Leading Dual Language Immersion in Catholic Elementary Schools

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LEADING DUAL LANGUAGE IMMERSION IN
CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Dissertation by
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of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

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Carrie Fuller

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While the academic and social success of two-way immersion programs in the public school sector is widely documented, little research has been conducted on how US Catholic school leaders have managed this whole school reform. Through an exploratory case study, the motivations and perceptions of 28 Catholic school administrators and change agents/key informants (including teachers, assistant/vice principals, board members, and consultants) from ten Catholic elementary schools were interviewed regarding the conversion to a dual language immersion model. Findings considered how Hargreaves and Fullan’s (2012) concept of professional capital and Grace’s (2002; 2010) notion of spiritual capital contributed to the leaders’ capacity to meet the school’s change needs. Most schools began with limited resources and knowledge about the technical aspects of dual language immersion, but made use of key local and national social networks as well as drew upon their own biographies and Catholic vision to increase enrollment and engender professional learning among faculty. Implications for future research and practice include attention to the nuances of academic excellence and the complex language history of Catholic schools. The study concludes with recommendations for Catholic school principals.
Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father, Thomas J. Fuller. It was his encouragement, especially in the last 6 months of his life, that inspired me to finish this project at nights and on the weekends. His lifelong commitment to learning, his humility and drive to serve the world and make it a more just and loving place provided motivation to me at every turn. His sincere interest in both my research and my work as a principal was evident each time we spoke on the T to Boston College or during my morning commute to All Souls. He always wanted another doctor in the family and now he has one! Rest in peace, Dad. I love you.
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I also am so thankful for all the people at the Roche Center for Catholic Education, and in particular, those who developed and have sustained the Two Way Immersion Network-Catholic Schools (TWIN-CS). My many conversations with Martin Scanlon and Patty Weitzel-O’Neill regarding innovation, Catholic schools, and dual language immersion were the impetus for this research. Their genuine, passionate dedication to Catholic education as well as their enthusiastic support of my leadership and continued learning are unsurpassed. I’m definitely a better researcher and leader with Lauri, Andy, Maria, Martin, and Patty as thought partners and mentors. Thank you.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION
- Rationale ............................................................................................................. 1
- Research Questions ................................................................................................. 6
- Biography of the Researcher and Motivation for the Study ........................................ 6
- Introduction to Theoretical Framework ...................................................................... 18
- Purpose of Catholic Schools and Role of Catholic School Principals ......................... 19
- Overview of the Study ............................................................................................... 25

## CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE
- Catholic Schools: Context and Challenge .................................................................. 26
- Success of Catholic Schooling in Serving Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students .......................................................................................................................... 30
- Challenges and Opportunities for Serving Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students .......................................................................................................................... 34
- New Approaches: Catholic Dual Language Schooling ................................................ 36
- Dual Language Education ............................................................................................ 39
- Success of Dual Language Programs ........................................................................... 41
- Challenges within Dual Language Programs .................................................................. 44
- Dual Language School Leadership .............................................................................. 51
- Catholic School Leadership .......................................................................................... 53
- Strengths of Catholic School Leadership ...................................................................... 53
- Challenges in Catholic School Leadership ..................................................................... 59
- Opportunities for Catholic School Leadership ............................................................ 62
- School Change and Leadership .................................................................................... 65
- Fundamental Change .................................................................................................... 65
- Change as Process ......................................................................................................... 66
- Change Leadership ......................................................................................................... 67
- Theoretical Framework .................................................................................................. 69
- Professional Capital ...................................................................................................... 69
- Summary and Implications ............................................................................................ 73

## CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN
- Research Questions ..................................................................................................... 75
- Qualitative Research .................................................................................................... 76
- Single Qualitative Case Study ....................................................................................... 77
- Timeline of Data Collection ........................................................................................ 79
- Research Participants and Recruitment ....................................................................... 80
- Study Context ................................................................................................................ 81
- Data Sources ................................................................................................................ 83
- Data Analysis ................................................................................................................ 86
- Validity, Reliability, and Confronting Bias ................................................................. 88
- Limitations ....................................................................................................................... 90
# CHAPTER 4: THE CONTEXT
School Overviews and Principal Biographies ......................................................... 93

# CHAPTER 5: NAVIGATING THE CHANGE

**Theme One: The Market** .......................................................................................... 122
- Considering the Mission of Catholic Schools and Market Forces ...................... 122
- Taking An Entrepreneurial Approach .................................................................. 129
- Challenges and Opportunities to an Entrepreneurial Approach ......................... 132

**Theme Two: The Profession** .................................................................................. 137
- Developing the Dual Language Program in the School ...................................... 137
- Developing the School’s Presence in the Community ........................................ 144
- Strains on Program Development ...................................................................... 163
- Seeing Improvement over Time .......................................................................... 173

**Theme Three: The Mission** .................................................................................. 186
- Embracing One’s Own and the School’s Catholic Identity .................................. 186

# CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

**Mutual Positive Influence of Mission and Dual Language Immersion Programming** ............................................................................................................................. 195
**Dual Language Immersion as Lean Start Up—Yes and No** .................................. 200
**Building Professional Capital in the Schools** ..................................................... 205
- Networks as Key Source of Human and Social Capital ..................................... 207
- Social Capital Undermined by High Turnover .................................................. 211
**Vital Addition of Spiritual Capital to Professional Capital** .................................. 211
**Embracing an Inspiring, Morally Engaging, and Catholic Mission** ..................... 215
**Addressing Financial and Contextual Adversity** ............................................... 216
- Understanding the Catholic Context .................................................................. 219

**Implications for Future Research** ......................................................................... 220
- Listen to Divergent Views and Include More Stakeholders ................................. 220
**Research Dual Language Strand Programs as They Transition to Whole**
  School Programs .................................................................................................... 221
**Implications for Practice** ..................................................................................... 222
- Pay Attention to Teacher Workload ...................................................................... 223
- Acknowledge the Full Language History in Catholic Schools and Develop a
  Critical Consciousness ...................................................................................... 224
- Gather Data but Foster a Nuanced Stance Towards Academic Excellence .......... 227
**Build Regional Collaboration** ............................................................................ 228
**Seek Increased Support from the Archdiocese/Diocese** ...................................... 229
**Recommendations for Catholic School Principals** ........................................... 230
- Be Bold but Be Prepared ..................................................................................... 230
- Consider Faculty and Staff Emotions, Backgrounds, and Capabilities .............. 232
**Celebrate Your Catholic Identity** .......................................................................... 233

**Conclusion** ............................................................................................................. 233
REFERENCES .............................................................................................................. 235

APPENDICES ........................................................................................................... 256
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Rationale

More than 50% of the world’s population is bilingual and use two languages on a daily basis (Grosjean, 2010). Twenty percent of the U.S. population or 55.4 million people speak a language other than English at home. Moreover, 44% of the US student population are from minority ethnic backgrounds and half of these students (22% of the total student population) are Latino (de Jong, 2011). As more immigrant youth and their families enter the U.S. and second-generation immigrant populations continue to rise, schools must respond to the unique needs of these students (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008) as well as foster cross-cultural competence and global awareness for all students, parents, and teachers.

There are no nationwide statistics describing the number of linguistic minorities Catholic schools serve in the United States. However, non-White students comprise 20.3% of the Catholic school population and 16.1% of Catholic school students are Hispanic/Latino (McDonald & Schultz, 2015). Undoubtedly, inner-city Catholic schools, particularly elementary schools, serve an even greater number of ethnic, racial, and linguistic minority students. For example, O’Keefe, Greene, Henderson, Connors, Goldschmidt, & Schervish’s (2004) study of 384 inner-city Catholic schools in 2001 revealed that these schools served 73% minority students and nearly 26% non-Catholic students. A small follow up unpublished study (Sustaining the Legacy II) conducted in 2009 found a national sample of 73 Catholic urban elementary schools served 81% students of color (Ariemma, Fuller, & Morton, 2010). Nonetheless, while Latinos make up 32% of the Catholic population, only 3% of Latino families have children in Catholic schools (Notre
Dame Task Force, 2009). This report suggests there are abundant opportunities to enroll more Latino students in Catholic schools.

Schools must address cultural, linguistic, and financial factors as they seek to recruit Latino and other culturally and linguistically diverse students. Unfortunately, Latino families do not always feel welcome in Catholic schools, can feel ashamed of asking for financial assistance (Suhy, 2012), or simply feel Catholic schools are too expensive (Guzman, Palacios, & Deliyannides, 2012). Principals have noted a lack of bilingual outreach materials (Notre Dame Task Force, 2009). On the other hand, some initiatives are in place to focus on the recruitment of Latino students in Catholic schools and these efforts seem to be working. Boston’s Catholic Schools Foundation Hispanic Recruitment Initiative claims that Latino enrollment in Boston Catholic schools increased by 25% from 2008-2012 (http://www.catholicnews.com/services/englishnews/2013/boston-s-hispanic-student-recruitment-initiative-seen-as-national-model.cfm).

Historically Catholic schools have been acknowledged for their high academic quality and their particular success with minority, immigrant, and urban youth, as well as for their spiritual and moral commitments (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Greeley, 1982; Irvine & Foster, 1996; Litton, Martin, Higareda, & Mendoza, 2010; Louie & Holloway, 2009). Still, the dearth of economic resources and changing urban demographics have threatened urban Catholic school sustainability as numerous schools have closed and others are fighting to remain afloat (O’Keefe, 2012; O’Keefe & Scheopner, 2009). Despite a variety of localized efforts to increase Catholic school enrollment for minority and low-income students, there has been an overall steady decrease in Catholic schools in urban areas. From 2005 to 2015, 19.3% of Catholic elementary schools located in the 12 largest urban dioceses closed (McDonald & Schultz, 2015). At the
same time, public school choice options have been widening and competition across sectors in urban areas is becoming more acute (Ravitch, 2010). Consequently, in order to maintain the viability of urban Catholic schools, the quest for a strong Catholic identity (Cook & Simonds, 2011; Heft, 2011; Martin, 2012), evidence of high academic quality (Ozar & Weitzel-O’Neill, 2012), and innovative approaches to programming and financing (Goldschmidt & Walsh, 2011; McCloskey, 2010) have become urgent.

The question remains as to what extent urban Catholic schools have embraced innovative strategies to meet the needs of today’s schoolchildren in a competitive school marketplace. One such approach has been “niche programming,” such as dual language immersion, that helps “schools to stand out among their peers by highlighting a unique strength.” These programs have “the potential to draw the attention of prospective students and parents who would not otherwise have chosen that school. In addition to enrollment benefits, specialized programming can provide an additional revenue source” (Goldschmidt & Walsh, 2011, p. 38). Indeed, dual language immersion in a Catholic school context deserves attention given the research affirming the benefits of effective dual language programs for all students involved (Lindholm-Leary, 2001) and its congruence with Catholic social teaching (Scanlan & Zehrbach, 2010).

One way to create more welcoming environments in Catholic schools for linguistic minority students is through the two-way immersion (TWI) model of schooling (Scanlan & Zehrbach, 2010). A recent report stated that Two-Way Immersion is the “ideal” academic culture for schools serving a predominately Hispanic population (Ospino & Weitzel-O’Neill, 2016). Two-Way Immersion or TWI is one type of dual language program where native English speakers and native speakers of the partner language come together for “most or all of the day and receive content and literacy instruction through both English” and the partner language (de
Jong, 2011). For the purposes of this research, dual language will be used to indicate one way or two-way immersion programs since this project does not include a discussion of any other type of language programs such as Transitional Bilingual Education or pull out second language instruction. Dual language immersion is a form of bilingual education with three “essential features” or interrelated goals as outlined by de Jong (2011) and others:

1) high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy
2) grade-level academic achievement, or academic excellence
3) cross-cultural, or multicultural competences

This is an additive model because it “build[s] on and extend[s] students’ existing language competencies and aim[s] to broaden students’ multilingual linguistic repertoire” (de Jong, 2011, p.109). Instead of trying to erase or replace one’s heritage language with English, the two-way immersion model sees multilingualism as an asset.

Making the case for the appropriateness of TWI in Catholic schools, Scanlan & Zehrbach (2010) explain:

The goals of TWI—academic excellence, bilingualism, and cross-cultural relationships—are congruent with [the values of Catholic social teaching]. By promoting academic growth and bilingualism, TWI places value on the dignity of each individual learner. By helping students develop skills to navigate and build relationships across culturally and linguistically diverse communities, TWI promotes the common good. By effectively serving a population of students who have traditionally been marginalized in schools, namely students with limited English proficiency, TWI demonstrates a preferential option for the marginalized (p.76).

Indeed, other scholars have affirmed a clear link between the goals of two-way immersion
education and the inclusive goals of Catholic schools. They posit that not only are Catholic TWI schools a possible way for Catholic schools to serve marginalized populations, providing an innovative program may boost enrollment and provide operational vitality to a struggling system (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 2013; Fraga, 2016; Ospino & Weitzel- O’Neill, 2016).

Catholic dual language schools are relatively new (starting in 1999) in the U.S. educational landscape and are small in number (around 18 are currently in existence in the United States). Still, this model of education is growing in the Catholic sector (www.twincs.org). While the academic and social success of two-way immersion programs in the public school sector is widely documented, many studies focus on a single measure of success, namely test scores, look at a case study of a single school, or describe the leadership in successful TWI programs. Very little research has been conducted on how dual language programs were initiated and how the leaders of those schools have managed this whole school reform, and none to my knowledge have been conducted in Catholic dual language schools. With the three goals of two-way immersion and the additional goal of developing a strong Catholic identity, this research points to how leaders prioritize these goals and what capital they draw from to meet them. Further, this research was conducted with a broad view of leadership which did not presume it was solely the principal who was leading the initiative. Therefore, the views of other change agents (teachers, mentors, or consultants) were sought out to provide a more comprehensive view of change leadership. This research addresses the gap in the literature by including the voices of multiple stakeholders in a variety of Catholic dual language schools across the United States.
Research Questions

Through this applied study, I explored the lived experiences and motivations of 28 administrators and change agents/key informants from their schools (including teachers, assistant/vice principals, board members, and consultants) regarding the conversion of US Catholic elementary schools to dual language immersion schools. I particularly examined each school’s perceived successes and challenges in developing a dual language immersion program. To these ends, I asked the following research questions:

How do Catholic school leaders navigate the change process to a two-way, dual language immersion school? What is the role (if any) of professional and spiritual capital?

- What are the motivations for converting to a dual language program?
- How do leaders perceive the successes and challenges in becoming a dual language school? What are the barriers and supports in this process?
- What are the biographies, competencies, and social networks of the leaders and change agents that contribute or hinder their capacity to lead change?
- How do key change agents understand the initiative and its leadership?

In order to provide insight into my motivation for this study and give background to my personal interest in the research questions above, I now turn to a biographical sketch that reveals my own experience building and leading a Catholic dual language school.

Biography of the Researcher and Motivation for the Study

My personal interest in this study stems from my own experience, growing up hearing my mother and grandmother speak Spanish but never having a command of it myself since our
household language was English. I took upper level Spanish courses in high school and college, and developed helpful Spanish reading and writing skills. Nonetheless, it was not until I moved to Bolivia in my early thirties to do volunteer work and immerse myself in the Spanish language, that I felt confident expressing myself in it. I arrived in Bolivia just six months after the election of Bolivia’s first indigenous president, Evo Morales, and witnessed the development of numerous educational reforms, including the introduction of Quechua and other mother tongue language instruction and curriculum in the early grades across many schools.

As the granddaughter of Nicaraguan and Cuban immigrants and a woman with deep interest and pride in her Hispanic background, my vocational journey has taken me time and again to Latin American communities both in the United States and abroad. Upon graduation from the University of Notre Dame, I taught first grade and then fifth grade in Central American barrios in Los Angeles and San Francisco. At this time, fierce debates concerning the merits of bilingual education and how to best serve Spanish-speaking students dominated political discourse. I taught 34 first graders at a vibrant Catholic school in downtown Los Angeles, a few blocks from the largest and most violent center of drug trafficking in the West. I was a new teacher without experience or a teaching credential, but I had the great support of the principal who valued my energy and willingness to learn. I also had the support of a community of teacher volunteers, since I was part of an inner city teaching corps and lived with 10 other teachers in South Central Los Angeles.

In my first grade classroom, not only did I hold high expectations academically, I fostered a space where students felt safe and loved. We prayed for one of my student’s best friends who was shot and killed while buckled into his car seat due to a stray bullet in a drive by. Students asked hard questions about death and dying as well as why teenagers could be seen
tagging the boarded up businesses across the street in broad daylight: “They [the gang members] are ruining our world, teacher!” a student told me as we rushed in from recess. I received a mound of teacher manuals, a trusting and supportive principal, but little professional development. Although most of my students were English learners and most if not all spoke Spanish at home, we never discussed pedagogy that would best serve these students. Yet, the front office staff, principal and many faculty members spoke Spanish and it was used often and freely throughout the school. Parents raised money by selling $1 tamales after mass, and parent volunteers were an integral part of the school community.

Our school was full and known as an “English only” alternative to the bilingual public school down the street. When I went to observe 4th grade classes at this school as part of a graduate education course, I found loving and well-meaning teachers but students in 4th grade (who had been in the program since kindergarten) still being taught primarily in Spanish, very little rigor, and lessons being repeated in English and Spanish. Parents felt desperate and stuck as their students were being held back due to their inability to pass an exam that made them eligible for the English program. After these observations I could see why our Catholic school was busting at the seams in terms of enrollment. The intimate, communal nature of our school attached to a beautiful church with a grotto honoring Mary was a stark contrast to the large public school with tall fences and security guards. The Catholic school looked and felt a bit like the schools I had seen in my grandmother’s village of Jinotega, Nicaragua. At the Catholic school, students made steady progress in English and maintained close ties to their families. It worked.

Both in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and later in San Diego at the high school level, I encountered hardworking, first, second and third generation immigrant parents desperate for help
in navigating the U.S. educational system. In these contexts, I wondered what exactly attracted these parents to seek out and often times make great sacrifices for a Catholic education. Captivated by the incredible impact of the Latino community on the United States, deeply disturbed by the stark contrast I observed at the U.S./Mexico border south of San Diego, and longing to improve my Spanish skills, nearly ten years later I headed South for Bolivia.

While teaching in rural Fe y Alegria schools outside of Cochabamba, Bolivia, I experienced the challenges to teaching and to student learning in economically and linguistically marginalized, indigenous communities (whose dominant language was Quechua) where schooling was only done in Spanish. Fe y Alegria is a “convenio” school system in Latin America, which means it was developed and is sustained through Catholic Church/state school partnerships (http://www.feyalegria.org/es). The system receives public money but schools are privately run by nonprofits and Catholic religious orders. Fe y Alegria is committed to serving in the most impoverished communities. To my great surprise, during my time working as both an elementary and high school teacher, Bolivia was going through its own great educational debate around the language of schooling [For an in depth analysis of the relationship between policy text and the local enactment of language policies, see Hornberger, 2000]. The government and large NGOs questioned whether students should be taught in their mother tongue--often Quechua or Aymara. Interestingly, I heard many parents in the city of Cochabamba discuss whether report cards should be offered to parents in Quechua or Aymara as well as Spanish, when many urban Bolivians rarely used indigenous languages any more. Racial divides between the Spanish dominant and powerful minority and the indigenous majority led to deadly street clashes during those few years. I was very much aware of my gringa status as one of the only North American and English speaking persons where I taught and lived in the campo of Capinota, 25 miles
outside the city. In Capinota, I tried my best to not only teach but participate in the various
marches and popular movements inspired by Evo Morales’ leadership. I participated in marches
celebrating literacy advances in our village and at night tutored local abuelas and other village
elders, who wanted to finally learn how to write their name and read simple signs in Spanish.
These moments made me feel connected to my past because they reminded me of my own great
Aunt’s involvement with Sandinista-led literacy movements in rural Nicaragua.

In Bolivia, the local education authorities mandated all teachers to participate in trainings
on utilizing Quechua in teaching to bridge school and home. Teachers were required to create
projects in Quechua with their students and display them at local fairs that were beautiful and
inspiring, but not all that honest. Most teachers were conversational in Quechua, but resented
having to take evening classes to become literate in Quechua, especially when they felt that their
success was in part due to their command of Spanish. They felt proud of their professional status
and sometimes looked down on families who hadn’t mastered any Spanish [See Canessa (2004)
for a discussion of rural Bolivian teachers]. Even teachers and leaders who were sympathetic
didn’t have the time or space to adequately address the myriad of challenges this bilingual
movement brought to the surface. Indeed, the focus of the schools was necessarily on day-to-day
survival as teacher, student, and even principal absenteeism was high and political conflicts
cause temporary school closings (Luykx & Lopez, 2008). The efforts of the government to
bring the indigenous languages to the forefront of education were admirable and ambitious, and
probably looked clear and manageable in World Bank reports. Still, I witnessed how messy and
multifaceted these issues are when teachers and students are just trying to get through basic
lessons, and deep rooted prejudices and understandings of language exist. The Fe y Alegria
schools where I worked were also Catholic schools of choice. From these contexts and through
numerous conversations with Bolivian educators, my questions for this doctorate research began to develop.

I tend to be drawn to the in between spaces—the grey space between theory and practice, and the messiness that exists in the daily realities of schools. While in Divinity school, I considered gender roles as well as unions in the Catholic church, and what this meant for teacher salaries at Catholic schools. As a doctoral student, I researched the Teacher Union Reform Network, and immersed myself in the hard questions of reform and teacher professionalism that were not being discussed in the media. I completed my 500 hour practicum for my principal licensure at Boston Arts Academy (BAA), an arts pilot school in the Boston Unified school district. As an innovative pilot school, the principal had full control over hiring/firing, budgeting, and professional development, and teachers felt supported in the development of the curriculum they felt best served their diverse population. At BAA I witnessed lots of curriculum and instruction freedom, and a dynamic and dedicated staff. I also spent much of my time mentoring a plethora of new, inexperienced teachers. Indeed, the curriculum fostered creativity and critical thinking skills, and students felt safe and valued. Still, many students were lacking basic reading and math skills, and the school struggled with ways to retain students and support students as well as new teachers in such a demanding dual arts and academic program. Moreover, BAA has struggled for the past twenty years with the district to acquire the physical space to match the arts programming they offer.

For the past twenty years, I have taught or worked in a variety of Catholic schools, including urban and rural U.S. schools as well as schools in Bolivia and Uganda. Currently, I serve as the principal of All Souls World Language Catholic School, the first Catholic dual language school in California, and the only Catholic school nationwide to provide
strands of study in both Mandarin and Spanish. The school began in 2012 with 20 students in grades Kindergarten through 2nd grade. Today All Souls serves 232 students in grades Transitional Kindergarten (for 4 year olds) to 7th grade. While half of the students come from Alhambra (a small city a few miles east of Los Angeles’ city limits), the school serves students from 44 zip codes. Thirty four percent of the students receive some type of financial aid to help them pay the $6895 yearly tuition. Most families are middle income but eight families fall below the poverty line. Seventy percent of the students are Catholic and 30% are Buddhist, evangelical and Protestant Christian, or non-religious. All Souls has become known as an inclusive school that serves students with mild learning and social emotional disabilities (~7% of the students). Moreover, families with same gender parents have also felt welcome, which has contributed to All Souls growth and popularity. Most students are English dominant, although many students come from bilingual households (25%) and 5% are English Language Learners.

When I said yes to All Souls I really had no idea what was in store for me. I hadn’t lived in Los Angeles in over 15 years, and I did not know anything about Alhambra. I quickly learned that All Souls had operated as a traditional K-8 Catholic parochial school for almost 90 years before closing in 2010 due to low enrollment, a growing debt, and lack of support from the parish. The demographics of Alhambra were changing rapidly as more Chinese families were moving in and property values were rising dramatically, forcing many of the Latino families historically served by All Souls school and parish to move away. Little did I know that the closure of this fledgling Catholic school would cause so much hurt and resentment in the community and rumors were plentiful as people guessed whether a scandal or nefarious act precipitated the closure. The Archdiocese had taken over governance of the previous parochial school and thankfully I have had the full backing of the Superintendent of Catholic schools.
Even though there are over 220 Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, All Souls has received special attention and support from the Archdiocese in the way of connections to large grantors and large scale marketing efforts.

When I arrived on July 1, we were under huge pressure to grow the school since we only had 40 students. Within a few days, I found myself at local Farmers Markets and Business Expos providing information about the school and assuring families that this was the “new and improved” 2.0 version of All Souls, even though I didn’t really know what that meant. In that first month, I had to hire a transitional kindergarten teacher and transform an old dusty library into a bright creative learning space for four year olds. While in that first year tuition covered most of the operating costs and we had a sizeable grant from a large local foundation, the second and third year proved challenging financially. The parish had its own struggles and saw a near yearly turnover of pastors, so I was on my own to find priests for our school masses and other school religious events. I often led prayer services myself and had my brother and friends fix desks, organize books, move classroom furniture, and paint bookshelves.

In order to build the program we were marketing, retain the highly educated and demanding families we were attracting, stay true to our mission of being welcoming to families who could not pay the tuition, and importantly, hold on to our faculty, we invested in a strategic planning consultant to plan out the next five years the best we could. The retention of faculty was already an issue in those first years as pressure for academic and second language acquisition success was particularly high and school routines, supervision logistics, traditions, and curriculum were still being established on a nearly daily basis. Moreover, salaries for veteran teachers were $10,000 to $15,000 less than the public schools. The strategic planning consultant
has continually helped me to navigate meetings at the Archdiocesan level and advocate for the support I need in this complex endeavor.

On the curriculum and instruction side, I have also had the support and dedication of our Two Way Immersion Network-Catholic Schools (TWIN-CS) mentor. The TWIN-CS is a national network of Catholic dual language elementary schools. This network, based out of Boston College, provides support to its 18 member schools through monthly webinars, a week of professional development and networking over the summer, as well as through a local dual language expert mentor (who receives a stipend for their commitment to the school). Through a grant from a major foundation in Los Angeles, we hired our mentor, an education doctoral student at the University of Southern California and experienced reading specialist, for additional hours in the first three years of our program to also serve as our literacy specialist. Her weekly visits centered on coaching the primary teachers in the development of thematic plans as well as how to bridge lessons between English, Spanish, and Mandarin, and develop leveled reading groups. She offered regular professional development in bilingual writing development and helped the school create bilingual writing portfolios. Our TWIN-CS mentor and literacy specialist introduced me to Project GLAD (Guided Language Acquisition by Design) (http://www.ntcprojectglad.com/). I used Title 3 money to have our teachers trained in these highly effective strategies for reading and writing, centered on rich vocabulary development. Through her encouragement, we used our grant money to purchase leveled libraries for the classrooms and Raz-Kids bilingual reading accounts for the students. The Director of Bilingual Education at Loyola Marymount University, a friend of the school, also came in time to time to offer encouragement, moral support, and bilingual expertise. She offered parent education nights for school parents and quelled their growing anxiety since she could speak as both a professor as
well as parent of two students in a dual language public school program. Because I hadn’t taught in a dual language program, I needed to see programs in practice. Thankfully, this LMU professor was excited to set up observations for myself and two key teachers at successful dual language schools, one in Spanish and one in Mandarin, near Los Angeles that first year.

I had a handful of dedicated parents, who spent hundreds of hours planning our first major fundraisers (which in total raised only $15,000 that first year). Importantly, these parents served as integral advisors to me as well as became school advocates. They kept me up to date on what the public dual language schools in the area were doing by forwarding me their email blasts, and fiercely defended the school on social media, when some disgruntled parents left All Souls and lashed out on our Facebook page and school ranking websites. In my second year, I tasked the parent community with raising $15,000 to hire an art teacher and by Christmas we had the money. While our art and music teachers do not speak Spanish or Mandarin, I knew that building our arts program was important, even if only offered in English.

As the school has grown over the past five years from that initial 40 students to the current 230 students in the 2017-2018 school year, the entrepreneurial and supportive family environment continues to be the cornerstone of the school’s success. School parents have written the grants we used to start our school garden and parents have hosted wacky science days and family science nights. The strong support for STEM led to my hiring of a part-time STEAM coordinator who is now our part-time assistant principal.

While the school has seen great advances in its first six years, serious challenges remain. The recruitment and retention of qualified teachers who are committed to Catholic education and willing to work for the Archdiocesan pay scale continues to be difficult. Retention of students after first grade as well as how to serve students with special learning needs in both English and
the target language is another concern. Fostering oral language development in Spanish and Mandarin and teaching science and math in these target languages in the middle grades, and at the same time adequately serving our small English Language Learner population still needs to be addressed more rigorously. Finally and notably, the school’s facilities are grossly inadequate and too small for the projected growth, and the school still does not have a donor base beyond a few key foundations. Being reliant almost entirely on tuition for income makes the school’s financial situation a precarious one. As someone entirely dedicated to the mission of All Souls, but also one who regularly puts in 60 hours per week at the school, I often wonder about the sustainability of it all.

Having joined the school in its second year of existence as a dual language program, I have witnessed firsthand what Fraga (2016) describes as the “hard choices, some with greater risks than others, that need to be made in order to begin the process of establishing a TWI school” (p.148). Focusing on the experience of Juan Diego Academy at Holy Rosary Regional School in Tacoma, WA, Fraga recounted the extensive student recruitment efforts needed to start the program, the financial risks inherent in relying on donors and external funding sources to develop the program, as well as the impact teacher or administrative turnover could have on Holy Rosary’s long term success. Indeed, as I have helped develop and implement a dual language program, I am an insider to this project and understand that “Just having a TWI program…does not guarantee success” (p. 145). I know there is no “magic bullet” (Ospino & Weitzel-O’Neill, 2016) for including historically marginalized students in Catholic school settings, and that meaningful school innovation and change is deeply challenging and takes time (Fullan, 2007). Through my experiences in Catholic education coupled with my academic
background in feminist and liberation theology, I feel I bring a much-needed critical insider’s lens to the study of Catholic two-way immersion schools.

This research has implications not only for the US Catholic school context aiming to serve linguistically and culturally diverse youth or implement innovative curricular programming generally, but for the international context as well, especially given the attention to bilingual, intercultural education (Luykx & Lopez, 2008) and the public funding of Catholic schools in such places as Australia, Canada, and various parts of Latin America which allows them to potentially serve diverse populations. Understanding the nuances of establishing an academically rigorous dual language school with a strong Catholic identity, as deemed necessary by the National Standards and Benchmarks for Effective Catholic Schools, as well as the role of language and culture at the local level is relevant to the rapidly changing Catholic school and parish context of today. Given my strong social justice outlook and desire for Catholic dual language schools to offer something beyond the three stated goals for two way immersion programs—an experience of faith that requires using one’s language and cultural competence to build bridges and work for peace, I embarked on this research project in order to learn how other principals articulate their own experiences, successes and challenges in leading a school which is both dual language and Catholic. As Fraga (2016) notes and my experience has verified, I see the potential of TWI schools to “leverage the common bond of commitment to the practice of the Catholic faith as a way of overcoming the social, economic, linguistic, and cultural divisions that remain barriers to the achievement of social justice for many segments of Catholics in the US” (p. 157). This study sought the in-depth insights of numerous leaders at Catholic dual language schools across the United States and in various stages of implementation in order to provide a
lens into whether and how schools might be able to fulfill the “promise[s] and potential” (Fraga, 2016, p.157) of two way immersion.

**Introduction to Theoretical Framework**

This research project points to how Catholic school leaders make a significant cultural and curriculum shift such as TWI, how they prioritize the goals of TWI and Catholic schools, and what professional and spiritual resources they draw upon in the process. In order to examine the *process* of whole school TWI conversion, I drew upon school reform theories, specifically Hargreaves and Fullan’s (2012) concept of professional capital. Professional capital is conceptualized as the integration of human capital, social capital and decisional capital (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). The development of a Two Way Immersion program requires very focused skills on the part of individuals (human capital), and presumably many decisions must be made along the way (decisional capital). Furthermore, the collective capacity of the school community and relationships in the wider school context, or social capital, must be considered. Since this project focuses on Catholic schools, I also draw upon the notion of spiritual capital (Grace, 2002, 2010). I inquired into whether or not the latter contributes to the school’s Catholic identity and the leaders’ capacity to meet the school’s change needs.

Conceptually, Catholic schools share certain beliefs regarding their Catholic identity (Groome, 1996; Miller, 2006). In House and McQuillan’s (2005) study, leadership played a key role regarding maintaining a vision, being inclusive of staff, and fostering extensive dialogue around educational philosophy: “Without shared beliefs, it seems unlikely these reforms would have lasted” (p.197). Certainly, considering school context and culture are “vital” (Fullan, 2007, p.111). Understanding the perceptions of how Catholic identity is lived and practiced on the
ground, particularly with regards to the inclusion of ELL and linguistic minority students in a major whole school reform, was an impetus for this study.

In converting to a model of schooling that puts linguistic and cultural learning at the forefront, it is important to know how teachers and administrators prepared for and enacted such changes. Having the ideal plan or outline is only one part of the change effort in implementing a dual language program: “Success is about one-quarter having the right ideas and three quarters establishing effective processes that sort out and develop the right solution suited to the context in question” (Fullan, 2007, p. 104). The voices of those who dissent must be heard (Fullan, 2007). The workload and inclusion of teachers and their resistance to change (Gitlin & Margonis, 1995) as well as teachers’ emotional response to change (Hargreaves, 2004) was also considered through this research.

In order to better understand the broad context of this study, I now turn to the philosophical basis for Catholic schools, the role of educators who work in them, and what researchers and writers have described as the mission of these schools.

**Purpose of Catholic Schools and Role of Catholic School Principals**

According to Catholic Church documents, the Catholic school provides the “fullest and best opportunity to realize the fourfold purpose of Christian education, namely to provide an atmosphere in which the Gospel message is proclaimed, community in Christ is experienced, service to our sisters and brothers is the norm, and thanksgiving and worship of our God is cultivated” (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2005, # 1). The Catholic school is considered a fundamental part of the Church, and thus has a “fundamental duty to evangelize” (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997, #3). Indeed, the Catholic Church feels schools should be communities of lived Gospel values with a duty to serve the poor and marginalized.
The social justice mission is evident when the Church states: “It does not stop at the courageous teaching of the demands of justice even in the face of local opposition, but tries to put these demands into practice in its own community in the daily life of the school” (Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1977, #58).

It follows that Catholic schoolteachers have been noted as central to carrying out the school mission: “the Catholic school depends upon them almost entirely for the accomplishment of its goals and programs” (Vatican Council II, 1965). These teachers should be highly qualified in “secular and religious knowledge”, “pedagogical skill” and serve as witnesses to Christ in both their professional and personal lives (Vatican Council II, 1965). Catholic educators must have a “solid professional formation” that continues as a “journey of permanent formation” as one remains up to date on the latest research and adapts to educational changes (Congregation for Catholic Education, 2007, #22-23). The latter is extremely important, especially given the unique formation needed to successfully implement dual language programming. Relationship building and strong community have also been cited as strengths of Catholic schooling serving diverse students (Merritt, 2008; Louie & Holdaway, 2009). Indeed, a study of ELLs in a Catholic school found teachers recognized the social challenges of immigrant populations and cared for them deeply; however, they did not meet the pedagogical needs of the students (Coleman, 2011).

While Catholic school principals would presumably be considered among the group of Catholic educators named in Church documents (Hansen, 2001), the unique characteristics, roles as well as challenges of the contemporary Catholic school leader in diverse contexts remain elusive. In his analysis of official Church documents, Hansen (2001) found there was little discussion about the specific qualities or roles of lay Catholic school administration between 1965-1988. Hansen (2001) argued that the Church documents implied “a monastic model of
Catholic school principalship” (p. 34) where a religious person used the same hierarchical approach to leadership as the Church. By the time the Church began acknowledging lay leadership in the 1980s and 1990s, Hansen (2001) noted the switch from religious to lay leadership had already occurred (at least in Australia). Still, once lay leadership in Catholic schools became widespread, the documentation of this position by the Vatican continued to be focused on the “ecclesial, spiritual, and pastoral dimensions…with educational concerns relegated to significant but lesser importance” and this most likely had to do with the Church’s concern about schools maintaining their Catholicity despite the decline in principals from religious orders (Hansen, 2001, p. 37).

Writing over fifteen years ago, Hansen (2001) concluded that a “statement on lay principals in Catholic schools would be welcome recognition of a role that has until now been largely neglected or only reluctantly acknowledged as a vital and essentially lay ministry within the Church” (p. 37). In 2007, the Congregation for Catholic Education did write a document focusing on the shared ministry of both consecrated and lay people in Catholic schools. Although not focusing specifically on school leadership, this document reveals the Church’s acknowledgement of the changing demographics of the Catholic school educator.

Interestingly, a more recent document on Catholic schooling by the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (2005) begins by stating “All Catholics must join together in efforts to ensure that Catholic schools have administrators and teachers who are prepared to provide an exceptional educational experience for young people—one that is both truly Catholic and of the highest academic quality”. The report goes on to highlight the need for administrators and teachers, who are “currently 95%” lay people, to support the Catholic school mission as faith witnesses. Again, as in the Vatican documents, the bishops express the need for not only faith
formation but also professional development programs that “introduce new and effective
initiatives, educational models, and approaches, while always maintaining a sound Catholic
identity in our schools” (USCCB, 2005). Dual language programming is indeed one such
educational model but how this programming is developed in Catholic schools has not been
studied extensively.

Taking a more critical lens on Catholic schooling, Scanlan (2008) builds on Tyack and
Tobin’s (1994) understanding of the grammar of schooling as entrenched, unexamined structures
of schooling, and argued that a grammar of Catholic schooling exists which “helps explain the
absence of critical inquiry into the structures of Catholic schooling that run counter to the values
of human dignity, the common good, and a preferential option for the marginalized that are
promoted in Catholic Social Teaching” (Scanlan, 2008, p. 39). Scanlan (2008) questioned
whether the tenets of Catholic Social Teaching are so taken for granted that Catholic schools do
not recognize the ways they create barriers for the full inclusion of racial and linguistic minority
students as well as impoverished students.

Catholic church school documents have made clear that the Catholic school is a “school
for all, with special attention to those who are weakest” (Congregation for Catholic Education,
1997, p. 5) but these documents do not adequately address the inclusion of racial, ethnic, and
linguistic minorities and the assets they bring to the community. Still, the United States
Conference of Catholic Bishops (2005) states Catholic schools must “serve the increasing
Hispanic/Latino population.” Moreover, Catholic Church documents on immigration express
how immigrants must “be able to remain complete themselves regarding language, liturgy,
spirituality, particular traditions” (Pope John Paul II, 1986, as cited in Blume, 1996, p. 11).

Making a case for culturally responsive schooling today, Greene & O’Keefe (2001) argue
that Catholic schools need to draw upon their history: “It can be argued […] that Catholic schools have provided the most widespread and sustained example of bilingualism and biculturalism. Because they enrolled children from cultures other than that of the mainstream, they shaped their curriculum, instruction, ethos, and community relations to meet the needs of minorities” (p. 163). However, unlike the days of the Catholic urban school past where teachers’ and students’ race, cultures, and language were relatively similar, today a “demographic gap” (Sleeter, 2008, p. 559) exists between Catholic schoolteachers and administrators and their students in urban Catholic schools. Demographic difference is especially alarming when one acknowledges the “education debt” our society has created resulting in what is called the “achievement gap” between white students and students of color on many measures, including standardized test scores, dropout rates, and college acceptances (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

Not only do Catholic schools have to be concerned with closing the achievement gap, they also have to maintain a strong Catholic identity and recently, academic success and Catholic identity have been seen as a possible point of tension (Fuller & Johnson, 2014). Statements by the Vatican seek to ensure Catholic schools as Christian schools are centered in Jesus Christ (The Catholic School, #34) and do not, as Miller (2006) explains, “fall into the trap of academic success culture, putting their Christological focus and its accompanying understanding of the human person in second place. Christ is ‘fitted in’ rather than being the school’s vital principle” (Miller, 2006, p. 22). Miller (2006) emphasizes how education must be centered on the dignity of the human person and not about the accumulation of wealth or getting ahead in the business world (pp. 21;24). Interestingly, much of the marketing and popular arguments for Dual Language Immersion have been better job opportunities and being able to compete in a global world (Varghese and Park, 2010). Therefore, this research points to how the emphasis on Christ
as “the Teacher in Catholic schools” is made explicit (Miller, 2006, p. 24) and fostered in innovative Catholic school communities.

Again, to my knowledge there is no other research on how Catholic school leaders are working with their teachers and the school community to develop bilingual programming. Brisk (2006) offers a helpful framework for evaluating quality bilingual schools and while my project is not a program evaluation, it adds to this literature. Brisk’s (2006) framework is based on leadership, quality personnel, clear goals and school and community partnerships. It proposes assessment of outcomes regarding academic achievement, language development, sociocultural integration, and family and community impact (Brisk, 2006, p. 201). Overlapping with Brisk, de Jong’s (2011) four principles for multilingual schools provide another tool to evaluate the beginning stages of dual language programs. The first and overarching principal is educational equity. The other principles include promoting additive bi/multilingualism and affirming identities, as well as structuring for integration, which means that all students’ linguistic and cultural identities are considered in policy and practice, and accommodations benefit all. Further, it was helpful to consider TWI Catholic elementary schools as “contact zones” (Pratt, 1991 as cited in Patel, 2013, p.1) that could potentially be places of difficult but ultimately fruitful conversations regarding power and privilege. Ultimately, this research examines the perspectives of school principals in Catholic elementary schools converting to or using a TWI model with the critical understanding that “Practices of exclusion and elitism in the recruitment and retention at Catholic schools are antithetical to the Church’s teaching on social justice” (Scanlan, 2008, p. 33). At the same time, this research examines the grey, in between spaces and myriad challenges facing urban Catholic schools, and the reasons leaders might make decisions as well as cultivate or prioritize a certain type of capital.
Overview of the Study

In Chapter One, I have provided the rationale for the study, my motivations for conducting the study and insider experiences as a leader of a Catholic dual immersion school, as well as the theoretical purpose of Catholic schools as a window into the unique context of leadership in Catholic dual language schools. Chapter Two will provide a literature review of three main areas: 1) Catholic schooling for diverse youth; 2) dual language programs, and 3) Catholic school leadership. I also outline the theoretical framework of professional and spiritual capital. Chapter Three reviews the qualitative methodology used in this research. In Chapter Four I give descriptions of each school and principal in the study while Chapter Five presents my findings organized by key themes. Finally, in Chapter Six, I discuss this project’s implications for further research and practice.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In order to guide and frame my research questions, I draw from three main bodies of literature. First, I analyze the Catholic school literature regarding the inclusion of immigrant and bilingual youth, specifically focusing on the successes, challenges, and opportunities for meeting the needs of a diverse student body through Two Way Immersion programs. Second, I review the literature on the implementation of and leadership for dual language programs. Third, I inquire into the literature on Catholic school leadership, specifically looking at research that highlights Catholic identity and school vitality as well as models such as distributed leadership. I end this chapter by bringing together Hargreaves and Fullan’s (2012) notion of professional capital with Grace’s (2002, 2010) conception of spiritual capital as a theoretical framework for the study, and consider these ideas in view of school change.

