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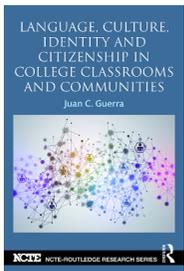
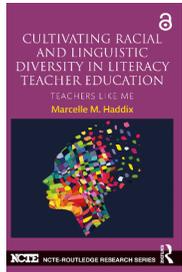
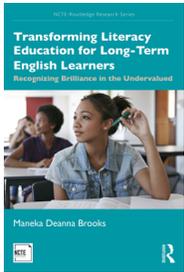
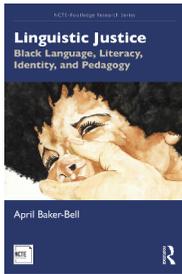
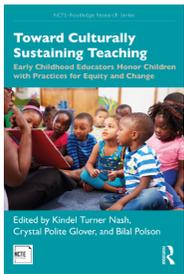
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TRANSLANGUAGING PEDAGOGIES IN A BILINGUAL PRESCHOOL CLASSROOM

Kindel Turner Nash and Iris Patricia Piña

It was 9:00 am on a Tuesday morning in early September. Kindel Nash stepped through the doorway into Patricia Piña's Spanish/English dual-language classroom at El Centro Academy for Children, where 70% of the learners were Latinx and learning English alongside their heritage languages. Sixteen three- and four-year-old students were engaged in free-choice center play. Three students were playing a letter-matching game on the computers, four children built a tower with Duplo blocks at a small rectangular table, a few students constructed a castle-like structure of wooden blocks in the carpeted area, two children stirred plastic grapes on the stove in the dramatic play area, and two more children were cutting pieces of paper at another table. The children talked to themselves and to each other, moving easily across Spanish and English languages, often using both languages within the same sentences. They followed the lead of their teacher, Ms. Iris (known as Patricia to her family and friends), who conversed fluidly across Spanish and English throughout the day. That morning, for example, she offered moment-to-moment guidance to Josué, who was cutting paper, "*Así, de esta manera*, hold it like this, watch me." Uzziel, a three-year-old boy, also traversed both Spanish and English as he approached Kindel as soon as she walked through the door, placing *Clifford el gran perro rojo/Clifford the Big Red Dog* (Bridwell, 2009) into her hands, exclaiming, "Vamos, read this one!" Kindel, as a developing bilingual, began to read the book in her emerging Spanish. This was the first day of our work together as a part of the Professional Dyads in Culturally Relevant Teaching (PDCRT) project. As a teacher-teacher educator dyad, we engaged together in studying, generating, and reflecting on culturally sustaining early literacy teaching practices in Patricia's classroom over a two-year period. After spending that first day immersed in Patricia's classroom, Kindel recorded a memo on her phone while driving home:

I just had my first meeting at El Centro with Patricia, and, she told me all kinds of stories about herself and I'm just overwhelmed with excitement because my strongest feeling is that she already *gets* why we need to make our curriculum culturally relevant and our teaching culturally relevant, and she already *understands* and demonstrates the importance of the fluid use of Spanish and English in her classroom.

In this chapter, we (Patricia and Kindel) share aspects of our learning through engagement in the PDCRT project. The work in Patricia's language-rich classroom stands in stark contrast to the way early childhood pedagogy is typically represented—as a linear, stage-by-stage continuum of progression from one skill to the next. Yet, Kindel immediately witnessed Patricia's support for children's language and literacy learning as a complex, organic process with many simultaneous inputs and outputs (Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Genishi & Goodwin, 2008; Robinson & Yaden, 1993; Yaden et al., 2000; Yaden, 2013). Initially, we described Patricia's practices as culturally relevant, yet we have since come to adopt the term *culturally sustaining* as one that preserves the tenets of culturally relevant teaching while more clearly describing the way Patricia's practices were not just relevant to, but sustained, the children and families in her classroom and their languages and cultures during their time with her. In this chapter, we share elements of that process which include focusing on the culturally sustaining nature of Patricia's classroom practices with a particular focus on her use of translanguaging or “the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning inside the same lesson” (Williams, 1994, n.p.). We also share strategies that proved essential for nurturing our relationship as a teacher–teacher educator dyad negotiating challenges as we worked to bridge the divide between the preschool classroom and the university through our partnership. We offer our work to add to the growing body of research calling for a reconceptualization and decolonization of early language and literacy teaching, assessment, and partnering in multilingual contexts (Baines, Tisdale, & Long, 2018; Dyson, 2015; Hollins, 2015; Long, Volk, Baines, & Tisdale, 2013; Souto-Manning & Martell, 2016).

Meet the Authors and the El Centro Context

Patricia

Iris Patricia Piña self-identifies as Latina. At the time of this work, she was a bilingual (Spanish/English) early childhood classroom teacher, teaching in the bilingual preschool program at El Centro Academy for Children, where she had worked for seven years as a lead teacher, forming deep connections to the children, school, and broader community.

Patricia grew up in the Dominican Republic and moved to Kansas City, Kansas (where El Centro is located) when she was in high school. Patricia, who is Dominican and French, spoke of how she never felt that her Latinx culture was



FIGURE 2.1 Iris Patricia Piña.

acknowledged during her public school education in the Dominican Republic and in Kansas because of day-to-day discrimination on the basis of her ethnicity and language in schools that discouraged Spanish and did not recognize Latinx culture. For example, Patricia speaks English with a Dominican Spanish accent. As the lead teacher in her own classroom, some visitors often stereotyped Patricia as less capable because of language biases, addressing the assistant teacher, who was African American, with questions, instead of her. Growing up, because of messages sent by the colonized society in which she lived, Patricia hated her kinky-curly hair and she wanted hair like the White people she saw on television and in books. Her primary support came, not from schooling, but from family, with her grandmother often reassuring her: “Don’t worry, because one day White people are gonna want hair like yours. You are lucky ’cause you can do your hair in so many ways!” These kinds of experiences drove Patricia’s excitement for the PDCRT project, because it gave her an opportunity to learn how to be an even better bilingual teacher so that the children she teaches will be confident in who they are and the language they speak.

Kindel

Kindel Turner Nash, who self-identifies as a White woman connected to the African American community by marriage and family, was an assistant professor of Language & Literacy at the University of Missouri, Kansas City during her time as a PDCRT dyad and is now an associate professor of Early Childhood Education at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. She grew up mainly in rural parts of South Carolina.

Like Patricia, Kindel is invested in culturally sustaining and asset-based teaching because of significant personal experiences as the mother and wife of people of Color and a former early childhood teacher in urban schools. For example, recently, she and her husband were awakened in the middle of the night by gunshots from their next-door neighbor's yard. Her husband, who is Black, called the police and they promptly arrived, but when her husband stepped out of the



FIGURE 2.2 Kindel Turner Nash.

front door of their house to speak to them, the cops told him to put his hands up, and pulled their guns out—treating him like a criminal on his own front porch. Furthermore, as a young, White teacher of culturally and linguistically diverse students, Kindel often faced challenges, struggling initially with “managing” her classroom, mostly because her preservice program had not equipped her to move beyond her own cultural and racial understandings to support children from racial and ethnic backgrounds different from her own (Nash, 2013). These complex and continuous incidents and facets of identity have led her to focus her research and teaching on justice-oriented practices in culturally, racially, and linguistically diverse classrooms. A former graduate student of Kindel’s, Theresa, who had worked closely with Patricia in Head Start programs for many years, introduced us. Immediately, Patricia and Kindel felt that they had much to learn from each other.

As Kindel spent time each week in Patricia’s classroom, observing the gentle way that she talked across languages, instructed, learned with, played with, and disciplined the children at El Centro, Kindel knew that she was witnessing not just culturally relevant but culturally sustaining pedagogies that critically centered “multicultural, multilingual, and justice pedagogies” (Kinloch, 2017, p. 39) in and beyond the students’ school lives. These were pedagogies that forefronted the language and heritage practices of El Centro’s community by recognizing “language as a crucial form of sustenance in its own right” and leveraging cultural practices as “resources both for achieving institutional access and for challenging structural inequality” (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2017, pp. 44–45).

El Centro Academy

El Centro Academy for Children (El Centro Inc., n.d.) is a small dual-language and community partnership preschool which works to advance the significance and interconnectedness of children’s heritage language, identities, and learning (Nash & Sosinski, 2015). Nestled in a small enclave that is adjacent to a large metropolitan Midwestern city that is home to a population of which about 55% are Latinx immigrants, 70% of El Centro’s students are Latinx emergent bilinguals (El Centro Inc., n.d.; United States Census, 2010). El Centro is seen as the go-to place for local granting agencies and early childhood researchers because of the interdependent nature of not-for-profit groups, schools, and organizations working with the Latinx community in this region. El Centro has partnerships with the local school district and several universities including the one Kindel worked for at the time (University of Missouri, Kansas City). Theresa Torres, a longtime advocate for Latinx people in the Kansas City region and professor of Latinx studies at the University of Missouri, Kansas City, calls El Centro “a Latinx serving organization with a longstanding history of leadership and advocacy for Latinx in this region” (Torres, n.d.). El Centro’s five classrooms each have two teachers: one speaks Spanish as their heritage language, the other English. During our work together, Patricia was the designated native Spanish-speaking teacher in her classroom of three-/four-year-olds.

Housed in a recently renovated Catholic School, El Centro is part of a local non-profit organization with a mission “to strengthen communities and improve lives of Latinos and others through educational, social, and economic opportunities” (El Centro Inc., n.d.). El Centro’s mission is systematically enacted through its dual-language curriculum, teaching, evaluation, and hiring practices (Nash & Sosinski, 2015). While dual-language approaches are often rooted in binary delivery models that promote language separation (Palmer & Martínez, 2016), the approach at El Centro centers around viewing children’s, parents’, teachers’, and families’ language identities from an assets standpoint, where languages are seen as “multiple ... and embodied in their everyday linguistic and pedagogical practices” (Martínez, Hikida, & Durán, 2015, p. 27). Patricia incorporated these multiple and embodied language practices into all aspects of the 8:00 a.m–5:00 p.m. day, which included the following daily routine: breakfast, circle time, small group, center time, gross-motor play, quiet time, lunch, rest, snack, read-aloud, center, clean-up, and more gross-motor play.

Patricia was a leavening force in her classroom and school—her presence brought equilibrium and stability to the students, families, and other adults. She was clearly an inspiration to many around her at El Centro, shining her light on others and making children, colleagues, and families feel welcomed and appreciated. Other teachers would often pop their heads into Patricia’s room to smile and greet Patricia and her students. Patricia found that teachers throughout her building seemed eager to learn about translanguaging and our work to create culturally sustaining curriculum, which eventually led to a school-wide professional development on anti-bias teaching practices. Family members of current and past students also readily came to her classroom to stop to chat. However, there were other visitors to Patricia’s classroom who did not seem to fold into its warmth in the same way. People from the various El Centro partnerships such as the local school district often came into Patricia’s classroom, yet they brought with them a tension that Patricia said both she and the children felt. As Patricia explained, their purpose was solely to give tests to the children and tell her what she should be doing without attempting to understand anything about her children or their families. Within this school and classroom context Patricia and Kindel co-investigated and curricularized many culturally sustaining early literacy practices.

Organizing Our Research Work Together

Kindel spent one full day per week for an academic year in Patricia’s classroom. Starting from day one of our work together, we cultivated a relationship and established strategies for communicating with each other as we collected and thought about classroom data together. These included weekly naptime conversations and text messages written back-and-forth to share photos and other insights throughout the week. Even so, the power hierarchy often perceived between university and teachers often became visible. One way it took form was

in the way Patricia told everyone that Kindel was “a very smart person from the university.” For this reason, Kindel tried to actively decenter her university role when she came to Patricia’s classroom. She did this by taking on similar roles as Patricia such as being called Ms. Kindel instead of Dr. Nash, serving lunch to the children alongside Patricia, tucking children in at naptime, playing on the floor with the children, and reading aloud during circle time. Other ways that we tried to cultivate our partnership involved:

- reading professional books together during weekly hour-long sessions;
- sharing photos and stories of our lives;
- collaborating to plan lessons;
- engaging in discussion about teaching during naptime;
- getting together socially outside of school.

Understanding Culturally Sustaining Concepts through Patricia’s Teaching

Patricia built her teaching on three tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy as Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995) has outlined: building students’ cultural competence, critical consciousness, and academic achievement. However, over time we came to embrace the specificity of culturally sustaining pedagogy (CSP) (Paris & Alim, 2017) as an ideology that centers curriculum around community languages, practices, and knowledge; ensures student agency and community input; connects learning to “histories of racial, ethnic, and linguistic communities” (Paris & Alim, 2017, n.p.); and develops students’ capacity to address oppression while working to sustain such teaching as the pedagogical norm. CSP’s focus on multilingualism and linguistic dexterity perfectly describes Patricia’s translanguaging practices, which sought to “foster-to sustain-linguistic ... and cultural dexterity” (Alim & Paris, 2017, p. 1). Such a focus was important because, while early childhood language and literacy development is often portrayed as a line of regression, or a lockstep set of stage-by-stage milestones, with Yaden (2013) we came to see emergent bi/multilingual children’s learning in Patricia’s classroom as better represented by a *hyperbolic plane* (Figure 2.3). This ecological view of early literacy and language learning positions “the development of children and adults as situated within and across the demands of participation in the multiple routine sites of activity in which people are engaged,” seeing these intersecting sites as “dynamically interacting” (Lee, 2017, pp. 261–262).

Geometrically, a hyperbolic plane is the opposite of a sphere:

On a sphere, the surface curves in on itself and is closed, [while] a hyperbolic plane is a surface in which the space curves away from itself at every point ... it is open and infinite [with] a more complex and counterintuitive geometry. (Wertheim, 2005, n.p.)

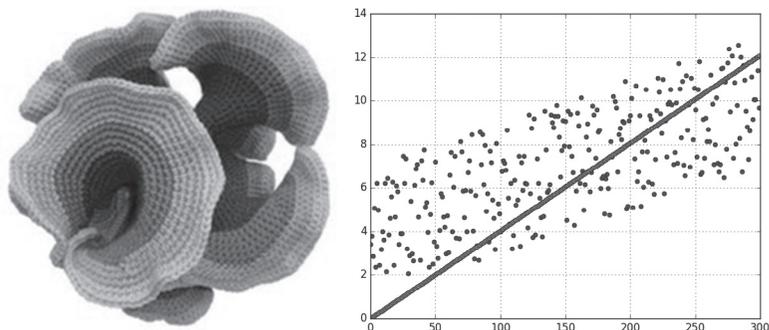


FIGURE 2.3 Children’s learning as a hyperbolic plane in contrast to a line of regression. Photos licensed under CC BY-SA-NC (left) and CC BY-SA (right).

We feel the hyperbolic plane represents the sociocultural, ecological nature of children’s learning in Patricia’s preschool classroom and helps us capture ways that her everyday teaching practices were complex, contextualized, and multifaceted. In particular, we focus on three practices which pivot on Patricia’s translanguaging (Garza & Langman, 2014). These practices include specific culturally sustaining, in-the-moment translanguaging practices and curriculum, warm-demanding teaching (Bondy & Ross, 2008; Gay, 2010) through *consejos*, and early literacy assessment (Piña, Nash, Boardman, Polson, & Panther, 2015). Translanguaging was originally defined as “the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning inside the same lesson” (Williams, 1994, n.p.). García (2009) revived the term to showcase the complex, dynamic, and flexible ways in which bilingual people mesh languages and codes employing a rich repertoire of fluid linguistic turns when speaking along a “continua of biliteracy” (Hornberger & Link, 2012, p. 240). Translanguaging is different from previous thinking about bilingualism because it does not see a bilingual’s language repertoire as made up of two distinct and separate languages that are linearly and separately acquired and used: bilingual people are not two monolinguals in one, and bilingualism is not simply the sum of one language and the other. Ofelia García speaks of dynamic bilingualism in describing the complex language practices of bilinguals, shedding the notion of additive bilingualism, and recognizing translanguaging as a bilingual discursive norm (Celic & Seltzer, 2013, p. 3).

We emphasize translanguaging in our discussion of classroom examples, directly connecting it with key features of culturally sustaining pedagogies, including: (a) a critical centering on languages, practices, and ways of knowing that (b) extend from and are accountable to children, families, and their communities, through (c) historicized instruction while (d) fostering children’s understanding and ability to confront oppressive and colonizing messages (Paris & Alim, 2017).

In-the-Moment Translanguaging Practices and Curriculum in Patricia's Classroom

Patricia employed translanguaging in skillful ways, demonstrating a commitment to sustaining children's identities and languages (Paris & Alim, 2017). Patricia's critical centering of languages happened in the moment, as she made decisions based on the child and the context. As she said:

I don't just talk to them in just one language. I teach them in both Spanish and English, so I can make sure they understand me. If I say something in English and the child doesn't understand, then I say it in Spanish.

An example of this organic, in-the-moment language centering happened every day at naptime, when Javier, a young boy in Patricia's class, would say, "Ms., Ms., will you wrap me up '¿como un burrito?'" to which Patricia would playfully and joyfully reply, "'¿Como un burrito?' You want me to wrap you like that?" "Yes, yes!" he would exclaim, giggling happily (Piña et al., 2015, p. 13). This repeated translanguaging practice helped foster Javier's safety and comfort at naptime, a difficult time for him. In this way, Patricia normalized the complex but intuitive practice of translanguaging across Spanish and English to honor and encourage his fluid use of both languages. In doing so, she critically centered and validated his ability to speak two languages and recognized the cognitive triumph that he exhibited in being able to manipulate two languages to communicate what neither language could express on its own. In this way she held herself accountable to the community she was teaching through meaningfully foregrounding perhaps the most important aspect of children's selves and communities—their language (Paris & Alim, 2017). Through these on-the-spot decisions to translanguage, Patricia also helped children and families confront colonizing English-only discourses.

Helping Children and Families Confront and Counter English-Only Discourses and Policies

The normalization of translanguaging through Patricia's everyday decisions to talk across languages in the classroom proved very important to all children in her class as they gained fluency in both languages and used them as needed. However, some families objected to the co-mingling of languages, concerned that their children would not gain English fluency if given license to weave Spanish into and out of their utterances. It is likely that this attitude is the result of the influence of English-only discourses and policies prevalent in societal and educational contexts that constantly send messages that "children and families are the problem, that they are lacking in rich languages, cultures, and histories" (Paris & Alim, 2017). As a result of these messages, families often "internalize false understandings of ourselves, our practices, our communities, and our futures"

(Paris & Alim, 2017), trusting those who espouse such ideas because they typically represent authority structures in educational institutions (Dyson, 2015; García, 2009). Patricia also saw English-only policies as an assault on families' and children's identities, knowing from professional experience and irrefutable evidence from language research that children learn new languages with greater efficiency when they use their heritage/home languages fluidly and freely (Canagarajah, 2011; Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Rosa & Flores, 2017).

This knowledge and expertise in supporting children's dynamic translanguaging practices led Patricia to confront—and encourage children and family members to confront and counter—negative and colonizing English-only discourses. She did so by sharing her knowledge of the importance of using both languages and moving in and out of them as necessary. For example, three-year-old Josué's mother came to pick up her son and heard Patricia speaking to him in a hybrid form of Spanish and English. Using both languages herself, Josué's mother told Patricia, “No español, no español, es muy importante que Josué hable inglés, No Spanish, No Spanish!” Patricia challenged the mother across languages, saying, “No es un buena idea, because if children can speak in English and Spanish they are learning both languages, and they are smarter than other kids.” In this exchange, Patricia employed translanguaging practices in order to explain the importance of translanguaging to the parent: she demonstrated the power of utilizing two languages by explaining and using both languages in her explanation. Patricia challenged, and at the same time gave Josué's mother the tools to confront the prevalent colonizing message of English-only discourse.

For Patricia, another vital way of confronting and countering English-only discourses through translanguaging involved teaching children to appreciate and utilize (and demand that others do so too) the Spanish pronunciation of their names. Enactment of this strategy arose from Patricia's strong conviction about the importance of authentic name pronunciation, recognizing that names are reflections of our cultural and linguistic histories and inherent parts of our identities. She was adamant that if a child was named Juliana, Sebastian, José, or Isabella, the names should never be Anglicized to Joo-lee-an-na, Ce-bass-tee-en, Jos-say, or Iz-a-bell. Putting this belief into action, one day, a testing administrator from the local school district came to Patricia's class, asking to give an assessment to “Ce-bass-tien.” Patricia looked the testing administrator in the eye and pronounced his name correctly, “Ah, Sebastian?” (Sa-bas-tee-un). She then turned to Sebastian, who was seated on the rug and called: “Sebastian, Vénte aquí, esta maestra has something for you to do.” Pronouncing his name correctly, she set an example for the visitor while validating the child's heritage language and communicating with him in their familiar way. Not only did she insist that others pronounce her students' names correctly, she also demanded that the children pronounce their *own* names correctly. For example, in an everyday conversation with a child from her class, Julia, Patricia repeatedly reinforced this idea through a playful interaction (Piña et al., 2015):

PATRICIA: Te llamas JULIA [Anglicized pronunciation of /J/]/Is your name JULIA?

JULIA: Noooooo, mi nombre es JULIA [Spanish pronunciation of /J/]

Patricia went on to scaffold Julia's ability to correct potential mispronunciations of her name:

PATRICIA: And if some calls you Goo-lia? [Anglicized pronunciation of /J/]

What do you say?

JULIA: Me llama es JULIA! [Spanish pronunciation of /J/]

Patricia also involved Julia's mother in this interaction, emphasizing to her that she must never let anyone mispronounce Julia's name. She extended her belief about the importance of names to practices such as: making bilingual class books featuring children's names, including children's names with accents on the alphabet chart and on other labels, and many other practices (Figure 2.4 shows an example of a class Name Book—for a complete list of strategies see Table 1 in Piña et al., 2015, p. 10).



Nuestras Nombres

Our Names

FIGURE 2.4 Nuestros Nombres/Our Names, a class Name Book.

Valuing the cultural wealth represented in a name, Patricia worked to help children and their families confront widespread negative messaging about the pronunciation and writing of their names while foregrounding children's and families' communities and "their practices beyond the dominant narratives of White, middle class, 'standard' English monolingual/monocultural superiority which schools largely uphold" (Paris & Alim, 2017).

Songs, Books, and Labeling the Room

Patricia created multilingual curriculum through song, books, and classroom labels to critically center the cultural dexterity of children and families' languaging practices. For example, Patricia and her class sang a particular song each day during morning circle time in exactly this way:

¿Hola, como estas, hola, coma estas, como estas this morning?
¿Hola, como estas, hola, coma estas, como estas this morning?
¿Hola, como estas, hola, coma estas, como estas this morning?

After singing the song as a class, each child would then greet the child beside them in the circle, shaking hands and saying "¿*Hola, como estas?*?" The familiar routine of singing this greeting song was a daily affirmation of the importance of talking across multiple languages.

