

Heritage Language Students and the Advanced Placement Spanish Literature and Culture Exam: Teachers' Perspectives

Anna Marrero-Rivera

Arizona State University

Abstract: Today, one in every four students enrolled in public K-12 schools in the United States is Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau 2020). As a result, more than half of the students taking the Advanced Placement (AP) Spanish exams are heritage language (HL) students (College Board). Brown and Thompson (2020) report that HL students who take the AP Spanish Language exam perform better than second language learners. However, the opposite occurs with the AP Spanish Literature exam. As research on HL learners in AP Spanish courses is scant, this study adds to existing knowledge by examining AP Spanish Literature teachers' perceptions concerning HL students' needs and how those are assessed in the classroom. The findings indicate that teachers lack training in HL pedagogy, that a placement exam is necessary, and that AP Spanish classes serve as a gateway to more advanced courses. In sum, this study provides valuable information regarding how educators and school administrators can better understand and support their HL students through the development of programs and curriculums. HLs have distinct language abilities that merit development in order to provide Latino students adequate resources and an equitable opportunity to pass the AP exams and gain college credit.

Keywords: heritage language, Advanced Placement, Spanish, teachers' perspectives, secondary education

Introduction

According to 2020 Census data, one in every four students in public K-12 schools in the United States is Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau 2020). These numbers are evident in any foreign/second language classroom in the country's public schools, where an increasing number of heritage language (HL) students enroll in Spanish classes. As a result, more than half of the students taking the Advanced Placement (AP) Spanish Language and Culture and AP Spanish Literature and Culture exams are HL students (College Board). While these exams were initially intended for Spanish second language (L2) learners, the reality today is considerably different.

Brown and Thompson (2020) report that HL students who take the AP Spanish Language exam perform better than their L2 counterparts (188). However, the opposite occurs with the AP Spanish Literature exam. The Language exam is primarily concerned with students' speaking and listening abilities, whereas the Literature exam is concerned with reading analysis and writing, which are typically skills that HLs need to further develop. This could be for a variety of reasons, including a lack of print exposure in the HL, the limited formal Spanish classes taken by HL students prior to taking the AP exam, and knowledge transfer from English literature courses to Spanish for the L2

group. Many HL students spend much of their schooling in ESL classes and do not begin taking Spanish classes until high school. The U.S. school system does not provide HL students with the same opportunities as L2 students, who can subsequently transfer these abilities to their Spanish classes. Hence, it is crucial for educators to implement approaches informed by HL pedagogy that take into account the student's overall knowledge of the language and use it as a bridge to more formal written Spanish (Beaudrie et al. 2014). Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine the perspectives of AP Spanish Literature and Culture teachers with regard to how they address their HL students' needs in the classroom. For the purpose of this study, the terms Hispanic and Latino are used interchangeably, while recognizing that members of this community may self-identify as either.

Review of the Literature

Latinos and Education

The Hispanic population constitutes the largest minority group in the United States, accounting for 18.7% of the country's total population (U.S. Census Bureau 2020). Correspondingly, Hispanic children are the fastest growing minority group in the nation's schools. However, there remains an achievement gap between Latino and White students, with the former routinely scoring lower on high stakes tests and having higher dropout rates than most minority groups (IES 2018). Latino youth confront a number of predisposing factors that hinder their academic performance, which include economic inequality, lack of mentors and role models, parental participation, cultural differences, and language barriers, among others (León et al. 2011: 74). For the purpose of this study, the primary focus will be language barriers as they pertain to the linguistic development of Latino students in the U.S.