Catholic Schools: Context and Challenge

Catholic school advocates tend to look back at the explosion of Catholic schooling in the early to mid-twentieth century with awe. An increase of Catholic, mostly European descent immigrants to the United States occurred between 1880-1965 (Greene & O’Keefe, 2001). And, reacting to the debate within the Catholic Church on whether Catholic schools should Americanize and assimilate or strive to maintain one’s ethnic traditions and identity, the Catholic clergy strongly encouraged new immigrants to send their children to Catholic parish schools in order to “protect Catholic immigrants from the Protestant majority” (Cattaro, 2002, p. 203-204; O’Keefe & Scheopner, 2009). Indeed, up until the mid-twentieth century, Catholic schools cultivated a very separate identity and in 1965, Catholic school enrollment peaked at roughly 5.6 million students (Greene & O’Keefe, 2001).
Catholic schools in this period were “designed to cultivate and preserve foreign languages and cultures as well as to preserve religious faith and provide literacy” (Walch, 2003, p. 76). O’Keefe and Scheopner (2009) further elucidate this point in their historical overview of Boston parochial schools which focuses on native-language schools established in the mid-nineteenth century. Intending to make the case for culturally responsive education today, O’Keefe & Scheopner (2009) state that these native-language schools strove to find “clergy and religious communities who were native to the ethnic group in order to provide teachers who were fluent in the native language of the students and who understood their cultural values and customs” (p.3). Interestingly, some immigrant churches and communities saw a greater connection between faith and culture than others. Likewise, some communities were more interested in building schools than others. During the 1830s and 1840s in Boston, for instance, German immigrants were the most likely to form native language schools, even using the motto, “Language Saves the Faith” (p. 75), while Italians and Spaniards didn’t support as many native language schools.

The Catholic church and parochial schools were also deeply influenced by the conversations around language and public schooling in the U.S. political discourse. In the early 1920s, the US passed laws requiring education in English only (Nieto, 2009). At the same time, the Catholic clergy and hierarchy started taking a more assimilationist approach as conflicts grew between ethnic groups. Some in the Catholic hierarchy “worried that national parishes were keeping the Catholic community divided” (O’Keefe & Scheopner, 2009, p. 79). Canon Law 216 forbid the establishment of new national parishes and with more and more American born church leaders, there was a push for an “Americanized curriculum” (O’Keefe & Scheopner, 2009, p. 79). Still, religious sisters were recruited for native language schools and in the case of the
Felician sisters teaching in Polish national parish schools, “All main subjects…were taught in Polish, with the curriculum following public school standards so as not to rate lower than the Protestants” (O’Keefe & Scheopner, 2009, p. 81). Many of the religious sisters did not speak English so they learned alongside their students. Similarly, in French American Catholic schools, the instruction was initially all in French but as the sisters learned English, the major subjects were taught in English and all informal interactions, prayers, and announcements were in French (O’Keefe & Scheopner, 2009, p. 86).

While it may be tempting for some to romanticize Catholic parish schools’ past commitment to maintaining ethnic identities, Meagher (2003) cautions against this: “We need to probe how the schools themselves worked and how they shaped and influenced their students” (p. 304). After all, schools do not and did not “exist in a vacuum” (p. 295) and Meagher (2003) notes the strong influence of popular culture, economics, and the Catholic hierarchy’s push for Americanization on immigrants in the early 20th century. Stevens-Arroyo & Pantoja (2003) remind us that Latinos were actually the first to be educated in parochial schools led by Spanish colonists and unfortunately, these schools did not transcend the anti-Latino sentiment and denigration of “all things native” (p. 259) that marked the United States’ “pious” conquest of early nineteenth century Latino homelands (p. 258). Further, Native American boarding schools were frequently handed over to religious groups who sometimes followed the devastating U.S. government rules which aimed to strip Native American students of their language and cultural heritage (Adams, 1995 as cited in de Jong, 2011).

Due to migration trends and the upward mobility of White ethnic Catholics in the latter half of the twentieth century, Catholic schools serving European immigrants began to fade as “a new kind of migrant: the conquered peoples of America” (Stevens-Arroyo & Pantoja, 2003, p.
arrived in urban centers, namely Latinos. African Americans, Asians, and Native Americans also began to more readily populate these urban parish schools. Indeed, “In the late twentieth century, [White] ethnic diversity in Catholic schools became racial diversity” (Greene & O’Keefe, 2001, p. 164). For example, in 1970 minorities made up 10.8% of the total Catholic school population whereas in 2015 non-White students were 20.3% and Hispanic/Latino students made up 16.1% of the population (McDonald & Schultz, 2015). Further, Catholic schools have seen an increase in non-Catholic enrollment from 2.7% (1970) to 17.4% in 2015 (McDonald & Schultz, 2015). As mentioned earlier, in urban Catholic elementary schools, the numbers of non-white and non-Catholic students are even greater. O’Keefe’s study of 384 inner-city Catholic schools in 2001 revealed that these schools served 73% minority students and nearly 26% non-Catholic students (O’Keefe et al., 2004).

As the Catholic school system began a steady decline in numbers throughout the late 1960s and 1970s, the debate in public schools concerning the rights of immigrant students and the use of languages other than English to provide better access to education became quite acute. In 1968, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act became the “first bilingual and bicultural education program that was approved at the federal level” (Nieto, 2009, p. 63). In 1974, through the case of Chinese students who brought suit against their school district in San Francisco, *Lau vs. Nichols*, it was decided that school districts needed to take “appropriate action” in providing assistance for students who do not speak English. The Supreme Court based its decision on Title VI, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin. White Catholic immigrants increasingly became part of mainstream America, and we do not know whether or how Catholic schools engaged these ongoing debates around bilingualism and access to curriculum. The question remains as to how the “ideological positions about
American identity and White supremacy [that] result in the association of bilingualism with inferior intelligence and a lack of patriotism in the U.S” (Nieto, 2009, p. 65) are addressed or not in Catholic dual language schools today. Unfortunately, there is very little research on Catholic schools and bilingualism or language learning generally. Most of the research has focused on culturally diverse youth with little mention of their presumed linguistic diversity.

Due to decreasing enrollment, in the last ten years 1,511 Catholic schools nationwide (or 19.9%) were reported closed or consolidated and the number of students declined by 409,384 (or 17.6 %), with elementary schools being the most seriously affected (McDonald & Schultz, 2015). As many urban Catholic schools face financial crisis and struggle to stay open today, the question remains as to what extent urban Catholic schools have responded to and will continue to respond to these demographic shifts. Despite the research and writing focusing on the historical inclusion of immigrants in Catholic schools, the research on the success of Catholic schools with minority youth generally, and the importance of Catholic identity in fostering positive school environments, more research is needed on how schools are serving immigrant, English Language Learner students, and particularly Latino students, in Catholic schools today.

**Success of Catholic Schooling in Serving Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students**

For the past thirty plus years, studies have highlighted the success of Catholic schools in educating minority and low-income youth (e.g., Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Dallavis, 2011; 2013; Fenzel & Montieth, 2008; Greeley, 1982; Irvine & Foster, 1996; Litton, Martin, Higareda, & Mendoza, 2010; Louie & Holloway, 2009). These studies and others cite high expectations of all students, strict discipline, and the centrality of caring teacher-student relationships as reasons for positive academic achievement, rather than any specific, innovative curricular program or instructional strategy. For example, in *Catholic High Schools and Minority Students*, Greeley
(1982) found that much of the Catholic school success with minority students may be attributed to students’ perception of teaching quality and discipline. In Greeley’s comparison of the academic achievement of Black and Hispanic students in Catholic and public high schools, his most widely cited finding centers on what he termed the “Catholic school effect”. That is, Catholic schools seemed to have the most influence on those “multiply disadvantaged—minority students whose parents did not attend college, who themselves have not qualified for academic programs” (Greeley, 1982, p. 108).

Following Greeley (1982), Catholic Schools and the Common Good (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993) highlighted the Catholic school’s unique capacity to make education more equitable for all students through teacher commitment and dedication to students not only in class but beyond school hours. While the researchers described the teaching as “ordinary” with “more emphasis on testing and homework than appears to be the case in public high schools” (p.99), Bryk, Lee, & Holland (1993) found that teachers understood their role as a “ministry” and saw themselves as helpers and surrogate parents (p. 95). Martin (1990), too, differentiated Catholic and public school quality in terms of the availability and deep personal care teachers show towards their students. In his discussion of two Hispanic teens who attributed their graduation from high school and entrance to college on participation in Catholic schooling, he wrote, “Because they have few school-imposed limitations, teachers and staff in a Catholic school can and do become involved in a student’s life in a way that public teachers cannot” (Martin, 1990, p. 522).

her own experience with Catholic school teachers in her all African American school in Baton Rouge, LA. She admitted the curriculum was Eurocentric and Whiteness was held up as superior. Still, the teachers all believed students could learn: “There was no question in these teachers’ minds that they were working with competent human beings” (Delpit, 1996, p. 121). More recently, Fenzel & Montieth (2008), too, found positive student-teacher relations, high availability of teachers, and caring contributed to Catholic student success in their comparison of nine Catholic urban middle schools. Finally, Litton, Martin, Higareda, and Mendoza (2010), in their Los Angeles-based study of Catholic elementary and high schools found their sample of students had higher graduation rates than their public school counterparts and that parents were satisfied with the Catholic education of their children, noting the importance of safety, trust, and making their children “better people” (p. 363).

Notably, Louie & Holloway (2009) used the results of the Immigrant Second Generation in Metropolitan New York Study as well as respondent interviews and found an overall positive effect of Catholic schooling in terms of academic achievement as well as girls avoiding early pregnancy and boys avoiding trouble with the police. Like other studies that emphasized relationships, they explain, “To the extent that Catholic schools generally seem to be more effective than low-achieving public schools in generating and maintaining such supportive relationships, it seems important to have a better understanding of how they do so” (p. 809).

Payne (2008) too mentions relationships in terms of authoritative-supportive teaching. In his discussions with students who moved between Catholic and public urban schools depending on family income, he found that students “worked harder and took school more seriously when they were in a Catholic school” (p. 117). He notes that authoritative-supportive teaching works and has been documented in Catholic school research as the sense of mission defined as “a moral
compact between children and teachers. Children felt pressure to succeed; whether or not they are going to take school seriously is a choice that has been made for them by adults. They felt pushed cognitively and socially” (p. 99).

Some studies focus on success in Catholic schools as seen through the school’s social justice focus, in terms of who the school serves as well as the outcomes the school seeks to foster for its students. Through an empirical study of three successful Catholic elementary schools serving marginalized students, Scanlan (2008) found a discourse of community; his study focused on the prevalent attitude of inclusivity, a commitment to engaging families, and social justice values. Scanlan (2008) did not reference explicit Catholic identity in terms of symbols or religious services in his discussion of these schools yet focused on the school’s capacity to include marginalized students through the procurement and use of resources and effective school leadership. In a later conceptual piece, Scanlan and Lopez (2012) focuses almost entirely on school practices of exclusion and inclusion of students with disabilities and language abilities, and how an explicit commitment to Catholic social teaching in terms of honoring the dignity of the human person, making a commitment to the common good, and making a preferential option for the marginalized are essential to a “school claiming a Catholic Identity” (p. 75).

While Martin (2012) describes a welcoming environment as the “key to maintaining the Catholic identity of schools” (p. 50), he also discusses Catholic schools’ “bottom line, which is to form other-centered men and women who can make a difference in this world” (p. 49). Cook & Simonds (2011), in their framework centered on relationship building with “self, God, others, the local and world community, and creation”, discuss outcomes in the hope that their framework “challenges Catholic schools to ask whether their mission is truly lived out in the lives of their graduates” (p. 324). Indeed, it is imperative to understand how DLI Catholic school leaders
articulate their central goals and purposes for their graduates. Linguistic and cultural competence would certainly be a central part of one’s capacity to build relationships in the increasingly multilingual communities across the U.S. This research examines how Catholic school leaders understand dual language at their school but also uniquely, the various notions of Catholic identity, particularly as it relates or not to languages, culture, and student success.

**Challenges and Opportunities for Serving Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students**

While Louie and Holloway (2009) found personal relationships to be a key factor in Catholic schools’ success with immigrant and minority students, they also noted the positive selection of students and found that cost affected student motivation. Interestingly, the main difference in achievement between whites and other groups was socioeconomic status, not Catholic school attendance, and they note the variation in the quality of Catholic schools. Louie and Holloway (2009) also found that Catholic schools were more segregated (both Black-White and Latino-White) than public schools (p. 801). Dallavis (2011), too, in his study of culturally responsive pedagogy in Catholic schools, notes that religious schools are not perfect and even lists the “countless flaws,” which include:

- religious colonialism, oppression in Native American boarding schools, recent sex abuse scandals, the proliferation of elite private Catholic academies, massive school closures that disproportionately affect low-income communities, stories of cruel discipline, and the closed-mindedness that pervades too many religious school classrooms, among others (p. 142).

Dallavis, however, like Louie and Holloway (2009), also concludes that there are opportunities for deep learning from Catholic schools that serve immigrant and Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CLD) students. Dallavis (2011) found in his study of a Catholic school
serving Mexican students in a poor neighborhood of Chicago that it is important to see how today’s Catholic school teachers might use culturally responsive pedagogy, including deep consideration of one’s religious identity, in Catholic schools. Dallavis (2011) states: “Religious schools are not perfect, nor do they stand as an unassailable model for immigrant education. But one need not be ignorant of, or untroubled by, the flaws of religious schools to consider their capacity to contribute to conversations about cultural competence” (p. 142).

Dallavis (2011, 2013) found in his study of one Catholic urban school that the school was culturally competent in centralizing language, faith and the culture of the Mexican students, as well as fostered high academic achievement, the primary component of culturally responsive pedagogy. Still, Dallavis (2014) points out the “disconfirming” evidence related to holding high expectations for students. For example, the former principal was seen as someone who, according to one teacher, gave the “kids lots of love but not enough education” (p. 163), as well as a teacher who privileged personal relationships with students over academic success. Indeed, both in empirical and conceptual studies, academic success and Catholic identity have been seen as both complementary as well as a possible point of tension (Fuller & Johnson, 2014).

On the other hand, as Porath (2000) explains: “Seeing to be the very best academically is not a distraction from the school’s purpose. Rather, not to be the very best in its academic program is to deny the Catholic school’s essential character and role in the progress of culture” (p. 236). In fact, Porath does not conceptualize faith formation or the integration of Catholic theology across the curriculum as distinguishing factors of Catholic education but rather argues “The real difference is that Catholic schools use the beliefs and values of the Catholic religion as determining factors of a worldview and communicat[ing] that basic and unifying view of life and knowledge to their students” (p. 231). Certainly, this Catholic worldview may be realized quite
differently across school communities, may not always be explicit, and may be seen as in
competition with high academic standards (Fuller & Johnson, 2014).

Interestingly, much of the marketing and popular arguments for Dual Language
Immersion have been better job opportunities, being able to compete in a global world, and
achieving high levels of academic success (Varghese & Park, 2010). My research further
inquires into whether principals in Catholic dual language schools articulate other arguments for
DLI.

**New Approaches: Catholic Dual Language Schooling**

Scholars agree that Catholic Two-way Immersion Schools have been found to be
particularly well suited to meet the needs of Latino students due to its congruence with Catholic
Social Teaching and its promotion of family cohesion and parent engagement (Scanlan &
Zehrbach, 2010) as well as the call by the Catholic Church in the United States to build
ministries of “intercultural competence” (USCCB, 2015 as cited in Fraga, 2016). Building on
Scanlan and Zehrbach (2010), Fraga (2016) asserts that “TWI seems particularly appropriate to
develop a deep understanding of the common bonds of faith and devotion that can bring
Catholics together to transform their understanding of their linked fate and common destiny as
one community, as the nation continues to experience significant demographic shifts and related
growth in multilingualism and multiculturalism” (p. 157).

Importantly, Scanlan and Zehrbach (2010) completed what seems to have been the first
case study of one Catholic school’s approach to implementing a TWI model. They found that the
school had a clear mission to serve Latino students, tried to take away financial barriers by
establishing a tuition model based on the family’s ability to pay, and augmented the budget with
private funding. Furthermore, the school broke down linguistic and cultural barriers by hiring
bilingual personnel and focused on enrolling Latino students, and was reflective in its academic outcomes. In fact, the school shifted from a primary focus on teaching in two languages to one of academic excellence. The small school studied served 100 students, 85% who were Latino and all were bilingual.

In a recent study of how Catholic schools generally are serving Latino students, Catholic TWI schools stood out in assessing school culture, as measured by inclusive signage, bilingual prayers and liturgies, and stewardship, as measured by need based financial aid (Ospino & Weitzel-O’Neill, 2016, p. 19). Importantly, “Beyond offering a dual-language program, all of these schools cultivate an environment that integrates Spanish language and Hispanic identity” (Ospino & Weitzel-O’Neill, 2016, p. 19). Moreover, the two way immersion approach is beneficial to more than the Spanish dominant students. All students benefit from becoming interculturally competent and better able to communicate in the diverse church and world.

For Catholic schools, the diversity of students can also have monetary ramifications. Fraga (2016) pointed out the twofold admissions goal of the Catholic TWI school he studied—serving Latino students academically and recruiting them to school as well as bringing in English dominant students, the latter to “provide a consistent source of tuition-based funding for the school” (p. 150). Catholic Two Way immersion is a way to reach out and serve linguistic and culturally diverse students since it is an approach that views language and culture as an asset as well as a way to help boost enrollment. According to Ospino and Weitzel-O’Neill (2016), this innovative model for Catholic schooling provides Catholic students with language and cultural competence tools to succeed in the 21st century in a welcoming, Catholic environment: “The hope of Catholic families for their children today, millions of them immigrant and Hispanic, coincides with that of Catholic families in previous generations: an education that provides a
strong grounding in the faith and the tools to succeed in our contemporary society.” (p. 10).

Research shows Catholic schools that have successfully adapted to serving Latino students have strong leadership (Scanlan & Zehrbach, 2010; Corpora & Fraga, 2016) and organizational capacity (Corpora & Fraga, 2016). Successful Catholic school principals “credit their success to transforming the school culture in response to the culture of the population the school serves, integrating culturally responsive approaches to teaching into a rigorous curriculum, and providing and promoting financial support for families” (Notre Dame Task Force, 2009, p. 23). These principals must fully understand Latino culture and religious practices in order to make “modifications in language competency, religious icons, curriculum, tuition, and financial aid” (Corpora & Fraga, 2016, p. 121). Indeed, the principal’s ability to speak Spanish as well as having participated in cultural competency training made a difference in a school’s capacity to serve Latino students well (Ospino & Weitzel-O’Neill, 2016).

Since Catholic Dual Language Immersion is relatively new, the sustainability and long term success of such programs remains to be seen. Unfortunately, “Where innovative efforts have succeeded, they have largely happened as a result of the heroic efforts of isolated individuals. Very few of the best practices uncovered by the task force were the result of diocesan-wide interventions, and most were the result of entrepreneurial individuals facing almost certain school closure” (Notre Dame Task Force, 2009, p. 37). Scanlan (2008), too, found that the success of schools serving large numbers of traditionally marginalized students was “largely dependent on the leadership of a highly charismatic individual” (p. 46). Unfortunately, dependence on the energy and passion of one person, or even a group of people, could have a “significant impact on the long term success of the [TWI] program” (Fraga, 2016, p. 156). Another risk for Catholic Two Way Immersion schools is financial, the unstable reliance on
Donors and funding sources, since the program needs to grow to Grade Six for the full benefits (Fraga, 2016). The non-tuition, privately funded model of one Two Way Immersion school was seen as fragile (Scanlan & Zehrbach, 2010). Catholic school principals are primarily responsible for implementing the Latino student marketing initiatives of the Archdiocese for their schools (Ospino & Weitzel-O’Neill, 2016), and research has shown they often don’t have time for this (Notre Dame Task Force, 2009). This research adds to the literature by centering on the perspectives and insights of multiple Catholic school principals implementing TWI at their schools.

**Dual Language Education**

Two way immersion schooling is often noted to have started over 50 years ago in the United States. A tiny French basement daycare, or Jardin d’Enfants Français, which became the École Bilingue and now is the International School of Boston, opened in Massachusetts in 1962. Nevertheless, Coral Way Bilingual Elementary School in Miami, Florida is considered the United States’ first dual language school. Through a Ford Foundation grant to develop English as a Second Language materials in response to the influx of students arriving from Cuba, a committee developed a bilingual program in Spanish and English in 1963. Many of the original teachers had taught in Cuba themselves.

Dual language immersion programs are one type of bilingual education. “Dual language refers to any program that provides literacy and content instruction to all students through two languages and that promotes bilingualism and biliteracy, grade-level academic achievement, and multicultural competence for all students” (Howard, Sugarman, & Christian, 2003, p. 1). For the purposes of this study, dual language immersion refers to programs that strive to serve both English dominant and students who are dominant in a partner language (e.g, Spanish or
Mandarin). The ratio of native English to native minority language speakers determines whether the program is considered a one way immersion (most students are learning the same second language) or two way immersion (there are equal numbers of native English speaking students and students who are speakers of the partner language). One way immersion programs are generally referred to as foreign language programs where most or all students are English speakers. Collier and Thomas (2004) suggest that dual language immersion programs enroll at least 30% students who speak the partner language.

de Jong (2011) echoes the three widely accepted goals of dual language education—bilingualism and biliteracy, academic excellence, and cultural competence, and focuses on two other “essential features” of two way programs. According to de Jong (2011), these programs should have “approximately equal numbers of native speakers of English and native speakers of the minority language, and integrate these two groups of students for all or most of the day”. This integration allows for positive social interactions—friendships across social class and language boundaries (Collier & Thomas, 2004) as well as linguistic benefits--both groups of students can serve as language models for the other group during instruction (e.g., Genesee, 1999). Finally, students should “receive content area instruction and literacy instruction through both languages, with at least 50% of the instruction in the minority language” (de Jong, 2011, p. 114).

Two common dual language immersion models include the 50:50 model (students receive half of their instruction in English and half in the minority language) or the 90:10 model (where the minority language is used 90% of the time in kindergarten, with an increasing use of English each year so that by fourth grade the instruction occurs equally in both languages). Dual language immersion programs are often considered an additive, or an enrichment model of
integrated bilingual education. They are considered additive because they “build on and extend students’ existing language competencies and aim to broaden students’ multilingual linguistic repertoire” (p. 109) rather than subtractive which “focus on developing proficiency in the societal language with limited or no development of the students’ native language or languages” (de Jong, 2011, p. 115). In other words, two-way immersion programs strive for students to add to instead of replace a student’s native language with an additional language.

Dual language immersion programs are increasing in popularity. Only about 30 programs were documented in the 1980s (Lindholm, 1987), but a recent search on the Center for Applied Linguistics’ Directory of Two-Way Immersion Programs in the United States (2018) resulted in 824 records (http://www.cal.org/twi/directory/). Nearly all TWI programs are English-Spanish (93%) and are implemented at the elementary level (79% in K-5) (de Jong, 2011, p. 113-114). Mandarin immersion programs are on the rise with roughly 147 programs operating in the United States (Weise, 2013).

**Success of Dual Language Programs**

Cummins (1992) used the US government study, the Ramirez report, to show the importance of promoting biliteracy. Noting the interdependence of a student’s native language or mother tongue (L1) and second language (L2), Cummins found that the more developed the L1, “the more likely [the students] are to develop similarly high levels of conceptual abilities in their L2.” (p. 95). While it takes two years to develop conversational abilities in one’s L2, it takes four to nine years (Collier & Thomas, 2004) or five to seven years (Cummins, 1981) to achieve academic proficiency in that language. Importantly, Cummins found that more time spent learning in English did not translate to better test scores for students proficient in a language other than English.
Dual language programs have shown greater success than other forms of bilingual education, and this success is for both English learners and native English speakers. In Thomas and Collier’s (2002) national longitudinal study of 90-10 and 50-50 one way and two way dual language programs, 90-10 and 50-50 transitional bilingual programs, English as a Second Language through the content area, and English mainstream programs, they found that two way dual language programs had the best results for language minority and English dominant students over time in math and language arts. The fewest dropouts came from the 90-10 and 50-50 dual language programs. Importantly, they found, “The strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is amount of formal L1 schooling.” (Thomas & Collier, 2002, p. 30). Up to five years’ instructional time in a one way or two-way dual language program accounted for 6-9% increase in reading achievement but the same amount of time in an ESL program led to only a 2% increase. They concluded, “Thus, a strong dual language program can ‘reverse’ the negative effects of SES more than a well-implemented ESL Content program by raising reading achievement to a greater degree” (p. 7). Collier and Thomas (2004) found that dual language programs help ELLs to close “more than half of the achievement gap in the long term… by making more than one year’s progress in their L2 with every year of school…” (p. 5).

Marian, Shook, and Schroeder (2013) found that third through fifth grade minority language students in a dual language program performed better (increased over time) than students in transitional bilingual programs. English language students performed better in math in 3-5th grade and better in reading in 3rd grade than students in English mainstream classes. The strongest TWI advantage was seen in math. The achievement for minority language students increased with more instruction in English and the researchers “suggest that balanced-language instruction may promote academic achievement in both majority- and minority-language
students” (Marian, Shook, & Schroeder, 2013). While the English majority students received 40% of the instruction in English and 60% in Spanish in K-2nd, the language minority students received 100% of their instruction in Spanish from K-2nd, with English being added in 3rd grade at 40% of the time. Finally, Cobb, Vega, and Kronouge (2006) studied students at the end of 5th and 6th grade who had completed four years of continuous schooling in a 50/50 dual language program and those who had not. The main effects were in English reading and writing and a lesser extent in math. Overall, Cobb et al. (2006) found that dual language schooling doesn’t have a negative effect on English students.

Successful dual language programs share program elements. Many note the importance of not segregating the ELLs from native English speakers (Collier & Thomas, 2004). Gomez, Freeman, and Freeman (2005) studied a 50/50 program designed for high numbers of ELLs. They found that separating language by subject, use of Bilingual Learning Centers, project based learning, language of the day and having bilingual pairs lent to the success of the program studied. They also discuss “conceptual refinement” (p. 155), where second language learners are grouped homogeneously immediately after the lesson to review concepts just taught. Finally, a focus on vocabulary enrichment lessons and challenging students to use their second language at the end of 2nd grade was essential.

Dual language programming extends beyond a simple substitution of English for another language during half of the day but rather the entire culture must be built around a “learning community within which diversity is seen and used as a building block for the betterment of the whole, students and teachers alike” (Hunt, 2011, p. 190). More specifically, Freeman’s (1998) study of Oyster Bilingual School, one of the oldest dual language schools in the US, found that this school’s dual language planning “can be seen as dynamic, multi-level processes in which
language minority and language majority members of the Oyster community collaborate in their efforts to define bilingualism as resources to be developed within a culturally pluralistic school, and not as problems to be overcome” (p. 27). The school goals around local social change “can be understood as providing the minority student with opportunities to create alternative social identities that are not readily available in mainstream US schools and society” (p. 27). This research inquires into whether principals and change agents perceive these types of participatory, inclusive systems are being developed in Catholic dual language schools.

**Challenges within Dual Language Programs**

Two-way immersion programs in Catholic and public schools are not without their challenges. Over the past fifteen years, more researchers have gone beyond noting the successes of dual language programming in regards to student academic performance and have focused in on the real challenges of starting and sustaining quality programs. First, appropriate implementation and teacher knowledge of the various TWI models can be a challenge (Torres-Guzmán, Kleyn, Morales-Rodríguez, & Han, 2005). Armendariz and Armendariz (2002) interviewed a principal who successfully implemented a two-way bilingual program and could reflect on the challenges of beginning the program. One key area that evolved at the school over time was the number of teachers who were certified in bilingual education. When the program started there were only two teachers and by the end of the fifth year, twelve more were certified and this lead to a decreased need for resource teachers in the classrooms (p. 174). Similarly, Clark, Flores, Riojas-Cortez, and Smith (2002) studied the role of a university in transforming an extremely low performing school to a two way program and found that staff were the biggest obstacle to initiating a dual language model because the teachers were not prepared for bilingual education. The principal studied also felt the teachers had negative impressions of the students
(who were primarily Mexican). However, through a 16 week course and summer restructuring institute offered by the university, teacher perspectives changed.

Another personnel issue in dual language schools is finding teachers with the appropriate academic proficiency in the language being taught. Lee and Jeong (2013) found that teachers were fluent in the partner language, Korean, but having studied in the US, lacked the grammar and higher level literacy skills. For this reason, screening measures for oral and written proficiency (Montecel and Cortez, 2002 as cited in Howard, Lindholm-Leary, & Center for Applied Linguistics, 2007) and professional development in the partner language are necessary (Guerrero and Sloan, 2001, as cited in Howard et al., 2007). Finally, Howard et al. (2007) argue that “monolingual English speakers who provide English models MUST understand the partner language in early grades” (p. 22).

Indeed, professional development needs are extensive, pricey and held after school—so it is difficult to get teacher buy in and union contracts must be considered (De Jesus, 2008). Many have noted the necessity of a faculty’s shared vision around bilingualism and multiculturalism (Howard et al, 2007). This takes time as “attitudes do not develop automatically…Effective collaboration and planning requires a team spirit, a unity and commitment to the educational process at hand, and the willingness to work together. Without a consistent group, the goals of professional development will not be met” (De Jesus, 2008, p. 197). Unfortunately, in a seven year longitudinal study of one school, De Jesus (2008) found high teacher attrition.

If these models are not implemented fully and the focus is not on instruction and achievement in both languages, TWI programs can further exacerbate power differentials between language minority and language majority students (Torres-Guzman et al., 2005). As it is, some programs serve students from vastly different economic backgrounds. One study found
that a much higher percentage of Spanish TWI students (86%) qualified for free/reduced lunch whereas only 9% of English language dominant students were low SES (Marian, Shook, & Schroeder, 2013). Amrein and Peña (2000) studied a school in its second year of implementing a dual language program. The authors found there were instructional, resource, and student “asymmetry” (p. 7) at the school and attributed this to the program’s infancy. Since the English teachers were monolingual, English was maintained in the classrooms whereas the Spanish teachers were bilingual, so often the children resorted to English, knowing that the teachers would understand and answer in Spanish. They suggest that “it is especially difficult for the Spanish-speaking teachers to withhold instruction and other types of support when they are fluent in two languages” (p. 8). Second, there were more English resources. The English classroom only had English print whereas the Spanish classroom had bilingual Spanish/English posters and only 20% of the books were in Spanish. Finally, there were more Spanish than English native speakers.

A number of researchers (e.g. Scanlan & Palmer, 2009; de Jong & Howard, 2009; Varghese & Park, 2010; Cervantes-Soon, 2014) have critically examined dual language programs and built on the “cautionary tale” of Valdés (1997), who argued that often the English speaking constituents of dual language programs may be more vocal and ELLs can be exploited for what they offer white English speaking students. These researchers contend that honoring the development of bilingual education and English as a Second Language is a way to protect identities. Empowering minority students is imperative.

Researchers de Jong and Howard (2009) drew upon past empirical research as well as data collected through a CAL/CREDE study in order to critically examine the unequal instructional opportunities for English native and minority language students in dual language
schools. They insisted on looking at the impact of programs on native speakers of the minority language. They found a focus on the English dominant learners; in fact, more Spanish language than English teachers had bilingual certification, there were more English resources, and poignantly, Spanish was “watered down” (p. 88) due to the Spanish teachers having to accommodate students with widely different proficiency levels (from novice to native). Whereas in English classes teachers focused on production skills, Spanish language classes focused on listening comprehension. This affirms what was found in the Ramirez report. The researchers found little evidence of student higher order thinking or students having to construct talk; rather the classrooms had a “passive language learning environment” (Ramirez, 1991 as cited in Cummins, 1992).

According to de Jong and Howard (2009), “One is left wondering how native speakers are appropriately challenged in their social and academic language use during these lessons where repetition and short answer questions dominate. While matching teacher talk and instructional activities to the proficiency level of the second language learner is important, such modifications must be analyzed regarding their impact on the language and literacy needs of native minority language speakers” (p. 89). Students tended to use English since most native speakers of the partner language are generally more bilingual than their English speaking counterparts who tend to be monolinguals upon entering the programs. Indeed, these authors note how others have problematized the notion of “native” speakers and that bilinguals have different language behaviors than monolinguals (e.g., Cook, 1999; Davies 2003; Kachru 1994, as cited in de Jong & Howard, 2009). Similarly, language brokering is not neutral and usually is unidirectional. In one study, the minority language speaker was looked to by others to be a broker and this can lead to uneven power dynamics and “habitual dependency that resorts to
getting quick answers from other students” (Coyoca & Lee, 2009, p. 277).

Due to the dominance of standardized tests, assessments are usually not consistent in DLI programs (de Jong, 2011) and lots of programs do not assess achievement in the partner language (Lindholm-Leary, 2012). Because many scholars acknowledge that it takes five to seven years to reach proficiency and often students test below grade level (in English) in the early years of the program, assessments in both languages are important (Collier & Thomas, 2004). Unfortunately, there are fewer assessment tools and support (such as Title 1 teachers, volunteers, etc.) in the minority language (de Jong, 2011, p. 212). Students do not always feel like balanced bilinguals and there are few language benchmarks (Lindholm-Leary, 2012).

de Jong and Howard (2009) emphasize the need for “conscious attention” (p. 93) to these issues and suggest minority language preschool programs and summer enrichment, more instruction time in the lower grades, such as occurs in the 90/10 model, and time for Spanish language arts separated by language status. Conversely, in another study, Korean parents complained about summer enrichment only in Korean and the focus of programming favoring the non-Korean students. These parents worried about their children’s access to college and debated withdrawing their students from a dual language program (Lee & Jeong, 2013). Indeed, dual language program leaders must constantly balance the needs and desires of many stakeholder groups, and programs with different languages and cultures, might require different competencies.

Varghese and Park (2010) question the uncritical linking of global education and dual language education. Drawing themes from language studies, the authors reveal that even when minority languages are promoted by educational institutions, dominant culture norms of the majority language are still imposed. The authors see a linking of the neoliberal agenda with
language learning. That is, language is seen as a commodity according to the “new global work order” (p. 77) and minority languages are seen as important for business and communication whereas English in U.S. schools is still the most important indicator of academic success. Noting that bilingual education was developed to serve minority, immigrant students, they ask the following key questions: “Do the rhetorical turns taken by bilingual educators in the move to global justifications of DLI programs result in a dilution of our original commitment? Is there a way that DLI programs might realize their global vision without compromising their commitment to local communities?” (p. 78). In order to understand the vision and commitment of Catholic dual language school leaders and change agents, this research explores why leaders and communities converted from a traditional monolingual program to a dual language one in the first place. Further, this project explores whether and how the original commitment of Catholic education, commitment to “the least among us” and to local communities, as well as the original commitment of dual language education, to native speakers of minority languages, is being maintained, questioned, or re-visioned in the process.

Cervantes-Soon (2014), who researched the new Latino Diaspora in the United States, also advocated for a “critical consciousness” (p. 78) in the development of TWI programs. While Varghese & Park focus on global education, Cervantes-Soon looks at how language education has become part of World Language Education (WLE), (formerly known as Foreign Language Ed), with a new focus on K-12 language education. The author points out that WLE and ESL education seem to operate separately and the field of WLE is not currently set up to really support TWI, even though it might raise the status of the model. Importantly, Cervantes-Soon notes that Thomas and Collier’s (2002) work which heralds the successes of the North Carolina dual language programs does not look closely enough at the achievement gaps of Limited
English proficient students and low income students (p. 69). Therefore, the current study was conducted on leaders’ perspectives of the goals and mission of Catholic dual language schools, and particularly what this means in reaching out and serving a large group of Latino or Chinese students, who may also be limited English proficient and low income.

TWI programs and their leaders must look at issues of power and the histories of communities. School leaders must be acutely aware of who is asking for dual language programs and once begun, whose opinions are embraced. Indeed, research has shown that is not enough for TWI advocates to be satisfied with Latino families “gratitude” to be able to communicate with school personnel and that the school honors their home language; researchers must inquire into what roles these parents have at school and the value of their voices (Cervantes-Soon, 2014). In a debate over where to house developing TWI programs in a school district, a longitudinal, ethnographic study found that the most dominant voices were that of black and white English native speakers, who often invoked the needs of Spanish speaking students as reasons for the TWI program (Dorner, 2009; 2011). Very little discourse came from low income, Mexican parents. Spanish dominant parents articulated the written goals for TWI, stating that TWI would help their students in their future work opportunities as well as help them foster better relationships with their family (Dorner, 2009, p. 311). Still, their children preferred more English and Dorner (2009) felt the students implicitly focused on how TWI would help them become more English proficient; the students noted the pressure to perform on the 3rd grade standardized test. This focus on English reflected the greater public discourse.

A study of nonlinguistic goals in two dual language programs found that in one school some racial groups felt excluded and that the other school did not support students with special needs (Scanlan & Palmer, 2009). Scanlan & Palmer (2009) concluded:
Without directly addressing issues of race and class and explicitly serving children along all lines of diversity present in a community, the program may end up serving the needs of those whose sense of entitlement most calls out to be served (Valdés, 1997) (p. 412).

Indeed, dual language planning must consider the sociocultural dimensions and context of its programs. This planning requires not just restructuring the school day and use of language but also a thorough “reculturing” for both administrators and teachers (Fullan, 2007, p. 25). How this reculturing is experienced and perceived by school leaders in Catholic dual language schools has not been studied.

**Dual Language School Leadership**

The success of both implementing and sustaining dual language schools is often attributed to leadership (Aguirre-Baeza, 2001; Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008; Hunt, 2011). In fact, “Support from the principal is essential to create acceptance for bilingual education with the whole school and community” (Brisk, 2006, p. 121). This is not surprising given the general research that upholds the principal as a vital component of school success (Fullan, 2014). In developing a dual language school, leaders needed a “constructivist mentality; a caring heart and soul; acceptance and knowledge of multiculturalism,” good communication skills needed to recruit a culturally diverse staff as well as the ability to be an advocate for bilingual teachers (Aguirre-Baeza, 2001, p. 169).

For sure, principal roles in dual immersion “require a distinct leadership skill set” (Rocque, Ferrin, Hite, & Randall, 2016, p. 816). Research in Utah that included a survey of 29 principals, 12 of whom who were interviewed, found that principal roles in one-way and two way immersion schools included being an immersion guru, “a visionary thinker and a scholar on all things related to dual immersion.” Importantly, “immersion gurus were made and not born”
Principal roles also included being an immersion proponent, cultural unifier, agent of change, and immersion overseer. Rocque et al. (2016) noted principals “had to perform actions beyond those required of typical administrators” (p. 814). They needed to consider teachers’ knowledge of language and culture when hiring, monitor rates of student attrition, and find tests in the target language. One principal noted that dual language required “a level of support and handholding that we do not have to give with other teachers” (p. 811) and this is an important consideration for principals developing programs in Catholic dual language schools.

Similarly, a study of one principal who successfully implemented a two way bilingual program revealed the need for leadership to stay up to date with bilingual practices, including sharing research, attending conferences, and attending appropriate professional development around bilingual education. The principal also needed to address language concerns of the community, particularly those of Latino families (Armendariz & Armendariz, 2002). Leaders in those successful dual language schools which were sustained over time supported social justice causes of minority and immigrant groups and were political activists in garnering support for bilingual education (Feinberg, 1999). Indeed, the principals acted on “their tacit understanding that legal, political, and economic forces make things happen in our society” (Feinberg, 1999, p. 64). Ultimately, essential leadership structures for dual language schools include having a collective mission, collaborative leadership, trust in faculty as well as trust in the benefits of the dual language model, and the need to adhere to it, and flexibility in the “implementation of language policy, decision-making and individualized instruction” (Hunt, 2011, p. 200).

To date there is no research on how Catholic dual language principals implement a dual language program and sustain it over time. Furthermore, since the schools and leaders in this
study were at different stages of the implementation process, this research is uniquely positioned to reveal the priorities and roles as well as the challenges and successes of dual language school leaders after one year of implementation to more than ten years.

**Catholic School Leadership**

**Strengths of Catholic School Leadership**

*Faith leadership.* Most of the literature on Catholic school principals focuses on defining or exploring the distinct faith role, values and spiritual competencies of the Catholic school principal (Ciriello, 1989; Coll, 2009; Grace, 2002; Harkins, 1993; Neidhart & Lamb, 2010; O’Keefe, 2000; Schutlloffel, 2003). While many of the articles simply state that Catholic school leaders practice faith leadership, Coll (2009) and O’Keefe (2000) provide much-needed examples of what this might look like in action. Further, Grace (2002) analyzed the resources principals draw upon for enacting faith leadership.

Ciriello (1989) outlined the competencies of the Catholic school leader as spiritual leadership, meaning one who nurtures faith development; managerial leadership, which includes the hiring and evaluation of staff; and educational leadership, where the principal provides professional development and uses research to develop curriculum and pedagogical tools. This framework was developed through conversations with superintendents who stated that the most important characteristic of effective school leaders was the ability to be faith leaders (Ciriello, 1989 as cited in Wallace, 2000). Harkins (1993) surveyed 783 Catholic school elementary principals nationwide in 1990 in order to give a demographic overview of the profession as well as provide a summary of their moral values and leadership priorities. In an open response section that asked participants to name the essential characteristics of a good Catholic school principal, principals most frequently cited commitment and faith. When asked to name priorities
for their school, principals cited respect, care, and imitating Jesus as among their top six. Ten years later, Schuttloffel (2003) wrote a report on Catholic school leadership and found that superintendents and vicars of education across the U.S. cited spiritual leadership (37%) followed by administrative leadership (32%) as the primary critical knowledge novice principals lacked. Furthermore, 93% of superintendents felt that the new principals coming from public schools lacked spiritual leadership or theological knowledge (Schuttloffel, 2003, p. 14).

Through interviews with ten Catholic urban elementary school principals and drawing from national survey data, O’Keefe (2000) concluded: “In many ways, principals are de facto pastors of religiously diverse communities” (p. 236). By having to explain to non-Catholic families as well as non-practicing students across denominations the various traditions of the Catholic Church, O’Keefe (2000) found that principals must be well grounded in Catholicism, have an understanding of “pastoral counseling, an ability to lead public prayer effectively, and [have] credibility as an authentic person of faith” (O’Keefe, 2000, p. 237). Neidhart and Lamb (2010), in their study of 10 elementary principals in a rural Australian diocese, Queensland, found that all of the principals saw their faith leadership as defined by the diocese’s role statement which “frames the primary principal’s faith leadership in terms of a religious leadership informed by Catholic beliefs and practices, an expectation that is beyond a mere spiritual sensibility” (p. 17). The authors found that principals did see their faith leadership as religious and that this leadership role was more strongly enacted in parish and wider community participation than in the school (p. 26).

