

ENGAGING WITH LATIN@ “ETH(N)ICAL ISSUES” IN MIDDLE SCHOOL
SPANISH: USING TRANSLANGUAGING AND COMPREHENSIBLE
INPUT APPROACHES TO ADVANCE SPANISH PROFICIENCY
AND SOCIAL JUSTICE GOALS

by

Michael Garrett Delavan

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Education, Culture, and Society

The University of Utah

August 2017

Copyright © Michael Garrett Delavan 2017

All Rights Reserved

The University of Utah Graduate School

STATEMENT OF DISSERTATION APPROVAL

The dissertation of Michael Garrett Delavan
has been approved by the following supervisory committee members:

Verónica E. Valdez, Chair 5/24/2017
Date Approved

Frank Margonis, Member 5/24/2017
Date Approved

Clayton Pierce, Member 5/24/2017
Date Approved

Karen Lichtman, Member 5/24/2017
Date Approved

David Schwarzer, Member 5/24/2017
Date Approved

and by William Smith, Chair of

the Department of Education, Culture, and Society

and by David B. Kieda, Dean of The Graduate School.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation reports on practitioner inquiry into a year-long curriculum in middle school Spanish II built around Latina/o cultural topics with social justice implications. A comprehensible input approach supported both the development of a core vocabulary in Spanish and discussion of these issues. Translanguaging—accessing linguistic resources across supposedly separate languages—allowed teacher and students to heighten complexity and comprehensibility. The study used a critical sociocultural theory lens and mixed methods to perform case studies of two classes with a focus on three students of varying positionalities. I asked (1) how the two classes interpreted and applied the central social justice concept used in the course (*bilocal culture-crossing, BCC*), (2) how much their Spanish improved, (3) how motivating and satisfying they found the experience, and (4) how case study students' positionalities shaped their experiences of the curriculum.

The first and last research questions yielded six findings: First, students joined me in translanguaging in order to make themselves understood around the complexity of power relations. Second, students actively used discourses of taking others' perspectives. Third, students increasingly recognized and spoke back to issues of unfairness. Fourth, students also began to use the term BCC as a way to discipline and admonish others. Fifth, student resistance centered on the term I had coined and, in one class more than the other, on perceived one-sidedness in some of the videos we discussed. Sixth, students

participated in our BCC discourse community through processes of self-recognition work. For case study students this meant using their positionalities as lenses with which to understand BCC. The one case study student of color appropriated BCC in a way that constituted Walter Mignolo's concept of border thinking. In response to the other research questions, students' Spanish proficiency grew sufficiently to meet these state and district objectives, with Fourth Period showing more growth and Sixth Period attaining higher proficiency; and Fourth Period was less satisfied by the experience, citing issues with relevance, comprehensibility, and clarity of language goals. Implications for theory, practice and future research are discussed, including the significance of the study for Latinas/os in world language classrooms.

For those who have been led to feel less worthy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	x
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
Chapters	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
Research questions.....	5
Significance of the study.....	6
Theoretical framework.....	9
Organization of the dissertation	32
2 THE STUDY’S LOCATION IN THE LITERATURE.....	34
U.S. Spanish teaching’s problematic context	35
The TCI movement and scholarship in second language education.....	50
Scholarship on social justice teaching in world language education	81
3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	94
Practitioner inquiry as a form of qualitative research in education	94
Context of the research site.....	99
Participants.....	100
Data collection	103
Ethical considerations in interviewee recruitment and data management	109
Data analysis	111
4 SETTING THE STAGE: THE TRANSLANGUAGED CURRICULUM, THE TWO CLASSES, AND THE CASE-STUDY STUDENTS.....	125
Curriculum and instruction	125

The two classrooms.....	130
Three case study students and their positionality	130
Organization of findings chapters	132
5 STUDENTS INTERPRETING AND APPLYING BILOCAL CULTURE-CROSSING WITH COMPLEXITY, RESISTANCE, AND (SELF-)RECOGNITION.....	136
Finding 1: Translanguaging as a form of BCC.....0....	137
Finding 2: BCC interpreted and applied as taking others’ perspectives.....0....	140
Finding 3: BCC allowed recognition of and a speaking back to issues of unfairness	144
Finding 4: BCC as a disciplinary technology to enforce seeing others’ perspectives	149
Finding 5: Resistance to BCC.....	150
Finding 6: Student positionality shaped how self-recognition work was taken up in BCC.....	157
Chapter summary	195
6 CHANGES IN PROFICIENCY	200
Average Spanish proficiency growth and goal attainment were acceptable by state and district standards, Fourth showing more growth and Sixth attaining higher proficiency	200
Case study students all progressed less than the average student and all partially underestimated that progress.....	201
Chapter summary	205
7 STUDENT MOTIVATION AND SATISFACTION.....	208
Fourth Period	209
Sixth Period.....	216
Case study students	220
Chapter summary	224
8 SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND IMPLICATIONS	227
Summary of the study.....	227
Overview of discussion and implications	231
Interpreting and theorizing the findings.....	232
Implications for P-12 educators and those who mentor them.....	242
Methodological limitations and implications for further research.....	251
Final thoughts.....	252
Appendices	
A. STUDENT JOURNALING INSTRUCTIONS	254

B. PROFICIENCY ASSESSMENTS	258
C. PARENTAL PERMISSION DOCUMENT	269
D. STUDENT ASSENT FORM.....	275
E. INITIAL AND FINAL CODEBOOKS	280
F. OPEN DISCLOSURE DOCUMENT FOR THE COURSE	282
REFERENCES	289
ENDNOTES	308

LIST OF TABLES

3.1 A schematization of how the research questions were answered.....	123
4.1 Calendar of topics and activities.....	134
5.1 Findings on interpretation and application of BCC and case-study student positionality.....	197
5.2 A comparison of phrases used to describe realizations.....	198
5.3 A comparison of the three case study students' acrostic poems that spelled out BCC.....	199
6.1 Proficiency results of the two classes.....	206
6.2 Miguel's changes in proficiency over time.....	206
6.3 Rainy's changes in proficiency over time.....	207
6.4 Kirk's changes in proficiency over time.....	207
7.1 A comparison of motivation and satisfaction in the two classes.....	225
7.2 Distribution of quantitized scores of statements in journaling about motivation and satisfaction.....	226

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACTFL = American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages

BCC = bilocal culture-crossing

CI = comprehensible input

IRB = Institutional Review Board

L1, L2 = first language, second language

TCI = teaching with comprehensible input, which includes TPRS

TPRS = Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling, Total Physical Response
Storytelling

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks go to Miguel, Rainy and Kirk. This dissertation would not have been nearly as deep an exploration without their openness in sharing their thoughts with me. I am indebted as well to the rest of the Spanish II students. This study would not have been possible without their informative responses to the curriculum. I am also thankful to the administration of “Eastside” Middle School and its district office for giving their support to the study. Many thanks go as well to my three critical friends for their crucial feedback. These and other colleagues at Eastside were a crucial asset in the success of my doctoral studies.

I am grateful for the support I was offered at the University of Utah and particularly in my department, Education, Culture and Society. It is hard to find words that can do justice to how much I want to thank my dissertation chair, Dr. Verónica Valdez, for her unwavering patience and warmth through the often discouraging work of the research and writing process—not to mention the stumbling and growth in soul that coincided with my doctoral studies. I extend the same ineffable gratitude to Dr. Frank Margonis for his decade of support through several reinventions of my academic focus and several bouts of extracurricular soul searching. These two individuals have made a deep imprint on my life.

The other members of my committee also challenged me fruitfully. The courses I took with Dr. Clayton Pierce and his plentiful feedback stimulated my intellect in

poststructural and decolonial directions. Dr. Karen Lichtman made sure my study remained more broadly significant by adequately addressing proficiency and the literature on TCI's effectiveness. Dr. David Schwarzer was crucial in helping me clarify my research questions and the presentation of my answers to them.

I also want to thank friends who lightened and informed my work. I am much obliged to Charlie Andrews for his plentiful hospitality with snacks, meals and conversation. There were many fellow doctoral students who made the journey unlonely and far richer, but particular thanks go to four of them. Engin Atasay and Greg Bourassa helped me hone my theoretical and emotional self. Delila Omerbasic was a generous listener, and Juan Freire was an incredible collaborator, spirit-lifter and treasure trove of job-getting advice. In the realm of nondoctoral friends, I want to thank Jeff Brown for his many hours as sounding board on doctorate talk and Lora Kohler and Eric Spreng, who were a huge boost to the writing process by insisting that each chapter's completion be formally celebrated. Most especially I am indebted to Thomi Liebich for a herculean degree of compassion in helping me navigate the crises that emerged during the research and writing. Thomi was *sine quo non* with respect to this dissertation, as was Becky Bailey.

Lastly I want to thank family. My parents and brother were the ones who set me on an intellectual path and helped me see it through when it had eroded off the cliff in places. My wife, life-partner-in-crime and best friend, Beth Niederman, was, well, gold. She was there for me in ways no words have been invented to say.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The TPRS [Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling] mantra of “bizarre, exaggerated and personalized” may make for fun and entertaining stories occasionally, but with such a powerful art form at one’s disposal, should one not focus on using it to teach students about themselves and each other, rather than just to get a laugh? TPRS attempts this to a degree by encouraging personalization of the stories, but teachers may want to consider endowing the stories they create with some deeper meaning as well.
—Brune (2004, p. 47)

TPRS shows a decided preference for teacher-created, nonauthentic stories with minimal cultural content. ... For the TPRS teacher, considerations of culture, comparisons, connections, communities, and all other content are secondary to the development of listening comprehension and oral proficiency. In this way proponents of TPRS focus on certain skills and set aside others.
—Alley & Overfield (2008, p. 19)

[Bilocal culture-crossing means] ethnical issues and contradicting
op[*i*]nions
—Rainy, case study student

One problem in world language education in the U.S. is that there is a lack of conversation and collaboration between two innovative communities. One community is the group of academics who are (a) calling for world language teaching that develops students who are more attuned to issues of social justice with the goal of developing a fairer and more multilingual society (Kubota & Austin, 2007) and (b) seeking to redefine how we see language and language teaching away from monolingualist notions of standardized and named language “s”¹ that ought to remain separate (Canagarajah, 2011b;

García, 2007). I define *social justice* as the work of honestly confronting the inescapability of social and cultural politics and how they often entail inequities in access to social and material resources; such inequities result from the privileging or normalizing of phenomena such as European colonialist knowledge and culture, White-dominant racialization, maleness, heterosexuality, “popular” or “cool” local status, particular appearances or body types, ecologically unsustainable uses of material resources, and dominant language “s” and language varieties. The other community are those P-12 educators like myself who are developing instructional strategies under the umbrella of *teaching with comprehensible input* (TCI), where *input* refers to any linguistic information received. TCI is now the driving approach within the Denver Public Schools and many individual schools and classrooms scattered around the U.S. The TCI community innovates user-friendly ways to fill 90% of class time with engaging, personalized dialogue in the target language that effectively fosters student fluency by focusing on a core vocabulary of high frequency language structures.

This lack of collaboration parallels a problem I had in my own teaching. I became an adult education and high school teacher in 1999, and in 2007 I added to that the role of doctoral student of educational research. I began using my position as a researcher to confront issues of social justice in education at the level of policy critique. With this to distract me, I let my development as a critical teacher stagnate even while my effectiveness at increasing students’ fluency and literacy in Spanish increased steadily since my shaky self-reinvention as a middle school Spanish teacher in 2008. I had planned to concentrate my studies on critiquing a new wave of neoliberal discourses entering U.S. language education policy but I came to realize in 2013 that I was

underutilizing my own classroom as a forum for confronting policy discourses that I was seeking to challenge. Like many other world language educators influenced by the social justice conversation in academia, I had strived to introduce a social justice component into my middle school Spanish I and Spanish II curriculum, yet I had been operating on the assumption that this needed to be conducted in English as a sidebar to the core work of providing as much comprehensible input in Spanish as possible. This separation put TCI and social justice teaching in competition for space in my curriculum. Because of this gulf between the TCI and the social justice teaching communities—and the corresponding gulf between the two types of teaching I do in my classroom—I and other educators knew little of what it might look like to teach *with* comprehensible input *for* social justice.

The purpose of this dissertation research was to begin the conversation between TCI and social justice education by conducting a practitioner inquiry project in my middle school Spanish II classroom that implemented a curriculum meant to address the three goals of the course: 1) increase in the Spanish proficiency elements of students' linguistic repertoires, 2) engagement with social justice issues related to Spanish-speaking countries and populations, and 3) increased student motivation and satisfaction. I viewed my research as a means of exploring how the middle school classroom can be an important locale for the critique of social injustice and policy. I would like to believe that as Schwarzer, Bloom and Shono (2006) suggest, I marshalled my own unique passions as tools in making my research as empowering as possible to all participants, particularly the students in my classroom, as I undertook this research. Thus, to meet the three goals, I built on the TCI techniques at the center of the existing curriculum with the addition of

social justice content and translanguaging approaches. First, TCI techniques were applied to social justice content in the target language that asked students to do socially just learning of language and culture, what I called *bilocal culture-crossing*. Language use during discussion and other activities built around cultural topics with social justice implications was expressed in a way that allowed teacher and students to negotiate meaning utilizing participants' natural propensity toward translanguaging.

Translanguaging refers to how speakers draw on their entire repertoire of linguistic forms as opposed to using distinct languages at distinct times. It includes the idea of codeswitching but it challenges the idea of separate, named languages. Language is seen from the students' or users' perspective as opposed to the perspective of the language "s" used. A translanguaging approach to instruction is built on advocacy for language minoritized communities and a political opposition to the status hierarchies among language practices; therefore, a translanguaging pedagogy grapples with the contradiction of also strategically celebrating identities constructed around language "s" like "Spanish" and preparing students to function well in locales driven by the monolingualist discourses it opposes (García & Leiva, 2014; Yip & García, 2015). I theorized that taking an approach to my planned curriculum that combined TCI and translanguaging pedagogy would lead to students being more motivated to learn Spanish and satisfied with the Spanish they learned. I taught two classes—Fourth Period had 16 students while Sixth had 24—and that offered the opportunity to use comparison as a tool for exploring patterns in how students responded to the experience. Four students agreed to be considered as case studies, and I was able to select a group of three with varying positionalities; this offered the opportunity to explore more deeply and with more nuance

whether and how patterns at the classroom level necessarily held true for individuals with unique sets of identifications.

Research questions

The research questions I asked were as follows:

1. How did the two classes interpret and apply bilocal culture-crossing—the social justice concept at the center of the curriculum?
2. As the two classes participated in the translanguaging approach to TCI, how did the “Spanish proficiency” portion of students’ repertoires change over time?
3. How motivating and satisfying was the experience for the two classes and what reasons did they offer?
4. How did case study students’ positionalities shape their experience of the middle school Spanish curriculum implemented in these two classes?

I grounded my research in a critical sociocultural theory lens and implemented a mixed-methods case study approach using qualitative thematic analysis and content analysis to analyze data gathered from student interviews, classroom observations, student-produced documents, critical friend dialogues, and teacher and student evaluations of language proficiency.

The first and fourth research questions came to be paired because student positionality made a difference primarily in the interpretation and application of bilocal culture-crossing; together the questions yielded six findings: First, students joined me in translanguaging in order to make themselves understood around the complexity of power relations. Second, students actively used discourses of taking others’ perspectives. Third, students increasingly recognized and spoke back to issues of unfairness. Fourth,

students also began to use the term bilocal culture-crossing as a way to discipline and admonish others. Fifth, student resistance centered on the term I had coined and, in one class more than the other, on perceived one-sidedness in some of the videos we discussed. Sixth, students participated in our bilocal culture-crossing discourse community through processes of self-recognition work. For case study students this meant using their positionalities as lenses with which to understand bilocal culture-crossing. The one case study student of color appropriated BCC in a way that constituted Walter Mignolo's concept of border thinking. In terms of the second research question, students' Spanish proficiency grew sufficiently to meet state and district objectives, with Fourth Period showing more growth and Sixth Period attaining higher proficiency; and in terms of the last question, Fourth Period was less satisfied by the experience, citing issues with relevance, comprehensibility, and clarity of language goals.

Significance of the study

This dissertation research is a means of studying my attempt to have language learning and social justice goals collaborate rather than compete for curricular space and to fill three gaps in the literature. As a first gap, though there have been plentiful calls for more critical and activist forms of teaching world languages, little has been written about the attempts teachers have made to put such recommendations into practice. Crookes (2010) reports "the foreign language (FL) field within English-speaking countries has been less active" than English teaching fields in taking up critical approaches "despite their early development by Crawford (1978; Crawford-Lange 1981)," adding that newer critical pieces "have provided useful analyses and advocacy but have few actual instances of radical FL pedagogy to report on" (p. 338). Muirhead (2009) is an emblematic

example. After offering a critical reconceptualization of the concept of culture and describing the sensibilities of a critical world language teacher who can guide students toward “perspectives that challenge injustices and inequities” (p. 265), he leaves it to others to study practice directly by posing these two questions: How do such teachers who “embody the main principles of a *pedagogy of possibility*” both (1) “integrate culture into their classrooms” and (2) experience that integration as participants (p. 264)? Only a handful of studies (reviewed in Chapter 2) have looked at attempts teachers have made to put such recommendations for social justice teaching into practice in secondary world language classrooms (Goulah, 2005, 2011a; McCrea, 2016). The current study gives a more detailed picture of how much transformation of knowing and identity are observable over the course of a year-long curriculum.

As a second gap, though there has been much research studying code-switching (and its potential benefits) in secondary world language classrooms in the U.S. (Alley, 2005), nothing has been written about the application of the concept of *translanguaging* to this area. The lens of translanguaging has been applied frequently to U.S. classrooms in elementary bilingual education programs (Sayer, 2013) and world language education at the higher education level (Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2015). Though at the secondary level it has been applied to linguistically minoritized students in classrooms of varying content (García, Flores, & Chu, 2011; García & Sylvan, 2011; Menken, 2013), and complementary (community-run heritage-language) schooling for secondary students (García & Kano, 2014), it has not yet been applied to world language classrooms specifically. One indicative fact is that the leading journal for discussion of instruction in this context, *Foreign Language Annals*, features no mention of the term translanguaging.