At school, many Latino students are not only trying to master academic content like the rest of their classmates, but additionally they are struggling to understand English with little to no support. Darder (2011) argues that current restrictive language policies for English language learners in some states of the country are not only related to high school dropout rates and poor academic performance, but also to long-term consequences associated with lack of education achievement (232). Commonly, these consequences include, but are not limited to, poverty, high incarceration rates, and housing segregation. It is then the duty of educators to advocate for these students who often face many obstacles in their educational path. Nevertheless, not all teachers feel the same responsibility towards this group of students. A survey of 69 K-12 teachers of all subjects in California regarding attitudes towards students' HL found that the majority of teachers' main concern was their students' English language

development and that most of them were indifferent to HL issues (Lee and Oxelson 2006). Mainstream teachers believed that interest in these issues was not ‘a part of their job,’ which suggests a lack of understanding of the critical influence that HL has on their students’ lives.

As can be seen, there is a disconnect between research and practice. Albeit there exists substantial evidence in favor of teaching language minority students English while still fostering the development of their HL, most school districts in the country follow a bilingual education program. These programs offer instruction in the students’ HL only during the time that they are acquiring English, usually two to three years, before transitioning into mainstream, all-English classrooms. For that reason, researchers and educators must work together in order to ensure that language-minority groups are well informed of the benefits of biliteracy so that they can be empowered to pass on their languages to their future children. While educators alone cannot eradicate the influences of the larger social sphere on the HL maintenance process, they can empower their HL students to take agency in this matter.

Latinos and Advanced Placement

The AP program offered by the College Board was designed in the 1950’s with the goal to provide gifted high school students the opportunity to engage in academic work aligned with the university curricula. The AP exam is now offered in 38 different subjects including world languages, social sciences, hard sciences, mathematics, and arts.

An extensive body of research exists on the advantages of AP participation for high school students. Prior studies have documented a positive correlation between AP course participation and future college success (Reeder 2020; Speroni 2011; Handwerk et al. 2008). Dougherty et al. (2006) demonstrated a significant positive relationship between passing AP exams and college graduation rates for both White and Hispanic students, as well as students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. They also stated that schools and districts should pay attention not only to the quality of instruction in AP courses but also to the academic preparation of students before enrolling in these courses. Therefore, schools should create Pre-AP courses for every AP class they offer in order to ensure the success of their students both in the AP exam and in college.

The potential benefits of AP program participation appear to be clear. However, marginalized students have unequal access to AP courses. Past research has expounded on the historically limited access to AP programs for minority students (Bittmann et al. 2017; Kerr 2014; Solorzano and Ornelas 2004). These inequities in advanced coursework not only cause students to miss out on significant opportunities, but also send a dangerous message that AP courses are not for them. This harmful perception is what continues to drive the persistent

academic gap that exists in public schools across the country. Thus, providing them with the appropriate resources and equipping AP educators with the adequate training to serve this population is an integral part of bridging the gap.

According to The New Teacher Project (2018), Black and Latino students are being held back from participating in advanced courses for reasons that have nothing to do with students' academic abilities and everything to do with educational policies and practices. Some of these involve racially diverse school districts being offered less funding than those serving White students, as well as educator and grading bias. Educator and grading bias refers to the racial and cultural biases often present in tests and grading practices that result from the racial biases of teachers. Another barrier for Black and Latino students is the lack of access to diverse educators. Research suggests that having teachers of the same race or ethnicity plays a large role on the academic outcomes of students of color (Grissom and Redding 2016). Accordingly, school and district leaders should work toward actionable solutions for these populations.

The Education Trust (2020) outlines several steps that educational leaders can take in order to support these students in enrolling in more advanced courses. These steps range from laying the groundwork by setting clear and measurable goals for providing access to advanced coursework and encouraging student success, while committing to measure district progress toward these goals to providing sufficient support for students to not only enroll in AP courses, but also to successfully pass the end of year exam with a score of 3 or higher in order to receive college credit.