In what seems to be the most in-depth, qualitative study of urban Catholic school principals, Grace (2002) found faith leadership was a key theme. This UK study found that 33 of the 60 head teachers made “strong and explicit references to faith leadership” and “conveyed a
sense of personal spiritual vocation as central to their conceptions of the role of a Catholic school leader” (p. 135). The other head teachers had a discourse of “‘good works’ as exemplars of faith in action” (p. 136). For 17 of the head teachers their personal mission was to serve the poor. Indeed, the head teachers seemed to reveal a diversity of perspectives around faith leadership. Grace (2002) further noted that 15 of the 60 head teachers belonged to religious orders (therefore, the other 45 were lay leaders), 40 attended secondary schools run by religious orders and 21 attended Catholic teacher education colleges. Significantly for Grace (2002), some principals explicitly acknowledged how these formative experiences sustained them during difficult times as an urban principal. Grace (2010) later concluded that “This first generation [of lay leaders] are the inheritors of the animating spiritual capital in education formerly possessed by members of religious congregations” (p. 123).

Grace (2002) used the term spiritual capital in an attempt to describe the “symbolic power instantiated in individual school leaders” (p. 119). Building on Bourdieu’s notions of capital and habitus, he explained,

Spiritual capital can be a source of empowerment because it provides a transcendent impulse which can guide judgment and action in the mundane world. Those within education whose own formation has involved the acquisition of spiritual capital do not act simply as professionals but as professionals and witnesses (p. 236).

Spiritual capital builds on theological knowledge and can serve to inspire, but Grace (2010) emphasizes a less dramatic and more sustainable vision of school leadership. Indeed, principals named their own Catholic education, prayer, and opportunities for reflection as resources for renewing this spiritual capital.
One way to assess the faith leadership of a principal is to study its effect on other community members. While Grace (2002) included focus groups of students, the questions centered more generally on school mission. However, Coll (2009) aimed to explore the impact of Christian witness and focused on whether principals’ faith leadership influenced 20 new teachers’ faith outlook and development. Through semi structured interviews at the end of their first year of teaching, Coll (2009) found that teachers spoke of the symbolic nature of leadership, or how the principals’ actions influenced their own religious sensibility and even participation outside of school. Principals were visible at religious events, sent clear faith messages through discussion of weekly gospel readings and created a sense of community. Of the 20 teacher participants, 75% viewed their school’s leadership positively while 25% were critical, citing that perhaps the leadership was too rigid or too superficial in their understanding of Catholicism. One teacher spoke of the presence of symbols and rituals but “not much else in terms of the promotion of the Catholic faith” (p. 206). Poignantly, when teachers spoke positively about the faith leadership and environment at their schools they also tended to mention shared or distributed leadership (Coll, 2009). For example, various members of religious and pastoral staff, other teachers, and even students were named as leaders. Moreover, teachers linked a sense of community with leadership that promoted Catholic aspects of the school. One teacher critiqued her school stating, “It doesn’t feel like a Catholic school…there’s not much unity in the school…it’s full of individuals” (p. 208). Faith leadership and community, or faith leadership and shared leadership seem to be correlated. Considering the centrality of collaboration in dual language schools (Howard & Sugarman, 2007), it is important to explore how various change agents view the principals’ faith leadership and its relationship to community building in these schools.
Defining faith leadership becomes complex when one notes the differences in expressions of faith (Grace, 2002; Fuller & Johnson, 2014) and what these expressions look like in particular school contexts. While Fuller and Johnson (2014) discuss the faith leadership at one Catholic high school serving economically marginalized youth, there needs to be more research on the faith leadership of elementary school principals serving culturally and linguistically diverse students and in particular school contexts such as dual language. This research addresses the gap in the literature by exploring whether school principals and others who exercise leadership view faith leadership as central to their roles in converting their school to dual language.

While some may find a correlation between positive school climate and a particular leadership style, it is important to distinguish between teacher and principal perspectives. Black’s (2010) theoretical framework involved servant leadership. In fact, the author stated: “The language and characteristics of servant leadership are the most appropriate style for Catholic school leaders (as cited in Schafer, 2005)” (p. 442). Leading with this assumption, her mixed method study of 246 elementary teachers and principals from 12 schools in an Ontario English Catholic School Board explored whether a correlation existed between perceptions of school climate and the practice of servant leadership (p. 447). Black (2010) found a positive correlation between school climate and servant leadership, and regarding the principal, “Values people and develops people were the strongest connection in the correlation” (p. 461). Interestingly, using an Organizational Leadership Assessment derived in part using Greenleaf’s definition of servant leadership, Black (2010) found the schools did not meet the benchmark for servant-oriented organization but scored slightly lower as “positively paternalistic organizations” (p. 455). Further, regarding servant leadership, teachers and principals had different perceptions, with
principals reporting that school communities had excellent levels whereas teachers reported moderate levels. Teachers felt principals were more directive than supportive (p. 457). Principals also perceived the schools as more open than teachers. This reveals the importance of examining multiple viewpoints, particularly comparing principals’ and other stakeholders’ perceptions of school communities. Since Catholic dual language schools are relatively new, it seems important to explore principals’ leadership styles in such an innovative and evolving context.

Through teacher questionnaires and semi-structured interviews of principals and teachers, Punnachet (2009) analyzed the leadership styles of principals and their impact on teacher motivation at eight large (primary through secondary) Catholic missionary-run private schools in Thailand. Like Black (2010), Punnachet (2009) also discussed Greenleaf’s framework of servant leadership and set out to find what servant leadership means in a Catholic school context. Punnachet (2009) found that the principals, who were all religious Sisters of Saint Paul of Chartres, had core values derived from their religious formation, with Jesus being the center, as well as Thai culture. Their professional and personal values were deeply intertwined. All principals felt they were servant-leaders but what they meant by service was not elucidated. The teachers also referred to the principals as servant-leaders when they were “perceived as being ‘all things to all people’” (p. 126). An important consideration for Catholic school leadership was noted regarding the selection and succession of principals. Punnachet (2009) found that there was “no rigorous selection process. The sisters had to accept the position, as a result of their vows of obedience, regardless of their confidence in their ability. Some of them did not want to be leaders but had no choice in the matter” (p. 128). Again, since most Catholic schools in this study are schools converting to dual language, this research explores whether or not the
principals were part of the decision process to become dual language and if so, what were their motivations to do so.

**Challenges in Catholic School Leadership**

**Accountability, competition, and multiple roles of principals.** Accountability pressures and competition as well as workload are a constant theme in Catholic school leadership studies. Noting these challenges is important when considering the multiple and unique demands of leading a dual language program. Perhaps in part due to the spiritual or religious dimension aforementioned, another theme discussed in the literature is the multiple roles Catholic school principals must juggle on a daily basis. O’Keefe (2000) explained how principals “often used images traditionally associated with other professions: nurse, social worker, pastor, and financier” (p. 235) to describe how they spent their day. Among the myriad of challenges they faced, principals found desolation in financing and staffing problems. As O’Keefe (2000) explained, “At one time, financing parochial schools was the responsibility of the pastor. Today urban schools rely more heavily on the principal because more of them are diocesan and because many of the parishes with which they are associated are themselves insolvent” (p. 233). Survey data also indicated that faculty tended to be less experienced and less likely to be certified than public school counterparts. Therefore, this “places a significant professional development burden on principals. Moreover, principals are responsible for the spiritual and theological formation of faculty, 15% of whom are non-Catholic” (O’Keefe, 2000, p. 235). Similarly, in Bryk, Lee and Holland’s (1993) landmark study of Catholic schools, the researchers discussed how “many Catholic school principals operate like owners of small businesses” (p. 151). Principals were not only concerned with management, but were also equally concerned with building personal relationships and with spiritual leadership. Still, while principals said their most important task was building community, Bryk et al. (1993) observed: “mundane managerial
tasks actually claim large portions of their time” (p. 163). How principals perceive their success in managing operations as well as serve as instructional leaders in complex curricular programs such as dual language immersion has not been studied in a Catholic setting. Moreover, in this study, I considered the larger societal context, namely the competition between schools and the pressure for high academic standing, and how this might affect Catholic principals’ perceptions of their school’s dual language goals.

Revealing the pervasive nature of accountability pressures, all head teachers in Grace’s (2002) study discussed the importance of academic results. Citing OFSTED evaluation reports and statistics, “The language of school effectiveness and of school improvement was very evident in the interview accounts” (p. 140). Nonetheless, Grace (2002) noted that many discussed this academic mission within a framework of “other religious, social and moral aims of Catholic schooling” (p. 140). Still, the increasing intensity of market-based reforms affected the head teachers, with 25 leaders uncritically stating that competition was a given and that one had to look out for his/her own school’s success. On the other hand, half of the head teachers were looking for ways to collaborate “which would meet reasonable demands for efficiency and accountability on the one hand, while not involving the ‘win or die’ imperatives of unregulated market competition in schooling” (p. 204). A small group acknowledged that competition among Catholic schools had always been present so they felt the “new visibility of market competition” was at least “more honest” (p. 192). In order to maintain the integrity of the distinct Catholic mission of serving the common good in the face of educational reform challenges, Grace (2002) argued that the spiritual capital originally passed from religious congregations to lay leaders must be renewed.
Nearly 10 years later, Fincham (2010) conducted interviews with a much smaller group of Catholic school leaders in England—six elementary, one secondary, and one sixth form college. All had been or were currently students in the MA in Catholic School Leadership at St. Mary’s University College in Twickenham. Fincham (2010) found the overwhelming narrative centered on the work overload, and like Grace (2002), the struggle to meet government accountability demands as well as navigating the results-based emphasis of the educational market. Not only were the head teachers concerned with the challenge of secular values and family breakdown necessitating pastoral support, they found it difficult to commit to a preferential option for the poor with a pressure for high league table results. The head teachers also noted the challenges of faith leadership and the need for ongoing professional development around theological literacy, since teachers often didn’t understand the mission of a Catholic school and came from a variety of faith backgrounds. Ultimately, Fincham (2010) stated a need for a distinctive model of leadership: “A challenge for leaders in Catholic schools is to articulate a clear vision of Christian faith and Gospel values” (p. 72).

Belmonte and Cranston (2009) addressed this more particular challenge of carrying out a Catholic school mission and preserving Catholic school culture within a changing educational landscape through a multiple case study of six lay principals (four primary, two secondary) in a rural diocese of South Wales, Australia. Although on a different continent and in a rural context, some overlap of themes from the English studies emerged in this one. The school leaders identified their primary roles “as determining the quality of religious and academic purposes of their schools and building faith communities among members of their schools” (p. 301). The principals were again challenged by pressures for academic success but also discussed the
increase of non-Catholic students and uneasy relationship with parish priests. All stated they lacked ongoing formation for their roles, particularly around religious formation.

Dorner, Spillane, and Pustejovsky (2011) found that market reforms seem to be affecting U.S. schools in all sectors as revealed through standards and prescribed curriculum. Yet, the public schools tended to share instructional practices in more formal “mechanistic” ways than the more organic, informal sharing found in Catholic and charter schools (Dorner et al., 2011).

While this sharing could be positive, the leadership model could affect what this sharing looks like on the ground. For example, in one study of two schools, the researcher found there was little focus on the school’s mission and the teachers felt powerless outside of their classrooms. Even though the principal emphasized the presence of positive teamwork, the researcher found “little meaningful professional conversation takes place, nor are teachers involved in any way with one another’s work, other than at the superficial level of cordial acquaintanceship” (Ochterski, 2002, p. 342). More research needs to inquire into whether this “informal sharing” involves the hard work, commitment, and messiness of true collaboration (Hargreaves, 1994).

This is particularly vital in a dual language school that depends on team planning and vertical and horizontal curricular alignment for success (Howard et al., 2007).

Opportunities for Catholic School Leadership

Catholic identity and school vitality. Some studies have explicitly linked Catholic schools’ success with the school’s Catholic identity (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993). For instance, in the classic Bryk et al. (1993) study of Catholic high schools, one of the distinguishing features of Catholic school success was Catholic identity described in terms of an inspirational ideology that is powered by reflection on Christ, the Kingdom of God, and the hope of the resurrection. Bryk et al. concluded: “Such images evoke our humanness. They add a depth to a schooling
process that is otherwise dominated by a rhetoric of test scores, performance standards, and professional accountability” (p. 303). The uniqueness and effectiveness of Catholic schools seemed to be due to their sense of community, built through shared activities, including a core academic program, extracurriculars, and religious activities.

Cook & Simonds (2011) contend that relationship building reveals Catholic school uniqueness in a highly competitive school marketplace. Interestingly, teachers’ perceptions of strong Catholic identity (defined in terms of faith formation, religious practices, and school mission) “significantly adds to the prediction of the vitality of a Catholic elementary school” (Hobbie, Convey, & Schutloffel, 2010, p.18). The coupling of school vitality, or the school’s ability to persevere and withstand challenges, and Catholic identity must be further analyzed in order to understand what this looks like at dual language schools. Heft (2011) describes the “full vision of Catholic education” (p.89) as the integration of moral and theological knowledge, a deep sense of each subject’s history, an emphasis on art, speech, and drama, and a commitment to service. He surmises whether parents would not sacrifice immensely to send their students to Catholic schools if they provided a clearer alternative to the public school offerings.

Again, this appeal to the uniqueness of Catholic schools lies in their Catholic identity and in fact, this Catholic identity is seen as the “heart”, the “glue” and the “lifeblood” as it “provides a sense of unity…in the midst of diversity” (Martin, 2012, p. 49-50). My research is unique because it points to how Catholic identity might inspire this unity as well as give educators the stamina to overcome the inherent challenges in a school converting to dual language.

**Shared or distributed leadership.** While research has documented the challenges of principals and pastors working together (Belmonte & Cranston, 2009; Brock & Fraser, 2001,) and have noted that perceptions of leaders are not always shared by teachers (Ochterski, 2002),
there are still examples in the literature of how leadership might be positively distributed in a Catholic school through positive teacher relationships and the principals’ support of teachers (Black, 2010; Gronn & Hamilton, 2004; Hobbie et al, 2010; and Ochterski, 2002). This is important because Catholic schools should be “animated by community and communion”, which involves trust-filled teamwork and teacher collaboration (Miller, 2006, p. 28-29). For example, through interviews with principals and pastors of 36 parish elementary schools located in either New South Wales or Nebraska, Brock and Fraser (2001) found principals and pastors agreed on the necessity of frequent communication and mutual support. Further, they agreed on role clarification, with the pastor establishing the overall place of the school within a parish, particularly with regards to the budget, and the principal assuming responsibility for daily operations--curriculum, hiring, and conflicts.

Examining a completely different type of shared leadership, Gronn and Hamilton (2004) studied a male and female co-principalship at a Catholic all-girls’ secondary school sponsored by a religious order of sisters. The co-principalship “formed part of an anti-competitive approach to learning which was consistent with the Order’s strong commitment to social justice, in keeping with, as Sister #1 said, quoting from something she wrote at the time, ‘the spirit of the second Vatican Council’” (p. 7). Setting out to study the impact of such an arrangement on stakeholders’ perceptions of leadership, the researchers found a culture of shared leadership practices in the school, such as coordinators for curriculum and pastoral services, which created an environment conducive to supporting the co-principalship. It was the “publicly known commitment of the Order to the democratic management of pedagogy and learning, and Smith’s [male co-principal’s] endorsement of this ideology which legitimated subsequent re-structured and distributed work practices” (p. 28). Stakeholders felt that the shared principalship made the
school a better place and the partnership between the principals served as a positive role model for all.

Ochterski (2002), too, found a connection between leadership models and school culture and climate in her study of teachers’ and principals’ perceptions of power relationships in two US Catholic, all girls’ high schools. Ochterski (2002) described a more shared leadership structure at another school, Corpus Christi Academy, where a strong academic council was present. A high level of trust among teachers was present and the teachers noted the centrality of the school’s mission inspired by the principal’s complete dedication to the school’s purpose. How leaders perceive their role in building this teamwork and trust, especially in a school reform model such as dual language that is dependent on highly skilled and collaborative teachers, seems important. In order to conceptualize the depth of change the Catholic school principals in this study took on by implementing a dual language program, I now turn to the school change literature.

School Change and Leadership

Fundamental Change

Evans (1996) explores how previous innovations in schools have failed because “they didn’t get at fundamental, underlying, systemic features of school life: they didn’t change the behaviors, norms, and beliefs of practitioners” (p. 5). While “changing the culture of institutions is the real agenda” (Fullan, 2016, p. 91), researchers note that distinguishing between first order and second order change is vital for understanding the process of change. For instance, Cuban (1988) explains,

First order changes try to make what already exists more efficient and more effective, without disturbing the basic organizational features, without substantially altering the
ways in which adults and children perform their roles. Those who propose first-order changes believe that the existing goals and structures of schooling are both adequate and desirable (p. 342)

First order changes in schools are more about “quality control” or improving the quality of “traditional schooling” (Cuban, 1988, p. 342). Evans (1996) provides the example of adopting a new basal textbook as a first order change. Meanwhile, second order changes are about the fundamental design of schools. These changes are “systemic in nature and aim to modify the very way an organization is put together, altering its assumptions, goals, structures, roles, and norms” (Watzlawick, Weakland, & Fisch, 1974 as cited in Evans, 1996, p. 5). Arguing that one type of change is not better than the other, Cuban (1988) maintains that it’s vital to understand the type of change a school is undertaking and the “goals of the proposed change” (p. 344). Therefore, this research on Catholic dual language leadership considered the vital questions outlined by Cuban (1988), “What blocks those goals within and outside the schools? What have previous efforts achieved? Why did they fail? How do organizational structures help or hinder these proposed changes?” (p. 344). In one study of dual language principals, the researcher found that the implementation of dual language programming was in fact a second order change (Rocque et al., 2016). This study adds to this literature and unpacks the perceived nature of the change to dual language in Catholic schools.

**Change as Process**

Evans (1996) outlines two paradigms of change: rational-structural and strategic-systematic. While the first is predictable, linear, and structured with a clear objective, the latter is process oriented and fluid, with an emerging outcome (p. 7). Fullan (2016), too, clarifies that change is not linear given the complex nature of schooling and frames the following stages of
change in a circular fashion: initiation (process that leads up to adopting a change),
implementation (first two to three years of putting the reform into practice) and continuation
(whether and how the change becomes part of the ongoing system). Certainly, “Change is a
journey, rather than a blueprint” (Evans, 1996, p. 15) and Fullan (2016) notes that “much is to be
learned through deliberate doing that cannot be anticipated at the drawing room table” (p.83).
This learning by doing is central to improvement science (Bryk, Gomez, Grunow, & Le Mahieu,
2015) which advocates for learning fast and making adjustments as needed later.
Similarly, Fullan (2016) cites the rapid technological changes occurring that have led to
“innovations being generated” that “are not yet worked out yet” (p. 79). Directed by clear
vision, these focused innovations become “rapidly better” (p. 80) by taking user feedback and
improving them in practice. Ultimately, Fullan (2016) notes the importance of the shift from just
looking at innovations (such as dual language) to considering the school’s innovativeness (it’s
capacity to sustain such innovations). In order to sustain a change, for an innovation to become
institutionalized, a certain type of leadership is necessary and my study points to that type of
leadership.

Change Leadership

Fullan, Cuttress, and Kilcher (2009) explain that leaders of change need “change
knowledge: understanding and insight about the process of change and the key drivers that make
for successful change in practice. The presence of change knowledge does not guarantee success,
but its absence ensures failure” (p. 9). They outline eight “drivers” for change leaders and this
study points to the need for analyzing what moves the implementation of Catholic dual language
schools forward. These drivers include engaging people’s moral purpose for high academic
achievement for all as well as building capacity. The connection to people’s values can foster
resilience during the difficult times of change and inevitable “implementation dips” (Fullan et al., 2009). Moral vision that engenders high levels of trust and shared beliefs has been found to be necessary for the sustainability of school reform (House & McQuillan, 2005). It follows that change leaders must also constantly confront and address people’s fear of change and feelings of loss during the change process (James, 2010).

The third driver is understanding the change process so that the necessary conditions for change are developed. Again, change means empowering teachers, making them feel safe, and building trusting relationships (Leithwood, Harris, & Strauss, 2010, p. 59) or as House and McQuillan (2005) pinpoint, “successful reform” involves treating teachers and students with “respect” and giving them “considerable autonomy” (p. 199). Fourth, leaders must develop cultures of learning. This includes, as discussed in the previous section, fostering a learning community where peers are learning from one another in the process of implementing change. Fifth, change leaders develop cultures of evaluation. They figure out the best ideas, by gathering data and disaggregating it, as well as creating action plans and sharing these with the school community. Sixth, change leaders develop leadership capacity in others. Seventh, change requires someone to foster coherence. For sure, change “overload and fragmentation” can be “normal” (Fullan et al., 2009, p. 14). Therefore, change leaders must guide the “alignment, connect[ing] the dots, and be[ing] clear about how the big picture fits together” (Fullan et al., 2009, p. 14). In one study of curricular change in a Catholic high school, fostering coherence meant “sensegiving to help others find common ground regarding the mission and purpose of their school” and the change initiative (Carlson & Patterson, 2015, p. 615).

Finally, leaders of change must cultivate tri-level development between the school/community, district, and state (Fullan et al., 2009). For Catholic schools, this would
presumably be the school/community, Archdiocese, and national TWIN network. Indeed, leaders need to be “systems thinkers in action” (Fullan, 2005 as cited in Fullan et al., 2009). Change leaders ideally change contexts while changing schools (Hargreaves & Ainscow, 2015).

For sure, understanding change in the Catholic school context is vital and this research probes principals and change agents’ perceptions of school change to dual language. I now turn to the concept of professional capital, which I found to be beneficial to understanding what resources the principals and other leaders drew from as they developed their dual language programs.

**Theoretical Framework**

**Professional Capital**

As a framework for inquiring into schools’ experiences of implementing and sustaining a dual language program as a whole school reform, I draw upon Hargreaves and Fullan’s (2012) notion of professional capital, which they describe as the “resources, investments, and assets that make up, define and develop a profession and its practice” (p. 92). Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) describe human capital in terms of individuals’ skills and knowledge, education and development that will bring about economic gains in the future. For this study, the human capital part of the Catholic school conversion to a dual language school involves the knowledge of the leaders and change agents regarding dual language philosophy, curriculum, and best instructional practices. It also includes recruiting and hiring practices as well as developing dual language teachers.

Leithwood and Louis (2011) emphasize the importance of inquiring into “how leaders become expert at working within the settings in which they find themselves” (p. 229).

Developing human capital presumably requires passion and skill, some which will require many
years to develop. As Fullan (2014) explains, “passion matters but must be earned through actually getting better at leading change…you only really feel the passion emotionally when you are skilled at the work and are actually experiencing success. Passion without skill is dangerous” (p. 125). While many Catholic schools pride themselves on having strong shared missions, it is vital to consider the specialized human capital necessary for the success of a dual language school. Fullan’s (2014) definition of mission “as the desire to make a difference in an area that has meaning for you and that you are good at” (p. 126) seems particularly central to a reform as technically complex as dual language programming.

The second part of Hargreaves and Fullan’s (2012) professional capital equation is social capital. This refers to how the “quantity and quality of interactions and social relationships among people affects their access to knowledge and information; their senses of expectation, obligation, and trust; and how far they are likely to adhere to the same norms or codes of behavior” (p. 90). Indeed, as noted earlier and as Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) point out, research has shown that Catholic schools do better with low income youth because of the common mission and relationships—the social capital they provide. Social capital “gives you access to other people’s human capital” (p. 90). It’s about how a group works together, their “collective capacity” (p. 91). Research has shown that the power of the school community is stronger than the individuals in a school. For example, if a weaker teacher, one who has lower human capital, is in a school with strong social capital, students tend to score better on standardized exams (Leana, 2011).

Social capital could be coupled with the cultural aspects of school reform. The cultural piece is about community and social relationships (House & McQuillan, 2005). For Hargreaves and Fullan (2012), “the key variable that determines success in any innovation...is the degree of
Collaborative cultures then are key; yet collaboration can be contrived (Hargreaves, 1994). As Payne (2008) notes, “Reform after reform fails because of nothing more complicated than the sheer inability of adults to cooperate with another” (p. 6). Moreover, adults in schools tend to avoid controversy and challenging, professional dialogue (Payne, 2008). Developing social capital is not easy. Fullan (2007) warns educators about the perils of over-simplifying: “There are no shortcuts to achieving shared meaning” and while Catholic schools may presume some shared values and culture, research has shown school faculty and leaders might have vastly different ideas of what Catholic identity (Fuller & Johnson, 2014; Grace, 2002) and cultural responsiveness means in their community (Dallavis, 2014). Furthermore, context matters (Fullan, 2007): “To know what success looks like, and even to know how it works in one situation, is not the same thing as getting it in place in another situation” (p. 104). While Catholic schools share some qualities and aspects of mission, it is important to note the uniqueness of each school site, its particular context, and the social capital of the people involved in the change.

Last, Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) explain their understanding of decisional capital. They describe decisional capital as having the freedom and the information to make judgments. Derived from case law, this is the “capital that professionals acquire and accumulate through structured and unstructured experience, practice, and reflection—capital that enables them to make wise judgments in circumstances where there is no fixed rule or piece of incontrovertible evidence to guide them” (p. 94). One increases her decisional capital by examining one’s own judgments and those of others. Developing this capacity takes time and Hargreaves and Fullan surmise that in the teaching profession this might take up to eight years, if one presumes that it takes 10,000 hours to master something. Importantly, decisional capital requires reflection on
practice/action, which done well leads to reflecting in practice. Then there is reflection about action, which “drives you to change the context and conditions of what you practice, so that your practice can improve a lot more” (p. 99). Reflection about action is important for this study because, as these scholars point out, educators get so caught up in the busyness of each day that there may not be time set aside to think and inquire. Due to Catholic school principals’ multiple roles (O’Keefe, 2000), it may be even more difficult for this reflection to transpire. Furthermore, contextual factors such as each school’s governance structure, who the principal reports to—whether a board of limited jurisdiction, a pastor, or a superintendent, as well as how finances are managed all influence social capital as well as how and by whom decisions are made in Catholic schools. In dual language Catholic schools, the question remains as to what type of decisional capital the school leader and community hold.

The recent literature on leadership has focused on the indirect, yet explicit role of the principal in school change and the sustainability of it (Fullan, 2014; Hargreaves & Fink, 2006; Leithwood & Louis, 2011). Indeed, the leader’s role is “to build the professional capital of the school’s teachers and its community” (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 146). The Catholic school leadership literature also points to the centrality of faith leadership and spiritual capital. Spiritual capital is the “vocational commitment” and “empowerment” that gives leaders a “sustained sense of mission, purpose and hope in their work” (Grace, 2010, p. 118). Grace (2010) found an animating spirituality in leaders who served in economically depressed areas and worked with marginalized students. Given the myriad challenges inherent in starting a dual language program, it seems important to understand the resources Catholic school leaders draw upon that inspire and sustain their commitment and to see whether these include spiritual or religious dimensions. This research points to how Catholic school leaders and communities have developed dual
language programs, by building on both their professional capital as well as their spiritual capital.

**Summary and Implications**

The review of Catholic school literature reveals how the success of Catholic schools in the past ten years has become more nuanced. Rather than just focusing on test scores, there is a focus on the social and emotional effects (e.g., Louie & Holdaway, 2009) as well as the challenges of maintaining a strong Catholic identity and academically rigorous program (Dallavis, 2014; Fuller & Johnson, 2014). While Catholic schools historically served immigrant families, recent minority families, namely Latino families, feel Catholic schools are financially prohibitive and may not be culturally responsive (Guzman, Palacios, & Deliyannides, 2012; Notre Dame Task Force, 2009; Suhy, 2012). Catholic dual language schools have arisen out of the need for sustainability and school viability (Fraga, 2016) and theoretically are meant to serve culturally and linguistically diverse students, who are often underserved in all school sectors (Scanlan, 2008, 2010). Catholic church documents and Catholic social teaching point to the congruence of Catholic schools’ mission and the goals of dual language schooling (Scanlan, 2010).

The success of dual language programming has been well documented (e.g., Brisk, 2006; Howard & Sugarman, 2007). Yet, more recently, the research in this area has also become more nuanced; rather than simply advocating for more programming, researchers have noted the real challenges in creating and sustaining programs that meet the needs of all students, particularly English Language Learners and economically disadvantaged students (e.g., de Jong, 2009, 2011).

The faith leadership of Catholic school principals has been highlighted most frequently,
yet key sources reveal that Catholic elementary school leaders juggle multiple demands (O’Keefe, 2000, 2012), and how they stay attuned to academic progress and serve diverse populations in their often overloaded schedules, is understudied. Principals must consider school vitality in an urban context where many Catholic elementary schools are struggling to stay open (McDonald & Schultz, 2015). Therefore, this study inquired into the capital of each school leader and change agent and how they use it. Framing this research in the literature on school change serves not only to fill a gap in the literature but also provides Catholic dual language schools and their advocates with information on how principals and their schools might be able to affect school change in presumably difficult circumstances.
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to engage my research questions and the “messy and complex business that is not easily studied and understood” (Elliott, 2004, p. 146), I conducted a single exploratory qualitative case study (Merriam, 1998) of how administrators and key informants at Catholic elementary schools understand the conversion and implementation of the dual language programs at their schools. Data for my study was drawn from schools involved with the Two Way Immersion Network of Catholic Schools (TWIN-CS). This study aimed to fill the gap in the research literature concerning perceptions and the lived experience of Catholic school leadership in whole school curricular reform, namely dual language immersion. Ultimately, this applied study seeks to provide Catholic school leaders considering dual language immersion with information regarding the potential successes as well as the challenges that might result from choosing such an endeavor.

Research Questions

How do Catholic school leaders navigate the change process to a two-way, dual language immersion school? What is the role (if any) of professional and spiritual capital?

- What are the motivations for converting to a dual language program?
- How do leaders perceive the successes and challenges in becoming a dual language school? What are the barriers and supports in this process?
- What are the biographies, competencies, and social networks of the leaders and change agents that contribute or hinder their capacity to lead change?
• How do key change agents understand the initiative and its leadership?

**Qualitative Research**

As an applied research study, my project hoped to “improve the way things are done” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 4) in Catholic dual language schools, or innovative schools attempting whole school reform more generally. Taking an interpretative/constructivist approach, my research inquired into how principals and key stakeholders make meaning of their experiences of becoming and sustaining a dual language program. As Patton (2015) explains, “Qualitative research inquires into, documents and interprets the meaning-making process” (p. 3).

Merriam and Tisdell (2016) outline four key aspects of qualitative research. First, qualitative research explores the perspectives of the participants (an *emic* view). Second, the researcher is central. As Patton (2015) explains, “Qualitative inquiry is personal. The researcher is the instrument of inquiry” (p. 3). Researchers must take seriously their personal history and acknowledge its role in the research collection. Third, rather than hide one’s theoretical framework, the goal is to make it present, visible. The framework allows one to focus the study and guide the interpretation. In this way qualitative research is inductive and helps build theory by taking the particulars and developing themes. Indeed, this type of research aims to yield “rich, ‘thick’, description of the phenomenon under study” (Merriam, 1998, p. 11).

In order to describe something with great detail, qualitative research must not only inquire into individuals’ thoughts and actions, but must seek to understand context, namely “social, family, organizational, community, religious, political, and economic systems” (Patton, 2015, p. 8). Certainly, this research aims to “illuminate system and systemic issues and potential
solutions” (Patton, 2015, p. 8) to building and sustaining Catholic dual language schools. As I researched how these principals navigated the changes in their schools, I sought to uncover and identify any “unanticipated consequences and side effects” (Patton, 2015, p.10) of this school reform and therefore, proceeded with an open mind. As Creswell (2013) explains, qualitative research has an inherently emergent design that cannot be too tightly bound or predetermined. Therefore, through my interviews, I tried to provide a forum for the stories of the Catholic dual language principals and key change agents to be told. As an insider, “The study reflects the history, culture and experiences” of me as a researcher (Creswell, 2013, p. 54). I’m an insider to this research as a principal in the TWIN-CS network. I also am relatively new to the principalship and until embarking on this research, I did not have the opportunity to discuss the change process with the other TWIN-CS principals. Therefore, I did my best to “empower individuals to share their stories, hear their voices, and minimize the power relationships that often exist between researcher and the participants in a study” (Creswell, 2013, p. 48). In order to try and capture a complex phenomenon through diverse perspectives (Creswell, 2013), I used two different means of data collection typical of qualitative research—interviews as well as document analysis. I studied each school’s website, Facebook pages, and local newspaper reports, as well as annual reports, State of the School memos, and standardized test score data, if available. While observations and field work are common for qualitative designs, due to geographic limitations, the data collection did not include field visits.

**Single Qualitative Case Study**

Utilizing a case study research design made sense because the boundary of the case study—leadership in the Two Way Immersion Network of Catholic Schools—is clearly defined. Moreover, there is a limit to the data collection and finite number of participants (i.e., number of
people to interview and schools to be included) (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Yin (2003) provides several reasons why one might pursue a single case study design: 1) critical case in testing a well-formulated theory—“to confirm, challenge, or extend the theory” (p. 40); 2) an extreme or unique case; 3) representative or typical case—“The lessons learned from these cases are assumed to be informative about the experiences of the average person or institution” (p. 41); 4) revelatory—opportunity to study something “previously inaccessible to scientific investigation” (p. 42); and 5) longitudinal. This case study could be seen as unique in that the focus is on leadership in the conversion to Catholic dual language schools, rather than public dual language schools. It is also representative because the lessons learned will presumably be helpful for any Catholic dual language school in the United States. As Merriam (1988) explains, “Case study has proved particularly useful for studying educational innovations, for evaluating programs, and for informing policy” (p. 33). Further, case study research is appropriate when the context and the phenomenon cannot be separated (Yin, 2009). Indeed, one cannot separate the Catholic identity of these schools and their dual language programming.

Stake (2005) emphasizes the importance of considering multiple contexts: “The case to be studied is a complex entity located in a milieu or situation embedded in a number of contexts or backgrounds. Historical context is almost always of interest, but so are cultural and physical contexts” (p. 449). While the TWIN-CS schools share some commonalities as Catholic elementary schools, they are also widely diverse in historical, cultural and physical contexts. Stake (2005) defines two types of case studies—an intrinsic case study—“study is undertaken because, first and last, one wants better understanding of this particular case” and “because, in all its particularity and ordinariness, this case itself is of interest” (p. 445). There is also the instrumental case study “examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a
generalization” (p. 445). Again, this research could be viewed as intrinsic—completed in order to understand the conversion and implementation of dual language programming in Catholic schools—but also could be instrumental in that it provides insight into whole school reform and change leadership more generally. Regardless, “Case studies are particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic and rely heavily on inductive reasoning in handling multiple data sources” (Merriam, 1988, p. 16). Researchers must make choices about what to focus on and what to explore in further detail. Therefore, it was important for me, as it would be for any researcher, to deeply understand the “theoretical or policy issues because analytic judgments have to be made throughout the data collection phase” (Yin, 2003, p. 61).

In case study research, special attention is paid to what Stake defines as “issues”, that is, “complex, situated, problematic relationships” (Stake, 2005, p. 448). Issues can “draw attention to important functioning of the case in a situation of stress, as well as to tease out more of its interaction with contexts” (p. 449). The key issue of converting one’s school to dual language and navigating multiple social, political, and religious contexts to do so provides insight into the professional and spiritual capital of the leaders as well as the technical, political, and cultural aspects of the school reform.

**Timeline of Data Collection**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Activities</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 2016</td>
<td>Proposal hearing; revisions per committee members; IRB application</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June-July 2016</td>
<td>Participant recruitment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July-November 2016</td>
<td>Data collection</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The focus of this study is on principals who are part of the Two Way Immersion Network for Catholic Schools (TWIN-CS) as well as one to three key informants at each school involved in the conversion and implementation of the dual language program. The criteria for school inclusion in this study included the following: 1) the school must be a member of the TWIN-CS network and 2) the dual language program at the TWIN-CS school has been implemented for at least two years. Of the sixteen TWIN-CS network schools at the time of my participant recruitment, ten schools fit these criteria. Schools in the TWIN-CS network are located in eleven different states/districts and represent all regions of the United States. My sample of ten schools allowed me to better understand how dual language immersion works in different geographic contexts. Nine of the ten schools in this project offer programs of study in Spanish and English; however, one school offers their program in Mandarin. The ten schools are in various stages of their dual language implementation and this allowed me to analyze what is happening in the change process along the way. Further, this variation provided a broad view of the technical, political and cultural priorities of the school leaders at various points in the change process. For instance, the network, and this study in particular, contains two schools that began their
programs in 1999 and have completed the conversion to dual language in all grades as well as three schools that began their dual language program in the 2014 school year.

This multi-perspective case study draws mainly from interviews, with some artifact review. A purposeful sampling strategy (Creswell, 2013) was used to achieve a maximum variation of perspectives in order to derive common patterns of insights and philosophies as well as patterns around the understandings of school leadership and change at Catholic dual language immersion schools. The TWIN-CS school principals who had at least one year of experience of the implementation process and whose schools fit the above criteria were invited to participate via an email explaining the project and a follow up phone call. After the first interview, each principal was asked to identity one to three key informants with extensive information about the conversion process (Yin, 2003). Importantly, principals were asked to identify someone who knew about the path the school took to implement a dual language program and who could also speak about the role of leadership at the school. The key informants identified included a board member, lead teachers, Vice Principals, an office manager, and TWIN-CS mentors.

Study Context

Two Way Immersion Network-Catholic Schools (TWIN-CS). In 2012, there was no known listing of Catholic schools in the United States with dual language programming. At that time, a team of researchers and graduate students at The Barbara and Patrick Roche Center for Catholic Education at Boston College began compiling a database of the various dual language programs at Catholic elementary schools across the United States. A group of Boston College professors, administrators, and doctoral students formed the TWIN-CS Design Team with the purpose of developing a network of two-way immersion elementary schools and providing the professional development and support for the school participants. This initiative was originally
called the Innovation Institute and the idea was to support a variety of innovations in Catholic schools. Shortly after its inception, the focus became solely on Catholic dual immersion schools. A recent study of the learning communities within TWIN-CS explained, “While some have suggested TWI as a viable model for Catholic schools to improve their service to CLD [Culturally and Linguistically Diverse] students (Scanlan & Zehrbach, 2010), TWIN-CS represents the first coordinated effort to support school reform toward this end (Scanlan, Kim, Burns, & Vuilleumier, 2015, p. 11).

The TWIN-CS Design Team recruited Catholic dual language schools in the fall of 2012 with twelve schools being accepted into the network and the first summer professional development academy being held in June 2013. Each school either had or created an Implementation Team composed of the principal, lead teachers, and perhaps a parent or school board member. This team presumably guides the various stages of implementing the dual language conversion, or developing the program if the school is already dual language. Further, the TWIN-CS assists schools in finding and financially supporting a bilingual or dual language expert practitioner in the field or university professor to serve as a Mentor. This TWIN-CS Mentor offers coaching and other forms of local support as well as serves as a key point of connection between the Design Team and research collection at the school site.

The Design Team offers monthly professional development webinars to the schools. These webinars last an hour and cover topics such as teacher collaboration, school accreditation, marketing to Latino families, and more specific themes such as dual language writing or Mandarin reading. Further, TWIN-CS has continued to offer an annual Summer Academy and in June 2017 TWIN-CS offered its fifth one. This intensive four to six day conference is composed
of a series of workshops based on collecting and analyzing literacy data, mission and leadership, as well as developing culturally responsive communities.

According to a January 2016 report from the Roche Center for Catholic Education at Boston College, at the time there were seventeen schools in the network, which composed 94% of Two Way Immersion Catholic Schools in the United States. These schools have seen a 13% enrollment increase since adopting dual language immersion. Further, the first language is Spanish for 63% of the students these schools serve. Currently, the network website (www.twincs.org) shows eighteen network schools and eight study schools. Study schools are schools that are given access to some aspects and resources of the TWIN-CS network, which allows these schools time to discern if they’d like to fully participate in the network.

**Data Sources**

**Use of theoretical framework.** As noted above, my primary source of data came from interviews. I utilized my theoretical framework regarding professional capital and spiritual capital as a way to guide the development of my interview questions. For example, Table 2 below indicates which principal interview questions align with particular aspects of professional and spiritual capital. Nonetheless, I tried to leave the questions as open as possible so that participants’ unique way of sharing their stories could unfold. For instance, when asking about the principal or key informant’s role in converting to a dual language model, I began with the following open ended question: 6. I’m interested in the path your school took to implement a TWI program. Can you tell me about it? (see Appendix A).
Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Capital</th>
<th>Principal Interview Questions that Address Professional and Spiritual Capital</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Capital</td>
<td>1, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital</td>
<td>2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decisional Capital</td>
<td>1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual Capital</td>
<td>7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 21, 28, 29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interviews.** I conducted one semi-structured, one hour interview with each principal (see Appendix A) and one semi-structured, one hour interview with each key informant (see Appendix B). According to Patton (1990), “We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe” (p. 278). Most of the interviews took place in person at the 2016 TWIN Summer Academy as well as during the National Summit on Catholic Schools and Hispanic Families (http://www.bccatholicedsummit.org/) in early fall of that year. Due to geographic considerations, a few of the key informant interviews were conducted via Skype. During the preliminary interview with the principal, I asked them to identify one to three key informants with knowledge of the conversion process. After interviewing the key informants and principals, I conducted two follow up interviews, one with a principal and one with a key informant, as well as followed up via email with about five participants regarding some ambiguities in their interview and for clarification purposes (Patton, 1990). All but one interview was conducted in English. One interview with a Spanish dominant teacher was conducted bilingually, with the Spanish teacher speaking primarily in Spanish while I spoke primarily in English.
Dual language education in Catholic elementary schools is a relatively new endeavor, with the majority of schools converting or opening in the last five to six years. Interviewing principals and key change agents, therefore, made sense because of what Seidman (2006) explains are the reasons for phenomenological interviewing: 1) the transitory nature of human experience. Through the interviews, I feel I was able to get at the essence, the “real” experience of converting to a Catholic dual language model. Second, Seidman (2006) notes that interviewing entails trying to understand something from another’s point of view. These interviews revealed a subjective understanding of each school’s lived experience. Indeed, “By concentrating on the details of participants’ experiences, interviewers strive as best as possible to guide their participants to reconstitute their lived experience” (Seidman, 2006, p. 18). This is connected to how we use language. Finally, the interviews were meant to explore meaning in context—

Schutz argues that meaningfulness does not reside in the lived experience itself, but is the ‘act of attention’ which brings experiences that would otherwise be simply lived through into our ‘intentional gaze’ and opens the pathway to meaningfulness (Shutz, 1967, p. 71-72 as cited in Seidman, 2006).

By being asked to reflect on their experience implementing a dual language program at their school, the participants told me that they were able to make meaning of their complex and often challenging experiences. Many thanked me for providing a space to consider the history of their schools as well as the successes and challenges, and to share new insights. To date, no one has interviewed Catholic school principals and other key change agents across a number of dual language schools about their experiences of the implementation process, and this research is premised on the fact that these principals’ perspectives are vital to the research on Catholic
school leadership as well as the wider educational change literature. As Seidman (2006) explains, “At the heart of interviewing research is an interest in other individuals’ stories because they are of worth” (p. 9).