Work has begun outside the U.S. on translanguaging in classes designed primarily to bring multilingualism to speakers of the dominant language of instruction in their context, but is so far limited to complementary or community-run heritage language schools (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), content-based secondary instruction (Paulsrud, 2016) or summative assessment rather than classroom interaction (Stathopoulou, 2016). Wei and García (2016) call for studies like mine that “conduct research on translanguaging in other educational contexts with dominant language students,” adding that though “there has been much interest in the use of a first language in foreign language instruction” the field is yet to “embrace translanguaging wholeheartedly” (p. 11).

As a third gap, the discourses and practices of the TCI discourse community have in particular not been studied at any instructional level from the perspective of teaching languages for social justice. As the epigraphs to this chapter attest, there has been until now no exploration of how a practitioner might integrate such a social justice orientation with TCI practices.

I have attempted to fill these gaps in the literature by using practitioner inquiry to study what happened as I tried to integrate complimentary, meaningful, and effective ways for students to learn Spanish and become critical examiners of the world. I studied a curricular shift that combined TCI’s focus on a comforting comprehension that avoids the *discomfort of exams* with social justice teaching’s focus on the *discomfort of examining* conflict, unfairness and oneself. I shifted from a sidebar approach to cultural politics in my prior curriculum to its front-and-center integration with the TCI goal of high levels of comprehensible input in the target language. I built on Goulah’s (2005)

recognition that his self-researched teaching was limited by too little use of L2 versus L1 in presenting social justice content (p. 340), and I facilitated comprehension of complex content via translanguaging on the part of both teacher and students so that students could marshal their entire communicative repertoires to make sense of the curriculum. My project was both a means of filling gaps in the literature and a means of speaking back from the classroom as both a language teacher and language education researcher to the policy context that makes my work risk complicity in the legacies of disempowering education, colonialism, racism, and discourses of globalization that largely benefits elites.

In the following sections of this introductory chapter I will outline the critical sociocultural perspectives of teaching and learning that frame my study and the key theoretical concepts I drew on to develop and implement the curriculum that is the focus of this study. I begin by examining macrolevel structures of power that were the context for this research project. I will then describe how I conceptualize my teaching in response to these macrocontexts and the micropolitics of student agency and learning. I then outline the theories that shape my understanding of TCI, translanguaging, and bilocal culture crossing used in the curriculum approach used in this study.

Theoretical framework

Critical sociocultural theory of teaching and learning

I approach this study from the perspective of critical sociocultural theory. Sociocultural theory encompasses those theories that view learning as embedded in social activity and mediated by cultural sign systems. Cynthia Lewis, Patricia Enciso and Elizabeth Moje (2007) define sociocultural theory as drawing on education, psychology, anthropology, sociology, and linguistics to explore “the intersection of social, cultural,

historical, mental, physical, and, more recently, political aspects of people's sense-making" and thus learning (p. 2). Enciso (2007) argues that all sociocultural formulations share the perspective that one must consider the social and the cultural contexts of individuals to arrive at an adequate explanation of "transformation in human thought and behavior" (p. 52). Lev Vygotsky is seen as an early significant voice emphasizing these aspects of learning. His theory of "mind and culture" sees thought and action arising as individuals interact with the "tools" or "mediational means" available in the surrounding culture(s): "metaphors, concepts, objects, and implements"; and these tools undergo transformations similar to those in the minds of their users (Enciso, 2007, p. 52). Vygotsky's version has wide influence, but many other theoretical formulations have come under the umbrella of sociocultural theory.

I follow the articulations of *critical* sociocultural theory in Lewis and colleagues (2007), Moje and Lewis (2007) and Lewis and Moje (2003), who draw on Vygotsky and many others. Critical sociocultural theory brings particular attention to "the conflict and tension that is always present" in the communities studied and the role of agency and resistance (Lewis & Moje, 2003, p. 1979), connecting microobservations to macrolegacies of historical power struggles (Lewis et al., 2007). Critical sociocultural theory urges us not to assume that learning in community is a smooth process of arriving at belonging but rather an ever contested struggle over the often inequitable terms of belonging and therefore a constant flux of resisting, adopting and reshaping forms of knowledge and identity.² It is about confronting "the social and cultural politics" of what one studies (p. 10), that is, employing both a *micro* and *macro* lens of social justice. I then supplement this work by returning in more detail to theory it has built on but only

quickly summarized: Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger's (1991) and Wenger's (1998) theory of learning and knowing as relational, as participation that is socially, culturally and historically situated in *communities of practice* and that involves the construction of new identities.

Conceptualizing the macrocontext of Spanish teaching in the

U.S. as discursive structures of power that regulate practice

For this study I follow Lewis and colleagues (2007) in thinking of power in a way that has grown out of the work of Michel Foucault. In this conception, power circulates rather than emanating from one dominating source, thus it is “produced in and through individuals” as they form subject or identity positions and perform any practices in their interactions (p. 4) that entail competing for “access to and control of resources, tools, identities” (Moje & Lewis, 2007, p. 17). I use the term *practice(s)* to refer to the more physical actions of individuals and groups, and I use the term *discourse(s)* to refer to those ways of thinking and making meaning, such as through language, that recommend or make available to individuals certain identities and practices; discourses are what structure space and time for us, what allow us to interpret what we experience.³

Institutions—like schools—and the discourses that go along with them are the larger “*structures of power*” (Lewis et al., 2007, p. 4) that recommend identities, “regulate practices, and rationalize actions and events” as common sense (p. 6), but they do not contain all the power because they are in fact reproduced by the cumulative effects of individuals’ micropractices of power; and they are sometimes resolidified even when individuals are “attempting to challenge or subvert oppressive power relations” (Moje & Lewis, 2007, p. 18).

Lewis and Moje (2003) call for sociocultural scholarship “that looks carefully at the macro as it shapes the micro” (p. 1979) in which scholars ask “who (people, institutions, etc.) is not on the scene that is getting something” out of the local, situated events directly under study (p. 1980). Answering this call, this study highlights three discursive structures of power that shape Spanish teaching in the U.S. They will be outlined here and then more fully elaborated in Chapter 2.

Colonial standardization

The discourse that positions what is thought of as “Spanish” as knowledge to be taught in U.S. P-12 schools emerges from the historical process of the European colonization of much of the world. Castilian Spanish owes its widespread use to conquest and subjugation that involved economic exploitation if not enslavement as well as the systematic second-classing if not destruction of indigenous bodies, knowledge and languages (Darder, 2014; García, 2014). In addition to the discourses of race and White supremacy that European colonization has left us embedded in, this historical process forged discourses that structure how we think of language—or *linguaging*—itself (Mignolo, 2012). Makoni and Pennycook (2007) argue that the colonial process—and the simultaneous process of the fossilization of European nation-states—sparked the *inventing* of standardized, bounded and distinct languages, which we have inherited as common sense. Castilian Spanish was also the first modern language to be standardized by a “grammar,” whose author, Elio Antonio de Nebrija, argued for a discourse of correctness/incorrectness as a useful tool for political control within the newly unified Spain as well as for conquest abroad (Pennycook, 1989). Mignolo (2003) tells us that Nebrija “knew that the power of a unified language, via its grammar, lay in teaching it to

barbarians, as well as controlling barbarian languages by writing their grammars,” and that Nebrija “was obsessed with the control of the voice by mediation” of the alphabet, which he considered superior to other writing systems (pp. 39, 41). This testifies to the close connection between the move toward centrally regulated languages and the colonial project. The colonial legacy has left in place power imbalances around hegemonic (discursively dominant) and commonly-taught languages like English and Spanish and their speakers, but also the more local injustices of hegemonic school-endorsed language varieties of those languages that force marginalized students to culture-cross great distances in order to access any privileges that U.S. schooling offers (Kubota & Austin, 2007).

Walter Mignolo (1992, 2003, 2005) is an important decolonial voice relevant to this study because of his work on the colonization of language in Latin America and the discursive construction of Latin America and Latin@s.⁴ In particular, Mignolo’s concept of *border thinking* forms an important piece of how I conceive bilocal culture-crossing. Border thinking fights for wiggle room within the domination of the Western epistemology that was spread by colonization by seeking out perspectives from the local histories that were buried by these global designs. Mignolo (2012) profiles scholarship happening at the colonial margins as examples of how border thinkers are struggling within but against the colonial legacy. “Border thinking that leads to decoloniality is of the essence to unveil that the system of knowledge, beliefs, expectations, dreams, and fantasies upon which the modern/colonial world was built is showing, and will continue to show, its unviability” (p. ix). Mignolo argues that this one local history that was raised above all others as supposedly universal is ultimately doomed to fall in stature in the face

of globalization because resistance to the colonial standardization of culture is alive and well. As an example of border thinking he offers the work of Gloria Anzaldúa, from whom he took the border metaphor, and Rigoberta Menchú. These women produced important personal narratives of collective struggle in the Spanish-speaking world—*testimonios*—that have helped Mignolo and many other scholars think beyond colonialism and other forms of oppression (Pérez Huber, 2009). The social justice teaching this project studies was an attempt to expose students to such border thinking by unburying some local Latin@ histories.

The Exam

Foucault (1995) describes *the Exam*⁵ as a mechanism of discourses and practices within a larger historical shift in 18th-century Europe that intensified the means of control over the population through the knowledge disciplines and related professions and institutions that emerged in this so-called Enlightenment period. The Exam is “a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, classify and to punish,” establishing over individuals “a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them” (p. 184). Foucault argues that continual instances of examination from within the various disciplines of knowledge—such as medicine or the social sciences—enacted a norm-enforcing process that “partitioned the area that the laws had left empty” such that these disciplines “defined and repressed a mass of behavior that that relative indifference of the great systems of punishment had allowed to escape” (p. 178). As schooling gradually replaced apprenticeship as the pervasive institution of learning, the Exam permeated the learning process. Rather than the tradition in apprenticeships of a single, final and often perfunctory examination, testing now punctuated an atomized

curriculum at every meticulous, analytical increment. The Exam “broke down the subject being taught into its simplest elements, it hierarchized each stage of development into small steps” (p. 159). Pedagogical traditions shifted from a paradigm of *analogy* or *example*, where an apprentice observed, copied and assisted a master, to one of *analysis* or *elements* where the knowledge to be learned was broken down into increments studied in isolation from each other and in isolation from the space and time in which experts were applying such knowledge (p. 158).

I see the Exam as this ideological (discursive) structure of power that continues today in the assumptions of curriculum designers and teachers, as well as in the ascendant policy logics of the *neoliberal* or “free”-market movement toward “school reform,” “accountability” and standardization that promises social and economic equality through a test-and-punish overhaul of public schooling in the U.S. The Exam has become the auditing of standardized learning in what Apple (2006) calls the “audit culture” of the high-stakes testing movement. My study will see TCI for social justice as a resistant form of participation in the formal schooling community—one that exerts agency to resist and undermine the power structure of the Exam and the way it constrains teacher and student agency.

Neoliberal revalorization of multilingualism

In U.S. P-12 world language education, the move toward standardization is visible in the widespread adoption of the ACTFL standards since their 1996 debut. They appeared in the wake of the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* passed by congress in 1994 (ACTFL, 2011). This policy event further legitimated and supported a movement toward national standards across content areas that had arisen out of the 1989 National

Education Summit and the 1989 curriculum standards published by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (Schwartz & Robinson, 2000). Fortunately, two anti-Exam discourses have mitigated the examinatory nature of these standards: (a) Culture has been added to the standards—since 1999 (Malamut, 2011)—and been treated rather open-endedly; and (b) the discourse circulating in the profession of a move away from performance (rehearsing for exams and specific scenarios) toward proficiency (widely applicable communicative ability measurable only in vague rubrics—which I see as a good thing). Hence we do not see in the ACTFL standards the traditional examinatory world language curriculum of lists, grammar rules and banal themes except as suggestions of possible applications of the more broadly stated goals.

Neoliberal discourse is, however, exerting a less rosy influence over language education by paying it a larger amount of specifically framed attention. Language education in the 21st century is being selectively revalorized by the neoliberal understanding of globalization beyond the U.S. (Darder, 2002; Darder & Uriarte, 2013). This perspective on globalization resembles the ascendance of human capital discourse in education, where knowledge is cast primarily as individual and national economic investment (Becker, 1962). Promises that this economic focus for public policy—in language education or elsewhere—will bring more equality rarely come true (Atasay & Delavan, 2012). Valdez, Delavan, and Freire (2016) and Valdez, Freire, and Delavan (2016) argue, for example, that in the last decade in the U.S. a policy discourse shift away from an equity/heritage framework toward a globalized human capital framework is accompanying a gentrification of dual language education where the White, *monanglicized* majority are benefitting most. Contemporary neoliberal policy discourses

should be read as intensifications of longstanding structures of economic power that likewise call for the intensification of longstanding resistance on the part of critical educators.

Conceptualizing study participants' identity and agency among multiple cultures, that is, sharable discourses and practices maintained within (imagined) communities

This study documents a teacher's attempt at social justice teaching that resists structures of power like the three I just explained and it examines how students respond in ways that could not have been predicted; both of these are phenomena that involve *agency*, which in a general sense refers to humans' capacity for self-direction and partial liberation from structures of power, that is, the "power to control how one's self, identity, relationships, and activities are made and remade on a daily basis" (Lewis & Moje, 2003, p. 1992). Lewis and colleagues (2007) argue that critical sociocultural scholarship should look both at the influence of structures of power as well as examine the unpredictable productions or flows of power at the microlevel, which is where they see agency happening. I follow them in locating agency within a conception of how individuals are positioned relative to culture.

This project sees cultures as sets of sharable discourses and practices that are maintained within communities. I take the perspective that individuals have multiple and shifting identities that are only available to them via necessarily *social* participation in necessarily *cultural* communities. Social interactions expose individuals to cultures and entail knowledge of cultures, that is, to sets of possibilities for meaning-making (discourse) and action (practice). To call cultures sets of *sharable* rather than *shared*

discourses and practices places emphasis on this idea of delimiting a set of possibilities rather than an overly homogenized or unified view of culture. Cultures reside in communities—not isolated, singular and permanent but overlapping, often fleeting, and with porous and shifting borders. Individuals participate in—or maintain multimembership in (Wenger, 1998)—a wide array of communities, some smaller, some larger and able to contain many subcommunities, some more face-to-face and in-the-moment and some closer to “ideational groupings across time and space” (Moje & Lewis, 2007, p. 16) or *imagined communities* (Anderson, 2006 [1983]; Kanno & Norton, 2003). To give examples pertinent to this study, TCI will be seen as a community, each class will be seen as a community, and students will be seen as members of communities such as their families, their racial identifications, and the like.

This study follows Lewis and colleagues (2007) in seeing identities as “positions that individuals enact or perform in particular settings within a given set of social, economic, and historical relations” rather than looking for a singular identity that is a “stable, internal state of being” (p. 4). In this conception identities are evolving performances of community memberships that emerge from the “learning trajectories” one has traveled (Wenger, 1998, p. 154); identities are the effect of one’s participation in the discourses and practices of one community or another. Yet identity is also enacted by what we do not participate in, as Norton (2001) describes while studying students who choose not to engage in language classrooms. Identities are therefore also the positions from which we resist—whether briefly or steadfastly—discourses and practices we are not motivated to take up or communities we are not motivated to be members of.

Identities cannot avoid the influence of structures of power that “shape how

people are recognized” (Moje & Lewis, 2007, p. 20) since it is through “enactments of identity” that social and economic structures are instantiated (Lewis et al., 2007, p. 4). Following Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain (1998) I will use the term *positionality* to refer to those identities that are “inextricably linked to power, status, and rank” and include “the more durable social positions” of gender, class, race, and ethnicity and the various privileges and resources those give one access to (p. 271). The wiggle room among these positionalities and structures of power is how we can think of agency. Agency is located within these choices that are inherent in the many options for identity performance. Hence I follow Lewis and colleagues (2007) in seeing agency as “a way of positioning oneself so as to allow for new ways of being, new identities” (p. 5). I agree with Moje and Lewis (2007) that agency entails “the strategic making and remaking of selves, identities, activities, relationships, cultural tools and resources, and histories, as embedded within relations of power” that occasionally disrupts or remakes the structures of power (p. 18). Agency describes our potential to “reshape discourse communities, or make new ones” (p. 20) as we “enact powerful identities within culture and structural relations, at times challenging oppressive regimes, at time only tweaking them, and at times reproducing them” (p. 24). Yet this conception attempts not to exaggerate agency’s share of one’s participation in discourse and practice—it is only the wiggle room. Power circulates in such a way as “to afford degrees of agency” that allow us to resist but only “at times” transform (Lewis et al., p. 4).

Learning and teaching as agentic repertoire building for participation

In the conception I am employing, any teacher attempting a new social justice approach is enacting agency by attempting to rework his or her teacher identity in relation

to the institution of schooling. In this theoretical framework, such a remaking of identity also constitutes *learning*, which can be thought of as any “transformation of knowing” (Wenger, 1998, p. 139) of sharable discourses and practices. Lave and Wenger (1991) echo Foucault’s historical reading of examinatory schooling by decentering formal schooling, with its “parasitic practice” of testing (p. 112), and returning to apprenticeship as a model for their depiction of learning. Apprenticeship works to suggest that learning is primarily something that occurs outside of formal schooling and that occurs very naturally as individuals find themselves participating in new or changed communities because “learning, thinking, and knowing are relations among people in activity” (p. 51). Apprenticeship as a model suggests that learning needs to be thought of less as learning *about* and more as learning *to*. This positions learning as the principal way individuals adapt in response to the world since learning can be thought of as “the historical production, transformation, and change of persons” (p. 51); hence learning “implies becoming a different person with respect to the possibilities enabled” by one’s systems of relations (p. 53) because “learning and a sense of identity are inseparable” (p. 115). This view puts learning at the center of human engagement with the social and physical world. If our identities stem from our learning trajectory through our community experiences, then we are what we have learned to talk about and do—we are our sharable repertoire.