Advanced Placement Spanish Exams

The AP program has been offering a Spanish exam since the program's inception in May 1994 (Rothschild 1999: 179). Today, there are two AP Spanish exams offered: the AP Spanish Language and Culture exam and the AP Spanish Literature and Culture exam. The AP Spanish Language course covers six themes which include Families and Communities, Personal and Public Identities, and Contemporary Life, among others. The exam is divided in two parts, which include a multiple-choice section and a free response section. The multiple-choice section asks students to demonstrate comprehension of written, audio and visual text, as well as to interpret the content of written or audio texts. The free response section asks students to reply to an email, write an argumentative essay, participate in a simulated conversation, and make a cultural comparison between an aspect of a Spanish-speaking community with which they are familiar to that in another community.

The AP Spanish Literature course covers six themes as well which include *Las sociedades en contacto*, *La construcción del género*, *El tiempo y el espacio*, *La creación literaria*, *Las relaciones interpersonales* and *La dualidad del ser*. These themes are

explored through reading and analyzing 38 texts from different authors from Latin America, Spain and the United States. Similar to the Language exam, this exam is divided into two parts, which include multiple choice and free response. The multiple-choice section asks students to analyze and interpret literary and audio sources, as well as to make connections between literary texts and a non-literary aspect of a culture. Some of the free response section questions ask students to compare two different literary texts, as well as to relate a text to its appropriate literary movement while relating the text to its specific historical and social context.

In 2020, 168,998 students took the AP Spanish Language exam and 24,147 took the AP Spanish Literature exam (College Board). Brown and Thompson (2020) published a study in which they analyzed the AP exams candidate's HL status and discovered that most of the students who take both of the AP Spanish exams are, in fact, HL learners (186). The authors found that for the AP Spanish Language exam, HL learners scored higher on average than their L2 peers. On the contrary, in the AP Spanish Literature exam HL learners scored lower than their L2 counterparts.

The AP Spanish Language results are not surprising due to the fact that a significant amount of the exam score consists of speaking (25%) and for one of the two writing tasks students are required to respond to an email (12.5%). These tasks involve language functions that most HL students are used to carrying out daily when communicating with family and community members and that L2 learners seldom have the chance to engage in, as their contact with Spanish is limited to the classroom. Nevertheless, the structure of the email does require formal language.

The opposite is the case in the AP Spanish Literature exam. This exam consists primarily of writing (50%) and reading analysis (40%), with only 10% devoted to interpretive listening. That is to say, HL test takers have to perform tasks that might be new and challenging to some of them, considering that these students typically acquire their literacy skills only in English and are limited to basic-level cognition in their HL, which includes listening and speaking and does not encompass reading or writing (Zyzik 2016). Additionally, HL learners generally use the language in informal situations, which causes them to have lexical gaps in all semantic fields (Parodi 2008). L2 students, on the other hand, have only had contact with the language in a formal classroom setting, which may explain why they tend to score higher on the AP Spanish Literature exam. Ilieva (2012) conducted a study with Hindi HL learners and L2 learners and found that HL students were more familiar with popular culture such as Bollywood cinema, music, fashion, etc., while L2 students showed a more academic cultural knowledge including politics, history and geography. Hence, it is of utmost importance that high school teachers understand how to better

serve their HL students and prepare them to succeed in these exams in order to obtain college credit.

The Study

In order to examine AP Spanish teachers' perspectives around their HL students' needs, a qualitative research design was employed in the study. Data was gathered through semi-structured interviews with teachers. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and evaluated thematically. This method's flexibility is crucial for analyzing teachers' perceptions, practices, and experiences. The themes and patterns were identified through analysis of data coding, pattern development, and revision.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided the study:

1. How do AP Spanish Literature teachers address students' linguistic needs as they prepare them for the exam?
2. What do teachers perceive to be their HL students' primary impediments to success on the AP Spanish Literature exam?

Participants

The eleven teachers who volunteered to participate in this study (see Table 1) were recruited via Facebook. The researcher invited teachers to participate by sending a message to a Facebook group named "AP Spanish Literature Teachers." Sixteen teachers responded to the message. However, only eleven teachers had a considerable percentage of HL students in their AP Spanish Literature and Culture classes (50% or more).

