares, eu escrevi a data-” (I wrote the date-). He was immediately interrupted by the teacher: “eu não vou deixar você falar agora porque você não levantou a mão eletrônica” (I will not let you speak now because you did not raise the electronic hand). In response, Samuel muted himself and shared three sad-face emojis on the chat box (12/04/20). Similarly, the student Darci became very upset with the fact that Ms. Tavares would not let him speak and, with the help of his mother, expressed this to the teacher during the break. Ms. Tavares explained to the student that she did not call on him due to a technological issue; she could only see 14 students at a time on her screen and could not see that Darci wanted to share. She proposed a solution: “Vamos fazer o seguinte, quem quiser falar por muito tempo e não for chamado, pode tirar o microfone do mudo e pedir para falar. Que tal?” (Let’s do this, whoever wants to speak for a long time and is not called on can unmute themselves and ask to speak. How

about that?). However, Nelson joined the conversation to rebut: “Mas eu faço isso *all the time* e você não me deixa falar” (But I do that *all the time* and you don’t let me speak) (11/06/20).

In addition to reinforcing silence through requests for muted mikes, TWI teachers during virtual instruction also insisted that students have their webcams on at all times, only use the chat box in the Google Classroom to ask questions to the teacher and raise their (electronic) hand to indicate that they want to speak. On a school day in late October 2020, Ms. Pacheco said to her students: “Todo mundo liga a câmera, por favor. Everyone turn your camera on please” (10/08/20). Later on, in the same class, she reinforced this rule: “Boys and girls, keep your cameras on, fiquem com as câmeras ligadas.” In the same class, Ms. Pacheco reminded her students about the rules on the use of the chat box in class. When the newcomer student Janice joined the Google Meet classroom a few hours late, two non-Brazilian students wrote “hi Janice” in the chat box, leading the teacher to say “remember the chat is only for questions.” The next time I visited Ms. Pacheco and her students in her Google Meet classroom, she told her students to “please stop typing in the chat” four times in two hours. At the end of the school day, she also had a conversation with all students to say that the chat should be used “to talk to the teacher” (11/12/20).

Immigrant Student Experience

The children recognized the rigidity of their virtual classrooms. From the initial virtual visits in September 2020, they navigated muted/unmuted microphones and raised their physical (and virtual) hands before speaking. The children oftentimes asked their teachers for permission to use the bathroom, even though this was not established as a classroom expectation, indicating that they perceived remote learning to be highly regulated. As Brazilian immigrant children adapted to the expectations for silence and complicity in their virtual classrooms, there was a

qualitative change in the ways they participated in class and tapped into their transborder funds of knowledge in comparison to previous years (pre-pandemic). In contrast to the dynamics seen when students were gathered in physical classrooms, during observations of remote instruction there were no instances of conversations among the children about immigration experiences, or moments when they explicitly leveraged their histories and politicized funds of knowledge to support one another during instruction. During seven months of classroom observations, only eight instances were documented of immigrant children openly referencing Brazil or sharing memories related to their transborder lived experiences. This stands in contrast with the frequent references to Brazil and the sharing of memories that occurred in person in the two school years before the pandemic (described in Chapter 5). These instances also have in common that they were not taken up by teachers or peers, quickly getting lost in the stream of classroom discourse.

For example, during a classroom visit, Ms. Tavares' Portuguese literacy lesson in the 2nd grade focused on having students create a title for a story that they were going to write and illustrate throughout the unit. Once the teacher explained the task, Eliana (first-generation Brazilian) raised her hand and asked: "Posso desenhar o Brasil?" (Can I draw Brazil?). Ms. Tavares promptly answered: "Pode desenhar sim, meu amor, o que você quiser. Agora eu vou precisar de voz zero" (you can draw it, yes, my love, whatever you want. Now I'll need zero voices), thus foreclosing any potential connections by others who could be considering drawing and writing about Brazil (10/22/20). Later on that same day, as students and the teacher resumed their activities after the lunch break, the 2nd-generation Brazilian child Tanya suggested to the group: "Nós pode ver a Mônica. Quem quer comer uma laranja que eu peguei no pé de Minas?" (we can watch Monica. Who wants to eat an orange that I got from the tree in Minas?). Tanya's suggestion to watch the Brazilian cartoon "Turma da Mônica" and remark about her experience

in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais were not taken up by others, as the teacher quickly transitioned to playing a video about clowns. In the TWI 3rd grade, Ms. Pacheco started her class by posing a question to students and allowing them to unmute themselves to share their answers:

<p>Ms. P: qual foi o seu momento que você sentiu orgulho? <i>What was your proudest moment?</i></p> <p>Igor: Foi quando eu aprendi a andar de bicicleta.</p> <p>Janice: Foi quando todo mundo cantou parabéns para mim, eu senti orgulho.</p> <p>Nathalia: Quando eu cheguei na América, eu me senti meio triste e meio feliz.</p> <p>Mara: Quando eu aprendi a andar de bicicleta.</p> <p>Valentina: <i>In my first sleepover my mom got lost because of the snow [...] I was able to help her find the way.</i></p>	<p>Ms. P: What was your moment that you felt proud? <i>What was your proudest moment?</i></p> <p>Igor: It was when I learned to ride a bicycle.</p> <p>Janice: It was when everyone sang happy birthday to me, I felt proud.</p> <p>Nathalia: When I arrived in America, I felt kind of sad and kind of happy.</p> <p>Mara: When I learned to ride a bicycle.</p> <p>Valentina: <i>In my first sleepover my mom got lost because of the snow [...] I was able to help her find the way. (03/16/21)</i></p>
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In this example, we see that when the students were allowed to speak spontaneously in class in response to an open-ended question, a newcomer child from Brazil, Nathalia, shared how she felt when she immigrated to the United States. She connected her arrival in the country to feelings of pride and happiness, but also sadness. However, similar to the examples above from the 2nd grade, Nathalia's comment got lost in the stream of other students' answers, as several students seemed excited to have the chance to speak up in class. The only example in which a teacher took up an immigrant child's connection to Brazil and elaborated on it during instruction occurred during hybrid learning in March 2021, when the teacher (Ms. Tavares) interacted with her students who were physically in the school building. When she asked her students (at home and school) if they had ever heard about the indigenous tale of the seven stars (i.e., "lenda do sete-estrela"), Giselle, a newcomer from Brazil who was in the physical classroom shared a response. Ms. Tavares recasted the child's answer for those in the virtual classroom: "A sua avó já te falou do sete-estrela? A Giselle falou que a vizinha dela no Brasil já contou essa história para ela. Porque é uma lenda, passada de boca em boca, de geração em geração" (Your grandma

already told you about the [tale of the] seven stars? Giselle said that her grandmother in Brazil already told her this tale. Because it's a myth, passed on [orally] from person to person, from generation to generation." Ms. Tavares went on to share that her own grandmother in Brazil had told her stories about "as Três Marias" (Orion's belt), leading into her lesson about fictional genres, specifically legends and myths. This latter example speaks to the greater potential for meaningful connection and participation of immigrant children's full selves, including their memories and transborder knowledge, during hybrid and in-person instruction, as opposed to remote learning. Here, Giselle—who was physically present in the classroom—had greater latitude to speak up in class, and her contribution supported the educator's instructional goals.

Language Brokering During Remote Learning

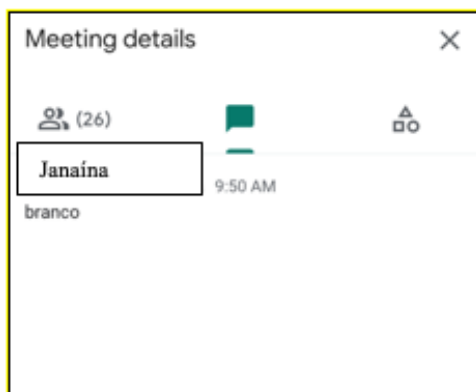
Despite the constraints of the remote learning environment, Brazilian immigrant children sought opportunities to engage in language brokering and support their peers through their linguistic knowledge. Due to the "muted mikes" policy in their classrooms and few opportunities for interaction among the children, language brokering episodes during seven months of remote learning amounted to 11 documented instances. However, students like Letícia continued to broker when given the opportunity. For example, Ms. Pacheco's 3rd-grade group was reading a chapter of a book in Portuguese when the teacher called on Deborah (non-Brazilian) to answer how she would describe a specific character. Deborah could not answer, saying that her Internet was choppy and that she could not hear the end of the story. Letícia, then, volunteered to speak and explained to Deborah, in English, the end of the story. Letícia skillfully summarized and translated her understanding of the end of the story read in Portuguese into English, benefiting Deborah but also other peers who were listening (12/18/20).

Similarly, when Ms. Gutierrez tried to explain the meaning of the expression “don’t judge a book by its cover” to two Brazilian newcomer students who spoke primarily in Portuguese, Letícia asked to speak up and help. Letícia explained, “Então, por exemplo, uma pessoa tá com cara feia e você acha que ele é uma pessoa má, mas as vezes aconteceu alguma coisa com aquela pessoa e ela não é má. É tipo um livro, você não pode dizer que é ruim pela capa, você não leu!” (So, for example, a person puts on an ugly face and you think he is a bad person, but somethings something happened to that person and he’s not bad. It’s like with a book, you can’t say it’s bad by the cover, you haven’t read it!) (02/05/21). In these examples, we see that Letícia adapted her language brokering practices to the new reality and expectations of remote learning, navigating the “muted/unmuted microphones” policy in her attempts to broker for her classmates.