**Documents.** In order to understand each school’s context, I studied each school’s website and paid particular attention to the school’s written mission and vision statements. In addition, I collected annual reports from two schools, a state of the school address from one school, a strategic plan, as well as school quality reports (two of which included standardized test data) for three schools. Two schools provided their middle school curriculum overview and one school shared a copy of their school-wide instructional requirements. As I reviewed the various documents, I noted what was present and what was not. Importantly, I inquired into the circumstances, timing, and overall context in which the documents were produced (Patton, 2015, p. 377-378).

**Pilot study.** Creswell (2013) suggests pilot testing the interview questions and data collection procedures in order to adapt and refine one’s research process. Therefore, I interviewed the outgoing principal at a Catholic dual language school in Los Angeles, CA, in June, 2016. I recorded the interview and listened to it again at a later date, noting where additional probes or further clarifications could have been made. I was immediately struck by the extreme workload and variety of roles this principal filled at her school, in addition to developing a dual language program. I also reviewed the website and program development materials as well as discussed the implementation process with the principal intern at the school to see what questions and materials might provide the most insight into the conversion process.

**Data Analysis**

According to Corbin and Strauss (2015), data analysis is an iterative process and thus
ongoing. New insights and interpretations continually occur. Moreover, these scholars suggest that analysis begins immediately after the first interview or observation and then continues after each subsequent data collection session. That way, the researcher can refine the research process as she goes, follow up appropriately to gather the necessary data, and avoid being overwhelmed by a mass of data at the end.

Importantly, qualitative research analysis does not lend itself to objectivity but rather sensitivity (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Sensitivity involves being aware of what professional background and personal experiences one draws upon in looking at the data. Having professional knowledge of the research can “enable researchers to understand the significance of some things more quickly” (p. 78). However, the analysis must proceed with caution and Corbin and Strauss (2015) remind researchers to never lose sight of the data, use concepts to keep the research focused on the similarities and differences in the data, and concentrate on what the participants feel is important (p. 79).

All interviews for this project were digitally recorded on my cell phone or computer and transcribed. The transcriptions have been kept in a password protected computer and all transcripts were coded. All participants and their schools have been given pseudonyms and any identifying details were omitted in this study write up. I utilized a researcher journal because as Sanjek (1990) explained, “Chronologically constructed journals provide a key to the information in field notes and records” (p. 108). This journal helped me organize my thoughts as I prepared for each interview as well as helped me formulate initial themes and link past research to my current findings. This electronic journal was also kept on my password protected computer.

Data coding. I used grounded theory data analysis in order to generate themes directly from the data (Charmaz, 2004) as well as look for themes derived from the literature review and
theoretical frameworks. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) cite Strauss to show that coding does not mean simplifying the data but rather it means “conceptualizing the data, raising questions, providing provisional answers about the relationships among and within the data, and discovering the data” (p. 31). I had the data transcribed throughout the research process, listened to each interview again while reading the transcription to ensure it was correct, and made temporary initial codes on the transcripts, which were constantly revisited. I also made use of memos, complete with dates and conceptual headings so that I could “retrace the process” by which I arrived at the “final findings” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 118). Using this iterative process, each participant’s data was then coded “more or less directly from the informant’s words” or through “summary glosses” of participants’ statements (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 36). HyperResearch software was utilized to code the thirty interview transcripts.

Inductive codes were then developed and organized through a constant comparative method (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Once I identified themes, I applied more focused analytical codes (Charmaz, 2004). This process allowed me to create themes that were discussed during the second interview with a few of the principals as well as develop clarifying questions sent via email to others. The codes were then clustered together to form larger, more interpretive categories. Using HyperResearch, I created five distinct coding maps/diagrams concerning reasons for converting to dual language, the challenges and successes, navigation of the dual language process, and key informant/principal biographies, which contributed to the evolving conceptual framework. The diagrams provided visuals that helped me see the “essence” of the findings and the relationships between them.

Validity, Reliability, and Confronting Bias

As a principal of a Catholic dual language school and a member of the TWIN-CS
network, I deeply considered the challenges of being an insider to this research. While it’s impossible to eliminate biases, I conducted this study with the “understanding [of] how [my] values influence the conduct and conclusions of the study” (Maxwell, 2009, p. 243). For this reason, in the introduction of this study, I included an autobiographical statement that reveals how I’ve come to this research. This is a type of “researcher identity memo” which involves “reflecting on, and writing down, the different aspects of your experience that are potentially relevant to your study” (Maxwell, 2009, p. 225). As Maxwell (2009) explains, “Bias refers to ways in which data collection or analysis are distorted by the researcher’s theory, values, or preconceptions” (p. 243). Therefore, not only in designing my study but throughout I strived for what Lather (1986) calls “vigorous self-reflexivity” (p. 270). One way I did this is by keeping a researcher journal where I noted assumptions and feelings I experienced during the process. I know a lot about the phenomenon—emerging Catholic dual language programs—especially since I entered my school in its second year of existence. I also was a graduate student at the time the TWIN-CS network was forming at the Roche Center for Catholic education. Certainly, it behooved me to have a procedure for noting my own assumptions because my leadership experience is in a particular geographical context (Los Angeles) and in a particular Archdiocesan context.

In collecting multiple forms of data from multiple sources, I definitely found “corroboration” between data sources as well as “inconsistent or even directly conflicting” data (Huberman & Miles, 1994, p. 267). Indeed, I chose to pursue this research path because I concur with the following: “‘triangulation is less a strategy for validating results and procedures than an alternative to validation…which increases scope, depth and consistency” (Flick, 1988 as cited in Seale, 1999, p. 230). While I initially chose a theoretical framework around professional and
spiritual capital, I was open to the new ideas and experiences of the principals that have challenged and enriched these theories. To be sure, “A systematized reflexivity which reveals how a priori theory has been changed by the logic of the data becomes essential in establishing construct validity in ways that contribute to the growth of illuminating and change-enhancing social theory” (Lather, 1986, p. 271).

While not sufficient and not free of challenges for establishing credibility, face validity was also considered. It is “operationalized by recycling description, emerging analysis, and conclusions back through at least a subsample of respondents” (Lather, 1986, p. 271). I conducted a second interview with two participants after transcribing and studying the first interviews. Both of these principals were relatively new in their positions when I first interviewed them and were eager to share what they had learned and done at their schools since I spoke with them earlier. The conversations also served as brief member checks and respondent validation (Maxwell, 2009) that allowed me to get clarification and reaction to the previous conversations and emerging analysis of the phenomenon. Finally, in order to better understand the scope and depth of my research, after all my interviews were completed, transcribed, and initially coded, I shared my preliminary findings with a representative group of stakeholders--a school board, principal, president, kindergarten teachers, and prospective parents--at a Catholic elementary school in Hawaii who were hoping to open a dual language Mandarin/English program in Fall 2018. I also shared my findings with a few of the principal participants in this study at the 2017 TWIN-CS Academy in order to engender further conversation and questions with the intent to foster reciprocity and dialectical practice (Lather, 1986).

Limitations

One key limitation of this research project is the lack of observations and field study at
the schools. I relied entirely on principal and key informant recalls of various events and processes over the past year or several years. Certainly, the findings would have been enriched by visiting each school or at least a sample of them to see how they navigate the change process on the ground. Seeing how teachers and leaders actually spend their time on a daily basis, and observing their dual language planning meetings would have been helpful. Due to the incredibly multifaceted and fast paced nature of principals’ work, it may have been difficult for these leaders to be able to see the bigger context and identify the many factors that influenced the creation of the dual language program. Second, my key informants were selected by the principal and therefore, are not a representative sample of the school community. My study unfortunately does not include student and parent insights. Third, during two of the interviews, we focused entirely on the school and I did not get sufficient biographical data from the principals. They did not respond to follow up requests via email for information. For this reason, in the following chapter, two principals either do not have a biography sections, or there is very little information. Finally, one principal did not provide a key informant and therefore, I could not triangulate her data with other change agents at her school.

Summary

In this chapter I provided the reasons for my single qualitative case study research design. I also explained how I chose my research participants and the data sources, namely interviews and documents, used in this study. I ended by reviewing how I went about coding the data as well as acknowledged the limitations of the research methodology. I now turn to the findings of this study. In the following chapter, I begin by providing a summary gloss of the schools. By outlining their locations and size as well as comparing their governance structures, populations they serve, and years as a dual language school, I intend to provide a broad sweep of the schools
and participants in this study. I then provide a description of each school and the biography (if known) of its principal. This way, each school’s unique context and leader is presented before Chapter 5 presents the data in a more analytical way across all the schools and many participants.
CHAPTER 4
THE CONTEXT
School Overviews and Principal Biographies

How principals navigate the change process to a dual language school and the role of professional and spiritual capital in the process is influenced by the school’s geographical, political, and religious context as well as governance structure. My participants represent the diversity of Catholic dual language schools in terms of location, governance structure and funding sources.

Out of the ten participating schools, four schools in this study are independent academies with a governing board of directors, four are parish schools governed by a pastor (two had been recently returned to the parish after a diocesan network dissolved), one is part of a school consortium (with three other urban schools) led by an Executive Director, and another shares a governing council and pastor with one other niche school. All schools in this study are located in or near major U.S. cities across the country. Two are located in the Midwest, one is in the Northeast, one is located in the Mid-Atlantic region, four are in the Southwest, and two are located in the Northwest. The dual language school movement has blossomed in the past ten years (US Department of Education, 2015) and this sample of Catholic schools reflects this trend. Unlike many schools in the public sector that offer a dual language strand within a monolingual school setting (de Jong & Bearse, 2014), these Catholic schools are transitioning the entire school to dual language starting with the preschool or kindergarten and converting each grade to dual language immersion one year at a time until all students are part of the program. Most of the dual language conversions occurred in the past ten years, with six schools starting their program in the last five years. Because these six schools began their dual language
program with preschool or kindergarten and are transitioning a grade level each year, part of the school is still a monolingual program. Two schools in this study, St. Innocent and St. Joan of Arc, started their programs nearly 18 years ago, and along with St. Procopius School in Illinois, these schools are presumably (since there is no central database) the pioneers in this modern movement to establish dual language schools in the Catholic sector. In both St. Innocent and St. Joan of Arc as well as at St. Hilary the entire school is part of the dual language program.

Eight of the ten schools have preschools. Still, most of the schools are relatively small, and this is probably representative of urban Catholic elementary schools generally. Moreover, since most public school dual language programs begin as strands within schools and are implemented within one grade level (with one or two classes) at a time, dual language programs are usually initiated on a small scale. Seven of the schools serve between 146 to 268 students, preschool through eighth grade, and only three schools have between 300 and 400 students. These schools serve economically marginalized and/or economically diverse communities. Six schools serve a population that is made up of sixty percent or more of students who qualify for free or reduced lunch, and the remaining four schools serve a student body where at least one third of the students receive free or reduced lunch.

Twelve principals (ten current principals and two former) were interviewed for this study. The principals in this study included both veteran leaders as well as those who were relatively new. Half of the participants (five) had five or less years experience as a principal. Three had over 15 years experience and two had between eight and ten years experience. Interestingly, the number of years as principal did not seem to make a difference in their ability to implement a dual language innovation. Rather, the principals’ knowledge of language acquisition, own experience of bilingual education or learning a second language, personality and charisma, as
well as the school’s financial stability and governance seemed to have more influence on the principal’s capacity to develop the program. Six of the twelve principals speak Spanish and English, whereas six are English dominant. The principals’ bilingualism did seem to positively impact their confidence, their perceptions of their work with teachers and families, as well as their capacity to select appropriate curriculum. Nonetheless, all but one of the English dominant principals had key bilingual teachers or other leaders in their school who they collaborated closely with in the development of the dual language program.

Sixteen key informants were interviewed for this study for a total of twenty eight participants. When asked who could provide information about the development of the dual language program, the principals chose a diversity of people as their key informants. In total, six teachers (5 target language and 1 English teacher), five middle management personnel (1 Education Specialist, 2 current Vice-Principals, 1 former Vice Principal, and 1 Dual Language Coordinator), one former board president, one front office/school administrator, and three TWIN-CS (Two Way Immersion Network-Catholic School) mentors (two university professors and one state level dual language consultant) were recommended as people who knew the dual language program at their school well and agreed to be interviewed for this study. Of the sixteen key informants, all but two (or 82%) speak a second language fluently. Ten of the fourteen speak Spanish and the other four speak a variety of languages, including Italian, Romanian, and Mandarin.

In order to answer the key research questions that frame this project one must understand the unique context of these schools. I start with a brief overview of each school followed by the principal’s biography. Table 3 provides an overview of the ten schools and the twenty-eight participants in this study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Governance model</th>
<th>Program start date</th>
<th>Students (free &amp; reduced lunch)</th>
<th>Poverty level (free &amp; reduced lunch)</th>
<th>Participant Names</th>
<th>Roles</th>
<th>Languages Spoken</th>
<th>Principal start date</th>
<th>Total years as principal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Agatha</td>
<td>Independent; board of directors; president/principal leadership; consolidated school in 1993</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>K-8: 335</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ariel</td>
<td>Teacher, Dual language coordinator</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Bernard</td>
<td>Independent academy; board of directors; consolidated school in 2012</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>PK: 78 K-8: 190</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>Becca</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beatrice</td>
<td>Mandarin teacher, 1-3rd</td>
<td>Mandarin/ English</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bernadine</td>
<td>Mandarin teacher, PK-K</td>
<td>Mandarin/ English</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brittany</td>
<td>English teacher, K</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Clement</td>
<td>Parish (returned in 2014); was part of regional network</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>PK-3-8: 150</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>Cynthia</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>20+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carolina</td>
<td>University professor/TWIN mentor</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Diego</td>
<td>Parish (returned in 2014); was part of regional network</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>PK-3-8: 375</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>Derek</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>Vice-Principal</td>
<td>Spanish (some Spanish and French)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Debra</td>
<td>University professor/TWIN mentor</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Elizabeth</td>
<td>Independent; board of directors; president/principal</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>PK-4-5: 230 6-8: 150</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>Edward</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Edelle</td>
<td>Vice Principal</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Felicitas (Perpetua Academy)</td>
<td>Shared governing council and shared pastor with sister school</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>PK-3-8: 190</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>Fae</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Linda</td>
<td>Former Executive Director, 2013-2016, consultant</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fabiola</td>
<td>Dual Language Coordinator</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Gertrude</td>
<td>Parish</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>PK-3-4: 28 K-8: 118</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gwen</td>
<td>Front office/School Administrator</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gloria</td>
<td>Former Vice Principal</td>
<td>Romanian/ French/ English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Hilary</td>
<td>Parish</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>K-8: 200</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>Helena</td>
<td>Principal (until 1/2017)</td>
<td>Spanish/ French/ English</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hector</td>
<td>Principal (as of 2/2017)</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Haddie</td>
<td>Spanish teacher</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hannah</td>
<td>Dual Language consultant, TWIN Mentor</td>
<td>Spanish/ Hungarian/ English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Innocent</td>
<td>4 school consortium; executive director and board of directors</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>PK-3-8: 194</td>
<td>35% receive Opportunity Scholarship</td>
<td>Ida</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Isabella</td>
<td>Education Specialist</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ingrid</td>
<td>Spanish Teacher</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Linda</td>
<td>Former Principal</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joan of Arc</td>
<td>Independent academy; board of directors</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>PK-6-179</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>Josefinna</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>Spanish/ English</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
St. Gertrude School

When Grace became principal of St. Gertrude School in the summer of 2016, there were 90 students enrolled in the school. A slow decline in the past 6 years led to the current numbers. Indeed, Grace was “freaking out” and thought, “They’re going to close our school.” Her mantra became “new students” and the school opened the 2016-2017 school year with 138 students.

The PreKindergarten (for age 3) through eighth grade parish school has had to fight against the reputation that the school is closing, and the lean administration team—the principal and office administrator—work all hours to promote the school (leaving flyers on cars and at community centers), give tours, and explain the benefits of a dual language education. The 50/50 dual language program now has students in Kindergarten through fourth grade. The school serves a diverse community—Vietnamese, East African, white, as well as an increasing Hispanic population.

The high Latino population in the parish (3000 attend weekend services) and declining enrollment at the school led to the exploration of a dual language program by the principal and assistant principal in 2011. The year before, they did avid research and took advantage of the high performing public school district nearby by attending over 60 hours of Professional Development. Unfortunately, over the past four years, the school community has experienced a turnover of principals and teachers, so when Grace became principal she found that the teachers were stuck doing whatever worked for them in their own “teaching bubbles”. She found a lot of “inconsistency” across the curriculum, no strategy for who was teaching what, and no curriculum plan to determine what academic content would be taught in each language. There was definitely no long-range vision and no resources. Her biggest challenge today is getting the budget together. As she explained,
The budget is a mess. I still don't understand the budget. It's my greatest source of frustration right now--is that I have no clue where all of this came from. I get these bills that haven't been paid, and I don't understand why benefits haven't been paid for years…

The budget. The things are not named how budgets should be named. I feel like it's so complicated, and I really just want to wipe the slate clean and start over and be in charge of it, but the parish has been in charge of our budget in the past.

Despite the great difficulties with the financial planning, Grace was grateful for the assistance she has been receiving with the budget from the assistant superintendent and finance/marketing person from the Archdiocese.

After two months on the job and following the TWIN-CS Summer Academy, Grace had already established self-contained bilingual classrooms with Spanish in the AM and English in the PM. She also clarified what subjects would be taught in Spanish and procured online bilingual reading resources. With the increased support of the Archdiocese, having a mentor principal whom she meets with twice a week, and the TWIN-CS mentor, after just one year, Grace and the school are starting to turn things around, and plan for long term sustainability.

**Biography of the Principal**

Grace’s ability to quickly make curriculum and instruction changes is supported by the fact that she was not new to the school when she became principal. She came to the school when she enrolled her kindergarten student in the dual language program. Her husband and she had been discussing whether they wanted a Catholic or dual language school, and had considered the public dual language schools in the area. However, “As soon I met the teacher, I was sold on the school as a parent,” she said. When the principal suddenly died in the fall of 2015, Grace immediately asked how she could help. At the time she was working as a Spanish teacher and
program director at a Catholic all boys school. The interim principal that was brought in to work with St. Gertrude was a veteran of 25 plus years in the Archdiocese and immediately put together a “shoestring school commission board” and Grace was asked to join. In the spring, through the prompting of the interim principal, fellow board members, and a call from the pastor, Grace applied for the principal job. Interestingly, in her interview Grace did not mention the impact of her change from school parent to school principal on her relationships with the school community.

Grace grew up in a Spanish speaking community in California and learned Spanish in school. She attended Catholic schools her entire life, and majored in Psychology and Spanish at a Jesuit University. She was raised Episcopalian but converted to Catholicism during her time in college. She also studied abroad in Chile at a Jesuit University where she completed all her coursework in Spanish. She earned her Masters through the PACT (Providence Alliance for Catholic Teachers), which is a post graduate teacher service program based on living in a faith-based community and serving under resourced schools. She is bilingual in Spanish and English and speaks to her daughter in Spanish. Regarding becoming a principal, she explained, “I really believe in bilingual education and I've always wanted to work in dual language programs and bilingual education. It was a perfect fit.”

**St. Clement School**

St. Clement School is a hundred year old parish grade school, four-year-old kindergarten through eighth grade. The school serves third and fourth generation Latino students who are primarily English speaking. The 150 students come mostly from three zip codes in the community and seventy percent of the students qualify for free and reduced lunch. The
Spanish/English dual language program began in 2014 and at the time of this research, spanned four year old kindergarten through 2nd grade.

Cynthia has been principal of St. Clement for twenty years. The year after she arrived, the two military bases, where a majority of the school families came from, closed, as did a major manufacturer. Cynthia explained how the “enrollment dropped immediately” and “It’s been a struggle ever since because the families now are not middle-income anymore. They’re low income.” Therefore, when Cynthia received an email from the superintendent regarding Boston College’s desire to start a network of dual language schools, she responded, “yes”. As she explained, “I knew that we needed to do something different because it was just…The writing was on the wall. The community, the income kept dropping around us.”

Indeed, St. Clement has been through a lot of changes. Five years ago, the Archbishop announced that ten struggling schools in the Archdiocese would be consolidating. According to Cynthia, St. Clement would be moved to a nearby archdiocesan property “that had beautiful buildings on it. It looked like a college campus and those buildings would be renovated and transformed to be a state of the art Catholic school setting and that our school was going to go there.” So for two and half years there was no maintenance done on St. Clement current facility. Moreover, the school families took it upon themselves to clean the grounds and paint the buildings at the new location. Then, a year and half ago, the Archbishop informed the school the move wasn’t going to happen, the network was disbanded, and the school went back to being a parish school. Cynthia said money and resources to fix up their current facility are scarce. As Cynthia put it, “We've been left from scratch. But we are rising. We have the phoenix rising, but it's not easy.”
Carolina, an Associate Professor of Education at a local state university, who is also the school’s TWIN-CS dual language mentor, joined the school three months after it launched its DLI program. Choosing her words carefully, she described the conversion to a dual language program, “It was implemented I think, well we might say maybe it was a slow opening, a soft opening…They did begin with it, but really it wasn't until the next year after the second academy, and then I was able to join the group with the second academy.” Time for planning and implementing the dual language program was noted as a continuing challenge, along with high turnover of teachers who have left to work in the local public schools (since St. Clement can only pay half the public school salary). Still, both Carolina and Cynthia cited the growth in the cultural aspects of the program. There is a strong shared vision. As Cynthia put it: “If you're going to talk to the community, you've got to be bi-literate, bi-cultural, bilingual. You just have to be. It's a no-brainer. So if I can provide that for my students, they will have a successful life, and they'll be leaders in the church. We have a very strong Catholic faith identity. Very strong.”

**Biography of the Principal**

Cynthia spoke about her first teaching position where she was asked to help start the first middle school, and they had no textbooks to start: “That was kind of a great experience because I had to learn to do everything from scratch. It's something that I find is a repeating pattern in my life, building something when there's basically nothing. Nothing there.” Cynthia has her Masters in Educational Leadership, and while her extended family spoke French, she grew up in an English-speaking household. She noted, “I remember hearing them speak French and wishing I could speak French. That's always been with me, too, that I wish somewhere along the line that I had been taught French so that I could communicate with my relatives.”
Cynthia became very close with the Teresian Sisters when working on her master’s degree, often staying at their convent and participating in their daily prayers. She later became a Lay Associate, which means she made a personal commitment to this religious order, including their ways of praying and philosophy of living, without becoming a full time, religious sister.

**St. Felicitas School**

Perpetua Academy, a dual language program in Spanish and English, opened at St. Felicitas School in 2011. It began with one self-contained kindergarten and now serves students in grades PreKindergarten (for 3 year olds) through fifth grade. In 2010, the school’s enrollment dipped to just 101 students; at that point, a major foundation stepped in to help support the development of a dual language program. The preK-8th grade school now has around 190 total students, half of whom qualify for free and reduced lunch. Nearly 80% of the student body are English dominant speakers and most come from neighboring areas (about 10-12 zip codes are represented).

In 2014, Linda became principal of St. Felicitas, and made some major changes. She helped establish a full day, play based Spanish immersion preschool (PreK3 and PreK4) as well as a 90/10 immersion kindergarten (i.e., where 90% of the day is spent in Spanish and 10% in English). These revised preschool and kindergarten programs were initiated in 2015 with the goal of boosting early Spanish language and literacy skills in the students. The preschool addition entailed completely renovating the space and enrollment went from 8 students to 40. Linda attributes the uptick in enrollment to a change in marketing—from their previous image as a “poor Hispanic school” to an “amazing dual language school.” She also noted that the boost in preschool enrollment is helping the school financially since she upped the preschool tuition by $1000 and 65% of the families can pay full tuition.
Fabiola, a former teacher in the school, became the Director of the dual language program. She oversees curriculum planning, ordering of materials, teacher evaluations and coaches teachers. Core literacy practices, vocabulary development, and streamlining the curriculum and instruction have been the focus of this school’s continued development.

**Biography of the Principal**

Fae, the current principal, became principal during the 2015-2016 school year after serving for a half year as Linda’s vice principal. She taught for seven years at the middle school level and earned her Masters in Educational Administration. She feels her move to dual language education was accidental: “I'd say it was kind of a mistake, but I think it was God's intervention there. But yeah, I was finishing, I was looking at finishing my master's degree.” She had been teaching in a suburban, primarily white Catholic school and was looking for “another experience before I became a principal” when she took the job at St. Felicitas. Even though she is English dominant, she has spent time traveling in Spanish speaking countries and in the summer of 2016 participated in a Spanish language institute in Nicaragua.

**St. Diego School**

St. Diego School opened in 1942 and is located in an urban center. Located off a major freeway--“highly visible on the high rise location” (Principal Derek), St. Diego is a commuter school serving diverse economic families from sixty different zip codes. The school’s 375 students span grade Pre-Kindergarten (for 3 year olds) through eighth grade. While the school is composed of 96% Latino students, a majority are English dominant (65%) and seventy students are designated English language learners. Sixty one percent of the students qualify for free or reduced lunch.
For two years the school was part of a regional network of struggling schools and the network hired principal Derek in 2012. Only ninety-eight students were enrolled at the time. A year later, in 2013, the school started their dual language program. In 2014, the network disbanded and Derek began the process of repairing the broken relationship with the parish. The parish is administered by a religious community. Derek sees their presence in the parish as a huge benefit: “The stability that comes from the community…Their whole charism and their ability to work with us and compromise and collaborate has been really helpful. Father Donald is an incredible pastor, brilliant and has the spirit of a convert.” Indeed, Derek has helped St. Diego focus on its unifying factors, and that means being accepting of all students, even those with disabilities. The focus on Mary Magdalen, the patroness of the school, and their mascot, the Maverick, has been central to building the focus of their school: “We're the mavericks. What is that? We should be proud to be dual language…But the fact that we're all mavericks. Our patroness, too, Mary Magdalene, and really identifying with her…” (Derek).

Derek focuses much of his time telling the school’s story, advocating for the school and building partnerships with area businesses, high school and colleges, as well as foundations. The school’s full time vice-principal, Diana, primarily focuses on curriculum and instruction. She currently manages the student data, runs the school’s one to one Chromebook program, serves as the graduate support person, and tracks students with learning disabilities. Although the St. Diego team spoke about their struggles with dual language in the first few years, particularly their challenge to find a framework and the high turnover of teachers, they all agreed that the Gomez and Gomez training in the summer of 2016 was very helpful for providing structure to their program. A key connection has been with the local state university, through Debra, an Associate Professor of Education who became the school’s TWIN-CS mentor in 2015. She has
provided regular bi-monthly professional development as well as facilitated doctoral student research projects.

**Biography of the Principal**

Derek majored in English at a Northeastern Jesuit University and upon graduation volunteered through the Jesuit Volunteer Corps for a year at a drug and alcohol rehab clinic for male parolees. He then worked as a teacher for two years in Quito, Ecuador at a Jesuit Mission. “That’s where I learned real Spanish,” he explained, clarifying that he took Spanish in school his entire life but “could not speak a lick” until that time abroad. Upon his return to the States, he taught in a dual language charter school for two years, followed by teaching at a Nativity middle school (college prep Catholic school for low income girls). Pulled to do something with “broader impact,” he entered law school and subsequently became an educational policy attorney. But, he was “miserable…It was boring. I was bored” so he looked for other jobs and applied for his current principal job. Not having any administrative experience, and being young, he didn’t think he’d get the job, but he did. He said he knew he had made the right decision because in the parking lot where he had received the phone call offering him the position, a cardinal flew near the car. He explained that while in law school, his mom got pancreatic cancer, and right before she died, she said, “I don’t think you should do anything with law. Go to a Catholic school.” While he “dismissed it at the time…It gnawed at me in a good way.” And when his sister asked their mom how they would know that she’s still around after she passes, she said, “I’ll send cardinals.”
St. Agatha School

In 1993, five Catholic parish schools consolidated to become St. Agatha School, an Archdiocesan school with an authoritative board\(^1\). In 2007, the school established a president/principal governance model, where the president as head of the school oversees the finances, fundraising, and strategic planning, and the principal oversees the curriculum and instruction as well as daily logistics of the school. At the time of the school’s formation, 50% of the student population was African American; the school now serves 335 students, 85% Latino and 8% African American. Seventy six percent of the students are English language learners and ninety six percent of the students are eligible for free and reduced lunch. The school tuition is heavily subsided by foundations, private donors, and the five sponsoring parishes. For instance, families generally pay tuition between $800-$2300/year depending on income, and the school’s advancement team fundraises close to one million dollars a year.

Ann, the school principal, has been at St. Agatha for fourteen years, and has served as principal for eight years. The former president advocated for the dual language program and the school completed a yearlong feasibility study as well as spent an additional year planning before launching the program in 2014. Two years into the implementation, Ann feels tired and overwhelmed: “I don’t know if there are enough hours in the day.” Moreover, she doesn’t feel supported from the Archdiocese because it “imploded because we have the priest sex scandal in [the city]. So we’re all just paddling as hard as we can to keep our school afloat because we have

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\(^1\) Unlike a school that is governed by a parish where the pastor is the final authority, St. Agatha is governed by a board of limited jurisdiction. This means “general management of the corporation is vested in the board of directors—one board; corporation has no members but the bishop.” (Haney, 2010, p.203). Haney (2010) further explains, that, “Even though the school is separated from the parishes and is an independent canonical entity, the bylaws stipulate the role of the pastors. The pastors or their designated representatives serve on the board of directors for an appointed time versus a 3-year term as with other directors.” (p. 204)
no central leadership right now.” Currently the school is struggling with teacher buy in, particularly from a key, lead English teacher who has taught at the school for 23 years and was aligned with the African American students and families that the school used to primarily serve. Division has occurred in the staff. As Ann explained, the school “plotted it all out…It seemed like everybody was on board. I think, though, what they heard was, ‘Okay I get to teach in English, that means I get to teach the old way that I want.’ In putting it in, it's kind of like they say, we're building an airplane as we're flying it.”

There also was a large turnover of the original implementation team; nevertheless, Ariel, a relatively new Spanish teacher and key advocate of the program stepped up to become the Dual Language Immersion Coordinator for the 2016-2017 school year. Ariel admits that the start of the program has been rocky and that the teachers weren’t very prepared or “informed about how the program works or what it looks like.” Furthermore, there has been a constant changing and reorganization of curriculum. Still, Ariel is hopeful and excited about the new president, her new role, and “feels heard” by the school administration team. Importantly, an ambitious strategic plan was created for the next six years (2017-2023); a program evaluation was completed and they have recently hired an instructional coach for dual language.

**St. Elizabeth School**

St. Elizabeth School is a PreKindergarten (for 4 year olds) through 8th grade independent Catholic School sponsored by a religious community. According to Principal Edward, the Sisters are the “juridic top,” which means they are “responsible for the proper administration of the goods and services of the school (Code of Canon Law, 1983)” (Sheehan, 1997, p.140), and they
are followed by a school board\textsuperscript{2}. They have a business team, which consists of a school president, finance personnel, and a marketing and development team. The academic team consists of a principal as well as two assistant principals--one for the primary school and one for the middle school. St. Elizabeth serves 400 students on two campuses. The primary school has 250 students in K4-4\textsuperscript{th} grade and the middle school has 150 students in 5-8\textsuperscript{th} grade. The school began as an all-girls college prep middle school founded in 1996. Then in 2012, a co-ed dual language primary school was established in order to better prepare students to enter into the rigorous middle school. Therefore, today the school consists of the co-ed primary school and an all-girls middle school program.

Eighty two percent of St. Elizabeth students qualify for free and reduced lunch, and 96.9\% of the students received free tuition through the city’s Parental School Choice program during the 2016-2017 school year. This voucher program provides $7323 per qualifying student to the school ($2,931,170.00 to the school for 2016-2017). Ninety-nine percent of the students are Latino (mainly from Mexico). Eighty five percent of the students are Spanish dominant and 29\% are English learners.

Before Edward became principal in 2015, there had been significant leadership turnover at the primary school—three principals in four years. Furthermore, Edward was originally hired as principal of the middle school (because at that time both the primary and middle school

\textsuperscript{2} According to St. Elizabeth’s school handbook, the governance is described in the following way: “The Provincial Council of the School Sisters of St. Elizabeth approves the mission, philosophy, purposes and goals of the Corporation. The business and affairs of the Corporation are managed by its Board of Directors. The Provincial Council and the Board of Directors appoint the President and the Principal. The President is the chief executive officer of the Corporation and is responsible for the business and affairs of the Corporation. The Principal has the responsibility of directing and administering all the academic activities and programs of the School.”
operated separately, each having their own principal and assistant principal). However, the primary school leadership quit and therefore, Edward was reassigned as principal and both programs were brought together. So, not having a background in dual language and not expecting to be in charge of the dual language program, Edward notes his first year was “a little bit of a bumpy journey.” Nevertheless, he hired Edele as an assistant principal. Edele is a native Spanish speaker who is a product of transitional bilingual education and taught seven years as a bilingual kindergarten teacher in a dual language public school. Edele feels the school is still “very young” and due to the leadership turnover, there have been lots of changes to the program. As Edward explained, “Everybody's been adding their own spice to it.” Moving forward, Edward and Edele want to ensure there is a clear framework for the dual language program—meaningful and thoughtful language allocation as well as expectations for literacy instruction in both languages.

A bit critical of the TWIN-CS network, Edward would have liked to see “more hands on in a best practice model that they share with schools” since he’s had a lot of doubt around the efficacy of the program, experienced a high learning curve, and as the school’s principal must be accountable to a large donor base. Moreover, as a choice school, the students must take the English only state standardized tests three times a year and this has put pressure on the school for academic performance. Nevertheless, according to Edward the teachers and parents seem to be on board and love the Spanish program (there are waitlists at most grade levels) and the bilingual assessment results are promising. Eventually, Edele sees the school moving towards shared leadership among teachers as well as embracing its larger vision: “I think we just need a little bit more time to get the basics down and the structural design, the dual language framework and
slowly start integrating those social justice issues, and advocacy, and immigrant rights, all those things slowly start integrating once we have a solid foundation.”

**Biography of the Principal**

Edward is from a Midwestern city and attended a Jesuit university there where he studied theology and political science. Upon graduation he entered the Inner City Teaching Corps. Through the alternative teaching program he received his teacher licensure and master’s degree. He taught in Chicago for four years before becoming a principal. During this time, he participated in a graduate Leadership Program with a Midwestern Catholic University and earned another Masters, this time in Educational Administration. He was principal at a different Catholic elementary school for two years before coming home and working at St. Elizabeth. When he came to St. Elizabeth, he was originally hired as the middle school academic leader. However, after he was hired the principal and assistant principal of the elementary school resigned. He was then asked to be the principal of both the elementary and middle school campuses. He “felt kind of uneasy” with the dual language component so he hired an assistant principal who has a dual immersion background. All of Edward’s experience has been in “100% Latino” schools. He explained that while he can get by with reading and writing Spanish, he doesn’t feel comfortable speaking it. With all the changes and not expecting to take on the leadership of a dual language school, he said, “It’s been a tough year in terms of learning myself.”

**St. Bernard Academy**

Becca, the current principal at St. Bernard, was at St. Mark’s parish school for 24 years and principal for the past 16 years. In 2009, St. Bernard School (down the street from St. Mark’s)
became an independent academy. Three years later, based on the Archdiocese study which found the academy was “not doing well” (presumably in terms of enrollment and finances), they asked St. Mark’s to become a second site of the academy. Right away, in 2012, they downsized to the current location at St. Mark’s and closed up the original academy. While the school serves three parishes, 95% of the student population comes from St. Mark's parish, and the St. Mark’s pastor is the priest most actively involved at the school. With the school name change, also came a governance change. The Board of Directors employs and oversees the principal and faculty. Above the board in the leadership structure are the Bishop, the superintendent, and the pastors of the three parishes.

St. Bernard Academy serves a diverse student body, 52% Asian (48% are first generation Chinese). With over 300 students, the school has taken advantage of the state Pre-K for All program and currently has 78 students in pre-K. Over the past three years they have seen a growing kindergarten enrollment—from 16 to 27, with their current number in the 2016-2017 school year at 40 students. The principal indicated the school is viewed as a model school for the Archdiocese and the Archdiocese is looking to grow dual language schooling.

Principal Becca is most concerned with documenting the students’ Mandarin mastery as well as ensuring continued growth on the English standardized tests. She was relieved to find that the first cohort of dual language students now in the 3rd grade overall performed better than the English only students of the past on the 2016 Terra Nova tests. Hopefully, these test scores will assure the English teacher who expressed doubts about teaching students in Mandarin. Not only was time a challenge, she also wondered, “Are we feeding too much into their at-home language? Where does the English come?” The Mandarin teachers, too, while hopeful and excited about the dual language program, felt that the goals of the program needed to be more
clearly defined for all. They struggled with instructional and planning time, teaching multiple grade levels, and keeping students motivated at the upper levels. Despite the challenges, which include school finances [Principal Becca wondered, “How are you going to fund this every year and give a quality program?”], all participants interviewed heralded the family atmosphere, and strong Catholic identity of the school. Importantly, Becca stated, “This [dual language] is the trend and we have to keep up.”

**Biography of the Principal**

Becca has “very little Mandarin knowledge.” However, she explained that she’s “always had an interest in languages and really just watching the children evolve with the languages” inspires her. While she has no degrees in bilingual education, she has taken graduate level courses in English as a Second Language. Having gotten a job with a “very immigrant population”, she said she became “intrigued as I was trying to figure out how these children are learning the language.”

**St. Hilary School**

St. Hilary School, a parish grade school, was founded 74 years ago to serve the children of Irish immigrants who were recruited to build a railroad in the region where the school is located. Located in an urban center, St. Hilary serves 220 Latino students in Kindergarten through eighth grade. One hundred percent of the students qualify for free or reduced lunch. St. Hilary receives a majority of its funding as a result of the state’s Private School Tuition Tax Credit. Although the advertised tuition is $5500, through various foundations and scholarships the school receives $3800 per student and the parents pay a portion of the difference.
Eleven years ago, Helena, the school’s principal (until very recently), began at St. Hilary as a 4th grade teacher but a year later became principal. When she took the lead, the school’s enrollment had dwindled to 69 students. She had to rebuild with all new faculty (all the teachers but one had quit). During her second year as principal, while at a National Catholic Education Association Principal Summit, the assistant superintendent of her school’s Diocese suggested “just out of the sky” looking into dual language as a way to meet the literacy needs (something Helena was highly concerned about) of St. Hilary students. Even though state law allows only English proficient students to participate in public dual language programs and therefore, is illegal for English language learners, in 2009, St. Hilary began their Spanish/English dual language program. As Helena stated, “Without textbooks, without anything other than sending them (the teachers) to Hollow River [a nearby public school district with high performing dual language schools] to observe the teachers, we started.” The program has now expanded through sixth grade.

Due to a close partnership with their TWIN-CS dual language mentor, Hannah, a top dual language consultant and advocate at the state level, St. Hilary has developed protocols for teaching in tandem, identified a clear dual language model, and developed oral language proficiency targets. In the fall of 2014, the leadership team presented a portion of its assessment methodology at a State Conference on Dual Language Instruction and has presented two different times at the TWIN-CS (Two Way Immersion Network-Catholic Schools) annual Summer Academy. As Helena explained with deep pride, TWIN has “given us legitimacy and a framework and a way to speak about the program and PD. And it's not Helena and the cowboys running this crazy little school. All of a sudden, we have natural recognition. Our test scores have gone really high…All of a sudden, we've gone from being the Diocese's, you know, wicked
stepchild to, ‘Oh, they now have to pay attention because what their kids are learning.’ Kids have graduated 8th grade are now in college, and coming back, ‘I'm in pre Med. I'm in Engineering.’”

**Biography of the Principal**

Helena, trilingual in Spanish, French, and English, was born in Venezuela where she attended a dual language preschool and Kindergarten and raised in France where she also attended French/English dual language schools. Her family moved to the United States when she was eleven. Her entire professional life, other than the 5 years she spent in social work, has revolved around church and education. Before coming to St. Hilary, Helena taught college for 10 years and concurrently ran a homeless shelter at first and an arts organization after. Before that, she worked in administration and religious education in a big Catholic parish. As she plainly stated, “I left because of the sexual scandals.”

She has two master’s degrees--one in Education from the University of Portland with an emphasis in Theology and Administration and another in Marriage and Family Therapy Systems from the University of Phoenix. Helena also completed the course work for a master’s degree in Linguistics from the University of Portland. Finally, she earned a credential in Catholic School Leadership from the University of San Francisco.

**St. Joan of Arc**

St. Joan of Arc, an independent Catholic school, opened in 1999 as a result of collaborations between a local Church, the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), the religious community of sisters and local community members. The Sisters moved into the school’s neighborhood in 1985 and found big challenges in the parish--immigration, youth violence, and a high dropout rate of students. When three Jesuits moved into the neighborhood, discussions began regarding starting
a middle school since they had been involved with a Nativity school. However, sixth grade seemed too late to address the myriad of social issues so they began with kindergarten. The committee decided on a longer school year, dual language, and felt that it was important for teachers to be paid a living wage. They decided to be independent from the Diocese in order to have their own pay scale and calendar.

Currently, the school serves 179 students in Kindergarten through 6th grade. The 2016-2017 school year was the first year of the Pre-Kindergarten program as well as their sixth grade. In 2015, after a multi-year fundraising campaign, the school moved to a new location and thus has the capacity to grow. School parents had been asking for the middle school program since they noticed that students started to lose their Spanish language once they exited the program. St. Joan of Arc serves 55% English and 45% Spanish native speakers, and 54% of the students qualify for free and reduced lunch. Due to the strong Board of Directors, development team and president, seventy three percent of the budget comes from individual donations and foundations and 6% from ACE scholarships (https://www.acescholarships.org/) for low-income students. While the tuition is $8300, the school meets all students’ financial needs and only 16% (or $287,600) of the budget is comprised of tuition and fees.

St. Joan of Arc has an established program with Spanish and English literacy benchmarks/goals for each grade level as well as thematic units in science and social studies. They have literacy tutors in the primary grades to support students throughout the day.

**Biography of the Principal**

Josefina, the principal, is in her 12th year at St. Joan of Arc. She has served 8 years as principal. She was born in Lima, Peru. She attended private Catholic schools her entire life, including a Catholic university. Josefina has a degree in education for middle and high school
with a specialization in geography and history. Before coming to St. Joan of Arc she taught in another Catholic middle and high school for seven years as well as a public charter school for two years. A friend of hers told her about the opening at St. Joan of Arc and she was hired as the 4th and 5th grade Spanish strand teacher. Explaining the importance of Catholic schools to her biography, she said, “Not only did I teach, but I was also given the opportunity to share my culture, language, traditions and faith freely. I very much identified with this school because this is the way I was taught and the way I grew up in my country of birth.” She taught for four years before becoming the principal. During her time as principal, Josefina earned her Masters in Educational Leadership from a Catholic University. Currently, Josefina also teaches the inaugural 6th grade Spanish literature class, a curriculum that she developed following grade level standards from Mexico and Peru.