As students participate in the class of a teacher attempting a new social justice approach, they are asked to participate in new discourses and practices. To the extent that they make sense of these new discourses and practices—agentic sense making that involves “acquisition or appropriation of, the resistance to, and/or the reconceptualization of skills [practices] and knowledge [discourses]” (Lewis & Moje, 2003, p. 1992)—they

are learning: They are remaking themselves as more aware—whether as members or nonmembers—of other communities. These students are building a repertoire of sharable practices and discourses they have built from the resources that constitute the repertoires of the communities they have encountered (Wenger, 1998). Learning as *situated participation* was Lave and Wenger's (1991) way of rejecting the then prevalent view of learning as internalization. They argue for a conception of learning not solely internal to the mind but out amidst the interactions of people in the process of activity. Situatedness is not meant to communicate merely that all learning happens somewhere at some time; it is meant to communicate that learning is embedded in social relationships. It is meant to emphasize that meaning is never fixed in advance but negotiated in the context of activity where “agent, activity, and world mutually constitute each other,” and it is meant to imply that learners are “concerned, engaged [and] dilemma-driven” as they learn in the midst of problem-solving that often has very high stakes for them (p. 33).

Yet students in the class of a teacher attempting a new social justice approach will not always feel motivated to participate in ways preferable to the teacher. Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that *motivation* can be read as an effect of the process of linking one's identity to membership and the satisfactions of increasing participation in the practices of a community. Wenger (1998) adds to the concept of participation—and thus the concepts of motivation and satisfaction—the crucial consideration of *nonparticipation* and *marginality*: “Because we inevitably come in contact with communities of practice to which we do not belong, nonparticipation is an inevitable part of living in a landscape of practices” (p. 165). Nonparticipation and marginality may be the result of real or perceived exclusion a student has not chosen, yet at other times it may

be an agentic stance taken by a learner briefly or protractedly unmotivated to identify with and participate in a classroom community or a teacher’s authority over it. To clarify the concept of motivation for second language learning in particular, I draw on Robert Gardner’s model of language learning motivation where “desire to the learn the language or satisfaction with learning the language do not in themselves reflect true motivation” but instead “must co-exist with effort” (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995, p. 506). When I asked students to journal about how “motivated” they felt and how they felt about their Spanish abilities (see Appendix A), they offered discourses around desire to learn and satisfaction with learning. Their degree of effort was more observable in my own fieldnoting.

Theorizing curriculum for a world language
and social justice classroom

Teaching with comprehensible input:

What it offers and what it needs

The TCI community grounds itself in the research that shows that plentiful and engaging input—information received—in the target language that learners can comprehend is the key to effective and enjoyable language acquisition (Krashen, 2004). The TCI community is collaborating to continue to move the profession away from an orientation still common in P-12 education: an overemphasis on output—language that students produce—and its “correctness” or, stated differently, an overemphasis on a narrow range of language functions students are assumed to need to be able to perform that often involves directly or indirectly drilling grammar rules and themed vocabulary lists. The TCI community takes the position that this orientation all too often results in

discouraged and unresourceful language learners. TCI offers an ever-developing set of techniques teachers can employ to fill the majority of class time with engaging, personalized dialogue in the target language. This approach seeks to foster proficiency by developing a core vocabulary of high frequency language structures that can be applied to a wide variety of communicative situations in which a broader competence can eventually be acquired.

As detailed in Chapter 2, TCI is effective precisely because the teacher (or the text) is doing most of the talking and simplifying the input to language structures that students are likely to acquire earlier, already know, or can remind themselves of using immediate resources. Unlike immersion or “authentic” language approaches that also prioritize input, *comprehensible* input approaches use translation and other forms of translanguaging to establish meaning for new vocabulary or structures and then offer students engaging repetitions and recombinations of that which already makes sense. Rather than a “get students talking” approach where students are expected to remain motivated and develop proficiency quickly through an emphasis on output activities with peers (where students are expected to personalize the experience for themselves), TCI personalizes what the teacher is saying based on dialogue with students (student output) in order to *get students listening*.

TCI is a term coined in 2009 by Diana Noonan and Ben Slavic (personal communication) to broaden the community’s focus from its original focus on Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling (TPRS), an approach developed by Blaine Ray in the 1990s that centered on collaborating with students on weaving silly, engaging stories and reading similar novellas.⁶ TPRS’ influence is attested to by the fact that many

traditionally structured secondary world language textbooks have begun creating addenda for adapting their use to TPRS. Following iFLT (2013) and Herman (2014) my use of the term TCI is meant to include but decenter TPRS. Though TCI has received surprisingly little attention in academia, research has begun to bear out the effectiveness of TCI at developing language competence and motivating students to continue language study (Lichtman, 2014). That said, research on TCI has overwhelmingly focused on a *test-for-acquisition* rather than *describe-participation* model of research (Donato, 2000; Sford, 1998), and my study combines these so as to give a fuller picture of the potential of TCI for improving world language education.

Although the approaches the TCI community advocates bear similarities to many strains of language education and are not entirely unique, *the importance of the TCI community is that it arguably constitutes the largest and most coherent community espousing these discourses in U.S. P-12 world language education and therefore has the most potential as an agent of change in the profession.* Yet as the epigraphs to this chapter suggest, some researchers have noted that TCI has historically been oriented toward silly storytelling and has ignored more serious content. Now that we know from research that TCI is effective, and now that the TCI community has begun to embrace versions of TCI beyond the silly storytelling, it is important to understand how students and teachers respond to teaching with comprehensible input *for social justice*. If the TCI community were to become more social-justice oriented, its influence on the profession could be all the more positive.

I was drawn to this research because of my convictions that to more effectively teach and learn Spanish with comprehensible input does not remove teachers' and

students' ethical responsibility to confront (a) the particular legacy of the brutal colonization and racialization that gave Spanish its global importance (b) the problematic curricular traditions and policy pressures exerting power within world language education, and (c) other inequitable discourses and practices that exert historically patterned power through curricular materials and teacher-student interactions in U.S. classrooms more generally. These more general inequities would include, as mentioned earlier, the privileging or normalizing of maleness, heterosexuality, "popular" or "cool" local status, particular appearances or body types, unsustainable uses of material resources, and dominant language "s" and language varieties. I built on academic literature within decolonial studies (Mignolo, 2012) and world language education (Kramsch, 2011; Meadows, 2010) to give a name—*bilocal culture-crossing*—to the perspective-taking practice I asked of my students. I also draw on the literature on translanguaging to disrupt monolingual, standard language views of language learning and teaching. With the bilocal culture-crossing term/practice I hoped to draw students' attention to how they and others navigate back and forth between familiar and unfamiliar viewpoints or *locales* (cultural spaces) in a world built on a history of conflict. By choosing the term bilocal—in this first sense signaling the two locales involved in perspective-taking—I also intended to signal that this approach hopes to have students *buy local* with their language knowledge; by this I mean being open to whatever local translanguaging opportunities it makes possible for them rather than unquestioningly *buying into* narratives that provide problematic rationales for their language learning and my language teaching.

Translanguaging and transcultural competence

Discourse communities are clearly locales where people learn to participate in language practices. Translanguaging is a way of conceptualizing how we develop and draw on a unified repertoire of language forms gathered from participation via our multimembership across various discourse communities. Ofelia García (2007) imported this term into the U.S. language education context from Welsh bilingual education in order to counter monolingualist discourses of standardized and named language“s” that ought to remain separate. Of various related concepts that have emerged in recent years as means of extending and complicating the concepts of multilingualism and code-switching—such as Canagarajah’s codemeshing (2011a) and translingual practice (2013)—it is perhaps the concept most suited for application to studies of P-12 teaching and learning. Creese and Blackledge (2015) argue that the family of terms of which translanguaging is a part places speakers rather than languages at the center—hence the concept of *languaging* rather than *using a language*. These new terms refuse to see meaning-making as “confined to the use of languages as discrete, enumerable, bounded sets of linguistic resources” but rather as emanating from speakers’ repertoires that “extend across languages and varieties” (p. 21).

Allowing students to use their whole linguistic repertoire—both receptive and productive—is at the heart of a translanguaging approach to teaching. Translanguaging pedagogy is about allowing and utilizing translation and code-switching but simultaneously undermining the simplistic dualism and neatness in the concept of switching between “two” named language“s.” It is about employing students’ full repertoires to maximize comprehension, motivation and satisfaction. Sayer (2013) calls

for teaching that “allows for translanguaging in the classroom not only as a way of making sense of content and learning language, but also as a legitimized means of performing desired identities” (p. 63). In addition, part of the power of translanguaging pedagogy comes from its ability to leverage the metalinguistic awareness and cross-language transfer that students naturally build when given the opportunity. Wei and García (2016) write, “Research is beginning to emerge that shows that focusing on how to do language, regardless of features, is a much better way of acquiring the ‘standard’ features of language that schools require, than drilling students only on those features”; they therefore call for a “focus on developing students’ general linguistic proficiency (i.e., the ability to use language to express complex thoughts, summarize, infer, find evidence, joke, etc.) regardless of specific language features” (pp. 10-11).

Translanguaging pedagogy is uniquely positioned to take advantage of the learning potential of remaining between languages.

Language“s” are bracketed or put in quotation marks in a translanguaging pedagogy, but they are by no means ignored because they are important constructions within the cultural politics that students must navigate. A translanguaging approach to education is built on a social justice orientation toward language minoritized communities and thus straddles a “contradiction” (Wei & García, 2016): (a) a political opposition to the hierarchization of language practices, and (b) preparing students to function well in locales driven by monolingualist discourses (García & Leiva, 2014). Yip and García (2015) advocate for translanguaging pedagogy to be seen as “also teaching students to suppress certain features when asked to perform overtly according to the norms of a named language” because “of course,” they continue, “spaces must be

constructed where bilingual children are given opportunities to perform in one language or another.” The idea is to foster more agency by giving students practice at staying in character while performing within structures of power.

**Bilocal culture-crossing to promote discourses
and practices of social justice**

Unfortunately, P-12 language education in the U.S. has traditionally apprenticed students with an analyzed-elements view of language where the discursive power of the Exam shaped the process. The TCI community formed by drawing on anti-Exam discourses and gathering together a set of practices that apprenticed learners by analogy and example in ways that were often more effective, motivating and satisfying. Yet the TCI community has underdeveloped discourses and practices around how to go about teaching culture. Meanwhile, a discourse community has been developing in the field, primarily at the university level, that has brought the discourse of social justice teaching into the study of and preparation of teachers for world language education. The present study has been my own agentic attempt to bring the TCI community into conversation with the social justice conversation in academia. I wanted to apprentice my students into broader discourses so they could contextualize their learning of language within an ethical understanding of the communities that use it so that as they more fully participated in Spanish-speaking communities beyond the classroom, they would do so with an openness to the diversity of Spanishes and their translanguaging speakers as well to the cultural politics at play.

Bilocal culture-crossing was the term I decided to use to encapsulate what I was asking students to do and how I conceptualize my social justice approach to

implementing the cultural component of world language teaching. I built it around the how the major organization of world language teaching in the U.S. (ACTFL) conceptualizes the cultural component of best practices in world languages, for example,

With a strong cultural component present in a language class, students can better make connections to other disciplines, can develop the insights necessary to make comparisons to their own native language and culture, and can discover ways to better participate with and relate to different communities at home and around the world. (Cutshall, 2012, p. 32)

Yet I followed Kubota (2004) in wanting to give the standards' call to see target-language-community "perspectives" a more critical edge that would challenge an essentialized view of culture.

When I looked to the Modern Language Association, I found that they had moved officially in 2007 toward a conception of university language teaching as instilling *translingual/transcultural competence*.⁷ This signaled that many in the profession were abandoning the goal of having students emulate the monolingual native speaker and his or her statically conceived culture in favor of the goal of having students operate between languages and mediate among cultures with the end of "cultural pluralism" in all its complexity rather than for the simplistic and euphemistic "illusion of effective communication" (Kramsch, 2011, p. 16). Kramsch writes,

Translingual competence is not the simple juxtaposition of two equally valid dictionary meanings, nor is transcultural competence the bland coexistence of multiple cultures under the happy banner of diversity. Rather, both represent an awareness of the symbolic value of language and a willingness and ability to engage in the difficult task of cultural translation. (p. 29)

This view of language learner as culture-crosser echoes how Meadows (2010) envisages *intercultural* competence that should be a goal of the world language classroom: "An interculturally competent individual is one who exhibits a critical consciousness of

self/other perspectives, thus an ability to mediate successfully across cultural communities” (p. 265). What thus comes to matter more in the translanguaging and intercultural/transculturally oriented world language classroom is the process of apprenticeship to a never finished or fully plannable repertoire of linguistic competence and ethical use of cultural knowledge. It is on this activist intercultural/transcultural vision for language education—one that fosters student identities of critical examiners rather than scheduling them into exams—that I build my social justice approach to TCI and the educational traditions it already subverts. Mignolo’s (2012) border thinking adds a decolonizing thrust to my approach that explicitly opposes the neoliberal revalorization of multilingualism and neocolonial interest in world languages. By making the hearing of the local voices of the colonially marginalized an ultimate goal of culture-crossing, my project seeks to be part of a larger one to dismantle the hegemony of European thought and the designs of the Global North.

Bilocal culture-crossing thus encapsulates the intercultural/transcultural notion that we can learn through cultural contact and conflict to navigate back and forth between more familiar and less familiar discourse perspectives or cultural locales. It is meant to communicate at a level of abstraction middle school students are capable of that I am asking them to consider how people do or might move back and forth between cultural viewpoints—embedded within power relations—as they learn a language used by diverse communities of practice and discourse both near and far from the classroom. The student assent form and the parent permission form attempt to put the concept in layperson language by stating, “Students will be asked to do bilocal culture-crossing by considering similarities, differences and questions of fairness while studying issues in Spanish-

speaking communities.” *Fairness* here signaled social justice discourse, which, again, I saw as the work of honestly confronting the inescapability of social and cultural politics and how they often entail inequities in access to social and material resources; such inequities result from the privileging or normalizing of phenomena such as European colonialist knowledge and culture, White-dominant racialization, maleness, heterosexuality, “popular” or “cool” local status, particular appearances or body types, ecologically unsustainable uses of material resources, and dominant language “s” and language varieties.

My coinage of bilocal culture-crossing (henceforth, BCC) came about as an expansion of the term *bicultural*, which has been widely used to describe marginalized students in U.S. classrooms (Darder, 2012) as well as the goals of language teaching programs that also serve privileged students (Tedick, Christian, & Fortune, 2011). Interrupting the term *bicultural* with the terms *local* and *crossing* is meant to point to issues of locale, globalization, standardization, movement and hybridity. It is meant to contain echoes of the discourse of promoting “cross-cultural understanding” through world language education (Kramsch, 2011, p. 17) as well as the discourse urging us to *buy local* in the face of the capital flights endemic to economic globalization. It is a way of signaling how I am trying to teach a colonial, globally dominant language in a decolonizing way by introducing students to discourses and practices that resemble the border thinking theorized by Mignolo (2012) and the intercultural/transcultural competence as described by Meadows (2010) and Kramsch (2011).

Combining translanguaged TCI with transcultural BCC in effect calls for a kind social justice *hearing* in world language classrooms that does not mean the abandoning of

effective practices like those that emerged from TCI's teacher-authoritative *telling* roots. Using BCC to move from silly storytelling to serious *storyhearing* implies a process where the more privileged parts of teacher and student knowerhoods are asked to better *hear* the more subjugated via culture-crossing between the bilocality of discourses and practices and the power they transmit. Storylistening (Brune, 2004; Freadman, 2014; Sturm, 2002) and storyhearing (Guillén & Bermejo, 2008; Mason, Vanata, Jander, Borsch, & Krashen, 2009) are already concepts at play in theorizing language classrooms, and they offer a more thoroughly input-driven and learner-centered reformulation, though a learner-centeredness focused on *meaning*-making rather than *output*-making. Osborn (2006) articulates a vision very similar to such a storyhearing: "Teaching world languages for social justice" by asking students to "learn to listen to the stories in the community and classroom" around them "is not a passive skill, it is activism" (pp. 33, 60).

Organization of the dissertation

Chapter 2 will situate the study in the academic literature. It will (a) review literature on the problematic policy context of Spanish teaching in the U.S., (b) situate the teaching-with-comprehensible-input (TCI) movement within the second language education literature, and (c) review the literature on social justice teaching in world language education. Chapter 3 will outline the research design and methodology. Chapter 4 will set the stage for the findings chapters by describing the curriculum taught and the classes and case study students that experienced it. The next three chapters will present findings. Chapter 5 will present the findings on the first research question, how BCC was interpreted and applied. Chapter 6 will present the findings on the second

research question, how proficiency changed over time, and Chapter 7 on the third question, how motivating and satisfying students found the experience. The fourth research question—how case study student positionalities shaped their experience—will be answered as an additional layer of analysis within each of the three data chapters. Chapter 8 will summarize the study and offer discussion and implications of its findings.

CHAPTER 2

THE STUDY'S LOCATION IN THE LITERATURE

Teaching world languages for social justice does not elevate action above listening. Learning to hear those around us is not a passive skill, it is activism. ... In a dialogic classroom, we would want to focus on grammar and vocabulary in a way that enables us to resist positivism, talk about values, continue the inquiry with students and community, learn to listen to the stories in the community and classroom, connect to social movements, and move into conflict.
—Osborn (2006, pp. 33, 60)

The TCI community offers a promising locale of anti-Exam momentum for moving U.S. P-12 world language education further toward social justice teaching. This dissertation studied a curricular shift that combined TCI's focus on a comforting comprehension that avoids the *discomfort of exams* with social justice teaching's focus on the *discomfort of examining* conflict, unfairness and oneself—including the teacher-researcher. Yet the academic literature on TCI and the discourse community of educators that practice it are not yet in sufficient conversation with a more critical approach to the cultural politics of (world/"foreign") language teaching being discussed in academia (Guilherme, 2002). Thus there is not enough understanding in the literature yet about how a move *from storytelling to storyhearing*—like the kind Osborne advocates in the epigraph—can be accomplished in a context like mine and what reception it gets from students.