Along these lines, 2nd-graders leveraged the chat to engage in language brokering and support one another in traversing language borders. When two non-Brazilian students, Anderson and then Christopher, asked Ms. Dantas how to say “white” in Portuguese during a remote lesson, Janaína (first-generation Brazilian) used the chat to give them an answer, “branco” (01/21/21):

Figure 6

Language Brokering Through the Google Meet Chat Box [Janaína]



During classroom observations, Ms. Dantas was the only TWI teacher who at times had students use the chat box to help each other out. The children responded to this with increased engagement in the chat. For example, when Laila asked Ms. Dantas if the word “chato” (boring) in Portuguese was written with “x” or “ch,” the students Marisa and Fabiano, both 2nd-generation Brazilian students, answered her peer’s question promptly (10/29/20) (see Figure 7 below):

Figure 7

Peer Language Support Through the Chat Box [Marisa, Fabiano, Laila]

<p>Marisa 11:57 AM chato e asim ok chato</p>	<p>Fabiano 11:57 AM chato e a simmmmm</p> <p>Laila 11:58 AM chata</p> <p>Marisa 11:59 AM como escreve chato c h a t o</p>
<p>Marisa: Laila boring it’s like this ok boring</p>	<p>Fabiano: boring it’s like thisssss Laila: Marisa boring Marisa: Laila how to write boring b o r i n g</p>

This sharing of linguistic expertise happened other times in Ms. Dantas’ classroom; the students continued to leverage the chat to help each other and display their knowledge while complying with the “muted microphones” classroom rule. However, overall, practices that were common among Brazilian immigrant students during in-person learning (pre-pandemic)—such as language brokering, using transborder memories and ties to participate in class, as well as collective sensemaking around immigration and (im)mobility—were occasional, at best, during remote learning. On one hand, teachers’ strict remote learning policies and classroom practices, including the regulation of student behavior, affected all students, Brazilian and non-Brazilian. As students’ interactions and contributions were restricted and regulated in an environment

where silence was the norm, remote learning resembled a banking model of education (Freire, 1970) where teachers (unmuted) were expected to impart knowledge to the children (on mute). This teacher-directed model (Kohn, 2006)—which conflated bilingual education with control (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2021)—denied powerful dimensions of education that are shaped through intimate relationships, community building, and honoring students’ variations and differences (Shalaby, 2017). On the other hand, I argue that this approach to remote learning was particularly negative for Brazilian immigrant students, creating an additional layer of loss (Kelly, 2009) during the pandemic. It constricted collective spaces that accounted for their complex practices and knowledge (Gallo & Link, 2015), which used to be created by the children in their physical classrooms pre-pandemic. In the next section, I build on immigrant children’s strategies to adapt, negotiate, and at times contest the logics of remote learning.

Children’s Agency and Resistance: Carving Out Play-Full Spaces

Although remote learning in the focal TWI program was highly regimented, Brazilian immigrant children carved out spaces for playful sharing, mainly during classroom breaks, in interactions in the breakout rooms, and during instruction through the chat box available on the Google Meet application. In their play-full interactions, immigrant children resisted a range of silences that characterized remote learning. This included silence on dimensions of children’s lives in ways that did not have an academic bottom line and around the global pandemic itself. As explained by Brownell (2021), young children’s play in virtual classrooms may look different than it once did, particularly as educational discourse has been centered on fixing learning gaps and extending children’s “work” on mathematics and literacy, at the expense of everything else. However, “whether or not children’s social worlds or play are given devoted time and space in the curriculum, their play is important and will happen” (p. 3). In this section, I document how

Brazilian immigrant children infused seemingly liminal spaces of remote learning in the TWI program with playfulness and interpersonal connection. In these play-full moments, the children traversed linguistic, cultural, and epistemological borders; and these assertions of time and space for play bear the potential to create decolonizing knowledge (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016).

During the short 5-minute screen or bathroom breaks, scattered across the school day, and the hour-long break for lunch, teachers usually asked students to turn off their cameras and mikes and step away from the computer. The students, however, rarely complied with this expectation; several children typically returned to the Google classroom before the break was over to interact with one another. The four TWI teachers seemed more willing to allow such transgressions of rules during breaks. For example, during the lunch break, the 2nd-grader Vanessa suddenly reached out for her classmate Marisa, generating a conversation:

Vanessa (turns on webcam, unmutes herself): Oi Marisa [*Hi Marisa*]. (mutes herself)
Marisa (turns on webcam): Hi Vanessa. Hi hi! It's on mute! Put it unmute. Put it unmute. Did you cut your hair?
Vanessa: Laila's mom, not this Laila here, the other Laila. Her mom cut my hair.
Marisa: Is Daniella there?
Vanessa: Yes, she's right here (turns the camera to the right so that Marisa could see her younger sister sitting by her side)
Marisa: Is Juliana there?
Vanessa: Yes. (turns the camera to the left so that Marisa could see her older sister)
Marisa: I want to say hi!
 (Conversation continues in English about Marisa's kitty)
Marisa: Jana? Janaína? Não tô conseguindo ver você porque a sua câmera tá desligada. Você quer ver o meu gatinho? [*Jana? Janaína? I can't see you because your camera is off. Do you want to see my kitty?*] (10/02/20)

The interaction between Melissa and Laís, both second-generation Brazilian children, illustrates children's willingness to carve out spaces to socially (re-)connect with one another. In a time of physical distance, and in a formal classroom and curricular context that hardly made space for personal connection, Marisa demonstrated to Vanessa that she had noticed that the peer had had a haircut, asked about her sisters, and talked about their shared love for pets. Marisa also

fluidly deployed her entire linguistic repertoire in these attempts for connection. She spoke in English with Vanessa, who was a majority English speaker learning Portuguese as a heritage language. Marisa, in turn, sought to engage Janaína in Portuguese since she was a 1st-generation child who spoke Portuguese predominantly. Later on that same school day, during a short 5-minute break in the afternoon, Antônia (2nd-generation Brazilian) unmuted herself and turned on her camera, addressing a non-Brazilian peer in English: “Ellen, how’s Ava doing?” Ellen turned on her camera and unmuted her microphone in response: “She’s good, she’s right here.” She then turned her computer so that Antônia could see her sister, sitting at a nearby desk working on a different computer. Checking in with one another and asking about family demonstrated out-of-school connections among children’s families. It also became a child-led, play-full way to resist the constraints of highly regulated virtual classrooms that did not allow for social interaction and personal connection among the children.

Similarly, in Ms. Tavares’ 2nd-grade TWI classroom, breaks also became a space for playfully resisting the rules (e.g., “muted mikes/cameras off”) and creating spaces for continued interpersonal connection. During a lunch break in late October, Benita (2nd-generation Brazilian) used the classroom chat box to share the hyperlink to her TikTok webpage and unmuted herself to announce: “agora vocês podem ver eu dançando em português e inglês” (now you can see me dancing in English and Portuguese). In response, Murilo (a first-generation Brazilian) unmuted himself and yelled: “STOP! Não faz isso!” (STOP! Don’t do that!), regulating his peer’s behavior. However, Benita continued, proceeding to announce: “vou colocar meu Roblox também. *If you see someone with black hair and a blue shirt it’s me*” (I will put my Roblox [name in the chat] too). At that point, several students were back at their computers, some still eating their meals. They unmuted themselves and/or turned on their webcams to be a part of the

conversation. Larissa (2nd-generation Brazilian) replied to Benita by saying “I can’t find you on Roblox!”. When Ms. Tavares entered the conversation and asked Larissa: “O que, meu amor?” (what is it, my love?), the child responded: “eu não tô falando de escola, tô falando de coisas que eu gosto” (I’m not talking about school, I’m talking about things that I like). Larissa’s response encapsulates the bifurcation between children’s worlds and interests and the rigid implementation of remote learning in this bilingual program. The children took it upon themselves to create spaces where they could talk to one another about “things that [they] like.” As they did so, Brazilian immigrant children not only transgressed classroom rules for silence, but also linguistic and social borders reinforced in TWI models (Hamman-Ortiz, 2019). As demonstrated in the examples by Marisa and Benita, children with recent Brazilian immigrant backgrounds fluidly used their entire linguistic repertoire when connecting with their peers.

Connecting Through the Chat Box

Brazilian immigrant students also leveraged the chat box function on Google Meet to greet their peers and seek to connect, often demonstrating their ability as bi/multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages in the process (Canagarajah, 2011). The chat box in the classrooms had multiple purposes; on one hand, students used the chat to perform academic- or classroom-related tasks. They used the chat, for example, to share their answers to teacher-posed questions and to ask questions of their own to the teacher (e.g., Can I use the bathroom?; Now what can I do? Where do we write it?). Educators also used the chat to answer students’ questions and share links to websites, activities, and specialists’ individual Google Meet classrooms. However, in about half of our classroom visits, child-led conversations in the chat stood out as collaborative, play-full composing that resisted the lack of interpersonal interaction during remote learning. For example, the excerpt below shows part of a conversation that occurred 10 minutes before the end

of the lunch break. All students' webcams were turned off. English translations were added by me in brackets (09/24/20):

Sandoval 2:29 PM	Paulo 2:38 PM	Teacher 2:41 PM
oi [hi]	--	https://meet.google.com/XXX-yrk?authuser=0
Sandoval 2:31 PM	Sandoval 2:38 PM	Reinaldo 2:43 PM
oi [hi] eduardo	(O~O)	my name on roblox38483 meu
Sandoval 2:34 PM	Paulo 2:38 PM	nome no roblox38483
oi [hi] paulo	gostoso chocolate [tasty chocolate]	Paulo 2:44 PM
Paulo 2:35 PM	Jorge 2:38 PM	reinaldo me liga dps da aula ou eu
oi [hi] sandoval :)	(0o0)	te ligo ta
Sandoval 2:35 PM	Paulo 2:38 PM	[reinaldo call me after school or I
oi [hi] sandro	gostoso chocolate [tasty chocolate]	call you ok
oi [hi] nathi	Jorge 2:38 PM	Letícia 2:45 PM
Paulo 2:35 PM	(0o0)	oi [hi] mariana
5 more minutos [minutes]	Sandoval 2:39 PM	
Nathalia 2:37 PM	fiquei comendo hambúrguer [I was	
nathaliaf77	eating hamburger]	
Paulo 2:37 PM	Paulo 2:39 PM	
more then olaf	ola [hi] mariana	
kkkkkkkk to brincando [I'm kidding]	Sandoval 2:39 PM	
Sandoval 2:37 PM	oi [hi] viera	
olaf frozen		

The conversation above involved only Brazilian immigrant students: Sandoval, Nathalia, Jorge, and Reinaldo were first-generation Brazilian children while Paulo and Letícia were second-generation Brazilian students. Sandoval began the interaction by saying “oi” (hi) to several peers (e.g., Eduardo, Paulo, Sandro, and Nathalia). Paulo was the first to respond and, throughout the conversation, fluidly navigated both English and Portuguese. After greeting Sandoval, Paulo made a joke articulating both languages, saying that there were five more “minutos” (minutes) before the break ended--longer than it takes for Olaf, a character from the movie Frozen, to melt. Paulo laughed and announced that this was a joke in Portuguese. For the remainder of the conversation, Paulo chose to speak in Portuguese, knowing that both Sandoval and Reinaldo were majority-Portuguese speakers. He did so despite preferring to communicate in

English, as he had told me several times in informal conversations. Additionally, Nathalia and Reinaldo shared their Roblox names in the chat box, opening an invitation for those who may be interested in playing the online game with them. Reinaldo shared his Roblox information in both Portuguese and English, opening his invitation widely to all classmates, regardless of their linguistic abilities or preference (i.e., “my name on roblox”; “meu nome no roblox”). Paulo took up Reinaldo’s invitation by telling him that they should talk on the phone after class. As Paulo and Sandoval talked about food, exchanged emojis, and said hi to others in the room, other students joined in saying greetings, like Jorge and Letícia. The class resumed at 2:40 PM and the teacher shared a link to another Google classroom for some students who had an appointment with the math specialist. However, this did not stop the children’s conversation in the chat; it carried on until the end of the school day at 3:30 PM.