Similarly, Patricia went out of her way to create bilingual pattern books that were authored by and featured photos of children. One such text, entitled *¡Yo, si puedo! / Yes, I Can!* was created by the students as Patricia encouraged translanguaging through discussion about daily classroom engagements they each enjoyed (e.g., gross-motor play in the gym or on the playground, the book center, tricycle riding, blocks, etc.). After much daily talking, writing, and photography about things they can do, each child created an *Yo, si puedo/Yes, I can* page of the class book (Figure 2.5) by writing and/or drawing a word to complete the sentence stem *Yo, si puedo/Yes, I can _____*. This book was placed in the *Lectura/Reading Area* where children would often choose to read this text over the other books available there. Singing songs and writing class books across multiple languages was a powerful experience for many of the children as it foregrounded and fostered their dexterous language and community knowledge (Paris & Alim, 2017) while giving them ownership over writing and teaching them multilingual sentence patterns which they could read and rehearse every day (Laman, 2013).

In addition to creating class songs and books, Patricia used translanguaging techniques to label classroom projects and areas throughout the room so that Spanish was privileged over English (a school-wide practice) (Figure 2.6). Patricia's labels were in Spanish and English, but teachers should be encouraged to create (and create with children) labels that reflect all the languages represented in their classroom. Like the songs and books, multilingual labeling is culturally



Yo Si Puedo Yes I Can

FIGURE 2.5 Yo si puedo/Yes I can! A Spanish/English class book.

sustaining as it foregrounds children's heritage language. Multilingual labeling is also important to multilingual language development since it fosters children's connections between their heritage languages and English while simultaneously building receptive vocabulary (Laman, 2013).

In addition to the labels on areas and objects in the classroom, at the beginning of the year, each child/family in Patricia's class put together a poster collage of family photos. Patricia then labeled each poster ¡Mi Familia My Family! and posted them along the wall so that these were one of the first things people see when entering the room.



FIGURE 2.6 Translanguaging labels on classroom projects.

The strategies described to this point comprised what we see now to be culturally sustaining translanguaging practices in Patricia’s class—reassuring families and helping them confront colonizing English-only discourses, valuing names, and creating curriculum that normalizes children’s and families’ heritage language through classroom songs, books, and labels. Supporting heritage practices and language through translanguaging along with fluidly and seamlessly but intentionally developing students’ abilities with the language of power actually promotes the development of new language expertise (Dyson, 2013; García, 2009; Genishi & Goodwin, 2008; Gort & Sembiente, 2015). Table 2.1 offers additional examples of in-the-moment translanguaging strategies that teachers of students who speak multiple languages can use. The next section describes Patricia’s translanguaging through warm-demanding *consejos*.

Translanguaging and Warm-Demanding Consejos

Patricia was a warm demander. The term *warm demander* was first used to describe the approach taken by teachers of Athabaskan Indian students in Alaskan school settings (Kleinfeld, 1975). Kleinfeld described these teachers as exhibiting both “personal warmth” and “active demandingness” (pp. 326–327). While much of the research

TABLE 2.1 In-the-moment translanguaging in the culturally sustaining early literacy classroom.

<i>Translanguaging strategy</i>	<i>Description</i>
Utilizing hybrid verbs/heteroglossic words (Garza & Langman, 2014, p. 44)	Teachers/students conversationally use hybrid words like “pushear” (to push)—an English verb with a Spanish suffix.
Content/correction in both languages (Garza & Langman, 2014, p. 44)	Teacher identifies students’ mistakes in non-threatening ways and defines terms in both languages.
Emphasis on the task instead of the language (Garza & Langman, 2014, p. 42)	Teacher acknowledges, honors, and validates the student’s choice to use either language at any time.
Language meshing (Martínez, Hikida, & Durán, 2015, p. 38)	Teacher switches back and forth or meshes the language of instruction and heritage language.
Incorporating and playing with dialectal language features (Martínez, Hikida, & Durán, 2015, p. 37)	Teacher uses syntactic features of multiple heritage language dialects (e.g., intentionally using the Salvadoran dialect or selecting children’s books to make a new student from El Salvador feel more comfortable).
Language meshing during literacy engagements; includes recontextualization, voice strategies, interactional strategies, and textualization strategies (Canagarajah, 2011; Smith & Murillo, 2015, p. 62)	Teacher models both speaking and writing in multiple languages using description, tone, verbal and non-verbal cues (see below).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Recontextualization 	Teacher gauges the reader’s ability to comprehend and appreciate instances of code-meshing during a read-aloud.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Voice strategies 	Using code-meshing to articulate the author’s voice rather than convey meaning.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Interactional strategies 	Actively negotiating and co-constructing meaning with the reader to avoid miscommunication while interacting with a read-aloud.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Textualization strategies 	Attempting to convey sensory perceptions and emotion rather than meaning.

on warm-demanding teaching has focused on teachers of African American students (Bondy & Ross, 2008; Delpit, 2012; Gay, 2010; Irvine & Fraser, 1998; Ware, 2006), Volk’s (2013) ethnography of Latinx families’ home and community literacies identified Latinx parents’ child-rearing practices as warm-demanding. Latinx parents in Volk’s study described family members who demanded with warmth as they asserted high-expectations and supported children in meeting those expectations. They were also warm demanders as they provided life advice and built caring relationships by sharing *consejos*—teachings in the form of brief stories that built on their own life experiences and struggles—to inspire their children’s success (Volk, 2015, p. 14).

Like the warm demanders in Volk's (2013) ethnography, Patricia skillfully used *consejos*, meshing Spanish and English together to assert her expectations for students. For example, one morning, the children were seated on the large colorful carpet in the circle time area where Patricia, also seated in the circle, had just finished reading the picture book *Colores/Colors* by Eric Carle (2008). She was explaining the upcoming engagement, a science experiment using food color and paper towels, when a student, Guillermo, began to talk over Patricia, distracting other children. Patricia then used a *consejo* to illustrate her expectation that Guillermo needed to be listening to her explanation. First, she moved into a chair just outside the circle and pulled Guillermo on her lap. She spoke directly to him and then to the entire class, crossing back and forth between English and Spanish:

PATRICIA: Guillermo, did you know that if we all talk at the same time we cannot understand each other? You jus gonna hear that (using her hand to demonstrate a talking mouth). You gonna hear, *Ra-ra-ra-ra-ra*. Do you understand why I say that?

GUILLERMO: (shakes head yes)

PATRICIA: When my son was in school, he sometimes forgot to listen to his teacher. But then, he didn't know what to do. So next time, pay attention, *escúchame* (taps her head with finger, *listen* to what the maestra is telling you because it can be something very important. Okay? Now go to your carpet, please.

GUILLERMO: (walks rejoin circle by sitting on his carpet spot)

PATRICIA: (to the entire class) Did you know we were talking at the same time? (class looks at Patricia, some nod). If I say ra-ra-ra-ra-ra, what did I say? (to Guillermo) You can't hear what I'm saying, because if we talk at the same time—Try to talk, and I'm going to try to talk, too. Say something, Guillermo. *Di algo, Guillermo*.

GUILLERMO: (talks softly)

PATRICIA: (at the same time) Da, da, da, da, da. [to class] You don't know what I'm talking about, do you?

This is one illustration of Patricia's everyday warm-demanding teaching and her particular use of a Spanish/English *consejo* about her son to communicate her expectations. We see these warm-demanding practices as culturally sustaining because of their alignment to some of the historicized parenting practices used in the children's homes, while standing in contrast to prevalent policies and practices in many early childhood classrooms which draw from White, middle-class standards of parenting and teaching (Paris & Alim, 2017). For instance, a commonly used technique when children distract others from the focus of the lesson is to "redirect" or "offer choices" (Gartrell, 2013, p. 239), typically suggested as a universalistic, one-size-fits-all approach to child guidance. Yet, to address the issue in a culturally sustaining way, Patricia historicized her curricula through sustaining the heritage practice (Paris & Alim, 2014,) of the *consejo*, simultaneously translanguaging to

reflect the interwoven use of multiple languages (Paris & Alim, 2017). In this way, she reflected understandings of Latinx culture and language as “dynamic, shifting, and encompassing both past-oriented heritage dimensions and present-oriented community dimensions” (Paris & Alim, 2014, p. 90) while critically centering on children and their families.

Translanguaging in Assessment Practices

In much the same way that Patricia translanguaged through in-the-moment practices and warm-demanding *consejos* to critically center children’s and families linguistic and cultural dexterity and confront colonizing messages about their language, she also used translanguaging practices to comprehensively assess children’s language and literacy knowledge. She administered assessments by meshing languages, developed multiple forms of authentic, Spanish–English assessments, and set particular goals for each student. She assessed those goals in numerous ways which she found useful and important for planning and sharing information with parents—through anecdotal notes, observation checklists, formative assessments, informal conversations with children, and photos/samples of student work, all maintained in a bound portfolio for each child in her class. While all of these assessment strategies have been shown to be highly effective for authentic assessment in multilingual, early childhood classroom settings (Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Piña et al., 2015), oftentimes, Patricia’s culturally sustaining and comprehensive portfolios were disregarded with respect to external evaluations of her students’ kindergarten readiness. Instead of looking at the detailed records she kept, many students in her class were assessed by an external evaluator from the school district, who used English-only summative assessments such as the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT-III) and the Developmental Indicators for the Assessment of Learning (DIAL-IV). Patricia lamented the fact that often, these summative assessments needed to be administered in the child’s home language, explaining that when they were not, too many children get sent to special education—kids who did not need to be in special education. Patricia worried constantly about the fact that children learning a new language might be seen as unintelligent and have to go to a special class. Patricia wanted for her children the same thing she wanted for her own son, also a second language learner—an education that did not conflate his language learning with a disability.

Patricia’s intuition that students were being over-referred for special education as a result of language and not disability is true. Both the PPVT-III and the DIAL-IV have been shown to be biased in terms of culture, language, and content (Laing & Kamhi, 2003). In fact, research has shown that tests such as these may contribute to disproportionate numbers of Latinx students being identified for special education for language and learning disabilities (Fletcher & Navarrete, 2011; Irizarry, 2017; Skiba et al., 2008).

Patricia's fear was realized in early spring when one of her newest students, Santiago, was referred for special education as a result of his performance on the DIAL-IV. Santiago was one of the youngest four-year-olds in the class, which he had only recently joined early in February, moving there three months before his fourth birthday, because school personnel agreed Patricia could "handle him better." Santiago was not talking at all when he came into Patricia's class. He often whacked over items as he barreled from one activity center to the next, yet Santiago did not seem angry or overly emotional. While his behaviors were of concern to El Centro's administrator (this is the reason she moved him to Patricia's class), Patricia and Kindel noted that he had a very affectionate nature and did not exhibit aggressive behavior toward other children. By early March, Santiago had begun to communicate in both Spanish and English. Patricia told Kindel that she noticed that he seemed to struggle with pronunciation of Spanish and English phonemes, but she knew that this was typical among children his age (Genishi & Dyson, 2009). Yet soon after he came to Patricia's class, Santiago was flagged for special education testing by local school district personnel purportedly because of his hesitancy to speak in English or Spanish in school. One day in mid-March, Kindel arrived at Patricia's classroom to find Patricia very upset. Santiago had just failed the language articulation portion of the DIAL-IV assessment, which had been administered only in English by a testing administrator, a stranger to Santiago, who was a special education coordinator for the local school district. As the children in her class played, Patricia explained Santiago's testing encounter:

KINDEL: So the special education teacher came?

PATRICIA: Yes, and you know, they [the children] don't feel comfortable sometimes with the strangers. So, so he got zero on the language part of test [the part that orally assesses first/last name, age, day, month year as well as phonemic awareness]. I told the lady that he might need Speech, but he should not have failed, he definitely knew his name and age and he could say most of his letters. I tried to show them his portfolio.

KINDEL: So did they not take your assessments in account at all?

PATRICIA: No, they do their own assessments.

Patricia showed Kindel the DIAL-IV testing document that Santiago had been administered, which she had been given for her records. Patricia said she felt Santiago failed because he was confused and intimidated, being tested in English (a language he was in the process of acquiring) and having never met the testing administrator before. Two of the items he "failed" were saying his first name and identifying the letter "S" as the first letter of his name. This was frustrating to Patricia as she had seen him say his name and identify the "S" regularly. She called Santiago over to where we were sitting:

PATRICIA: Can you go get your journal, Santiago?

SANTIAGO: (Walks to writing center and picks up his journal out of a basket with many others. His first name was in typed print on the front of the journal).

PATRICIA: Can you write your letter “S” please.

SANTIAGO: (Opens journal, writes letter “S”).

PATRICIA: Look at the [alphabet] chart. *¿Dónde está* letter S?

SANTIAGO: (Looks at alphabet chart, then points to S in his name on his journal).

PATRICIA: Yes, S is for Santiago. S is for *el sapo*. S is for *salchichas*.

In contrast to his performance on the English-only assessment, this authentic and contextualized, translanguaged assessment showcased his actual understandings: Santiago *did* recognize his first name. He *did* know the letter “S.” He did understand the concept of a letter and he could identify letters on the class alphabet chart. He was able to transfer that letter knowledge to identifying a letter in his own name.

Evidenced the example above, Patricia put her strong beliefs about the value of her children’s community practices and language knowledge into action as she enacted sustaining assessment practices that were linked to and accountable to her students and their families (Paris & Alim, 2017). Traditional assessments, on the other hand, represent and were constructed to mark children of Color as deficient rather than asking how schools might sustain “the lifeways of communities who have been and continue to be damaged and erased through schooling” (Alim & Paris, 2017, p. 1). Even so, Patricia did help her students meet “grade level objectives” such traditional assessments measured. According to Patricia and El Centro’s director, GERALYN Sosinski, Patricia’s students met or exceeded the learning targets for three- and four-year-olds each year. This success may very well be attributable to her use of authentic, contextualized, translanguaged assessments. Table 2.2 includes culturally sustaining early childhood assessment practices that Patricia used to authentically assess her three-/four-year-olds’ literacy and language.

The Power of the Dyad Relationship

Our dyad relationship was light-hearted as well as very serious in nature, characterized by warmth, love, and respect. For example, Kindel could not find a good hairstylist and Patricia insisted that she allow her aunt, a professional hairstylist, to cut her hair at their kitchen table. Strategies that fostered our relationship included:

- treating each other with respect, love, and generosity;
- spending time together outside of the school context;
- Kindel actively decentering her academic role and status;

TABLE 2.2 Culturally sustaining early literacy assessment strategies.

<i>Assessment/Strategy</i>	<i>Target Area</i>	<i>Application in Patricia's class</i>
Informal Book Handling and Print Awareness Assessment	Book Handling and Print and Picture Awareness through Multilingual Children's Literature	Patricia observes how children interact with culturally authentic, multilingual books throughout the day.
Contextualized Letter Assessment	Letter Identification and Awareness	Patricia pre-makes a set of alphabet letters (uppercase and lowercase) on index cards and hangs an alphabet wall with children and families' names, and pictures from the school and community environmental print. Each morning during centers, she asks students to match the pre-made letter cards with the letters on the wall.
Letter Sorts	Letter Identification and Awareness	Patricia provides an English and Spanish set of pre-made letters and a whiteboard or other surface and scaffolds children to sort letters (by color, shape, and attributes, name, etc.) during small group time.
Record of Oral Language across Languages	Oral Language & Syntax	A child repeats a sentence (sentences become increasingly complex) spoken by Patricia—in one or more languages throughout the day.
Multilingual Tell Me a Story	Multilingual Oral Narrative Production	Patricia reads the child a text across languages and asks children to retell the text to another child across languages.

- maintaining clear communication through text messages, instant messaging, and phone calls; and
- meeting every week at a designated time that worked for both of us (like naptime).

Challenges ranged from our mutual dislike and feelings of powerlessness because of predominant English-only policies in the feeder district, and the seemingly omnipresent district testing administrators, to lack of time to read and study culturally relevant and sustaining teaching together, and difficulty finding time to create the new materials needed to center children's languages and communities beyond the resources available at El Centro.

Yet, our work to generate and better understand culturally relevant pedagogies in that first year proved more complex, challenging, and heavy than we expected and the strength of our friendship was revealed in a variety of ways. When Kindel's oldest daughter was hospitalized in the spring of that year, Patricia became a true friend, often chatting with and meeting with Kindel after school and sharing love, encouragement, and support. A few months later at the end of our first year

working together, Patricia announced that she would be leaving her job at El Centro and was considering leaving teaching altogether. Continued tensions, reinforced year after year when children like Santiago were referred to special education despite her wishes and her knowledge about their capacity, were degrading and demoralizing experiences for her. These experiences made her emotionally sick and, ultimately made her declare, “I just can’t take it anymore.” Patricia’s leaving the school because of frustration with unjust practices and policies reflects larger trends of teachers of Color leaving teaching, not because they are burned out, but because they cannot stand to witness the continued degradation of children (Sutcher, Darling-Hammond, & Carter-Thomas, 2016). Even so, Patricia’s decision to leave helped us articulate the complexities of teaching and the criticality of culturally relevant teaching and, as we write this piece, culturally sustaining pedagogies as a necessary response to those complexities. Patricia and Kindel remained in contact throughout the second year of the project, and remain committed to this work and to telling the stories of success and of injustice that we uncovered through our partnership in the PDCRT project as we work together to discuss and disseminate this research.

We Must Keep Working

This chapter has described a few of the translanguaging practices utilized in Patricia’s multilingual classroom at El Centro Academy as well as our dyad relationship. We see our relationship and these practices as clear examples of the very complex, every day, moment-to-moment, connections and actions that demand outcomes centered around the richness of multiple languages and multiple heritage and community practices. While we began with a culturally relevant approach, we see these practices as culturally sustaining because Patricia was intentional in her use of them to “resist static, unidirectional notions of culture” (Paris & Alim, 2014, p. 95) by nurturing and actively promoting the linguistic dexterity of her students and families—concurrently *sustaining* cultural and linguistic knowledge and *developing* expertise in the language of power (Dyson, 2013; Paris, 2012).

The examples in this chapter also illustrate the *hyperbolic nature* of early language and literacy learning as sociocultural, ecological, complex, contextualized, and multifaceted processes. When children’s language and literacy learning is represented by a dexterous figure like the hyperbolic plane (Figure 2.1), we can begin to visualize the breathtaking sociolinguistic diversity of children’s language and literacy development (Genishi & Dyson, 2009). As Patricia demonstrated, and a wealth of research into learning and language affirms, this means that children:

- *Do not* develop and learn on step by step, yearlong timelines but rather learn everything multiple times, both internally and in social spaces (Bruner & Haste, 2010; Clay, 1985; Clay, Gill, Glynn, McNaughton, & Salmon, 2007; Lee, 2017; Vygotsky, 1978).

- *Do* learn in ecologically mediated, socially constructed activities through using languages which help them give meaning—to regulate, negotiate, and express relationships between themselves and in connection with their learning (Lee, 2017; Genishi & Dyson, 2009).

In this chapter, we also provided examples of tools that early childhood educators can use to navigate multidimensional linguistic classrooms, whether they are monolingual or multilingual themselves. In sum, these tools include:

- enacting in-the-moment decisions to translanguaje;
- making translanguaged class books featuring children’s names;
- singing translanguaged songs;
- creating pattern books written across languages;
- labeling the room/class projects so that Spanish (and other languages) are privileged over English;
- meshing multiple languages throughout talk and teaching;
- telling translanguaged warm-demanding *consejos* to communicate complex, abstract ideas;
- meshing multiple languages to authentically assess children’s language and literacy learning and development.

With others (Dyson, 2013; Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Laman, 2013; Souto-Manning & Martell, 2016) we encourage readers to carefully rethink the preschool language and literacy practices and assessments such as English-only assessments or rigid linear expectations requiring progression from one milestone to the next (for example, speaking Spanish one day/English the next, learning a letter of the week, or mastering all letters before moving onto letter–sound relationships). We know that these assessments and lockstep expectations are based on a myth of homogenous, White, middle-class norms that neglect, suppress, and pathologize minoritized children’s heritage and community languages and literacies (Irizarry, 2017; Lee, 2017). Within such deficit frameworks, children’s full range of expertise and knowledge is ignored, leading to lifelong feelings of inadequacy (Long et al., 2013; Paris & Alim, 2014, 2017). In contrast, classrooms that value, utilize, and promote translanguaging in the context of language and literacy instruction lead not only to expertise in two or more languages, but confidence that supports further learning, greater cognitive abilities than are present in English-only brains, and preparation for insightful interaction in a global society. The need for culturally sustaining pedagogies in schools, which are microcosms of society, is clear. Discrimination against emerging bi/multilinguals is reflected around the country in and out of schools as young children and their families are told: “You’re in America now, speak English,” “You are gonna be sent back to Mexico,” and “You don’t belong here.” Yet, an overwhelming amount of research tells us that emerging bi/multilingual children are many steps ahead of children who only speak English. Their

social, global, linguistic, and cognitive skills reach far beyond those of their English-only peers (García, 2009; Genishi & Goodwin, 2008; Gort & Sembiante, 2015; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014). The two of us repeatedly discussed how these issues impacted us personally and professionally.

Finally, in the interest of sustaining these kinds of practices beyond Patricia's pre-K classroom or Kindel's teacher education courses, the challenge remains as to how to ensure that these practices do not merely represent a moment-in-time. This concern was, in fact, a reason why Patricia left El Centro. The dictates of the district requiring culturally and linguistically biased assessments and their refusal to listen to Patricia's pleas (year after year) to do otherwise reveal a lack of respect for the languages of her students and families and was frustrating at the very least. At the same time, we know that Patricia left a lasting impact on El Centro, sustaining change through normalizing the practice of translanguaging. After Patricia left, Kindel continued to teach education classes at the school, providing ongoing professional development on antiracist and asset-based pedagogies in work with families, teachers, and administrators. We feel, of course, that we could have done more. In our conversations, Patricia often reiterated her intention, her dream, expressed through her work for and with bi/multilingual children—"My dream is that one day there are not going to be any labels on the little ones. I know that feeling. That's why for us, we have no choice. We must keep working." And so, we must keep working.

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5

“BLACK LINGUISTIC CONSCIOUSNESS”

In chapter 3, I shared the students at LA’s counterstories to affirm that eradicationist and respectability language pedagogies do not account for the internalized Anti-Black Linguistic Racism, linguistic double consciousness, or the consequences these approaches have on the students’ sense of self and identities. Their voices and perspectives underscored the need for alternative language pedagogies that provide students with an alternative way of looking at Black Language and Black identity. In chapter 4, I shared how I responded to this need by describing the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy that I implemented, and I offered ethnographic snapshots of the students’ engagement with it. As you read this chapter, consider the following questions: How are the students at LA impacted by the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy? How did the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy develop the students’ critical consciousness about Black Language?

Talkin’ That Talk: Composite Character Counterstories of the Students’ Developing Black Linguistic Consciousness

As noted in chapter 3, before I implemented the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy, the students’ language attitudes and perspectives suggested a complex and nuanced relationship with Black Language that reflected internalized Anti-Black Linguistic Racism or linguistic double consciousness. However, during their engagement with the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy, I began to observe a shift in their perspectives. I describe this shift as *Black Linguistic Consciousness*, which characterizes how the students are beginning to critically interrogate and consistently resist white linguistic hegemony and Anti-Black Linguistic Racism. Following the consciousness-raising component of the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy, I invited the students to complete the attitudinal assessment

(see Figure 3.1 in chapter 3) once again. I knew that having them complete the activity as a post-attitudinal assessment would give me deep insight about the shifts in their language attitudes, and it would provide the students with an opportunity to reflect on this shift as well. In addition to responding to the language samples and drawing pictures, I asked the students to write a reflection about their growth throughout the curriculum. I present composite character counterstories in the section below which reflect how the students were beginning to develop Black Linguistic Consciousness.