Table 1. High school teacher backgrounds

Gender	Linguistic Background	State of Residence	Educational Background	Type of School
1. Male	United States, L2 Speaker	Arizona	B.A. in Spanish, M.A. in Educational Technology	Public
2. Female	United States, Heritage Speaker	California	B.A. in Spanish, M.A. in Education	Public
3. Female	Mexico, Native Speakers	Colorado	B.A. in Business, M.A. in Education	Public

4. Female	Puerto Rico, Native Speaker	Florida	B.A. in Secondary Education	Public
5. Female	Spain, Native Speaker	Illinois	B.A. in Literature, M.A. in Philology	Public
6. Female	United States, Heritage Speaker	Illinois	B.A. in Spanish, M.A. in Education	Public
7. Male	United States, Heritage Speaker	Illinois	B.A. in Spanish, M.A. in Educational Leadership	Public
8. Male	Venezuela, Native Speaker	Massachusetts	B.A. in Criminal Justice	Charter
9. Female	Mexico, Native Speaker	Texas	B.A. in Literature, M.A. in Linguistics	Charter
10. Male	Mexico, Native Speaker	Texas	B.A. in Journalism, M.A. in Education	Charter
11. Female	Puerto Rico, Native Speaker	Texas	B.A. in English as a Second Language	Charter

Some teachers had taught in Spanish speaking countries before teaching in the U.S. (6 participants) and some had only taught in the U.S. (5 participants). All of the teachers had taught an AP Spanish Literature course with at least 50% HL students in the classroom and all had taught the course for at least two years.

Data Collection

Teachers were invited to take a background survey via Google Forms after signing a consent form to participate. The purpose of this survey was to elicit information on each teacher's country of origin, education and linguistic background, and years of experience teaching the AP course. After the online survey was completed, semi-structured interviews were undertaken. The interviews lasted around 30 minutes to an hour and were all conducted in Spanish. The teachers were asked to respond to questions such as:

- What kind of training do you wish you had to help out your HL students?
- What type of activities do you do in the classroom?

- What are the parts of the exam that you consider to be the most challenging for your HL students?
- How do you prepare your students for the exam?
- Are you aware of your HL students' previous education experience regarding Spanish?
- What elements do you think are necessary to include in a AP Spanish Literature curriculum in order to cater to HL students' needs?

Research Findings and Discussion

Three major themes emerged from the analysis of the participants' transcribed interviews:

1. a lack of training in HL teaching,
2. the need for the adoption of an HL placement exam, and
3. the use of AP Spanish courses as a bridge to more advanced courses.

Lack of Training in HL Pedagogy

Data suggests that most teachers are not currently employing HL-based teaching methods due to a lack of training in this methodology. While all educators teach primarily HL students in the AP classes, the majority of their language teaching training has been focused on L2 students. While all the educators teach mostly HL learners in the AP classes, the majority of the training they have had in language teaching has been focused on L2 learners. Even schools with over a 90% Latino student population do not provide their Spanish teachers professional development on how to use their HL students' language skills in the classroom. Therefore, teaching and learning are developed using L2 pedagogy and HL students' language needs are not being taken into account. As a result, L2 students are benefiting from this type of instruction and are receiving higher scores on the AP exam.

Given this circumstance, teachers are left with the responsibility of seeking out professional development opportunities regarding HL pedagogy on their own, without any support from their schools, as the following teachers describe:

Participant 6, IL

No, no la recibí. No he recibido porque a mí me enseñaron a cómo enseñar español como un idioma extranjero, o sea no realmente a estudiantes de herencia. Quizá cuando fui a la universidad sí recibí. Sí tuvimos un día para hablar de cómo se enseña a heritage speakers, cuando sabemos perfectamente que no, esto va más allá de un día. Debería ser una especialización,

¿no? Mi distrito tampoco me ha ofrecido nada. Yo lo he tenido que buscar y es a través de networking también con otros maestros, pero realmente fue a través de yo buscando y realmente compaginando con otros colegas.