A few weeks later, 3rd graders continued to use the chat box to connect during instruction, this time during Ms. Gutierrez’s Portuguese literacy lesson (10/15/20):

Paulo 2:49 PM	Letícia 2:50 PM
jorge lets play after class but im always right	*****
jk	Paulo 2:50 PM
Sandoval 2:49 PM	;d
sumiu?	Janice 2:50 PM
Paulo 2:49 PM	*****
jorge lets play after class	Sandoval 2:50 PM
pls	(I~*)
Jorge 2:49 PM	Paulo 2:51 PM
ok	*****
Sandoval 2:50 PM	Letícia 2:51 PM
cascao fedorento	Oo0
Paulo 2:50 PM	
yay	
Paulo 2:50 PM	
:(
:)	

In the example above, Paulo initiated the chat conversation by inviting Jorge to play after class. I could see Paulo smile as he typed this initial message, and then seemed to excitedly wait for his peer's answer. Sandoval also used the chat but did so to engage with the content of the lesson. He first wrote "sumiu?" (disappeared?) in response to a glitch in Ms. Gutierrez's slide, and then added "cascao fedorento" to describe one of the characters of the "Turma da Mônica" comic strip that the teacher was reading. In addition to Paulo and Jorge's exchange and Sandoval's reactions to Ms. Gutierrez's instruction, other students signaled that they were attuned to what was happening in the chat box. Letícia and Janice shared emojis and used punctuation to playfully indicate to one another that they were there, despite the silence in class.

Talking About Covid-19

Minoritized groups, including refugees and migrants, were disproportionately affected by Covid-19, both directly and indirectly (Clark et al., 2020; Pastore & Salvi, 2022). Yet, educators in the TWI program rarely approached the global pandemic and its impacts on remote learning. However, during breaks and activities in breakout rooms, which were moments when there was more freedom to speak, Brazilian immigrant children talked about Covid-19. During a lunch break, for example, the 2nd-grader Benita (second-generation Brazilian) asked her classmate Larissa (second-generation Brazilian) why they could not have playdates anymore, to which Larissa responded: "Porque tem muito vírus ainda em Parker City" (because there's still a lot of the virus in Parker City) (10/22/20). When 2nd-graders were divided into breakout rooms to read to one another the manuals they had written in class, Darci (2nd-generation Brazilian) included in his text measures to prevent the spread of Covid-19 in his community. He read: "tem que passar álcool-gel na mão antes de comer" ([we] have to put on hand sanitizer in the hand before eating) (11/06/20). In a breakout room activity in which 2nd-graders had to share their screen and take

turns reading the pages of a book, Danielle (1st-generation Brazilian) reacted with surprise when realizing that the characters in the book were not wearing masks. She commented with her peer, Fabiana (2nd-generation Brazilian): “Por que que eles não estão de máscara? Tem o coronavírus, gente!” (Why are they not wearing a mask? There’s the coronavirus, guys!) (02/12/21).

In moments of transition between classes, Danilo, a 2nd-generation child from Brazil, shared thoughts related to the pandemic that he was grappling with. In October 2020, as students left Ms. Gutierrez’s Portuguese class and entered Ms. Pacheco’s English-led Google classroom, Danilo remarked: “a kid that I play with has Covid-19 so I did not play with him yesterday. But he was outside playing with his dad all day” (10/16/20). About a month later, Danilo again talked about the pandemic in Ms. Pacheco’s 3rd-grade classroom, as the group prepared for the lunch break: “Tá chegando! Tá chegando o Natal. Mas ninguém vai para nenhum lugar por causa do coronavírus” (It’s coming, Christmas is coming! But no one is going anywhere because of the coronavirus) (11/19/20). These remarks about Covid-19 and the effects of the pandemic on children’s lives were mostly done in moments of less supervision from teachers when students had more freedom to speak. However, when these comments were made when teachers were present, as in Danilo’s case, they were not taken up. Educators tended to continue to follow their lesson objectives, leaving little room for conversations on critical issues raised by the children.

Although seen by TWI educators as distractions to their learning, Brazilian immigrant children’s interactions during breaks, in breakout rooms, and in the chat box humanized their virtual classrooms by infusing them with playfulness. These conversations centered children’s lifeworlds—their interests, preoccupations, and desire for social connection during a time of public health crisis and physical isolation—cut across linguistic borders. Through these unsanctioned interactions, the children struggled for agency during remote instruction, or the

ability to influence how (and what) is learned to expand capabilities (Adair & Colegrove, 2021). They also demonstrated the force and creativity of their subaltern knowledge (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016), which had been rendered invisible under the logic of remote learning and the status quo of silence. Immigrant children's border thinking and position offer the basis on which educators could develop "asset-based pedagogies that account for the full range of children's practices and knowledges, which may be complex and challenging" (Gallo & Link, 2015, p.360). In the next section, I continue to elaborate upon Brazilian immigrant children's participation in remote learning by focusing on how they navigated the continuities and ruptures of home-school.

Blurring Public and Private: Children's Care-full Lives

TWI educators' expectations for student conduct during remote instruction ran counter to immigrant children's daily realities, including their roles and responsibilities in their households. The centrality of caring relationships in Brazilian immigrant children's everyday routines often blurred splits between school and home, public and private labor (Lawson, 2007; Luttrell, 2013). In my analysis of field notes from remote learning, I coded forty-three instances in which young immigrant children positioned their familial caring relationships at the center of their schooling. First, they contributed to the maintenance of their households while participating in their remote learning sessions by caring for younger siblings and doing various chores (e.g., folding clothes). This aligns with prior research findings that position immigrant children as key actors in family care arrangements to ensure familial survival (Delgado, 2023; Luttrell, 2013; 2020; Orellana, 2001; 2009). Second, Brazilian immigrant children also showed family members and caregivers to the camera during instruction, at times while these individuals were engaged in care-related activities (e.g., cooking, cleaning). Finally, the children also re-centered classroom discussions, led by their teachers, to the context of family and communal life by making connections among

content-area themes and their home-based experiences and practices. In the remainder of this section, I explore each of these three ways in which Brazilian immigrant children centered their care-full lives in their formal schooling during remote learning.

On my initial classroom visit to Ms. Dantas' Google Classroom, I found myself drawn to Janaína's small square in the Google Meet view grid (09/25/20). When I joined the classroom, Janaína was holding a baby and showing him to the camera. Both the student and the baby were smiling at the camera while the teacher and other students were engaged in a math exercise. In the following days and weeks, Janaína was often seen caring for her baby brother while attending Ms. Dantas' lessons. In the following month, when asked by the teacher how she solved a math problem, Janaína responded, "eu não escrevi, eu só brinquei com meu irmão" (I didn't write it down, I only played with my brother) (10/29/20). In her explanation, Janaína positioned caring for her brother on par with writing down her solution to the math exercise, just as important. Throughout the lesson that day, Janaína kept her webcam on (as required) and was seen doing several chores around the house, including helping her mother cook in the kitchen and holding her baby brother in her bedroom. This stood in contrast to students like Christopher and Evan (non-Brazilian children), who participated in Ms. Dantas' lesson from a homeschooling/pandemic pod with the support of a hired tutor. A few times, Janaína's caregiving responsibilities impacted her class participation. For example, in one lesson Janaína suddenly left the virtual classroom and then came back a few minutes later. She explained what had happened through a message in the classroom chat (10/29/20) (see Figure 8 below):

Figure 8*Caregiving Responsibilities [Janaína]*

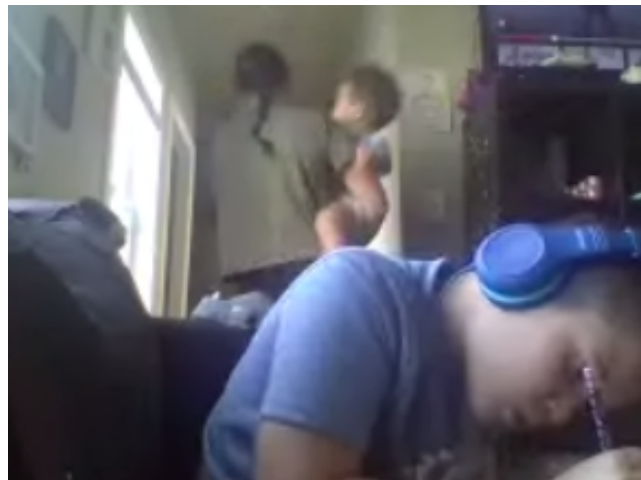
Janaína	12:14 PM
eu tinha que deixar a alua meu irmao desligou a internete e a conecicao porque ele e bebe de 1 ano	
I had to leave the lesson my brother turned off the internet and the connection [crashed] because he is a one-year-old baby	

Third-grade TWI students also acted as caregivers for younger siblings, answered the door, and folded laundry while attending online instruction. In Ms. Pacheco's math lesson during the English portion of the day. Sandro, a 2nd-generation child with a parent of Brazilian descent, sat in the kitchen and participated in class, raising his hand often and unmuting himself to share his answers on math activities as well as personal facts (e.g., "I had a new haircut yesterday!") (10/08/20). When he unmuted himself, it was possible to hear a baby crying in the background. Around noon that day, all 3rd graders were asked to work on an exercise on the online assessment and instruction program IReady. Sandro's younger brother sat on his lap and played with his headphones as the teacher gave instructions. For the duration of the activity, Rafael did his math work with his little brother on his lap. On the following week, Sandro and others had their cameras off, prompting the teacher to announce: "eu quero câmara ligada" (I want webcam[s] on) (10/15/20). When Sandro turned on his webcam, he was wearing blue headphones and there were two women behind him caring for two younger children. Despite the movement behind him, Sandro continued to focus on the ongoing lesson. He asked questions, shared his responses in activities, and wrote notes in his notebooks (see Figure 9 below). Sandro, and several of his classmates, were imbricated in thick networks of care. These networks did not disappear once the

children joined Google Meet every morning; on the contrary, they became visible and an integral part of remote learning for Brazilian immigrant students.