Group Dialogue: Did Your Feelings Change or Remain The Same?

“I want you all to compare your drawings and written responses from today’s activity to the drawings and written responses you completed before the curriculum was implemented,” Ms. Baker-Bell explained. “Have your feelings about Language A [Black Language] and Language B [White Mainstream English] shifted from before? Did your feelings remain the same? What is the most valuable thing you will take away from this curriculum? Take a few moments to write your responses to these questions in your notebook.”

Ten minutes later, Janel raised her hand and shouted, “I’m ready.” She continued, “My feelings did change from before because I did not know that slang or Ebonics was even a language or that it had history and roots. The most valuable thing I learned from this study is that the language I use daily is not wrong or incorrect. The language I use is a real language.”

“I think when I first started I thought one language was better than the other, but they are both languages people communicate in, and I should not stereotype,” Allistar added.

Before he could finish, Fetti Bravo cut him off: “I said the same thang. Your appearance shouldn’t portray the way you speak, and I should not judge someone’s voice.”

Allistar continued, “At first, the image I drew for Language A [Black Language] was a boy sagging and I even took it one step further and called him a thug, but Language B [White Mainstream English] was a well-dressed college student. Now they both are the same because I can speak both languages.”

“My attitude changed a little too. I learned that the way I speak is not the wrong way to speak and I can choose when and where not to use it [Black Language]. I always thought the language was wrong. I learned that Black Language is the right way to speak and I am never or was never wrong,” Lola replied.

“That’s right!” Ms. Baker-Bell nodded at Lola, Allistar, and Janel. “Fetti, you have your hand up. Go ahead!”

“Oh ... I wrote that my feelings did change because I learned that there is a lot of people that actually use Black Language. They are showing who they are. I learned that people that speak Black Language are not ruled out as ghetto. They can be upper class and still speak that way.”

“Umm hmm. Umm hmm!” Ms. Baker-Bell replied. “Okay, now I want you all to form smaller groups of about 2–3 individuals. I want you to discuss your drawings and the reflective piece among one another, and then we’ll come back together and discuss it as a whole group.”

Janel, Lola, & Crystal Collective Composite Counterstory

“What did you draw Janel?” Crystal asked.

“The first image that I drew¹ means I can speak language A [Black Language] wherever I see fit, including in school because language A IS a language [emphasis hers], not slang. Language A should be respected as a knowledge that can be spoken anywhere, and not behind closed doors or in hiding,” Janel explains. “My second drawing² means that I should be able to speak language B [White Mainstream English] at home without being scrutinized by my family and friends.”

“I feel you,” Crystal said with excitement. “I was happy to learn about Black Language, but I only use it with my friends. I mostly use White Mainstream English in my home to show respect. It wouldn’t seem right talking to my mom or dad in Black Language.”

“Wait, your parents don’t speak Black Language?” Lola asked.

“I mean, like, they speak it; but, like, they don’t really want me to speak it,” Crystal responded.

“Umm. Well, Black Language is needed where I’m from. I think it’s just about where you’re from and where you at and if you know how to relate to them. So if I go somewhere like to the park where other people from my community is at, you talk to them the way they are talking to you,” Janel explained.

“I’m frequently in white neighborhoods like Troy, and using White Mainstream English is necessary in these contexts. I wouldn’t want people looking down at me a specific way because of the way I talk ... ’cause that’s embarrassing, and I don’t want to be embarrassed in front of family, friends, teachers or anybody,” Crystal declared.

“I think it’s just however you feel. If you feel like you need to speak White Mainstream English or Black Language, that’s your decision. I feel like it shouldn’t be based off of how other people feel, though! If you feel like talking like that, you can,” Janel maintained as she shrugged her shoulders.

“For me, if I hear somebody judging or saying something about it [Black Language], I might confront them and actually tell them what it’s really about and that it’s not always a bad thing like people think it is. It’s just how they did English [and] how they made those words up. We made our own words so they can’t talk about it,” Lola insisted.

“I mean I’m not going to be like ‘you wrong’, but I’m going to know. If a teacher corrects me, I’m gonna be like it’s not incorrect. You feel like it’s incorrect but it’s not incorrect ... and I feel like whether it’s incorrect to you, it doesn’t really matter because this is my mouth,” Janel exclaimed.

“You have a smart mouth, Janel!” Lola teased.

Crystal, Lola, and Janel started laughing.

“I mean ... that’s basically how I been feeling but now I know more about it to back it up,” Janel insisted.

“But forreal, my attitude changed so much because I learned some new stuff about Black Language that I did not know. I did not know that it was like, you

know, a period where there used to be slaves who put the English language and their language together to make these words. I did not know that. It made me feel like we weren't dumb because if they were making up a new language, we made something too. I mean we're not dumb like most people think we are,” Lola emphasized.

“Yesss! My thinking improved from just learning it was an actual language in the first place,” Janel sighed. “The first time I did this assignment, I drew a picture of me for both language samples. The one with Black Language, I was with my friends ... and in the one with White Mainstream English, I drew a picture of me in front of the teachers after I switched it up. But this time, my pictures show that I can use Black Language in school and at home.”

“My drawing show that you can't talk about somebody else language because that's how they learned at a young age. My representation A is showing a girl and her friend talking in Black Language. Representation B is showing a girl saying don't use Black Language, use White Mainstream English,” Lola explained.

“Why is the girl saying don't use it?” Janel questioned.

“Because there's always going to be ignorant people who think you shouldn't,” Lola responded.

Reflecting on Janel's & Lola's Black Linguistic Consciousness

In the composite character counterstory, we are able to observe a shift in Janel's and Lola's thinking around Black Language. From chapter 3, we learned that Janel was feeling conflicted and ambivalent toward Black Language before engaging the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy. That is, she embraced Black Language and felt compelled to defend its honor, yet there were moments where she acquiesced to politics of respectability and perpetuated Anti-Black Linguistic Racism. Lola often made comments that reflected internalized Anti-Black Linguistic Racism. We do not see this ambivalence and internalized Anti-Black Linguistic Racism reflected in the counterstory involving Janel and Lola. Instead, we are able to see how Lola and Janel's engagement with the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy provided them with the tools to challenge and interrogate white linguistic hegemony and Anti-Black Linguistic Racism. For example, when Crystal states that she will continue to communicate in White Mainstream English because she does not want anyone to look down on her, Janel explains that she should not have to make decisions about language based on someone else's opinion. This example illustrates that Janel now recognizes that attitudes about language are not based on linguistic facts about the language themselves but more so reflect anti-Black racism toward the speaker.

Both Lola and Janel indicated that their perspectives toward Black Language changed following their involvement with the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy. Lola explains that her attitude changed after learning that enslaved Africans developed Black

Language, and Janel indicated that her attitude improved after learning about the linguistic and rhetorical features of Black Language. The historical and linguistic background of Black Language are usually omitted in a traditional language education, but as Janel and Lola point out, these vital aspects were instrumental in them developing Black Linguistic Consciousness. However, as Crystal’s character reveal, there were a few students who were still struggling with linguistic double consciousness. That is, Crystal was feeling conflicted about fully embracing Black Language because she understands that she still has to navigate and negotiate her language in spaces that will continue to uphold white linguistic hegemony. This is a real concern and illustrates that an Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy alone cannot solve Anti-Black Linguistic Racism and white linguistic hegemony. We must continue to think about how we can work toward changing the structures, systems, and institutions that perpetuate linguistic racism and language subordination.

Allistar & Fetti Collective Composite Counterstory

“Let me see what you drew, bro.” Fetti chuckled as he reached out for Allistar’s drawing.

“Nah, man! You got jokes,” Allistar laughed.

“Man, let me see this,” Fetti said as he snatched Allistar’s drawing off of his desk.

“Why you draw a picture of the same dude twice?” (see figure 5.1)

“I drew the same boy for both languages because he is like me. He integrate both languages wherever he at. It is a part of me. It has become one of my traits as a human being just like my culture and religion,” Allistar replied

“That’s what’s up! Because in the beginning you was saying that people who talk like that are thugs,” Fetti reminded Allistar.

“Fa sho! I did not know we spoke like that. I thought it was a bad term and ghetto. But she [Baker-Bell] changed it and now I think of it as heritage and culture ... and it’s a good language to use. I think the language should be preserved because it helped us form African American culture,” Allistar exclaimed.

Fetti nodded in agreement.

“At first, I thought Black Language was like the slang we use. I did not know about the real Black Language ... like the structure and stuff. When I started thinking more about it, I realized that if I wasn’t using Black Language, I wouldn’t be able to communicate with some of the people around me. Some people, that’s the only language they know mainly. So it would like cut me off from them. If you can’t understand each other, you can’t really speak,” Allistar clarified.

“And it would make you, like, be a little behind at school because if you don’t get something from the teacher and a kid wants to help you ... the kid won’t talk like the teacher, he’ll talk in Black Language,” Fetti explained.

“Real Talk,” Allistar responded.

“How are y’all doing in this group? Don’t forget to discuss any of the activities that contributed to any shifts in your thinking!” Ms. Baker-Bell said to Fetti and Allistar before walking toward the next group.

“Oh yeah. For me, the activity that she had us do where we guessed the people’s race based on their voice helped my thinking,” Fetti responded.

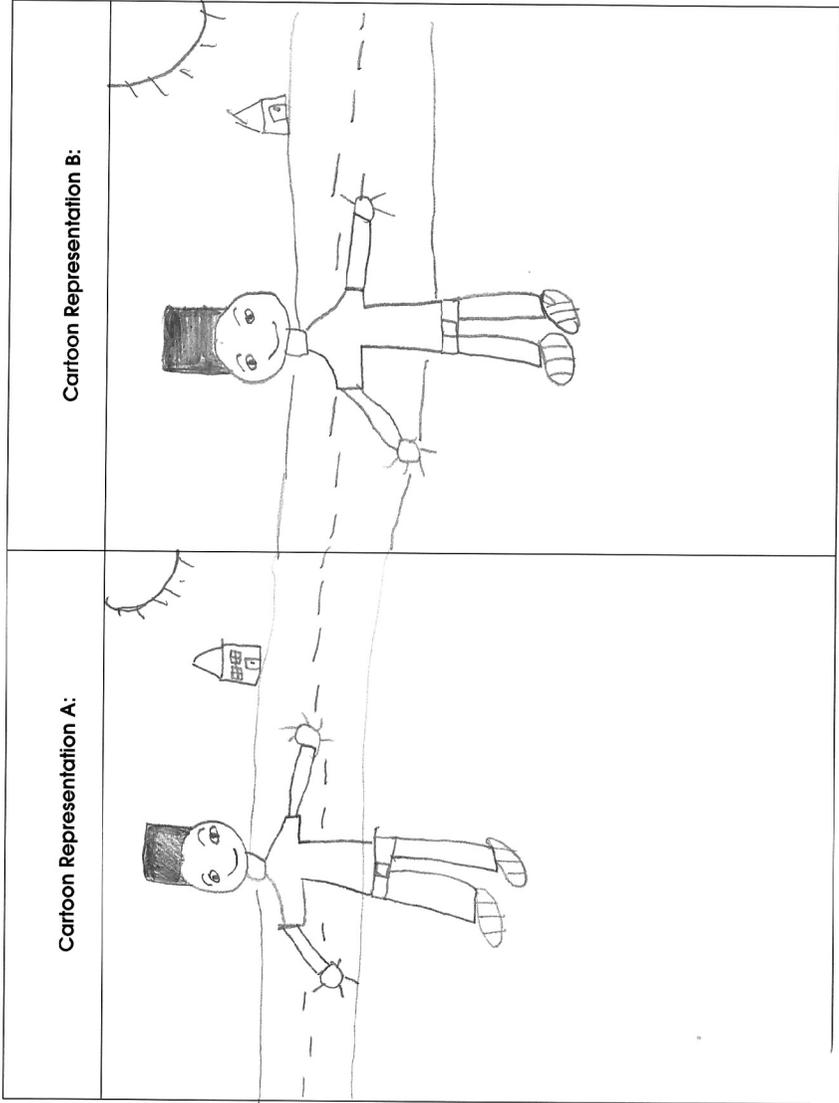


FIGURE 5.1 Allistar's Drawing for Post-Attitudinal Assessment

“For me, it was the little sheet of paper she gave us with the features and how to use it. It was kind of like a dictionary,” Allistar recalled. “Oh, and the girl³ from the video who said she said she was trilingual. ‘Cause she said she speaks at church, home, and with her friends. And that’s how I thought of that drawing because I use the same languages as she did. So I could speak a different way at home, church, and at school. So I’m trilingual,” Allistar declared.

Fetti replied, “Yeah her poem was cold! What other language you speak?”

“Trinidad. It’s like a Caribbean language. I can’t explain it. It’s really my dad’s language. He used to have like a real Caribbean voice but now it’s like a little bit more English but you still hear that he’s from somewhere else,” Allistar said.

“This makes me want to do more research about my culture, you know?” Fetti murmured.

“Me too! And I have to say ... I learned that you shouldn’t be judged just because you speak a certain way. Because you say your words different, you shouldn’t be criticized. There are more things you could be criticized about, but never language.”

Reflecting on Allistar’s and Fetti’s Black Linguistic Consciousness:

As Fetti points out, Allistar’s attitude and perspective before the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy suggested that he internalized white linguistic hegemony and perpetuated anti-Blackness and Anti-Black Linguistic Racism. This was reflected in the way he described Black Language speakers as intellectually and morally inferior. I observed a shift in Allistar’s thinking throughout the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy that illuminated how he was beginning to develop Black Linguistic Consciousness. For instance, Allistar explains that he initially thought that Black Language was simply slang and a bad way of communicating, but he now realizes that Black Language reflects his heritage and culture. Allistar and Fetti both noted specific aspects of the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy that shifted their thinking. Though Fetti was challenging Anti-Black Linguistic Racism before I implemented the consciousness-raising component of the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy, he indicated that the linguistic profiling activity and quiz shifted his thinking. Allistar explained that his attitude toward Black Language shifted after he learned about the features of Black Language and viewed Lyiscott’s poem, *Three Ways to Speak English*. Allistar and Fetti’s counterstory also brought attention to their cultural connection to Black Language and the significance of it in their communities. Allistar explained that Black Language connects him to the people around him (family, friends, neighbors, etc.), and without it, he would lose that connection with those who love him and share the same theory of reality.

Black Linguistic Justice: A Way Forward

Smitherman (2006) reminds us that the study of Black Language could open up avenues of self-exploration and discovery. The students at LA counterstories

“Black Linguistic Consciousness”

speak for themselves! The Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy provided Janel, Allistar, Lola, and Fetti with:

- a language to name their unique experiences with linguistic racism
- critical capacities to question and interrogate linguistic oppression
- African American epistemologies that allow them to view Black Language, literacy, and identity in complex and sophisticated ways
- space to critically reflect and interrupt their own internalized Anti-Black Linguistic Racism, and most importantly
- a language education that affirms and values their racial and linguistic backgrounds and experiences, which is invaluable for their sense of self and identity.

As I reflect on my time at LA, there are many things I wish I could have done. I often return to Janel, Allistar, Lola, and Fetti’s wisdom. I like to wrap my brain around their words and ponder on what they were telling me then that I could not receive during the time that the study took place. I credit these linguistic geniuses for helping me give birth to a pedagogical innovation that will surely benefit so many Black Language speakers like themselves.

Linguistic Justice: Black Language, Literacy, Identity, and Pedagogy is designed to give Black students the tools to liberate themselves from oppression. However, let me also point out that the Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy that I outline in this book offers ALL students and their teachers a critical linguistic awareness of Black Language and windows into broader conversations about anti-Blackness, language and identity, language and power, language and history, linguistic racism, and white linguistic and cultural hegemony. These critical capacities are just as important—if not more important—for white students as they are for Black students and other students of color, as white students are more likely to perpetuate Anti-Black Linguistic Racism and uphold white linguistic hegemony by way of their privilege, power, and lack of awareness of language varieties other than their own. And although an antiracist Black Language education and pedagogy are specific to the linguistic and racial needs of Black students, the principles and pedagogy can be adjusted and applied to benefit other language groups.

Like anything else, language and literacy educators cannot implement an Antiracist Black Language Pedagogy without interrogating their own Anti-Black Linguistic Racism or internalized Anti-Black Linguistic Racism. Language and literacy educators have to be honest with themselves about the ways they uphold and perpetuate white linguistic hegemony in their classrooms and in their everyday lives. You can’t be out here saying that you believe in linguistic diversity at the same time of shutting students down as soon as they open their mouths. You have to be about this life for real for real! You have to be ready and willing to challenge everything you once understood about language and what students need in a language education. You have to be ready for the messiness that comes with this process. You also don’t have to do everything by yourself—I encourage language and literacy educators to

position themselves as learners and allow your students to do their part by teaching you. TRUST ... they already know so much about linguistic and racial injustice. Alim and Smitherman (2012) call for language educators and scholars to continue to think about the “linguistic dimensions of race—in order to move the national conversation on race forward” (p. 169). This is what I hope I contributed to with this book, but I invite you to join me on the frontlines of the language wars. Let’s transform our language education and create something we ain’t never seen before!

In closing, I leave you with the words of Toni Morrison about Black people’s love of Black Language.

The language, only the language ... It is the thing that Black people love so much—the saying of words, holding them on the tongue, experimenting with them, playing with them. It’s a love, a passion. Its function is like a preacher’s: to make you stand up out of your seat, make you lose yourself and hear yourself. The worst of all possible things that could happen would be to lose that language.

(*qtd. in Alim & Smitherman, 2012*)

Notes

- 1 See Figure 3.4. in chapter 3.
- 2 See appendix C.
- 3 Lyiscott, J. [TEDSalon NY2014] (2014, February). *Three Ways to Speak English*. [Video file]. Retrieved from: https://www.ted.com/talks/jamila_lyiscott_3_ways_to_speak_english?language=en

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5

CONSTRUCTING MEANING INDEPENDENTLY

An In-depth Analysis of Reading from an Individual Perspective¹

A good reader knows how to read and gets it and that they like if you ask them what was the book about they tell you everything.

Lizbeth Sanchez

The previous chapters have examined the patterns in texts and classroom reading practices in Mrs. Rodriguez's biology and Mr. Gomez's English language arts classrooms. However, I have spent very little time so far discussing Destiny, Eliza, Jamilet, Lizbeth, and Valeria's independent reading practices. Solely because students experience certain ways of reading within their classrooms, it does not mean that this limits all that they know about reading and what they can do with texts. After all, students' literacy experiences extend beyond the classroom (Flores, 2018; O'Brien, Beach, & Scharber, 2007; Karam, 2018; Kiramba, 2017; Stewart, 2014). They engage in literate activity online, with video games, and with their families. Valeria was a student who had an active out-of-school literacy life in her evangelical church. As a member of a youth ministry group, she attended Bible study, created YouTube videos, and designed flyers. Moreover, students can reject the official reading practices of the learning setting. For example, Leo, a Spanish-English bilingual focal student in Frankel and Fields' (2019) research challenged the norms of reading and tutoring in the after-school reading clinic that he attended. His deviations from expected reading practices demonstrated the ways in which he was successful in reading and rejected certain types of reading practices that were institutionally positioned as valuable. In other words, adolescents have agency in their literacy practices and behaviors (Enriquez, 2011; Glenn & Ginsberg, 2016). Central to humanizing research and humanizing instruction is to explicitly understand how students are making meaning and engaging with literacy practices. This

perspective that recognizes student agency and individuality is limited in much of the practitioner-focused work about students who are considered to be LTELs.

This chapter seeks to counter that tradition by not talking about LTELs as broad and general descriptions of students as struggling readers and failed learners of English. Rather than classroom reading practices, this description highlights individual reading practices of the five focal students. However, this focus on five individual teenage girls may bring up several questions about relevance to distinct classroom environments. These questions include, but are not limited to: How can this analysis be relevant for male students? These teenagers lived in a major urban area, what are the connections to rural contexts? The goal of this chapter is not to read the descriptions of Destiny, Eliza, Jamilet, Lizbeth, and Valeria's independent reading practices and assume that all LTEL students read and think about reading in the exact same ways. The purpose of the focus on the individual is to show what asking students about their ideas about reading and observing their reading practices revealed about their abilities. These lessons about seeing hidden abilities and identifying the impact of cumulative instructional experience can be taken into classrooms to further the creation of learning environments that recognize brilliance. This type of analysis contributes to educators' ability to avoid the fetishization of methods that Bartolomé (1994) argues is characteristic of dehumanizing literacy teaching.

In this chapter, I describe how Destiny, Eliza, Jamilet, Lizbeth, and Valeria talked about reading, in general, and how they talked about the specific practices they used when they independently read a biology and an English language arts text. Then, I situate these findings within their other experiences with classroom reading comprehension practices in their tenth-grade biology and English language arts courses. Throughout the chapter, I highlight ways in which educators can consider what kinds of opportunities to learn exist in their current classrooms or will exist in their future classrooms. Finally, I close the chapter illustrating how the gradual release of responsibility model can be used to teach strategies that can help students persist through texts that they find confusing and/or difficult.

Five Similar Perspectives on Reading

Learning about students' ideas about reading is important because existing research suggests that there is an interconnection between ideas about reading and reading practices (e.g., Alvermann et al., 1996; Barton, 2006; Hall, 2012, 2016; Kamhi-Stein, 2003; Mason, Scirica, & Salvi, 2006; Schraw, 2000). For example, Hall's (2016) research with an eighth-grade English language arts teacher shows that when a teacher recognizes students' ideas about reading it can impact pedagogy in critical ways. The classroom teacher in her research was able to integrate students' goals and understandings about reading with her own instructional goals. In this way, both teacher and students had some ownership over the curriculum. However, much of the research about LTELs and reading is predominated by reports of standardized test scores or assumptions about students' reading abilities based on these test

scores. Students' ideas about reading cannot be garnered solely from standardized test scores. It is necessary to talk to the students themselves. Below, I share what I learned from talking to Destiny, Eliza, Jamilet, Lizbeth, and Valeria.

Interrelation of Experiences and Ideas about Reading

The focal students' current and historical experiences with reading were reflected in their ideas about reading, which they shared during interviews. The most frequently referenced characteristic of being a "good reader" related to what reading researchers describe as oral reading fluency. All of the focal students responded with some version of the following response:

1. Good readers do not stumble over words, stutter, misread words, read in a low voice, or read slowly.

The second response that was shared among the focal students was the representation of reading comprehension as a passive and immediate process. This representation can be distilled into the following statement:

2. Good readers immediately understand what they read.

The final response was mentioned by all of the students except Lizbeth. They noted a behavioral aspect to being a good reader. In summation, they articulated:

3. Good readers behave like "good" students.

The focal students' ideas about reading centered on oral reading fluency, passive comprehension of texts, and demonstrating observable reading behaviors that are identified as those of a good student (e.g., engaging with text when asked to read and reading on a daily basis).

These conceptions of good reading reflected the valued practices that were described in Chapter 4. While the teenagers could list many criteria by which they could read aloud successfully or by which they could demonstrate "good student" behaviors, their responses about reading comprehension were less detailed. Comprehension was presented as something that either happened or did not happen. The focus on immediate comprehension in the second theme of good reading mirrored the dominant practice of reading aloud. When a text was read aloud and the teacher did not summarize it, if comprehension was not immediate then the opportunity to gather the information was lost—unless the listener asked a clarifying question of the teacher or someone sitting nearby.