Participant 9, TX

He tenido clases de metodología cuando hice mi bachillerato, pero no creo que he tenido clases acerca de cómo enseñar específicamente a estudiantes de lengua heredada. El distrito tiene muy pocas opciones, hay algunas opciones, pero son más para los estudiantes que están aprendiendo español como lengua extranjera, más que para los estudiantes de lengua heredada. Yo he ido a diferentes conferencias donde ha habido charlas, pero nada que se ha promovido por el distrito. A mí nadie me viene a decir toma esta clase o tienes esta opción. No, yo lo busco.

Participant 4, FL

No, jamás. No, siempre ha sido como enseñarles a los estudiantes de un segundo idioma. Siento que es un sistema que discrimina.

The phrase *yo tengo que buscar*, referring to HL professional development opportunities, was present in almost all the responses as their teacher education programs did not include enough training on how to efficiently teach HL learners and their school districts are not providing them with the much-needed training either, as their sole focus is on L2 learners.

Need for the Implementation of a HL Placement Exam

Interviews also revealed the need for a Spanish HL placement exam in schools that offer HL tracks. Teachers conveyed that students were being placed in their AP Spanish Literature classes in some circumstances despite never having completed a Spanish course. This arbitrary placement of HL students at different levels is the result of school administrators' lack of understanding of HL education. Some teachers reported that, in certain instances, students who did not know Spanish were placed in advanced Spanish courses solely because they had a Hispanic last name and administrators assumed that this meant they were bilingual. In other cases, students with lower proficiency were placed in higher level courses due to a lack of capacity in lower-level courses. Thus, when entering AP courses, HL students are at a disadvantage as they have not had the opportunity to acquire formal education in the language. In contrast, most L2 learners take Spanish courses for years before taking an AP Spanish

course and are equipped with high-level cognition in the target language. The following quotes illustrate this point:

Participant 8, MA

El año pasado cuando llegué a esta escuela los estudiantes tenían que ir obligatoriamente a AP Spanish Language o a AP Spanish Literature, porque los ponían por el apellido. Si tenían apellidos hispanos como López, Córdoba, los ponían en literatura y yo what!? ¿Pero ustedes hablan español? ¿Cómo los van a poner en esta clase? Esto es como lanzarlos por un precipicio. Entonces mis seniors, de toda la clase completa, uno o dos habían pasado el examen de lenguaje y estaban en literatura. Y entonces yo decía pero, ¿cómo, qué haces aquí si ni siquiera hablas español? Entonces decían pues aquí fue donde me pusieron y les decía yo pero, ¿por qué no te cambiaste? Te hubiesen puesto en español 1 para no hispanohablantes. Y entonces tuve que hablar con la administración, decirles que esto no era justo, que era una loquera. Y dicen sí, pero es que su apellido es Guzmán. Digo, ¿pero qué tiene que ver tu apellido? Eso no tiene nada que ver.

Participant 2, CA

No tenemos un placement exam para los nativos. Algunos de ellos no están a nivel, pero aún así toman la clase porque a veces no hay cupo en las clases, en vez de seguir la secuencia de 1 y 2 verdad, se van directo a AP. Entonces creo que también ese es un factor, que no hay un buen examen para ponerlos en el nivel correcto de español, entonces quizás ni siquiera están listos para AP Literatura, pero aún así llegan. Y claro está, el factor humano de que uno de maestra les dice claro que puedes tomar la clase. No te voy a cerrar la oportunidad.

As these teachers express, there are many irregularities in HL students' placement in Spanish courses, which causes them to be put in an unfavorable situation when joining an AP course. Contrastingly, L2 students have years of formal training in the language, which gives them an advantage in these advanced classes.