Figure 9

Working on Assignment [Sandro]



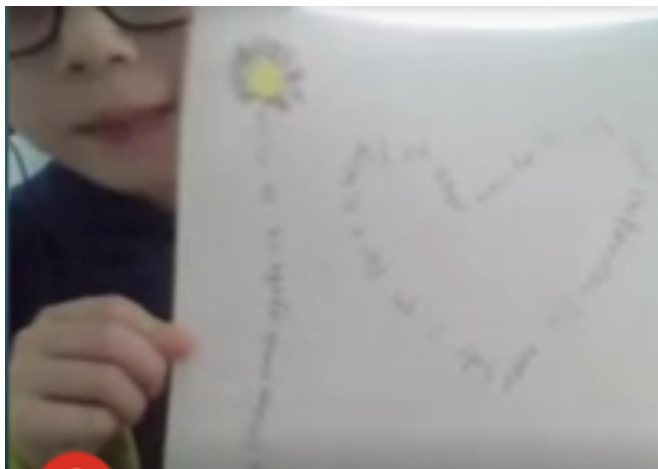
The Brazilian immigrant children in this study did not seem to mind that others could see them engage in care work in their homes. In some instances, as when Janaína showed the smiley baby to the camera during virtual instruction, they seemed to proudly do so. Along these lines, the children often used their cameras to publicly display others in their lives who cared for them (Luttrell, 2013; 2020). For example, Samuel (2nd-generation Brazilian) attended Ms. Tavares' reading lesson from a bedroom with bright blue walls and a wooden bunk bed right behind him. He was looking at the computer when a woman entered the camera frame and started to make the bunk beds behind him. Samuel, with a smile, slightly moved his chair to the corner of the camera frame so that the camera could more fully capture the woman making the bunk beds (03/02/21). Earlier that school year, Samuel also moved his camera in a way that captured a woman in the background who was sweeping the floors (11/06/20). Similarly, Jairo (1st-generation Brazilian) attended Ms. Tavares' lesson from a living room and positioned his computer and camera in a

way that fully captured his image as well as that of his mother, who was folding clothes by his side (04/01/21). Moreover, Paloma (1st-generation Brazilian) attended her 3rd-grade lesson from a bedroom; her webcam captured not only the child but also an adult woman who folded laundry (12/03/20). In sum, the children did not hide the care-full aspects of their lives when attending remote instruction; and at times intentionally positioned themselves and their cameras in ways that foregrounded them.

Additionally, Brazilian immigrant children also leveraged classroom activities to talk about their care work and express love and gratitude for family members. When Ms. Dantas talked about kindness and asked students how they could be kind toward themselves and others, Jairo (1st generation Brazilian) replied, “ajudar a minha mãe a limpar a casa, lavar os pratos” (help my mother to clean the house, wash the dishes) (03/02/21). In an activity for Valentine’s day, Henrique (2nd generation Brazilian) wrote a shape poem in the form of a flower and heart: “eu amo meu familia ate o meu cachorrinho eu amo tudo o que elas e ele faz por mim amo mais no mundo ajuda eu no escola” (I love my family even my dog. I love everything that they and he do for me. I love more in the world. [they] help me in school) (02/12/21) (see Figure 10 below).

Figure 10

Gratitude For Family Members [Henrique]



Ms. Dantas' TWI 2nd-graders were asked to create and publish videos, using the online program Flipchart, in which they read and showed the pages of the books they had written throughout the unit. In this assignment, the children could choose any theme they wanted, but the stories had to be written in English and, on each page, include a drawing and the transition words taught in class (e.g., first, second, finally). Silvio and Túlio (both 1st generation Brazilian children) as well as Carlos (2nd generation Brazilian) wrote about cooking in the kitchen with their mothers. Fabiano (2nd generation Brazilian) wrote about his love for his family and how much he missed his family members who were in Brazil at the time (10/27/20).

Prior scholarship showed that poor and working-class children's involvement in family care work goes unrecognized or is viewed in deficit terms in schools (Luttrell, 2013; 2020). From a sociocultural stance, as opposed to using a normative developmental lens, Luttrell (2013) argued that these children's visions and valuations of care highlighted how their educational well-being rests on communal life and the day-to-day work of care. Brazilian immigrant children's agency in and benefit from care-giving and care-receiving relationships were on full display during remote learning, but they were not approached in the classroom, resending to their backgrounds on the Google Meet view grid. Despite this, immigrant children's dexterity in navigating their care-full lives during remote learning offers a logic that counters stigmatized images of urban youth growing up in low-income communities (Luttrell, 2013) and discourses on learning "gaps" from students' "disengagement" during the pandemic. In the next section, I continue to explore the children's involvement in thick care networks during remote learning and how it sustained their schooling by reporting on the role of their parents and other caregivers.

Re-Signifying School Readiness: The Role of Immigrant Parents and Caregivers

Immigrant parents of Latinx descent have traditionally been portrayed in educational research and policy from a deficit lens, often being constructed as uninvolved in their children's education or as *lacking* and in need of support (Baquedano-López et al., 2013; Delgado-Gaitan, 1991). Countering this trend, recent studies indicated the structural barriers faced by immigrant parents and caregivers when navigating their children's U.S. schooling. These barriers include school staff's negative perceptions of immigrant families' backgrounds (Oliveira et al., 2021); lack of communication from the school to the home and inconsistent availability of interpreters to mediate conversations (Ramirez, 2003); and unfamiliarity with the U.S. school system and with their rights as parents (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991). Other scholars explored immigrant parents' strategies to adapt and resist school-based structures that foreclosed their full participation and membership (Carreón et al., 2005; Dyrness, 2008). This literature also showed these parents' investment in their children's TWI education (Oliveira et al., 2020; Ramos, 2007), complicating prior reports that immigrant parents follow their children's lead in changing the family language patterns toward English, thus willing to sacrifice their own ethnic languages (Fillmore, 1991).

Few studies explored how immigrant parents and families navigated their children's education during the Covid-19 pandemic and remote learning (Bruhn, 2022; Delgado, 2022). Bruhn (2022) showed that Latina immigrant mothers had to suddenly shift their roles from providers to teachers in a language that they were not fluent in and within an unfamiliar educational system. The mothers in the study also described coping with shifting responsibilities, from ensuring the physical safety of their children to managing concerns over their children's emotional well-being. In this section, I focus on the multifaceted ways in which Brazilian immigrant parents and other caregivers participated in the day-to-day implementation of remote

learning. I draw on passages of field notes where caregivers' presence was seen and/or heard in their child's virtual classroom. My analysis revealed critical ways in which Brazilian immigrant parents participated in their children's remote instruction: by ensuring that children were "ready to learn" before and throughout the school day; issuing reprimands and redirecting children's attention to their remote instruction; and regularly checking in and assisting children with tasks and technology. These findings counter discourses that frame immigrant parents as removed from their children's education and that render their contributions during remote learning invisible through narratives of immigrant children's learning loss during the pandemic (Sugarman & Lazarín, 2020).

“Pra eu ficar pronta para aprender” (So that I am ready to learn)

Immigrant parents and caregivers were an integral part of remote learning for the children in this study. In addition to major reconfigurations in care arrangements and economic labor to ensure their family members' physical safety (Bruhn, 2022), immigrant parents supported their children's participation in remote learning by caring for their physical and emotional well-being before and during instruction. In our virtual classroom visits, it was common to see Brazilian parents placing glasses of water by their children's side, offering food, fixing their children's headphones, and physically displaying affection for their children (e.g., hugs, pats on the back, caressing children's hair). As explained by the 2nd grader Laila, these daily acts of care not only had affective dimensions but also had clear educational ends: “minha mãe me deu água e aí me da vontade de ir banheiro, ela fica me dando muita comida pra eu ficar pronta para aprender” (my mother gave me water so it makes me want to go to the bathroom, she keeps giving me a lot of food so that I am ready to learn). Janaína agreed with Laila's comment in Ms. Dantas' classroom, remarking that she also needed to use the bathroom often because her mother made

her eat a lot for breakfast before their remote classes. Janaína's remark suggests that her mother's understanding of being "ready to learn" during remote learning aligned with that of Laila's mother; it meant that the child had to be physically cared for, including being well-nourished, before and throughout the school day. For both mothers, being involved in their children's education during the Covid-19 pandemic encompassed ensuring that they were "ready to learn."