This vision of text comprehension was illustrated in Lizbeth's response when she described a good reader as someone who "knows how to read and gets it and that they like if you ask them what was the book about they tell you everything ... what the book was about and that stuff." She described good readers as those who

Create an in-class activity where your students can share their ideas about what makes a successful reader in your subject area. Then, incorporate the information that you learn from your students into your instruction about reading in your subject matter. It is important to explicitly reference that you got these ideas and information from the students themselves.

- This activity does not have to be a traditional written assignment. Students can use the internet to gather images that represent the important reading practices.
- If they are stuck, asking students what makes someone an unsuccessful reader can be a pathway forward to complete the assignment.
- Take note of the common patterns among all students and among relevant subgroups.

FIGURE 5.1 Create change: Build upon students' ideas about reading

understood what they read immediately; therefore, not understanding meant that you were not a good reader. The focal students did not mention using comprehension strategies to make meaning with the text or the possibility of multiple interpretations of meaning. The students' talk about reading during the interviews suggested that they saw reading as a task that primarily consisted of oral reading fluency and immediate comprehension. The focal students saw comprehension as meaning that the reader was tasked with extracting the singular meaning from the text (Figure 5.1 provides guidance for learning about students' ideas about reading).

“Doing” Independent Reading

Like Borko and Eisenhart (1986, p. 588), I believed that “these understandings [of reading] might be related to their approaches to the task of reading.” In order to better appreciate their relationship for Destiny, Eliza, Jamilet, Lizbeth, and Valeria, I designed a task in which each student had to think-aloud while reading a biology text and an English language arts text. Both texts were in English. These think-alouds provided detailed insight into the students' reading practices that was not available from their talk about reading or observing classroom reading practices (Smagorinsky, 2001b). Interestingly, the five girls engaged in diverse “active” reading practices during the think-alouds. Before I elaborate on what I learned from examining the students' think-alouds, I describe how they were conducted in more detail. First, I discuss the factors that influenced my selection of texts. Then, I explicitly share the nature of the interaction between the focal students and me during the think-alouds. This additional contextualization will situate the reading practices that I observed within the think-aloud activity.

Text Selection

My awareness of the focal students' negative feelings about in-class reading shaped my selection of texts for the think-alouds. Over the course of a year of observations,

my concern about students not wanting to participate in the think-alouds was reinforced by witnessing and hearing about several instances of the focal students refusing to read. For example, Valeria's homeroom teacher explained to me that she had initially refused to take the state English language arts standardized test. She only continued with the exam after much coaxing on his part. When I asked Valeria why she did not want to read the texts, she explained that the passages were "too long," and they "made her tired." The perceived length of the text was a reoccurring factor that I witnessed influence several of the focal students' willingness to read.

I needed to select texts that were long enough to allow me to observe how students independently read extended multi-paragraph discourse. However, it could not be so long that it intimidated the students from participating in the think-aloud. In order to create a situation that would make the students more comfortable in participating in the think-alouds, I made sure that the first text was shorter than the second. Then, I changed the margins to ensure that each text could fit into the smallest number of pages. The first text that I selected to represent English language arts was an autobiographical short story; it was a page of single-spaced text consisting of 577 words. The second text was 795-word article about a genetic disease that occupied $1\frac{3}{4}$ single-spaced pages. At the end of each reading, there was a written prompt that asked students to respond to the question drawing on information from the text.

Another factor that was important in my text selection was that the topic of the texts mirrored similar themes discussed in their classrooms, but addressed unfamiliar topics. The first text was an autobiographical short story written by Jesus Colón (1961), a Nuyorican author. He describes an incident that took place at night in a New York City subway station. Colón examines how the pervasiveness of racism in his daily life impacted his interactions with a White woman. This autobiographical short story shares some characteristics in common with the books that they read in English language arts. However, it took place in an unfamiliar setting and historical context. The second text was an article from a user-generated website that Mrs. Rodriguez used as a resource for instruction. The article was about a genetic disease called "Hurler's syndrome" (Uno, 2011). Since the students had spent over a month of class time learning about genetic disease, they were familiar with the general topic. However, they did not specifically learn about Hurler's syndrome. The article described the symptoms, diagnosis, and treatment of Hurler's syndrome.

Student Discontent

Despite my attempts to mitigate the focal students' negative reactions to the prospect of doing think-alouds, my presentation of the idea of completing a think-aloud was met with annoyance and begrudging participation. During the initial think-aloud, Jamilet unequivocally let me know her feelings about the matter.

Maneka: Okay, so this one is going to be kind of different because it's about ... remember how I am telling you that language inside and outside of school and then this part is about reading and stuff. [Jamilet rolls her eyes at me.] So, let me explain what it is ... it's kind of...

Jamilet: So, I have to read now...

Maneka: Yeah.

Jamilet: Fail

Maneka: I know. I'm sorry. But, it is short. It is only one page. So, let me explain what it is. So, what you're going to do is I'm going to give this to you. [I show her the text the Colón short story.]

Jamilet: Nooo! That is not short.

Maneka: Okay. It's one page. [Jamilet rolls her eyes for a second time.]

Although none of the other students expressed their distaste for reading in the same manner as Jamilet, they clearly stated that they were not happy about this situation in ways that reflected their own personalities. Eyes were rolled, sighs were emitted, and I was the target of whining teenagers. Nevertheless, all of the five teenagers participated in the think-aloud task.

Think-Aloud Instructions

During a practice session, I had students practice thinking aloud while completing a word search. Prior to giving each student the first text, I explained to the students that I wanted them to share their thoughts aloud as they read. During the think-alouds, my most frequent interactions with the students were procedural: student requests for clarification of instructions or my requests that they speak louder. When students would explicitly ask for assistance in interpreting the meaning of texts, I did not provide them with an answer. However, I encouraged them to share their thoughts with me. In this way, my interactions with the students were designed to reinforce the previously stated goals of understanding their independent reading practices. However, I also engaged in “cheerleading” interactions with the students. In these think-alouds, I had to give students explicit encouragement about the fact that they could, indeed, read the text. I did not tell them what or how they should read it. I did not share my thoughts about the meaning of the text.

Independent Reading in Action

Four categories of reading practices emerged from the previously described analysis: summarizing and identifying important information; making connections to background knowledge; going beyond the text; and recognizing limitations. Table 5.1 illustrates which girl used which practices. Below, in illustrating how the students demonstrate each practice, I provide an explanation of the practice.

TABLE 5.1 Categories of individual reading practices in which students engaged (from grouping emergent process codes)

<i>Reading Practices</i>	<i>Destiny</i>	<i>Eliza</i>	<i>Jamilet</i>	<i>Lizbeth</i>	<i>Valeria</i>
Summarizing and Identifying Important Information					
Summarizing	Both	Both	Both	Both	Both
Identifying Important Information	Both	Both	Both	Both	Both
Making Connections to Background Knowledge					
Connecting to Personal Life	Not Vocalized	Both	Biology	ELA	Both
Connecting to Content	Biology	Biology	Biology	Not Vocalized	Not Vocalized
Going Beyond the Text					
Giving Opinion	Not Vocalized	ELA	ELA	ELA	Not Vocalized
Making an Inference	ELA	ELA	ELA	ELA	Both
Recognizing Limitations					
Verbalizing Difficulty with Comprehension	Not Vocalized	Biology	Biology	Not Vocalized	Not Vocalized
Asking Questions (Self)	Not Vocalized	Both	Biology	Not Vocalized	Not Vocalized
Requesting Assistance	Not Vocalized	Both	Biology	Not Vocalized	Biology

Note. *Both* indicates that a participant engaged in this practice with both texts.

Biology represents that the student engaged in this practice with the Hurler's syndrome article.

ELA represents that the student engaged in this practice with the Colón short story.

Not Vocalized indicates that a participant did not vocalize this practice with either text.

Summarizing and Identifying Important Information. There were two reading practices that each girl vocalized across both texts: identifying important information and summarizing sections of text. Each student's ability to engage in these two reading practices with both texts is noteworthy. Recognizing important information and synthesizing a segment of text are essential reading practices in multiple content areas. Moreover, by summarizing and identifying important information, participants demonstrated the extent of particular aspects of their text comprehension.

Identifying important information was reflected in the students listing "facts" from the text. Table 5.2 illustrates how Valeria engaged identifying information

TABLE 5.2 Valeria’s identification of important information

<i>Valeria’s vocalizations</i>	<i>Hurler’s syndrome article (Uno, 2011, para. 4)</i>
<p>Okay. And uh ... the disease uh ... it’s divided into three subtypes and <i>[reads quietly to herself for 11 seconds]</i> Okay and, um, this disease was identified in 19 ... 9... 19 ... 1919 by a doctor and <i>[reads quietly to herself for 13 seconds]</i> and then ... and the child also inherits the defective gen ... gene from both parents which is mom and dad.</p>	<p>Hurler’s syndrome is also called mucopolysaccharidoses type I (MPS I), Hurler’s disease, and gargoylism. It belongs to a class of diseases called mucopolysaccharidoses or MPS. MPS1 is divided into three subtypes, based on severity of symptoms, the most severe being Hurler’s syndrome. MPS1 S (Scheie syndrome) and MPS1 H-S (Hurler-Scheie syndrome) are the 2 other types. Hurler’s syndrome was identified in 1919 by Dr. Gertrud Hurler. This syndrome occurs in 1 in every 100,000 births. The child inherits the defective gene from both parents. The parents may have one copy of the gene, but the child inherits two and hence this syndrome occurs.</p>

while reading about Hurler’s syndrome. In her vocalizations, she listed bits of information that she had determined to be significant. For example, she repeated the year the disease was discovered and described how it is inherited. In contrast, summarizing sections of text requires that the student not only identify key information, but also produce and vocalize a synthesis of this information. For example, Lizbeth demonstrated this ability when she summarized the last paragraph of the Hurler’s syndrome article (see Table 5.3). She drew on information in the written text to provide an overview of its meaning.

As described above, the students’ identification of key information and summaries illustrated depth of comprehension; however, they also indicated student misconceptions about the text. The misunderstandings that the students demonstrated while reading Colón’s short story were superficial and unimportant to interpreting the global meaning of the text. Throughout the entire reading, Destiny and Lizbeth incorrectly identified the narrator as a woman. In the case of the Hurler’s syndrome article, there was more confusion about the actual content of the text. These difficulties illustrated misunderstandings about specific word meanings that reflected broader conceptual relationships. For example, Jamilet had difficulty distinguishing the terms and the relationships between *syndrome*, *symptom*, and *disease*. Similarly, Eliza expressed confusion about the relationship between *disorder* and *syndrome*. Valeria avoided these terms in her explanations by referring to all of them as a “sickness.” Unlike the students’ difficulties with discerning whether the narrator was male or female, Eliza, Jamilet, and Valeria’s

TABLE 5.3 Lizbeth's summary of text section

<i>Lizbeth's vocalizations</i>	<i>Hurler's syndrome article (Uno, 2011, para. 9)</i>
This one says that there should be a lot of specialists involved with the treatment because there are lots of parts of the body that are affected.	Due to different areas that are affected by this disorder, a variety of specialists must be involved in the care and treatment. Limiting intake of sugar and milk products helps in reducing mucus levels. Physical therapy helps in easing some of the pain associated with joint problems. But each case of Hurler's syndrome is unique and highly individual, so orthopedics and physical therapists must be consulted for guidance.

particular vocabulary trouble could impede a more comprehensive understanding of the genetic disease detailed in the article.

Connecting to Background Knowledge. Connecting the content of the texts to background knowledge was another reading practice that occurred across both texts. This practice is frequently identified as one of the many ways successful readers make meaning with texts (e.g., Duke & Pearson, 2009). There were two ways in which students engaged in these practices—making connections with their personal life and making connections to content area knowledge. When students made connections to their personal life, they drew on resources that were not explicitly related to their previous instructional experiences to comprehend a text. When relying on content knowledge, they drew on their previous in-school instructional experiences in the classes I observed or they explicitly referenced instruction. In order to engage in either one of these practices, each participant needed sufficient understanding of the text to find and make an appropriate connection to her background knowledge. These explicit allusions to personal and instructional background knowledge implied substantive comprehension of the texts they read.

While reading Colón's short story, Eliza, Valeria, and Lizbeth shared stories that related this text to a personal experience. For example, Eliza, who is a very fair-skinned Latina with green eyes and dyed red hair, shared an experience that was analogous to Colón's fear of being discriminated against. Her shared experience mirrored the two levels of discrimination that Colón fears: ethnic origin and skin color.

Eliza: Yeah. I know. I get that a lot because I am ... well not because I am ... every time I am near Caucasian people and I am with my cousins and they are like darker than me. So, it is weird because we like try to help people and we always like, oh, I mean that they don't feel comfortable with

it ... There's this one situation where an old lady. I don't know, we were over by Sunset and this old lady she was like putting ... she was like taking things out of her car and they were like big heavy things. So, he was like. He was like, "I don't know if I should ask her or not." And then, one of my cousins did and she was like, "I don't need your help." Yeah, so. I was like, "Wow. You're heartless."

Eliza's anecdote connects to Colón's specific discussion of his fears of being a Puerto Rican man of African descent approaching a White woman on a subway platform. Her story recognizes that although she and her cousins may share an identification with the Latino ethnic categorization, the ways in which their phenotypes are racialized present unique concerns for their unequal treatment. She explicitly acknowledged how her cousins' darker skin color influenced their interaction with the older stranger, demonstrating that Eliza understood this nuanced aspect of the short story. In addition, Eliza, Jamilet, and Valeria made personal connections with the Hurler's syndrome article.

The practice of relating texts to prior instructional content knowledge only occurred during the transcripts of the think-alouds for the Hurler's syndrome article. This was an interesting phenomenon, considering the fact that both texts related to themes that all participants had previously encountered in academic courses. While reading the article about Hurler's syndrome, Destiny, Eliza, and Jamilet drew explicitly on previous biology content knowledge to interpret the text. They identified subject matter that had been part of the instruction they had received in Mrs. Rodriguez's biology class (sometimes explicitly referring to Mrs. Rodriguez by name). For example, Destiny commented, "So ... this is like what Mrs. Rodriguez taught us about the enzymes." Beyond these concrete references to instruction, the influence of their previous instruction was also reflected in what participants did and did not vocalize. For example, their summaries and identification of key information focused on areas of prior in-class instruction, such as how genetic diseases are inherited.

Going Beyond the Text. Each student made inferences when reading Colón's short story. In other words, they took information that was present in the text and used it to make a conjecture about information that was not explicitly stated. For instance, after reading the description of the woman on the subway, Destiny commented: "So this lady must be a single mother because she is only with her kids and then she is carrying a suitcase." Destiny used the description provided by Colón to make inferences about the character's background. Making an inference requires that students understand the plot and are able to build a hypothesis that is connected to the story. Only one student, Valeria, made inferences about the science text. She inferred what was happening in the house of a sick child, which she imagined the text was describing. She created a background story of the experience of a fictional family, who has a child with Hurler's syndrome. These inferences were based on her comprehension

of the text and her personal experience of having a brother with special needs. The inferences that students made involved drawing connections between their personal life experiences and the texts. None of the girls used explicitly school-based information, such as information they studied about genetic diseases, to make inferences about either text.

The transcripts of Jamilet's, Lizbeth's, and Eliza's think-aloud protocols about Colón's short story represented a way of moving beyond the text that was distinct from the other two students. While thinking-aloud, these three teenagers shared their opinion about Colón's actions and behaviors—both as an author and as the main character of the text. For example, Lizbeth shared an insight into a pivotal moment in Colón's autobiographical short story. In addition to explaining that Colón regrets his decision not to be courteous, she interjected her own opinion: "In this one, I think that she should feel badly because she didn't help the lady and she should have manners and like help her with something at least." Lizbeth vocalized her perspective, referencing Colón as she, and gave her opinion authoritatively in the meaning-making process. Destiny and Valeria tended to treat the text as a repository of information from which their goal was to extract information. In contrast, Jamilet's, Lizbeth's, and Eliza's interactions with and responses to Colón's text demonstrated a distinct collaborative relationship with the text. This way of interacting with the short story reflected a conception of comprehension that is actively constructed by the reader, rather than being transmitted from the text.

Recognizing Limitations. The final three reading practices that emerged from the transcripts illustrate Eliza, Jamilet, and Valeria's abilities to recognize their own limitations in comprehending a particular aspect of the text through verbalizing difficulty with comprehension, asking a self-directed question, or requesting assistance from me. This recognition of their own limitations in understanding a text segment illustrates that these three participants were monitoring their own comprehension, a practice that is identified in the research literature as one way

Ask students to bring a text to class that makes them feel like successful readers. Then, ask students to explain to the class how to read the particular text.

- It helps to bring examples of nontraditional texts (e.g., video game instructions, train schedules, music lyrics, and social media transcripts) and texts in languages other than English.
- Modeling thinking aloud with an out-of-school text from your personal life is necessary to show students how to demonstrate their thinking.
- Consider having students practice modeling their thinking in pairs before sharing with the class.
- As students are sharing, write down one productive practice that each student demonstrates. Later, you can specifically reference a student's successful practice and connect it back to a relevant disciplinary literacy practice.

FIGURE 5.2 Create change: Build upon student success

that successful comprehenders engage with making meaning (see Duke & Pearson, 2009). Moreover, this group of reading practices provides another forum to illustrate the extent to which Eliza, Jamilet, and Valeria understood the text.

For the first of the three reading practices—verbalizing difficulty with comprehension—Jamilet and Eliza expressed an inability to understand a segment of the Hurler's syndrome article. They articulated a nuanced identification of the specific parts of the text that were causing them difficulty. For example, while pointing at the bullet-pointed list of symptoms, Jamilet shared: "I have no idea what they are." However, she did not continue to try to find a way to make sense of the list. Instead, she acknowledged that she did not understand the text segment and moved on to the next paragraph. Jamilet, Eliza and Valeria also relied on question-asking to gain a better understanding of the text. In this context, these questions were used to seek clarity. However, the question-asking practices had different audiences. The audience for the first type of question-asking practice was the teenager herself. Jamilet vocalized this practice only with the Hurler's syndrome article; on the other hand, Eliza employed self-directed questions while reading both texts. During the second type of question-asking reading practice, which Eliza, Jamilet, and Valeria employed, they were expecting a response from me. I did not respond to their questions but instead asked them what they thought. Eliza engaged in this type of question-asking practice with both texts. However, Jamilet and Valeria only asked me these types of question about the Hurler's syndrome article.

The three ways of recognizing limitations suggest that the participants were aware of an area of their own limited comprehension. The two forms of question-asking were both aimed at obtaining more information to continue making meaning with the text. The former strategy requires a student to look into the text and within her own background knowledge for assistance, whereas the latter strategy orients the student to a perceived more knowledgeable authority figure for an answer. Through these previously described reading practices Jamilet, Eliza, and Valeria recognized their own limitations, yet they did not vocalize multiple ways to repair comprehension.

Reading Strategies in the Classroom

Throughout the two think-aloud protocols, Destiny, Eliza, Jamilet, Lizbeth, and Valeria engaged in a variety of reading practices to independently make meaning. I organized their reading practices into four categories: summarizing and identifying important information; making connections to background knowledge; going beyond the text; and recognizing limitations. These reading practices provide evidence that these teenagers were actively making meaning with the texts. Not only were they engaging in reading practices that the reading comprehension literature values, this analysis highlighted the detailed nature of their text comprehension. Their ways of actively reading differed from what they verbalized was important about reading. It also highlighted areas of difficulty. Destiny, Eliza,

Lizbeth, Jamilet, and Valeria appeared to be inexperienced in how to approach unfamiliar content. Eliza, Jamilet, and Valeria were able to verbally recognize the fact that they did not understand a particular section or word, but did not demonstrate multiple ways of addressing these areas of confusion. These findings suggest that the five focal students are inexperienced with specific reading practices that would facilitate making sense of texts whose content is unfamiliar.

Engagement with Unfamiliar Content

The students' inexperience with specific types of meaning-making practices contrasted with the presence of strategy instruction that I witnessed during my classroom observations. Strategy instruction was integrated into Mr. Gomez's English curriculum and, to a lesser extent, Mrs. Rodriguez's biology class. As described in Chapter 4, Mr. Gomez's explicit strategy instruction took the form of the daily implementation of reading notes, which were informed by the Seven Habits of Effective Readers. During the think-alouds, all of the students employed several of the seven "habits," which were an integral part of their English language arts instructional experiences (see Table 5.4). In Mrs. Rodriguez's class, strategic reading instruction was limited to the rare instances when students were reading extended multi-paragraph texts written by distant authors. Yet, other than Eliza, Jamilet, and Valeria "asking questions," the students did not attempt to use any of the strategies that they were taught to address difficulties with comprehension.

The presence of reading practices that could be used to construct meaning with texts that contain unfamiliar content in their instruction and in their individual reading repertoire, raises an significant question: If the focal students could employ these practices and they were receiving instruction about their significance, why did they not use them in think-alouds when confronted with unfamiliar content? In response to this question, it is necessary to point out that Destiny, Eliza, Jamilet, Lizbeth and Valeria did not have frequent opportunities to use these strategies to independently make meaning with unfamiliar texts.

In order to illustrate how strategy instruction can occur without using them to make meaning, I return to Mr. Gomez's use of the Seven Habits of Effective Readers

TABLE 5.4 Seven Habits of Effective Readers

<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Mr. Gomez's Definition</i>
Make Meaning	Identify something you don't understand
Question	Ask a question
Visualize	Draw physically (paint a mental picture)
Determine Importance	Identify an important quote
Activate Schema	Make connections to prior knowledge
Synthesize	Write a summary
Drawing Inferences	Make a prediction

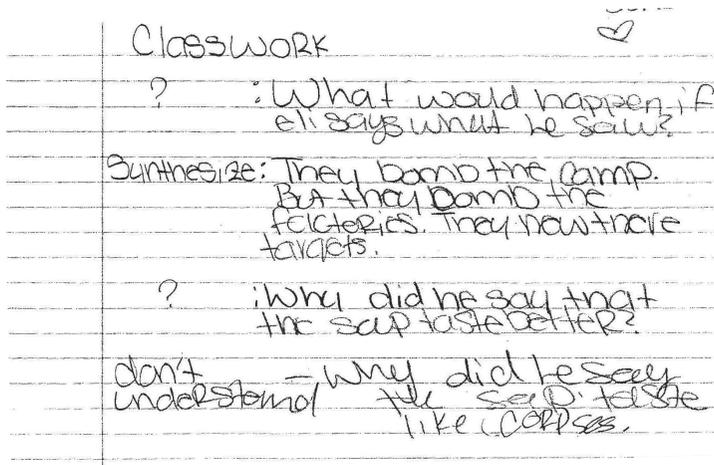


FIGURE 5.3 Destiny’s “effective” reading notes

and the corresponding reading notes that Destiny (see Figure 5.3) composed as the class read the book *Night* (Wiesel & Wiesel, 2006). Destiny provides evidence in notes that she engaged in the effective reading habits required by Mr. Gomez. However, it is important to look at the purpose these notes served within the classroom. These notes were used as evidence that she was listening to the reading, rather than as a way to practice using the “habits” to make sense of a confusing text.