AP Courses as a Bridge to Other Advanced Courses

Throughout the interviews, the teachers recounted how many of their HL students entered their AP courses with a low level of confidence in their ability to succeed. According to the teachers, this lack of confidence is less due to students'

language abilities and more to the fact that taking an AP course is daunting for them because they have never taken one before. This is because Latino students across the country have restricted access to advanced courses.

Furthermore, teachers relate that, for many of their students, AP Spanish classes have served as a bridge to taking other AP courses. For some Latino students, AP Spanish courses are their first ever exposure to AP courses. As the following quotes illustrate, teachers witness how taking an AP class in their first language gives HL students confidence in their academic abilities and galvanizes them to enroll in other AP courses.

Participant 3, CO

Lo que yo he visto es un aumento considerable de latinos en otras clases de AP. De hecho, lo medimos el otro día y pasamos del 15% de latinos en clases de AP al 30%. Es porque hay este sentimiento de que sí puedo. Ya lo intenté en español, en mi lengua, en mi cultura, en lo que me siento cómodo y ahora como que ya estoy listo para expandir. Entonces se avientan mucho a la de AP inglés literatura después de la mía y también a la de AP Art History que es parecida a la de literatura. O sea, se ven capaces de esas dos facilísimo, ¿no? Desde ese punto de vista me interesa que les vaya bien en el examen para que se sientan validados y con la fuerza de decir a ver, yo saqué 5 tú cómo me vas a sacar de tu clase de inglés de literatura si soy un experto en literatura, ¿eh?

Participant 7, IL

Les di un survey al final del año y muchos, muchos en el survey respondieron que, aparte de pasar el examen, fue sentirme que yo puedo tomar clases AP y que era la única clase AP que habían tomado y que gracias a eso ellos se habían matriculado en más clases AP y se habían atrevido porque se sentían capaces. Yo como maestra me he alejado un poco de la lengua porque para mí es más importante el componente humano, de que se sientan capaces.

These data seem to point to a shift in Latino youth attitudes and a growth in their academic self-confidence. Therefore, it is essential for AP Spanish teachers to be trained in HL teaching practices in order to ensure that Latino students are successful in the exams and continue to take AP courses throughout their high school journey.

Conclusion

As the Latino population in the United States continues to grow, an increasing number of secondary school Spanish language classes that were initially created for L2 students are being overwhelmed by HL students. AP Spanish courses exemplify this as the majority of test takers are, in fact, Spanish HL learners. Consequently, language instruction should be adapted to meet the needs of these students. However, current teaching practices continue to reflect L2 pedagogy and do not take into account the needs of HL learners. This is reflected in the AP Spanish exam scores. While HL learners score higher than L2 learners on the AP Spanish Language exam, the reverse occurs in the AP Spanish Literature exam (Brown and Thompson 2020). As it was reflected in the teachers' interviews, myriad factors could play a part in these score discrepancies.

Data showed that teachers are not receiving any training in HL methodology and that their only professional development opportunities involve L2 teaching strategies. Therefore, this perpetuates the unequal educational opportunities that Latino students contend with in the U.S. Moreover, teachers face the daunting task of having to find resources on their own in order to accommodate their HL students. Unfortunately, this only harms the students as teachers in the country are underpaid and overworked. According to the Schaeffer (2019), many teachers work multiple jobs to make ends meet. Given this circumstance, it is unlikely that teachers will use their own limited resources in order to pay for extra educational training that their school districts should be providing them.

Additionally, teachers from various states communicated the need for a placement exam in their Spanish HL courses. This study points to a lack of organization in high schools in regards to placing HL students in the appropriate Spanish level. As a result, HL students who enter AP Spanish Literature have taken fewer Spanish courses than L2 students and, in some cases, students have taken no Spanish courses at all. This puts HL students at a great disadvantage as their learning context is natural, their connection to the language is often familial only and the language variety that they acquire is sometimes non-prestigious (Beaudrie et al. 2014). Whereas, L2 students acquire a prestigious variety in an academic context. As previously mentioned, the AP Spanish Literature exam requires students to engage with an academic variety of the language that not all HL learners have had access to. Therefore, it is necessary for HL students to be placed in the corresponding Spanish course or use the appropriate pedagogical approach to teach them such as differentiated instruction in order to give them the adequate resources and an equitable opportunity to pass the AP exam.