The students in Ms. Pacheco's third-grade classroom were doing independent work on IReady. All microphones were on mute and the classroom was completely silent. The teacher wrote on the chat box "nice job everyone!" referring to students' progress on IReady and also the quiet atmosphere in the Google classroom. Reinaldo, who sat on a gray couch, looked fixedly at the computer screen with a bored facial expression. For a moment he closed his eyes, seeming to be almost falling asleep. He rubbed his eyes and yawned, closing his eyes for a few seconds again. Then Reinaldo's mother entered the camera frame; she placed a pillow on Reinaldo's back, propping him to sit up straight. Reinaldo fixed his posture right away and his eyes were now wide open as he looked at the computer screen (10/22/20). Along these lines, the parents of another third grader, Sandro, also participated in his remote schooling experience by ensuring his "readiness to learn" through daily acts of care. As the third graders were coming back from the lunch break, Sandro turned on his webcam and his mother was sitting by his side. She unmuted her child's microphone and asked Ms. Pacheco where she could find the upcoming activity and what Sandro was expected to do. As the afternoon progressed, his mother left the front of the computer but came back from time to time to check on him. Forty minutes before class was dismissed, as Sandro expressed to Ms. Pacheco that he did not understand her directions (given in English) for the activity--and she repeated her directions in Portuguese--the class could hear Sandro's mother ask him if he "quer comer um pãozinho" (wants to eat a little bread) (09/24/20).

The next day, as Sandro watched Ms. Gutierrez read a book about soccer in Portuguese, his father entered the camera frame to hug him (09/25/10). In later school days, we continued to see Sandro's caregivers checking in as the child attended remote learning.

Similarly, in Ms. Dantas' 2nd-grade TWI classroom, when the students were allowed to unmute themselves to say something in class (or when they forgot to mute themselves again after speaking), it was possible to hear Brazilian immigrant parents checking on their children's well-being and education. In one of Ms. Dantas' remote lessons, the mother of Luciana (1st-generation Brazilian) approached the child several times around noon to ask the child to eat lunch, even though Luciana was still in class and the lunch break for his group was after 1 PM. The mother argued emphatically "você não pode morrer de fome!" (you can't die of hunger!) (11/04/20). In a different lesson, Jairo's mother entered his bedroom as the child was working on a Jamboard activity led by Ms. Dantas. The mother caressed Jairo's hair and asked him: "você está prestando atenção, meu filho?" (are you paying attention, my son?). She then waved to Ms. Dantas and unmuted herself, addressing the teacher: "se ele não estiver fazendo direito é porque dormiu pouco ontem com esse negócio da TV" (if he isn't doing [his work] well it's because he slept little yesterday with this thing on TV) (01/28/21). Immigrant parents' active involvement in their children's remote schooling was apparent in the infrastructure they assembled that allowed the children to be "ready to learn" virtually. This included making sure that the children were well-nourished before and during remote learning, had access to--and properly used--equipment such as headphones and Chromebooks, and received academic support when needed. Twenty-two instances were documented during visits to virtual classrooms in which immigrant parents and caregivers sat by the children's side to help them through assignments. In Figure 11 below, Danielle's older sister helped the child cut up a heart shape during a Valentine's Day activity.

The sibling intervened after Danielle expressed to her teachers that she was having difficulty with this task (02/12/21).

Figure 11

Having Help with the Valentine's Day activity [Danielle]



“O que você está fazendo?” (What are you doing?): Redirection & Discipline

Immigrant parents and caregivers also regulated their children's participation in class, oftentimes asking their children to work hard(er) and pay attention in class. Ten instances were recorded in which caregivers issued reprimands in Portuguese when they perceived the children to be distracted during remote instruction. Immigrant parents and caregivers in this study created a robust infrastructure to ensure that their children were “ready to learn” during remote learning and, in turn, had high expectations for their children's in-classroom engagement. They issued reprimands when they perceived that their children were not meeting these expectations, using discipline to reinforce the need to fully engage in remote instruction and take their education seriously. For example, several students in Ms. Gutierrez's third-grade TWI classrooms were having problems with their Internet and/or connecting to the reading platform Elefante Letrado. The teacher checked her page on the platform to see who was online and called on each student that she could not see on Elefante Letrado. She asked, for example, “Ernesto, é para você entrar no Elefante Letrado, entra lá no Elefante letrado, você está jogando. O que você está fazendo?”

(Ernesto, it's for you to enter in Elefante Letrado, enter in Elefante Letrado, you're playing [online games]. What are you doing?" This prompted Ernesto's older brother to come to help the child connect to the platform (10/02/20).

In the same lesson, Derick's older brother also joined the child (unmuted) to see if he had followed the instructions. After checking Derick's computer for a few seconds, the brother said, "se você não voltar para a aula você vai ver, eu estou mandando você ir, Derick, senão... eu te digo pela última vez. Se fosse no Brasil você já tinha apanhado!" (if you don't return to class you will see, I'm telling you to go, Derick, if you don't... I'm telling you one last time. If we were in Brazil you would've already been spanked!). Ms. Gutierrez seemed alarmed by the comment and told everyone to calm down. Derick's brother connected the child to Elefante Letrado and sat close by, checking on Derick from time to time (10/02/20).

Ms. Pacheco's bilingual third-grade students were on a 5-minute screen break, but several children stayed in the Google Classroom chatting. Igor had his webcam on (unmuted mike) and walked around his living room when his mother entered the camera frame. She yelled: "senta, menino, que não estamos aqui para brincar. Aqui é para estudar!" (sit down, boy, that we're not here to play around. Here is to study!). Igor quickly returned to the computer and sat down; he responded as he walked back to the computer: "eu tô estudando, mãe, eu sei que aqui é para estudar" (I'm studying, mom, I know that here is to study). Igor's mother followed the child to the computer and asked Ms. Pacheco (who was about to resume the lesson) if Igor is doing well in his English and Portuguese (10/16/20). Other students' parents and older siblings were also heard asking, throughout remote learning and in Portuguese, for their children to pay attention, look at the teacher, do what the teacher says, turn on their webcams, and/or do the assignment.

The same occurred with the second-grade TWI students. In one of Ms. Tavares' lessons, the voices of many caregivers were heard issuing reprimands to redirect their children's attention to the virtual classroom (10/22/20). For example, Mara, a newcomer from Brazil, was sitting by the kitchen table and visibly looked at the ceiling (not at her computer) as Ms. Tavares had the children read a short text on a slide and consider its punctuation. Ms. Tavares had called on many students who were not looking at their screens, including Mara. At some point, Mara's mother entered the camera frame, saying emphatically: "O que você está fazendo que não olha para escola! Ainda bem que não estou brava hoje... aprende alguma coisa!" (what are you doing that you don't look at the school? Good thing I'm not mad today... learn something!). Mara, seeming frustrated, redirected her gaze to the computer right away. Later on, when Reinaldo was allowed to unmute his microphone and asked the teacher if he could use the bathroom, Reinaldo's mother appeared behind him and said: "O que você está fazendo? Não vai ficar indo ao banheiro, menino" (what are you doing? Don't keep going to the bathroom, boy).

Pursuing a better education for one's children and fulfilling the promise of a better future is an important rationale for migration in many immigrant families (Dreby, 2010; Fresnoza-Flot, 2013; Oliveira & Segel, 2022). Immigrant parents and families have high educational aspirations for their children upon resettlement, despite structural obstacles that have prevented youth from achieving the desired social mobility through schooling (Bartlett et al., 2018; Leo, 2021). Despite the spread of Covid-19, school closures, and the disproportionate impact of the pandemic on U.S. immigrant communities (Clark et al., 2020), young children's schooling through remote learning remained a forward-looking currency for many immigrant families (Oliveira & Segel, 2022). Throughout classroom visits during seven months of remote instruction, children's webcams

made visible the intricate ways in which Brazilian immigrant parents and other caregivers cared for their well-being and educational success.

Conclusion: Remote Learning and Children's Everyday Negotiations

This chapter aimed to describe what happened at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic and the day-to-day implementation of remote learning for the focal group of Brazilian immigrant children in this study. Through the thematic analysis of a collection of fieldnotes collected over seven months of fully remote learning, I showed how Brazilian immigrant children had to adapt to doing formal schooling while inhabiting new land- and soundscapes, navigating familial and school-based responsibilities as a continuum, as opposed to distinct and separate spheres. As children's webcams were turned on, school personnel had firsthand insight into the key role that Brazilian immigrant children played in their families' care arrangements and survival. It was also possible to see how young immigrant children creatively and playfully carved out spaces to connect with one another while drawing on the fullness of their linguistic and experiential repertoires. It was also visible how immigrant parents and other caregivers supported children's participation in class in multiple ways.

However, TWI educators' silence and hesitance around pressing issues for immigrant children's lives, seen in the two school years before the pandemic, was compounded by a new set of constraints imposed by the virtual environment. Immigrant children had to contend with rigid expectations and heightened surveillance during remote learning. On one hand, key classroom policies, such as "muted microphones," and limited social interaction affected all students' ability to meaningfully participate in class. Nevertheless, for Brazilian immigrant children specifically, remote learning significantly constrained their ability to leverage their transborder memories to participate in class, spontaneously support one another through language brokerage;

collectively engage in sensemaking on issues of immigration and im/mobility; and construct robust avenues for belonging by tapping into their complex lived experiences. On the limited occasions when the children had the opportunity to speak out in class, educators opted to strictly follow their lesson objectives. This restricted classmates' opportunities for connection and elaboration on a peer's comment. There was also little discussion about immigrant students' material conditions and pressing concerns, including worries related to the pandemic. As such, remote learning was not only negative for low-income immigrant children due to intensifying structural inequities (Sugarman & Lazarín, 2020), but also in how it shaped their day-to-day educational experience and ability to meaningfully participate in class.

The focal children, however, did not passively give in to the status quo of silence during remote learning. They demonstrated the force and creativity of their subaltern knowledge by centering caring relations in their educational lives, carving out spaces for playfulness during less teacher-supervised spaces and times, and negotiating the constraints of their virtual environments to engage in fluid language practices, including supporting one another through language brokering. Immigrant students' everyday negotiation moves during remote learning demystified the adopted teacher-centered model of instruction that stressed classroom management (Kohn, 2006) and disregarded young children's perspectives and experiences. Immigrant students' daily negotiations also created the potential to defamiliarize dominant narratives that systematically devalue care work as the private work of home, rather than work for the 'public good' that brokers educational access and participation (Lawson, 2007; Luttrell, 2013). The findings presented in this chapter also demonstrate how Brazilian immigrant children and their caregivers assembled border learning spaces (Ghisso & Campano, 2013) that built on their priorities and strategizing to ensure their children's full participation in remote learning. These border learning

spaces continue to invite TWI educators to revise school-based pedagogies to be more inclusive of the plurality of student experiences and responsive to the complex realities of their lives. The findings suggest the great need for bilingual educators to transcend language learning goals and curricular outcomes to engage with immigrant children's multidimensional identities and epistemic privilege as transborder creators, knowers, and thinkers (Gallo, 2021a).