This chapter will situate the study in the academic literature that is most pertinent

to it in three parts. Part one will show the urgency of teaching Spanish for social justice by reviewing the literature on the problematic policy context of Spanish teaching in the U.S., both its colonial legacy and its relation to problematic revalorization of multilingualism in the 21st century. Part two will situate the teaching-with-comprehensible-input (TCI) movement within the second language education literature. I will trace TCI's anti-Exam characteristics, I will review the literature on its effectiveness, and then I will discuss its potentials for better collaboration with anti-Exam and decolonial academic conversations. I argue that a key conversation starter for the TCI community would be to embrace academia's postpositivist conception of language teaching practice by supplementing *test-for-acquisition* discourse with *describe-participation* discourse as I have modeled in this study. Part three will review the literature on social justice teaching in world language education, uncovering a wealth of calls for social justice practice—typified by the chapter's epigraph—but a scarcity of studies like mine that observe actual practice.

U.S. Spanish teaching's problematic context

Overview

Inequitable discourses and practices exert their power in all classrooms and all educators and students owe it to one another to confront them. World language teachers in particular—and those hoping to influence their practice—cannot help but reinforce the complicities of school-taught languages with forms of domination such as racism and neocolonial economic inequality if they make no effort to address them. An antiexaminatory shift from a narrow grammar-themes-functions approach to TCI—even one that improved its theoretical image in academia—is not sufficient on its own to

address the profession's complicity with social injustices and thus reveals why there is a need, therefore, for a study like mine on the integration of TCI with social justice teaching. This is because world language teaching is situated in a policy context marked by a conflict between discourses that seek to make language teaching a socially equalizing force, and neoconservative and neoliberal discourses that normalize continued inequalities by combining colonial and neocolonial forms of power. Spanish teaching is complicit with the problems in its policy context; it is always already implicated in the history of its practice as well as the dominant reformulations of inequality encoded within the current policy discourse climate surrounding language education.

The teacher resisting policy with his or her own classroom discourses and practices in combination with students becomes an enactor of what Wallace (1998) has termed *counter-policy*: “A proactive response by powerful actors in a locality to a policy initiated elsewhere that they perceive to threaten their beliefs and values, where they harness their institutional resources in a coordinated manner to mediate implementation of this external policy in ways that challenge or subvert its initiators’ stated aims” (p. 198). Wallace adds that counter-policy can be either formal and explicit or informal and implicit. It might materialize as refusal to implement or a subversive co-optation that undermines a top-down policy’s intent. In my case, it materializes as a curricular approach—the combination of TCI and social justice teaching.

The colonial legacy of Spanish as a knowledge discipline

Mignolo (2012) credits Foucault’s concept of an “insurrection of subjugated knowledges” as one theoretical underpinning of border thinking, but he departs from Foucault in one very critical way, which he characterizes as a direct result of his point of

view of Latin America: He sees the modernist project as going hand in hand with the colonial project, and therefore he marks it as beginning with Spanish and Portuguese conquests of the 16th century's Renaissance rather than the 18th century Enlightenment where Foucault, critical theory, poststructuralism, and Edward Said mark it (p. 19). Said (1994) is seen as the first scholar to use a Foucauldian understanding of power and discourse to examine colonialism, showing how the discourse of Orientalism—European study and conceptualization of “the East” as exotically other than “the West”—was at least equal in importance to any military or economic means of control Europe exerted in the “Middle East.” Jonathan Willinsky (1998) built on Said's conceptualization of colonialism as discourse to narrate the history of the educational aspects of the colonial project, such as the museum and the encyclopedia that sought to encompass yet divide the world hierarchically.

I see Spanish education in the U.S. as always risking fitting in this tradition of educating the masses in dominant countries about the colonialized other. Rather than being Orientalized, Spanish-speakers in the Americas have been “Hispanicized” by Anglophone-centric discursive structures of power (Mignolo, 2005, p. 39; White, 2004, p. 78). Westwood and Radcliffe (1993) write that similar to Said's critique of the Orientalist structure of power, “the ‘Hispanicist’ discourses which produced the ‘New World’ and the Americas contained within them constructions of ‘the Other’ which were predicated upon ‘fixity’ which promoted and sustained stereotypes that remain part of European cultures today” (p. 3). The Spanish classroom in the U.S. and its practices are part of the process of stabilizing the concept of the Spanish-speaking world, of Latin@s, of Latin America and its nation-states (Spain, etc.) and in the process some version of

cultural politics on their relationship to learners in the U.S.

Recent critical world languages scholarship has corroborated this picture. Kubota and Austin (2007) write,

Language teaching in schools by nature is in a complicit relationship with the political will to establish and preserve a clear boundary that determines who is the legitimate speaker of the language and bearer of cultural heritage. . . . For languages such as Spanish and French, legacies of colonialism and diaspora pose the question of which native speaker is more privileged than others” (pp. 76-77).

Pennycook (2008) writes, “we need to take...the possibility of a multiplicity of meanings within a language as seriously as a multiplicity of languages” (p. 42) since the colonialization of languages has left us with both fewer languages and with a sense that those left need to be more homogenized. Kubota (1999) shows that U.S. language classrooms are part of a larger cultural politics when she applies Said’s critique in order to critique the traditional approach to Japanese culture in Japanese language classrooms in the U.S., which has relied on “fixed, apolitical, and essentialized cultural representations” (p. 9).

Train (2007) shows how the discipline of world language education has taught fixed and essentialized versions of world languages themselves, as well as of the cultures that surround them. He traces an elitist standardization ideology from Greek and Roman education to the standardization of European languages during and after the Renaissance and colonialism, and then connects this with the increasing neoliberalization of language education. He establishes a continuity between a history of “designing a marketable and exportable language for teaching to nonnative speakers in imperial, colonial, and foreign contexts outside the nation-state of origin—in short, the creation of a world language” with “our current educational reality of increasingly market-driven educational policy

grounded in standardized conceptions of what students should know and universal standardized achievement testing” (pp. 212-213). Train’s argument proceeds from a critique of the emblematic slogan of a language program advertisement—“Real Spanish. Real results.”—where he misses the opportunity to point out the irony that the Spanish word *real* translated into English means “royal” in addition to “real.” This irony is best captured in the observation that the institution that has been standardizing Spanish since 1715 under the motto “clean, fixed and splendidous” is called the *Real Academia Española*. *Royal* Spanish might well have described Train’s picture of a standardized ideology of Spanish that connects the so-called Catholic Kings (Ferdinand and Isabella) who forged a concept of “Spain” in the 15th century with a more contemporary version of royalty: “those globally-oriented” elites “whose language practices conform to notions of opportunity and success” within a neoliberal structure of power (p. 214).

The problematic revalorization of multilingualism
in the 21st-century U.S.

Consider two recent discursive events: First, U.S. *Senate Resolution 28* (2005) declares, “It is the sense of the Senate that foreign language study makes important contributions to a student's cognitive development, our national economy, and our national security; [and] the Senate...designates the year 2005 as the ‘Year of Foreign Language Study.’” Second, a local paper (Dobnik, 2007) reports on Utah’s sudden boom in elementary language immersion programs by stating,

In a global economy where about 1 billion people speak Chinese and almost 400 million Spanish, the two languages are at the top of the list of classes taught in a foreign language at more than 300 public schools nationwide. ... Not to be confused with controversial bilingual education designed to mainstream non-English-speaking children, subjects taught in a foreign language are designed to

make a child fluent in speaking and writing two languages. (para. 14-16)

These are examples of a recent rise in discursive and policy interest in cultivating a multilingual U.S. and thus a revalorization of second language education, particularly via state-level planning of elementary immersion programs and federal and state planning of K-16 pipelines for economically and militarily strategic languages. An emergent conversation in the language education literature has centered on understanding this shift.

The critique of prior U.S. language education policy

Delavan (2014) presents a summary of critical research on the history of language education policy in the U.S. that reanalyzes it into five phases, each with its own form of attack on the positive potential of non-English learning. The last of these corresponds to the 21st-century neoliberal revalorization of multilingualism. The first four phases are summarized here, and the fifth phase, the 21st-century revalorization of multilingualism, is described the next several sections.

Phase one: 1492-1914

Prior to the First World War those constructed as non-White were prevented from using their own languages in schooling as both schooling and colonization moved westward. Yet it was common for European immigrant communities to conduct schooling in languages other than English, German being the most common form. Attack number one against equitable use of non-English education was thus against African or indigenous American languages and their speakers, as well as Spanish-speakers living within territories taken by the U.S. in the Mexican-American war. This attack was part and parcel with the projects of colonization, slavery, and the racialization that endures

from them.

Phase two: 1914-1963

The anti-German xenophobia during the First World War led to a sea change in language ideology and policy. The discourse of English monolingualism quickly became hegemonic and pushed non-English elementary education virtually out of existence.

Attack number two was thus against all languages other than English.

Phase three: 1963-1979

Yet in the midst of the Cold War plus Civil Rights era, elementary Spanish-English immersion programs started by the post-Castro Cuban exile community in Florida and grassroots pressure from the Mexican-American community in the southwest brought about the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and subsequent policy that carved out a space of relative acceptance among the monolingual majority for non-English instruction framed as language rights and educational equity. This discursive shift is the precursor to contemporary equity/heritage policy discourses.

Phase four: 1979-2001

This phase marks the emergence of two rightist discourses that reacted to equity/heritage and language rights discourses. First, in the late 1970s the Carter administration articulated the first significant reiteration since the Sputnik reaction of the “need” for multilingualism for American prosperity and national security. The Cold War discourse of the Sputnik response had given way to a new discourse of a U.S. need to compete with rising economies such as Japan, which is the first layer of an emergent neoliberal discourse. Second, the 1980s saw the rise of explicit English-only advocacy

groups and discourses around coded White supremacist and xenophobic discourses that came to be called the English only movement. The construction of Latin@ immigration and thus Spanish in particular as threats were discursively central. This time the major strategy of attack on non-English instruction was voter referendums at the state level. In the years right around the turn of the century, California, Arizona and Massachusetts all voted to severely limit bilingual education, and Colorado narrowly defeated a similar measure. This attack number three was thus anti-Latin@ in particular.

The context of the critique of global English

The critique of the current phase—the revalorization of multilingualism—needs to first be contextualized by the critique of the power of English globally. There is a copious literature that connects language (education) policy to neoliberal globalization, but it is overwhelmingly focused on the global spread of English as a hegemonic language associated with economic neocolonialism. Macedo, Dendrinos and Gounari's *The Hegemony of English* (2003) is a representative case. Although the book identifies neoliberalism as the dominant discourse of the age, and it grapples with both the U.S. tradition of English hegemony and the neocolonial hegemony of English outside the U.S., there is no sense of how neoliberal discourse might begin to operate by in fact encouraging multilingualism in the U.S. or by encouraging the development of other regionally hegemonic languages of commerce. The critique of a neoliberal turn in language (education) policy *within* a wealthy English-speaking country like the U.S.—the other side of the neocolonial coin, as it were—is still very much at an emergent stage. Da Silva, McLaughlin and Richards (2007) theorize how globalization is shifting bilingualism from a form of identity into a form of commodity to market oneself by, but

their work is not specific about how language education in a locale like the U.S. is participating or being affected by this. The emergent U.S. critique of a problematic revalorization of multilingualism is built on a prior Canadian critique of the same phenomenon (Heller, 2002).

The 21st-century Canadian context

Monica Heller and various colleagues have a significant corpus of empirical and theoretical work (Budach, Roy, & Heller, 2003; da Silva & Heller, 2009; Heller, 2002, 2003, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011; Heller & Duchêne, 2012) around how neoliberal globalization is affecting language education and multilingual identities in Ontario and Quebec, one of which (da Silva & Heller, 2009) points in its title to “the discursive shift from minority rights to economic development” (p. 95). Hers is largely a story of how a language minority (the francophone Quebecois) have begun to reframe their own “relative[ly] success[ful]” movement for linguistic rights via bilingual education (Heller, 2002, p. 47), toward now viewing bilingualism with economic value in a “globalized” economy. Heller (2003) traces 40 years of history around Quebec’s use of bilingual education and the “shift from an ideology of authentic nationhood to an ideology of commodification” (p. 45). Here is how she describes how the identity politics of Quebec was transformed by a commodification of language:

Anglophones ... realized that their privileged access to economic resources now had some competition. Many responded by going after the linguistic resources which they would now need in order to maintain their position, that is, they started to learn French or at least to make sure their children did. It is not surprising that French Immersion as an educational response to the new state of affairs, emerged precisely at this time, and precisely in areas where anglophone power was most threatened, that is, Montreal and Ottawa (where indeed that program remains most popular, despite having spread through much of urban Canada). Bilingualism, once the mark of the compromises of the francophone

elite, and of the domination of the francophone urban industrial working and service class, became a mark of middle-class status and privilege for anglophones. This process also marks the beginning of the decoupling of language and identity, at least through competition between middle-class francophones and anglophones over the resources of French, and eventually of French–English bilingualism. (pp. 50-51)

The Canadian context is highly relevant to the U.S. in that the popularity of French immersion in Canada has served as a model for the recent boom in dual immersion programs (Freire, Valdez, & Delavan, 2016) and those opposing U.S. discourses of monolingualism have often pointed to Canada’s policy of official bilingualism as a nearby, viable alternative.

The 21st-century U.S. context

Two conversations within the education literature in the U.S. take up similar critiques. One focuses on heritage language education as a subset of the world language field, the other on bilingual and dual immersion education.

Heritage and world language education

Ruiz (1984) has an influential piece on language planning that essentially answers this question in the affirmative. He argues that a discourse of language as a problem (by which he alludes to English-Only) and language as a right (by which he alludes to equity/heritage) are both problematic but that both sides might be able to agree on a discourse of language as a resource, including for U.S. military and economic power. Several scholars have critiqued Ruiz and others as participating in the resourcing of linguistic otherness. In “Tapping a National Resource” Brecht and Ingold (2002) invoke a particularly blunt version of this discourse when they speak of “a largely untapped reservoir of linguistic competence in this country, namely heritage language speakers.”

San Miguel (2004) finds evidence of a discourse of “resources going to waste” in bilingual education debates as far back as 1963 (p. 9).

Ricento (2005) makes an equity/heritage-based critique of contemporary arguments for invigorating support for heritage language education via discourses of national security and economic competitiveness. Without naming it neoliberalism, Ricento (2005) critiques Ruiz’s resource argument in language similar to my critique of these: “When HL [heritage language] speakers are conceptualized in military terms as strategic assets capable of serving the national interest (consistent with a resource argument), they are commodified as economically exploitable units” (p. 362). Also, “the value of a language, and its community of speakers, is predicated on its projected relative value in a particular sector of economic or military activity rather than on locally determined interests” of the language minoritized communities themselves (p. 363). At the heart of Ricento’s argument is the notion that the resource metaphor has consequences that must be considered:

The “language-as-resource” metaphor needs to be critically examined in the light of historical language policy approaches, and in order to consider how this metaphor may be complicit with unstated agendas of maintaining current social arrangements that favor policies not particularly favorable to linguistic diversity as intrinsically good or as a national resource, where “national” tends to exclude non-English languages and cultures. (pp. 363-364)

Ricento thus critiques Ruiz’ optimism that a resource framework will reduce the ethnocentrism connected to English monolingualism and gives the impression that none of Ruiz’s three frames are satisfactory “for scholars interested in promoting social change rather than temporary fixes for ‘interests of the state’” (p. 365).

I am arguing here that advocates for the promotion of heritage languages in the U.S. need to look more critically to the assumptions to which they may, perhaps unknowingly, subscribe in their discourses. They need to consider in what ways

those discourses may help promote the status quo with regard to the status and utility of languages other than English, and to consider developing alternative discourses. (p. 364)

Other world language scholars have weighed in on what Delavan (2014) terms “mercenary multilingualism” because of its marriage of economics and militarism. A Modern Language Association committee (Geisler et al., 2007) “charged with examining the current language crisis that has occurred as a result of 9/11 and with considering the effects of this crisis on the teaching of foreign languages in colleges and universities” nevertheless asserted that “national defense and security agendas, which often arise during times of crisis, tend to focus the goals of language study narrowly” (pp. 234, 236). Wiley (2007) makes a critique similar to Ricento’s (2005) in an article entitled, “The foreign language ‘crisis’ in the United States: Are heritage and community languages the remedy?” Kubota and Austin (2007) write, “Teaching world languages in the United States today is increasingly influenced by interests in promoting national security and international business which are closely related to each other ... positioning heritage language speakers as national/natural resources” (p. 78). Kubota (2006) and Kramsch (2005) make similar arguments with particular reference to the post-9/11 discursive context. Goulah (2011b) critiques “the (re)militarization and, to a lesser extent, corporatization of foreign and second language education in a post-9/11 context” as part of a longer-standing rejection of “school-based language instruction for expressly military, monetary and material purposes” by using theoretical tools from the educational philosophies of Daisaku Ikeda and Tsunesaburo Makiguchi who stood up to Japan’s imperialist aspirations in the early 20th century (p. 173). Phipps and Levine (2011) write against the widespread uncritical acceptance in academia of post-9/11 language-

education-crisis discourses by arguing that “far from being a deficit, the present state of theory in language education is one of an *excess*—an excess of positivist, functional rational theory” that seeks to fill the purported gap created by the purported crisis (p. 3).