**St. Innocent School**

St. Innocent School, the first Catholic dual language school in the United States, began its program in 1999, nearly a hundred years after the Dominican sisters opened the original school in 1905. The neighborhood and parish demographics have changed over the years, from Italian, to African American, to predominantly Hispanic, to more gentrified and ethnically diverse today. When the school became dual language, it was primarily to serve the large community of El Salvadoran immigrants who had fled the civil war. Currently, the school’s population is 90% Hispanic, 2% White, 1% Asian, and 7% African/African American. Sixty eight of the 205 students in PreK3-8th grade receive a federally funded voucher/Scholarship, which pays up to $8,452 for tuition, books, and fees.
St. Innocent is also part of a network of Catholic schools, a subgroup of the Archdiocese where the school is located. The network has four schools, all of which are committed to serving low-income populations. The Executive Director of the network manages the finances, tuition, and human resource needs of all four schools. The network also has a Board of Directors. Ida, the principal of St. Innocent since 2015, is the spiritual and instructional leader of the school. While all network schools, including St. Innocent, are connected to a parish, there is no financial or governance oversight from the parish; still, there is collaboration between the parish and school regarding the spiritual formation of the students, families and staff including mass, sacraments, religious instruction, etc.

St. Innocent’s journey in the past 8 years has been one of constant improvement. According to Ida, it used to be a “sloppy bilingual program” and now it’s a true “one day/one day” [meaning all subjects are taught in both languages, alternating days] through 5th grade. The school leadership team has seen much greater Spanish language capacity in their 5 and 6th graders and are actively looking for a rigorous, standards based Spanish language assessment to document this growth, and compare it with their English language assessment. The school is also actively trying to support the most struggling Spanish students with a new Saturday school program. The school’s turnaround is attributed to Linda, principal from 2009-2012, who guided the school in changing the pre-kindergarten program to 100% Spanish, established a clear framework for language allocation, as well as introduced the school to Project Zero, a research and professional development endeavor based in the arts and humanities of Harvard Graduate School of Education. Now the leadership team feels its biggest success is that they have “literally built a culture of thinking” and have a clear “vision for collaboration and facilitation” (Ida). The teachers have daily co-planning time and there is shared leadership among the teachers. Between
the school leadership team and the support of the Executive Director of the network, Ida stated with a sign of relief, “I’m definitely not doing anything on my own.”

**Biography of the Principal**

Ida became principal of St. Innocent in 2014. She received her undergraduate degree in middle school math education from a state university in the Southeast. Upon graduation, she taught one year in a public school (which she felt was “very violent, very disastrous”) and then found St. Innocent. As she explained it, “I was going to church at St. Innocent. It was in my neighborhood, so I just walked down the street.” She continued: “It was a low income population at both schools [her public school and St. Innocent] and then all of a sudden you have St. Innocent which is a highly effective functioning, peaceful, happy environment. It was like, oh my god you can have inner city schools that work? That's what I want to do.” Interestingly, when she interviewed and after accepting the position to teach math in English, she didn’t know that St. Innocent was a dual language school. She clarified, “Once you step in the door it's obvious because everyone is speaking Spanish all the time. I was just, didn’t even, I wasn't familiar with bilingual schools.”

Ida taught at St. Innocent for four years and planned to stay in math education. She even started a master’s degree in math education leadership before becoming principal. At the end of her 4th year teaching at St. Innocent, however, Ida said there was a “very sudden change at St. Innocent,” and she was asked to become principal for the following year. Ida said, “I'm not bilingual. I do not have an administrative certification. That means I don't have a master’s degree. I'm not a certified Catechist. They have a list of four things you need to be Principal. I have none of them, but I'm slowly working on all of them.” She explained that she has very little formal background in bilingual education but has learned a lot from her experience at St.
Innocent. Obviously a leader that is aware of her strengths and limitations as well as the needs of the school, Ida continued, “We have a very strong team of people. I feel like in my role it's just to kind of make sure I have the right people in the right places so that the whole school can move forward.”

Conclusion

Each of the schools in this study has their own contextual strengths and challenges. The summary glosses were meant to honor the uniqueness of each school. Where the schools are located, whether schools are part of a consortium of schools, are parochial, or are independent, whether the schools can access public funds, and where the schools are in the conversion process are just a few things that provide a glimpse into the diverse realities of these schools. The variety of leaders, in terms of academic and personal background, as well as their focus on the basics of budgeting and enrollment, instruction, and/or the Catholic mission of the school is also evident. Yet, as Chapter 5 shows, these schools shared some commonalities in their conversion to dual language and the principal and key informants’ stories revealed universal themes in their navigation of school change.
CHAPTER 5
NAVIGATING THE CHANGE

In this study, the principals were the primary change agents (Fullan, 2014) who not only initiated the change to dual language immersion, but also were the primary advocates and leaders of this change over time. While there are numerous studies on educational change, there is very little literature on how change happens in a Catholic school context. This research is poignant because these Catholic school leaders were not only navigating the change to dual language programming, they were constantly navigating organizational and structural changes. Indeed, this research shows that these leaders have a deep commitment to their faith and their rich and deep spiritual capital (Grace, 2002; 2010) fed their navigation of the change process. Still, these Catholic schools could not separate themselves from the fragile and changing urban Catholic school context (DeFiore, 2011; O’Keefe et al., 2004).

Three key themes encapsulate the major findings of this research: the market, the mission, and the profession (see Figure 1). Within each theme there are a myriad of influences, challenges and opportunities for growth that emerged from the data. This chapter begins with a discussion of the market forces that influenced most of these principals to consider dual language education. The next section reveals the entrepreneurial approach the principals took to convert their schools to such a comprehensive and expensive innovation such as dual language programming. With the quick conversion to dual language came challenges and opportunities. Nevertheless, this research shows how the principals, vice principals, mentors, and teachers of the Catholic dual language schools actively worked to build their social networks within the school and within the community in order to gain the supports and resources they needed. My
findings suggest that upon initiation of these programs principal and faculty professional knowledge about dual language immersion and whole school change implementation was quite weak. Therefore, this study reveals the numerous tensions and strains on the faculty, principals, and staff that resulted. Finally, the last part of the chapter reveals the improvements and changes that some dual language schools exhibited, which reflects their move towards becoming a learning organization. The chapter ends with findings that explore the rich Catholic identity and strong mission that inspires the educators and enriches the institutions in this entire dual language conversion process.

Figure 1. Navigating the change. This figure illustrates the influence of mission on the market forces the schools faced and the development of the principals as dual language professionals. The market forces and professional development also influenced each school’s Catholic identity and mission.
Theme One: The Market

Considering the Mission of Catholic Schools and Market Forces

Catholic schools have looked to better their programs in an increasingly competitive marketplace (Goldschmidt & Walsh, 2011). Therefore, it is not surprising that a theme of sustainability seemed to be woven throughout the narratives on why a dual language model was chosen.

Mission-centered market differentiator. All principals explained the conversion or choice of dual language programming for their school in reference to either the academic success of English language learners or the best way to meet the needs of the Latino students in their neighborhood and parish community. Nonetheless, regardless of the mission-oriented reason, each participant notably spoke of the move to dual language as making the school “unique” or a “marketing differentiator” (Edward), something “outside the box” (Gloria), even as “mavericky” (Derek) that would presumably or hopefully bring in as well retain current students. The move to dual language was about increasing enrollment numbers.

For some principals, the change to the dual language model was the beginning of a school-wide turnaround, and last ditch effort to save a school from closure. For example, St. Clement as well as St. Gertrude saw the decreasing enrollment in their schools and the closing of surrounding schools as a major threat. As Principal Cynthia from St. Clement put it: “The writing was on the wall. The community, the income kept dropping around us.” Thus, they were looking for ways to sustain the school. Gloria, St. Gertrude’s vice principal at the time of the implementation of dual language, explained,

Because of the recession and other factors, the enrollment declined considerably. It got to be, in my last years there as a teacher and vice principal, those were my last five years
there, we were at 180, I believe. Yeah. That's how this whole idea came about. St. Gertrude is a school that's affiliated with a Parish that has a huge mass attendance of Latinos. There are about 3000 Latinos that attend mass there every weekend…There are, I don't know how many baptisms every year. About 100 or 200 baptisms or something like that. The question has been in our minds for several years prior to that as well, we have all these baptisms. Why don't we have more Latino students enrolled in the school? I spoke with the principal at the time, and I said, why don't we start a new language program here? It makes complete sense; this is perhaps the Parish with the most Latino attendance. Why not?

Helena, the principal of St. Hilary for the past eleven years, recalled that when she accepted the position of principal, the enrollment for her K-8 schools was only 69 students. Drawing upon her development background, Helena was able to keep the school afloat that first difficult year. Then, while explaining the academic challenges her Latino student population was facing at her school, she was introduced to the idea to convert to dual language from an assistant superintendent:

My second year, I went to a principal summit, a NCEA [National Catholic Education Association] principal summit and there, the assistant superintendent of [a city in the Southwest], I was telling her, "You know, the biggest problem I'm having at St. Hilary's is kids aren't learning how to read. They're coming from homes where there's high illiteracy. They don't speak Spanish properly. They don't speak English properly. English is almost impossible to learn how to read if you can't think. You can't decode because you don't have any skill set." Anyway, she said to me, "Have you ever thought about a dual language program?" I said, "Oh!"…At an NCEA [National Catholic Education
Association] thing. Just out of the sky. I said, "Wow." I came from a very privileged background in South America. I went to a dual language Pre K and Kindergarten. In France, again fancy school, dual language, English and French. To me, it was just absolutely normal that privileged kids learn several languages. It occurred to me that a Romance language is a lot easier to learn how to speak and read than an Anglo Saxon language...

So, Helena was drawn to dual language through her own experiences growing up in dual language schools and understanding how languages work. Hector, the new principal of St. Hilary and Helena’s successor, explained it slightly different, with an emphasis on providing a niche in the Catholic school system:

So me, [another teacher], Helena, all came in the same time. So when we came in, we were all hired because the principal and every other teacher left. So we came in to a very, not ideal situation. Our enrollment dipped down to 90 kids. So fast forward about three years, four years into our tenure there, Helena says we need to separate ourselves, have to do something, that's different in the diocese, and maybe in [the city]. So we looked at several models, we looked at a Miguel model, we looked at a traditional model, we even explored going to an all-girls school. So it was part of the plan just to set us apart, because we were struggling. So somehow we had a superintendent that was very, very, good to us, and I don't know how it came up but she said, "Why don't we do a bilingual school?"

This quest to be different was inextricably tied to the search for the best way to serve one’s community. Indeed, choosing to institute a dual language program for participants wasn’t just about numbers, or student enrollment alone. Principal responses were nuanced with a desire to
serve a growing population of Latino or Chinese students, students in the neighborhood or parish, and to do it through a research based model. As Dual Language Coordinator, Fabiola from Perpetua Academy explained, “Our school was in dire need of student enrollment 6 years ago. It was in danger of closing. We moved to starting a dual language immersion program to attract new students and hopefully better the children’s education by providing them with the opportunity to become bilingual and bi-literate.”

**From market to meaning.** St. Elizabeth is one of only two schools in this study that did not convert to a dual language school but actually started its dual language program when the school opened in 2012 (in the building of a closed down Catholic school). Their principal, Edward, and former board president, Eileen, both mentioned that when opening the school, they had hoped to partner with the Jesuit all boys academy down the street. St. Elizabeth had a thriving all girls’ middle school that complemented the all boys Catholic middle school in the neighborhood. But, when it came down to collaborating to create a co-ed feeder school, it did not work out: “Unfortunately, we were just in different places at that time. They were not Choice yet. On paper it made perfect sense, but it just wasn't going to work,” explained Eileen. So, when forming St. Elizabeth’s elementary school, Eileen discussed the two primary considerations: whether the school should be all-girls and how to best serve their population. They did “a lot of research” and found, as Eileen explained:

> kids learn to read and write better, and earlier, and can learn a second language better, if they learn to read and write in their primary language first. Given that, we said, ‘Well then, we should do that.’ We also knew it would differentiate us from other schools, which would be an added plus in terms of enrollment, but at that point we really had had no problem with enrollment. There were always waiting lists, but we did it because ...
really did it because we felt it was the right thing for the kids. You throw in a Spanish-speaking kid into an English class, and they're lost the first year or two if that's really all they’re hearing. That's why we decided to do it.

The principal, Edward, also noted that a professor from a local Catholic university “was very much a proponent of [dual language] and worked with the principal at the time to say, there's a lot of academic benefits, a differentiator, like when you guys are forming your primary school. You should consider this model.” He explained, “I think from the previous middle school principal’s perspective it was a real marketing differentiator. For her, she wasn't an educator, but she was like ‘wow this could make us feel unique.’ And so from an outside, stakeholder, or parent and donor, there's a story to be told there, so that was big plus.” The school’s current vice principal, Edele, felt that it was “just a strategic move more than anything, as far as enrollment, recruitment and things like that.” Indeed, St. Elizabeth has been struggling with losing students to the all boys Catholic school nearby. Nonetheless, Vice Principal Edele explained, “Throughout the years I think there has been a really conscious effort to move it from that superficial level to a meaningful program that’s really going to support the kids.” Regardless of the initial intentions, she felt the school was moving in the right direction academically.

Interestingly, none of the principals perceived this market approach (i.e., adopting dual language to expand the school) to be in conflict with the mission based emphasis; in fact, only Edele expressed some concerns, and that was only regarding the reasons for the initiation of the program.

**Focus on the common good.** While most participants focused equally on filling empty seats in their school and serving the community, two schools’ responses focused primarily on initiating a dual language program as the best way to provide a rich academic education to their
student population. Indeed, dual language immersion can be seen as a way to effectively address academic challenges, particularly in schools where there are a large number of English language learners (Collier & Thomas, 2004). For example, at St. Agatha where 76% of the students are English language learners, the principal, Ann, said that the idea for dual language came from the school’s president because the school administration noticed the students’ test scores, after a successful start in Kindergarten through second, starting to “plummet” in third and fourth grade. She described a thorough process of trying to discern the cause of the low test scores and deeply examining the school’s curriculum, instruction and staffing but ultimately realizing that a systemic change needed to occur:

And we just, finally we said, "you know what, we don't think it's the teachers. We've got excellent teachers. We don't think it's the lack in the kids. We've got excellent kids that are smart in other ways. We think it's the system of the school and we have to make a systematic change. If we would just teach in the language that is their first language it would help." And then as we looked more into immersion, dual immersion was hey, this incorporates best practice for all kids in it. It is a way out of poverty for all students. It is where the global workforce is going to be. This is something that we need to do to prepare our kids to be the leaders of tomorrow because they're not going to be able to get away with just having English and say, "I'm American, I expect you to speak English to me." It's not going to work in a global society. [The idea of dual language] came out of, we want academic excellence for the students that are in our building. But how do we do that?

Not only did St. Agatha look at test scores of their English learners, they also noticed that the poverty level of their students made a difference. They noticed that middle class students,
who paid more tuition, generally scored higher and were in the highest percentile ranges on standardized tests. They acknowledged, “what we're doing is right for kids that also have the advantages and support at home to make it in the system. Where we're not making it is where there aren’t supports at home for this system. Maybe it's the system again that’s wrong. So we have to change that.” One of the teachers reiterated this challenge and discussed the students’ lack of vocabulary skills in both English and Spanish. When students were asked to do “higher level thinking, more difficult concepts” in the middle grades, they didn’t have enough native Spanish skills to assist them.

Becca, a veteran principal of 16 years at St. Bernard, also described the need to better serve her English learner students (~52% of the K-8 students). She described how she was given the dual language application for TWIN-CS by one of the former associate superintendents in the diocese. At this time she was looking for alternatives for serving her school’s English learner population because she “never really liked the way we do the ESL, the second language, because downtown [city in the Northeast]--we always had a high ESL population.” When an associate superintendent suggested dual language, Becca looked into it and agreed. She wanted to “try something different with these second language kids.” As she explained, she applied to the TWIN-CS network,

and then I had to decide what to do, if it was going to be Spanish or Mandarin because at the time we had almost 40/50 or 40/60% of Hispanics and Asians. Being in Chinatown, our Asian population has now overtaken the lower income Hispanic. That's when we chose Mandarin. I could've gone either way, but looking at the future and in the locality and the demographics changing, we went Mandarin. It was well received. I was very surprised that they didn't accuse me of establishing a Chinese school. The Spanish
students are learning the Mandarin, I've had very little resistance, and some of the best
students are Spanish.

The leadership of both St. Agatha and St. Bernard revealed a willingness to change the system of
instruction to better serve their English learner community.

**Taking an Entrepreneurial Approach**

Regardless of the reasons this sample of Catholic schools converted to a dual language
school, how they began their programs had some similarities. All schools begun with limited
resources and the principals had to take a considerable leap of faith, take a risk, in order to start a
dual language program.

**Jumping in—ready or not.** Even in cases where there was careful planning (e.g., St.
Agatha), the decision to become dual language involves a jump into the unknown or into a
“condition of extreme uncertainty” (Ries, 2011). This is especially true for Catholic schools,
where few models of dual language immersion exist. When discussing how their school adopted
dual language, four of the ten principals and some of the key informants told stories of the rapid
decision and/or implementation of the program. Only two principals and one board member
spoke of the extensive planning that took place. For example, St. Agatha went through an
extensive feasibility study and spent two years mapping everything out. Similarly, St. Gertrude
required its teachers to go through nearly sixty hours of professional development in dual
language before starting the program. Board member Eileen from St. Elizabeth discussed the
lengthy, thorough research done when considering a dual language model. Yet, once the decision
was made to start the program, the movement to implement a dual language curriculum was
rapid:
I’ll tell you what, we started this school pretty quickly. Because again we had had these discussions with this other school about doing it. We sort of danced around the edges about it. And once they said no, our president just decided that’s it, we’re going for it, and she just plowed ahead. I’ll admit it happened fast, maybe too fast quite frankly, but we had a pretty good plan in place. We got some space, you know. There was some concern, because this dual language was something that was totally new to us, and our principal really didn’t have experience in it, but we did hire someone to be the assistant principal at that school that did have some experience with it (Eileen).

Even for a school like St. Elizabeth that did ample research and planning, dual language was still “totally new” to most of the administration and board; still, they “just plowed ahead” (Eileen).

While three of the schools discussed the ample research and planning before the movement into dual language, three other leaders spoke of it more as a leap of faith, with the real planning coming afterwards. Some principals also spoke of their “naïveté” as possibly a blessing in disguise since they didn’t know the great challenges ahead. Principal Cynthia from St. Clement explained,

I know that some of the schools have done a year of planning before they jumped into it. I might have come back and done a year of planning. Maybe if I'd done that, I'd have said, "No. It's too much." Maybe I would've gotten hit back from the teachers and they didn't want to do that or the parents. Instead, we just went into it. We barreled into it.

We're going forward, and we're going to do it (Cynthia).

This top down approach, indeed the agreement to move to dual language on the part of the principal without input from the community, seemed to permeate much of the decision-making that was described by the participants in this study. Moreover, whether the principal was a
veteran or novice didn’t seem to affect how the decision was made. While Cynthia was a veteran principal with over 15 years of experience, Principal Derek was a first year principal and had just arrived at St. Diego when the decision was made to adopt a dual language program. He explained his feelings about the move to dual language in a slightly different way: “I was all in. I was all in. Right away. I thought some of that was naïveté about not totally knowing our school community and knowing all of the pitfalls of it and the problems that would come with it.” Derek admitted that he would like to claim that he had done research before jumping in, but his process was more that he had taught dual language before and he did not worry much about the model or details.

Likewise, Helena from St. Hilary explained how after her first year as a principal, that second summer, she asked a few teachers who might be able to get the program started and once they said “okay” they too jumped in: “Without textbooks, without anything other than sending them to Hollow River [TWIN-CS mentor’s district] to observe the teachers, we started.” Not all who spoke of the rapid decision making to institute a dual language program, continued to feel confident about it. For instance, the assistant principal at St. Diego, Diana, reiterates this jumping in with a twinge of regret: “Yeah, if we could do it over again, I think the biggest thing would be probably ... I don't want to say we jumped into this blind, but we definitely jumped into it blind...”

**Top down decision-making.** Not only was the decision rapid, it is important to note that in this sample of Catholic dual language schools, the idea for dual language came from either the school administration (governing board, principal or vice-principal) or in four cases, from an Archdiocesan official, some of whom had heard about dual language schools through a TWIN-CS recruitment email sent out. It didn’t seem that the schools converted to dual language from
the request of a pastor, parish, or parent/family community. Furthermore, once the decision was made, none of the participants mentioned that school communities were surveyed or consulted for feedback. Rather, Principal Cynthia and Principal Helena’s remarks reveal how most were simply told with little notice, about the implementation of the change. Cynthia explained, I came back from the first conference and said, "This is not going to be just early childhood work. The whole school is going to buy into this." What I did was I had meetings right from the beginning with everybody, all my teachers. Everybody, we're going to become a dual language school. We're starting the 4k, 5k, first, second. We're going to add a grade every year. You know what? In middle school, we're teaching Spanish. Well, you're teaching it knowing that we're a dual language school. It's not just a subject anymore. I want to hear the kids in the halls, when they talk to me. I have to learn, too.

Once Helena decided on dual language, she said, “That summer, we opened up and called all the parents… Said we are going to teach in English and Spanish.” This top down, or more paternalistic way, of operating is consistent with earlier research on Catholic elementary schools in Canada (Black, 2010).

**Challenges and Opportunities to an Entrepreneurial Approach**

Only participants from St. Agatha and St. Elizabeth discussed strategic planning and a governing board that might oversee financial management of a conversion to dual language. Mostly, participants spoke of low enrollments or the lack of financial resources in the startup stage. Certainly, budget issues are often revealed in the lack of time for preparation for the transition to dual language. Moreover, changing from standard monolingual textbooks and
materials to dual language materials and curriculum is costly. The demands on teachers can also be overwhelming with little time for extended training or ongoing support in the initial stages.

**No materials.** Many teachers discussed the multiple challenges of under resourced Catholic schools coupled with the challenges of starting a dual language program. Haddie, a fourth grade Spanish teacher from St. Hilary, and other teachers spoke of the lack of materials and having to develop everything from scratch. While Haddie has her teaching credential and was prepared to work with English as a Second Language students, she discussed how taking a job at a Catholic dual language school was a whole other issue. She explained, “I know my first year it was a big struggle because I just got thrown in here. It was like, here you go, and I was like, okay, do I have any books? Do I have anything? It was hard. I'm good at computers so I was able to look for stuff and just translate it into Spanish and just use it, and now I have the resources but I know that I've heard that from a lot of teachers from different schools that they don't have the resources. A lot of them, it's really hard for them to translate things. For me it was easier because I'm really good at both languages.”

Not just teachers in new programs discussed a lack of resources. Four years into the dual language program, Cynthia from St. Clement said she had “no Spanish language arts materials” and “No money.” When asked about resources, she replied, “Well, we haven't gotten a lot. I invested in religion. **Sadlier**’s religion program in Spanish…That was one of their Spanish courses that they had to teach. We have great technology, so it's getting on the internet, start looking for dual language resources.” Indeed, Principal Hector from St. Hilary’s also noted that after Helena left, the teachers confided in him that they didn’t have the appropriate Spanish reading materials. He explained, “That's why we went and got the entire program for the reading because, it was a huge issue.”
One notable outlier to the resources issue was St. Elizabeth. Vice Principal Edele was concerned about a dual language framework but when asked if there were materials for the teachers to utilize and build curriculum, she replied that they “definitely have supplies…Our library is stocked with Spanish and English books. The resources are definitely there.” So, rather than a lack of materials (presumably not a problem due to the Choice funding), St. Elizabeth’s challenge was how to use these materials.

No planning time or knowledge of what to plan. The teacher participants also spoke about being thrown into their work, with little knowledge of what they were getting into or the workload they took on. Carolina, the university professor and mentor to St. Clement, said the teachers’ lack of time to prepare a dual language curriculum and instruction was their program’s biggest obstacle, and the teacher participants from other schools echoed this concern. For example, Beatrice, the first through third grade Mandarin teacher from St. Bernard, noted that after school is the only time teachers can meet, and the teachers are often tired and rushed. Beatrice spoke about the high stress level of the teachers and not having guidance in terms of how to choose curriculum when half of her students are Chinese dominant and the other half are English speakers. Unfortunately, she said, “There is no one standard form American student to achieve Chinese.” She said with “so many goals” from reading, writing to speaking as well as academic content she wondered aloud, “How can we give them the things they need?” Beatrice also spoke about how she felt that she was well prepared at the university for the theoretical basis for teaching Mandarin, but actually planning with an English teacher and mirroring a lesson at the primary level was quite different: “This part, I have to start from scratch. I have no preparation for that.”
Even when teachers were given planning time, teachers didn’t exactly know how to use the time. At St. Agatha, Principal Ann said that paired English/Spanish grade level teachers have prep together once a week and the language vertical teams had prep time once a week. While she thought it was an “ideal” situation conceptually, “it just wasn’t used effectively enough.” They tried to use Google docs which “started the convo” but didn’t get the teachers “really far”. In the end, like Ariel, the teacher from St. Agatha explained, time got “eaten up with accreditation.”

**Not enough literacy preparation.** Most participants did not feel entirely prepared to take on the development or continuation of a dual language school. Principal Becca claimed, “I was a nervous wreck to start. It was all uncharted waters.” Principal Ida said outright she “Literally [I] had no qualifications for the job” but that “people just knew I would work hard.” Indeed, leading a Catholic dual language school entails wearing many hats (O’Keefe, 2000), but this research shows that additional expertise regarding bilingualism, early literacy and dual language program development for leaders and teachers is needed. While five of the ten principals discussed their TWIN-CS mentors’ role in providing literacy support, only St. Innocent and St. Elizabeth spoke of having a current literacy specialist on staff. In most schools, the principal presumably must serve in this instructional leadership role. As Principal Grace explained, she’d love to have that role but simply didn’t have the support staff and thus, time:

That was kind of hard. I feel like there's a lot that can be done with our dual-language program. Then, that could be a full-time job. I could be just running the dual-language program full-time, but I'm doing all these other things.

Drawing on her leadership as principal at two different Catholic dual language schools and her mentoring of other principals, Principal Linda noted how this lack of literacy preparation was really detrimental to these schools' development:
...A lot of times what I see in the schools is people that have never been in elementary, or they don't know anything about Spanish, or they don't know anything about bilingual...they don't intrinsically know. They can't walk into a room and know if it's working or not. And then even if they do speak Spanish, and they've never been in an elementary, that literacy piece is so important, because the kids need to have the literacy, and the transfer of literacy skills.

It’s not a surprise then that given the quick decisions to convert to dual language, coupled with some principals’ limited knowledge of how dual language practically works, that the interviews with key informants, particularly the teachers, revealed a high level of stress during the implementation process.

**Stressed out but figuring it out.** All five teacher participants discussed the heavy workload as well as a feeling of disorientation due to not having enough background or initial guidance in how to get started in a dual language program. Nevertheless, teachers were very resourceful. For example, Teacher Ariel spoke about the difficulties of reaching students with a great variety of language ability, and felt that she did not have appropriate practical training. She ended up relying on the internet, finding a guide to dual language on Teachers pay Teachers and going from there:

I'd say this past year was very overwhelming, especially the beginning of the year, because I didn't have much guidance and really didn't know exactly what I was doing. I had to go out and do some research on my own to figure out how it worked, and just trial and error, and figuring out what works and what doesn't work with my kids.

Moreover, Ariel spoke more about the initial disorganization of the program, and that the focus on the accreditation was a distraction from the development of the dual language curriculum:
Honestly, I don't think we were very prepared. I don't think that teachers were informed about how the program works or what it looks like. I think when I first started, the two kindergarten teachers were very confused to who was going to do what and how switching classes was going to look like. So that first year we had several meetings as a K-2 [team] to kind of work through some of the problems. But I don't feel like we came to many solutions first year. I think this year we're starting to make more progress, but we were in an accrediting...year, so our focus was more on that than I think on helping to educate teachers and to learn more about how dual-immersion works.

Many innovations begin without a full understanding of how the change will affect the various stakeholders (Fullan, 2016). Moreover, with the many financial restraints of Catholic schools and their lean staffing (DeFiore, Convey, & Schutolloffel, 2009), most participants did not have the time or resources to prepare for the transition, and this is consistent with past research on dual language implementation (Clark et al., 2002). In other words, the lack of financial and human resources for some of these Catholic schools made it difficult to provide the kind of training that might address some of the challenges inherent to dual language programming, or at least provide the ongoing support that might reduce the stress of figuring things out on the job.

**Theme Two: The Profession**

**Developing the Dual Language Program in the School**

Starting a dual language program without all the curricular pieces in place, and without extensive knowledge of literacy development was something nearly all participants mentioned. Nonetheless, while the faculty and staff dual language knowledge or background was limited at the initiation of these program, by reaching outside the school and finding experts in the dual language field as well as the Catholic education community, the participants not only built their
knowledge base but their network of resources and support.

**Looking at examples of dual language success.** The most highly cited approach used to developing a dual language program was turning to other dual language schools for advice and visiting dual language classrooms to see the program in action. Indeed, these schools looked outside the Catholic school community for examples of best practice. Eight of the ten school leaders described these visits as one of the first things that happened once the decision to convert was made. Three schools drew upon the expertise of other Catholic dual language schools. Dual Language Coordinator Fabiola described her visit to St. Joan of Arc as inspiring and energizing for the planning of their school’s program. Meanwhile, Principal Edward from Milwaukee described his visit to St. Agatha *after* he took the principalship: “I literally drove to [city in Minnesota] because I was like I'm so lost, I need to see another school doing this.” The others spoke about how they visited the local public and charter schools in their area. Principal Derek spoke about their visit to “KIPP like charter schools,” and their operating method: “Learn from them and be happy for their success, and try to steal from them!” Principal Linda said that when they were looking for a dual language model, they “went out to all the bilingual schools” in their city to see what would be the best fit for their school. Indeed, the schools in this study did not stay in a Catholic school bubble but rather out of necessity, reached out across educational sectors to visit dual language schools in their area. In fact, only one participant said that the area public schools were not open to visitors from private institutions. Vice Principal Gloria’s response was indicative of the school’s desire to learn from those already involved in dual language:

We talked to the experts. There was no way we were going to go into this without a solid platform which came from people who had already done this and been successful at
it...Yeah. It really helps to look at models and to see these programs in action done well. The good people at [name of local district] public schools were very accommodating and very supportive of us.

**Joining TWIN-CS.** Eleven participants highlighted the Two Way Immersion Network-Catholic Schools (TWIN-CS) as a key source of ideas, inspiration, and national legitimacy. Most spoke about the helpfulness of the networking opportunities, “having people to touch base and talk with to work through problems” (Principal Edward). A few schools attributed their complete “blooming” (Office administrator Gwen) with their participation in TWIN-CS. For St. Hilary, TWIN provided a forum for serious academic inquiry and an opportunity to share their innovative work with others. Principal Helena said, “TWIN gave me the idea that we probably should map the curriculum so we'd have some pacing guide and have a clue as to what we're doing.” But more importantly, TWIN gave their program legitimacy and a framework and a way to speak about the program and PD [Professional Development]. And it's not Helena and the cowboys running this crazy little school. All of a sudden, we have national recognition. Our test scores have gone really high...All of a sudden, we've gone from being the Diocese's, you know, wicked stepchild to, ‘Oh, they now have to pay attention because what their kids are learning.’ Kids have graduated 8th grade are now in college, and coming back, ‘I'm in pre Med. I'm in Engineering.’

She continued,

Because of the Boston College connection, I think I'm taken more seriously by people like Hannah [mentor] who has seen us grow from ‘Helena and the cowboys’ to we presented at two state conferences on methods. We are members, the faculty, all of us are, of the two state language organizations…We are taken seriously in the dual language
community. I think that's important.

The new principal of St. Hilary, Hector, also discussed the importance of this legitimacy:

The TWIN instituted program where it's all the facets that go into it. Very important to our school and to the mission we have at our school. Educating the poor, and educating the weak, the marginalized, that's kind of what we always did. But the TWIN network, the dual language program that we have, has given us a different way to do that.

In general, participants found TWIN to be inspirational. Principal Ann stated, “I see their [TWIN’s leadership] drive and their excitement…It keeps making me want to keep working at [developing the dual language program].” She expressed how isolating building a dual language program in the Catholic world can be: “We're doing the work alone in our Archdiocese. Sometimes I feel like that. Having this network has been so important because we can't do it alone. We have to be part of a community.”

On the other hand, the need for such strategic and specialized support was revealed in the disappointment from some participants that TWIN-CS couldn't offer more concrete ideas on dual language program development, or differentiated professional development. Vice Principal Diana from St. Diego explained how “TWIN is great about the marketing and the whys [of dual language] but the practical day to day stuff is really missing. Having a little bit more of that definitely would have been helpful.” Furthermore, schools that are farther along in their development found they needed different supports and were asking different questions; therefore, they did not find TWIN colleagues super helpful. As Principal Ida from St. Innocent lamented, “…when we went to TWIN I think our issue was there were not a lot of schools that were as far along as we are.”
Finding a key mentor for support. Another important finding is that some principals were able to get support through an individual mentor or expert in dual language. Principal Edward from St. Elizabeth School described his need for expert knowledge. He said he would think to himself: “Can't somebody tell me what the best practices are or what results, or research, or evidence…that this is the starting place.” That need for guidance and knowledge led principals to find help wherever they could. Principal Helena from St. Hilary found her current TWIN-CS mentor and statewide dual language expert, Hannah, by searching on the Internet for dual language schools. Helena did not think she would find anyone close by because dual language instruction is illegal in her state for English Language Learners. While Helena thought she would find someone in California who she could talk with on the phone, Helena instead discovered Hannah, who was running a dual language program in a very wealthy part of the state with zero English Learners. As Helena described this unexpected connection: “It's proof positive that the Holy Spirit is alive and well and running things.” Whether people found their own mentors as Helena did, or found one through the encouragement of the TWIN-CS network, the four participants who discussed the involvement of their mentor at length and recommended them as a key informant revealed how influential these change agents could be.

According to the participants, the mentors provide a range of resources and are able to respond to the particular needs of the school. At a newer program like St. Clement, the needs can be around the very basics of dual language, particularly in situations where the principal does not have a background in that area. As Cynthia, the principal at St. Clement said, “I’m not dual language. For me to tell them [the teachers], ‘This is what you teach.’ It’s not going to happen.” In that case, mentor and university professor, Carolina, was able to provide some specific in-services on dual language curriculum and instruction. Nonetheless, Principal Cynthia still
struggles, and this may be due to what Principal Linda described in terms of the need for literacy preparation. Three years into the implementation, Cynthia said she didn’t realize Spanish language arts had to be explicitly taught and so planned to meet with a TWIN-CS design team professor because she was in need of a “structure and model,” “a plan!” Certainly, mentors provided assistance to the dual language schools but to varying degrees, and each relationship was different.

Principals like Helena from St. Hilary who speak multiple languages and have an understanding of the basics of dual language education needed help tightening and refining, rather than building and defining, their program over the years. With Hannah’s mentorship, St. Hilary has been able to solidify their program. As their mentor, Hannah, put it:

I mean, what they've been doing is working great. It's working. They've completely been able to identify a model. They've completely been able to tighten their program. They had a program, but it was a little bit loose. They didn't know, they didn't have proficiency targets. The teachers didn't know where they needed to get the kids every year. They didn't know that they probably shouldn't be code switching or translating. Those little details that really make a program great were missing. They had the basics. They had the basics there, so I basically came in and helped them tweak things.

In the case of more established schools like St. Hilary, a mentor like Hannah might focus on making sure that there are clear oral language proficiency targets and that they are being met. Hannah described how she helped St. Hilary find the best way to show parents the progress being made. For example, she discussed the importance of making sure the teachers stay in the target language, “changing the focus to being what can the students actually produce? What can they say? What kind of a conversation can they have with you? Finding an outlet for that to be
shown to the parents. Tweaking the conferences. Then honestly, setting proficiency targets. That small task has huge implications for any program.”

Hannah guided St. Hilary in their use of online oral language portfolios and standards based oral language report cards. In 2016, they changed from a traditional parent/teacher conference to an open house/celebration of learning where students guided their parents through the classrooms. Mentor Hannah could build on Principal Helena’s understanding of dual language education and understanding of the Spanish language, whereas Mentor Carolina had to start from scratch with Principal Cynthia and her team at St. Clement. Certainly, the importance of reaching out for help as one navigated the conversion to dual language was discussed by all principals in the study.

**Still searching for the right mentor or mentorship.** While the TWIN-CS mentors were key for four of the principals in terms of professional development, teacher coaching, and program support, two principals discussed frustration with their TWIN-CS mentor, or lack of one. Principal Edward said his mentor never worked with him and when he tried to find a replacement, he could not, and felt that TWIN-CS had abandoned his school in this regard. He explained: “We're still mentor-less and I've asked for guidance and felt like I was given a little more of the ‘find what works, well here you can call Ann [design team member], or St. Joan of Arc [one of the first dual language Catholic schools].’ But, not like TWIN has experts, and they can tell you this”. Principal Grace wished her mentor were “more present.” She said the teachers really noted the absence of their TWIN-CS mentor. They told Grace, “She's not here. She's not helping. Help. We want more support.” When asked why Grace did not get a new mentor, Grace noted the tricky position she was in because the mentor is the “daughter of the deacon in our church... So the parish relationship.” She continued, “I was thinking at the church, the
relationship with the church. It could cause a rift, but anyway. I think that she just needs to be told what to do more. I think she needs more direction. I wish, as a first year principal, somebody who could take more initiative.”

**Developing the School’s Presence in the Community**

After the initial inspiration or decision to adopt dual language immersion, the schools faced the challenge of recruiting the needed students and getting the support they needed from the school community and key partners. Principals of schools that seemed to be growing took a variety of approaches, which seemed influenced by each school’s geographical context as well as financial situation and funding streams.

**Broad marketing: Getting students in the door.** Since low enrollment drove many principals to consider an innovation such as dual language immersion, it’s not surprising that the newest principal participant who had joined a school with a dwindling student population and financial hardships would name one of her greatest successes as getting more students in the door. As Principal Grace explained, when she started at St. Gertrude in July 2016, there were only 90 students registered for the school year. Over time St. Gertrude gained the reputation as being a school slated to close. As a result of that label it became more difficult to attract new students and retain the existing ones. Grace said it was “terrifying”; upon starting her job, she feared they would close the school. Therefore, she spent time in the summer putting flyers on cars, speaking at masses, and reaching out to families who hadn’t registered for the coming school year. She said:

> We worked really hard to market the preschool. I spoke at masses in Spanish. We called our families who hadn't registered and asked them to come in and register, so we could get a more accurate picture, or at least give us a confirmation that they are for sure going
to register. We called some of the students who were on the fence and hadn't registered, asking why they're leaving and if there's anything we can do to get them back. We got a handful of them to come back to the school who are on the fence, which was great.

Grace mentioned the slow decline in enrollment over the past six years but with the dual language and her focus on marketing the school, the preschool is now “busting at the seams.” She noted, “I think, one of the biggest successes is marketing the preschool.” Indeed, Gwen, St. Gertrude’s office administrator, said that at every meeting recently she has touted the school’s growth: “Every time I go to their dioceses for the meetings or marketing or development I always make sure that you know how many kids I have—42. Forty two because it’s very hard to get 42 students in this school in one school year.” Principal Grace’s enthusiastic outreach to the community regarding the preschool coupled with her office administrator’s efforts proved fruitful.

**Re-branding the school.** My findings show that societal views of bilingualism and weak public school systems coupled with complex church history provided challenges to marketing and the attempts to get wide spread buy in for some Catholic dual language programs. Other challenges for these programs included the fragile state of the Catholic school system generally.

Grace had to recruit students to simply survive, while other programs re-branded themselves and marketed specifically to full paying families, in order to garner financial support and trust in the program. Principal Linda explained her strategy at St. Felicitas:

Before Perpetua [dual immersion program], there was [SIC]11% of families paying full tuition. They put in the [dual language] Program, the bilingual, and the other key piece is marketing. I see a lot of the schools that get into this, ‘oh we're the poor Hispanic school’. I said, we need to change our marketing strategy. No, we're an amazing dual language
immersion school! It's changing that marketing, changing the imaging. That made such a
difference, because they went from--Perpetua initially had 33% that could pay full
tuition. The pre-K we put in, that went from 8 to 40 kids, twenty 3-year-olds and twenty
4-year-olds. They have 65% that can pay full tuition.

Similarly, yet slightly different, Principal Ida from St. Innocent characterized her school as a
“bilingual school for everybody.” She spoke of a demographic shift yet not one that was strategic
in terms of the school’s marketing but rather in terms of embracing the school’s changing
neighborhood and the growth of dual language in the city:

Currently we have kind of a demographic shift in our school where the upper grades are
almost entirely Hispanic and entirely Catholic. Our lower grades are not anymore…
There's a bigger demand in the city for bilingual education. People who are not
necessarily Catholic are coming because of the bilingual program…Our school's been
around for 111 [years] and we had very clear demographics. We were 100% Italian
immigrants, we switched to 100% African-American, and then we switched to 100%
Hispanic. Right now we're in the center of the city so we are in a very prime location and
we gentrified, so now we are for the first time becoming a very diverse school. It's a
whole new challenge of saying well, it's not a school for Hispanic students, it's a school
for everybody. Now we're in the challenge of what is our school culture and who are we.
All of us together, in this bilingual environment.

Carrie: What are you guys thinking now, would you say your goals have changed? What
was your goal as a school, and now what would you say? Your mission, has that changed,
shifted or no?
Ida: Our goal was to serve St. Innocent parish. Whoever was in the parish our goal was to serve them, and it has been that for 111 years. Our model has changed so we can serve those kids, but our mission has not. As we see another demographic shift, we're conscious of our model, is this the best model for our parish, or for the people that we serve. We believe that yes, the bilingual model is positive for everybody. We are conscious also of this demographic shift. Our mission has been to provide an innovative bilingual education and it used to be about bilingual education so that we could serve students who didn't speak English.

**Embracing the school context.** While some schools like St. Felicitas strategically brought in an economically diverse population to meet the budgetary needs of the school, schools like St. Innocent aimed to continue serving the neighborhood and parish students, regardless of socioeconomic background. Other schools like St. Hilary emphasized that their school served economically marginalized students and promoted that in the community. Principal Helena at St. Hilary explained that in order to get her school out of the initial “financial mess” she found the school in when she started, she called “all the TV stations in town…saying that the oldest Catholic school in the Diocese is going to close due to lack of funds…Sort of made a lot of noise but it got us $100,000 from a donor. To keep the school open.” Selling themselves as a school for the poor works in her context, since it pulls at donors’ heartstrings, and brings in state money. Helena noted,

I don't understand principals that don't [take in poor students] because you get the most. The more poorer you are, the more money you get… The tax credit is based on need. The poorer you are, the more money you get. Our annual tuition is $5500. Of that in tax
credits, I get $3800 per child. My kids get the max. Then we go out and we…Then the Diocese still gives us $200,000 because they have to because we're the poorest school in the Diocese. And then we go out and we raise the difference. We have adopt-a-student.