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

THEORIZING IMMIGRANT CHILDHOODS IN TWI AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION POLICY & PRACTICE

To answer my overarching question: *How are the education experiences of a group of Brazilian immigrant children shaped by their participation in the newly-implemented TWI bilingual program(Portuguese-English) at their public elementary school?*, I have provided analyses that have discussed bilingual education as a response to waves of migrants from linguistic and cultural backgrounds that are less dominant to U.S. Euro-American groups. My analyses have also foregrounded Brazilian immigrant childhoods. The three data chapters showed how young children with varying histories of migration from Brazil leveraged their transborder knowledges, experiences, and imaginaries to implement and experience their TWI schooling, amidst school staff members' contradictory discourses and orientations. Altogether, centering children's actions and narratives in their own right as they traversed quotidian borders within the new bilingual program avoids framing their experience in terms of linear trajectories of assimilation and other measures of development along pathways to adult success (Orellana, 2009).

In contributing to understandings of the education experiences of Brazilian immigrant students, I explored children's lens of multiplicity as well as collective strategies to make space for belonging and sensemaking within the context of bilingual schooling. Both of these priorities emphasize children's position as resourceful agents of social transformation (Luttrell, 2020; Pufall & Unsworth, 2004; Orellana, 2009) as opposed to in the receiving end of assessments, curricula, and interventions. Despite immigrant students' resourcefulness that contributed to the functioning of their school and the implementation of the TWI program, my analyses show the

paradoxical relationship that the school had with bilingual immigrant children. Brazilian children were valued when needed—in their work as interpreters or when participating in class with their complex memories and knowledge—but they were not valued for themselves. TWI classroom teachers were committed to the implementation and long-term survival of the new language program for the local immigrant community and worked hard within the parameters that they could. However, at times this meant that they followed the school structure and priorities, and not their hearts.

To summarize my three findings, I first elucidated how young Brazilian immigrant pupils were critical implementers of the new TWI program at Parker Elementary through the everyday practices as language brokers and by infusing (and thus enriching) the instruction they received with narratives of transborder experiences and transnational ties. I also showed the ambivalent relationship that school personnel had with Brazilian immigrant children. Educators incorporated Brazilian cultural aspects in their teaching of Portuguese, which allowed Brazilian immigrant students to take pride and ownership over the lesson. Teachers *noticed* and valued newcomer immigrant students for bringing more Portuguese and stories from Brazil to class. In contrast, 2nd-generation immigrant students were constructed as trapped in-between languages and pinned by teachers as the ones who “unbalanced” TWI classrooms. Brazilian immigrant students were not seen by school staff members as key implementers of the TWI program. These children were also not seen by school personnel in ways that recognized the multidimensionality of their experiences and identities, especially as educators prioritized how to promote more Portuguese usage. School personnel’s descriptions of Brazilian students as bringing behavioral issues to school and the dichotomous ranking of newcomer versus second-generation immigrants indicate

the colonial logic and thinking (Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020) that undergirded perceptions and practices in the day-to-day implementation of the new language program.

Second, I documented Brazilian immigrant students' narratives about the different sides of the U.S.-Brazil *ponte aérea* co-authored in less supervised spaces of their TWI classrooms. These narratives from conversations between the children co-created subaltern knowledge, as the students shared their own and built upon one another's (hi)stories of straddling across space and time in contexts of liminality and power differences (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016). Again, immigrant students' accounts of politicized experiences were *noticed* by TWI educators, but they were not seen as a form of intelligence that connects to and can inform academic learning. TWI teachers outlined a variety of obstacles that prevented them from centering learners' transborder experiences and epistemologies in their teaching, including fear of parental pushback and their students' young age. Educators also expressed willingness to approach narratives of immigration circumscribed within the epistemological constraints of modern ideals of childhood (Arenhart, 2016). This reveals yet another layer of colonial logics and thinking that shaped the bilingual schooling that the focal cohort of Brazilian immigrant students received.

Lastly, following the ruptures engendered by the Covid-19 global pandemic, I report on Brazilian immigrant children's adaptation to remote learning vis-à-vis compounding constraints of the virtual environment and TWI educators' classroom practices. "Muted microphones" and the pervasiveness of teacher supervision restricted the children's ability to spontaneously speak in class and interact with one another on their own terms. However, similar to the pre-pandemic dynamics, students did not give in to positions as mere recipients of their education. Brazilian immigrant children drew on their play-full and care-full lives and selves to puncture through

walls of monoglossic language policies, institutional demands (including rules for virtual classroom participation), and epistemological borders during TWI remote learning.

The findings provide a nuanced portrait of the focal K-3 Brazilian immigrant students' experience before and throughout the Covid-19 pandemic. By centering childhoods and immigration when examining student experience in TWI programming, my three chapters together contribute to one main argument: TWI schooling offered bilingualism to young immigrant children at the expense of centering the complexities of their practices, identities, knowledges, and lived experiences. This argument leads me to propose an emphasis on immigrant childhoods and pedagogies of border thinking in TWI, as explained below in the remainder of this chapter.

Immigrant Childhoods in Bilingual Education

According to Valdés (2018), instructional program types that have additional language acquisition as an objective, like TWI, necessarily engage in *curricularizing* language, a process that transposes language to be a subject or skill taught through specific types of curricula. This process is framed by theoretical mechanisms, ideologies, and conceptualizations of language. Conceptualizations of language, though often unstated and assumed to be uncontested, influence educational stakeholders' views on what it means to learn or know a language, and thus impact language instruction in important ways. In her analysis of intersecting mechanisms involved in the curricularization of language in TWI, Valdés (2018) pointed out that current visions of TWI seem to be out of sync with: “(a) contemporary conceptualizations of language, (b) theoretical perspectives on the development of language practices and resources, (c) understandings of bi/multilingualism as a human condition, and (d) the importance of ideological positions on both pedagogies and assessments” (p. 404). As such, TWI curriculum and instruction appear to be

undergirded by traditional language-as-subject approaches, thus advocating for explicit teaching, positioning native-like proficiency to be the goal, and compartmentalizing named languages.

When TWI programs are guided by a conceptualization of language as a transparent tool for rational thinking, neutral communication of factual information, and description of stable reality, they run the risk of ignoring the flesh-and-blood individuals in classrooms doing the learning (Kramsch, 2009). From this traditional perspective and conceptualization of language, children are positioned as mere recipients of language (Freire, 2018). In contrast, a focus on immigrant childhoods (Orellana, 2009) in TWI would allow us to recognize that minoritized children are active interpreters and inventors of culture and that they should be viewed (and taught in classrooms) for who they are in the here-and-now, in their own terms (Luttrell, 2020). Bi/multilingual immigrant children bring to TWI classrooms varying degrees of bilingualism along a continuum (Grosjean, 2010; García, 2009) and a range of complex (hi)stories, ancestral ways of knowing, memories, imaginaries, and emotions that should guide TWI curricula and implementation. Therefore, foregrounding immigrant childhoods does not exclude language teaching; instead, it requires a more expansive orientation to language as the means to construct the historical sedimentation of meanings that we call our “selves” and that is deeply intertwined with affective resonances and subjective responses in our bodies (Kramsch, 2009). This vision for bilingual education centers the lives of immigrant students, in which language use/learning is but one complex and important entanglement, as opposed to the “subject” of language in TWI.

In light of the contemporary neoliberal influences in education, children’s value has been assigned conditionally based on their ability to measure up in school (Luttrell, 2020). Similarly, in TWI programs in recent years, minoritized children’s value is typically assigned conditionally based on their ability to learn and produce language, oftentimes to the benefit of other students

from dominant backgrounds (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Valdés, 1997). A focus on childhoods in TWI attunes teachers to children's inherent value. It compels educators to critically listen to and learn from, for example, young learners' lens of multiplicity (Gallo, 2021a) and from their insights and practices developed from inhabiting positions as both insider and outsider at the same time, or from straddling across expectations and belief systems (Carter, 2005; Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; García-Sánchez, 2014). In the next sections, I continue to elaborate upon this childhood-based vision for TWI education as well as the implications of this study for teaching and program practice, policy and teacher education, and current and future research.

Implications for Teaching & Program Practice: Border Thinking Pedagogies in TWI

Elaborating on the previous section, a focus on language-as-subject (Valdés, 2018) in two-way immersion programs generates several risks. It erases antiracism and the Chicano/civil rights fight for bilingual education from the day-to-day of classrooms (Chávez-Moreno, 2018). In this study, this focus created contradictory dynamics of in/visibility in classrooms where immigrant students had to *carve out* spaces for their sensemaking and meaningful connection. That is, the children's multifaceted and fluid transborder practices (such as language brokering, sharing memories and stories, and collectively considering issues of documentation status) were not intentionally supported by the pedagogical practices enacted in the TWI program. This indicates the need for pedagogies of border thinking (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016) in TWI programming, or pedagogies that center the subaltern knowledge that young immigrant learners embody. A pedagogy of border thinking is aimed at giving immigrant students the opportunity to recognize and cultivate their knowledges, critically examine their realities vis-à-vis power asymmetries, and develop identities as agents of change (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016).

Pedagogical practices and approaches that can contribute to a border pedagogy can be and have been applied within the constraints of U.S. schools, and examples can be found in the research literature in the context of secondary education (Abu El-Haj, 2015; Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Dabach, 2015; de los Rios & Molina, 2020). These key studies with adolescents highlight the possibilities of classroom practices that support youth in challenging discourses of exclusion, develop critical awareness and political engagement, and incorporate the collective experiences and cultural and linguistic resources of minoritized communities. Border pedagogies in early childhood and elementary education contexts, however, become elusive, as these settings are frequently “plagued with niceties” that may prevent educators from fostering and sustaining young learners’ civic participation (Brownell, 2022).