Bilingual and dual immersion education

Petrovic (2005) critiques the use of neoliberal discourse as a defense against political attacks on bilingual education in the U.S. He cautions that if educators continue to “capitalize language” to justify two-way immersion programs (where English-dominant students join non-English dominant students in order for both groups to acquire biliteracy) in the U.S., then “the process by which proficiency” is gained “will be in the hands of those in power” (p. 410) and dual language education will lose its social justice potential. Varghese and Park (2010) make a similar commentary on the trend toward two-way dual language programs and its interface with discourses of neoliberal globalization and the negative consequences for Latin@ students. Their emphasis is on the dilution of the equity concerns rather than a critique of the perils of neoliberal arguments per se. García (2014) critiques to discourse shift from *bilingual* to *dual language* in the field as a manifestation of racism. She writes that the word bilingual has been “progressively silenced”:

Every federal office with the word *bilingual* in its name has been renamed, substituting *bilingual* with *English language acquisition*. At the same time that bilingual education programs of the transitional and the developmental kind have been eliminated in state after state, one type of bilingual education has grown—the so-called dual-language programs. As with the term *heritage language* program, the phrase “dual language” says something about the silencing of bilingualism in the United States and the distancing of these programs from the Latino community. (p. 69)

Following up on this critique, Valdez, Delavan and Freire (2016) build on this work to

argue the existence of a discursive framework conflict between equity/heritage discourses and globalized human capital discourses. Using Utah as an influential case, they observe a recent and rapid change in U.S. language education policy that is having what they term as *gentrification* (Valdez, Freire, & Delavan, 2016) effects. This urban-space concept of gentrification is used to name the confluence of decreased opportunity for marginalized students to benefit from multilingualism-enhancing schooling with simultaneous increased opportunity for more privileged students to benefit from it. In the process, these privileged beneficiaries are being invited into new identities that align with neoliberal globalization discourses of time and space. As alluded to by the epigraph above, programs that have gone by the label of “bilingual education” that largely served students whose first language upon entering school was not English and focused on equity/heritage goals have received negative public attention and policymaking in the last two decades resulting in declining numbers. Meanwhile, similarly designed “immersion” programs that offer competence in a “foreign” or “world” language to English-speaking students, either exclusively or in partnership with speakers of the target language, are multiplying rapidly and gaining the reputation as a necessity for one’s career and nation in a new “global economy” with goals centered on globalized human capital. Utah is the first state to set state-level language policy that actively accelerates this gentrification process, but other states appear to be following Utah’s lead (Valdez, Freire, & Delavan, 2016).

For this dissertation research I reference this equity/heritage-globalized human capital framework shift theory as a way to understand the cultural politics of the current language education policy context in which my Spanish classroom is positioned. Any

multilingualizing policy or teaching (that is, classroom-level policy) that is mobilized as a socially equalizing force could be called equity/heritage language education.

Equity/heritage would therefore include any language education policy that confronted the complicity of language learning with colonialism and racialization. Meanwhile, multilingualizing policy mobilized by globalized human capital discourses tends to ignore equity/heritage concerns, including frank talk of colonialism and racialization, or make contemporary global capital flows appear to be the solution to any power-imbancing legacies from past resource-directing structures of power. In other words, because equity/heritage can be seen as the policy movement in language education to address the colonial/racial legacy, and because globalized human capital is implicated in equity/heritage's ebb from the political center, the equity/heritage-globalized human capital framework shift theory works to tell a unified story about the forces we are up against, something Apple (2006) argues social justice teaching often lacks an accurate sense of. His concept of a conservative restoration in the U.S. since 1980 that includes an alliance between the discursive structure of power of White English speakers as the supposedly truest inhabitants of the U.S. (i.e., colonial/racialized legacies) and neoliberal discourse politics (the globalized human capital framework) resonates with my choice to tell it as one story.

**The TCI movement and scholarship in
second language education**

TCI as emerging from anti-Exam scholarship

In Chapter 1 I used Foucault (1995) to argue that the Exam is a traditional structure of power in classrooms, a *disciplinary technology* that orients classroom discourses and practices toward knowledge as analyzed elements rather than toward knowledge as analogy or example. World language teaching in the U.S. carries on this legacy when it focuses on student output and the evaluation of its “correctness” by drilling and then testing abstracted skills placed in a standardized order. Many contemporary language educators critique this approach to language learning as the “traditional” approach and see it as problematic in two dimensions beyond this view of its complicity with social domination: It’s not very enjoyable and it doesn’t work very well to create real communicative fluency. Thus in addition to its connections to how knowledge has been as a tool of domination, many argue that the widespread examinatory approach to language teaching is problematic in both an *affective* and an *effective* dimension.

Communicative approaches as an anti-Exam trend

In recent decades, these various alternatives to centralizing the application of grammar rules or consciously memorized vocabulary lists have emerged under the rubric of “communicative” approaches. Terrell (1991) reports that the role of explicit grammar instruction

in a second/foreign language class in the United States has changed drastically in the last forty years... The grammar-translation approach concentrated on grammar skills, in particular the ability to use grammatical terminology to

describe the various morphological and syntactic principles of the target language. With the advent of audio-lingualism, instructors were not supposed to spend a great deal of time talking directly about target language grammar rules. The oral input available to the students in the form of dialogues and pattern drills, however, was highly structured, following a strictly ordered grammatical syllabus; and, in fact, most of the students' time in an audio-lingual course was spent drilling grammatical forms and structures. Proponents of the "cognitive approach" stressed that students should understand the rules for using target language forms and structures before they attempted to use them for communication. With the advent of the popularity of various communicative approaches, especially in ESL [English as a Second Language] classes in this country and also in foreign language classes in Europe based on a notional-functional syllabus, the predominant role of grammar as the organizing principle in a language class has been called into question. (Terrell, 1991, p. 53)

An important discourse within communicative approaches was one that compared the "natural" acquisition of first languages to the examinatory artificiality of the status quo in second language instruction. Stemming from his perspective as a university Spanish instructor, Tracy Terrell (1977) argued for a "natural approach" that Krashen later joined him in articulating (Krashen & Terrell, 1983) that centralized engaging, comprehensible input rather than centralizing the practice of output. It stressed a shift in goals away from examined accuracy in artificialized scenarios toward oral fluency to convey what students sincerely wanted to say. Terrell's (1977) original natural approach recommended

(1) immediate communicative competence (not grammatical perfection) be the goal of beginning language instruction, (2) instruction should be directed to modifying and improving the students' grammar (rather than building it one rule at a time), (3) students should be given the opportunity to [subconsciously] acquire language (rather than be forced to [consciously] learn it), and (4) affective (not cognitive) factors are primary forces operating in language acquisition. (p. 329)

Terrell's references to "one rule at a time" and *opportunity* versus *force* clearly fit the structure of power of the Exam and its sequentialized elements. Terrell thus puts his finger on the Exam as a dominant discourse that makes it sensical to bring particular practices to the classroom:

The preoccupation with grammatical correctness in early stages of [second language] teaching is essentially a felt need of [second language] teachers and is not an expectation of either language learners or most native speakers of [the taught language] who with a few notable exceptions are usually quite happy to deal with foreigners making any sort of effort to speak their language. (pp. 326-327)

I see this search among language educators for a more caring, dialogue-like approach to language teaching as a refutation of the Exam in favor of a different use of teacher authority that is associated with a broad discursive move in education toward discourses like whole language and whole child. In language teaching, I argue, social justice teaching involves the fundamental step of moving to a meaningful, plentiful use of the language the students can appropriate as *analogies and examples* for what they might communicate in response, rather than memorization and regurgitation of *analytical elements* of the target language.

Method or postmethod?

Before I begin to discuss language teaching methodology, let me first clarify how a discourse-centered perspective like mine perceives concepts like “method.” My exposure to the conversation critical scholars have been having around method in general has productively problematized my adherence to TCI as a guiding set of discourses and practices. I take to heart Pennycook’s (1989) critique of the search for method as an attempt to claim disinterested knowledge and Nayar’s (1989) critique of the claims of U.S.-based second language research and methodological recommendations to be universally applicable across cultures and localities. In this vein, I am drawn to Kumaravadivelu’s (2001) call for a postmethod pedagogy, building on these critiques to try to articulate how language educators might proceed when understanding that there is

no single, correct, culturally universal method to be discovered. And yet I simultaneously recognize that I must make some sort of allegiance—always hybrid to some degree—to a set of theoretical discourses on language acquisition and teaching approach because I cannot operate socially outside of discourse communities.

Bell (2003) articulates a similar qualified embrace of postmethod in arguing that teachers can hardly avoid some combination of the available “method” discourses/practices that systematize their practices in some way and that this hardly constitutes a tendency to “slavishly follow” (p. 329). Bell argues that articulations of postmethod in language teaching often bear striking resemblance to communicative language teaching broadly defined and it makes more sense to see them as critiquing a positivist conception of method and forwarding a more localizable, culturally responsive conception. Thus, “postmethodology is one further manifestation of the search for method, certainly an alternative to method as it is narrowly defined in the second sense—prescriptions for practice—but at the same time an alternative method as defined in the sense of organizing principles” (p. 331). In other words, a method is a teacher subjectivity that students can get something from because it is consistent enough to make the classroom experience legible. Bell writes, “To believe in what we as teachers are doing inevitably requires us to have a set of prescriptions when we arrive in the classroom, a set of beliefs we are committed to”; he quotes Walker to state that learning will take place when students believe in teachers *who believe in themselves* (p. 333).

Yet Bell sees the positive potential of postmethodology as giving teachers “the tools to deconstruct their totalizing tendencies and so counter the tendency toward overroutinization” (p. 333) because “postmethod need not imply the end of methods but

rather an understanding of the limitations of the notion of method and a desire to transcend those limitations” (p. 334). For this he draws on Prabhu’s (1990) article, “There is No Best Method—Why?” which argues that it is really the confidence of the instructor in his own theory-practice understanding, whatever it may be, that makes instruction effective. Ultimately, Bell (2003) sees teaching methods as embedded in the cultural politics and discourses of their era or local situation, and he sees method/postmethod as a dialectical process in the evolution of the current dominant paradigm, communicative language teaching. I disagree with Bell, however, that communicative approaches are as dominant in U.S. language education as he claims, especially in secondary schools’ tendency to rely on textbooks by the major corporate publishers.⁸ I choose in this study approach the method/postmethod problematic by focusing on the specific discourses and practices of the TCI community or movement rather than focusing on an abstracted construct of its “method(s)” to be studied and applied in isolation from its social and cultural location.

Krashen and the discourse of comprehensible input

Comprehensible input (henceforth CI) became a rallying discourse within this larger discourse/practice trend toward communicative approaches in language education since the 1980s, and Stephen Krashen was CI’s chief theoretical voice. CI discourse centralized the idea that it was educators’ responsibility to communicate information in the new language that made sense to the learner if they expected proficiency or acquisition rather than mere learning to occur—knowing how to use the language rather than knowing about the language. The traditional orientation had it that somehow it was the learner’s responsibility to begin to communicate while the educator’s role was to

respond with corrections, that is, to examine. Krashen's theorizing of second language acquisition and teaching began in the 1970s and has been critiqued and refined over four decades. Krashen (2002, 2013c) presents his theory of second language acquisition as a series of hypotheses:

1. Acquisition is distinct from learning. Learning is conscious and acquisition subconscious. Acquisition yields fluency, whereas learning only offers the opportunity for self-correction (via the monitor, see #3).
2. There is a natural order of acquisition in each language and learners tend to be able to produce grammatical structures in a particular order from simplest and most common to least simple and least common.
3. There is a monitor, a conscious process of assessing the "correctness" one's own production. This cannot produce the flow of production like acquisition can, but it can make on-the-fly corrections to it.
4. Comprehensible input is the driving force behind acquisition. Acquirers will gain new competence as they understand messages that are a mixture of what they already understand and what they don't yet understand. The familiar linguistic elements give context to the unfamiliar and make them comprehensible. With enough repetition, these too become familiar and reproducible.
5. The affect or attitude toward the learning and the acquisition process varies by individual, with low-anxiety and high-confidence yielding greater speed in both.
6. The aptitude of individuals varies by individual but relates more directly to the speed of learning rather than acquisition.
7. An affective filter slows acquisition if anxiety is raised or interest is low, and

- accelerates it in the opposite case.
8. The first language tends to be used to fill in gaps in production of the target language.
 9. The extent of use of the monitor varies by individual and (sub)culture, and it is traditionally overemphasized in the culture of school and formal language study.

Notice that #8 corroborates my translingual approach to using the first language to involve students in discussion.

Krashen (2003) is very explicit about what he theorizes as effective instruction based on his theories. He argues that though most everyone agrees that immersion in a new language community will eventually lead to acquisition, beginning and intermediate learners can learn faster via formal instruction. Effective types of beginning instruction

- Focus on building everyday conversational language;
- Provide plentiful aural comprehensible input supported with visual, tactile and kinesthetic context;
- Teachers modify their speech in speed and complexity for comprehensibility;
- The syllabus is organized not by grammar but by activities such as “games, discussions of topics of interest, projects...that students at that level and with that background will find interesting”;
- Students are welcome but not required to speak more than a little and errors are not corrected;
- Grammar explanation is included (but not centralized) at the high school level and above primarily in order to produce 100% convention-conscious writing. (pp. 7-8)

Once students reach the intermediate level, Krashen recommends sheltered subject matter

teaching or content-based immersion in any situation where the goal includes academic language, such as in the case of English language learners in the U.S. Advanced learners, Krashen argues, can immerse themselves in a community that speaks the target language and effectively learn without such the “sheltering” of formal instruction.

The major critique of Krashen has been that he has overplayed the ability of CI to operate effectively alone and underplayed the ability of consciously paying attention as one’s output is corrected or paying attention to rules to make the acquisition process more efficient. Gaab (2014) argues that one of the major pushback discourses that TCI teachers get from skeptics goes something like this: “You guys only believe in input. What about output?” Her recommended response is to say something like, “If we didn’t believe in output, why would we ask so many questions?” The implication is that it is through TCI’s interactive or dialogic aspect that output gets addressed. Gass (1997, 2008) is an example of someone currently theorizing SLA who updates Krashen’s monitor by focusing on *input plus interaction*, hence classifying herself as having an interactionist theory of second language acquisition (Mackey, Abbuhl, & Gass, 2012). In this framework it is essentially through interaction that feedback on the efficacy of one’s output becomes part of one’s input.

Krashen has tended to stick to a more black-and-white discourse than the next generation of theorists—for example, by assuming “strong versions” of both his own and competing hypotheses (2014, p. 1). He seems to feel that discussions of the minutiae of output in contemporary research—even though caveats are frequently delivered that output’s role is partial, limited, or even *minor*—have the danger of fueling traditional practice’s self-legitimization, despite the fact that such practice actually assumes that

output should constitute the *greater* part of instruction. Take for example how Krashen (2003) reveals that his concern for contemporary academic discussion is really subservient to his greater concern that *practice* is still largely *not* contemporary, that is, not viewing output in the proportions of even those current academics who dismiss his own work as simplistic and overstated. He describes one of his chapters as “self-defense” against academic discussion that finds a role for grammar study and output (p. vii). He argues that the rhetorical emphases of research and theory matter precisely because so much of “current practice” is the way it has long been despite reams of academic publication that largely contradict it (p. viii). Krashen’s strategy seems to be that of using overstatement to push the field away from feeling content to spend a minority of instructional time on CI in the direction of using *mostly* CI, never assuming teachers will ever use the pure CI of some of his extreme case examples.

Yet despite this strategy of overstatement and assuming strong, separable explanations, Krashen (2014) acknowledges the wisdom of those who “propose that comprehensible input is crucial and that one or more of the other hypotheses can serve as a supplement, increasing the power of comprehensible input” (2014, p. 1). In a sense, this is where Krashen’s modernist positivism reveals its limitations. He has to make these simplifications within the discourse framework he is operating from. Alternatively, postpositivists such as the scholars I cited who embrace the idea of postmethod argue that with social phenomena such as language teaching and learning it will ultimately be impossible to isolate variables or reproduce experimental conditions in the way the physical sciences can. Social processes are always already inseparably mixed and locally unique. There will ultimately be too much hybridity and unique complexity to the

interactions under study to be certain of the significance of the result any particular “method” might produce on its own. If such laboratory-like purification were possible it might in fact prove irrelevant. It might not be generalizable to real classrooms because it would say nothing of the effects of the adulterating interactions that any “method” will inevitably find there. Arnott (2011) reviews scholarship articulating the position from sociocultural theory that “implementing a method affects both the teacher and the method being employed”; he draws on Wertsch, Tulviste, and Hagstrom to maintain that “the act of using mediational tools like methods for teaching (i.e., exerting one’s ‘mediated agency’) unavoidably changes the method and the act of teaching resulting from its use” such that methods cannot remain static once put into practice (p. 159). This might explain why proponents of the theories that compete with Krashen’s are also able to find evidence to support their positions. That said, Chapter 3 will describe how this study does embrace the concept of research’s ability to present evidence in ways that readers can evaluate as more rather than less trustworthy. But test-for-acquisition evidence in this study will be supplemented with describe-participation evidence.

Krashen (2013b) sees CI-based approaches to teaching language as reversing a history of cruelty. As mentioned earlier, Krashen is not merely a positivist theorist of second language acquisition but an outspoken critic of neoconservative and neoliberal discourses of English-only policies, standardization, and high-stakes testing in public education. He sees his positivist theorization of CI as part of a social justice struggle over curriculum in general in the culture war where a racist backlash against immigration and Latin@s and a rote, fundamentalist phonics approach to literacy are discourses on the right and bilingual education and whole language, extensive reading approaches are

discourses on the left. In this pithy example of CI discourse's refutation of analytical or elemental examinatory discipline, Krashen (2004) combines positivist discourse elements like "hypothesis" and "does not work" with the ethical discourse of pleasure and pain, interest and tedium:

We have made a serious error in language education: We have confused cause and effect. We have assumed that students first need to consciously learn their "skills" (grammar, vocabulary, spelling), and that only after skills are mastered can they actually use these skills in real situations. This assumption, the "Skill-Building Hypothesis," insists on delayed gratification. Only after hard and tedious work do we earn the right to actually enjoy the use of language. ... There is an alternative. It hypothesizes that "skills," or mastery of the components of language, is the result of one particular aspect of language use, comprehensible input. It claims that grammatical competence and vocabulary knowledge are the result of listening and reading, and that writing style and much of spelling competence is the result of reading. The Comprehension Hypothesis does not require delayed gratification. It claims that we can enjoy real language use right away: we can listen to stories, read books, and engage in interesting conversations as soon as they are comprehensible. The Comprehension Hypothesis, in fact, insists on pleasure from the beginning, on acquirers obtaining interesting, comprehensible input right from the start. The path of pleasure is *the only path*. The path of pain does not work for language acquisition. (p. 3, emphasis mine)

Although I would stop short of being an "only path" adherent as Krashen overstates it above, I consider myself a member of the CI school of thought. Despite its positivist roots, I see Krashen's CI and "natural method" discourses as very congruent with an analogy/example conception of learning rather than an analyzed-elements conception and combinable with a describe-participation orientation to research.