In this excerpt of notes, the use of question-asking clearly illustrates the role of this reading strategy. Destiny employs the question-asking habit of effective reader three times: “What would happen if eli says what he saw?” “Why did he say that the soup taste better?” “Why did he say the soup taste like corpses.” By writing down these questions, Destiny indicates that she understands the content of the story being read to her. However, she does not have the opportunity to explicitly return to the text to answer these questions. These questions were not an opportunity to use this “effective reading habit” to correct misunderstandings or to facilitate comprehension. The strategy is already considered to have been successfully employed when the question is merely asked. In many ways, the reading practices in which students engaged in the think-alouds mirrored the practices to which they had become accustomed in their English language arts classroom. They were ways to illustrate “effective reading,” but not necessarily ways of constructing meaning when confronted with unfamiliar content.

Although Mrs. Rodriguez and Mr. Gomez focused on reading strategy instruction, the focal students did not have many in-class opportunities to use these reading practices independently with texts containing unfamiliar content. There are two factors to which I attribute these limited opportunities. The first factor relates to the frequency and construction of teacher-assembled texts. In Chapter 3, I discussed the fact that teacher-assembled texts were tailored specifically to the personal background knowledge of the students in the classroom. In other words,

Create a video compilation of soon-to-be graduating students, teachers, administrators, alumni, and other people at school or in the community talking about when they experience difficulty with reading and how they cope with this difficulty.

- Remember to include people of a variety of ages, language backgrounds, genders, and race/ethnicities.
- This type of video normalizes the fact that everyone experiences difficulty at some point.
- Talk to students about what surprised them about other people's difficulties and their responses to these difficulties.
- Explicitly incorporate instruction about what to do when you encounter difficulty with particular types of texts.

FIGURE 5.4 Create change: Normalize difficulty

these five young people were unaccustomed to encountering texts that contained large amounts of unfamiliar information. The second factor relates to the nature of classroom reading practices. When students were presented with texts that did contain unfamiliar content, they were rarely expected to make meaning individually. Since most reading took place aloud and in a group, the teacher or another more knowledgeable individual was usually present to interpret the text and to provide the missing connections for any student who was confused. This practice was also evident in Chapter 4. During classroom instruction, the focal students did not encounter completely unfamiliar information without the support of another, more knowledgeable, individual.

The reading situation that they confronted in the think-alouds was uncommon. They were precluded from relying on the most frequent strategy that they used for accessing unknown information in a text: asking another person for the “official” meaning of a text. This reading practice was attempted by Eliza, Jamilet, and Valeria in their think-alouds. As a result, I contend that the five students’ individual reading practices reflected their dominant experiences with in-class reading (see Figure 5.4 for a multimedia activity on normalizing reading difficulties).

Implications for Students Considered to be LTELs

Independent meaning-making with extended texts was an infrequent classroom practice. Nevertheless, I dedicated this chapter to focusing on this topic because this way of engaging with texts plays an integral role in the focal students’ educational trajectory. Based on my interviews with Destiny, Eliza, Jamilet, Lizbeth, and Valeria, it appeared that they held beliefs about comprehension as extracting a singular meaning from the text. These ways of talking about reading reflected the predominant beliefs held by “struggling readers” in the existing reading research literature (Frankel & Fields, 2019; Hall, 2016; Menken & Kleyn, 2010). Moreover, they reflected their current and historical experiences with in-school reading. They highlighted oral reading fluency, immediate and passive comprehension

Constructing Meaning Independently

of the text, and behavioral aspects of reading. When they were explicitly asked to place meaning-making before the “fluent” oral realization of the texts, each teenager demonstrated the ability to engage in multiple reading practices that the reading comprehension literature has identified as characteristic of proficient readers (e.g., Pressley & Afflerbach, 1995).

These five teenagers demonstrated these meaning-making practices in varied ways with extended multi-paragraph texts that were written by a “distant” author and in a context in which they were expected to read silently and independently. These think-alouds demonstrated that there was a difference between what the focal students said made a successful reader and what they were able to do with texts. Although the students employed multiple “active” reading practices while making meaning with the two selected texts, they did not use these multiple reading practices to clarify areas of confusion within the text. Their day-to-day classroom reading experiences did not provide them with many opportunities to do so.

Students were inexperienced in employing these reading practices to make meaning with unfamiliar content and text types. These difficulties are not unique to ELs, but reflect their experiences with these reading comprehension practices during classroom instruction. When the focus is solely on positioning students as “long-term” learners of English, it can prevent literacy educators from recognizing how they are successful readers and the best ways to construct supportive literacy learning environments. Moreover, it overlooks the fact that much of their struggle was not unique to their official classification as (long-term) English learners. As Chapter 4 illustrated, it was their oral English abilities that teachers relied on to communicate key content area information to students.

Next Steps

In order to have access to a variety of educational and career opportunities, students must be able to construct meaning from diverse texts independently. However, the transition from relying on the teacher “giving” students the meaning of a text to the students constructing meaning independently can be difficult. In my own experience as both a teacher and researcher, I have seen adolescents that are accustomed to being read to resist this change. Furthermore, I have shared the fears of teachers who worry that students will not be able to construct meaning from academic texts independently. However, Pearson and Gallagher’s (1983) Gradual Release of Responsibility Model provides a way to support students in gaining multiple experiences with constructing meaning independently. This model is especially relevant to the kind of instructional context that I described in this chapter because it builds on teachers’ desire to ensure that students have access to content, while transitioning students to engage in the desired independent reading practices.

Duke, Pearson, Strachan, and Billman (2011) draw on the previous work of Duke and Pearson (2002) to outline how this model functions with the teaching of strategies for reading comprehension. The strategies that are the focus of instruction are usually drawn from research that has identified what successful readers

actually do when they engage in making meaning with texts. Various research and practitioner-oriented texts highlight numerous strategies as being effective. For example, the Seven Habits of Effective Readers employed by Mr. Gomez illustrate some of these frequently used strategies. However, this list focuses on some of the more general strategies that have been criticized by some researchers and practitioners for overlooking the uniqueness of reading in various disciplines (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, 2012). In their 2012 article, Shanahan and Shanahan (p. 11) provide an example of how reading can differ across disciplines:

Although historians and history students must consider a text's authorial source to understand context, research has revealed a different pattern of reading for scientists (Shanahan et al., 2011). Our interviews with chemists have shown that they do rely on author but more as a topical or quality screen when determining which texts to read ... Once reading begins, unlike the historians, however, scientists try to focus their attention specifically on the text.

Taking these disciplinary differences into account is pedagogically meaningful; however, I argue that it is important for teachers to also consider both general reading practices and those that are desired in the discipline. For students who are experiencing difficulties with reading, these research-based general strategies may be necessary to provide access to disciplinary texts (Faggella-Luby, Sampson Graner, Deshler, & Valentino Drew, 2012). However, literacy instruction should not be limited to providing access to content area knowledge; it should include opportunities for deeper disciplinary engagement.

The Gradual Release of Responsibility Model provides teachers with a framework to guide students in engaging with texts, rather than deciphering the text for them. Although Destiny, Eliza, Jamilet, Lizbeth, and Valeria's English language arts class introduced them to strategic reading, the way in which this was implemented was not to make meaning independently, but rather to demonstrate that they were attending to the teacher's explanations of the reading. The five stages of this model allow for teachers to gradually release the responsibility for comprehending texts to the students.

Duke et al. (2011, pp. 64–66) outline five stages with accompanying language to illustrate the kind of *teacher talk* that could occur within each of these stages: (1) an explicit description of the strategy and when and how it should be used; (2) teacher and/or student modeling of the strategy in action; (3) collaborative use of the strategy in action; (4) guided practice using the strategy with gradual release of responsibility; (5) independent use of the strategy. All of these stages do not necessarily need to take place during the same class period. In fact, the teacher must be acutely aware of the appropriate timing of these steps. S/he must maintain a balance between rushing through stages and refusing to *release* the responsibility for comprehension. Like scaffolding on a building under construction, the goal of this approach to instruction is to eventually remove the extra support and allow the students stand without assistance.

Duke et al. (2011) highlight that this approach to instruction is not merely following a series of linear steps. They note that the mere inclusion of each stage in an instruction routine will not ensure that students will know how to use the strategy independently. Instead, the authors describe the importance of the recursive nature of this framework. Duke et al. acknowledge that students may forget about a strategy or struggle to apply it in a new situation. Second, the authors emphasize that it is important for teachers to recognize that students will not need to use the same strategy daily. They differentiate between the necessity for periodic review and the way in which strategy instruction can lose its focus and become an instructional routine itself. The advantage of the Gradual Release of Responsibility Model is that it provides a framework for teachers to guide students in developing the desired strategic reading practices. Nevertheless, this way of engaging in literacy pedagogy does not need to be limited to strategy instruction. This model can be integrated into other areas of literacy and content area learning (see Fisher & Frey, 2014 for a practical guide to the possibilities of this model). The Gradual Release of Responsibility Model provides students with structured opportunity to learn the reading practices that are optimal for academic success. This pedagogical approach goes beyond exposure to content and pushes students towards deeper engagement in disciplinary learning.

Closing

Descriptions of LTELs that focus solely on their purported limited literacy abilities and ongoing “failure” to learn English flatten the multifaceted nature of their literacy abilities. This analysis of the individual reading practices shines light on the inaccuracy of broad descriptions of students. It calls attention to the necessity for a humanizing reading pedagogy to be inclusive of the strengths of students and to expand opportunities to learn. Importantly, the gradual release of responsibility model provides a framework towards moving to an even more student-centered classroom. It lays the basis to create space for students to continue their journey as agentic meaning-makers. This chapter’s contribution towards humanizing education is through creating a space for students who are labeled LTELs to be seen as individuals within an educational context that presents them as monolithic.

Note

- 1 Portions of this chapter appeared previously in “‘It’s Like a Script’: Long-Term English Learners’ Experiences with and Ideas about Academic Reading.” *Research in the Teaching of English*, 49(4), 383–406. Copyright © 2015 by the National Council of Teachers of English. Used with permission. Portions of this chapter appeared previously in “Tell me what you are thinking”: An investigation of five Latina LTELs constructing meaning with academic texts. *Linguistics and Education*, 35, 1–14. Copyright © 2016 by Elsevier. Used with permission.

5

HYBRID TEACHER IDENTITIES

Sustaining Our Racial and Linguistic Selves in the Classroom¹

English is often put above other languages. It puts students like me in a very difficult place. They want me to know and use English but they are not taking into consideration that not only English informs my identity as a student.

I am not just a student . . . I am a student of color with additional tasks and responsibilities.

Sometimes I just want to be a student in a classroom.

I can't just show up. I can't just leave. I carry things with me as I leave placement sites.

The prior quotes from preservice teachers of color whom I've worked with over my career as a teacher educator reflect many of the themes prevalent in the research literature on the experiences of students of color in teacher education programs. Culture and language influence their teacher identity formations; preservice teachers of color experience being racially spotlighting in classroom spaces as the “native informant”; and the shifting between discourse communities is not seamless or without consequences.

In the last quote, the student expresses that she carries things with her as she travels from context to context—she can't just go into student teaching placements, work with students who look like her and share similar backgrounds, observe the inner workings and politics of urban schooling, and then pick up her bags, catch the campus shuttle, and move on with her life. This notion of “carrying things” resonates with me deeply as I understand this action to be one main reason that deterred me away from teaching early on in my career. I experienced a kind of cognitive dissonance when I worked in school spaces. On one hand, I absolutely loved working with mostly Black students in an urban environment and feeling like I was able to connect with them through our explorations of critical multicultural texts and our multi-genre and multi-modal compositions

(see Vasudevan & DeJaynes, 2013). But, at the same time, I was working in school spaces where I was the only teacher of color or one of the only ones, with constant negotiations of racial micro- and macro-aggressions from colleagues to the larger sociopolitical structures at play within and around the school context. I saw and felt my effectiveness as a teacher with the students, yet I felt disempowered from actualizing any real systematic changes within the broader school context because of my social location based on my racial and linguistic identity as well as my age and tenure. But I carried with me the stories and experiences of my students—they affected me in ways that I know were distinctly different from some of my colleagues who could more smoothly transition from their school day, leaving “these kids” behind as they traveled to their suburban homes to care for their own children.

To sustain myself within school contexts, I needed to cultivate hybrid spaces that allowed for a disruption of this dissonance and that instead nurtured my desire to both work in the culturally responsive ways that proved most effective with my students and simultaneously stand confidently in my own racial and linguistic identity as I articulated being a teacher within a school context that attempted to marginalize and silence me. This is just one example of the discursive ways that Black and Latina preservice teachers create *hybrid* literate identities within a context where the teacher identity “toolkit” is tailor-made for the needs and interests of a predominantly White, English-monolingual, middle-class, female teacher population.

In this chapter, I take a close look at the discursive ways that Black and Latina preservice teachers reconcile tensions between their racial and linguistic identities and the construction of teacher identities in the current context of preservice teacher education in the United States. To better understand the role Black and Latina preservice teachers’ experience as linguistically, racialized “others” and how this informs their constructions of teacher identities and their visions of what a teacher should be, I examine how such constructions are revealed through the study of language as representative of teacher identities. I present a critical discourse analysis of the language and literacy practices of preservice teachers of color who are nonstandard language and dialect speakers across diverse contexts within and beyond the university and school setting. Examination of their literacy and language practices elucidates a move beyond marginalization and inferiority toward agency and linguistic hybridity. Diversity in teacher education is one way to ensure this necessary move.

In what follows, I explore ways of framing teacher identities to address how my work extends conversations about teacher identity in literacy and English teacher education. Particularly, I discuss how theories of hybridity have been used to further understandings of identity and power in literacy research. Doing so allows me to explain how I use such theories to frame the current study of teacher identities as “dialogic” (Bakhtin, 1981), a constant dynamic interplay between one’s home culture and a university/school culture. In this chapter, I focus more closely

on the language and literacy practices of Angela and Natasha, who demonstrate contextualized, deliberate uses of language to enact hybrid literate identities. In doing so, I offer ways to extend conversations about possibilities that can result from purposeful engagement of hybrid discourses of teachers from diverse racial, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds in literacy education.

Hybrid Discourses

There is a growing body of research that looks at teacher identity development through the theoretical lens of hybridity (e.g., Alsup, 2006; Britzman, 2003). Alsup (2006), for example, draws on theories of hybridity to refer to the engagement in discourses that embrace contraries as “borderland discourse,” or what she terms “narratives of tension.” From her study of the borderland narratives of six pre-service teachers, all White women, Alsup (2006) found that central to the new teachers beginning the development of a professional identity was a constant engagement with narratives of tension between their personal histories and their acquiring of new teacher identities. These narratives of tensions were viewed as a transformative discourse.

This transformative discourse is evidenced in theoretical work from educators and researchers of color who describe how individuals forge new languages to embrace multiple cultural and linguistic identities within dominant spaces (hooks, 1994). hooks writes that acculturating an academic discourse threatened her identification with African American Language and required a movement toward a borderland, or hybrid, discourse:

To heal the splitting of mind and body, we marginalized and oppressed people attempt to recover ourselves and our experiences in language. We seek to make a place for intimacy. Unable to find such a place in standard English, we create the ruptured, broken, unruly speech of the vernacular. (p. 175)

She continues:

When I need to say words that do more than simply mirror or address dominant reality, I speak Black vernacular. There, in that location, we make English do what we want it to do. We take the oppressor’s language and turn it against itself. We make our words a counter-hegemonic speech, liberating ourselves in language. (p. 175)

Beyond acquiring secondary discourses, “hybrid” discourses can reconfigure power relations and create new linguistic and social spaces.

Several literacy scholars in education draw on theories of hybridity by using the concept of “third space” (e.g., see Gutierrez, Baquedano-López, & Turner, 1997;

Hull & Schultz, 2001; Moje et al., 2004) to discuss transformative teaching practices that integrate home and community knowledges and Discourses of historically marginalized groups into formalized educational institutions. These scholars have employed the construct “third space” (see Soja, 1996) to conceptualize new cultural forms, practices, spaces, and identities created from a synthesis of diverse elements in formal institutions. Third space symbolizes a move beyond stagnant binaries, such as dominant/inferior, Black/White, student/teacher, standard/non-standard, and Spanish/English, toward a hybrid whole. Similarly, my analysis of the discursive practices of Black and Latina preservice teachers moved beyond notions of dividedness and marginality and toward a third space—multiple languages and identities merging together.

Here, I adopt the definition of hybridity as the confluence of multiple discourses—a *constant* “crossing over” of boundaries that results in richer, and not inferior, beings. Hybrid discourses are not simply code-switching or the alternation between two linguistic codes, but systematic, strategic, affiliative, and sense-making processes. Drawing on Anzaldúa (1987/1999) and Bakhtin (1981), I find a hybridity framework useful in reimagining Black and Latina preservice teachers no longer on the margins, but forging new territories. In *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, Anzaldúa (1987/1999) discusses the merging of two worlds that form a third country, what she calls a “border culture,” where

borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them* . . . A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition. (p. 25)

Bakhtin (1981) defines this constructing of new worlds as the encounter between “two different linguistic consciousnesses” (p. 358) and states that hybrid utterances bring together and promote dialogue between diverse worldviews. Both Bakhtin and Anzaldúa inform my use of hybridity as a theoretical framework in that this lens illuminates my understanding of the experiences of Angela and other preservice teachers who are attempting to make sense of how their bilingual and bicultural identities conflict with their newly acquired teacher identities. In contrast to “linguistic terrorism” (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999)—the suppression or denial of one’s cultural and linguistic heritage—theories of hybridity foreground the ways Black and Latina preservice teachers “fashion their own gods,” “chisel their own faces,” and claim space, “making a new culture—una cultura mestiza—with [their] own lumber, [their] own bricks and mortar” (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999, p. 81). In this way, I draw on theories of hybridity to challenge essentialist treatment of teacher identity development, and I turn to the study of language and literacy practices of Black and Latina preservice teachers to illuminate how constant engagement with multiple worlds allows for transformative teacher discourses.

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Hybrid Teacher Discourses

I focus now on two of the preservice teacher participants—Natasha, who identified as a Black woman who is also a speaker of African American Language (AAL), and Angela, a Costa Rican woman who is a bilingual Spanish and English speaker. In my earlier discussions of them, I examine how they understand the dominant Discourses in their teacher education program and how they are positioned within and outside of these discourses. Here, I turn the gaze on how they articulated an awareness of differences in their language use across multiple contexts. They both not only articulated an awareness of differences in their language use across multiple contexts, but expressed tensions between their multiple linguistic worlds. These assertions prompted me to focus closely on the language and literacy practices of these two preservice teachers to answer the question of how Black and Latina preservice teachers mediate tensions between their racial and linguistic identities and the construction of teacher identities in the current context of preservice teacher education in the United States.

Using critical discourse analysis (CDA) (see Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Rogers, 2004) as an analytic tool, I examined transcripts of Natasha and Angela's discursive practices evidenced through videotaped and audiotaped observations, interviews and ongoing conversations, and archival data. The combination of ethnographic and sociolinguistic fieldwork with CDA provided a framework for macro- and micro-analysis of discursive practices across multiple contexts and for a move toward situated understanding of their hybrid literate identities. Further, it allowed for analytic movement between observations, interviews, and archival data to explain patterns that were made visible with CDA. In this way, different from other forms of discourse analysis, I moved beyond a sentence-level analysis of literacy and language practices of these preservice teachers and toward situated understanding of the hybrid discursive practices.

My analysis of hybrid discursive practices was twofold. First, I recursively read and re-read data sources to select excerpts of linguistic data for critical discourse analysis. I focused primarily on collected data that highlighted their literacy and language practices in two primary contexts: 1) their written and oral autobiographies (as told via interviews and conversations) about early language and literacy experiences, and 2) observations of student teaching in the second grade classroom. My decisions for selecting the excerpts were guided by the following criteria: 1) the language use was representative of the typicality of the preservice teacher's language and literacy practices across the three contexts, 2) the language use was particularly insightful to the research question, and 3) the language use differed from other typical instances, or exhibits what Rogers (2003) refers to as "tensions" within the data. I looked for instances that marked narratives of tension—salient examples of language and literacy practices that represented multiple ways of interacting, representing, and being exhibited by preservice teachers across multiple contexts. These were instances that coalesced their own reflections

on early educative experiences in the K–12 context, their articulated beliefs about the role of cultural and linguistic diversity in education, and enactments of these beliefs in their practice of becoming teachers.

In the second phase of data analysis, I adapted Rogers (2003) heuristic for analyzing orders of discourse, based on Fairclough's (2004) framework, in the identified instances of narratives of tension. Orders of discourse are the socially ordered set of genres, Discourses, and styles. Theories of hybridity suggest that, at times, there will be an overlapping and co-existing of multiple, sometimes competing discourses as well as conflicts within the ordering of genre, Discourse, and style, as illustrated by the double-sided arrows in the heuristic (see Rogers, 2004). To trace the orders of discourse—G for genre (ways of interacting), D for Discourse (ways of representing), and S for style (ways of being) (see Lewis & Ketter, 2004; Rogers, 2003)—I looked for moments in the linguistic data where multiple discourses coexisted—where genre, Discourse, and style intersected. To adequately analyze how hybrid identities were enacted by the women, I looked across linguistic, phonetic, intonation, and gestural properties of language, allowing for a more discursive, embodied, and spatial representation of their socially situated identities. Where relevant, I transcribed language use from observation and interview data phonetically and/or orthographically, coding phonetic variations, changes in tone, pitch, and stress, and the use of facial expressions and body movements. I augmented Fairclough's framework for tracing orders of discourse, which does not explicitly take into account physical properties of languages (see Fairclough, 2004). To do this, I employed additional sociolinguistic analytic tools (Tannen, 1984/2005) to illustrate my tracing of the orders of discourses for these two preservice teachers.

In the following sections, I present findings from the critical discourse analysis of the language and literacy practices of Natasha and Angela to illustrate the meshing and co-mingling of their cultural and linguistic identities with their conceptualizations of what a teacher should be—the forging of hybrid literate identities.

Natasha: "This Is Me and This Is How I Speak"

Natasha defined herself largely by her racial and linguistic background. When I asked her how she identified ethnically and linguistically, she made strong declarations about who she is and who she is becoming. Natasha proudly proclaimed her identity as a Black woman. She asserted in an interview: "I'm Black, I'm Black. There's no *African American* . . . I'm Black. I have no problems sayin' it." I asked her why she did not relate to the term *African American*, and she felt that while she knows her origins are in Africa, she cannot personally trace her roots. For Natasha, "Black is kinda like all encompassin' of all of us. It's like a shared culture, shared language, shared music . . . it's kinda what brings us all together."