I argue that a vital border pedagogical practice to be incorporated in elementary TWI settings is to critically listen to immigrant children (Palmer et al., 2019), which entails adopting a *need-to-know-more* stance towards children as knowing subjects (Luttrell, 2010, 2020). The TWI teachers in this study “heard” immigrant children’s conversations about their politicized lived experiences. Under the neoliberal conditions that U.S. public schools operate, with top-down accountability measures and scripted curricula, educators’ listening abilities are frequently skewed to “listen for” visible markers of achievement (Yoon & Templeton, 2019). In the focal program, TWI educators were concerned about which language, English or Portuguese, their young students were using in the classroom—they attended to language but did not *listen to* the children. Searching for openings in the curricula to critically listen to young immigrant students’ experiential knowledges may create rich opportunities to leverage students’ politicized funds of knowledge for academic learning (Gallo & Link, 2015).

A focus on childhoods, as opposed to language-as-subject, compels TWI teachers to dedicate time and effort to developing caring and trust-based relationships with their immigrant students in order to create learning environments of safety and belonging (Lowenhaupt et al., 2021). Grounded on caring relationships of *confiança* (trust), TWI educators can facilitate small group discussions with intentional student grouping to increase safety of sharing transborder experiences (Gallo & Link, 2015). TWI teachers can also propose writing assignments and lead classroom discussions in careful, respectful ways that invite young learners to draw on their knowledge about immigration based on their life experiences, allowing them to provide insights and nuances as political actors (Durán & Aguilera, 2022). There is also great potential in the praxis of art and healing, which creates possibilities for restoration by allowing young children to process their emotions and reimagine destructive situations with creative solutions (Vega, 2023).

Furthermore, TWI educators can craft assignments and promote group conversations that tap into immigrant students' consciousness of contradiction, a characteristic of the diaspora (Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020), and thus cultivate a critical awareness of determining conditions that shape their lives. For instance, in this study, Brazilian immigrant children frequently spoke about *saudade* (nostalgic longing) of loved ones physically in Brazil in narratives that expressed awareness of the constraints imposed by undocumented status. As such, bilingual educators can problematize the inequalities embedded in feelings of *saudade* for students and families with various degrees of transnational mobility. Disparities in immigration status lead some to be able to resolve feelings of *saudade* through visits to Brazil and physically being with loved ones, while others have to resort to creative means to express love and affection for family members from afar (Lima Becker, 2021). Through critical dialogue around *saudade*, young learners could

have the space to discuss how power works to create the marginalization (and restrict mobility) of certain groups and name unequal conditions that shape their lives and childhoods.

Implications for Policy and Teacher Education

Inequalities in the education experiences of young immigrant children have been shaped by policies, programs, and practices that continue to marginalize students and their knowledges (DeNicolo et al., 2017). Teacher education is an important locus for change in order to interrupt longstanding educational hierarchies, practices, and programmatic priorities. In the preparation of bilingual education teachers, especially for members of minoritized groups who go through K-12 schooling in the U.S., as is the case of some teachers in this study, it is important to reckon with long histories of linguistic and racial discrimination and language shame and loss in their formal schooling (Guerrero, 2003; Sarmiento-Arribalzaga & Murilo, 2010; Winstead & Wang, 2017). The livelihoods and education of immigrants in the U.S. have been at the epicenter of a contested political landscape (Gonzales et al., 2020); a situation that has worsened with the rise of neo-nationalism/nativism (Stacey, 2021), revived and amplified by the Trump campaigns and presidency (Haynes, 2021). As such, immigrant students and families in today's classrooms have to navigate racialized systems that enact increasingly harsher enforcement practices, including deportation-based immigration practices (Gallo & Link, 2015). As such, teacher education must provide spaces grounded on healing pedagogies for minoritized teachers to process their histories shaped by racialized systems that continue to harm students and families (Sarmiento-Arribalzaga & Murilo, 2010). Additionally, the preparation of Brazilian and other Latin American teachers in the US should also give them opportunities to engage in translanguaging as an identity-affirming practice and as a pedagogical tool that breaks linguistic hierarchies and fosters deeper student engagement in the learning process (Ek & Chávez, 2015; Musanti & Rodríguez, 2017). Partaking

in culturally sustaining experiences, such as writing autobiographies and counterstories, can also be used in bilingual teacher education to promote ideological clarity and mediate teacher agency (Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017).

Bilingual teacher education should also prepare prospective and in-service teachers to be border crossers (Gallo & Link, 2016). This means going beyond preparing teachers to support students' bilingualism and biliteracy in TWI programming, working to promote educators' deep understanding of their own role in and responsibility to schools and to the broader community of students and families that they serve (Lowenhaupt et al., 2021). This approach also highlights the importance of teacher educators and teacher preparation courses to explore issues of difference due to immigration status (Gallo & Link, 2016). All students and schools are impacted by the inequalities engendered by immigration status and policies (Ee & Gândara, 2019), which stresses the need to breach the norm of silence around issues of immigration and illegality in classrooms (Dabach, 2015). Thus, preparing bilingual educators as border crossers tasks teacher education with the creation of spaces where teachers at both the preservice and in-service stages engage in critical reflection of and inquiry into the intersections of immigration status and schooling (Gallo & Link, 2016). Moreover, preparing TWI teachers as border crossers means humanizing young students in their multidimensional identities, experiences, and childhoods. As such, teacher education has a role in problematizing and interrupting essentializing practices grounded on colonial logic and thinking, including that of classifying minoritized students as bringing behavioral issues to school and splitting immigrant children along the lines of un/balancing TWI instruction and thus program implementation. Border-crossing bilingual teacher education should also be geared toward empowering educators on their path to advocacy and leadership. This may include practices in teacher education coursework such as opening spaces for reflexive praxis, or

cultivating teachers' ability to reflect on their own and others' experiences of marginalization, which can fuel action to change systems of oppression; building professional networks to advocate for change; and leveraging teachers' narratives concerning their lives as students, tying professional and personal identities (Palmer, 2018).

While teacher preparation and professional development initiatives are important spaces to reimagine and work towards a holistic focus on childhoods, as opposed to prioritizing language-as-subject in TWI, changes in policy are also essential in dismantling inequalities in the education experiences of minoritized students. Fostering critical consciousness as a core goal of TWI programming (Alfaro, 2019; Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2019) is a crucial avenue to decenter programmatic attempts to deliver equity through language (Chávez-Moreno, 2018). Critical consciousness involves understanding the role of power in the historical, cultural, and societal structures that sustain oppression (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017). It also encompasses a readiness to take action against such oppression through interrogating power, critical listening, historicizing schools, and embracing pedagogies of discomfort (Palmer et al., 2019). In TWI policy and practice, critical consciousness entails the explicit and continued interrogation of all stakeholders' positions, privilege, and power, including students, parents, teachers, and school leaders (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017). Infusing critical consciousness in the policies, pedagogies, and leadership of TWI programs presents the potential for all stakeholders to better maintain a focus on equity (Palmer et al., 2019). As such, the effects of power relations in TWI education—including the continued hegemony of English, the subalternization of young immigrant students' knowledges, and the invisibility of their contributions to TWI program implementation—should be explicitly considered when making programmatic and policy decisions.

In TWI programs with minoritized languages other than Spanish, there are exacerbated asymmetries (Amrein & Peña, 2000) that require specific policy considerations. Perceptions of the (lack of) utility of languages like Portuguese, compounded by the association of minoritized languages with high levels of immigration into the local community, may further marginalize minoritized students and heighten tensions in the implementation of a new language program (Oliveira et al., 2020). The hegemony of the English language in the larger sociopolitical context feeds into the challenges reported by school and district officials to recruit well-prepared bilingual education teachers in a minoritized language other than Spanish. Additionally, while teachers in Spanish-English bilingual classrooms have been documented to perform additional, unpaid duties in comparison to their counterparts in the general education strand (Amos, 2016), these dynamics are also exacerbated in programs with official languages other than Spanish. One key tension and source of burnout for the Brazilian bilingual educators in this study was the lack of resources for TWI programs in languages other than Spanish, which significantly increased their workload. From the inception of the program, there were no curricular materials available in Portuguese nor assessments, mentor texts, or books for classroom libraries. Brazilian bilingual teachers had to create and/or translate everything from scratch. These compounded dynamics may have placed added barriers to educators' ability to listen to their students and incorporate the unique forms of knowledge that Brazilian immigrant children brought to school daily.

As such, for the implementation of TWI programs in languages that are less dominant or perceived as less "useful" to U.S. Euro-American groups, policies are needed that increase the allocation of resources to these programs. There is also a need for policies that urge teachers and leaders to take on the responsibility to learn about the culture and the community of the students they serve (Espinoza et al., 2021). This learning process must be accompanied by an assets-based

framing of immigrant communities (Lowenhaupt & Hopkins, 2020) and geared toward the enactment of humanizing school-based practices that sustain communities' knowledge and ways of being (Paris, 2012). It is also crucial that TWI program policies encourage bilingual teachers' social justice advocacy for their students and communities as well as support these educators in enacting more holistic bilingual identities (Venegas-Weber, 2018) and drawing on their cultural intuitions and lived experiences as immigrants.

Implications for Research

According to Cervantes-Soon and colleagues (2017), "child-centered studies are central to inform critical consciousness, particularly ones that consider children's lives in the present moment, the shaping of identities, and the subaltern knowledges in TWI classrooms" (p. 420). Yet, bilingual education research has often emphasized the programmatic impacts of TWI on students' academic achievement and language acquisition. This study contributes to Cervantes-Soon and others' call through its theoretical and methodological groundings. Firstly, anchoring this study on critical childhoods contributes to bilingual education research by demonstrating how a holistic focus on childhoods—and learning from children on their own terms—offer explanatory power when investigating education experiences in TWI programs. Additionally, grounded in this overarching commitment to childhoods, I drew on a framework that gathered concepts from varying scholarly traditions, tracing synergies across studies on care, space, and place; decolonial transborder approaches and politicized funds of knowledge; and understandings of inequality from the Global South. By refraining from using developmental frames or measures of (academic or linguistic) achievement, my research contributes to strengthening the analysis of children's education experiences through the juxtaposition of socioculturally grounded lenses.