The TCI movement as a discourse community

I am using TCI to name the discourse of that community of language educators who see themselves as theoretically Krashenites and on the cutting edge of redesigning world language education. It is collaborating to move the profession away from the traditional approach of drilling grammar rules and memorizing themed vocabulary lists

focused on a narrow range of language functions. As an alternative to this approach that all too often results in incompetent and discouraged language learners, the TCI community is developing a variety of techniques that foster student fluency in a core vocabulary of high frequency language structures that can be applied to a wide variety of communicative situations in which a broader competence can eventually be acquired. TCI is more of a grassroots movement of mostly P-12 educators than an academically endorsed school of thought.⁹ Figure 2.1 offers a timeline of this community's development that reflects Gaab's (2006) description of TPRS as hybridizing into a broader phenomenon—TCI.

TPRS is a hybrid of sorts. The original TPRS invented by Blaine Ray of Bakersfield, CA, although successful, was a complete accident, and by chance was based on effective techniques, much like Post-it notes and penicillin. Nevertheless, throughout the last decade, TPRS collaborators have tested established strategies and techniques, combining them in different ways, prioritizing them and organizing them in order to streamline effective L2 instruction. Unlike the original TPRS, hybrid TPRS is not an accident! (para. 3)

Surprisingly little attention has been paid to TPRS in academia despite its widespread influence and name recognition among practitioners. In order to compensate for the TCI discourse community being remarkably unwritten about in academia, I will use my experience of its two major yearly conferences as a sort of text from which to read its general characteristics in addition to some of the discourse that its members have formally and informally published.

I attended the 2013 National TPRS conference in Dallas, Texas, which is run by Blaine Ray and his son Von, and at which Krashen was the keynote speaker. I then attended the 2014 International Forum on Language Teaching conference in Denver, Colorado, which was run by Diana Noonan of the Denver Public Schools—where TCI is

currently being articulated as the norm—and Carol Gaab of TPRS Publishing. There was much crossover of attendees and presenters at these two conferences. Though most attendees are P-12 teachers from the U.S., there were also about 5% to 10% who were from distant parts of the globe, as well as a few U.S.-based P-12 administrators and higher education instructors of language and language teacher ed. As the originally dominant form of TCI, TPRS is still the most influential approach and label in forwarding the TCI rationale in U.S. world language teaching. Evidence of the influence of TPRS is that textbook publishers have begun to produce guides for integrating it. The International Foreign Language Teaching Conference explicitly characterizes itself as both a TPRS and TCI conference. The National TPRS conference has not embraced TCI as a term, but the 2013 conference featured TCI approaches beyond TPRS at about the same proportion as International Foreign Language Teaching Conference. The 2014 National TPRS conference website has traces of movement away from sole reliance on the TPRS label in that one of its “Info” pages discusses “TPRS/CI” rather than TPRS alone, and has a list of bookmarks of blogs run by members of the TCI community, many of whom have moved away from centralizing the TPRS label. Both conferences are organized such that beginners are presented with traditional TPRS—improvised, personalized, collaborative, silly storytelling—and more advanced attendees are presented with a broader range of TCI approaches with which to complement or replace traditional TPRS. The 2014 TPRS conference added a special interest focus for ESL teachers and an intermediate level, and featured a presenter from Independent School District 622 in St. Paul, Minnesota whose world languages department is moving toward TCI-based policy similar to Denver Public Schools (Boulanger, 2014).

Diana Noonan, co-organizer of the 2014 International Foreign Language Teaching Conference, attested in a Q&A session that her strategy in forwarding (along with Ben Slavic) the TCI label over TPRS was to perhaps get a fresh look those who have already formed negative associations with TPRS as too narrow and dogmatic an approach that many attest to having tried and given up on after a few days when it “didn’t work for me.” This seems connected to Noonan also attesting to how James Asher had recommended to the TPRS community that it move away from the discourse of “method” to the discourse of “a set of strategies or best practices” (personal communication). Hence the discourse trend of decentralizing TPRS in favor of terms like TCI or “comprehensible input approaches” seems tied into a strategy of increasing legitimacy for the approach by broadening it to more courses of action that can bring about similar results so that it does not feel as constraining, dogmatic, capitalistically “patented” or cultish.¹⁰ Part of this was an interesting discourse circulating at the 2014 Denver conference that most presenters I heard exhibited that went more or less like this: “Rather than just saying we do TPRS or TCI, we need to all have our own 30-second speech ready for what it is we do that really describes it in a way that shows why we are convinced of its effectiveness, and here is mine.”

A general description of TCI practice

On that note, being careful to think of TCI as something more fluid, multiple and negotiated than a method, here are its general outlines.

“The” three steps or pillars

The best place to start when describing the moving, multiple target that is TCI practice(s) is with the way traditional TPRS encapsulated the basic structure of a class period in three steps:

1. **Establish meaning** by presenting a clearly posted list of *three* language structures and their translations (then optionally having the students associate kinesthetic hand signals with them).
2. **Ask a story**: Stand at the front and have them listen to you—slowly and clearly—ask them a series of personalized questions containing the target structures that eventually spark the nexus of a bizarre, exaggerated and personalized story. You then “ask” this story by “circling” through questions that repeat those target structures as frequently as possible in various combinations, bringing up an actor or two from the class to make the story a visual and interactive.
3. **Read a story** that includes the same structures in even further varied contexts.

All three stages are designed to be highly comprehensible by remaining “in bounds” by only using what has been taught earlier and then targeting the day’s narrow list of new language structures. For example, day one might focus on takes/took, gives/gave, says/said and ask a simple, repetitive, silly story around them adding in a bunch of easy cognates. It is common practice to increase comprehensibility by consistently using a laser pointer to highlight what is currently significant on the posted list of translations, partly as a means of slowing oneself down and reminding oneself that the whole point is comprehensibility. As the TCI community has broadened its original focus on TPRS, the

three steps have evolved as follows.

First, *establish meaning* still means the same thing for everyone in theory but it can take one of two paths in practice. In theory, the first step is still, Translate as a *first resort* so that you can speak the target language *to* the students. This is the reverse of, Speak the target language *at* them and translate only as a last resort after you've tried contextualization, visuals, pantomime, etc. Speaking *at* unfortunately has to be standard practice in classes where the only shared language among the students is the target language, but it is also the standard practice in immersion and it is ACTFL's assumed standard practice for a world language classroom that 90% target language to communicate (ACTFL, 2010; Crouse, 2012). TCI sees no point in not establishing meaning through translanguaging in the most efficient and stress-reducing way available, which means the first language in most situations TCI is applied to (Gaab, 2011). Gaab uses the cognitive discourse of *creating context* to explain the latter phase of establishing meaning that deepens it beyond mere translation with techniques like visuals or kinesthetic gestures.

In practice, establishing meaning looks different depending on where the practitioner falls on the continuum between targeted and untargeted TCI, a discourse evident in Herman (2014).

The power of the visual in a MovieTalk to make input comprehensible allows for "loosening up class discussions." MovieTalks can be done without targeted structures and they are still largely comprehensible, although less transparent (translatable), but this is how vocabulary is acquired. Each time we come across a word in a new context, about 5% of its meaning is acquired (Nagy, Herman, & Anderson, 1985). In a nontargeted approach, students don't get the same concentrated repetitions they get from a targeted approach, but if continued throughout the year, the repetitions would be received, albeit over the long term. (p. 21)

My recurring anxiety in trying to follow TPRS centers on whether I am repeating one structure enough before moving on or targeting few enough structures in one class period, but that anxiety began to ease as I have seen the discourse of targeted/nontargeted enter the TCI community. Herman cites Krashen (2013a) addressing this targeting tension. Krashen specifically addresses TPRS and defends CI teachers' freedom to be *roughly* rather than *finely* tuned to students $i+1$ (sweet spot of acquisition, if you will, that reflects receiving input just beyond their current competence) and trusts CI teachers' ability to make input comprehensible via a narrowing of structures guided by *relating compellingly* (around humor, creativity or injustice) rather than the trace of *grammar-syllabus targeting* still inherent in choosing three structures for the day. Krashen argues that all CI

will contain, inevitably, some $i+n$ (input beyond $i+1$), as caretaker speech always does, in the form of later-acquired aspects of grammar. Including this “noise” does not impair communication, nor would deleting it make the input more comprehensible. Rich input, as long as it is comprehensible, provides the acquirer with a better sample to work with, more opportunities to hear and read structures he or she is ready to acquire. (p. 107)

Like Krashen (2013a), Worth (1990) also draws on Terrell's theorization of the Natural Approach in a way that can address this issue of daily targeting. Worth suggests *fixed* versus *fluid* as a way to think about the classroom agenda.

A “fixed text,” or classroom agenda, is one in which the material to be learned is taught in isolation (fragmented from the language system as a whole) or within rigid boundaries. Conversely, the “fluid text” would designate a manner of presenting the same material which would permit those boundaries to expand and perhaps even dissolve, while keeping language acquisition anchored in the language system as a whole. (p. 522)

These conceptions help theorize how an increasing number of TCI practitioners at an increasing frequency have stopped using target structures for some segments of instruction. For comprehensibility they rely instead on a strategy of “staying in bounds”

based on what they know their students already know and letting teachable moments create the list of structures that are posted as the conversation unfolds. The targeting end of the spectrum tends to see the three steps of traditional TPRS as a 50-minute lesson structure, while the nontargeting end tends to see them as three pillars for more organically punctuated practice. The untargeted end of the continuum tends to see pillars 1 and 2 as a constant cycle for oral CI that establishes meaning when needed with the first language as the oral CI progresses.

Second, unless you are a beginner, *ask a story* has become something more general that merely includes asking a story. Step two for all but beginners is now, *Provide oral CI that is engaging because it is any of these or anything else you can innovate: personalized, interactive, narratively catchy, funny, highly visual, or empowering, different from the rest of the school day (anti-Exam)*. As Gaab (2011) puts the new decentering of story-asking, “When PQA/discussion wanes, the teacher moves on to a new activity that will provide additional compelling, contextualized, comprehensible repetitions” of the targeted language structures. “there should be a variety of activities and strategies that are used to provide CI,” and in “a typical TPRS classroom, one such activity is referred to as story-asking” (p. 19).

At the 2014 Denver conference, Gaab (2014) described how she teaches adults who simply do not want the prototypical TPRS flying elephant stories, though they do want fantastical situations like dating celebrities mixed in with more serious discussions on topics such as cultural differences and civil rights. Gaab (2011) writes,

Although most proponents of TPRS tend to base instruction on high-frequency words and phrases, the method is also used to effectively teach content area and culturally-based lessons, which might (also) require instruction of less common, more complex vocabulary. Regardless of educational outcomes (language

learning vs. subject area learning), instruction focuses on vocabulary that is most useful for communication and/or for understanding/learning the topic... (p. 16)

Gaab (2014) recommended to advanced practitioners that they abandon circling “unless you can do it so well that the students never notice that you’re circling.” Michael Miller is a veteran TCI community member who told me at NTPRS that he no longer tells stories but simply has personalized group conversations with his students. His program is so popular that it may be the only middle school German program left in the country that runs the full school day.

Third, *read a story* has become, *Fit in reading somewhere*. On one end of the continuum it is still more of a step to get additional repetitions of target structures after oral CI, while on the other end it is a separate activity conceptualized as Extensive Reading or Silent Sustained Reading where students pick their own materials from a classroom library.

Restricting rather than avoiding explicit attention to grammar

Although TCI builds on the extreme input position of Krashen that opposes explicit focus on form and output, there is rarely a purism to the discourse or practice. TCI discourse advocates a view of student subjectivity that has a natural propensity to subconsciously acquire (rather than consciously learn) language merely by being exposed to engaging, comprehensible input. Yet TCI distinguishes itself from a 100% immersion approach—often referring to itself immersion-like, but kinder and more efficient. Pop-up grammar explanations (restricted to 30 seconds or so, so as not to break the flow of a story) as well as student responses, suggestions and retells are ways that CI is mixed with output and therefore interaction, but CI remains the banner concept to hold up against the

output-focus of the examinatory approach. The TCI community has also recently been inviting Bill Van Patten to give keynote addresses at conferences. The case against drills has been well articulated by Wong and Patten (2003) and their position on how to integrate form-focus into instruction is to “manipulate the input in particular ways to push learners to process it better” by checking that they are appropriately interpreting the form-meaning connection (p. 410). What most TCI teachers end up implementing is something close to what Paesani (2005) calls “input-rich inductive grammar instruction,” which “encourages students to view grammar not just as isolated letters, words, and phrases, but also as a meaningful component of contextualized language use” by drawing “students’ attention to both grammatical forms and their meaning in context” (p. 16). Davidheiser (2001, 2002) recommends implementing TPRS with some amount of explicit grammar explanation rather than as “a completely natural approach” (2001, p. 53).

Reviews of effectiveness research on CI-approaches in general,

TPRS, and emergent strategies in the TCI community

As the TCI community has grown, so has the scientific evidence that its assumptions about learning are correct and its approaches are effective at building language proficiency. Much of the compiling of research on the effectiveness of CI-based strategies has been done by Krashen himself, but throughout this section other researchers’ voices will also emerge.

**The case against expecting much from output-focused,
explicit grammar teaching and correction**

Truscott (2007a) argued that that “overall the evidence against grammar teaching is quite strong” (p. 14), and Truscott (2007b) found that “based on existing research: (a) the best estimate is that correction has a small negative effect on learners’ ability to write accurately, and (b) we can be 95% confident that if it has any actual benefits, they are very small” (p. 255). Krashen has continued to compile evidence in his retirement from academia for his centralization of CI in language acquisition and has continued to critique others’ research that ignores its role in their own data. Krashen (2003) summarizes this work in a 35-page chapter entitled, “Current Issues and Controversies: Does Grammar Teaching Work? What About ‘Comprehensible Output?’” He writes,

The research community has devoted an extraordinary amount of energy in an attempt to show that grammar teaching works. Instead, they have shown only what many, many language students have always realized: Formal grammar instruction has a very limited impact on second-language competence. Even intensive, prolonged instruction that is limited to just a few aspects of grammar results, in general, in only modest gains on tests in which students are encouraged to think about form. The researchers themselves, in every case, consider their results to strongly support the efficacy of grammar instruction. I argue ... the results only show that the Monitor hypothesis ... is correct. (p. vii)

Krashen argues that the slight gains in competence from grammar instruction are better read as evidence of the Monitor hypothesis and its more minor role than CI. He also reanalyzes studies he sees as trying to find evidence for a comprehensible output hypothesis, meaning “which claims that language acquisition occurs when we are forced to produce language beyond our current competence. We change our hypothesis about grammatical rules and word meanings when we are not [understood] and have to ‘try again’” (2014, p. 71).

Its originator, Merrill Swain, did not consider it to be a rival [of the input hypothesis]. Yet much of current practice assumes the correctness of comprehensible output and considers it to be the major path to second-language competence. The data, in my view, certainly does not support comprehensible output as the only way; in fact, there is little evidence that it plays any role at all. (2003, pp. vii-viii)

In essence, Krashen's view of the evidence is that even if the proficiency effects of a grammar-correction approach were exactly equal to CI, which they are not, the more ethical choice would be CI. CI so improves students' experience of learning, Krashen argues, that we can simply ignore any meager gains that some claim are available through cruel tedium. I would argue that is is the discourse of the Exam which is the logic that keeps practitioners and researchers focused on trying to get the Monitor to make acquisition happen.

Case studies of individual language learners

Krashen (2014) analyzes nine case histories of language learning to see which of the major theories of acquisition they corroborate. He finds that although successful learners testify to having used a variety of approaches, all of them employed comprehensible input, whereas other no other approaches that implied other theories were consistent across the cases. The only case that did not include comprehensible input was a rather hilarious one of an unsuccessful learner who was caught between a an analyzed elements view of language, which even drives him to memorize the dictionary, and an *incomprehensible* input approach of listening to university lectures and reading university-level texts in a target language that shared few cognates with his own.

Accelerative Integrated Method (AIM)

Arnott (2011) reports that AIM is an approach now used by 33% of elementary Core French programs in Canada, mainly the province of Ontario. Rather than elementary French immersion, Core French is the more traditional model of about 35-40 minutes a day (“Gestures,” 2011). Originated by Wendy Maxwell (2001), it derives from Asher’s Total Physical Response and Krashen and Terrell’s (1983) Natural Approach.¹¹ The AIM discourse/practice community centers on the AIM Language Learning corporation headed by Maxwell, which offers the opportunity to become an “AIM Certified Teacher” at workshops or online. The company focuses on North America (from Vancouver), the Netherlands and Australia/New Zealand.

AIM is teacher-centered like TPRS, talking to the class, getting choral responses, inviting students up one by one, but it does not translate new vocabulary to students’ first language or use it for grammar explanations (or even momentary “pop-up grammar” as in TPRS), remaining in the target language with a carefully scheduled introduction of elaborate hand gestures that include the marking gender and verb tense. A video of AIM facilitator Iegte de Jong giving an AIM workshop (in Dutch) that an attendee has captioned in English (De Jong, 2012) and posted online is interesting because it reveals how the AIM community positions itself relative to TPR and TPRS. De Jong says, “I see you thinking—but isn’t this TPR? ... It is a teacher-directed method. The more the pupils learn the more independence they get.” De Jong suggests that lessons can eventually be divided into 10-minute blocks of teacher talk and independent or group work. “AIM is a full method for several years with integrated grammar. TPR and TPRS is not a full method”; they “can be used in combination with other methods.”

Like TCI, the goal is a core vocabulary of high frequency structures, “the most important words and syntactic constructions,” and plentiful repetition of this *pared down language* as AIM calls it; in addition, “writing is not introduced until later, and, once introduced, is done so gradually. Attention to form is also introduced gradually; and syntactic rules are not explicitly given” (Rousse-Malpat, Verspoor, & Visser, 2012, p. 2). There are mixed reviews on AIM’s accuracy of production but evidence that production is more lengthy and fluent, suggesting that students are more willing to make mistakes in their courage to get their point across (Arnott, 2011; Lapkin, Mady, & Arnott, 2009).