When I asked Natasha how she identified linguistically, she said if asked about her language, she would answer, "I speak English." She viewed terms like

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ethnolinguistic minority as merely technical or scholarly. Her articulation of her understanding of her own racial and linguistic identity is represented in the following conversation between Natasha and me:

1	Why should I have to be a <i>ethnolinguistic minority</i> ?	Question (G/S)/Minority (D)/Pronoun (S)
2	I understand if you say like . . . African American vernacular language or Black American English	AAL (D)
3	You [^] know [^]	Affirmation (G)
4	Like, that's what draws us together	Bonding/Pronoun (S/S)
5	You [^] know [^]	Affirmation (G)
6	WHETHER YOU'RE FROM NEW YORK, CALI, MIDWEST	Rate of Speech (S)/Abbreviated (S)
7	It's something still there	
8	You [^] know [^]	Affirmation (G)
9	That we all have in common	Pronoun (S)
10	Whether I'm in my . . . little RA meeting	
11	Whether I'm meeting with the RD	
12	This is me	Declaration (G)/Black Woman/AAL (D)/Strong Statement (S)
13	And this is how I speak	Strong Statement (S)
14	And I don't feel the need to turn it on and off	Strong Statement (S)/Code-switching (G)

In line 1, Natasha used the rhetorical strategy of questioning to assert that she was not an ethnolinguistic minority. She did not feel that being a speaker of African American Language or being a Black woman made her inferior to other cultural and linguistic groups. In this example, Natasha employed strong statements (lines 12–14) to declare her allegiance to AAL and her identity as a Black woman. She also challenged the notion that she needed to change in order to fit into different situations (lines 10–11). For Natasha, being Black or speaking AAL was not something that should be “turned on and off” (line 14). Regardless of the situation or the audience, Natasha declared, “This is me.” From this declaration, I became particularly interested in the ways that Natasha asserted her identity as a Black woman and speaker of AAL in the context of the teacher education program. Despite her pride in her Blackness and her language, Natasha did acknowledge that she was able to use the “appropriate” language in any given context. For example, when needed, she shared, “I can still write a paper and it will be beautiful and use all that flowery language and blah, blah, blah.” By “flowery language,” Natasha was referring to the use of standard forms of English in academic writing. This signaled to me that she clearly understood that her use

of AAL was viewed differently in various contexts and with different audiences and participants (Ball & Lardner, 2005; Kinloch, 2005). This also suggested that she might experience some tensions between her primary discourse and the new teacher discourse.

From interviews with Natasha about her use of AAL, I learned that her use of AAL in certain contexts was deliberate and not necessarily stemming from her family and upbringing. Growing up, Natasha attended several different school settings because her family moved a lot during her childhood. Natasha began elementary school in Maryland, where the students and teachers were predominantly Black. In this school, the teachers integrated Black culture and identity in the school to encourage a strong sense of cultural pride among the children. In the middle of her second grade year, Natasha's family moved to Chicago, where she attended an elementary school where she was the only Black student in the school. After a year, her family returned to Maryland, and she returned to her first elementary school. During her middle school years, Natasha's family lived in Atlanta. Her school in Atlanta was more racially mixed than her elementary school experiences. Although all of her friends were Black, she interacted with the White students the most during the day because she was in all advanced-level classes.

The same was also true in high school. Despite constant transitioning between school settings, Natasha was a high-achieving student, always being placed in the "high" reading groups and scoring high on standardized tests. From middle school, she began to struggle with being labeled as "talking White" or being an "Oreo" (Natasha defined this label as meaning "Black on the outside, White on the inside") because of the way she spoke and the fact that she was always placed in the advanced classes. In high school, Natasha attempted to dispel such labels by being involved with the minority student group organizations as well as having social peers who were predominantly Black and Latino/a. However, her academic interactions were mainly with White students, those students who were also in the advanced classes. When she was in high school, she recalled using "that White girl voice" with teachers and peers. For Natasha, "talking Black" was a way for her to maintain membership in her social community (Kinloch, 2010). In order to be a legitimate participant in the Black student population, she developed allegiance to AAL.

This was a tall feat since, growing up, her mother constantly corrected her use of double negatives or words like *ain't* in her home context. Natasha was from a middle-class African American family. Both of her parents were college-educated, working professionals. Her mother worked as an elementary school teacher, and her father was the director of a non-profit youth organization. Natasha often talked about the importance of education in her family and in her community. Natasha developed a strong affiliation with AAL despite her mother's expectation that she speak "standard" English. She resisted against this expectation and developed her own consciousness around the use of AAL: "Even with my mother,

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she will always correct me and be like and I'm like, NO! This is how I talk now. I don't feel the need to be conscientious of why I'm using double negatives. Who cares!" While Natasha's use of AAL was not necessarily nurtured by her home context, she viewed AAL as a connection to her peer group and as a signification of her racial pride and identity.

Yet Natasha understood that speaking AAL, depending on the context, had both positive and negative consequences. While Natasha gained certain membership status from her use of AAL, she also alluded to the idea that the consequences of speaking AAL were heavily linked to the larger societal domain.

15	˘this standard form of English . . .	Standardization (D)
16	JUST BECAUSE WHITE PEOPLE SPEAK IT DOESN'T MAKE IT RIGHT^!	Whiteness (D)/Strong Statement (S)

Natasha made strong assertions that challenged the dominant Discourse of Whiteness (line 16) and its role in societal attitudes about standard English. Throughout history, there have been major misconceptions about African American Language, from its origin to its linguistic merit, and these misconceptions were often fueled by media attention as well as major events in educational history, from the 1977 "Black English" case to the Oakland Ebonics debates in the mid-1990's (Ball & Lardner, 1997; Rickford & Rickford, 2000). The acceptance of a standard language accompanied by negative attitudes toward other language varieties is an unavoidable product of the interaction of language and society; thus, there is no reason to assume that using a particular dialect can be associated with being deficit or advantaged (Lippi-Green, 2004). Natasha assumed this ideological stance, challenging the notion of linguistic superiority or inferiority.

For Natasha, her racial and linguistic identity was enacted and performed differently yet the same as she assumed multiple roles in various contexts. As Natasha stressed, she felt she was the same in each context. She was always a Black woman and as she indicated, "This is how I talk." In the student teaching context, I observed Natasha "doing her"—ways of interacting, representing, and being that privileged her Blackness and allegiance to AAL. It was not uncommon for Natasha to rely on AAL rhetorical strategies and phrasings to connect with her second graders in the practicum classroom. The following example illustrates how she often facilitated mini-lessons with her students:

17	N: Boys and girls, can I have your eyes up here . . . What does a good writer do? What's something a good writer does?	Questioning (G)
18	ST: They write good sentences.	
19	N: Go 'head, mama!	AAL (S)/Affirmation (G)

In line 19, Natasha's use of AAL—the abbreviated phrase of “go 'head” instead of “go ahead” and the slang term “mama”—worked to affirm the student's answer in a way that strengthened the bond between Natasha and the student. The use of AAL blurred the lines between home and school for both Natasha and the student.

Natasha also used AAL as she developed her own classroom management style. She would often remind students:

20	I shouldn't BE hearing any talking	Authority (D)/ Reprimand (G)/ AAL (S)
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Here, her use of habitual BE served to remind the students that they should not “be talking”—not only in that moment but at all times that required students to actively listen. In both of these instances in the second grade classroom, Natasha forged a hybrid discourse that coalesced her use of AAL, her emergent knowledge around teaching and classroom management, and her acknowledgment of the shared cultural and linguistic norms between her and her students.

This instance of her enactment of a hybrid discourse happened within an urban school where Natasha assumed cultural and linguistic sharedness between herself and the students. Natasha did make a distinction between what she felt she was able to do and represent, culturally and linguistically, in an urban school setting versus in a suburban setting. When referring to prior experiences in a practicum in a predominantly White, suburban school, she observed:

21	I didn't talk the same way.	Code-switching (G)/Standardization (D)/ Strong Statement (S)
22	But I felt like sometimes I had t' . . . not check it but tone it down a lil' bit	Personal Story (G)
23	I feel like those kids woulda been scared	Modality (S)
24	Like some of the things I say to my kids	Pronoun (S)/Bonding (S)
25	They woulda BIN like, <i>Mommy she said blah, blah, blah . . .</i>	Modality (S)/ Marking (G)
26	You know what I mean	Affirmation (G)
27	Whereas my students, they're like	Pronoun/Bonding (S)
28	Even when I talk to their parents, I can be like	AAL (S)
29	<i>Look. This is what's goin on</i>	Marking (G)
30	And so . . . I don't know	Hedging (G)
31	It's just a comfort	Affect (S)
32	Like I feel right at home with them	Affect (S)

33	I feel like I can just be myself	Affect (S)/Strong Statement (S)
34	Talk the way I talk	Pronoun (S)
35	Do things the way I do	Pronoun (S)

Natasha's ability to enact a hybrid literate identity was constantly shifting and adjusting based on the context. From her description of her experiences in previous practicum settings, Natasha did not feel that the predominantly White and suburban context supported her hybrid literate identity, and she reflected on her decision to code-switch (line 21). In contrast, in the urban setting, she felt she could just be herself (lines 33–35). Through the AAL rhetorical strategy of marking (Smitherman, 2006), she provided personal examples about ways of interacting with parents in the two different settings (lines 25, 29). She felt that White students would not respond positively to her direct teaching style, that her teaching style would not be as effective in a different environment. With her students (line 27), she felt a sense of comfort and belongingness that she did not feel in a White, suburban setting. In an interview, I asked Natasha if she would teach in that kind of setting in the future, and she responded: "No, not at all. Never, ever. If I end up there . . . uhhhh, I must be desperate for some money. I'd be miserable if I had to teach in a school like that. Miserable."

I found that Natasha's move toward a hybrid discourse—a space where she could take on the new identity of being a teacher and assert her affiliation to African American Language—was dependent on the context. In the urban teaching context, Natasha challenged dominant Discourses around teaching and what it means to be a teacher. Her declaration to "talk the way I talk" and "do things the way I do" represented her decision to transcend essentialist notions of teaching that were perpetuated within and beyond the teacher education context. She asserted that "this is me" and that she was not going to turn her identity on and off. Natasha did not articulate the need to accept an "either/or" position but instead asserted a "both/and" positionality (Collins, 2000), that is, she could embrace her Black womanhood and her affiliation to AAL and at the same time demonstrate teaching proficiencies. But, for Natasha, this decision was supported within the urban education context. Knowingly, she felt confident to forge a hybrid identity within the urban school context. These excerpts illustrate how Natasha was engaged in a constant dialogic around being an authentically Black woman and being a highly competent and effective teacher, fully aware of the potential consequences of her choices.

Angela: "I mix Spanish, English, Whatever . . . All in the Same Sentence"

Angela, a bilingual Spanish and English speaker of Costa Rican and Guatemalan heritage, was proud of her ethnolinguistic background, but she felt a

burden to be a positive representation of what it means to be Latina, both in the context of teacher education and the university and for her family and community. She felt that she owed it to her culture to work harder and to excel in the academic and professional world. When defining her own racial and linguistic background, Angela wrote in a language autobiography for one of her classes, “My cultural background has become my identity.” Angela’s perceptions of herself as a bilingual speaker were evolving as she took on this new teacher identity.

When we began this research project, I reminded Angela of the question she asked when she was a student in my literacy methods course: “*How can I teach reading when I can’t even pronounce the words right?*” When I first met Angela, she expressed concern that her accent would interfere with her ability to effectively develop her students’ literacy skills. Of the 30 students in that literacy methods class, the majority of them White monolingual female students, Angela was the only bilingual Spanish and English speaker, and she was the only student to express this concern. I asked Angela if she remembered what she felt when she posed that question, and I wondered how her metalinguistic awareness—her thinking about her linguistic abilities—in an educational context had evolved in the two years since that class. She said that she still felt uncomfortable in her practicum when she had to do phonics instruction, and she attributed this to her accent. She shared an example of teaching the long /a/ sound with the students. She said that the students were able to come up with several word examples with the long /a/ sound, but she had difficulty thinking of words. Her student teaching supervisor would usually audiotape her observations of Angela teaching lessons. When they listened to the tapes, Angela shared how she noticed how strong her accent was when she was taught. Angela was still grappling with the notion that one’s accent could interfere with one’s ability for reading fluency and comprehension. This was further evidenced in her selection of a topic for her senior practicum inquiry project. Angela’s research question was: How does explicit, direct fluency instruction impact reading comprehension? Her aim was to better understand how one’s ability to pronounce words and read with fluency, and in this case, confidence, impacts one’s ability to read for comprehension.

From many conversations, I learned that Angela’s ideas about “speaking correctly” carried a steep history. Angela was first generation born in the United States. While she was born and attended K–12 schools in the United States where mainstream American English was the primary language of instruction, Spanish was the primary language of her home and community. Still, the idea that there is a “correct” way to speak a language stemmed from her early language and literacy experiences growing up in a bilingual home. Angela reflected on these experiences in a language and culture autobiography she wrote for her language and

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ethnicity class, a sociolinguistics class that examined language and ethnic diversity in the United States. In her autobiography, she wrote:

1	My mother made sure that we learned the “correct” way to say things	Standard Language Ideology (D)/Personal Story (G)
2	according to her Spanish.	Pronoun (S)
3	My mother was very exclusive with what she accepted as appropriate language	Standard Language Ideology (D)
4	and my tone of voice, pitch and pace were also trained.	
5	If I ever slipped into “the Guatemalan accent”	Pronunciation (S)
6	I was reprimanded	Direct (G)
7	and told “not to speak like that!”	Quote (G)
8	Although I know that there is no “correct” way of speaking Spanish	Standard Language Ideology (D)/Cognition (S)

Angela’s awareness of standard language ideologies developed from her earliest interactions with her mother as she acquired her mother tongue. She also carried a negative connotation toward Guatemalan Spanish, her father tongue. So much so that when I asked her to name her cultural and linguistic identity, Angela did not self-identify as Costa Rican and Guatemalan. She only claimed her mother’s ethnicity. Even though her earliest memories of speaking Spanish emphasized language as being “correct” and “appropriate” (lines 1–3) in certain contexts, she still asserted an epistemological stance that challenged these notions (line 8). In her autobiography, Angela shared examples of how her mother stressed particular forms and pronunciations of Spanish, including when to use the “usted” form of verbs to when to “soften” her /r/. Certain forms and uses of the Spanish language were considered legitimate and appropriate, and these considerations were mediated by the social expectations of the context. Analysis of Angela’s autobiography illuminates the strong connections that she made between “speaking correctly” and identity. Her feelings about pronouncing English phonemes correctly paralleled her experiences with speaking Spanish. Like the distinction she made between speaking particular forms of Spanish in particular contexts, speaking English correctly meant speaking English in a way that one’s accent was not evident, heard, or detected.

Angela’s concerns about speaking with an accented English were also linked to her experiences growing up ashamed of her mother’s spoken English. As a child, she recalled that her mother rarely read books written in English to her and her sister at home as a result of her own low English proficiency skills. While her mother valued print literacy in the home, Angela remembered not wanting her mother to read to her because she would often

mispronounce the words with her accented English. From early on, Angela understood the social capital placed on certain forms and pronunciations of the English language. Dominant institutions, like schools, promote the notion of an overarching, homogeneous standard language (Lippi-Green, 2004). Lippi-Green writes:

The educational system may not be the beginning, but it is the heart of the standardization process. Asking children who speak non-mainstream languages to come to schools in order to find validation for themselves, in order to be able to speak their own stories in their own voices, is an unlikely scenario. (p. 294)

When children internalize negative conceptions of self and accept ideological claims that their cultural and linguistic identity is wrong, there are consequences. Anzaldúa (1987/1999) uses the image of “linguistic terrorism” to describe what can happen when speakers of nonstandard languages and dialects internalize negative conceptions of their native tongue. She writes, “because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified . . . we internalize how our language has been used against us by the dominant culture [and] use language differences against each other” (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999, p. 80). One response to dominant Discourses may be to suppress or deny one’s affiliation to primary discourses or nonstandard varieties of language. Speakers of nonstandard languages and dialects may view their speech as “illegitimate” or may view their language as “a bastard language” (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999, p. 80). From my early interactions with Angela, analysis of her language practices illustrated an internalized view of her mother tongue as inferior to standard forms and, in this case, pronunciations of the English language. This suggested that she might continue to experience some tensions between her cultural and linguistic identity at home and her taking on a new teacher identity.

While one of Angela’s earlier concerns was about her ability to pronounce words correctly, I began to witness Angela’s move toward a transformative hybrid discourse as she grappled with internalized standard language ideologies. During one observation, Angela was administering a spelling test to her second grade classroom. In this instance, she paid close attention to her enunciation and articulation of phonemes as she presented each spelling word. After the students completed the test, she went over words with students that they felt were difficult on the test.

9	Give me a word that you didn't know how t' spell	
10	Jo:ry which was one of yours?	
11	/Bin/	Enunciation (S)

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12	Have you /bin/ there before?	Question (G)
13	/Bin/	Enunciation (S)
14	EE usually says eeeee	Enunciation (S)
15	But we pronounce this (uuuuu)	Pronoun (S)
16	/Bin/, /Bin/, /ba::n/	Code-switching (D/S)
17	It just depends on the way you talk I guess	Standard Language Ideology (D)/ Hedging (G)

During the review of the spelling items, Angela attempted to offer the students multiple pronunciations for each word and to isolate particular phonemes in doing so (lines 14–15). While she hedges on this observation (line 17), Angela’s acknowledgment that one’s pronunciation depends on the individual and “the way you talk” represented a move away from one homogeneous pronunciation. While at the beginning of the research project, Angela articulated that the “correct” pronunciation and enunciation were necessary to ensure their academic success, this excerpt demonstrates her movement toward challenging standard language ideologies about “correctness.”

The challenge for Angela remained how to reconcile speaking an accented English with the norms and expectations for being an effective teacher. Her focus on correct grammar and pronunciation was not only directed toward herself but also toward her students. During one observation, Angela’s students returned from the school’s book fair, excited about their purchases of new books. An African American student showed his book to Angela and explained that he did not pay for it. Angela was confused, wondering if they were giving out free books at the book fair or if this student just forgot to pay. Angela and the student inspected the book, looking for a price tag, and the student asked, “How much it cost?” Angela corrected the student, “How much does it cost?” While she understood what the student was communicating, and while the objective in that moment was to determine whether the student needed to return to the book fair to pay for the book, Angela made a point to correct his use of African American Language and the use of an “incorrect” verb form. From our interviews, I began to understand that this was one way that she aimed to foster her students’ awareness of “the language of wider communication” (Smitherman, 2006) while not devaluing their identifications with nonstandard language varieties.

Angela viewed her experiences grappling with speaking with an accented English in spaces that privilege mainstream American English use as a way to connect with and help her mostly bilingual, bicultural students to learn to navigate multiple worlds too. Angela felt that being a bilingual speaker of both Spanish and English gave her an edge with many of her students. Angela and I discussed the role her “Latina-ness” played in her taking on the teacher identity. She asserted her identity as a Spanish and English bilingual woman who lives in the community with the student population she serves. As I observed Angela in her practicum setting, she began to view her affiliation to the Spanish language in this context as

linguistic “capital” (Yosso, 2005) rather than a linguistic “deficit,” positioning the shared linguistic and cultural communicative experiences between her and her students as a resource in the classroom.

18	Yes, I think it's more relaxed	Cognition (S)/Teacher Identity (D)
19	More comfortable.	Teacher Identity (D)
20	And I just feel like I know where they come from	Indirectness (G)/Pronoun (S)/Latina (D)
21	Do you know what I mean	Affirmation (G)
22	Like their socioeconomic class	Class and Status (D)
23	I'm still in that class with them	Strong Statement (S)/Bonding (S)
24	I feel like almost like a favoritism	Affect (S)
25	I feel like if I ever needed to	Affect (S)
26	I would understand them better	Modality (S)/Latina (D)
27	I mean, just saying one or two words in Spanish	Code-switching (G)
28	Do you know what I mean	Affirmation (G)

In line 20, Angela moved toward a hybrid teacher discourse—one that embraced her Latina-ness and ability to relate to her students. While her interaction here is not direct, she describes knowing more about where her students are coming from, culturally, linguistically, and based on class (lines 22–23). She viewed her ability to understand them in both worlds (line 27) as a “favoritism” (line 24). She valued the cultural and linguistic funds of knowledge that her students brought to the classroom (Martínez-Roldán & Fránquiz, 2009).

By the end of her student teaching, Angela took on an emergent hybrid discourse. Her metalinguistic awareness about her identity as a bilingual speaker was evolving from a marginalized stance toward a hybrid whole. She exhibited linguistic reflexivity—“an awareness about language which is self-consciously applied in interventions to change social life (including one's own identity)” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 83). She felt that the concept of code-switching was inadequate for describing her relationship to both English and Spanish, as she wrote in her language autobiography assignment for a sociolinguistics course: “I speak both English and Spanish fluently. Merely stating the languages that I speak is insufficient in order to understand me and my relationship with language.” She told me in conversation: “I mix Spanish, English, whatever . . . all in the same sentence.” As she took up a new teacher identity, she was consciously aware of the multiple discourses that were at play—her challenges with speaking English with a Spanish accent, her shared cultural and language with her students, and her desire to make sure her students had every opportunity to attain academic success. Because Angela was raised to make clear delineations between her use of Spanish and English—she associated her use of Spanish with home and family and English was reserved for academic functions—she was aware of the possible consequences of

language choices in different situations. Like Natasha, Angela's decision to "mix" her languages was strongly dependent upon the context, and in this instance, she was forging this hybrid discourse in a classroom where she felt she shared cultural and linguistic experiences with her students.

Sustaining Racially and Linguistically Diverse Teacher Identities

The role of the preservice teacher is a hybrid one in that it forms a relationship between both teacher and student identities (Alsup, 2006). This is a complex role in that preservice teachers must forge a professional identity, one that exhibits competence, proficiency, and authority, while at the same time remaining and acknowledging being a novice and learning from the practicum experience. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) point out, "Hybridity is inherent in all social uses of language" (p. 13), but it manifests itself based on the individual, her experiences, her history, and the context. We all possess multiple, varied linguistic repertoires, and our decisions about language use are dependent upon context as well as race, class, gender, and linguistic background. The individual experiences of Black and Latina preservice teachers are no exception; there exist many complexities and intricacies as a result of each individual's understanding and articulations of who she is and who she is becoming. Natasha and Angela were like any other preservice teacher in that they both entered into the teacher education program with expectations for the kinds of knowledge and skills they would gain in preparation for being teachers. However, they acquired new teacher identities in contexts already defined and shaped, both linguistically and culturally, by the larger meta-narratives produced by the social world. In this chapter, I looked at how Natasha and Angela each developed, understood, and even leveraged their cultural and linguistic identities in the performance of new teacher identities, and I learned that their hybrid performances were neither static nor the same, but ever shifting based on the many diverse contexts that each teacher occupied on any given day.

Their language and literacy practices also pointed to the many possibilities that can result from an emphasis on valuing the cultural, racial, and linguistic perspectives that *all* teachers bring to the teaching and learning experience. While questioning criterion for determining teacher quality, and by extension, identifying desirable proficiencies for teacher training and development, is eminent, continued conversations in the field of literacy research must explicitly address the intersections of race, culture, and language alongside these questions. The overemphasis on the preparation of an assumed homogeneous teaching force suggests that the goals and needs of teacher education are universal for all teachers regardless of their race, class, gender, and/or linguistic affiliation. It potentially positions and constructs teachers as monolithic entities, negating the complexities of teachers' identities. And it does not fully take into account the complexities of the intersections of one's race, gender, language, class, and sexuality on teacher identity

performance. I have learned over the years, as a student, as a secondary English language arts teacher, and now as a teacher educator, that one cannot simply shed oneself of one's primary culture and language upon stepping foot into the classroom. Doing so would suggest that becoming and being a teacher is antithetical to Blackness, to bilingualism, to Latino/a-ness, to being working class, or to other markers of identity.