This study also provides valuable information in regards to the impact that taking an AP Spanish course has on Latino students. As data showed, the AP Spanish courses serve as a bridge to other AP courses and to building a positive relationship with their Spanish. For many Latino youth, an AP Spanish course is their first exposure to an advanced class. Having a positive experience in this

course can give them the courage and the confidence to continue enrolling in AP courses and help bridge the gap between Latinos and their peers. For this reason, it is crucial for schools to invest in training their language teachers in HL teaching methodologies.

Future Directions

This acknowledgment of the beneficial effects of taking an AP Spanish course, such as AP Spanish Literature and Culture, on Latino students can result in pedagogical initiatives that adequately prepare them to excel. Based on the findings of this research study, there is an urgent need for the development of an AP Spanish Literature and Culture curriculum tailored exclusively for HL students. This curriculum should include modules devoted to the development of students' reading, writing, and analytical skills, all of which are necessary for excellent test scores. Such a curriculum should be designed using a macro-based approach that takes into account the student's general knowledge of the language and uses it as a bridge to academic written Spanish (Carreira 2016). Additionally, it must also help develop students' metalinguistic awareness. The implementation of this curriculum is important because it would support the expansion of HL learners' bilingual range and give them equitable access to AP courses.

Research shows that Latino students who are awarded AP Spanish credit exceed university norms in graduation rates, efficiently narrowing the achievement gap (Reeder 2020). Therefore, striving for educational equity should be a priority for educators and school administrators alike. Considering that the body of research on AP Spanish exams is relatively small, there remains a need for studies focusing on HL learners' experiences in the classroom, specifically ethnographic studies that explore the impact of teachers' educational practices. Furthermore, more research is needed on AP Spanish exams themselves and how they emphasize monolingual varieties associated with hegemonic ideologies. It is critical to shed light on these issues in order to provide sufficient resources and an equitable opportunity for Latino students to pass the AP examinations and obtain college credit.

Works Cited

- Beaudrie, Sara et al. (2014). *Heritage Language Teaching: Research and Practice*. McGraw-Hill Education Create.
- Bittman, Bonnie et al. (2017). "Advanced Placement and The Achievement Gap in the 21st Century: A Multiple Linear Regression of Marginalized Populations in AP Enrollment." *Research in Social Sciences and Technology*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 36-58.