We have parishes adopt us. I go out there and cry poverty like there's no tomorrow.

Even though Principal Helena embraced St. Hilary’s particular student demographic, she also felt that their growth in students had something to do with their relationship to a large, powerful Catholic institution: “Because of the association with Boston College, I really believe that we've grown in prestige. We're full, right, with a waiting list in every room. Remember, I started with 69.” My findings reveal that growth in enrollment and securing buy in was due to the principal’s focused and conscientious choices for how to market and brand the school.

On the other hand, this research found that when a school was confronted with numerous setbacks and had no particular way of selling the dual language program, it all could seem overwhelming. For example, St. Clement struggled with the loss of the new facility that they had planned for and were expecting. Once they returned to being a parish school, they had to confront a facility that had not been maintained for several years and a school community that was tired from having invested energy in the expected new facility. Therefore, rather than talking about reaching out to the community and building a support network, Principal Cynthia just seemed tired and said she was “running on empty.”

**Embracing Spanish.** Five school leaders (three principals and two instructional leaders) discussed the role speaking Spanish has played in how they’ve managed a dual language program. Indeed, research has shown that Hispanic families are often intimidated coming into Catholic schools due to the tuition costs (Guzman, Palacios, & Deliyannides, 2012), and that the
capacity of the principal to speak Spanish is important for breaking down cultural barriers (Ospino & Weitzel-O’Neill, 2016).

For Principal Grace, her capacity to speak Spanish helped in the personalized recruitment efforts, since Spanish is the native tongue of many of the school families. As Principal Grace explained,

75% of our new, we got 40 new students. 75% of them are Hispanic. I think that it has a lot to do with me speaking Spanish…I'm the first Spanish-speaking principal the school has ever had. Previous principals were not able to give personalized tours in Spanish because they didn't speak the language. Sitting down with the parents, speaking the language, being pretty strategic about the meeting as well…

Once students have enrolled, the benefits of being a bilingual administrator are clear—the ability to be a bilingual instructional leader and assist with teacher coaching, particularly bilingual bridging activities. Assistant Principal Edele from St. Elizabeth spoke about how she would work with the Spanish teachers, “And then I would help the two English teachers. I would go in there every six weeks and do it. It was great. It was a great time for me to be able to spend time with the kids and just build those relationships and kind of model that structure and design, etc.”

For those leaders that do not speak Spanish fluently, each emphasized the willingness to learn, and the many other ways one can be welcoming. For example, Principal Ida was particularly conscious of what it means for a white, English dominant person to lead a dual language school, and this awareness has served her well. The dialogue below reveals how modeling a growth mindset for learning languages and being aware of one’s body language is paramount to building relationships with parents at these schools:
Ida: I'm never more than two steps away from somebody who speaks very fluent Spanish. I was really worried about that when I started the position. I don't want to be the person who represents the language of power. I don't want to change the culture of the school. I don't want people to look at me, as this is what the school has become or is going to be.

It really has not been as big as an issue as I thought it would be. People, our families respect that I am learning a language because they are all learning a language. We have this mutual understanding of we're all learning a language, whatever language that may be. And we're all going to stumble through it. I stumble through it and they stumble through it. Our kids are far better than both of us are.

So that's the goal, right? The next generation is better than we are, so we just keep passing it down.

Carrie: Do you think living in the community, what do think has helped foster that trust?

Ida: Someone briefly mentioned it the other day. I do think that body language says a lot. Someone said if you don't speak Spanish sometimes we're afraid to hug people we can't communicate with, or we're afraid to smile at them. Or we're afraid to approach them because we don't speak the same language.
I just let all of that go. We do a lot of communicating without any words. A lot of hugs, a lot of smiles, a lot of close communication. Even if the language isn't there I'm very present with our families, to let them know that I'm right here with you and communicating with you however that may be.

I live in the neighborhood. I live two blocks down. They see me all the time. They see me, my Spanish is not terrible.

On the other hand, Principal Fae, felt somewhat self-conscious that she could not speak Spanish well and wondered if that affected her relationship with the community. She felt that she simply couldn’t spend the time she desired on learning Spanish because there was so much work to be done at St. Felicitas:

Fae: But for me because I think our school is so labor intensive because we're so under-resourced, I just don't find that I have the time that I need to spend on the language acquisition. And I'm sure I could probably make the time, but for me it hasn't been the priority…Like keeping the doors open and fundraising and all of the rest of it. But it's harder to; you don't want to get that message out, that we're struggling so much that you want to project the success that you are at the school.

Carrie: And that takes energy too, to project a, "We're all good," even you're all-

Fae: Yeah exactly. And so I think that's where it is, people make, sometimes people make judgments, and they don't have all of the information. And so they're thinking, "She
doesn't care about picking it up," and it's like you don't realize I'm sweating 60 hours a week trying to keep the doors open so that we have families who pay almost no tuition. But you're not gonna say that, so you're just like, "You know what, whatever." So I could certainly be doing more with the language than I'm doing…

While speaking Spanish has huge benefits, at under resourced schools, such as St. Gertrude and St. Felicitas, learning to speak Spanish can become another task on an already overwhelming list of things to do.

**Confronting negative perceptions of Spanish and bilingualism.** While speaking Spanish is a start, the interviews revealed the challenges in overcoming an English-only societal view as well as historical biases against Spanish in some Catholic schools. Some school leaders have to continually address these strong anti-Spanish feelings. Principal Derek spoke about this challenge in his school’s “overwhelmingly Latino city” that is “so overwhelmingly English dominant, almost with an aversion to Spanish. And almost that sense that, ‘I'm Latino so I'm supposed to speak Spanish? Is that what you're saying? Well, I'm supposed to speak English.’ That sort of attitude.” Derek explained that he had to work hard to break down that deep-rooted sentiment, which he feels is entrenched in the dynamics of power. He felt it was important to clarify this to families hesitant about their children learning Spanish: “Yes, English is the language of power, but being bilingual is a step up from that. Nurturing Spanish is really important. Learning English is super important…”

Despite Catholic parochial school beginnings as bilingual and bicultural, over the years, many Catholic schools and parishes were influenced by the powerful sway of the dominant Americanization sentiments, which included having all curriculum and instruction in English (O’Keefe & Scheopner, 2009). Principal Cynthia mentioned that early in the school’s history,
“you weren't allowed to speak Spanish in school” and that grandparents remembered getting in trouble for speaking Spanish so consequently, didn’t want their grandchildren to speak it. Indeed, alumni would bring this up with a feeling of resentment. However, now that the school has adopted dual language, “we’ve come full circle” and those same alumni now support the dual language program. Principal Helena, too, mentioned that before she came on as principal, “it wasn't okay to speak Spanish…At all…Yeah. The principal before…truly believed that her duty was to make sure that these Mexican children learn how to speak English because that's how they were going to succeed. Therefore, it was absolutely illegal to speak Spanish at St. Hilary's. You get in trouble. You got detention. You got grounded. As a result of that, there was a deep prejudice.” This research points to the deep Americanization process that Latino students generally, and at these schools particularly, still confront. The participants in this study had to turn around what has been known to be a “chilly climate” in Catholic schools (Ospino & Weitzel-O’Neill, 2016, p. 18)

Between the prejudice and fear around speaking Spanish, as well as competition from high performing English only schools, principals in Catholic dual language programs have much to address when speaking to the community, parents, teachers, and even students. Principal Hector also discussed how current anti-immigration policies and media coverage have particularly affected a group of middle school students at his school. He explained how much they’ve struggled:

…They’re kind of confused. Because they see a lot of stuff on TV about immigration and they're worried about that stuff, but we're also having them speak Spanish. So it's kind of like, what do they want me to do? Do they want me to be clean, Americanized, or do they want me to speak Spanish?
Regardless of the school’s vision for bilingualism, the societal context matters. Principal Edward noted his frustration in trying to articulate the school’s goals and reasons for being dual language in such a competitive marketplace: “The highest performing school in our neighborhood is a very proud English only school that looks down upon immersion programs. There's a level of ... They've got the best test scores, they're English only, why would you guys be doing this? From like the board and donor perspective.” Moreover, dual language immersion is fraught with a negative reputation in the public sector where St. Elizabeth is located, which makes it difficult for Catholic dual language schools to differentiate themselves: “And there's just a bias that the bilingual schools in [city in Midwest] are mostly in [city in Midwest] public schools, so they have a poor reputation. I think there's a bias amongst a lot of people and staff that, the public schools have those programs and they're doing terribly” (Principal Edward). Not only must the Catholic dual language principals in this study convince the students and parents of the efficacy of dual language education and the value of learning a second language, these leaders have to think of their fundraising capacity. Even though the prestige value of dual language immersion for upper middle class parents wanting dual language immersion for their students in some parts of the country is well known (https://www.usnews.com/news/national-news/articles/2017-07-31/rising-popularity-of-dual-language-education-could-leave-latinos-behind), some of the principals in this study had to confront Spanish speaking families who might not want dual language immersion as well as convince donors who are confused by it.

The mindset shift these dual language principals must engender in their community includes working with their area Catholic high schools. For example, Principal Ida noted that despite her belief that everyone can benefit from a bilingual education, “There's still a stigma about Hispanic children, even in Catholic high schools, with the idea that some of our schools
will say I can't service a child who's an English language learner.” Principal Ida said the Catholic high schools tell her, “We don't have the services” and she responds, “Well they're not English language learners at this point. The only benefit is they're bilingual which is, they're actually stronger candidates than most of the candidates who you would have admitted.” She even wants to push the Diocese to think differently about their bilingual high school entrance exam: “We're trying to get away from the idea that taking a bilingual test is not necessarily an accommodation for our kids. It's using their strengths to show what they're capable of.”

**Building school unity as the school transitions to dual language.** Related to this tension of adequately supporting the diversity of school families are challenges related to managing emerging dual language programs in the lower grades, while maintaining the monolingual program in the upper grades. For example, Principal Edward at St. Elizabeth spoke about how the primary and middle school have developed as distinct schools. The middle school, which was established first in 1996 as an all-girls preparatory school in the Nativity model, has always been “really strong in terms of reputation,” while the newer dual language primary school “has struggled.” He elaborated: “The middle school also has very stable leadership with strong mandatory after school programs, graduate support, counselors. The primary school was always this kind of step brother that has not been given the love that it needs to really do well.” The fact that the primary and middle schools are on two separate campuses a mile apart adds to the challenge of unifying the two.

While at the TWIN-CS conference, Edward appreciated the time to consider the data and concentrate on the rationale of dual language. Still, his question remained: “Then the middle school story which is, it’s all girls, high achievement, they're here until 6 o'clock every night, you know, this kind of two different stories and so how do we have clarity on what our *one* mission
is?” Principal Derek also spoke of the greatest challenge as finding a common purpose between the dual language primary school and the still monolingual upper school. Like Edward, he discussed the “sense of two schools…Doing the dance of really celebrating ourselves as a dual language, multicultural school. At the same time, I think it's really awkward, especially for that grade right above, that just missed the program.” He claimed that “being comfortable in the storm was really important…another big tumult that you have to navigate” (Derek).

**Building positive church relations.** Principals and school leaders of parochial dual language schools who knew how to garner the support of and work peacefully with the parish community seemed to have a unique edge in school change process. For example, the former Vice Principal of St. Gertrude, Gloria, discussed the excitement that the students and teachers had when the program opened. Notably, she discussed how having the Deacon of Hispanic Ministry at the parish spreading the word was invaluable:

> He [the deacon] and I met, we had a really good relationship, and I told him about the vision and about my belief in serving the Latino population and serving them well, and these dual language programs are also meant for the Latinos and the Hispanics because it teaches them their mother tongue in a way that they should be able to learn it. It really teaches them instructional Spanish, which they don't have. They have conversational Spanish, which is not always the best. He bought into it. It was a matter of getting his trust, and once that happened he bought into it. He talked it up. He talked up the school at every gathering. And he's a pied piper, I mean, people listen to him. He was huge in getting buy-in from the Latino community. And I attribute his involvement greatly to the spike in the enrollment, the Latino enrollment (Gloria).
Having a key parish support person and building a positive relationship at the parish proved important for St. Diego as well. The religious community has about seven or eight members at the parish. The pastor has fostered a vibrant Latino parish community and Principal Derek articulated the positive impact of this religious community:

So that's another huge benefit. The stability that comes from the [religious] community…Their whole charism and their ability to work with us and compromise and collaborate has been really helpful. Father Donald is an incredible pastor, brilliant and has the spirit of a convert. He is a convert so he has that zeal that comes with that. He's really grown [the church] to the point where Spanish mass 9am is packed beyond standing room. People are outside of the church.

St. Diego had been part of a failed inner city school network. Afterwards, they became re-affiliated with the parish. Derek made an effort to make sure that transition went smoothly. As he says,

We really tried to repair any brokenness there and build a bridge there. [Carrie: How did you do that?] It didn't take much. I think like not being a jerk…Getting over all of that petty stuff and focusing on the mission, you know our collective mission. The fact that we, in a lot of ways, have a shared destiny together.’

Derek admitted that it helped that the school is now largely financially independent and does not rely on a subsidy from the parish. Principal Derek and Vice-Principal Gloria both recognized and tapped into existing resources in their parish/school community.

For one school, this knowledge of how to work with the institutional church meant the difference between staying open and being able to even have a dual language program, and
closing. Principal Helena understood the Diocesan politics, the school’s history and meaning in the community, and thus, how to advocate for her school. She bluntly put it this way:

We are the Bishop's charity. We are the largest recipient of the charity and development appeal. That was the other way that the school didn't close. It's when they saw that I went crazy and was getting a lot of press and raising a lot of money, they said, ‘Okay. We'll give you $225,000. That way you can pay your bills, pay your teachers and stay open.’ It's a very nice way for the Diocese to say, ‘We minister to our brown brothers and sisters.’ Okay. If we closed, it would be a PR disaster because of how important it is in the Mexican-American community. And before that, in the Irish-American community.

For better or worse, Helena knows that her school, albeit poor, holds high social capital in the diocese. On the other hand, it can prove difficult to advocate for one’s school if one feels they do not understand how things get done in the diocese or archdiocese. When asked about why St. Elizabeth had not created a dual language report card, Assistant Principal Edele said she really wanted something that reflected what the students are learning but she just didn’t have that institutional knowledge with the Catholic community and the Catholic … and the arch, and our Catholic, our superintendent and things like that. So definitely something that is on the list, too. I mean, if it's not working for us, it's just making more work for the teachers. The parents can't even read the information, so why use it?

Definitely something we have to figure out.

Understanding the larger context of one’s school community, particularly the diocese, seemed to be important for the leadership of the dual language schools in this study.

**Building mission-centered partnerships.** The schools in this study seemed to attract mission-centered educators from both inside and outside the Catholic school world. Principals
discussed a commitment to all students, particularly students from marginalized communities, and expressed the reasons for dual language in a Catholic setting grounded in their school’s core values and mission. Many felt it was the mission that anchored the commitment of teachers, staff, and parents. Principal Fae said the social justice mission to serve all students kept her going in really difficult circumstances:

It's definitely the mission. I think what we're doing is important. So, it's exhausting though. I mean it's exhausting teaching in a school that's under-resourced, and it's exhausting running a school that's under-resourced. And you know I'm headed to Israel in a couple weeks and people keep going, ‘Where are you going? What are you gonna do?’ I'm like, ‘I just want time to decompress and to kind of get back to why I do what I do.’ Because it's exhausting, all year long, and balancing all of those interests and everything. And so for me, when it gets hard, I have to be able to kind of retreat into myself and look at the big picture and say, ‘It doesn't matter how hard it is, this is why we do what we do,’ period. We do it because every kid should have access to this education, not just the ones who can afford it.

The principals not only drew upon the wider mission of Catholic education, but also the specific characteristics of the individual school and its community. For instance, Principal Derek discussed how the emphasis on mission helped drive a coherent vision at St. Diego. “I think we're really solid in terms of being truly a mission driven school. Having a really well developed sense of community and commitment to community.” He spoke at length about the focus on Mary Magdalene, the patroness of the school, and connected her with the unifying force of their school mascot:
We're the mavericks. What is that? We should be proud to be dual language. Of course talk about the other things that we're proud of that aren't necessarily dual language. But the fact that we're all mavericks. Our patroness, too, Mary Magdalene and really identifying with her…I think that was key to identify, focus on the stuff that really we’re like, good uniting mechanisms that were, everybody could relate to and that were compelling, too. Not we're all such and such. But the idea that in our minds being a maverick and having Mary Magdalene as our patroness are awesome. They are things that we like to sell, and that we embrace and that we really focus on.

Connecting Mary Magdalene and the idea of being a maverick to dual language immersion gave this principal a way to capture the school’s evolving identity as something unique, independent and forward thinking. In this way he helped the school celebrate its distinctiveness rather than view it as an obstacle.

The role of mission connects as well to the important role of the way teachers view their work. A few schools spoke about their mission-oriented teachers. For instance, university professor and mentor Carolina said, “I think the buy in was always there from the beginning...” and Principal Helena said her teachers were highly dedicated: “It’s their life. Wow.” Unlike other principals, however, she also spoke about the high pay she was able to offer them due to the tax credit money she received from the state. Principal Derek, too, excitedly spoke about the passionate teachers he was able to recruit and retain from a nearby high performing charter school and other places due to his school’s unique dual language program. He explained that while “I think [city in Southwest], for not having a plethora of families that are recent immigrants and real strong Spanish-ness, there is surprisingly I’d say, a strong crop…of really good bilingual teachers.” While many principals spoke about the high turnover of teachers and
the difficulty of attracting high quality teachers with low pay, Derek felt that dual language has helped them: “I think that’s another thing that the dual language thing does really well, which it really attracts and helps us to retain really awesome teachers that we would not otherwise get. In that sense, vitality--new teachers that are committed to keeping up with best practices…That's really been a huge benefit for us.”

The centrality of a school’s mission is not only important for teacher and student buy in and recruitment, it also helped attract key TWIN-CS mentors and experts in the field of bilingualism. The mentor for St. Diego, Debra, a university professor, explained her draw to the school’s mission to serve marginalized communities. Indeed, she noted how her work with a Catholic school was questioned by her particular state university since the Education department’s commitment is to the public schools: “Politically, they almost frown on this notion of ‘Oh the [university] students are going to work at a Catholic school or going to do volunteer work at a Catholic school? We're not here to serve Catholic schools, we're here to serve the public, like the public schools’” (Mentor Debra). Debra recognized that had been a bit of her own attitude as well at the beginning, based on the idea that she was there to serve children that are low income. When looking at St. Diego, however, she realized that the school is located in a low income, working class community. These are Latino parents that, while tuition may not be what I would think is a huge amount, to them it is. It's a sacrifice for them to send their children to these schools. These children need that help.

In other words, if I had been asked to work with a school that I thought, ‘Wow, they have all these resources and the teachers are phenomenal! These kids come from very wealthy families.’ That's not the school I want to work at. That's not Derek's school. Derek's
school is ... These are low income; these children are really trying ... Like I said, families are trying to get them to retain that Spanish language and the teachers, they need that help and they don't have a lot of resources.

Philosophically, we look at who do we serve, right? Who are we serving?

(Debra)

Certainly, the fact that many of the dual language schools in this study serve a diverse socioeconomic student population, coupled with social justice oriented principals and mission centered teachers, helped foster interest from people outside the Catholic school world.

Hannah, St. Hilary’s TWIN-CS mentor, also spoke about how important her drive to spread dual language, particularly to English Language Learners, is in a state that denies dual language to these students. She currently works in a district with English dominant students, only 11% who come from low-income families. When she explained how she landed in this community she said, “I'm one of those die hard dual language people. I'm like, I don't care who you do it with. You know what? It is good for kids anywhere.” However, to see a dual language program developing in a Catholic school serving economically marginalized students was particularly appealing, and she ended up voluntarily assisting St. Hilary for a number of years before becoming an officially paid mentor through TWIN-CS. Hannah explained how Helena would “just send me her teachers, and I would just work with them during my school day because I knew they were coming from low SES. That was kind of like my little thing.”

*University and high school partnerships.* The conversion to dual language not only attracted key bilingual experts who otherwise might not have considered working or researching in a Catholic elementary, the dual language conversion was either bolstered by institutional partnerships or fostered these supports. Four of the school leaders discussed the importance of
external supports in the way of university and high school partnerships. St. Agatha had a key bilingual expert from the University of Minnesota in their feasibility study group. St. Elizabeth got encouragement to become dual language from a professor at Marquette University. Notably, Mentor Debra spoke about how the school’s principal, Derek, was a “go-getter” and how good he is at “constantly getting help and resources for [his] school.” She continued: If “he needs something, he'll go to the university. He has partnerships with multiple universities in the city that will come in and do things either at reduce cost or no cost.” Indeed, Derek spoke about how his whole staff thinks about “ourselves as ambassadors.” He then went on to name the numerous universities they work with: “So St. Elizabeth, ACE, Boston College, Roche Center. [Southwestern Catholic University] where this is an algebra program that we have with them. [Catholic] University, a counseling program. There's one more, I think. [State university] with their crucial involvement with the dual language program. That was a huge success, I would say, is bringing [State university] aboard.” Indeed, these partnerships did not just happen, the school principals went out into the community and built these relationships.

Other partnerships occurred more organically. For example, St. Felicitas has received significant support from a school parent who is also the director of Hispanic studies at a nearby private university, while St. Innocent has received support in implementing an online reading program from one of its lead designers. These supporters were attracted to helping build a grassroots dual language program, volunteered to lend their expertise, and the schools welcomed this assistance with open arms.

Strains on Program Development

Nine participants mentioned staffing issues as the greatest challenge at their school. This is a challenge that affects dual language schools at all levels (Howard et al., 2007), and these
Catholic schools were no different. However, it seems these Catholic dual language schools have additional personnel issues due to financial constraints and the intense workload that results. Without a doubt, the multiple challenges and stressors the faculty and staff faced affected their capacity to build strong internal support systems.

**Teacher and principal turnover.** Most principals mentioned the draw of teachers to public schools, and the significant pay raise that entails, as an issue for their school, and this is consistent with past Catholic school research (O’Keefe, 2000). Carolina, the mentor from St. Clement, noted how Catholic schools can sometimes be used as a “stepping stone” for teachers on their way to public school jobs. She explained, “That's also been one of the bigger obstacles is that every year we're training someone new…That's been real hard with implementation …That's been real hard, because we get people on board, we get them trained, and then oh look a new face.” The principal at St. Clement said they pay half of the public school district’s salary and the principal from St. Elizabeth (Edward) mentioned a teacher who was offered $10,000 more in the public system. Moreover, St. Elizabeth has seen a turnover in leadership over the past four years, making the implementation of the dual language program “haphazard” since “Everybody's been adding their own spice to it” (Edward). A former board member at St. Elizabeth echoed this and mentioned that it was hard to move forward with the strategic plan for dual language because at one point they lost both the administrative and academic leadership. Although Principal Ann did not mention losing teachers due to finances or opportunities offered by the public schools, she did lament the turnover of teachers that had recently occurred due to the pregnancy of a single female teacher in the school. Outraged by this teacher being asked to leave, other teachers followed suit. Certainly, staffing turnover is not unique to Catholic dual language schools (De Jesus, 2008) and takes administrator time due to constant onboarding and training. It also can
affect staff morale and student academic success (Leana, 2011). Nonetheless, the circumstances leading to the dismissal of the pregnant teacher reveals the complexity of how Catholic schools interpret their commitment to Catholicism and how this might add another challenge to staffing.

One outlier regarding teacher turnover was St. Hilary. Principal Helena explained that when the dual language program started, she “Hired all highly qualified teachers. They all have masters’ degrees. They're all experienced.” When asked whether that was difficult given the finances, she referred to the tax credit income: “we pay really well because remember?...We pay top scale.” Indeed, the consistency in her staff was evident over the years at the TWIN-CS Summer Academy and her capacity to build teacher leadership.

**Variation in instructional leadership and support.** While St. Innocent, St. Elizabeth, St. Diego and St. Felicitas have vice/assistant principals or other full time instructional specialists serving to build the dual language programming, other schools have very limited internal personnel support structures. These positions have been added over the years and were not present in the beginning stages. Principal Grace laments that her school (four years in existence) has a bare bones administrative support staff: “We don't have an admissions person. I don't have a vice principal, don't have a development person, don't have anything. It's just me and the office administrator. We get along, which is good. The previous office administrator did a lot of things that an office administrator didn't do.” She continued, “I feel like there's a lot that can be done with our dual-language program. Then, that could be a full-time job. I could be just running the dual-language program full-time, but I'm doing all these other things.” On the other hand, Principal Ida, who works closely with Isabella, the school’s educational specialist, said that their school’s participation in a Catholic school inner city consortium has allowed her to focus on
curriculum and instruction. Ida explained that she doesn’t worry about the budget, finances, or tracking down tuition: “I'm literally just the instructional leader at this school.”

**Quality and preparation of faculty and staff.** Another challenge noted by principals was recruiting and retaining Spanish teachers who were able to pass the state licensing exams and who have adequate Spanish academic fluency. Principal Cynthia from St. Clement spoke about how difficult it was to find quality Spanish teachers, who were both native speakers and could teach in Spanish. The turnover in teachers as the program was getting off the ground really hurt its development. Principal Helena from St. Hilary’s even hired two undocumented staff members at one point who she felt were really great Spanish teachers. However, when the new pastor came in, she was forced to replace them. When reflecting on having to fire them, she said, “It was awful. It's been rough on the faculty but we've been processing that. It's been really hard.”

Mentor Hannah and Vice Principal Diana shared that new teachers do not always stay in the language of the instruction, which is necessary for the brain to be trained not to go to the more accessible language/word. For example, Diana spoke about the first cohort of their dual language program and how this “strong-willed bunch” really challenged their teacher, who had difficulty staying in Spanish: “I don't want to say they didn't learn any Spanish last year, but they knew she spoke English so if she was talking to them in Spanish, they would just ignore her and wait, wait for her to switch over to English and so it became this back and forth battle of trying to get her to use the Spanish more, and not get frustrated and not translate to the kids.” Even one of the most established schools mentioned the difficulty of finding and retaining the right Spanish teachers. For instance, Literacy Specialist Isabella at St. Innocent spoke about how she had to take over the 1st and 2nd grade Spanish teaching position last year because “We could not
get a first and second grade Spanish teacher. They just quit every month, and Ida and I said, "Well, we can't do this to the kids," so I took over.” Isabella admitted: “That's the hardest piece, just finding those Spanish teachers for the salary.”

Teaching in a dual language school requires a unique literacy focus, and thus, specialized training (Clark et al., 2002). A teacher from St. Agatha, Ariel, spoke about how getting all the teachers on board was a “big challenge” because a lot of teachers “have just been teaching for a long time, and quite a few of them are very close to retirement, and they're just set in their ways and don't want to have to learn something new.” When asked why so many teachers left, Gwen, the office administrator at St. Gertrude said, “It’s a lot of work. It’s very stressful for the teachers because it’s a lot of work. It demands that everything has to be in two languages and then make sure that those kids do not lose track at the level that they need to be and they meet the standards in the school. That is one of the reasons.”

For sure, the inconsistency in the preparation and background of the teachers adds to the intensity of the workload. While bringing everyone up on the skills needed for dual language, there remains the need for general preparation and improvement in pedagogy. This need for professional development is consistent with past research on Catholic elementary school teachers (Coleman, 2011). Debra, the mentor for St. Diego, found the need to spend time making sure the teachers were using developmentally appropriate practices that included engaging activities. The challenges are broader than just preparation for dual language. As Debra says:

The thing is when they ask me, "Will you be a mentor for dual language?" Yeah, that's not a problem, I've done it for so long, but it wasn't just dual language and I hear that from all the mentors is, it's everything. They need a full time curriculum specialist is what they're needing. That is helping them with everything from what curriculum are we
choosing as far as my language arts curriculum, but also, how am I teaching reading? How am I teaching math? Scheduling. That was a big challenge. The scheduling and just that pedagogy, right? What does strong pedagogy look like? Regardless of whether you did dual language or not. What should a pre-k or kinder classroom look like? That's why I was like, ‘Okay, Derek, we don't need just dual language, we need everything. We need some just basics of teaching.’ These realities highlight how difficult it is for someone to enter a Catholic dual language program who is inexperienced as a teacher. As Ingrid, the preschool teacher from St. Innocent explained, “It’s very difficult, (cuesta mucho) for the teacher that doesn’t have experience.” Ingrid found that teachers get stuck in just teaching in a rote manner whereas she is dedicated to teaching in a variety of creative ways: “There are many ways to teach letters, con water, clay, there are many ways to do it, with your body.”

**Tensions among faculty, and anxiety over dual language.** A source of tension during implementation noted by participants was between the English teachers and the partner language (Spanish or Mandarin) teachers. Five participants spoke about the disorientation of the English teachers when moving into the dual language program. One English teacher from St. Bernard, Brittany, struggled to name a success of the program and felt she had to “squeeze in the second grade curriculum in just about two and a half hours”. Hesitating, she stated: “I don’t know. I guess once we see those scores we could see if they're successful or not. Yes, I could say that they bring in more families, and more to our school. Like they bring in more students to our school because it's a dual language program.” Her principal, Becca, said she is a “very good teacher” and was “skeptical” when she started but had changed; still, it seems that Brittany remains hesitant. While she can see the benefit of having Chinese language speakers to connect
with the parents, she questioned, “Are we not encouraging them to speak the English language? Are we feeding too much into their at-home language? Where does the English come?” Brittany expressed the need for the students to have more English, “maybe 60/40” and time with her students was the biggest concern. Past research points to these tensions and the necessity of getting all teachers, both partner language and English teachers, to work together and promote bilingualism across the school (Brisk, 2006; Howard & Sugarman, 2007; Lindholm-Leary, 2005).

**Not addressing perceptions of racial inequity.** Only one school discussed racial tensions, and the switch to dual language as possibly alienating a certain racial or ethnic group in their school. Principal Ann at St. Agatha had to navigate the historical reality of her school (which at one point had served almost 50% African American students) and address her polarized teaching staff about which students the school should be serving now. Moreover, Principal Ann noted how one’s Catholic identity and following one’s conscience regarding these very sensitive issues makes these tensions even more profound: “Religion makes these things even more difficult because it’s part of your identity as a Catholic educator… I think for all of us. It's like, ‘This is what I feel God is calling me to do.’ I'm saying, ‘But this is what I think God is calling me to create the school to be.’” A key English teacher at St. Agatha felt “abandoned” and disappointed in the slow progress of her students since she couldn’t get her students as far ahead in English due to the 50/50 program. According to Principal Ann, this teacher felt that we're putting more resources into the Latino children and the African American children are now not being served as well as we used to serve them. As a mother of biracial children, that bothers her.
So she's experienced with her kids, because her kids went through earlier years when it was great for African American students. They could get into the top Catholic high schools and all this. Now she's saying we're giving nothing to these African American kids because we're focusing all our resources on these Latino kids, even though now they're 86% of our population and African American's only 9%. Well, [this teacher felt] ‘because you're putting all your resources and efforts into this other group.’

So, it was heading that way anyways. And to me, but we have 96% of students on free or reduced lunch. The African American students that go through our program and come out with two languages, that's a road out of poverty for them too. So I see it where everybody can win, but I do know that some of the perceptions from the African American staff is ... Especially since “Black Lives Matter” has really blown up, it's like ‘we have limited resources. We used to feel like you were giving them 50/50 to the different racial groups and now we just see you favoring this one racial group and it's not my racial group so it's not fair to our people.’

Unfortunately, these feelings that came from some faculty and staff at St. Agatha didn’t seem to be honored or addressed effectively by the leadership. To make matters worse, a teacher committee decided to cancel the school’s Black History Month celebration in order to concentrate on other (presumably) Latino celebrations.

**Having to teach differently, and without support.** It’s not surprising that there was increased anxiety among teachers that occurred as the dual language primary teachers talked about the upcoming transition to the upper level monolingual teachers. Principal Ann spoke
about how the primary grade teachers in St. Agatha’s program complained to the middle and upper grade teachers, making it hard to get everyone enthused about the program:

‘Oh this is really hard, oh just wait till it comes up to your grade level; and there's no support for this.’ She started really bad talking it. That started to have cracks. Then it's the English teachers against the Spanish teachers against the teachers who are still teaching in the normal model. So we've got three factions in our school and we all have to be together. We have to be a community.

While at first it seemed the English teachers were on board, Ann said they thought they could “teach the old way that I want”; once they started teaching in the dual language program, they realized they “can’t teach the same way” and struggles arose. As the Spanish teacher Ariel from St. Agatha explained: “A lot of the teachers in our school have just been teaching for a long time, and quite a few of them are very close to retirement, and they're just set in their ways and don't want to have to learn something new.” In the same way, St. Elizabeth is now growing into the middle school, and Principal Edward said that “People are concerned for their jobs at the middle school and there's just a lot of doubt on the program.” While Principal Ann and Principal Edward noted the teacher anxieties and tensions at their schools, there was very little mention of taking a proactive or constructive stance to address such important issues.

Tensions due to inclusion of all students. In this study, it seemed that sometimes there was a disconnect between some principals’ social justice and inclusive visions, and the practical support for already struggling faculty to fulfill that vision. For example, Helena at St. Hilary discussed the issue of enrolling students in the middle school as a social justice issue: “…Gang recruitment starts in 4th grade. So our enrollment tends to pick up around 4th grade because the parents realize that there's a good chance that a gang will pick up their son.” Helena’s attention to
taking kids who might be recruited by gangs leads to increased enrollment in the 4th grade, which can be a challenge for the program if the student does not have adequate Spanish academic background. Helena acknowledged that many dual language programs have policies where they do not take new students after the 2nd grade and her approach can cause problems with the teachers. Indeed, one of Helena’s Spanish teachers, Haddie, agreed that it’s a huge challenge to have students entering in the 3rd and 4th grade, with a wide variance in language capacity: “I know this year we got a lot of new students and a lot of them have never been exposed to Spanish…This year has been that challenge. Trying to be able to find where I can continue my students that I've had and the ones that just started.” She continued: “They understand Spanish and they're able to speak it a little, but when it comes to reading and writing and the academic language, it's not there because it's so different.” Meeting the needs of these very different students caused Haddie a lot of stress.

St. Elizabeth faced a similar problem. In 2016-2017, they accepted thirteen new students that didn’t have Spanish background into their middle grades. According to Vice Principal Edele, this is due to the fact that they had to make up for the students they were losing to another Catholic school. Moreover, as a Choice program school, students had to be accepted by a lottery system: “You have to accept everyone and anyone who comes through the door.” While many of these dual language leaders desired to serve all students, particularly low income and at risk students, their schools weren’t necessarily prepared to do so. Indeed, there can be a tension between including a wide range of students and the limitations of resources to adequately care for those students. Even when schools strategically recruited wealthier students in order to better serve all students by keeping the school afloat, this changing demographic in families—having a population that can pay full tuition and a population that cannot—created a new challenge:
You have the people who pay very, very little and they have a lot of talents and a lot that they bring to the table, but it's not financial, and they need heavy subsidies. And then you have, and they're typically Catholic. And then you have the more non-Catholic, full pay families. And you have these two demographics. And you're trying to fundraise to help the one group, but the other group's like, "Well we're already paying our full amount."

And they're not as mission driven (Principal Fae).

Successes in growing enrollment and including socioeconomic diversity can also bring challenges in how to build a unified, mission-oriented community, and this is mirrored in the general research on dual language (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Dorner, 2009).

Over time it seemed that a few schools managed to bring in specialized support to address these tensions. Principal Derek at St. Diego described how they have taken almost all of the students who apply: “I think we've turned down two kids in the four years. We really believe in that. The reason is that number one, again, same thing, to serve, but also because they are assets to our school when they get here. For a child to have the autistic kid in his class is a good thing for that kid and the autistic kid, the teacher, the school community, everything.” While reticent at first to getting someone to assist in inclusion, Derek hired a part time academic intervention specialist at the request of the Department of Catholic Schools and the urging of the teachers. That person has now become full time. They also have a full-time counselor and a full time assistant principal who coaches the teachers.

**Seeing Improvement over Time**

Many of the principals in this study were drawing on the wisdom of Catholic education, Catholic spirituality, and dual language best practices established over time. In fact, the Catholic
and dual language pieces were often inextricably tied together in the participants’ discussions of their work.

In order to make “wise judgments”, there must be adequate reflection on practice (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012). Certainly, schools that have been building their dual language programs for five or more years, tended to be farther along in this reflection process. Nevertheless, all participants spoke about the need to improve, the desire to tweak and adjust their dual language program, and to continue building on their Catholic identity.

Even though most schools converted to dual language without a strategic instructional plan, the school teams in this study did seem to be moving towards instructional coherence and were becoming more and more like learning organizations. Principals, mentors, and faculty spoke about the changes made over time, how they learned from mistakes, and strived to make changes to improve their programs.

**Striving for instructional coherence.** For many schools, the high teacher turnover and lack of clear guidance and vision regarding the particulars of program implementation led to somewhat rocky starts in most schools. Nevertheless, nearly all participants spoke about the need to have a clear framework for their dual language program, and talked about how they were working on it. Classroom observations from their TWIN-CS mentors, feedback from parents and teachers, and examining student data, led to an acknowledgement that a clear and focused dual language model was necessary. What the model would be and how to implement it was another story.

Most of the schools in this study started with a loose dual language model and then changed it significantly over time. For example, when Principal Linda arrived at St. Innocent, she found “bilingual silos,” meaning different grade level teams--such as preschool and Kinder,
or 3rd and 4th, all had different ways of working together. As she put it, “they had seven different models going for their bilingual program.” Drawing from her experience in multiple dual language schools, she told the teachers: “I really don't care which model we pick, I'm just saying, we need one.” Principal Grace called the silos in her school, “team teaching bubbles.” She noted that when she arrived at the school, the dual language program seemed really inconsistent. It didn't seem like the kids were learning that much Spanish. There wasn't a plan for the dual language program. To me, it seemed that teachers were kind of in their own little teaching bubbles, their team teaching bubbles. They were doing just what worked for them. I don't know that there was strategy in place. There could have been (Grace).

She noted that the school “started with the Gomez and Gomez model, kind of following that, and that some of the previous teachers had gone to the Gomez and Gomez training. A lot of those teachers, almost all of them, left the school.” Indeed, it was difficult to get past the startup stage due to various contextual factors and circumstances at the schools.

It seemed that after four to five years, schools in this study were beginning to find their stride. Vice Principal Diana and Mentor Debra from St. Diego both spoke about their journey to finding a more coherent, research based dual language model. As Debra put it,

Okay, well when I first met with Derek, the biggest concern they had was, they didn't really have any framework, structure, model in dual language so he said, ‘What we've been doing isn't working. Parents are upset.’ And it's just been ... These are not his words, but my words, is they were just experimenting. Let's just see how this works. Then I told him, ‘Look, you can use any model you want, but my experience has been with Gomez and Gomez so why don't you attend one of their trainings and let me know.’ I said, ‘I'll
work with you either way, regardless of whether you use that model or not. But the thing that I like about it is that it has a structure, it does have a framework and it is based on the guiding principles of dual language.'

Vice Principal Diana said they followed Debra’s suggestion but still the implementation was a struggle since not all the teachers were on board, or fully understood what was expected of them:

We were trying to use the Gomez & Gomez model. It was rocky. It was pretty rocky last year. It wasn't implemented right away. It was implemented in different phases for our pre-K-three, pre-K-four, Kinder and first grade. It was implemented in phases and it was fine, but we struggled a lot with teacher buy-in, getting them to use the language of the day, getting them to strictly adhere to the language, especially once the kids knew that they spoke other…We were trying to balance the buy-in from the teachers as well as whether or not we should have the teachers moving or the kids moving, or should it just be self-contained. We worked through various iterations of that last year, and then this year, we again exploded in our enrollment, so we jumped quite a few students, so our program has expanded once again, not just up to second grade, but also in numbers.

With so many moving parts—constant flow of new teachers, increasing student numbers, and barebones instructional staffing at most schools—finding instructional coherence was a constant challenge. Nonetheless, it seemed that over time, most schools adjusted their programs and participants worked hard at improving. Vice Principal Edele stated that her goal at TWIN-CS in 2016 was to have a clearer picture of the objectives for the dual language program herself so she could more clearly guide the teachers. She noted,

Two things that were disadvantages or cons were that, one, we weren’t focusing on language allocation so there were some things that were done in Spanish, there were
some things that were done in English but no real thought behind why and was it the best practice. As well as having an issue with not teaching Spanish literacy…We had English literacy, but we weren’t teaching Spanish literacy in second, third or fourth grade. I definitely saw that as a problem right away and something that needed to be tweaked for this year.

Principal Linda, Vice Principal Diana, and Vice Principal Edele analyzed the challenges they saw at their schools and focused on establishing clear guidelines for their language framework.

**Building a reflective learning culture among teachers.** One of the longest running dual language schools, St. Innocent, was the only school that spoke about a protocol for reflection called the “ladder of feedback,” which helped elicit deep conversations about school challenges and opportunities for growth. Principal Ida and colleague, Education Specialist Isabella, both focused on fostering a collaborative culture to garner feedback from their school and make adjustments as needed. St. Hilary, too, also seemed to be moving towards a collaborative teacher culture. At St. Innocent, the leadership team meets every Friday afternoon and takes about a half hour to complete a simple reflection:

What do we value, what went really well this week, what are we worried about and what are our suggestions? We do it every week and we write it down. Through that themes start to emerge. Like we were still worried about kindergarten, we're still worried about Spanish. We're still worried about assessment (Principal Ida).

She continued, “So it's really just like constant research of our own program. Our biggest question is still how do we measure? We do not have a good Spanish assessment that mirrors our English assessment that allows us to do any comparative data or literacy in Spanish.”
Mentor Hannah also discussed how St. Hilary is building a culture of learning for students and teachers. Hannah explained how the teachers were building their dual language instructional skills, learning from their mistakes and supporting one another:

It's kind of built a culture of openness, and sharing, and validation for the teachers. Validating, I think they feel validated when they can show that they're doing something. That validates them. That makes them feel good. It's kind of like this feedback loop that is just looping back into itself. I think that's part of why it's such a great culture over there. Teachers feel good about what they're doing. They feel like they're learning.

They feel like, "Wow I can actually," I think they're surprised sometimes. When they ask kids to do certain things in both languages. Then they show me the video, I'm like, "Are you kidding me?" I'm like, "This is amazing." You know, most people wouldn't even see that because it happens in the classroom. Now it is a little bit of celebrating, a lot of celebrating, of what they're doing. Just bringing it to a conscious level. The little tweaks, us just bringing that to a conscious level.