Methodologically, this project also provides contributions to bilingual education research and inquiry at the nexus of immigration and schooling. The decisions to foreground the practices, narratives, and themes approached in the findings chapters were based on sustained, long-term engagement with various stakeholders, including young children, parents, TWI educators, and other school and district personnel. Following participants across time and space, in physical and virtual classrooms, allowed me to witness young children's creative responses to their social situation in real-time (Goffman, 1989). This included how they navigated conflicting messages in the bilingual program, longstanding silences around pressing issues in their lives, and the unprecedented ruptures brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic. Thus, the study adds to the field by generating a nuanced portrait of the education experiences of Brazilian immigrant children rooted in extensive time and consistency. Additionally, this research deployed a range of methods of data collection that centered on what the children did as they went about their everyday lives in the TWI program. This included participant observations, conversations with the children in their classrooms, interviews with the adults in their lives, and classroom written assignments. These methodological decisions allowed the documentation of immigrant children's contributions, relationships, and co-construction of subaltern knowledge in TWI classrooms, during but also beyond formal moments of instruction.

Given that this research's implications call for TWI programs to have a broader, more holistic focus on childhoods and not settle for bilingualism/biliteracy as the primary goal, bilingual education scholarship must push for subalternized epistemologies to be centered (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016). This is crucial for bilingual education to not be practiced as a watered-down multicultural education in the minoritized language (Chávez-Moreno, 2018). To promote bilingual curricula and instruction that is based on minoritized students' full-ness and

(hi)stories and toward critical consciousness, bilingual education research has to consider power asymmetries and domination dynamics that linger in TWI programs that serve racially/ethnically diverse student populations. Research needs to uncover institutional practices, systems of thought, and discourse logics—or grammars (Calderon, 2014)—that perpetuate colonial ideologies in TWI programs, maintaining the invisibility and subalternization of minoritized students and their knowledge in schools. For example, teaching for critical consciousness and human connection requires the troubling of silence around immigration (Gallo & Link, 2015; 2016) or the insistence on “positive” immigration narratives in elementary education settings. It also requires that “neutral” language-based activities (e.g., verbal conjugation worksheets), and whitestream curricula, are decentered for all students. Further investigation can also contribute toward equitable bilingual education by looking into how teachers can create curricula that center immigrant students’ narratives and perspectives, including their immigration experiences. To this end, bilingual education researchers can collaborate with young children and families to develop new content, based on communities’ transborder experiences (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Espinoza et al., 2021).

To conclude, the main objective of this dissertation was to explore how young Brazilian immigrant children experience their education in a TWI program. I argue for the *visibility* of children’s contributions as TWI implementers, the *listening* to their co-creation of subalternized knowledge in the margins, and the *learning with* the creative force that infused children’s moves when making space for the fullness of lives in formal bilingual schooling. Immigrant children occupy a precarious position in relation to harsh immigration practices and policies implemented in the U.S. and to the perpetuation of subtractive schooling for minoritized students, which highlights the importance for scholars to study how experiences of immigration affect younger

children and their formal education. This study elucidated the contradictory relationship schools have with young bilingual immigrant children and how these students navigated these tensions and carved out spaces for their transborder practices and knowledge. This complex and nuanced portrait generated evidence that can lead to practices and policies that disrupt dynamics of invisibility and inequitable perceptions and outcomes. My scholarship points to the potential of seeing minoritized young children as social agents of change in their fullness and brilliance. It stresses the possibilities for present and future scholarship and teaching practice of recognizing and leveraging children as the uncontested experts and most powerful storytellers of their own experiences.

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Appendix A

Students in the TWI Program Between August 2018 – March 2021

Child Pseudonym	Year 1 Program Status	Year 2 Program Status	Year 3 Program Status [REMOTE]	Sex	Immigrant Generation
Bianca	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]		F	1st generation
Tabatah*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	2nd generation
Ana Maria	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	1st generation
Luluca	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Maria Paula	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	2nd generation
Kelly	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]		F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Letícia	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	2nd generation
Marcela	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Brenda*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	1st generation
Eduardo	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	2nd generation
Dorival*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]		M	2nd generation
Sandro	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	2nd generation
Jorge	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	1st generation
William*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	non-Brazilian
Jason*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	2nd generation
Danilo	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	2nd generation
Igor	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	1st generation
Aiden	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	non-Brazilian
Reinaldo	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	Newcomer (1st generation)
Hugo	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]			M	Newcomer (1st generation)
Ubaldo*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]			M	2nd generation
Lavínea*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]			F	1st generation
Becca*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]			F	non-Brazilian
Getúlio*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]			M	1st generation
Mackenzie	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	non-Brazilian

Janet	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	non-Brazilian
Kendra*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	2nd generation
Valentina	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	2nd generation
Paloma	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Nathalia	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Rachel*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	non-Brazilian
Talia	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	1st generation
Deborah	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	non-Brazilian
Melody*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	non-Brazilian
Bettina	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	non-Brazilian
Patricia	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	1st generation
Beatriz	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	1st generation
Homero	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]		M	Newcomer (1st generation)
Sean	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	non-Brazilian
Nilson	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	1st generation
Paulo	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	2nd generation
Valter	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	1st generation
Jeremias*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	2nd generation
Derick	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	1st generation
Catarine*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]			F	1st generation
Jacob*	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]			M	2nd generation
Larissa	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	2nd generation
Tanya	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	2nd generation
Marina	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	2nd generation
Amelia*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	non-Brazilian
Janaína	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	1st generation
Vanessa	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	2nd generation
Laila	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	2nd generation
Marisa	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	2nd generation
Ava	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	non-Brazilian
Benita	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	2nd generation
Caique*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	M	2nd generation

Cory	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	M	non-Brazilian
Erick	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	M	2nd generation
Henrique	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	M	2nd generation
Geraldo*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]		M	2nd generation
Silvio	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	1st generation
Jared*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]		M	2nd generation
José	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	1st generation
Christopher	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	non-Brazilian
Jamerson*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]			M	2nd generation
Carrie*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]			F	non-Brazilian
Walter*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]			M	non-Brazilian
Narciso	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Leite]			M	2nd generation
Fabiana	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	2nd generation
Carolina*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	2nd generation
Eliana	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	1st generation
Luciana	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	1st generation
Fabiola*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	2nd generation
Mia*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]		F	2nd generation
Antônia	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	2nd generation
Danielle	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	1st generation
Sosha*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]		F	non-Brazilian
Ellen	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	non-Brazilian
Fátima	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	1st generation
Mirela*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	2nd generation
Tiago*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	2nd generation
Samuel	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	M	2nd generation
Fabiano	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	2nd generation
Anderson	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	non-Brazilian
Pablo*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	M	2nd generation
Murilo	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	1st generation
Leandro*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	M	1st generation
Evan	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	non-Brazilian

Nelson	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	M	2nd generation
Darci	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]	Active [1st Grade, Ms. Matos]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	M	2nd generation
Sérgio*	Active [Kindergarten, Ms. Toledo]			M	1st generation
Felicia*		Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Beto		Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	2nd generation
Nico		Active [1st Grade, Ms. Duarte]	Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	M	1st generation
Ernesto		Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	Newcomer (1st generation)
Natan		Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	Newcomer (1st generation)
Bruno*		Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	1st generation
Dário		Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	Newcomer (1st generation)
Janice			Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Mara			Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Sandoval			Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	M	1st generation
Jairo			Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	1st generation
Gisella			Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Tavares]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Túlio			Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	Newcomer (1st generation)
Carlos			Active [2 nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	M	2nd generation
James*			Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	2nd generation
Ernani*			Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	1st generation
Diogo*			Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	2nd generation
Valéria*			Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Bernardo*			Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	M	2nd generation
Petúnia*			Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Pacheco]	F	1st generation
Lucimere*			Active [3rd Grade, Ms. Gutierrez]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Gianna*			Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	Newcomer (1st generation)
Marta*			Active [2nd Grade, Ms. Dantas]	F	2nd generation

* Students whose data were not included in the findings chapters.

Appendix B

TWI School Staff Members Interview Protocol

Background Information:

Name:

Gender:

Ethnicity:

Languages spoken:

Age:

Years working at the school:

Residence:

Number of children:

Education:

Current position:

General Questions:

1. What was your occupation prior to working at the school?
2. How long have you been working as a XXX?
3. What have been the biggest challenges and rewards?
4. What are your thoughts about your training for this position?

Language and School

5. How familiar are you with language programs in schools?
6. What was your role or contribution in the implementation of this program?
7. How do you think immigrant populations may experience school in the US?
8. How do you think a language program affects or not this experience?
9. What were/are some of your reservations regarding this particular language program?
10. How do you think your training has/has not helped you?
11. How will this program change or not change school culture?
12. What are the advantages of having a program like this housed at this school?
13. Who do you think will benefit the most?

Immigration and Education

14. How do you think the current national discussion of immigration affects your community?
15. What have you considered to be the biggest hardships for immigrants in the US?
16. How do you think public schools should think about immigration and education in the US?
17. Whose responsibility is it to assure everyone is getting access to schools?
18. What would you envision your school doing in the years to come in order to participate in the national discussion of immigration and education?

Parental Involvement

19. How involved are parents here at the school?
20. Have you noticed a pattern of when involvement is higher versus lower?
21. Is there a difference in how parents participate in school depending on background?
22. What do you consider to be an active/productive participation of parents?
23. Are there cultural practices that you consider important in parental involvement?

Student Experience

24. In your experience when do students learn best?
25. How can language programs impact this learning?
26. What are some of the variables that contribute to good/not so good school experience?
 - a. Can you name them? Can you rank them?
27. Can you tell me a case of a student of immigrant background that was in your class or under your counsel?
28. What are some of the best practices you have encountered for students of immigrant background to learn?
29. How do you think monolingual students will experience schooling this year?
30. What are your hopes and dreams for how students are taught in schools?