This became particularly important when I considered that both Natasha's and Angela's taking on hybrid teacher discourses happened in urban school contexts, or in spaces where they felt they shared cultural and linguistic experiences and identities with their students. At the conclusion of this study, I grappled with the fact that this hybrid discourse was not viewed as useful or appropriate in other settings (e.g., suburban school contexts). What I learned from this study of language and literacy practices of Natasha and Angela was that they were constantly experiencing dominant discourses in the teacher education program; there was no singular moment when they reconciled tensions between their racial and linguistic identities and the construction of teacher identities. They were at all times reflecting on their own histories as racial, cultural, and linguistic beings and how these histories interacted with their taking on of new teacher identities. Doing this kind of identity work on a regular basis encouraged them to uphold an appreciation for the nonstandard language varieties and multicultural experiences that will exist in their future classrooms. I imagine these hybrid discourses as having the great potential to transform current teacher education and practice. These hybrid discourses can reconfigure power relations and push doors open so that preservice teachers who embody "othered" identities on the basis of race, language, class, sexuality, and so on feel a sense of belongingness as well as the right to be whole selves in multiple contexts.

In chapter 1, I introduced the purpose of this book by sharing Angela's story. As a bilingual Spanish and English speaker, her experiences with marginalization were deeply rooted in her everyday life. Angela faced a "crossroads" of how to appropriate a teacher identity, one that was valued and legitimized within the dominant context of teacher education while at the same time maintaining allegiance to her cultural and linguistic heritage. She was still challenging her own internalization of standard language ideologies and societal attitudes that positioned her cultural and linguistic identity as a deficit (Lippi-Green, 2004). Yet she articulated a new teacher identity that bridged her own cultural and linguistic resources with those of her students, fashioning "[her] own gods" (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999) and pedagogical third spaces (Gutierrez, Baquedano-López, & Turner, 1997). As we consider future directions in literacy research, we would be remiss not to listen to the voices of Black and Latina preservice teachers, those agents of change who are in constant dialogue between multiple worlds (Bakhtin, 1981), creating hybrid discourses that challenge an "either/or" or marginalized stance. The transformative power of hybrid discourses is silenced when the needs and insights of Black and Latina preservice teachers are positioned peripherally to dominant research

agendas. Encouraging hybrid discursive practices, and the grappling of narratives of tensions, among all preservice teachers can result in a greater awareness of the kinds of experiences K–12 students have as they participate in new discourse communities and, by extension, transform literacy education.

Note

1. This chapter draws on data and discussions from a previously published manuscript, Haddix, M. (2010). No longer on the margins: Researching the hybrid literate identities of Black and Latina preservice teachers. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 45(2), 97–123.

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2

LANGUAGE DIFFERENCE AND INEQUALITY

Cuando empecé mi primer año de escuela en el sur de Tejas en 1956, todos los niños en mi clase eran mexicanos o mexicanos americanos. Ninguno de nosotros hablábamos ni siquiera una sola palabra en inglés. En esa época, la televisión estaba en su infancia y era algo desconocido entre personas pobres que apenas tenían dinero para mantenerse. Había radios en nuestros hogares, pero como vivíamos por la frontera a menos de treinta millas de la boca del Río Grande, todas las estaciones que escuchábamos tocaban música nortea. En casa, en la comunidad, entre nosotros, el español era el idioma que usábamos para comunicarnos y para interpretar el mundo conocido. En la escuela pública ubicada en nuestra comunidad, todo estaba al revés: el uso del español era completamente prohibido.

Para cuando llegamos a la junior high school, bien conocíamos la realidad en la cual existíamos. En casa hablábamos español and at school we spoke English. Los dos idiomas se mantenían segregados just as we were kept segregated from los gringos por una vía de ferrocarril que dividía the town in half. Los gabachos had their own communities and their own shopping establishments en el downtown de la ciudad; nosotros vivíamos en nuestros barrios e íbamos de compras en nuestra placita.

By the time we got to high school, la división lingüística entre el español y el inglés collapsed completamente y we began to blend the two languages en una forma desconocida, in a way that surprised our parents y a nuestros maestros. Al mismo tiempo que nuestros padres aceptaron nuestra nueva forma de hablar, albeit with some resistance, the public schools continued to prohibit el uso del español y la combinación de los dos idiomas: el famoso espanglish. En casa y en la comunidad, we artfully switched and meshed codes, borrowing from either language lo que mejor nos servía para ser entendidos.¹

But the situation was very different in school. Because we segregated ourselves from Anglo students at the public junior high and high schools—or more to the point, were segregated from them by the racist system in place at the

time—we thought we could speak our mother tongue among ourselves at school just as we did at home and in our community. But each time they caught us speaking Spanish in school, the teachers would take us to see the principal and he would either paddle us, put us in detention, or send us home with a note for our parents—which many of them could not read because it was written in English—telling them we were not allowed to speak Spanish in school. That is how they confused us, how they taught us that the clash between our languages and our cultures was going to create an identity problem that we would have to deal with for the rest of our lives.

I wish I could tell you that the autobiographical circumstances I just rendered bilingually are a relic of the past—a consequence of an unenlightened educational policy long ago overwritten by progressive forces that took hold and introduced an era of linguistic equity, inclusion and social justice in the United States. Unfortunately, disenfranchised children in this country today who speak a language other than English are still going through what I experienced more than 50 years ago as linguistic colonization. Matters are further complicated by the fact that children who speak or write a dialect other than Standard American English (SAE) face the same consequences. As hard as progressive theorists, researchers and educators have worked to improve conditions in the nation's public schools, we still find ourselves constrained by an anti-immigrant and anti-multilingual hysteria that has almost eliminated bilingual education programs in schools across the nation and has resulted in the successful passage of English Only legislation in 31 states. Despite our best efforts, the powers-that-be continue to fix and standardize the use of language in our English Only schools (Horner & Trimbur, 2002), further limiting the ability of students to develop and deploy a more complete and flexible repertoire of linguistic practices whenever they engage others deliberately and discursively in the various personal and public spheres they are likely to inhabit over the course of their everyday lives.

As scholars in composition and literacy studies caught in the web of a historical moment profoundly influenced by new capitalism (Fairclough, 1992, 1999; Gee & Lankshear, 1995), we find ourselves looking for ways to intervene in the lives of our students in a collective effort to provide them with the critical awareness of language they need to navigate and negotiate an increasingly complex and ever fluctuating set of circumstances. At the heart of our efforts is a desire to arm our students with an orientation—a new set of dispositions—toward language that will give them the ability to respond critically and self-reflectively to the competing ideologies that hail and interpellate them (Althusser, 2001, p. 115) as they make decisions about how to use the repertoire of languages and dialects at their disposal. While understanding what it means to instill a critical language awareness in our students is crucial to our endeavor, we cannot avoid wrestling with and taking a position on the various alternatives that have been posed in the current debate regarding the development of an approach to language difference that will equip our students with the rhetorical and discursive tools they need to

navigate and negotiate the social spaces they routinely inhabit over the course of their everyday lives.

To accomplish these aims in the present chapter, I first review the development of critical language awareness by modern linguists as a strategy for equipping students (and their teachers as well) with a new set of self-reflective dispositions they can use to navigate and negotiate the various ideological approaches to language difference they are likely to encounter in classrooms, on campuses and in a range of other communities of belonging over the course of their studies and beyond. Along with Fairclough (1999), I argue that “as the shape of the new global social order becomes clearer, so too does the need for a critical awareness of language as part of people’s resources for living in new ways” (p. 71). I then unpack what several theorists, researchers and educators have described as the three ideological approaches to the teaching of language difference—the *monolingual*, *multilingual* and *translingual*—with the specific goal of demonstrating how each of these addresses (or by itself fails to address) the educational needs of all, but especially disenfranchised, students. Because I consider the monolingual (code-segregation) approach generally debilitating and the translingual (code-meshing) approach necessary but insufficient, I conclude the chapter by explaining why I believe that our students must learn to deploy multilingual (code-switching) and translingual (code-meshing) tactics and strategies—at the same time that they learn how to respond proactively to the monolingual (code-segregation) constraints they inevitably face—in the varied rhetorical and discursive circumstances they are likely to encounter over the course of their personal, academic, civic and professional lives.

The Emergence of Critical Language Awareness

Critical Language Awareness (CLA)—a perspective originally postulated by Clark, Fairclough, Ivanič and Martin-Jones (1990, 1991; see also Clark & Ivanič, 1991, 1999; Fairclough, 1992, 1999; Gee & Lankshear, 1995) in the late 1980s as the best intervention for achieving the kind of critical consciousness (*conscientização*) Freire (1970) championed—grew out of the *Language Awareness* (LA) movement founded by Hawkins (1984, 1999) in the mid- to late-1970s. At around the same time that composition and literacy scholars in the US were calling for the establishment of a *Writing Across the Curriculum* approach to the teaching of writing, Hawkins and other likeminded scholars in the UK were calling for an even more ambitious *Language Across the Curriculum* approach that included foreign languages as well as the complete English Language Arts spectrum (speaking, listening, reading and writing). Hawkins (1984, 1999) reports that he and his colleagues were tremendously frustrated in their early efforts to institute a Language Awareness approach by the failure of the schools to encourage students and teachers to develop the self-reflective awareness they need to unravel the language differences they encounter in their academic and everyday lives. In a huff

of exasperation, Hawkins describes how teachers of English at the 1978 National Congress on Languages in Education (NCLE) conference in the UK bitterly opposed a proposal that he and his colleagues put forth to improve the awareness of language use among students and teachers in the public schools (1999, p. 125).

In recounting its history, Hawkins (1999) points out that the concept of LA he and his colleagues proposed at NCLE had its roots in the work of a number of trailblazing scholars in the field of language studies. Shortly after the use of Latin experienced its growing demise in the 1950s as a university admission requirement in the UK, for example, it was modern linguists, such as Crowther and his colleagues, who raised the important question, “What should be put into the curriculum to ‘do what Latin does?’” Their response, according to Hawkins, was to call for “rethinking the whole basis of the teaching of linguistics in the schools” (cited in Hawkins, 1999, p. 125) along the lines put forth by proponents of an emerging LA paradigm. As Halliday (1975), the first scholar in the UK to refer to the need for an “awareness of language,” put it:

[each one of us] has this ability (to use language) and lives by it; but we do not always become aware of it . . . [T]here should be some place for language in the working life of the secondary school pupil, and, it might be added, of the student in a College of Education.

cited in Hawkins, 1999, p. 125

When the LA approach failed to take root as quickly as its proponents had hoped, they redoubled their efforts and forcefully accented the need for LA in schools, something that in time more theorists, researchers and educators started to take up in a collective effort to help students develop a fuller repertoire of language, cultural and semiotic resources.

Instead of having students focus their energies on the objective study of language, Hawkins and his followers called on teachers to get students to ask questions about language beyond the traditional focus on grammar and syntax. Moreover, instead of limiting their study to language’s “pragmatic” function, which simply comments on what students already know about language, Hawkins (1999) encouraged educators to get students to focus on meaning making (pp. 135–136). Hawkins believed that educators could help students overcome “an uncertain attitude to language” that caused many of them to lose confidence “in using language for particular functions, especially for exploring new and strange, possibly challenging, realities” (p. 127). The ultimate goal in becoming aware of language, Hawkins and other modern linguists contended, was to get students to focus on what Halliday calls the mathetic function of language, that is, the metacognitive use of language “to learn about reality” (Halliday, 1975, p. 15). In Hawkins’ view, the best way to measure how effectively students are learning a language is not by assessing their “mere ability to ‘survive’ in a series of situations,” but by how well the experience of learning a

language contributes “to *learning how to learn* through language” (p. 138, italics in original).

As powerful as an increased understanding of language can be in providing students and teachers with an orientation that encourages them to be more self-reflective about their language use and the language use of others, a number of scholars argued that LA as it was conceived by Hawkins and his colleagues remained too constraining because it failed to alert students to the role of power in language discrimination and standardization. To move the conversation forward, Fairclough (1992, 1999) and other scholars proposed instead that we cultivate in our students what they refer to as *Critical Language Awareness* (CLA). At the heart of CLA is a commitment to work together through the differences we face—especially when it comes to language—in every aspect of the lives we share with other human beings. The challenge, in Fairclough’s view, is to remember that

working across differences is a process in our individual lives, within the groups we belong to, as well as between groups. Working across differences entails semiotic hybridity—the emergence of new combinations of languages, social dialects, voices, genres and discourses. Hybridity, heterogeneity, intertextuality are salient features of contemporary discourse also because the boundaries between domains and practices are in many cases fluid and open in a context of rapid and intense social change.

(1999, p. 76)

Fairclough’s position here reflects an appreciation of the kind of Deleuzian desire I described in Chapter 1, but he also acknowledges the challenge of coping with what he calls a *technologisation of discourse* that “produces general formulas for change which tend to ignore differences of context, so that one effect of such cultural technologisation is normalisation, homogenisation and the reduction of difference” (1999, p. 77).

A number of scholars have extended our understanding of CLA by providing additional background information about its inception and its current value in helping all students navigate and negotiate the treacherous ideological waters they encounter in the college classroom and other communities of belonging. Clark and Ivanič (1999), who along with Fairclough and Martin-Jones originally coined the term in 1987 (see especially Clark et al., 1990, 1991), for instance, complain about how LA “ignores issues of ideology, subject-positioning and power” and becomes complicit in using language to maintain social inequities (p. 63). In their view, CLA—shaped by the same principles that inform the field of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA)—trumps LA by professing that “language is shaped by and shapes values, beliefs and power relations in its sociocultural context.” Language use, Clark and Ivanič (1999) add, can also contribute “to discursive and social change” (p. 64).

Like other proponents interested in demonstrating how CLA can be integrated into classroom practices (see Janks, 1993, 1996), Clark & Ivanič developed a CLA approach to the teaching of academic writing that provides

opportunities for students to examine and critique dominant academic discourse practices within linguistics and social science more generally. We aim to help students become more aware of the complex relationship between the institution, discourse, social power relations, identities and agency in shaping these practices. Raising critical awareness of these issues with our students allows us to focus on discourse choices and the way they position writers and readers.

1999, p. 66

At the heart of the curriculum they propose are pedagogical principles that inform most progressive approaches: *socially situated learning*, *mainstreaming* (i.e., making something available to all students and not just the marginalized), and *a questioning approach* that is constantly asking the following kinds of questions: “Why are conventions/practices the way they are? In whose interests do they operate? What views of knowledge and representations of the world do they perpetuate? What are the possible alternatives?” (p. 66).

Few scholars in the field that I am aware of have made as valuable a contribution to our understanding of CLA as Males (2000) has in his pursuit of the question “What makes CLA critical?” Males (2000) initiates his inquiry by firmly supporting the pedagogical principles laid out by Clark and Ivanič (1999), arguing that “language education should have as a goal the achievement of a critical consciousness concerning the discourse practices found in the various communities to which students belong” (Males, 2000, p. 147). Males then uses three of Gadamer’s (1993) conceptual notions (dialectic of experience, historically effected consciousness, and the dialectic of question and answer) as a frame of reference for describing how CLA can become a transformative tool when it is used effectively to cultivate a critical perspective on language. In any new experience, Males (2000) contends,

consciousness recognizes what it knows through what is other or alien to its past experience [and this] consciousness of something as other than what experience anticipates leads to the reversal of consciousness itself in that what was other, what negates consciousness’ anticipation, is experienced as a new unity through the reorganisation of past experience.

p. 149

In contrast to earlier assumptions, the dialectic of experience “does not lead to a self-knowledge that culminates in Hegel’s science or absolute knowledge but rather leads to a new orientation towards experiences” (p. 149). It produces a new

understanding of why one must experience “a distance or separation of the self from the self in the process of integrating the alien, the new, the unexpected” (p. 153). It is, Males (2000) concludes, the space opened up by this distance or separation—this venturing into a liminal space between old and new experiences, if you will—that creates the critical instance (p. 153). In the next chapter, I will discuss a critical instance in greater detail when I look at the role that *Critical Cultural Awareness*, the flipside of *Critical Language Awareness*, plays in the process of locating one’s self in the liminal space I have described here.

I would be remiss if I did not mention some of the criticism that scholars in the field have launched against CLA, especially since I agree with a number of them. In tying CLA to critical pedagogy, Wallace (1999) worries that if we see both only in terms of “resistance from the margins, the students may feel continually marginalized by the very pedagogies which are committed to their emancipation” (p. 101). For that reason, she argues, we need to make sure neither CLA nor critical pedagogy is “perceived as a marginalized activity—the particular concern of groups ‘marked’ by difference” (p. 101). If we hope to make CLA a meaningful, long-term educational project, Wallace insists that it needs to be seen as valuable by mainstream students as well (p. 102). It must also be guided, she insists, by an orientation that sees CLA as a form of resistance rather than opposition. In contrast to opposition, she points out, resistance “is a considered, reflected upon, rational stance, accompanied by justification and exemplification and open to the scrutiny of others.” Such a stance, Wallace (1999) reminds us, “allows us a degree of detachment and distance from the kind of ideological pre-judgments which some critics . . . have cautioned against” (p. 102). Based on what she learned from teaching a critical reading course founded on these principles, Wallace (1999) identifies several key aspects that reflect the kind of orientation she is proposing:

a capacity to gain some distance from one’s own identities, experiences and circumstances in light of greater understanding of those of others; an understanding of the nature of disadvantage and injustice beyond that personally experienced; being able to collaborate in discussion and debate to reach positions of consensus or agreement to disagree; and finally, having tools to articulate views rationally and coherently.

p. 104

The rest of this chapter will use the key conceptual ideas I have outlined here to support my argument that all students, but especially the disenfranchised, must be made explicitly aware of the competing ideologies that inform their language use and the language use of others. Because I agree with Svalbert’s (2007) observation that “uptake could be limited by [CLA’s] confrontational nature” (p. 298), I must also temper my enthusiasm for CLA despite the fact that I consider it the most viable response to language difference currently available to us. Overall, I

am quite impressed with the goals that proponents of an approach grounded in CLA have set for themselves and the way they are going about trying to achieve them. The one problem that remains for me is the insistence reflected in CLA that students should focus exclusively on understanding this approach as a single and isolated entity rather than examining it in the context of the tripartite network of ideological approaches that I outlined in Chapter 1. At the same time, I can understand this attitude because it is exactly what every competing ideology does: It typically presents itself as the only answer to whatever dilemma we are trying to solve.

As will become increasingly evident over the course of the rest of this chapter, I am also not completely persuaded by the number of arguments against appropriateness made by scholars who support CLA (Fairclough, 1999), code-meshing (Young, 2009; Young, Barrett, Young-Rivera & Lovejoy, 2014; Young & Martínez, 2011) and translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2013; Horner, Lu, Royster & Trimbur, 2011; Lu & Horner, 2013b) because I continue to see appropriateness as one of the key elements that anyone engaging in language use must always acknowledge when confronted with the needs of a particular genre, audience or set of goals. Because appropriateness always informs the choices we make, I want to argue that it remains a consistent and inescapable force in our everyday lives. That, however, does not mean we should all behave appropriately all of the time. As Males (2000) and Wallace (1999) demonstrate in their work, resistance is often called for and should be acted on, but it needs to be balanced with a respect for the historically grounded and widely accepted values that continue to inform our language practices. Knowing when to do one thing (resist) or the other (accommodate) is what the approach to language difference that I am proposing here is all about.

Code-Segregation Revisited

What many of us living on the border between Texas and Mexico were put through as children in our public schools more than 50 years ago as I described it in the autobiographical passage that opens this chapter continues to be a problem. To this day, many of the children from my era and I carry the negative weight of our linguistic experiences in school with us; *una vergüenza tremenda* that continues to color our perspective on the world-at-large. Despite the fact that we have all become proficient in English—some of us to the point of becoming professors of the language of power in the U.S.—and have figured out why we were forbidden to speak our mother tongue in school in the first place, we still carry traces of the shame and self-doubt that our teachers—and especially the school system that trained them to behave as they did—planted in us. Today, because most children are no longer psychologically burdened by the pernicious ideology of code-segregation, that is, because they are no longer overtly told by their schools or their teachers that their first language or dialect is lacking in skill and grace, we consider ourselves enlightened. As a consequence, many of us think we are

avoiding the damage and harm that a negative attitude among educators can visit on any child who speaks a language or dialect other than Standard American English. But are we really?

Code-segregation,² a term I coined because I was confused by the contradictory definitions of code-switching that have emerged in recent years, is a very familiar concept to any of us who grew up in pre-1960s America when racial segregation was the law of the land. As I noted in my autobiographical narrative at the beginning of this chapter, we were not only constrained to live in different communities based on linguistic, class and cultural differences; even when we all finally shared the same classrooms in middle school and high school, we were persuaded by the malevolent social, cultural, and political forces in play at the time to keep to ourselves and stay with our own kind. The personal narrative that began this chapter describes the attitudes of a school system supported by a state mandate that utterly refused to acknowledge any value in the linguistic practices children in the housing project I grew up in directly across the street from our public elementary school used at home and in the community. As the narrative makes clear, the ideology of code-segregation—founded on the basis of profound monolingual and monocultural values, beliefs and practices—encourages total assimilation by children who speak a language other than English, as well as varieties of English that have little status in the broader society. It demands that children strictly and without deviation completely adapt to a hierarchical world that has been carefully construed to avoid dealing with difference.

At least until the pre-civil rights battles of the 1960s, most educators in the United States were persuaded to enforce nativist assumptions inherent in the widely accepted practice of code-segregation. Because Standard American English was (and continues to be) firmly ensconced in our educational system as the code of power—a way with words expected of all our students—most educators and the institutions that managed and controlled their labor at the time had no qualms about eliding the alternative codes children brought with them to school from their varied communities of belonging. In Texas, where I was born and raised, for example, the use of Spanish was banned from public schools for many years after I graduated. In his award-winning essay, “*Spanglish* as Literacy Tool: Toward an Understanding of the Potential Role of Spanish-English Code-Switching in the Development of Academic Literacy,” Martínez (2010) informs us that English-Spanish code-switching is now “common in schools throughout the Los Angeles Unified School District . . . and [is] also becoming increasingly common in school districts nationwide, as demographic shifts and changing immigration patterns continue to significantly reshape the nation’s linguistic landscape” (p. 125). I hope this is true, but I suspect that because of the current anti-immigrant and anti-multilingual hysteria, as well as a deeply ingrained anti-Black racism in too many communities in this country, migrant and immigrant children who code-switch between their native language and English, and African American children who code-switch between Ebonics and

English, are still covertly and at times overtly discouraged from using both codes freely or simultaneously in the classroom.

The autobiographical narrative with which I began this chapter paints a bleak picture of what happens when schools keep students from using all the linguistic, cultural and semiotic resources available to them. It is code-segregation at its worst. It is also a manifestation of what I refer to as *language-in-stasis*, language as an entity that has become fossilized over time into a standardized variant that everyone is expected to emulate. Whether it is patterned after an ideology that grows out of a belief that sharing one language contributes to patriotism and love of country, or out of a suspicion of what others may be saying in a language someone else does not understand, the end result is the same: A negation of any other means of communication that challenges the standard by which everyone in a community is supposed to be assessed. Despite the fact that code-segregation has always been a problematic approach to teaching language and literacy to students of all ages, the disenfranchised in particular, it manages to persist in the insidious No-Child-Left-Behind tests and drills and continues to linger in the Common Core State Standards initiative currently being introduced in our public schools, both of which reinforce the depressing realization that code-segregation will never be completely excised from our educational practices. Fortunately, continuing dissatisfaction with this language-in-stasis model has given birth to code-switching and code-meshing, two alternative approaches to what language is and how it works. To better understand how we can effectively combat code-segregation in our efforts to develop meaningfully productive approaches to the teaching and learning of language and literacy, let us take a closer look at each of these alternatives in turn.