In their fifth year of the program, Hannah feels like now they are fine-tuning a fairly solid program. Likewise, Principal Ida focused on the incorporation of the Project Zero from Harvard University over the past five years and how it’s changed the entire dynamic of her school:

I would say our biggest success is that we have literally built a culture of thinking. And we've intentionally been trying to build a culture of thinking for that whole time. Every year we just refine more and more of what that means to us. The first year is, well, what is thinking? What is understanding? And we have an understanding map and different thinking moves.
She explained how each classroom, whether English or Spanish, maps the thinking and learning the children are experiencing. She spoke at length about the various thinking routines:

It's finding connections, capturing the heart of something, wondering, observing. There's seven of them, they're basic. But the whole school agrees to those but the other thing that Project Zero has is thinking routines that goes with all of these, so you can say what types of thinking are we doing, and how do we help our kids get there?

Over time, St. Hilary and St. Innocent have developed ways for both students and teachers to show their learning. While St. Hilary relied heavily on the support and guidance of their TWIN-CS mentor, Hannah, St. Innocent found guidance and a plethora of professional development through Harvard’s Project Zero. Indeed, this depth of learning requires time and resources, something not all schools in this study have.

*Developing common planning time.* Deep and meaningful collaboration necessitates daily planning time for the teachers. Principal Ida talked about the importance of having daily time to plan and how her teachers said they have the best schedule, “Everyone's like our schedule's amazing!” (Ida). Principal Linda instituted a similar practice of common planning when she came to St. Felicitas. Although this practice faced some criticism because she also had to increase the budget, she feels like “it’s something that you can’t not afford” (Linda). Still she admitted, “It's so complex in Catholic schools, because you're saying do all of this, but there is no time for you to even go to the bathroom!” Due to financial constraints, developing common planning time in the dual language schools in this sample proved to be a struggle but the schools that were able to manage it, seemed to have fostered much more instructional coherence and developed better collaboration.
Starting to measure progress in target language acquisition. Dual language programs have been critiqued for not having sufficient data on the second language (Brisk, 2006; de Jong, 2011; Lindholm-Leary, 2012) and these schools were no different. Still, the participants in this study were aware of needing data and were actively seeking out appropriate assessments. Most frequently participants spoke about success in terms of the increased bilingualism they’ve seen in their students, while some spoke particularly about finding tools to assess that bilingualism. Some of the achievement data regarding second language acquisition seemed to be anecdotal. For example, both key informants, Ed Specialist Isabella and Teacher Ingrid, at St. Innocent spoke about the “spontaneous” Spanish they were starting to hear among their students in the 5th and 6th grades. The found that students were starting to speak to one another in small group settings, even when the teacher is not right there. “It's not perfect yet, but it's getting there,” Isabella explained.

Getting data in both languages. Even though some of the newer programs have not had a chance to analyze the data, they noted just having data in both English and Spanish literacy was a step forward. For example, Spanish teacher Ariel from St. Agatha described success as “getting a large grant to help fund a bilingual literacy coach…” and the ability to do testing in English and Spanish. Ariel felt more time was needed to do more: “We really haven't had much time to look at the data, but I'm hoping that next year we'll have more time built in with our PLC meetings to be able to look at that more. Yeah, we were just really busy with accreditation.” Ariel suggested that there would be a shift in focus to data now that the accreditation process is over. Importantly, even if schools did not have data in both languages, there was a desire for it. As Principal Becca put it: "We need to start documenting the Mandarin Mastery, and that's the weakest part of the program. I need a Mandarin assessment.”
Only two schools’ participants named success as being shown through growth in a second language assessment. For both it was the Woodcock Munoz test. All TWIN-CS schools were encouraged to use this assessment to measure growth in students’ bilingual abilities. The mentor for St. Clement, Carolina, said she felt success in seeing these test scores and explained that she felt it affirmed the efforts of the teaching faculty and principal:

If you're able to see that the students are picking up the language, even if sometimes they feel that students aren't as conversational in classes as they would like. Obviously the students are having a comprehension of the language and moving forward now past the first grade, is something good to consider.

Principal Edward, too, felt affirmed by his school’s Woodcock Munoz scores shared at the TWIN-CS Academy:

I think in terms of the dual language program ... The other thing that amazed me is our Woodcock data they told me is one of the best they'd seen. Hannah [TWIN-CS mentor] said that, and it was like but wait, again, this doesn't make sense to me that ... It just feels haphazardly, but we're doing some things well clearly. And, that was the first affirmation because the English only tests have been rough. Based on the expectations...

Carrie: Was the Woodcock English good, or was it in Spanish?
Edward: Both. That was the first time that I felt some data to affirm that this is really promising. As opposed to our math, which is in English and we're not hitting the goals that we set.

Indeed, St. Elizabeth’s test scores were met by feelings of surprise given the inconsistent and challenging beginning of the program at the school.

Finally, St. Felicitas felt particularly proud of the AAPPL oral language testing that they
had piloted. The school’s mentor and teacher noted the students were grasping the academic language but struggling with the social/conversational language. They found that 86% of the first graders met the benchmark they created based on the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), whereas only 50% of the fourth graders made this benchmark. The mentor and Principal Fae think their creation of a 100% immersion Spanish preschool played a role in this score increase. Again, each principal discussed the need for data collection in two languages and were actively trying (albeit at various stages) to develop a process for doing so.

**Developing a preschool.** The reported increased target language use at St. Innocent and the oral language assessment results of St. Felicitas indicate student growth. The school communities explained the importance of taking time to stop and change course when things aren’t working and this attentiveness to specific program language needs is supported by previous research (de Jong & Howard, 2009). For example, in both St. Innocent and St. Felicitas, Principal/Executive Director Linda found 100% immersion pre-schools helped boost the Spanish language acquisition. Linda acknowledged that not all principals have enough Spanish language or dual language background to know what’s best: “It's hard at first, and if you're not a Spanish speaker, it's hard to gauge whether it's working or not…” At the same time, she noted, if students are not able to answer basic questions in Spanish after a few years of instruction than something is not working: “I don't need a year of data testing to tell me you don't have vocabulary.”

For sure, each school needs to consider their student population and evaluate what students are able to produce:

That's why you have to look at your program. So a lot of this, what we've done to compensate, is the pre-schools. Because another thing, a lot of the teachers initially picked a Gomez/Gomez model. I don't have years of research, but I knew it didn't work,
because we don't have first generation Spanish speakers, so they're English dominant. So you're picking a model based on Spanish dominancy, but we don't have it. That was, so we decided in all the schools, St. Innocent and St. Felicitas, it's been highly successful to do full immersion Spanish programs (Principal Linda).

Teacher Ingrid, one of the original teachers in St. Innocent’s dual language program, spoke about how when she started at the school over ten years ago, she felt it, “Wasn’t even bilingual. Very few books in Spanish. No Spanish curriculum.” Therefore, she put pressure to change it. One day Spanish, one day English. One teacher who teaches pre-K/K in English and one who teaches in Spanish. We did this for 6 years. About 3-4 years ago, realized they were missing something. Decided to add a 3 year old pre-k that was 100% Spanish. When the 3-year-old group reached [the teacher] in Kinder, they were 100% fluent in Spanish. They knew the alphabet and sounds in Spanish. Now kinder is 100% Spanish (Ingrid).

Both Linda and Ingrid found a way to help develop students’ oral language capacity through adding full immersion preschool programs. Over time, the Catholic schools in this study with strong instructional leaders were moving towards greater awareness of what they needed to do to meet the academic needs of their students.

**Expanding and critically examining notions of academic excellence.** While many participants spoke of success in terms of bilingualism and a focus on academic excellence as shown through bilingual data, this study also reveals how Catholic dual language school leaders have examined their progress in holistic terms, and have a broader view of success than is typically reported in dual language research. For Principal Derek, success is about continuing to include students with diverse learning styles, as well as from low socioeconomic backgrounds no
matter what: “I seriously think we're on the brink of great things. I think we have the people in place. One thing that we would never do is either hike up tuition or start turning down kids that are exceptional learners or anything like that. That would never be part of the catalyst for it. So that won’t change. I think everything is pretty much in place.”

While Derek feels they are striving for and getting closer to achieving academic excellence, when asked about the academic excellence achieved by the students at her school, Principal Ida confidently replied, “Oh hell yeah. Our kids are brilliant, they’re brilliant. They're confident, they're smart. They're thoughtful. I would put them in a room with any of these...” Ida spoke about the length of time St. Innocent has been offering a dual language program and where they’ve arrived:

But we became a bilingual school I want to say 16 years ago, 1999 is the official. I guess we're going into year 17. When I came on we had already been through this, bilingual program had grown all the way through 8th grade and then we had done a second iteration of it, so we had gone through it again. So right now, we've had many, many kids graduate through the whole program. It's pretty solid.

Still, when asked about whether the dual language approach to learning has translated into higher standardized test scores, she admitted the students still struggle: “That’s the thing-yes and no. I think that is because our kids read and write at very high levels and the question I always come back to is, what is the test assessing, and is it the same thing that we value?” (Ida)

While Ida was confident about the quality of her school’s program, her reflections were nuanced and reflective about what constitutes success. She continued:

One of the pieces of our high school process is an interview. And I think that our kids shine in an interview. I think they're very thoughtful, they’re very well spoken, they’re
very happy. I think that their essays are strong. Their test scores aren't. Not all. Some of them are phenomenal. Some of them are abysmal. Some of them are right in the middle.

But, they're not always reflective of the child as whole.

Similarly, Vice-Principal Edele also spoke about how standardized test scores are not everything but she had a more cautious tone and noted the importance of these tests to the greater community:

As far as our students, just to keep strengthening both languages and moving forward academically. I hope that we are able to create something, work towards supporting the kids moving and growing and showing it and those standardized tests. I know they don’t mean everything and our kids aren’t just that number but it really reflects on what we are doing as a school, unfortunately, and so we really have to be held accountable to those.

For sure, context matters. Edele’s school, St. Elizabeth, and Ida’s school, St. Innocent, receive voucher money and therefore, it is not surprising they discuss standardized test scores and what they mean for their schools. Still, Edele affirmed the need to look at all test scores in the context of dual language schooling: “Taking a more comprehensive look at the abilities of our kids…really look[ing] for that additive component. It’s not just what they know in English, it’s what they know in English and Spanish and combined.”

An outlier in the data regarding striving for academic excellence was St. Clement. When asked about the academic quality of her school’s program, Principal Cynthia replied: “Difficult. Struggling…Lack of the resources. One of the things we wanted to work on here [TWIN-CS Summer Academy] was curriculum development.” Again, without the appropriate Spanish resources and personnel in place, Cynthia found it difficult to even start critically considering academic success at her school.
Theme Three: The Mission

Embracing One’s Own and the School’s Catholic Identity

The Catholic dual language school educators in this study revealed how their reflection on both their own practice and that of their school’s cannot be separated from the Catholic context. Many of the leaders drew from the Catholic tradition and their faith to continue building the dual language programs despite the many challenges they faced.

Regardless of where participants were in the change process, the participants in this study often referred to the way faith has inspired and sustained their work. Interestingly, many attended Catholic higher education. Moreover, two principals studied theology formally (Helena and Edward), three principals (Edward, Grace, and Derek) as well two key informants (Diana and Ariel) participated in postgraduate, faith-based full time volunteer work, and one principal was a religious lay associate (Cynthia). This type of Catholic formation and background pointed to what Grace (2010) found in his study of English Catholic school leaders who “were clearly drawing upon a spiritual and religious resource that empowered them and gave them a sustained sense of mission, purpose and hope in their work.” (p.118). For example, Principal Helena explained what animates her work. She started by saying that a “very supportive partner helps” and continued by stating: “I think having a strong sense of mission that's supported by a religious purpose helps.” She further elaborated on how the backing of a “powerful institution” like Boston College gives what she’s doing “some legitimacy”. She elaborated

It’s not just because I think it’s a good idea. Because I tend to think, well, who am I? But having all these steps as well, what you do has a purpose. Lastly, honestly, I go back to Mother Seton [saint], you are here to serve the children of immigrants and of the poor.

That's your job. I gave you so much. St. Hilary and [St.] Sophie--she's the other one-- just
take care of kids because you got everything. You need to give it back. And then die and be happy.

This sense of giving back, using your gifts for the betterment of society, also was evident in Principal Derek’s passionate discussion of his work and what supports him in difficult times:

Taking the job at 35, I think knowing, it's two sided, which is like I know what makes me really happy. I've never been happier in a job and I think doing this job and meeting so many people, and having so much power honestly and responsibility to shape such a key instrument of evangelization. I'm of course honored and humbled by it, but also intoxicated by it. That whole being to be on the first run of that...It's so invigorating to be a part of that…

Yeah. Then on the days that I don't have that joyous invigoration, I think a sense of commitment and duty to witness the gospel even when it's uncomfortable or it's hard to do. That's through, I think, the Irish Catholic guilt from my mom (laughs). Seeing her example too of helping others. Really even when it's annoying or uncomfortable, you're going crazy, right? Either with parents or staff or elsewhere. The knowledge that, that gives you patience, too. It's not about short-term results. Oh we got this done or that done.

The building of the Kingdom of God…is really messy and annoying and exasperating, and takes so long to do. But if you have that faith, and I feel like I inherited that faith from my mom and from the education that I got at a Catholic school and through the
Jesuits and stuff. I think that helps me to weather difficult times where I don't have that joyous spirit of being totally animated, this is going to be an awesome attitude. (Derek)

Indeed, the influence of Derek’s Catholic upbringing and Catholic education, particularly his formation with the Jesuits as a volunteer in the United States and as a missionary in Ecuador, has provided a spiritual capital that feeds Derek’s energy and drive.

Principal Cynthia, too, who has faced a myriad of challenges in keeping her school afloat, was blunt about what has kept her going: “Faith. God. That is simply the only answer I can say because I'm running on empty. I'm running on grace. I decided if I ever wrote a book, that's what it would be called.” Reflecting on the influences of her faith development, Cynthia explained that while in graduate school, a group of religious sisters invited her to stay at their convent during the week since the commute was extensive. She described how she “began getting up with them, doing the divine office every day, just really developing my relationship with Christ, St. Teresa of Avila, St. Henry De Osso, then I became a [lay] associate.” This spiritual capital continues to sustain Cynthia’s work.

**Broadening the vision of Catholic schooling through dual language education.**

Participants echoed some of the more expansive intercultural and social justice oriented goals of dual language discussed in Freeman (1998) and others. Yet the vision was based in a Catholic worldview (Miller, 2006), whether they expressed it explicitly or implicitly. Principal Ida explained both the inclusivity she hoped to foster through the school community as well as work for equality:

We say that our goal is to build a more just and compassionate world. That is, we want kids that are going to go out into a diverse, complicated, complex society and show compassion and work towards justice for all.
I think that bilingual they have a skill set that they can build bridges and serve more people in a broader global society. And I think they have innately this ability to be more compassionate because they have grown up in very diverse, very beautiful setting that a lot of kids don't get exposed to. They know what it means to be rich, they know what it means to be poor. They know what it means to be black, white, or Hispanic.

Vice Principal Edele, too, spoke in terms of social justice but felt that St. Elizabeth first needed to focus on the basics-- increasing academic focus through clear language allocation and adding explicit Spanish literacy. Still, she felt the advocacy piece is important and necessary:

I think this primary school is still very young, it has been 4 years and there is a lot of work to do but I think we are heading in the right path. I think we just need a little bit more time to get the basics down and the structural design, the dual language framework and slowly start integrating those social justice issues, and advocacy, and immigrant rights, all those things slowly start integrating once we have a solid foundation (Edele).

She spoke extensively about the need for students to advocate for themselves:

Just showing them to be advocates for themselves, to speak up for things they see wrong, to speak when they see others doing things wrong, to give credit when they see others doing things right and so I think that knowing how to become an advocate for yourself and speaking up when needed and supporting others when needed, when helping others when you see it and so just instilling those values and morals…

Much like Edele’s focus on the students’ capacity to advocate for themselves, the St. Hilary’s team agreed that the asset based, growth mindset for the students was important, not just
about language, but about one’s socioeconomic status as well. Haddie, a Spanish teacher, explained:

The most important goal of the school is getting our students out of… the whole mentality of we're poor, we're never going to be able to make it, to get them out and understand, you know, yes, you have your struggles. Yes, you have all millions of issues and personal problems going on, but that can’t stop you from growing your dreams or letting your dreams happen, and I think that starts when they're young, getting them into that mentality.

Haddie spoke about how aggressive students are when they first arrive at the school but how that changes over time due to the extremely caring and nurturing school culture. She attributes much of the success to the teachers’ ability to bring in conversations about God: “I do believe that whoever teaches there or whoever goes there as a student, their life changes. They start seeing things differently.”

Other principals were much more explicit about the goals including building the students’ faith or religious life, and being more inclusive of the Catholic Latino community:

Getting back to the big goals, I think really producing graduates that are tech savvy, bilingual, multicultural and really prayerful and have a relationship with God, ideally Catholic. That's it. I think that they are ready for high school and really have a sense of service and everything. I think the parents would probably agree with that on a micro level that I want my kid to be ready, to succeed and also to help others succeed. I really think that they would agree with that. I think that through the Chromebook program, we have the dual language program. The welcoming sort of attitude that we have, the
emphasis on Catholic identify, I think we produce that sort of, we are on the way to producing that. (Principal Derek)

We have a vision of where we're going. The mission is to give these students the leadership skills they need to be the 21st century leaders in our community. In order to do that, we have got to be dual language. We cannot just be wearing an English-speaking hat. We can't just be your Tex Mex hat. If you're going to talk to the community, you've got to be bi-literate, bi-cultural, bilingual. You just have to be. It's a no-brainer. So if I can provide that for my students, they will have a successful life, and they'll be leaders in the church. We have a very strong Catholic faith identity. Very strong. (Principal Cynthia)

I really see that we're building the next generation of Catholics. Again, when you think of, was it 40% of school age children are Hispanic, and it's only going to grow larger, and in the Catholic faith, in our Archdiocese we have very little to offer those Catholic families. Most schools might have a Spanish teacher on staff, they have no one in the front office to talk to the families in their native language. They aren't really celebrating their culture and making them feel that they are important. I really see us as a vital ministry to evangelize and to keep the Latino families in the Catholic faith. (Principal Ann)

For these principals, dual language education is inextricably tied to Catholic identity, and that Catholic identity was explained broadly in terms of prayer and church ministry to social justice, openness, and hope. And, it wasn’t just the principals. Even the Board member, Eileen, from St.
Elizabeth explained her motives for supporting a dual language Catholic school this way, “I'm all about girl power, I speak Spanish, and it's inner city, and the Catholic piece.”

*Cultural competence as Catholic cultural competence.* Perhaps not surprisingly given the rich Catholic identity of these schools and the depth of the principals’ spiritual capital, the participants in this study saw cultural competence as including the Catholic faith. Whether it was celebrating the Virgin of Guadalupe with Spanish songs, and seeing that aligned to the dual language curriculum (Mentor Carolina), having bilingual prayers and masses (Principal Cynthia), or multicultural dinners (School Administrator Gwen), Catholic identity and cultural expressions seemed to go hand in hand. For Principal Becca, the Catholic identity of her school had even influenced one of her Chinese teachers to start the process of becoming Catholic. Regarding her Chinese teachers, she said,

> Both teachers are very much into religion and St. Joseph, who is the patron saint of China, so is the patron saint of their classroom. It has increased the Catholic identity of the whole school. Because it has not been a separate entity, and they are responsible for integrating Catholic identity into the Mandarin program, and they do, they do it very well.

Ida, too, discussed Catholicism in terms of a common culture at her school, and as a way to bring people together. Similarly, the change literature often discusses engaging people’s “moral purpose” (Fullan et al., 2009, p.10). She described her school culture in the following way:

> It is Catholic, it is hopeful, it's loving. It's everything good about our faith and our religion. It's family, it's very hopeful. It's very safe. It's a little lofty! As far as the Catholicism piece goes with our diverse school, I think that when I was in the public
school when you have a diverse school, you're constantly creating together what your culture is, who you are.

One thing that Catholicism helps us with, it also hurts us because sometimes people have different understandings of Catholicism, especially when different communities and different local traditions. Even though we're a very diverse school everyone comes seeking a Catholic education so the center of our culture is Jesus and that shared understanding of what it means to be faithful and to be a servant and to be a follower of Jesus and that helps a lot. When we start the ground running, we already have a shared culture.

And then we can enhance it with Hispanic heritage, Vietnamese culture, and with African-American culture. But we have a shared culture when we walk in the door, which you don't always get at a public school that's not, that doesn’t have that piece (Ida).

This shared Catholic culture and centering on servanthood and following of Jesus seemed to permeate much of the participants’ discussion of their school’s goals.

**Conclusion**

This chapter aimed to reveal the complex journey these schools have taken to implement their dual language program and the myriad circumstances impacting each program’s development. Participants needed to develop both the school’s curricular and instructional program but also be mindful of developing the school’s image in the community. Overall, the participants revealed a willingness to seek out support, learn throughout the implementation
process, and saw their Catholic identity as central to the dual language program. Certainly, the participants farther along in the process seemed to have more confidence as well as had built up a certain amount of expertise in dual language. I now turn to the final chapter which includes a discussion of four overarching themes. These themes include: the schools as lean startups, how the participants developed professional capital over time, the impact of finances, governance as well as the Catholic context on the programs, and the inspiring Catholic mission that has kept the principals’ going in difficult circumstances.
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I discuss my findings as they relate to whole school change and the adoption of dual language as an innovation. I explore the growth of professional capital (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012) as well as consider spiritual capital (Grace, 2002; 2010) as the driving force of the human, social, and decisional capital that makes up professional capital. I then look at the centrality of the Catholic mission for these schools and their leaders and the unique Catholic context, including the governance structure and finances, of these schools. Implications for research and practice followed by specific recommendations for Catholic school principals complete this chapter.

**Mutual Positive Influence of Mission and Dual Language Immersion Programming**

My findings suggest that the implementation of dual language programs in the Catholic schools in this study went to the core of teaching and learning and required a whole school reculturing process. The hard work and expertise needed to lead a whole school curricular reform such as dual language immersion in Catholic schools cannot be understated. These schools had to completely change their instructional practices and procure necessary resources. They networked across educational sectors, leaving the insular boundaries of the Catholic educational landscape, as well as shared resources between themselves via a network of Catholic dual language schools (TWIN-CS). The principals and other change agents navigated the change to dual language by addressing the market reality where urban Catholic schools serving marginalized students are at great risk for closure.

The quick, top down decision making to develop a dual language school and the capacity to implement it despite the low professional knowledge and limited social networks of these
schools in the beginning was made possible by the strong sense of mission these educators felt. Their dedication, compassion, and spiritual capital coupled with the sense of purpose, connectedness, and professional capital engendered by the TWIN-CS network allowed them to overcome or at least survive adverse contextual and financial conditions. The mission orientation of the change agents made possible the development of the dual language programs and undoubtedly, the dual language programs changed the Catholic schools to better meet the needs of today’s learner (see Figure 2).

![Diagram showing influence of dual language immersion on Catholic schools and vice versa.]

**Figure 2. Influence of dual language immersion on Catholic schools and vice versa.**

First, there is the curriculum and instruction component. In line with many popular views of Catholic education, Porter-Magee (2015) suggests that traditional, “basics” curriculum has been a strength of Catholic schools. On the other hand, Coleman (2011) found that a focus on worksheets and basic skills were detrimental to the learning of English Language Learner students in one Catholic school classroom. A conversion to dual language best practices then,
which include constructivist teaching and practical applications of learning (Howard & Sugarman, 2007), challenges what some have known as core to Catholic schooling. Second, as many urban Catholic elementary schools have lean staffing (McDonald & Schultz, 2015), the time and resources, as well as the perceived necessity of collaboration, would presumably be weak. Catholic schools have been historically known as schools with a lot of structure and strong discipline (e.g., Greeley, 1982), but very little empirical research has been conducted on Catholic school curriculum and even fewer studies have focused on Catholic elementary school classrooms (Garcia-Huidobro, 2017). The conversion process to dual language immersion required the principals in this study to re-think the curriculum. However, it wasn’t until the principals were a year or two into the process that they realized they had to move beyond traditional schooling. Indeed, my findings indicated that how things had been done in the past (i.e., teachers teaching in isolation with little to no literacy coaching) got upended. Principals and teachers found that having silos of classrooms and teachers each doing their own thing, or moving page by page in the textbook, just did not seem to work any longer. Leaders like Principal Grace, Assistant Principal Edele, and Education Specialist Isabella, realized they needed to invest serious time and resources in teacher collaboration and literacy development soon after arriving at their schools and noting the lack of consistency in teacher practice.

While much of the literature in the late 1990s and early 2000s focuses on the success of dual language programming (e.g., Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cummins, 1981, 1992; Thomas & Collier, 2002), more recent research reveals the many challenges that must be addressed in the efforts to meet the core pillars of dual language education (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; de Jong & Howard, 2009; Scanlan & Palmer, 2009; Varghese & Park, 2010;). Similar to the research on curriculum, with the exception of a few studies (e.g., Beltramo, 2012; Coleman, 2011), there is
also little research on the teaching and learning going on inside Catholic elementary schools. In my efforts to investigate how principals navigate the change process to a dual language school, it became clear that this innovation or reform is about an entire “reculturing” (Hargreaves, 1994; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012) process around the development of curriculum and instruction, as well as how principals and teachers learn how to implement such changes in their particular contexts.

Regardless of each school’s funding streams or economic position, my findings suggest that each of the schools in this study still struggled with the basic components of a successful dual language program, such as mapping their curriculum, deciding on what subjects would be taught in what languages and how language arts would be distributed, delineating benchmarks and grade level outcomes, as well as retaining teachers. As “agents[s] of change” in a dual language setting, these Catholic school principals had to move beyond not only the role of a typical administrator in a public setting (Rocque et al., 2016) but also in a Catholic school setting. In Rocque et al.’s (2016) study of dual language principals, she found the role, “subsumed the responsibilities of flexibility, change agent, scheduling and time management, and input. Just starting a dual immersion program required many of the principals to advocate for and promote its success” (Rocque et al., 2016, p.814). Indeed, a feasibility study does not necessarily translate into an implementation guide or plan. Even schools such as St. Elizabeth or St. Agatha, both of whom had completed a two-year feasibility study, did not seem to have a better grasp on what was needed in the implementation of the curriculum than the other schools, because their feasibility studies were centered on financing and sustainability. Most schools focused on how they needed to increase or maintain enrollment, and therefore, their planning involved how to retain families and gain new ones. Most schools did not indicate there was
rigorous consideration about curriculum and instruction, or what would be necessary to build the capacity of the teachers in preparation for such a transition. Unfortunately, this is not unique to these schools as Brisk (2006) notes that “Most programs…are typically developed in a rush without much time for planning, recruitment and preparation of staff, development of curriculum, or acquisition of materials. The developmental work is carried out after the students are already in the program” (Brisk, 2006, p.208). Nonetheless, the principals did eventually arrive at these questions and considerations later in the process. For instance, Principal Ann spoke about the strategic plan they were developing in the third year of implementation and the grant they received from the Center for Applied Linguistics to secure a program evaluation and instructional coach. In general, it seemed to take two to three years into the initiation of the programs at these schools before a systematic planning of the dual language curriculum took place.

Catholic schools have long been known for their “family” atmosphere and in one study of the organizational culture concerning instruction, the researchers found more organic, informal sharing, references to the school as a “family” or “our children, our family” as well as more teacher autonomy and less formal leadership in Catholic and charter schools than in the public sector (Dorner et al., 2011). Successful dual language programming, however, requires formal and extensive professional development as well as team planning, collaborative curriculum design, and shared instructional practices (Howard et al., 2007). While most principals (except for Linda at St. Innocent) did not recognize the need for a different type of professional development or collaborative culture at first, after initiating the change, the need quickly surfaced. This study adds to the research that points to the development of a dual language program as a “second order change,” which “require[s] a distinct leadership skill set” (Rocque et
The principals did not initially seem cognitive of the change to dual language as a fundamental, major shift to their school’s culture, curriculum, and instruction; yet, over time they recognized it as such and sought out the necessary resources to manage the change. For instance, the exposure to other Catholic dual language schools at the TWIN-CS Summer Academy, the resources and connections brought by the TWIN-CS mentors, and the dual language professional development through state bilingual associations and university research centers provided a wealth of ideas and resources to these schools. Even though some schools received guidance from TWIN-CS and received professional development before implementing their dual language program, this study builds on the change literature that indicates people often don’t know what exact questions to ask and what support is needed until after the change is initiated (Evans, 1996). Certainly, “Significant change involves a certain amount of ambiguity, ambivalence, and uncertainty for the individual about the meaning of the change. Thus, effective implementation is a process of clarification…Clarification is likely to come in large part through reflective practice” (Fullan, 2016, p. 90).

**Dual Language Immersion as Lean Start Up--Yes and No**

Given the rapid change occurring in our digital age, Fullan (2016) asserts that while the “Triple I [Initiation, Implementation, and Institutionalization] model is valuable” for educational change thinking, there is a need for a more “dynamic model” (p.79) that is not so linear. Fullan (2016) cites the lean startup model developed by Ries (2011), which describes a startup as “a human institution designed to create new products and services under conditions of extreme uncertainty” (p.8). In some ways, the implementation of dual language programs in the ten Catholic schools in my study resemble lean startups. The leaders I interviewed noted that they (or the leaders before them) made rapid decisions to move to a dual language model and often
without substantial information or curricular resources. Interestingly, in reference to the digital age and fast coming innovations, Fullan (2016) explains that “When something is powerful and inevitable, my change stance is to move toward the danger” (p.79). These Catholic schools, many struggling financially and with precarious enrollment, definitely took a somewhat dangerous route in choosing dual language. While some could argue that dual language is not an innovation because of its history in public schools, I would argue that due to the wide variety in how dual language programs have been implemented and the influence of each context, particularly the Catholic school context, it is an innovation (Lubienski, 2003) that has “not yet been worked out yet” (Fullan, 2016, p.79). Porter-Magee (2015) speaks of urban Catholic schools being forced to try things that are new due to a “healthy fear of closure.” Healthy or not, these Catholic schools, like others studied in the past (Notre Dame Task Force, 2009) felt that they had to make a dramatic change in order to survive.

The principals in this study had clear broad visions of reaching out to marginalized communities (namely low income Latino families) and wanted to offer something unique to the Catholic school world, yet unlike the “vision, steer, accelerate” model that Ries (2011) espouses, which presupposes expertise in guiding change, the principals needed many supports in order to steer their organizations effectively. Indeed, “Entrepreneurship is management” (Ries, 2011, p. 24) and therefore, lean startups expect failure as products are developed, and also require rapid learning. I found that many of the principals didn’t exactly know what supports they needed at first but they definitely seemed to be learning this over time. Many started the dual language program in what Bryk et al. (2015) describe as typical of “reform’s logic of action” --in a “vague and almost always underspecified” way (p. 8). In fact, some of the decisions to transform one’s school to dual language were situated in “zones of wishful thinking--gaps in understanding,
questionable assumptions about causes and effects, and tacit beliefs of the form ‘and then something good will happen’” (Bryk et al., 2015, p. 8). The principals’ desires, however, were deeply rooted in a faith perspective that seemingly prompted more reflection and depth on the principals’ practice than Bryk et al.’s (2015) analysis. Indeed, the desire to learn on the part of these principals was evident and their deep sense of mission evoked a fierce determination.

Because the Catholic schools in this study were so lean financially, it seemed to be nearly impossible for even the skilled and willing principals to enact the sort of change they desired. Grace from St. Gertrude explained how she had to spend time with just the basics of management, and making sure lesson plans were completed. When reflecting upon her first year as principal she stated: “I wish I could have spent more time coaching the teachers. Before I came, they could do whatever they wanted. I don't think their principal before me did anything, didn't ask for lesson plans, didn't ... You know?” Reflecting on her first year as principal, she stated, “They'll [her faculty and staff] all say, ‘Oh you did a great job,’ but I feel like I could have done more.” “Managerial discipline” is inherent to the entrepreneurship that Ries (2011) encourages and Grace was acutely aware of her successes and challenges. In contrast, other principals, like Cynthia from St. Clement (or perhaps the principal that preceded Grace), likely had so many financial issues and so little support, they couldn’t develop the “scientific learning” (Ries, 2011, p.19) required of a lean start up because their institution was just too lean; indeed, there didn’t seem to be “excess capacity” being thrown around “with wild abandon” as Ries (2011) found in many startup ventures (p.18). Principal Cynthia explained that her “facility was not taken care of for three years. That's kind of right where we are right now, trying to find funds to get the facility back. It's a hundred years old facility. [Before the school’s failed takeover by the Archdiocese] we had been constantly upgrading, dealing with issues as they came up. Now
we're trying to do that again with no money…” The low enrollment issue that had existed is now compounded by the challenges of a poorly maintained facility and trying to readjust to the realities of being a parish school; all of this occurred at the same time that the school was trying to develop as a dual language program.

Discussing a new type of privately governed network of Catholic schools in New York, Porter-Magee (2015) states that, “We call our schools ‘hundred-year-old start-ups’ because as much as we seek to embrace the entrepreneurial spirit of charter schools, we know that we are also stewards of deep community roots that were planted long ago.” Examples such as Principal Derek’s (St. Diego) connection with the priests at his school’s parish, as well as Principal Helena’s (St. Hilary) family involvement with her school long before she became principal and the school’s reputation as a poor but feisty community in the Archdiocese, reveal the community roots and the vocational commitment on the part of many of the principals in this study which allowed them to jump into the dual language work with a tangible zeal. Nonetheless, unlike a technological innovation where users are constantly giving feedback to tweak the product (Ries, 2011), most of these schools were in the initiation or beginning implementation stages (Fullan, 2016) of the reform and too overwhelmed or overworked to solicit regular feedback from teachers, parents, and students. None of the principals mentioned regularly surveying their communities and based most of their assumptions about parent desire for dual language as well as students’ bilingualism and biliteracy achievement on anecdotal evidence. Some of the principals simply informed their school parents the school was moving to dual language programming and one wonders whether the parents even knew about what this meant for their children. Regarding teacher feedback, in the case of St. Hilary, it wasn’t until seven years into the implementation when the new principal, a former teacher at the school, came in to replace the
outgoing principal that teachers came forward about the need for Spanish language arts curriculum. Finally, the teacher at St. Agatha explained that due to the accreditation focus, the dual language program was not adequately developed in its critical beginnings in the first two years.

Ultimately, the lean startup comparison applies in relation to the risk-taking these principals and schools took on and the scarcity of resources from which they worked. While there was constant revising of the “product” -- curriculum and instruction in a dual language program--it certainly didn’t seem to happen rapidly. Moreover, because of the rapid start to these programs, the depth of the organizational and instructional challenges was not evaluated beforehand. Chenoweth (2015) stresses the need to tackle organizational challenges (i.e., discipline/behavior expectations; master schedules and collaboration time) before enacting a change. However, these schools were doing many of these things simultaneously.

It seems that as time went on the awareness of the organizational routines (Sherer & Spillane, 2011) that needed to be built became more apparent. For example, protocols for teacher hiring were established at St. Clement, team planning time was instituted at St. Innocent and St. Agatha, and regular instructional walkthroughs were completed by the vice-principal at St. Elizabeth. As Sherer and Spillane (2011) explain, “institutionalized organizational routines can help to stabilize school practice when personnel turn over, even when key personnel such as the principal move. By structuring school practice, organizational routines provide constancy in how work gets done, even in the face of tremendous change” (Sherer & Spillane, 2011, p.636). The establishment of these routines helped stabilize the schools so that the “feedback loop” necessary for school change, and especially for learning how to “drive” a lean start up (Ries, 2011, p. 22), could be developed.
My findings suggest that all schools but one seemed to slowly, slowly become more like learning organizations (Senge, 2006) and had developed at least some organizational routines the longer they had been in the conversion process. For example, after a year of researching the school’s current program, coaching teachers, and inquiring into best practices at other Catholic dual language schools, St. Elizabeth created a document that outlined their core dual language model—including required shared instructional practices. St. Innocent now utilizes a “ladder of feedback” protocol with their leadership team to address weekly successes and challenges, as well as develop short term goals for the coming week. St. Hilary in Phoenix developed co-teaching goals and a reflection process to generate a shared agreement between partner teachers. St. Felicitas shared their process for analyzing oral language development using the AAPL test and how their teachers set goals based on the results. Even the outlier (St. Clement) seemed to be getting better at asking the right questions regarding their language arts curriculum development. Still, one might ask whether the extreme workload and stress on the participants is worth the effort.

**Building Professional Capital in the Schools**

In this study, the capacity to reculture one’s school and develop it as a learning organization seemed to depend on the professional capital of the faculty and staff. Professional capital in education points to the assets that make up the teaching or educational leadership’s long term productivity; indeed, it includes a deep “investment in high-quality teachers and teaching” (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 3). Professional capital is made up of human, social, and decisional capital. Human capital includes specific knowledge and skills of the individual, while social capital is the organization and sharing of this human capital. My findings suggest that human and social capital, along with spiritual capital, emerged as essential components of
the principals’ ability to develop the dual language programs. Decisional capital, “the competence, judgment, insight, inspiration, and capacity for improvisation” (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 5) derived over time in schools such as St. Innocent and St. Joan of Arc. However, for most of the schools in this study, decisional capital is underdeveloped due to the relative newness of the programs.

My findings corroborate previous research, which points to the human capital needed to build a dual language program (Howard et al., 2007). Faced with seemingly low human capital initially among the faculty and leadership in these schools in terms of knowledge of dual language curriculum and instruction, background in language and literacy learning, and university preparation in bilingualism and biliteracy, the principals in this study all discussed ways they strived to support the growth of human capital in their buildings by taking the lead on learning (Fullan, 2014). Most took the first steps toward building a dual language program by reaching outside their schools for role models and mentorship, and then taking it upon themselves to learn as much as possible about dual language programming.

Six of the ten principals and six of the key informants noted how important it was to visit other dual language schools (whether private, public or charter) and learn from them. Certainly, these schools showed how vital “reaching out beyond your borders” (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 169) is to the principal’s learning. Indeed, the principals’ actions seemed to acknowledge that “what’s worth fighting for is usually what’s already out there somewhere” (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012 p. 171). This humble approach to learning seemed to motivate the teachers, administrators, and TWIN-CS mentor participants. For example, Vice Principal Diana from St. Diego noted that while attending conferences and workshops was helpful, her principal (Derek) modeled the importance of being a lead learner by sending out a weekly newsletter. She explained,
There's a ton of research that [the principal] ... I mean, he literally puts out a ... He calls it the Weekly Witness and it's our newsletter. It's a digital newsletter that he sends out every week and every week there are at least three to four articles about the benefits of being bilingual and the benefits of dual language. He does a Weekly Witness that goes out to the families and staff. It goes out to everybody affiliated with the school and then he does a separate staff notes, and staff notes usually has more like scholarly journals, so he does both. He's busy, but it's nice because then I can talk to those teachers about the articles…

Principal Derek, too, noted his enthusiasm for not only sharing research with various stakeholders but also for “stealing” good ideas from the best schools around them. For Mentor Debra, working at St. Diego provided a learning opportunity for the graduate students and administrators of her public university and underscored the importance of serving marginalized students, regardless of what sector of schools they attend.

**Networks as Key Source of Human and Social Capital**

A key finding regarding the building of human and social capital was the influence and positive role of the Two Way Immersion Network for Catholic Schools (TWIN-CS) in terms of professional learning and overall emotional support for the principals. The majority of professional learning came as a result of the connection to a dual language expert, the TWIN-CS mentor, who provided human capital but also social capital because of the network of their university they could draw upon. For instance, Mentor Debra discussed the graduate student projects taking place at St. Diego. Moreover, for many of the principals and teacher participants in this study, the TWIN-CS network is the only dual language network community they participate in. Six of the ten schools are the only Catholic dual language schools in their state,
and thus in their Diocese/Archdiocese. Of the two pairs of schools who share the same geographic region, there was little evidence that these schools regularly collaborate. Indeed, most of the schools seemed to operate alone in their individual Catholic school context thus making their involvement in TWIN-CS all the more important.

While not heavily involved in TWIN-CS, St. Innocent was notably involved in the Project Zero community. This research and professional development community seemed to provide the most effective support for St. Innocent and again shows how these dual language schools looked for outside relationship building and professional expertise. Social capital is about building relationships and how these relationships affect access to information (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Leana, 2011; Spillane, Kim, & Frank, 2012). Whether conscious or not, the principals, through their networking with others at TWIN-CS or at bilingual conferences (such was the case with St. Hilary due to the encouragement and connections of their TWIN-CS mentor), were building a broad social capital and this presumably affects academic excellence. Indeed, Leana’s (2011) work points to the “principal effect” on student learning: “principals who spent more of their time on collaborating with people and organizations outside the school delivered gains to teachers and students alike.” Certainly, both Mentor Debra and Principal Derek at St. Diego in San Antonio spoke about Derek’s extensive networking with four universities and community partners. In future research it would be interesting to see whether there is a principal effect reflected in the student achievement at St. Innocent and St. Diego.

Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) point out the difficulties with networks because research has shown they are “professionally energizing for their participants” but “less convincing in terms of their impact on student achievement” (p.136). My study indicates that the professional connections and professional learning these principals and key informants engaged in due to
their connection with TWIN-CS led to curriculum and instruction modifications. Since this research did not include student achievement data, we do not know the effect of the network participation on student outcomes. Indeed, one study found that information sharing between schools across the TWIN-CS network was not formalized via documented practices and most sharing was done at the local level (Scanlan et al., 2015). While definitely a more informal sharing network, the professional development offered by the TWIN-CS Summer Academy and TWIN-CS mentors seemed to lead to changes in the dual language classrooms as perceived by the participants. Teachers and principals noted instructional trainings they attended, curriculum purchased for classrooms, as well as planning strategies utilized in their schools as a result of their formation through the TWIN-CS Academy and ongoing principal discussions via TWIN-CS webinars and other informal phone and email communications with TWIN-CS leadership.

Perhaps networks in the Catholic school sphere may have more of a direct effect on participants than in the public school sphere due to the lack of opportunities for collaboration in Catholic schools. This research indicates that the autonomy and curricular freedom prevalent in these Catholic schools can sometimes leave teachers feeling alone and without instructional direction. Indeed, many of the schools stated they did not have substantial local support in their Diocese/Archdiocese for this whole school change; therefore, the inspiring and community building aspect of TWIN-CS seemed vital for the survival and growth of these schools. For instance, Principal Cynthia at St. Clement felt quite alone in her quest to build a dual language program, and relied upon TWIN-CS for emotional and technical support. Principal Cynthia, too, was inspired by the dedication and zeal of the key TWIN-CS leadership at Boston College. Finally, for new Principal Hector, TWIN-CS had a direct role in his hiring after Principal Helena stepped down. After one of the key leaders at TWIN-CS visited the school, she told him she
wanted him to become a principal. With a tangible sense of gratitude, Principal Hector explained, “That was the first time where someone that didn't know me saw something in me.”