Yet a more recent study shows very positive results in high school courses (“grade 8”) in the Netherlands, where it is being used in more than 100 schools (Rousse-Malpat, Verspoor, & Visser, 2012). Because of the novelty of recent research into this quickly spreading approach to CI that remains largely unnoticed on the south side of the Great Lakes, and its applicability to my own mostly eighth-grade students, allow me to quote the study in detail. In terms of research design,

Four Grade 8 classes at the same school participated in this study. Two classes used the AIM approach, whilst the other two classes worked with *Carte Orange* (CO) [a French textbook]. Two teachers were involved, who both used the AIM and CO approach. When this study began, all the students had had six months of French instruction. (p. 3)

Unfortunately, a weakness of the study is that it does not specify what the emphases are of the curriculum driven by the textbook, except that it covers 1,000 vocabulary words (versus the AIM students’ 600 words), starts students producing writing from the start, and by implication that it explicitly explains grammar rules. Its publisher’s website (Thieme Meulenhoff, 2014) shows enough to surmise that it resembles the textbooks common in the U.S.¹² For clarity, I will replace the use of “CO students” with

“*textbooked* students.” The results summarize the other pertinent aspects of the design:

Study One (three assessments, 107 students) demonstrates clearly that the AIM students score significantly higher than the [textbooked] students on general writing skills. Study Two, where a few students were followed individually (six assessments evaluating the students’ language development [in writing]), ...the AIM students performed better than the [textbooked] students in almost every aspect of language development that was investigated. The complexity of their written language developed faster and became more authentic than that of their [textbooked] counterparts. ... Possibly most remarkable is that the AIM students scored higher marks [than] the [textbooked] students right from the first assessment. This is remarkable as the AIM students had only started writing in class one month previously, whereas students using the [textbook] learn writing skills from the start. ... Furthermore, this study shows that AIM students use considerably more words than the [textbooked] students [an average of 139 versus an average of 80.5]. ...it is remarkable that the only measure of complexity where the AIM students do not score better than the [textbooked] students was on average word length. Here the scores were similar and stable. This can be explained by the fact that AIM focuses on the most frequently used words of the language, and these words are generally shorter than less frequently used words. The AIM students have participated in numerous interaction activities over six months, whereas the [textbooked] students have completed numerous traditional writing exercises. It would seem that this amount of interaction compensates for the lack of attention paid to writing skills. Students seem capable of recognizing and using complex constructions even though they have not been explained explicitly during the lessons. We believe this is mainly due to the authentic and meaningful usage of language, and the repetition of constructions. This allows the AIM students to learn using subordinate clauses, different tenses, etc. It was to be expected that the AIM students would make more mistakes in their written work. Although the differences between the groups were initially fairly significant, this became much less problematic as the number of errors made by the AIM group diminished rapidly. In the last assessment, the AIM students made fewer mistakes than the [textbooked] students. (pp. 11-12)

Total Physical Response (TPR) versus grammar

TPR is an approach where beginning instruction is delivered via kinesthetic instructions from the instructor. *In Learning Another Language through Actions*, Asher (2003) includes a review of classroom and laboratory research on the effectiveness that finds it to be motivating and effective to follow its recommendations Glisan (1986) reviewed the research in the mid-1980s and there were already plenty of studies showing

that TPR “results in better listening comprehension, speaking, and reading performance” (p. 419). Isik (2010) compared a group of Turkish students of English who received 7 hours of explicit grammar instruction and 22 hours a week (for 36 weeks) of a combination of TPR, extensive reading and other communication-based activities with minimal correction to a control group that studied 24 hours of grammar versus 5 of the CI approaches. He found statistically significant advantages to the method with less grammar instruction across all skills tested.

Extensive reading

Extensive Reading (rather than intensive) is a way of describing an approach where learners are asked to read for pleasure or interesting content as much as they can with an eye on getting the gist of texts rather than carefully and intensively decoding the meaning of a few difficult texts. Shaffer (2012) compiled from the literature on extensive reading these descriptors of successful extensive reading programs:

Students read a lot and read often. There is a wide variety of text types and topics to choose from. The texts are not just interesting; they are engaging and compelling. Students choose what to read. Reading purposes focus on pleasure, information, and general understanding. Reading is its own reward. The emphasis is not on tests, or exercises, or questions, or dictionary use. Materials are within the language competence of the students. Reading is individual and silent. Reading speed is fast, not deliberate and slow. The teacher explains the goals and procedures clearly, then monitors and guides the students. The teacher is a role model: a reader, who participates along with the students. (p. 1)

Shaffer reviews effectiveness studies on Extensive Reading for second language learners and finds that the research supports several areas of benefit: increased reading rate and reading proficiency; improved writing; larger vocabulary; higher grammar test performance; improved listening, speaking and spelling; general language competence; as well as affect and motivation. Shaffer argues among other things that this success can be

explained because Extensive Reading is “providing comprehensible input” (p. 4). Many in the TCI community employ and recommend Extensive Reading as a break for both students and teachers from the intensity of TPRS, and many advocate replacing homework with student chosen reading in the TL. Gaab (2014) and Krashen (2013c) speak of the task of language educators as doing teacher-centered TCI as a means of getting students to the point where they can acquire the rest of the language through independent reading.

TPRS in particular

Karen Lichtman is an academic who has taken the lead on compiling any studies of the effectiveness of TPRS. Lichtman (2015) contributed a review of this research to Ray and Seely’s seventh edition of *Fluency through TPR Storytelling*, which is known affectionately in the TCI community as “the green book.” She also presented sessions at NTPRS in 2011, 2013 and 2014 dedicated to empowering practitioners of TPRS to build up this literature by publishing their own research on its effectiveness of in order to help the community gain legitimacy inside and outside of academia. She argued in the 2013 session I attended that achieving success is not a matter of having to show that TPRS beats out every other method every time but simply a matter of building a critical mass of studies where it is shown to be at least as good. This way one can confidently point to TPRS as just as legitimate as any other choice in the profession.

Lichtman has continued to track more recent studies and she is preparing to include an updated review in the next edition of “the green book.” Lichtman (2014) has thus far found that of the eight studies that do not use a comparison or control group that receives a different kind of instruction, “all report that TPRS improves motivation and

promotes positive attitudes toward class and language learning.” Of the 13 studies that are comparative, all show TPRS outperforming another method in one or more of the language skills tested by the study. Nine of the 13 studies show TPRS equaling the results of another method in one or more skills. And only four studies found another method outperforming TPRS in at least one skill.

MovieTalk as a new trend in TCI

This technique was originated in 1988 by Hastings (1995, 2012) as the principal technique of a learning program called Focal Skills. In the last few years MovieTalk has been spreading rapidly through the TCI community (Herman, 2014; Murphy & Hastings, 2006). It is rather straightforward: Instructors choose an engaging segment of video and either (a) turn off the sound in order to narrate over the video with CI finely tuned the comprehension abilities of the students or (b) pause the video and engage the students in story-asking about one segment at a time. Hastings (2012) cites two research studies that found it to create statistically significant positive results. Though unaware of Hastings’ use of it, I have been using this technique out of simple CI common sense, I suppose, since about 2000 when I taught English as a second language to adults and high school students. I found Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton to be quite effective. This will be one of the techniques I use for this study, though with much more serious subject matter than slapstick. Video is an engaging invitation to bilocal culture-crossing because of its ability to dramatically convey a diversity of cultural testimonies.

The potential for TCI to reconnect with anti-Exam academia by
adding a sociocultural/qualitative supplement to
the cognitive/quantitative paradigm

Consider this assessment by Canagarajah (2005) of the politically naïve momentum of the second language teaching field:

Although teaching a colonial language to students from many minority language groups is a controversial activity fraught with political significance, [second language] professionals largely adopted an idyllic innocence toward their work. This attitude was shaped by the structuralist perspective on language (which orientated to proficiency as the rule-governed deployment of abstract value-free grammar), behaviorist orientation to learning (which assumed that the calculated exposure to linguistic stimuli would facilitate competence among docile students), and the positivistic tradition to language acquisition research (which stipulated that a controlled observation of learning in clinically circumscribed settings would reveal the processes of acquisition that help construct the methods and materials for successful learning). (p. 931)

A strategy for legitimizing TCI that relies solely on effectiveness studies that apply pre- and post-tests of skills needs runs the risk of reinforcing the examinatory discourses Canagarajah points us to. A test-for-acquisition strategy used on its own fails to explore supplemental avenues of gaining legitimacy for teaching methods. Though referring more to English teaching in particular, Canagarajah points us toward a conversation around the close link between the Exam's structure-of-power frameworks in the language teaching disciplines and their incomplete recognition of complicity in colonization. This conversation is precisely where TCI and many potential allies within academia are not speaking the same language: Academia has created supplemental avenues to the positivist politics of the legitimation of method that the TCI community has traditionally used as if it were the only option. Anti-Exam discourse in academia draws on two interrelated moves against the traditions alluded to by Canagarajah in the above

quotation: (a) supplementing cognitive/quantitative research within the structuralist, behaviorist and positivist discursive paradigm with sociocultural/qualitative research, which is more able to incorporate and sustain (b) a broader equity/heritage discourse that legitimates choices in practice based on their social justice impact. A TCI that acquainted its theorization of method, effectiveness and legitimacy with these moves would invite more fruitful collaboration with anti-Exam academia.

Academics concerned with the Exam and the colonial legacy in language education are increasingly distancing themselves from a narrow view of method and effectiveness in language teaching, including the positivist theoretical discourses in which Krashen's theory of comprehensible input was developed. As one example, the only teacher educator I met at the 2014 Denver conference had a significant response when I commented on the lack of conversation between the TCI community and academia and Krashen's CI theory's apparent loss of influence in academia. Her response was that this is precisely why she has begun to talk about the research base for TCI as both Krashen and Vygotsky because Vygotsky can begin to explain the social side of the equation.¹³ As a second example, Flores (2013) argues that in academia, "many supporters of bilingual education moved away from engaging in political critique to a more technocratic and cognitive understanding of language learning and bilingualism" reframing the field "away from the goal of community empowerment toward a focus on bureaucratic regulations and predefined 'research-based' curricula" (p. 273). He uses this reading of the field to argue that subjecting bilingual education to (what I call) the Exam in this way did not protect it from the media and legal backlash it underwent at the close of the 20th century. He thus calls for a more post-positivist and post-policy-making

approach to language education—what I characterize as a counter-policy approach.

Similar to these readings, I read TCI's anti-Exam politics as having been limited in its scope by precisely its sole reliance on an examinatory—or in Canagarajah's (2005) words, “technocratic, cognitive, structuralist, behaviorist, positivist” (p. 931)—politics of legitimacy. CI liberates students from examination in the classroom, but to legitimate itself as an effective choice for language teachers it still relies on research predicated on pre- and posttests for a legitimation of the results of such an anti-Exam practice, which reinforces the structuralist, behaviorist and positivist faces of the Exam structure of power at the supraclassroom level. Donato (2000) draws on Sfard (1998) to understand this as the adherence to an *acquisition* metaphor for conceptualizing language learning rather than a *participation* metaphor: “The acquisition metaphor requires independent evidence of what was learned after instructional treatment, often taking the form of a post- or delayed post-test. In contrast the participation metaphor finds evidence for learning in an individual's growing and widening activity in a community carried out through shared practices of discourse with expert participants” (p. 41). For TCI to oppose the Exam more thoroughly would mean to recognize how this test-for-acquisition discourse aligns with the analyzed elements of the Exam, whereas a describe-participation discourse revives the subjugated model of apprentices using analogy or example to mimic the experts in often unforeseen ways.

Johnson (2004) argues that second language acquisition research has been dominated by one paradigm of research that needs to make room for an equally acceptable emergent paradigm. She argues that quantitative studies based in cognitive and information-processing metaphors and models needs to allow space for qualitative

studies based on sociocultural metaphors like participation, performance and dialogue. She calls for “the investigation and explanation of the processes that lead to the acquisition of many local voices that reflect not the imaginary and previously defined social contexts but real and local sociocultural contexts—social contexts that create speech and speech that creates social contexts” (p. 5). Both Johnson (2004) and Norton (2006) argue that this qualitative/sociocultural shift is not confined to the use of the work of any one particular theorist, such as Vygotsky. Kramsch (2006) even rejects the sociocultural theory label when she makes a similar argument for a broadening second language acquisition research beyond its traditional foci. She calls for research that

focuses not on how learners master the intricacies of the grammar and the lexicon but on how they *experience* learning and using someone else’s language. Language for them is not just an unmotivated formal construct but an embodied reality. It is not simply an agglomeration of encoded meanings that are cognitively internalized and then applied in social contexts; rather, it is the potential medium for the expression of their innermost aspirations, awarenesses and conflicts. (p. 99)

I see my dissertation research as fitting into this new paradigm and working to make TCI communicate with it.

Scholarship on social justice teaching in world language education

The gap

The major gap in the literature that my study addresses is that now that there are a number of published recommendations for bringing social justice teaching to P-12 world language education, we need more studies that observe it happening. Crookes (2010) reports “the foreign language (FL) field within English-speaking countries has been less active” than English teaching fields in taking up critical approaches “despite their early development by Crawford (1978; Crawford-Lange 1981),” adding that newer critical

pieces “have provided useful analyses and advocacy but have few actual instances of radical FL pedagogy to report on” (p. 338). Muirhead (2009) is an emblematic example. After offering a critical reconceptualization of the concept of culture and describing the sensibilities of a critical world language teacher who can guide students toward “perspectives that challenge injustices and inequities” (p. 265), he leaves it to others to study practice directly by posing these two questions: How do such teachers who “embody the main principles of a *pedagogy of possibility*” both (1) “integrate culture into their classrooms” and (2) experience that integration as participants (p. 264)? Only a handful of studies have begun to fill this gap of studying critical world language practice directly. McCrea (2016) conducted a 2-week action research project in a French IV class tracking literacy development and global awareness through exposure to “social justice topics” (p. 26), and Goulah (2005, 2011a) conducted teacher-researcher studies on student reactions to an ecospiritual approach to critical teaching in introductory high school Japanese. I will take up Goulah’s work at the end of the chapter and show where my study still addresses gaps it leaves.

The same lack of studies of critical practice seems to plague English teaching even though considerably more has been written about social justice teaching there. Kubota and Austin (2007) write, “the field of second language education has witnessed a critical turn in the past 20 years, especially in teaching English to speakers of other languages” (p. 75). Yet Pessoa and Freitas (2012) argue “research on critical language practices is still rare” (p. 759) despite Ewald’s (1999) plea in the same journal (*TESOL Quarterly*) 13 years earlier for more studies documenting concrete classroom practices, especially at the introductory level.

Unfortunately, few reports discuss the application of these [social justice teaching] principles to language teaching at the introductory level. Students in perhaps their most impressionable, initial state are socialized into the role of language learners through their early experiences primarily in introductory language courses. The learners do not usually participate as actors on the process but rather are acted upon while playing the role of an object. The students then fulfill their perceived part in the educational process, which has evolved through their experiences in the introductory language classroom. Therefore, at this early state of language learners' development, critical pedagogy and its applied practice need to be fostered in the minds and methods of students and teachers. (pp. 275-276)

Pessoa and Freitas' (2012) study of social justice teaching in a university English program in Brazil is an exception to this, but their review of the literature points to the fact that classroom study has tended to be at the teacher-training and university level rather than P-12. What has been written about the P-12 context, therefore, is thus far overwhelmingly recommendation rather than observation.

The earliest scholarship

The earliest voice is that of Linda Crawford(-Lange)'s (1978) dissertation later condensed in a (1981) article that explore ways of applying a Freirean “existential/humanistic” problem-posing curriculum to second language teaching. Crawford-Lange (1981) begins her curricular approach from two Freirean principles: “The primary intended outcome of an educational experience is creative action on the part of the learners. The acquisition of information and skills is a secondary objective” and its content “is subject to creative action” (p. 261). She characterizes the first objective as addressing culture and the second as addressing language *per se*. This derives from an orientation where “language is studied as a tool of communication and, thus, culture”; and contrary to tradition in language courses, culture is not seen as tangential to language and is not conceptualized as elitist art but as “the people’s way of

life” (p. 261). Of particular note is Crawford-Lange’s anti-Exam stance on assessment: “Evaluation focuses on the ability of the educational program to develop critical thinking and foster transforming action in a particular time and place,” thereby shifting the focus of evaluation away from the individual student toward the group and the program without leaving out some form of “evaluation of linguistic competence” (p. 267). For this linguistic evaluation she recommends formative evaluation rather than summative, and summative only as a strategic means of establishing credibility within the institution or “in relation to a traditional method” (p. 267).

Recent U.S. scholarship: Kubota, Osborn and Reagan

The resurgence around 2000 of critical writing in world language education added an antiessentialism lacking in Crawford-Lange and a wider variety of critical bases than just Freire. Ryuko Kubota is an important voice in this contemporary generation. Kubota (2003) is her first contribution to the world languages literature. It makes a powerful case about teaching Japanese culture within U.S. Japanese classrooms that can be generalized to other languages. It warns against the essentialization of culture in language classrooms, such as in simplistic dichotomies like East/West. She offers a critique of the national standards for world languages that shows such essentialism to be inherent in how the conceptualize study of culture. She offers “four concepts (the Four Ds) that could help teachers reconceptualize their approaches to teaching culture” more critically:

- (1) descriptive rather than prescriptive understandings of culture;
- (2) diversity within culture, which addresses notions such as diaspora and hybridity;
- (3) the dynamic or shifting nature of culture, which allows one to interpret cultural practices, products, and perspectives in historical contexts; and
- (4) the discursive construction of culture—a notion that our knowledge about culture is invented by discourses, which requires us to understand plurality of

meaning as well as power and politics behind cultural definitions. (p. 75)

Kubota (2004) builds on these Four D's but adds a deeper discussion of how essentialization of culture should sometimes be embraced but always contingently and strategically.