Code-Switching across Repertoires of Practice

In a thought-provoking essay titled “Nah, We Straight: An Argument Against Code Switching,” Young (2009) criticizes what he sees as “the prevailing definition of code-switching that language educators promote as the best practice for teaching speaking and writing to African American and other ‘accent- and dialect-speakers’ of English.” In his view, it represents an approach that “advocates language substitution, the linguistic translation of Spanglish or AAE into standard English,” and “characterizes the teaching of language conversion” (p. 50). To support his critique, he examines the work of Wheeler and Swords (2006) who in a recent publication, *Code-Switching: Teaching Standard English in Urban Classrooms*, promote a pedagogy based on the argument that Black English and Standard American English are equal, that is, that each is considered prestigious in its respective community, then use the former only as transitional fodder for developing expertise in the latter. Young (2009) also criticizes prominent Black linguists Rickford and Rickford (2000) and Smitherman (1977), among others, for arguing that African American students must master Black English and

Standard American English, then learn to deploy them appropriately. Although his critique of Wheeler and Swords raises some valid concerns, I would argue that his critique of Rickford and Smitherman is misplaced because he conflates what I earlier described as code-segregation with code-switching based on appropriateness of language use, the latter of which, in contrast to his critique, can be construed as a powerful approach to addressing the weighty problems that we currently confront in our efforts to develop pedagogical support for the needs of all, but especially disenfranchised, students.

There is no question that anyone who advocates dismissing the linguistic, cultural and semiotic repertoires of practice that students use at home and in their communities of belonging as soon as they have served a transitional purpose in the classroom is engaging in a modern day form of code-segregation. To dismiss the role of race, class or gender as unimportant variables in the teaching and learning of language and literacy is to harken back to the day when Standard American English was assumed to be the only code worth learning. On the other hand, I must disagree with proponents of code-meshing who are unwilling to acknowledge the critical distinction that progressive scholars make when they argue that we must expand the repertoires of practice students bring with them to the classroom and encourage them to deploy their full arsenal tactically, strategically and appropriately as they navigate the multiplicity of linguistic and cultural contexts that they encounter in the course of their everyday lives. In so doing, these students are acknowledging a critical language awareness of the role that hierarchical power plays in the choices they are called on to make. Moreover, as I noted in my critique of Leander and Boldt's (2012) effort to dismiss the New London Group's contributions to the field in Chapter 1, I simply cannot ignore the critical contributions that some of the most highly acclaimed theorists, researchers and educators in the field have made to our understanding of how best to use the rhetorical and discursive resources disenfranchised students in particular bring with them from their homes and communities of belonging. This is why I believe that it is time for us to re-appropriate the term code-switching and rehabilitate it so that we can use it more productively in our work on language difference.

In K-12 settings, for example, a form of code-switching that advances the cause of social justice has manifested itself in the development of an array of carefully researched curricular and pedagogical approaches that value and use the languages and dialects students bring with them to the classroom from their communities of belonging. This particular form of code-switching—in contrast to what Young et al. (2014) describe as code-switching but I prefer to describe as code-segregation—acknowledges the important role that appropriateness plays in language use. Of the many researchers who have contributed to this work, I will focus on Lee (2007) and Gutiérrez (2008) because their strategies are assiduously crafted and have been widely adopted by progressive scholars in the field.

In her research, Lee has developed a *cultural modeling framework* that demonstrates how “powerful connections between African American students’ everyday language practices and the skills required to interpret canonical literary texts . . . can be effectively leveraged in the service of academic learning” (Martínez, 2010, p. 127). Grounded in ethnographic research in an inner city high school setting, Lee (2007) uses her work on the African American rhetorical practice of signifying to develop an alternative to theories informed by what she describes as structural differences, cultural deficits, and cultural mismatches that ignore the value inherent in the funds of knowledge (González, Moll & Amanti, 2005; Moll, Amanti, Neff & González, 1992) students bring with them to school. Gutiérrez (2008), on the other hand, has studied the linguistic and cultural repertoires that Latino and Latina students bring with them as Spanish and English bilinguals in the context of what she calls the Third Space, “a transformative space where the potential for an expanded form of learning and the development of new knowledge are heightened” (p. 152). In her work, Gutiérrez (2008) provides a well-traveled and thought-out map for how we can help what she calls nondominant and I call disenfranchised students acquire repertoires of practice, that is, “both vertical and horizontal forms of expertise . . . [that include] not only what students learn in formal learning environments such as schools, but also what they learn by participating in a range of practices outside of school” (p. 149). In her carefully construed ecological approach, learning is organized in such a way that conversation, dialogue and examination of contradictions are privileged across learning activities with varied participation structures: tutorials, comprehension circles, writing conferences, *teatro*, minilectures and whole-class discussions (p. 154).

Unfortunately, what I refer to as code-segregation has manifested itself in more conservative terms that lie closer to Young et al.’s (2014) description of code-switching in first-year college writing programs and Writing Across the Curriculum settings, primarily because their proponents have generally assumed that students in higher education need to be initiated into more rigorous and demanding English Only academic contexts. While proponents of first-year writing approaches have noted the importance of valuing the linguistic and cultural repertoires that students bring to the classroom, until very recently, the inclination has been to focus on the demystification of academic language to make it easier for students to adapt to an array of academic discourses that grant little opportunity for the integration of the linguistic practices or the lived experiences students bring with them. This approach continues to be grounded in work that assumes disenfranchised students are being asked to learn a new dialect and new discourse conventions in the process of acquiring “a whole new world view” (Bizzell, 1986, p. 297). As Bartholomae (1986) put it when this perspective first emerged: Any student entering the academy “has to learn to speak our languages, to speak as we do, to try on the peculiar ways of knowing, selecting, evaluating, reporting, concluding, and arguing that define the discourse of our

community” (p. 4). The almost exclusive devotion to academic discourse among proponents of Writing Across the Curriculum at the expense of the linguistic and cultural repertoires that students bring with them to the classroom has been no less stringent. In both instances, it is assumed that to be successful, students must learn how to code-switch (as Young et al. define the term) from their home languages and dialects to academic discourses and in the process leave the linguistic and cultural repertoires they bring with them at the door.

Along a continuum with code-segregation at one end and code-switching (as I define these terms) at the other, there is no question that the curricular and pedagogical practices used in college and university settings are much closer to the former than the practices invoked in K-12 settings. I would argue that this occurs because of the different institutional contexts and time constraints that inform each set of practices. It is also true that like code-segregation, code-switching (as I describe it) asks us to adapt to the world by behaving appropriately. There is no way around that. Educators who support a progressive form of code-switching certainly acknowledge the importance of having students develop a critical awareness of how language works in varied contexts. But where the ideology that informs code-segregation is based on a profound fear of change to the point of paralyzing language, that is, freezing it in place as some idealized standard language performance, code-switching (as I define it) acknowledges that change is inevitable and purports that the best option available to our students is for them to figure out how to use their “full quiver” of linguistic, cultural and semiotic resources to address what Selfe (2009) has described as the “wickedly complex communicative tasks” that we all face in an increasingly “challenging and difficult world” (p. 645). Unlike the form of code-switching promoted by such teachers and scholars as Wheeler and Swords, the brand of code-switching I advocate, which always goes hand in hand with code-meshing, is a manifestation of what I call *individuals-in-motion* because it is a tool our students can use nimbly, tactically, and self-reflectively rather than only intuitively to navigate and negotiate the curricular and pedagogical spaces they inhabit in our college classrooms, across our campuses and in an array of other communities of belonging as they move *from* one social space to another and *within* varied social spaces as well.

Code-Meshing as Pedagogical Alternative

In the back cover to their edited collection titled *Code-Meshing as World Englishes: Pedagogy, Policy and Performance*, Young and Martínez (2011) posit what they see as the most striking difference between their versions of code-switching and code-meshing:

Although linguists have traditionally viewed code-switching as the simultaneous use of two language varieties in a single context, scholars and teachers of English have appropriated the term to argue for teaching

minority students to monitor their languages and dialects according to context. For advocates of code-switching, teaching students to distinguish between “home language” and “school language” offers a solution to the tug-of-war between standard and non-standard Englishes. . . . The original essays in this collection offer various perspectives on why code-meshing—blending minoritized dialects and world Englishes with Standard English—is a better pedagogical alternative than code-switching in the teaching of reading, writing, listening, speaking, and visually representing to diverse learners.

n.p.

According to Young (2004), who coined the term code-meshing as an alternative to code-switching and code-mixing (p. 713),³ the ideology behind code-meshing “holds that people’s so-called ‘nonstandard’ dialects are already fully compatible with standard English. [Thus,] code meshing secures their right to represent that meshing in all forms and venues where they communicate” (Young, 2009, p. 62). Although it acknowledges that standard principles for communication exist, a code-meshing approach “encourages speakers and writers to fuse the standard with native speech habits, to color their writing with what they bring from home” (pp. 64–65). Managed appropriately, Young contends, the implementation of a code-meshing approach “has the potential to enlarge our national vocabulary, multiply the range of rhetorical styles, expand our ability to understand linguistic difference and make us in the end multidialectical, as opposed to monodialectical” (p. 65).

Other proponents of code-meshing have reinforced and expanded Young’s original conceptions of what is clearly a new and refreshing take on how educators can support the repertoire of linguistic, cultural and semiotic practices that students bring to the writing classroom. In keeping with Young’s efforts to simultaneously acknowledge and destabilize the value of Standard American English by “extending the range of grammatical forms that students may use to express themselves,” Barrett adds that “code-meshing recognizes the importance of *both* standard and undervalued varieties in contexts beyond the classroom (Young et al., 2014, p. 43, italics in original). But this can only happen, Barrett stresses, if educators in the field of composition and literacy studies are willing to acknowledge that

all forms of language contain variation and that *all* forms of language are regular rule-based systems. Teaching Standard English in ways that exclude undervalued dialects from the formal aspects of school curricula and testing is destined to make children feel uncomfortable and unwelcome in academic environments. By fostering the use of multiple varieties of English, the code-meshing approach can be beneficial to students both

in teaching self-respect and in fostering the ability to communicate across a wider range of social contexts.

p. 51, italics in original

As Lippi-Green (2011)—another proponent of code-meshing—sees it, code-meshing is grounded in “the belief that it is possible for people to live their lives free of the compulsion to choose between language varieties” (p. xii). Code-meshing, then, is conceived of as a critical strategy that educators need to encourage students to consider in the writing classroom because it disrupts the range of constraints imposed by the forces of fixity and standardization at the same time that it provides them with opportunities to blend the repertoire of languages and dialects they bring from home with those they encounter in school.

In his contributions to the literature on code-meshing, Canagarajah locates Young’s concept at the heart of current trends in composition and literacy studies—transcultural literacy, translanguing writing, multiliteracies, translanguaging and plurilingualism, to name a few—that aim to disrupt forces of assimilation and standardization. According to Canagarajah (2011b), adherents of all these related approaches operate on the basis of several principles, among them the belief that

- Languages are always in contact and influence each other.
- All the codes in a multilingual user’s repertoire are a continuum, not discrete elements.
- Multilinguals do not have separate competencies for separately labeled languages (as traditional linguistics assumes) but an integrated competence that is different in kind (not just degree) from monolingual competence.
- Although stable systems of language (in the form of registers, genres, and dialects) do evolve from local language practices, they are always open to renegotiation and reconstruction as multilinguals mesh other codes in their repertoire to achieve the voice they want.

pp. 273–274

At the same time that he reinforces many of the principles that inform a code-meshing approach, Canagarajah introduces a degree of caution that is often missing in the often overly optimistic renderings of the role that code-meshing can play in preparing students for the difficult rhetorical and discursive challenges they, like all of us, face in a world where the contestation of ideologies often produces more confusion than clarity, more diffidence than self-confidence. Scholars, he states bluntly, “must guard against romanticizing the concept” (2011b, p. 276). In my view, Canagarajah offers a more nuanced description of code-meshing that complements a number of the arguments I have made in this chapter. But in contrast to his claim that “codeswitching treats language alternation as involving bilingual competence and switches between two different systems” while “codemeshing treats the languages as part of a single

integrated system” (2011a, p. 403), I contend that code-switching and code-meshing should be treated as complementary parts of a single integrated system rather than as dichotomous practices. Much of what he suggests in supporting his own contention, I would argue, parallels much of what proponents who embrace code-switching and code-meshing have claimed. For example, just as I do, Canagarajah contends that “students have to develop a critical awareness of the choices that are rhetorically more effective” (2011a, p. 402). After all, he reminds us, code-meshing is not “a mechanical activity independent of the specific communicative situation” in which it takes place. Moreover, he adds, “one has to carefully assess the extent to which one can codemesh in a given context” (p. 404). In other words, there will be times when students (as they do when they code-switch in the way I have been describing it) must downplay code-meshing entirely if the circumstances call for it.

Lu and Horner (2013a), who have clearly acknowledged the value of code-meshing in the past as well, recently commented on the on-going debate about the relationship between code-switching and code-meshing. Some writers, they note,

appear to assume that taking a translingual approach to language would require that students engage in code-meshing, and that they avoid code-switching, in their writing, and that they avoid producing writing that appears to simply reproduce standardized conventions of syntax, notation, register, and organization. However, from our perspective, taking a translingual approach does not prescribe the forms of writing that students are to produce. Instead, it calls on students (and their teachers) to develop specific dispositions toward languages, language users, contexts and consequences of language use, and the relations between all these, and to do so in all their engagements with reading and writing.

p. 29

Although code-meshing is without a doubt a useful strategy that we need to teach all our students, its use must be tempered by the realization that rhetorical circumstances sometimes compel students to engage in code-switching, not because it is a compulsive response as Lippi-Green (2011) suggests, but because it happens to be the more appropriate response to a particular rhetorical situation.

Appropriateness and Appropriation

As I have demonstrated over the course of this chapter, some theorists, researchers and educators in the field of composition and literacy studies are convinced that code-switching (as code-meshing proponents have defined it) is anathema and code-meshing is our only viable alternative (Canagarajah, 2006, 2011b, 2013; Horner et al., 2011; Young, 2009; Young et al., 2014; Young & Martínez, 2011). Others (Guerra, 2012; Lu & Horner, 2013b), however, have begun to argue for

accepting code-switching (as I have defined it in this chapter) and code-meshing as a legitimate tandem of approaches to language difference that together form a continuum rather than a binary. Lu and Horner (2013b) frame the argument in this way:

[A]dopting the temporal-spatial framework of a translingual approach identifies agency in the production of what is recognized as code-switching and also what is recognized as code-meshing, as writers contribute in both these types of writing to the ongoing process of language sedimentation and the production of difference through recontextualization. To assign agency to only one of these kinds of practices results from a failure to locate the practices themselves temporally, as always emergent and necessarily subject to recontextualization with every utterance.

p. 600

My 40 plus years as a writing teacher—many of them spent in college writing classrooms with some of the most underprepared students that Chicago's inner-city communities produced in the 1970s and 1980s—have persuaded me that code-switching *and* code-meshing, rather than code-meshing alone, unquestionably provide the best response at our disposal.

In the midst of the complex linguistic, cultural and semiotic challenges our students face in their everyday lives, the need to be rhetorically savvy trumps all other language practices. As much as many of us would like our students to engage in the lively practice of code-meshing on a continuous basis, we know from lived experience that context matters. We never speak or write the same way everywhere; we always adapt or adjust in appropriate ways that are always measured by degrees of difference. But whenever the moment calls for it, we do not hesitate to resist in ways that are measured by difference in kind. Let me illustrate what I am describing here by using the autobiographical narrative with which I began this chapter as a case study to explain what I see as the difference between adaptation and resistance. As you may recall, the first paragraph in this chapter is written entirely in monolingual Spanish and represents my first language, the one I spoke exclusively until I walked into my first grade classroom and our teacher Mrs. Rosales began to teach us English. In the context of the three ideological responses to language difference I outlined earlier in this chapter, the second and third paragraphs in the bilingual narrative illustrate code-meshing at its best. In both of these cases, I purposefully and dramatically resisted reader expectations. The fourth and final paragraph illustrates the act of code-switching that I am still engaged in as I write these words, at this very moment, right now, in real time. It is the response that I felt compelled to call on to make sure I would have a better chance of communicating my ideas with the largest number of anticipated readers: other scholars in my field of study.

Let us speculate for a second. What if I had decided to write in monolingual Spanish from the moment I began this chapter until its end? While a handful of readers may have praised me as the ultimate rebel for taking a definitive stance against the straight-jacketing constraints of the Standard American English and English Only academic discourses that U.S. scholars teach and traffic in, a larger number of readers would have been disappointed because I would not have met their expectations. On the other hand, if I had kept code-meshing throughout the chapter the way I did in the two middle paragraphs of the autobiographical narrative that I used to open this chapter, all non-Spanish or monolingual English readers would have managed to pick up at least half of what I wrote, but would have had difficulty following the logic of my inquiry because large chunks of information would have been inaccessible to readers with limited Spanish proficiency. As a consequence, we would have suffered a different kind of communication breakdown. In the end, I obviously decided to use what we recognize as academic English for the rest of this chapter because our ultimate goal as writers and rhetoricians enacting discourse is always to communicate as effectively as possible with whatever audience we have elected to address. That choice, to me, is what code-switching as I have defined it is all about. We read our audience, and we perform in a way that reflects the dynamic tension between a clueless conformity and a relentless rebellion. To put it another way, our decision as writers to engage in code-switching or code-meshing is guided by our continuous reading and re-reading of what is linguistically appropriate in any context and our willingness to appropriate language practices available to us and to use them in a particular rhetorical manner. The closer we choose to stick to convention in *any* setting, the more likely we are to engage in code-switching; the more we choose to be innovative in our language use, the more likely we are to engage in code-meshing.

If we are interested in creating conditions in classrooms under which students can acquire the tools they need to navigate and negotiate the troubled waters of their linguistic, cultural and semiotic existence, we must first encourage them to develop a critical awareness of how language works. While they should feel at home with their growing repertoire of rhetorical and discursive practices, they also need to be able to enact them with some degree of dexterity. In Bawarshi's (2003) words, we need "to teach our students how to become rhetorically astute and agile, how in other words, to . . . become more effective and critical 'readers' of the sites of action (i.e., rhetorical and social scenes)" (p. 165) within which—to borrow Young and Martínez's (2011) words—reading, writing, listening, speaking and visually representing take place. Our students must also learn how to adapt themselves to each rhetorical or discursive situation they encounter by calling on whatever languages, dialects or combinations thereof they deem most productive, knowing at the same time that it is their responsibility to resist the constraining limitations imposed by the rhetorical or discursive circumstances they find themselves in if they hope to make themselves fully heard. In short,

it is not up to us as educators to tell our students how they should deploy their linguistic, cultural and semiotic resources; it is up to each of them to decide which of those resources they wish to invoke based on the rhetorical or discursive circumstances they happen to be facing. It is for this reason that I want to encourage us all to provide our students with the critical language awareness they need to make instantaneous decisions about how best to respond to any rhetorical or discursive situation they are likely to face. False dichotomies that cleave their options by framing them as either/or rather than both/and or neither/nor (more on this in the next chapter) are more likely to impede them and grant the decision-making power to us as their teachers rather than keeping it where it belongs: in our students' hands.

Spanish to English Glossary

una vergüenza tremenda [a tremendous shame]

teatro [theater]

Notes

1. Below is a translation of the passages in Spanish—in the context of the original English—that appear in the first three paragraphs of the autobiographical passage that opens this chapter. An English translation of all the other single Spanish words, phrases and sentences I use throughout the book appear in separate glossaries at the end of each chapter.

When I started my first year of school in south Texas in 1956, all of the children in my classroom were Mexican or Mexican American. None of us spoke even a single word of English. Back then, television was in its infancy, and it was something relatively unfamiliar among poor people who were barely able to make ends meet. There were radios in our homes, but because we lived on the U.S.–Mexican border less than 30 miles from the mouth of the Rio Grande River, all the stations that our parents listened to played music from northern Mexico. At home, in the community, among ourselves, Spanish was the language we used to communicate with one another and to make sense of the known world. At the public school located in our community, everything was backwards. The use of Spanish was completely prohibited.

By the time we got to junior high school, well we knew the reality of our situation. At home we spoke Spanish and at school we spoke English. The two languages were kept segregated from one another just as we were kept segregated from the Anglos by a railroad track that divided the town in half. White people had their own communities and their own shopping establishments in the downtown section of the city; we lived in our barrios and would go shopping in our little plaza.

By the time we got to high school, the linguistic division between Spanish and English collapsed completely and we began to blend the two languages into an unrecognizable form, in a way that surprised our parents and our teachers. At the same time that our parents accepted our new way of speaking, albeit with some resistance, the public schools continued to prohibit the use of Spanish and the combination of the two languages: the famous Spanglish. At home and in the community, we artfully switched and meshed codes, borrowing from either language whatever best allowed us to make ourselves understood.

2. In the current debate about how we can best address matters of language difference in the writing classroom, the concept of code-switching has been defined in ways that have convoluted our understanding to the point where we often end up speaking at

cross purposes when we use the term. In an effort to provide some transparency, Barrett (Young et al., 2014) recommends that we make a distinction between *situational code-switching* and *metaphorical code-switching* to describe “the social aspects of alternating between languages” (p. 29). In her view, the first of these two describes “the use of one language variety in school and another language variety at home” (p. 30). This, she declares, is how we should use the term code-switching exclusively in our discussions. Barrett then contends that the term code-meshing has effectively replaced metaphorical code-switching to describe the blending of home and school identities through the process of “combining rather than switching between Englishes” (Young et al., 2014, p. 1). In this chapter, I will use the term code-segregation to describe what Barrett describes as situational code-switching and use the term code-switching to describe a very different set of circumstances. In my conception of code-switching, students do indeed shift from one language or dialect to another on the basis of their understanding of what is appropriate in a particular context. But in contrast to code-segregation, which devalues the home language or dialect and forces educators to get students to transition away from it and toward the exclusive use of Standard American English, my conception of code-switching acknowledges the fact that progressive educators value the home languages and dialects that students have already developed in other contexts and are devoted to expanding their existing repertoires of language and literacy practices in ways that will equip students to respond to the evershifting rhetorical situations they are likely to encounter in their everyday lives in a linguistic marketplace that values both difference *and* appropriateness.

3. Most of us in the field have no doubt assumed that Young coined the term code-meshing, but he humbly grants Gerald Graff credit for coining the term: “A little more than a decade ago, the term code-meshing came up in a conversation I had with literary critic and writing studies scholar Gerald Graff (aka Jerry). I was in his office discussing possible topics for my dissertation. As I wavered over a comparison of Native American and African American autobiographies, a rhetorical analysis of African American drama, or the failure of code-switching to provide African Americans equality, Jerry asked something like, ‘What was that you were telling me about code-meshing and African American literacy?’ ‘Code-meshing?!’ I thought. What a great term for what I had been describing to him for months as a blending of discourses, a diglossic, if not heteroglossic (multi-voiced) approach to speaking and writing. So the term code-meshing was really coined by Jerry Graff, and I acknowledge his generosity in allowing me to use it all these years” (Young et al., 2014, p. xiii).

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