It is important to note that of the nine principals and one former principal who provided names of key informants, four gave the name of their TWIN-CS mentor as someone who could speak about the development of their dual language program. This shows how intricately involved some mentors were at the school level. Certainly, these four principals spoke about how their mentors--one dual language consultant highly involved in policy at the state level and three other university professors--were key players in their school’s development. One mentor, Bridget, organized all the oral language standardized testing, Hannah helped the school develop an oral language report card, Debra mentored the school through its adoption of the Gomez and Gomez model, and Carolina helped hire the new Spanish teachers and coached the returning ones. Principals like Helena and Derek who could garner much outside support through a variety of local community resources still needed expert assistance to develop the dual language programs at their school. The mentors brought a high level of human capital to Catholic schools that otherwise may not have been able to develop such connections. The mentors in turn worked to build the internal social capital (in terms of meaningful conversations and collaboration among the teachers) at the schools in this study. What this internal social capital looks like in practice needs to be further studied. After all, Spillane et al. (2012) show that special attention needs to be paid to the “school’s formal organizational structure…associated with instructional advice and informational providing and receiving behavior or practice in schools” (p.1135).

While the building of social ties through providing opportunities for peer interactions and learning are vital, they are an “insufficient condition for social capital development” (Spillane et al, 2012, p. 1118).
Social Capital Undermined by High Turnover

The internal social capital of the schools in this study was undoubtedly affected by the high turnover of teachers. Leana (2011) explains: “One cost to such high turnover is that when teachers leave, they take with them not just their human capital but their social capital as well” (p.34). While the six teachers in this study seemed to be building their human capital due to the professional development and coaching offered by their TWIN-CS mentor as well as connections to other professional expertise offered by research institutes or universities, the high turnover in these schools presumably “disrupts the nature of the relationships” among faculty and staff. While “social capital can be a lifeline in chaos” (Leana, 2011, p. 34), the lack of faculty stability seemed to affect the capacity of the schools to institutionalize these dual language programs. Principal Ann described Catholic church teachings that led to teachers leaving while Principals Ann, Ida and Edward noted the financial compensation public schools were able to offer as challenges to teacher retention. Indeed, it seems that these Catholic schools were training grounds for the local public schools who could pay more for the special skills the Catholic school teachers eventually developed.

Vital Addition of Spiritual Capital to Professional Capital

Professional capital in these schools was developed in part due to the strong spiritual capital of the school leaders and change agents. Indeed, the spiritual capital in the school leaders and change agents inspired and fostered the development of the school’s human and social capital (See Figure 3). While Grace (2010) wondered whether the spiritual capital passed down from religious men and women could be sustained due to the decrease in vocations to religious life, it seems that at least in this sample of dual language Catholic schools, many of the principals had a strong spiritual capital to draw upon, a genuine “vocational commitment” (Grace, 2010,
This “source of personal power” rather than political or material power is a ‘power to maintain’ an educational mission and to animate and inspire others in that mission” (p. 119).

Grace (2010) distinguishes spiritual capital from theological literacy, which is knowledge of the Catholic faith, as well as charism, which he views as more “dramatic” (p. 120). Grace (2010) views spiritual capital as a “sustaining resource for everyday leadership in Christian living and working” (p.120). Given the lean human and social resources, the principals had to draw upon their spiritual capital to keep on going. These dual language schools attracted key service-oriented teachers and leaders who are passionate, humble, and open to learning. Principals like Helena, Derek, and Cynthia mentioned signs and symbols of the divine’s interaction in their life throughout their interviews. Furthermore, Principals Helena, Derek, and Grace, as well as former Principal Linda mentioned the deep influence of the Jesuits at various times in their lives, while Cynthia talked about the influence of the Terisians. These participants’ discussion of the influence of religious people in their lives reflect Grace’s (2002) findings in his study of secondary school headmasters in England.

*Figure 3. Spiritual capital at heart of professional capital in Catholic dual language schools.*
Grace (2010) questions whether Catholic universities have responded to the need to form lay teachers and leaders and insists that “the natural historical constituency to organise programmes for the transmission of spiritual capital is clearly the religious congregations with missions in education.” (p.124). Thus, Grace (2010) advocates for formation programs in universities as more “practical responses” (p. 124) to strengthen and renew spiritual capital in Catholic school leaders. Rather than mention any particular formation program, the principals in my study seemed to derive their inspiration and staying power for Catholic dual language leadership from diverse linguistic and marginalized communities introduced to them through service projects or programs, by virtue of their family background and upbringing, their Catholic university experience, or through professional networks such as TWIN-CS. For example, Principal Hector, was introduced to Catholic dual language schooling because his uncle was the janitor at St. Hilary and later when Hector came to work at the school, he felt called to continue what others had started before him: “the hard work that Sandy, Bob, Rick and others have, that to me because those are the ones cracking their back, back-breaking work that they put in.” Similarly, Helena was introduced to St. Hilary though family. Her son worked at St. Hilary as part of a service project at his Jesuit High School. Vice Principal Edele drew inspiration from her experience coming to the United States at age four and entering a transitional bilingual education program in kindergarten. While not an immigrant nor native speaker of Spanish, Principal Grace was largely influenced by growing up in California and having Spanish speaking classmates as well as attending a Jesuit university and studying abroad in Latin America. While university formation programs for Catholic school leadership are a good idea, for principals already in the field and trying something new, networks like TWIN-CS which provide energizing connections
to like-minded colleagues and prayerful, retreat-like experiences at their Summer Academy might be one way to continue nourishing and developing this spiritual capital (See Figure 4).

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 4. TWIN-CS as adding to professional and spiritual capital for Catholic DLI school leadership.**

The connection between one’s faith identity and the Catholic principal’s willingness to innovate deserves further investigation. After all, Principal Cynthia plainly stated, “I am a risk taker and always looking for something different” while Principal Becca explained, “It was a need, I reached out to the Associate Superintendent of Curriculum, and said, ‘Let's try something different with these second language kids.’” Principal Derek also moved forward quickly and confidently with the dual language plan upon starting his position at St. Diego. While in Grace’s (2002) study, “over half of the sample made strong and explicit references to faith leadership and conveyed a committed sense of personal spiritual vocation as central to their conceptions of the role of a Catholic school leader.” (p. 123), in my study many participants made many references to personal spiritual vocation but not necessarily to faith leadership (as revealed in explicit
references to student or faculty retreats, leading public prayer, religious imagery present in the school, etc.). More often, principals spoke about the Catholic mission of the school, or their own spiritual mission to lead a Catholic dual language school. It seems that Catholic dual language education might attract a unique Catholic school leader--one who draws upon their spiritual capital in order to take risks and learn something new. While the principals in this study may have been faith or spiritual leaders at their schools, the principals themselves and the other participants did not speak extensively about their leadership in terms of specific religious or spiritual activities at the school.

**Embracing an Inspiring, Morally Engaging, and Catholic Mission**

These schools have developed programs that have undoubtedly allowed them to stand out and show a clear alternative to other local schools (Heft, 2011) both public and private. Indeed, all school level participants (not just principals but also teachers and middle management) in this study seemed to express a strong Catholic identity (as revealed in social justice values and service orientation as well as a deep spiritual commitment). While this internal Catholic identity does not always translate into obvious external expressions of Catholic identity (Fuller & Johnson, 2014), it seemed from the referrals to community prayer, masses, and celebrations of Our Lady of Guadalupe, these schools might be fostering both. According to Hobbie et al. (2010), perceived high levels of Catholic identity are correlated with school vitality. It seems then that these schools are particularly poised to live their Catholic identity as institutions of academic excellence (Ozar & Weitzel-O’Neil, 2012; Porath, 2000), as they are striving to meet the needs of their learners, while also promoting relationship building (Cook & Simonds, 2011) and service to others (Martin, 2012).
The principals in this study brought mission to the market pressures they felt. They were not shy about the deeply spiritual purposes and vocational commitments to this work (Grace, 2002), their commitment to the marginalized (Scanlan, 2008) and particularly the Latino population in their schools (Ospino & Weitzel-O’Neill, 2016), and some expressed a sincere desire to be inclusive of all students (Scanlan & Lopez, 2012). While many Catholic schools in the United States have declining enrollment, only a few are taking on such an academically, linguistically, and culturally ambitious school change. Niche programs are arising these days in Catholic schools and these include technology one-to-one programs, arts infused curriculum and STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) (Goldschmidt & Walsh, 2011). Yet, I argue that the latter programs, while valid and worthwhile, are not aligned to the mission of Catholic schooling in the same way as dual language programming. This study provides more evidence for Scanlan & Zehrbach’s (2010) assertion that Catholic Social Teaching and the key goals of dual language education are “congruent” (p. 76). While dual language programming may not be appropriate for every school setting, nor desired by a school community, this research shows the potential transformative nature of this school change on teaching and learning, particularly as it relates to energizing the school faculty and leadership and revitalizing how Catholic school teachers and principals work together. Through these changes and with this focus, I can see how these schools have the potential to truly honor the dignity of the individual learner, foster the common good among faculty, families and students, and practice a sincere preferential option for the marginalized as well as foster a service orientation in their students.

**Addressing Financial and Contextual Adversity**

Besides the influence of school cultures and teacher dynamics, how the principals in this study navigated the change to a dual language program also depended on their school
governance structure (i.e., whether they are governed by a board, whether the principal reports to a pastor, etc.) and the types of funding streams the school can access. St. Agatha, St. Elizabeth, St. Innocent, St. Bernard, and St. Joan of Arc all have independent boards which are separate from a parish. These boards function as fundraising arms of the school. Interestingly, none of these school principals discussed finances and budgeting whereas parish schools in this study seemed to be constrained by their limited resources, need for basic curriculum, and worried about how they would make payroll. More than governance structure, however, schools that were able to access public funds--St. Elizabeth via vouchers, St. Innocent via scholarships, and St. Hilary via tax credits--were more easily able to welcome students of all economic backgrounds. These funds allowed them to make a preferential option for the marginalized (Scanlan, 2008) in a way that other schools like St. Felicitas, who is reliant on tuition and private donors, cannot. The latter school’s principal discussed trying to recruit full paying students in order to continue welcoming students from lower income families. Over reliance on the principal’s ability to access and develop funding sources remains a risk for these schools (Fraga, 2016).

When funding is reliant on enrollment and principals start a dual language immersion program quickly without long term financial and enrollment plans, attrition is another risk to sustainability. As Rocque et al. (2016) explain,

('an) Immersion program also requires the ability to counteract the natural effects of attrition, which occurs in all closed-entry systems; as students move away or if a parent decides that dual immersion is not a good fit for his or her child, class sizes and overall enrollments begin to drop, which creates difficulties when districts [or in the case of
Catholic schools, the donors or the budget] require that a student enrollment quota be maintained (p.813).

In the case of St. Hilary, St. Diego, St. Felicitas, and others, principals continued taking students (often who weren’t bilingual) into the older grades to fill in these gaps. While the impetus to accept students at any grade level was generally couched by principals in terms of the school’s mission to serve, one wonders whether the most vulnerable students (i.e., those with special learning needs, English language learners, and students from economically marginalized backgrounds) are truly being given what they need to succeed (Thomas & Collier, 2002) in these lean settings.

Principals with stable funding sources seemed more able to serve as an instructional leader or lead learner (Fullan, 2014) in a way that others were not realistically able to manage. Principal Ida at St. Innocent was quite forthright in saying she was the instructional leader of the school. She explained that having an Executive Director who handled human resources, budgeting, and fundraising freed her to concentrate on the instructional aspects of the school. She even continues to teach math one period a day and feels that is a vital aspect of her instructional leadership. Vice Principal Diana at St. Diego, who works regularly with teachers and assists them by coaching instruction and collaborating in the planning of lessons, spoke about how Principal Derek regularly shared dual language research in his newsletters. Both Diana and Mentor Debra described Derek as a model of constant learning. Of course, whether the principal took on this role or not depended on the principal’s background, capacity, and interest in serving their schools in this way as well as the financial stability of the school. Ultimately, the financial structures of these schools seemed to shape what leaders were able to do (Leithwood & Louis, 2011).
Understanding the Catholic Context

Each school’s relationship and interaction with the institutional Catholic Church as well as the principal’s response to the parish or Diocese seemed to vary widely. Having worked closely with a religious order as a volunteer in Latin America, Principal Derek valued the connection with the parish and knew how to build bridges with the community of priests in his parish. Principal Helena was savvy in getting the attention of the Archdiocese to focus on her school through going to the media with her school’s needs. On the other hand, Principal Edele expressed she didn’t know how to navigate the Archdiocese leadership in order to get a more appropriate bilingual report card in place, and therefore, St. Elizabeth continued to use the Archdiocesan report card, even though it didn’t serve the needs of the school. In order to navigate change in these Catholic dual language schools, principals had to know how to best work within the complex social and political Catholic environment.

None of these schools were immune to the great systemic changes Catholic schools have experienced over the past sixty years, including the move to lay teachers and the loss of priests and religious sisters as teachers (DiFiore, 2011), as well as the closing or consolidation of nearly 20% of urban Catholic elementary schools in the past ten years (McDonald & Schultz, 2015). Therefore, this research shows that it is imperative to “pay attention to how leaders become expert at working within the settings in which they find themselves” (Leithwood & Louis, 2011, p. 229). Two of the schools (St. Bernard and St. Agatha) had already experienced substantial whole school changes since these schools are the result of multiple school consolidations. There were networks proposed and then networks abandoned in the cases of St. Clement and St. Diego, which meant figuring out how to be a networked school under board leadership and then back to parish control with a pastor in charge. Some schools had ample guidance and support from the
Archdiocese, like Principal Grace, while the Archdiocese within which St. Agatha school resides is experiencing financial ruin due to the sexual abuse scandal. Therefore, Principal Ann from St. Agatha knew that she couldn’t depend on the Archdiocese and focused on working with her independent board. Finally, past research indicates that the pastor-principal relationship can be quite a challenge (Belmonte & Cranston, 2009). Only one principal (Derek) discussed a positive relationship with the pastor or priests generally, while most others didn’t mention the pastor, or only noted the absence of the involvement of a priest or pastor in the school (Principal Grace from St. Gertrude and Principal Ann from St. Agatha). Finally, the principal of St. Clement mentioned a possibly contentious or “uneasy” relationship (Belmonte & Cranston, 2009) with the church.

**Implications for Future Research**

**Listen to Divergent Views and Include More Stakeholders**

While none of the Catholic schools in this study are implementing dual language programs in response to a policy directive, paying attention to the nature of debate and discourse around the language program, and being attuned to whose concerns are being voiced and the larger discourse these viewpoints represent (Dorner, 2011) is vital for the school leader. Parent voices were notably absent from the interviews with the participants in this study. Further, teacher dissent was mentioned but no discussions about how to engage these divergent voices were mentioned. For example, while the majority of participants expressed their deep belief and passion for the dual language program, Brittany, an English teacher from St. Bernard, was a notable outlier in her hesitancy about the efficacy and results of the program. Indeed, research has indicated that teachers’ perceptions of the importance of the dual language program impact its implementation (Palmer, Henderson, Wall, Zúñiga, & Berthelsen, 2016). Since the principals
selected the key informants, it’s not surprising that most participants expressed support for the program.

Principal Ann from St. Agatha also spoke about the resistance from some of her teachers and the African American community at her school. Certainly, working to ensure all racial groups have a voice and are not excluded (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Scanlan & Palmer, 2009) is vital for these schools’ authentic, lived Catholic identity and overall success. Further research should explore a more representative sample of the teachers and staff at these schools. Moreover, parent surveys or focus groups might provide valuable information about how various stakeholders perceive and experience the change to dual language programming in Catholic schools.

**Research Dual Language Strand Programs as They Transition to Whole School Programs**

As dual language immersion programs expand in the United States, through legislation such as California’s (2016) Proposition 58, Non-English Languages Allowed in the United States, this study underscores the need for deep understandings of what happens when dual language programs are implemented and expand in a school. Currently, there is little to no research on schools such as the Catholic schools in this study that begin their dual language programs with the intention to transition the entire school, one grade level at a time. What we do know from the limited research on separate dual language strands in schools is that “When the school environment does not fully share, understand, or support the fundamental principles of a TWI program, resisting the hegemony of English becomes more challenging and creating spaces for pluralist discourses more difficult” (de Jong & Bearse, 2014, p.18). Middle school programs have an even more difficult time maintaining linguistic equity due to the lack of co-planning time and the separation of the traditional program with the dual language program (de Jong &
Bearse, 2014).

Since only three of the schools in this study have dual language programs in the middle school grades, presumably English still dominates these school campuses. In Palmer’s (2007) study of a California school with a dual language strand, “the TWI classrooms… function(ed) as small oases of Spanish in a vast desert of English-only” (p. 757). Still, in her conversations with Spanish speaking families, they didn’t seem to mind and were simply content that their child was maintaining the Spanish language while moving forward with English. Palmer (2007) wonders, “Perhaps they see that Spanish occupies a similar second-tier position in the larger society, and are just as interested in their children coming to terms with this reality in a safe and challenging way as they are in working to change it” (p. 578). It would be interesting to study the perceptions of bilingualism by parents, students, and teachers in both the English-only traditional strand as well as the dual language strand in these Catholic schools that are transitioning to a whole school dual language program. Furthermore, more research is needed on the Archdiocesan/Diocesan context for the parish schools in this study. What, if any, are the resources and support that are provided for these schools?

**Gather Data on Academic Excellence**

This research did not inquire into the academic effectiveness of these dual language schools as measured by test scores, writing samples, or portfolio assessments. While test scores and other measures of academic excellence are important, this exploratory study focused on the messy, complicated change process within these Catholic dual language elementary schools. Still, without solid data, one must question whether and how these schools have effectively served traditionally marginalized students. Further research is necessary to see how the English Language Learners (especially those who are not Spanish dominant) and students with
disabilities are actually served in these programs. Without high pressure tests, Catholic schools presumably have more freedom (Goldschmidt & Walsh, 2011) to show proficiency in two languages. Nonetheless, research has shown that market forces and the persistence to show growth on English standardized tests continues to be a challenge in both Catholic (Belmonte & Cranston, 2009; Fuller & Johnson, 2014; Grace, 2002) and public dual language schools (de Jong, 2011; Lindholm-Leary, 2012; Palmer et al., 2016). How these dual language Catholic schools foster a nuanced view of success over time while maintaining such an inclusive and rich vision of language learning in a Catholic environment remains to be seen. At this point, there has not been enough research across multiple Catholic dual language schools to assess what exactly is happening in terms of academic excellence.

Implications for Practice

Pay Attention to Teacher Workload

Research shows that schools will not change unless the fundamental aspects of teachers’ work and the “preconditions for reform” are transformed to give teachers “the authority and time they need to teach in ways they find educationally defensible” (Gitlin & Margonis, 1995, p. 403).

The teachers in these Catholic schools seemed to have the authority to teach what they wanted, but perhaps they had too much freedom and autonomy, and this has caused anxiety. More poignantly, they expressed that they lacked time to plan and teach the way they know is best for the students. The workload in Catholic schools for Catholic school principals has been documented (Fincham, 2010; O’Keefe, 2000) and the seven teacher participants in this study definitely expressed that the heavy workload in these dual language schools needs to be addressed. In order to get buy in for the implementation of dual language immersion, Catholic schools should pay attention to the improvement of workplace conditions, particularly the
infrastructures for communication and scheduled co-planning times as well as consider teacher emotions and stress level (Hargreaves, 2008). This attention to teacher workload and morale may help foster a more sustainable work environment and may lead to better teacher retention. While the principals primarily pointed to the higher salaries of public schools as the reason for teacher departures, I imagine the daunting task of building a dual language program with scant resources also contributed to the high turnover.

**Acknowledge the Full Language History in Catholic Schools and Develop a Critical Consciousness**

While Catholic schools have educated the children of immigrants since their inception and did historically offer a bilingual and bicultural educational experience (Greene & O’Keefe, 2001), in order to be authentic and develop the critical consciousness of students and the community, these dual language schools must study and learn from their perhaps uncomfortable pasts. Two principals talked about how Spanish was banned at their school at some point in recent history, and was a source of deep hurt. Both felt the dual language program offered a type of reconciliation or righting of past wrongs, yet whether and how this is communicated to the students and their families deserves more attention. Have alumni who speak languages other than English but were denied the opportunity to use those languages in school been brought back to the school for a type of reconciliation service? Moreover, Blackmore (2010) argues that culturally relevant leadership practices must begin with self-examination and awareness of one’s own gendered and racial identity, rather than exclusively focusing on helping the “Other.” What have these Catholic schools done to encourage their faculty and staff to analyze their own language history and school experience, or “locate her or his identity within particular histories
of power, colonization, imperialism, and difference” (Cervantes-Soon, Dorner, Palmer, Heiman, Schwerdtfeger, & Choi, 2017, p. 422)?

Indeed, Catholic schools have a varied history when it comes to the schools’ authentic inclusion of marginalized students. We have to be clear that while the Catholic schools of the past were for immigrants, they were “haven[s] of white immigrant children making the transition from Europe to America” (Walch, 2003, p. 240) and now serve a much more racially and ethnically diverse population. Therefore, by studying their histories, these Catholic dual language schools have an opportunity to rigorously address changing neighborhoods, the movement of immigrant populations and immigrant groups, and the impact of these changes on their schools and parishes. Given the changing demographics at St. Agatha from serving African American students to mostly Latino students, it seems “courageous conversations” (Singleton, 2005) will be necessary in order for all teachers and families to feel heard regarding the development of the dual language program.

Six of the twelve principals in this study speak Spanish and all expressed a sincere desire to learn (including one who recently participated in a Spanish immersion program in Latin America). Some even live in their school’s neighborhood. These principals seem to have the trust of the community and therefore, they may be in good positions to have honest, challenging conversations on the history of inclusion as well as exclusion in Catholic schools and work to build schools that directly address such histories. Indeed, Dallavis (2011) found that Catholic schools have a unique opportunity to foster cultural competence through the lens of Catholic identity. Moreover, the curricular freedom of Catholic schools and their capacity to develop close ties to the community can add to their capacity to foster sociocultural integration as
Kleinfeld’s (1979) ethnographic case study of a Catholic school for Alaskan Inuit students revealed (as cited in Brisk, 2006).

Years ago Valdez (1997) warned dual language advocates of the co-option of dual language programs for the privileged and losing focus on their original purpose for serving English learner and low income populations, and many researchers are continuing to note this trend. Most recently, Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo (2016) call for “border pedagogies” that “push us to uncover the voices and knowledges of the subaltern by decentering hegemonic Whiteness and individualistic notions of success and instead centering the experiences, languages and worldviews generated by those in the margins” (as cited in Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017, p. 422). They assert that “TWI’s stated goals may be necessary but insufficient and unrealized” (p. 404) and caution only highlighting the successes of TWI. In this study, most of the schools are serving English learner and low income populations, and the participants’ drive to serve the marginalized was evident in their comments. Still, further research would be necessary to see whether the “experiences, languages and worldviews generated by those in the margins” are brought to the center in these schools. I imagine, as other researchers have found, that these larger goals are indeed “unrealized” since most of the participants focused on basic needs such as having the appropriate curriculum and co-planning time. While dual language research definitely needs critical voices, in order for these schools to improve, a middle ground must be acknowledged.

My research points to the real personnel and financial realities of these dual language schools that makes fulfilling the goals of academic excellence, bilingualism and biculturalism, and critical consciousness quite lofty. More research is needed in the messy realities of the day-to-day operations of the schools, with particular attention to the various political and social contexts that affect principal and teacher decision-making.
Gather Data but Foster a Nuanced Stance Towards Academic Excellence

Only participants from the two schools receiving vouchers or scholarship income expressed concern about how the students were performing on high stakes standardized tests. Nonetheless, most principals and participants noted concern for students’ capacity to perform well in both languages as expressed in standardized tests. This academic pressure did not seem to affect their perceptions of those student populations the school should serve (as it did in Fincham’s (2010) study of English principals). In fact, Principal Ida took a more social justice viewpoint, questioning the validity of the testing in the first place, while Vice-Principal Edele from St. Elizabeth wondered what she could do to help strengthen test scores. Either way, both administrators stated that they didn’t feel the test scores were a primary concern for the school parents. In a mission driven environment maybe test scores aren’t the most important thing for parents. Certainly, Litton et al.’s (2010) survey of close to two thousand Catholic school parents revealed that they had other concerns. Parents felt their child’s Catholic school was a “safe haven” in the neighborhood and “93.4% of the [parents] stated that Catholic schools made their children better people”, and many included references to the positive influence of faith (p. 363). Still, the vast research on the impact of the market on education as well as the anxiety present in implementing something like dual language immersion in a Catholic school system that has thrived on traditional teaching and learning cannot be ignored. I believe these schools will need to show progress on standardized tests and produce other tangible writing, portfolio, and oral language data to show stakeholders in order to sustain and grow their programs. This is an opportunity for Catholic schools to adopt a balanced perspective between “Catholic values and market values” (Grace, 2002) by embracing evidence of student learning while not becoming narrowly focused on summative test scores.
Build Regional Collaboration

If Catholic schools are dedicated to change, we cannot just develop “lighthouse schools” or isolated examples of success (Fink, 2000). If Catholic schools are truly dedicated to the common good, then dual language Catholic schools cannot only be concerned about their individual success. Nonetheless, due to the lean staffing and workload at the schools in this study, it would seem quite difficult for one school to mentor another (as suggested by Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009). Indeed, most schools in the TWIN-CS network do not share much information outside the yearly TWIN-CS Academy (Scanlan et al, 2015).

Two schools, same geographic context, yet different realities. While most schools were geographically isolated from other Catholic dual language schools, two schools (St. Clement and St. Diego) in this study were just over five miles apart. It seems that the poverty levels of the students at the two schools were fairly similar and both schools had been part of a failed network and returned to a parish model. However, St. Diego had double the number of students, and seemed to be thriving in terms of community connections and resources (Chromebook program, affiliations to local universities, etc.). St. Clement, on the other hand, has nearly half the students and seemed to struggle with basic curriculum acquisition. Perhaps the principals’ capacity to build their social capital was different. Principal Derek began his administrative career in dual language and through his conversations revealed the zeal of a convert. Principal Cynthia, on the other hand, having served over twenty years as a principal, appeared worn down by all the neighborhood economic changes that precipitated the downturn in student enrollment and the efforts to keep the school afloat. Indeed, it seems that leaders, like Principal Derek, with a clear vision, who is also charismatic, might be more capable of
convincing others to adopt innovations and change within the school as well as convince others to support it outside the school.

While it’s not clear if these schools are in competition, there was nothing in the interviews that pointed to the schools collaborating with another. Perhaps with support from the Archdiocese, a consultant, or their two TWIN-CS mentors (both from the same local university), Principal Derek and his faculty might be able to support Principal Cynthia and St. Clement. Perhaps there are funders or grantors who might support this project. Ultimately, if the goal is to provide the best Catholic education for these students, Catholic schools need to address the disparity between themselves and work together for the betterment of all. More research is needed to determine how more successful Catholic dual language schools might help struggling ones. I suggest that this is where the Archdiocese can play a role in fostering regional collaborative networks of support.

Seek Increased Support from the Archdiocese/Diocese

By hiring dual language coaches at the local level that could be shared between schools, using economies of scale to purchase curriculum, and writing grants on behalf of a cluster of dual language schools, Catholic school principals and leaders might get the ground level support they need. The Archdiocese of Los Angeles’ commitment to the development of dual language schools via an Archdiocesan Dual Language Immersion Network, which includes a dedicated dual language implementation specialist, a program administrative assistant, and support from the associate superintendent (http://lacatholicschools.org/dli/) is one example of this system level approach. Most research on school change discusses this system level support in terms of districts. District leadership can help principals share ideas and build collective capacity (Leithwood & Louis, 2011; Moore-Johnson, Marietta, Higgins, Mapp, & Grossman, 2015), can
help foster “stable and sustainable (not stagnant and stale) leadership” and create “learning clusters of schools” (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p.167, 170). Unlike public schools, it seems that the Catholic schools in this study have varying layers of support in general. While there was mention of Archdiocesan support in terms of financial planning and the initial idea of the dual language program, there was no mention of any tangible professional development or principal networking arranged for those schools who are part of their local Archdiocese.

“Leading from the middle” (Hargreaves & Ainscow, 2015) or from the district level in the public sector, is a response to ineffective top down national or state policy, as well as haphazard bottom up/individual school change. For Catholic schools, this might mean, simply harnessing the power of regional school networks, and support at the Archdiocesan/Diocesan level. While Hargreaves & Ainscow (2015) point out leading in the middle is not enough, it might be the place to start for Diocese/Archdiocese Catholic school offices. There are definitely positive examples of Catholic schools working together with more centralized leadership and support in some areas of the country (McCloskey, 2010). However, I am not aware of research on the support needed for innovation to thrive and spread in Catholic schools. It may be interesting to see how an Archdiocese or a network like TWIN-CS might focus specifically on ways principals can learn from and schools can support one another. Studying the effectiveness of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles’ DLI Network and approach would be a helpful next step.

**Recommendations for Catholic School Principals**

**Be Bold but Be Prepared**

*Before* adopting a dual language program and marketing it to the community, see who else in your area has dual language programs, visit them, tour them, and speak to as many people
as possible about curriculum, teacher coaches and trainings. Read everything you can about dual language in both scholarly journals, how to guides, as well as look at parent blogs.

- Survey the school community and parish (if applicable) community. Do people desire dual language programs? Host focus groups, round table discussions and dual language information nights to gage enthusiasm and buy in.

- Look at local Census data and understand the local languages and populations in your area.

- Know your competitors. Where is the nearest dual language school? Think about how you will differentiate yourself from other Catholic schools as well as local dual language schools.

- Carefully consider the financial ramifications of this change. Draw up a preliminary budget based on a school of similar size and with considerations of the average tuition paid by your school families.

- Don’t stop at dual language--look to other innovative strategies in Catholic education and networks to learn from and copy. For example, the Cristo Rey network, a model of schooling, where students spend one day a week working at a local business or non-profit, has feasibility studies and well documented strategic processes for starting new schools, and sharing across the network. Indeed, the Archdiocese of Los Angeles sought permission to use the Cristo Rey materials to build their own network materials.

- Connect with the local universities, particularly Education departments with bilingual programs, who might want to collaborate on research projects, provide mentorship, and/or assist in teacher recruitment.
Consider Faculty and Staff Emotions, Backgrounds, and Capabilities

While the dual language innovation might certainly be viewed as a “disruptive innovation” that can “create new sustainable sources of growth” (Ries, 2011, p. 31), the amount of disruptions and changes in a school must be carefully calculated because change in education effects human relations and emotions (Hargreaves, 2008). This might especially be true in the close-knit, familial environments of Catholic schools. Moreover, given the steep competition for teachers in the public schools, Catholic schools may be staffed with teachers who may not have the same credentials or background as their public school counterparts. When taking on dual language, teachers need to be willing to learn and it’s well researched that developing this buy in and confidence takes time in any setting.

Catholic school principals can support teachers by:

- Being open and honest about the challenging work they are taking on when implementing a dual language program. It’s not easy and it is exhausting so acknowledging that is helpful.
- Providing curricular resources, even basic ones, in the language of instruction from day one.
- Finding a classroom level mentor for the teacher who can model lessons and provide on the spot coaching.
- Provide co-planning time, even it’s just a small amount, during the school day each week.
- Visiting successful dual language classes at another school together and discussing take aways.
• Learning as much about dual language as possible by attending conferences, reading blogs as well as scholarly journals, and sharing this information in digestible pieces at faculty meetings.

• If you aren’t already one, become a literacy expert--attend workshops alongside teachers, get trained in best practices like Guided Language Acquisition by Design (GLAD), etc.

Celebrate Your Catholic Identity

Being a Catholic dual language school is unique in both the Catholic school world and in the general school environment. These principals showed that there isn’t just one way to be Catholic. The diversity of thought, practice, and people within Catholic communities is worth celebrating and sharing. Learning a language in a context that was developed to honor the family as the starting point for education, where masses are held in multiple languages (more than 47 on any given Sunday in Los Angeles!), and that has a plethora of connections to organizations like Catholic Relief Services, Jesuit Refugee Services, and other global entities working for peace and justice provides many meaningful and authentic reasons to be bilingual. Most important, Catholicism’s core, Jesus Christ, is about love. As Greg Boyle, SJ, reminds us, “You can’t love what you don’t know.” It’s pretty hard to know someone without understanding their language so multilingualism is in fact at the core of who Catholics are as a community of faith.

Conclusion

The Catholic schools in this study have beginnings which are similar to the booming of the Catholic school system in the United States in the mid twentieth century. Without a strategic plan for the evolution of the Catholic school system in the United States, the Catholic Bishops urged every Parish to open a school. Desperate for teachers, bishops asked religious organizations to send groups of sisters to their parish from near and far. These sisters, many
without formal preparation to be a teacher, worked tirelessly for very little pay, collaborated nightly on their lesson plans, and many learned English alongside their students (Caruso, 2012).

Catholic schools in this study in many ways resemble the risky, quick, yet entirely ambitious start of the American parochial school system. Certainly, the selflessness, determination, mission orientation, and openness to something new reflected in the principals and teachers in this study points to those leaders and teachers of those early Catholic schools. Like those from the past, the Catholic dual language school educators and supporters in this study are forward thinking. On the other hand, my participants are presumably unique from the early Catholic school leaders, particularly in terms of their desire to develop their professional capital and grow in their role as instructional leaders.

Whereas in the beginning, Catholic education in the United States was about looking inward and protecting one’s community, dual language immersion today could be seen as the Church, through these schools, expanding and looking outward. Most of these Catholic school environments, small and flexible, are fertile grounds for mission centered people willing to take on something new. Unlike the schools of the past, these Catholic schools are using networks, like TWIN-CS, and reaching to other sectors to learn about ways adults can collaborate. My participants showed they are thinking about professional development and considering the best pedagogical practices for 21st century students in a dual language setting. These schools are building on tradition but are also humbly seeking support and resources in order to make informed decisions about how to best serve their current students, in their current reality.
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Appendix A

Interview Protocol A: Principal

Participant Background and School Context
1. Tell me about your position and responsibilities at this school. (Probe: How long have you been in this role? Years teaching? Grade level/subject(s)? Years at this school? Do you have experience in other school sectors? Describe. Do you have a teaching/administrative credential? Do you have a bilingual certification? Do you speak another language besides English? How did you learn it? If not, who do you rely on for addressing bilingual issues, relationships with parents who speak a language other than English? What theological background or faith leadership training do you have (if any)?)

2. Describe the community that your school serves. (Probe: Do you live in this community? What is your relationship to the community?) What is the perception of your school in the neighborhood? In the Archdiocese? Does the school serve a local community or is it a commuter school?

3. Tell me a little about the students that you serve. Tell me a little about the school. Do you enjoy working there?

4. How prepared did you feel to start DLI at your school? (Probe: background or understanding of TWI before you started working at your school or before the school became dual language) What information did you have about TWI? With Catholic schooling? Was it enough? How did you learn what you needed to know? (Probe: Did you visit other dual language schools? Were they public or private? Professional development or conference attendance? If so, what was gained from this experience?)

5. What is your school’s governance model? (Probe: Is there a President? Board?) What is your relationship to the Archdiocese? What is your relationship with the parish?

School Conversion to Dual Language

6. I’m interested in the path your school took to implement a TWI program. Can you tell me about it? (Probe: Why did you decide to take this on? What was your motivation? What has your role been in the process of implementation?)

7. How did the school become a dual language school? (Probe: Whose idea was it? What was the role (if any) of the school’s Catholic mission in the conversion decision? What was the role (if any) of the archdiocese or sponsoring order? What is the role (if any) of the parish priest?)

8. What challenges and successes has the school experienced in this conversion process?
9. Describe a typical day in your role as principal. What do you spend most of your time doing? Are there other things you think you should be spending time on? Has TWI changed your responsibilities, priorities, or the way you do your work? (Probe: Can you provide an example?)

10. Do you think your school is successful as a Catholic dual language immersion school? If so, what makes it successful?

11. How has the conversion process influenced the recruitment of students? Has there been a change in the number of students during the conversion? How have you recruited students and are you targeting certain populations? (Probe: paying students, native speakers of Spanish) Has your student recruitment process and goals changed over time?

12. How has the conversion process influenced your staffing? Have you experienced teacher turnover? Has it been easy or difficult to hire dual language teachers? (Probe: Have finances been an issue in hiring/paying for the people you need? How did you find the people you needed, the people with the right training and knowledge as well as language fluency?)

13. How have you worked with teachers in the conversion process? What type of specialized professional development (if any) have you provided for your teachers? How much time is devoted for teacher collaboration and planning, and what is your participation level?

14. What drives or animates your work as a leader in a Catholic dual language school? What personal and professional resources do you draw upon to meet the needs of your school?

**Decision Makers, Support, and Role of Larger Community**

15. How do you make decisions in your school? (Probe: surveys, parent meetings, student data, leadership team?)

16. What kind of supports do you have for this innovation? (Probe: Financial, DLI experts/consultants, teachers, community)

17. What is the role of the community, foundations, universities, or other institutions and networks at your school? What is the role of parents? What are their desires and goals? What is the role of your TWIN mentor? How have you worked with them?

18. Was there initial support from the teachers and the wider community (parents, school supporters) for TWI at your school? Was there any resistance? Has that changed? How do you cultivate relationships with the larger community?
19. Who do you rely on for advice? What have they provided? (Probe: Do you rely on the same people for both the Catholic and dual language aspects? Do you network with other Catholic school principals, charter schools? Other DLI professionals?)

20. How do you manage the many demands of your school? What have you held on to in your school throughout the process? Have you had to let anything go?

21. How have you reflected, thought through the decisions that have been made thus far? Who (if anyone) helped you reflect on this? (Probe: Critical friends?)

Goals and Priorities

22. What do you think is the most important goal/s at your Catholic dual language school? (Probe: If I was going to ask this question of parents/archdiocese/teachers, what would they say? How important is it for parents and other stakeholders that this is a Catholic school? How important is it for parents that this is a dual language school?)

23. How would you describe the academic quality of the program? Are students meeting grade level expectations? What are the school’s expectations that students are fluent in both languages? How is the school measuring their performance in both languages? How would you define multicultural competency? How does the school know if a student is culturally competent?

24. What opportunities (if any) do teachers have to examine evidence of student success?

Influence of TWI Conversion on Leadership Practices

25. Has TWI changed the way you work with your colleagues within the school? Has it changed the way you work with the parents or wider community?

26. If you could go back in time and start all over again, what would you do differently? (Probe: What do you wish you had known? What supports do you wish you had in place? What would you make sure happened again?)

27. How did you view your school five years ago? Where do you see the dual language program five years from now?

Catholic Identity

28. How does Catholicism influence, if at all, the practices at the school? (Probe: What do you think is the difference, if any, between a dual language immersion program and a Catholic dual language immersion program?)

29. Does your school or leadership draw from the charism of its founders?
Appendix B

Interview Protocol B: Key Informant

Participant Background and School Context
1. Tell me about your position and responsibilities at this school. (Probe: How long have you been in this role? Years teaching? Grade level/subject(s)? Years at this school? Do you have experience in other school sectors? Describe. Do you have a teaching/administrative credential? Do you have a bilingual certification? Do you speak another language besides English? How did you learn it? If not, who do you rely on for addressing bilingual issues, relationships with parents who speak a language other than English? What theological background or faith leadership training do you have (if any)?)

2. Describe the community that your school serves. (Probe: Do you live in this community? What is your relationship to the community?) What is the perception of your school in the neighborhood? In the Archdiocese? Does the school serve a local community or is it a commuter school?

3. Tell me a little about the students that the school serves. Tell me a little about the school. Do you enjoy working there?

4. How prepared did you feel to start DLI at your school? (Probe: background or understanding of TWI before you started working at your school or before the school became dual language) What information did you have about TWI? With Catholic schooling? What it enough? How did you learn what you needed to know? (Probe: visit to other dual language schools? Professional development or conference attendance? If so, what was gained from this experience?)

School Conversion to Dual Language

5. I’m interested in the path your school took to implement a TWI program. Can you tell me about it? (Probe: Why did the school decide to take this on? What was the motivation?)

6. How did the school become a dual language school? (Probe: Whose idea was it? What was the role (if any) of the school's Catholic mission in the conversion decision? What was the role (if any) of the archdiocese or sponsoring order? What is the role (if any) of the parish priest?)

7. Describe the leadership in the conversion process. (Probe: Who do you define as the leader of the school? What makes her/him a leader?)

8. What has your role been in the process of implementation? What were some key decisions made in the implementation of the dual language program?

9. What challenges and successes has the school experienced in this conversion process?
(Probe: Were these expected or surprises? What was the biggest support and the biggest obstacle? Did you have to give up anything? If so, how did you prioritize?)

10. Do you think your school is successful? If so, what makes it successful? (Probe: What does success look like to you? Does the fact that it is dual language and/or Catholic have anything to do with its success?)

11. What drives or animates your work in a Catholic dual language school? What personal and professional resources do you draw upon to meet the needs of your school?

**Decision Makers, Support, and Role of Larger Community**

12. How are decisions made in your school? (Probe: surveys, parent meetings, student data, leadership team?) Who makes the decisions?

12. What kind of supports does the school have for this innovation? (Probe: Financial, DLI experts/consultants, teachers, community)

13. What is the role of the community, foundations, universities, or other institutions and networks at your school? What is the role of parents? What are their desires and goals? What is the role of your TWIN mentor? How have you worked with them?

14. Was there initial support from the teachers and the wider community (parents, school supporters) for TWI at your school? Was there any resistance? Has that changed? How do you cultivate relationships with the larger community?

15. Who do you rely on for advice? What have they provided? (Probe: Do you rely on the same people for both the Catholic and dual language aspects? Do you network with other Catholic school, charter schools? Other DLI professionals?)

16. How has the school managed the many demands of TWI? What has the school held on to throughout the process? Have they had to let anything go?

**Goals and Priorities**

17. What do you think is the most important goal/s at your Catholic dual language school? (Probe: If I was going to ask this question of parents/archdiocese/teachers, what would they say? How important is it for parents and other stakeholders that this is a Catholic school? How important is it for parents that this is a dual language school?)

18. How would you describe the academic quality of the program? Are students meeting grade level expectations? What are the school’s expectations that students are fluent in both languages? How is the school measuring their performance in both languages? How would you define multicultural competency? How does the school know if a student is culturally competent?
19. What opportunities (if any) do teachers have to examine evidence of student success?

**Influence of TWI Conversion on Leadership Practices**

20. Has TWI changed the way you work with your colleagues within the school? Has it changed the way you work with the parents or wider community?

21. If you could go back in time and start all over again, what would you do differently? (Probe: What do you wish you had known? What supports do you wish you had in place? What would you make sure happened again?)

22. How did you view your school five years ago? Where do you see the dual language program five years from now?

**Catholic Identity**

23. How does Catholicism influence, if at all, the practices at the school? (Probe: What do you think is the difference, if any, between a dual language immersion program and a Catholic dual language immersion program?)

24. Does your school or leadership draw from the charism of its founders?