- Brown, Alan V, and Gregory L Thompson. (2020). "How Foreign Are the Spanish Advanced Placement World Language Exams? The Case of Ethnicity, Bilinguality, and Heritage Learner Candidates." *Hispania*, vol. 103, no. 2, pp. 181-198.
- Carreira, María. (2016). *Supporting Heritage Language Learners Through Macro-Based Approaches. Innovative Approaches in HL Pedagogy: From Research to Practice*, edited by Sara Beaudrie and Marta Fairclough, Georgetown University Press.
- College Board. (2020). *Program Summary Report*. Retrieved from secure-media.collegeboard.org/digitalServices/pdf/research/2020/Program-Summary-Report-2020.pdf
- Darder, Antonia. (2011). "The Politics of Restrictive Language Policies: A Postcolonial Analysis of Language and Schooling 'With Miren Uriarte.'" *Counterpoints*, vol. 418, pp. 229-260.
- Dougherty, Chrys, et al. (2006). *The Relationship Between Advanced Placement and College Graduation. 2005 AP Study Series, Report 1*. National Center for Educational Accountability.
- Education Trust, The. (2020). "Inequities in Advanced Coursework: What's Driving Them and What Leaders Can Do." Retrieved from <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED603195.pdf>.
- Grissom, Jason A, and Christopher Redding. (2016). "Discretion and Disproportionality: Explaining the Underrepresentation of High-Achieving Students of Color in Gifted Programs." *AERA Open*, vol. 2, no.1, pp. 1-25.
- Handwerk, Philip. et al. (2008). *Access to Success: Patterns of Advanced Placement Participation in U.S. High Schools*. Policy Information Report, Educational Testing Service.
- Ilieva, Gabriela Nik. (2012). "Hindi Heritage Language Learners' Performance During OPIs: Characteristics and Pedagogical Implications." *Heritage Language Journal*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 18-36.
- Institute of Education Sciences. (2018). *Status Dropout Rates of 16- to 24-year-olds, by Race/Ethnicity: 2006 through 2018*. Retrieved from nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=16.
- Kerr, Roberta. (2014). "'Advanced Classes? They're Only for White Kids': How One Kansas School Is Changing the Face of Honors and Advanced Placement Courses." *Action in Teacher Education*, vol. 36, no. 5, pp. 480-489.
- Lee, Jin Sook, and Eva Oxelson. (2006). "'It's Not My Job': K-12 Teacher Attitudes Toward Students' Heritage Language Maintenance." *Bilingual Research Journal*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 453-477.
- León, Ana, et al. (2011). "Closing the Achievement Gap of Latina/Latino Students: A School Counseling Response." *Counseling Outcome Research and Evaluation*, vol 2, no. 1, pp. 73-86.
- New Teacher Project, The. (2018). "The Opportunity Myth: What Students Can Show Us About How School Is Letting Them Down: And How to Fix It." Retrieved from tntp.org/assets/documents/TNTP_The-Opportunity-Myth_Web.pdf.
- Parodi, Claudia. (2008). "Stigmatized Spanish Inside the Classroom and Out: A Model of Language Teaching to Heritage Speakers." *Heritage Language Education: A New Field Emerging*, edited by Donna Brinton, Routledge.

- Reeder, Jeffrey. (2020). "Validating Student Competence, Maximizing Resources, and Strengthening Spanish Programs: How AP Spanish Credit Policies Shape the Experience of Spanish-Proficient College Students and Improve Graduation Rates." American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese. https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.aatasp.org/resource/resmgr/advocacy/advocacy_2020/reeder_white_paper_edited.pdf.
- Rothschild, Eric. (1999). "Four Decades of the Advanced Placement Program." *The History Teacher*, vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 175-206.
- Schaeffer, Katherine. (2019). "About One-in-Six U.S. Teachers Work Second Jobs—And Not Just in the Summer." Pew Research Center. Retrieved from www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/07/01/about-one-in-six-u-s-teachers-work-second-jobs-and-not-just-in-the-summer/.
- Solorzano, Daniel, and Ornelas, Armida. (2004). "A Critical Race Analysis of Latina/o and African American Advanced Placement Enrollment in Public High Schools." *The High School Journal*, vol. 87, no. 3, pp. 15-26.
- Speroni, Cecilia. (2011). *Determinants of Students' Success: The Role of Advanced Placement and Dual Enrollment Programs. An NCPR Working Paper*. National Center for Postsecondary Research.
- Theokas, Christina and Reid Saaris. (2013). *Finding America's Missing AP and IB Students*. Shattering Expectations Series. The Education Trust.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2020). *Demographic Analysis Estimates by Race and Hispanic Origin*. Retrieved from www.census.gov/data/tables/2020/demo/popest/2020-demographic-analysis-tables.html.
- Zyzik, Eve. (2016). "Toward a Prototype Model of the Heritage Language Learner: Understanding Strengths and Needs." *Innovative Strategies for Heritage Language Teaching: A Practical Guide for the Classroom*, edited by Sara Beaudrie and Marta Fairclough, Georgetown University Press, pp. 19-51.