This view allows us to see the multiplicity of motivations of cultural essentialism as a strategy to impose, resist, or negotiate power. Thus, this view helps us avoid a pitfall of essentializing essentialism as an inevitable problem. . . . Identity politics gives marginalized people, such as racially oppressed groups, a positive meaning to their identity through self-essentializing their identity. The example of culturally relevant teaching shows how the culture of minority students is celebrated as something unique and utilized for empowerment. However, this does not mean that identity politics requires no critical scrutiny. (p. 36)

Two scholars who have often collaborated to recommend more critical versions of world language teaching are Terry Osborn and Timothy Reagan. Osborn's (2006) *Teaching World Languages for Social Justice*, is the most recent book-length work on the topic that includes a broad review of the literature and goes further into depth than Reagan and Osborn's (2002) book. It is focused on considering how to transform "the curriculum of world language education in the United States" that balances a consideration of national standards with a critique of standards in favor of "local curricula" that emphasize Freirean dialogue and the exploration of conflict (p. ix). Osborn stresses that his is not a prescriptive "how to" book but sees a social justice orientation as a "companion methodology" that can accompany another approach to language learning proper rather than portraying itself as "the" replacement method. Osborn's first step is to encourage his readers to distance themselves from market and marketability discourse in understanding language teaching practice. Next, he lays out thematic areas preferable to the mundane and hyperpractical themes of traditional world language curricula and shows how they can align with national standards:

1) Identity; 2) Affiliation; 3) Conflict, struggle, and discrimination; 4) Socioeconomic class; 5) What we believe: ideology; 6) Historical perspectives: to the victors; 7) Schools and languages: hidden curricula; 8) Media: entertainment; 9) Beyond manners: register and political or power relations; 10) Whose culture is whose? hybridity; 11) Media: journalism and politicians; 12) Who is in control? hegemony; 13) Law; 14) Rights; 15) Resistance and marginalization. (p. 61)

He then lays out four means of addressing these themes: reading critical literature, engaging students in critical discourse and visual analysis, linking to other disciplines, and having students seek community online. From a TCI perspective, Osborne (2006) is a bit too focused on his fallbacks of suggesting cooperative learning or online research projects. For the TCI community these activities are difficult to square with theory, especially at lower levels: They either do not offer enough input or the input is too difficult or too error filled.

But while Osborn's work tends to echo Freire, Reagan's work tends to echo Fairclough (2010). Reagan (2004, 2006) uses Fairclough's conceptions of critical language awareness and critical discourse analysis to create guidelines for social justice teaching.

Critical language awareness, like critical pedagogy in general, is in the final analysis concerned with empowerment. Empowerment involves not only helping students to recognize, understand, and question discourse, but also, as Fairclough has pointed out, [how discourse can be restructured]. An important facet of this process of empowerment is recognizing that discourse is in fact negotiated between and among students and teachers. (2004, pp. 54-55)

Reagan's work also has more of a poststructural valance than Osborn's. Reagan (2004) recommends an approach to second language teaching that questions positivist assumptions that reify the concept of monolithic languages: "The objectification of language is tied to the objectification of a number of other related constructs as well: not only 'grammar' and 'vocabulary', but also that of the 'native speaker', 'culture',

‘communication’, ‘performance’, ‘production’, ‘literacy’, and so on” (p. 47).

Other recent scholarship on the U.S. context

Beyond these main voices in the world language field, a few others are worthy of mention. Glynn, Wesely and Wassell (2014) have a book called *Words and Actions: Teaching Languages Through the Lens of Social Justice*. They draw on Sonia Nieto’s definition of social justice teaching to argue that the world language classroom is “uniquely suited” as a site to implement it (p. 3). They outline unit and lesson planning processes that integrate language objectives with social justice objectives so that culture and social justice are not treated as a sidebar to the more central task of language learning. They address both creating original curriculum and supplementing or adapting a textbook. They acknowledge it is “safer and easier to engage students in discussions of superficial topics of culture,” but they challenge teachers to be courageous and “take a stand on issues related to equity” (p. 23).

Malamut (2011) outlines an eighth-grade Spanish I curriculum’s cultural component built on a critical literacy framework. Her work is quite relevant to this project in that it works at the same grade level and target language to cultivate student identities interested in “deconstructing preconceived notions about culture, moving beyond surface knowledge of the target culture to becoming thoughtful, respectful world citizens” (p. ii). Yet her curriculum resembles what I have already been implementing in both my Spanish I and Spanish II classes, which has left language learning goals competing for space with critical cultural goals. She also proposes beginning with texts for critical readings that do not directly offer insight into Spanish-speaking culture, which would further separate goals rather than integrate them as simultaneous layers of the

same approach. Roberts, Byram, Barro, Jordan and Street (2001) propose an interesting approach to critical world language teaching that positions students to see themselves as ethnographers of the cultures that speak the target language, which the authors put into practice in the context of the university-level study abroad experience. They position their proposal within a recent turn in the literature where “language learners have come to be described in terms of ‘cultural mediators,’ ‘border-crossers,’ ‘negotiators of meaning,’ ‘intercultural speakers’ and such like” (p. 3). Their work seems more oriented toward advanced study and university contexts. Norton and Toohey (2004) have an edited book titled *Critical Pedagogies and Language Learning* that is partly-U.S. in focus, but only tangentially oriented toward P-12 world language contexts. In their introduction they argue that “in second language education, critiques of classroom practices in terms of the social visions such practices support are relatively recent” (p. 1). They also argue for a more plural view of critical *pedagogies*, reminding us that the feminist tradition is just as important as the Freirean tradition to critical pedagogies and language learning, but that no tradition should solidify into dogma, instead remaining localized. Similar to Norton and Toohey, I have opted for a broader term than even theirs, choosing social justice teaching as a version that is more recognizable to the average U.S. teacher.

The work of Bryan Meadows and various collaborators is particularly reflective of my concept of bilocal culture-crossing. Sayer and Meadows (2012) advocate teaching language in a way that disrupts discourses of clear nationalist boundaries and homogenous national identities, arguing that the teacher’s role in this is “to problematize culture in order to stimulate students to explore their identity in relation to [the] Other in a way that engages them with the diversity of cultural practices” (p. 276.) This very

much resembles the idea of crossing back and forth between locales of self and other. Cole and Meadows (2013) add to this the idea of crossing between multiple locales within one's own identity or with respect to a particular Other. They argue that because of problematic discourses and practices, "foreign language classrooms in their present arrangement may be functioning to reinforce borders of language and culture" even at the hands of teachers who see their core mission as transcending them (p. 122). They feel world language education should shift away from attempting to increase student participation in so-called national cultures; instead they should prepare students to participate in a much more complex landscape of communities of practice; they should "bring to the fore sociolinguistic diversity rather than burying it within standard/nonstandard, authentic/inauthentic, pure/impure dichotomies" (p. 128). Their theoretical tools are very similar to mine in that they bring the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) into conversation with similar contemporary formulations of identity: They see using the communities of practice concept as part of a pedagogical process of addressing "lived identities" and "imagined belonging" (p. 122) and cultivating "awareness of the multimemberships students bring into the classroom and those they may want to acquire and perform" as part of their "multiple and shifting identities" (p. 123). They argue that the concept of a community of practice—where members participate in mutual engagement, shared repertoire and joint enterprise—gives world language teachers and students a metalanguage with which to discuss classroom interactions themselves as well as target cultures.

Rather than presenting lists of national attributes, prescribed values, practices and products, student training involves learning to look for the specific discursive practices that constitute how individual community members engage with one another, how they recognize a shared repertoire for meaning making, and

demonstrate a shared alignment to a particular enterprise. Teachers and students identify and reflect on how this is done in their own classroom and then use the communities of practice model to describe the range of communities that they are engaged with outside the classroom. (p. 132)

Although the equity emphasis in Meadows' and his colleagues' work is on resisting language standardization in favor of multiplicity and variation—something that will be present but far less central in my curriculum—it offers a strong parallel to my study's call for bilocal culture-crossing in world language classrooms in the U.S.

Goulah's work begins to fill the observation-of-practice gap

I conclude this chapter by highlighting the literature that is most directly in conversation with this study's attempt to fill a gap in the world language education literature. Jason Goulah's work presents an exception to the lack of research attempts to implement social justice teaching in P-12 world language classrooms in the U.S. Goulah offers a critical version of world language teaching that recommends a critical subjectivity to students that draws on spirituality, peace and ecology discourses. Goulah's (2006) particular approach to critical teaching builds on Edmund O'Sullivan's (1999) transformational learning framework, which builds from notions of “planetary consciousness,” “ecological selfhood,” quality of life over economic development, and an embrace of spirituality that transcends institutional religions (p. 203). Goulah's (2005) doctoral dissertation served as a basis for several subsequent articles. It was a study of the implementation of a 6-week ecospirituality unit in his own high school Japanese class that used *anime* movies as a springboard to discussion. Goulah (2005) employs a critical case study orientation to qualitative research that seeks and describes critical episodes. Goulah (2011a) reanalyzes this research with both critical instrumental case studies and

critical discourse analysis. He found evidence that the transformative approach did generate an ecospiritual selfhood in all four case study students clearly visible in their writing for the class. This supported the original (2005) findings that via class discussions and reflective writing students “reached a point where they understood themselves as ecologically interconnected with the development of the universe” and voiced “conscious expressions against war between humans and with nature” (p. 347). Both the 2005 study and the 2011b study showed improvement in command of grammar and vocabulary structures as well. Goulah (2011b) calls for future research that greatly resembles what I propose here:

I recommend scholars examine the effects of a transformative world language learning approach conducted entirely in the target language, other world languages, or at different levels. I also recommend that future studies look in depth and longitudinally at effects on language acquisition and transformed views/behavior with regard to ecospirituality, as well as to the other elements of transformative world language learning. (p. 49)

This dissertation research differs from Goulah’s in that its critical orientation is a form of social justice teaching that is broader in focus than his “transformative” model. Bilocal culture-crossing can certainly include addressing issues of spirituality, peace and environmental sustainability if students or cultural texts bring them into the discussion, but my approach will not recommend students prioritize them over other issues of equity. And yet my study does begin to resemble the continued research Goulah calls for by employing a greater amount of the target language in discussions, a language other than Japanese, an instructional level higher than year one, and a longer study period of 8 months rather than his study’s 6 weeks. My study’s storyhearing will not be a “unit” but an orientation to the curriculum of the entire school year. Also, Goulah (2005) calls for studies that assess not merely “effects on target language” writing but also the three other

skills (p. 341), and my study, though it looks more closely at writing, does use teacher and student holistic measures of proficiency changes in the other skills. My hope is that this study foments further investigation into practices of social justice teaching in secondary world language education in the U.S.

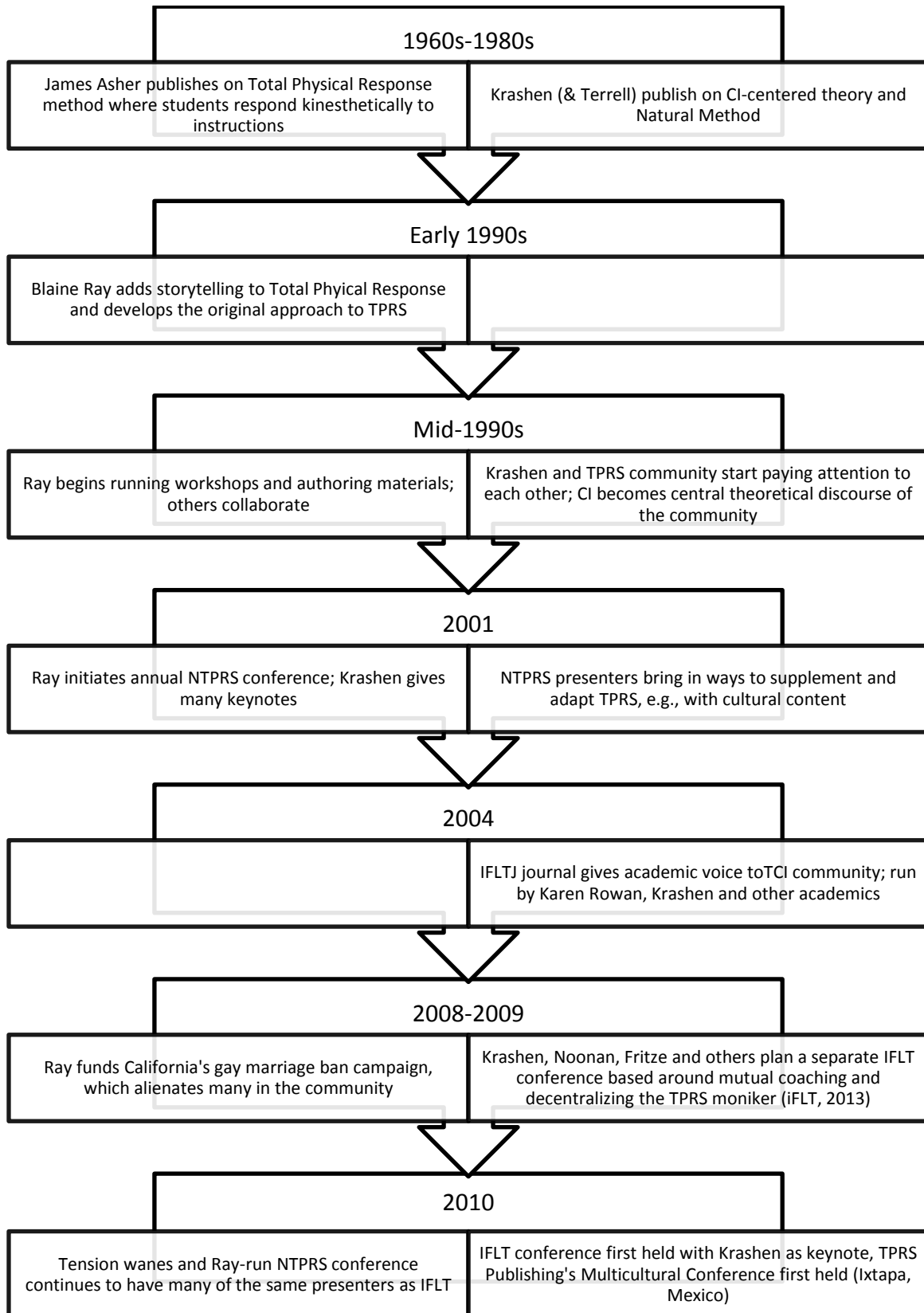


Figure 2.1. A timeline of the development of the TCI community.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This dissertation research was a practitioner inquiry project of the two sections of middle school Spanish II I taught during the 2014-2015 school year. Table 3.1 schematizes how I went about answering my research questions. First, I will describe my general approach of qualitative research and practitioner inquiry and the care I took to guarantee trustworthiness. Next I will describe my research site and the participants. Then I will cover data collection methods. I follow that by detailing my ethical considerations in recruitment and data management. Lastly I will lay out my methods of data analysis.

Practitioner inquiry as a form of qualitative research in education

Overview

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) characterize qualitative research in U.S. universities as having its unfortunate beginnings in a “close involvement with the colonial project,” where its use in sociology and anthropology was a means of “representing the dark-skinned Other to the White world” (p. 1). Yet they also characterize it as the current locus of critique of this legacy of the academic disciplines in which it finds itself and therefore a site of struggle against “the methodological backlash associated with the evidence-based social movement” (p. 3) or reemergent “scientism” or “postpositivism”

(pp. 9-10) connected to the National Research Council, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, and the larger cultural politics of the neoliberal turn. In contrast to a model of social science research built on the laboratory metaphor—isolating variables or causes and quantifying their effects—“qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (p. 3). Read in terms of the metaphor of the Exam so central to this study, qualitative research is arguably seeking to learn from the human world by analogy and example like an examining apprentice rather than by subjecting the human world to analysis down to its supposed elements like an examinatory master.

Qualitative research is therefore an appropriate methodological orientation for a study that seeks to supplement the test-for-acquisition orientation emphasized in previous studies of TCI with a describe-participation orientation. Although numerical measurement of student products was involved in answering the research questions, it is a describe-participation emphasis on practices and process that shapes how I observed these products. I approached my assessment of students formatively rather than summatively. As a result, my version of pre- and postevaluation differed from traditional effectiveness studies in that my use of quantitative measures was arrived at based on rubrics that describe what observed practices are associated with each level of measurement, for example, the ACTFL proficiency guidelines shown in Appendix B.

Practitioner inquiry as articulated by Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009) is a particular form of qualitative research articulated within the field of education that challenges the discourses and practices that position university researchers as providers of knowledge for the improvement of practice and society and that position P-12 teachers

as but technicians in its implementation—or put another way, discourses and practices that consistently position university researchers as the observers and P-12 teachers as the observed. They argue that approaches to such research vary but share the following characteristics:

1. Educational practitioners study their own professional context in a way that blurs the traditional boundary between inquiry and practice;
2. All participants are seen as bearers of knowledge that inform the research;
3. Collaboration—often with the community that surrounds the school—is most often integral to the process, including the feedback and critique of colleagues and participants;
4. While a scientific systematicity and the concepts of data collection and analysis are retained in most approaches, most reject traditional scientific notions of validity and generalizability in favor of new conceptions in circulation in qualitative research as a whole;
5. The research is often meant to be consumed by a broader public than the readership of traditional academic journals.

My study design exhibited all these characteristics, but two were exhibited in a more limited way. As a means of narrowing the scope of an already broad project, though students' and colleagues' knowledge collaboration were sought, involvement of the community outside the school was limited to enriching curriculum rather than creating a collaborative research team to collect and analyze data. That said, I sought within these limits to use my role as researcher to empower rather than disempower participants to the greatest extent possible (Schwarzer, Bloom, & Shono, 2006), just as I attempted to do in

my role as a teacher. In a similar vein, though the curricular practices under study were expected to influence the research site and its community, the readership targeted by the written dissertation itself was practitioners of TCI and academics in the field of world languages with the goal of creating more communication between them. This chapter as a whole will attest to the systematicity of the project, but let me turn specifically to the issue of the traditional notions of validity and generalizability.

Trustworthiness

Although a critique of positivism is inherent in this study, it does have a positivist element evident in the second and third research questions that complements that critique. Although a new generation has emerged of even less positivist alternatives to validity and generalizability in qualitative research (Anderson & Herr, 1999) after the first generation critique made by Lincoln and Guba in the 1980s that is widely used in research in second language learning (Davis, 1992), I see no reason to go any further than Shenton's (2004) summary of this first generation approach with a focus on Guba's work. Shenton summarizes "provisions that may be made by a qualitative researcher" to address four criteria for trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (p. 73). The following are the provisions I made from Shenton's list to ensure trustworthiness. Detailed descriptions of each criterion will appear over the course of the chapter.

To assure credibility (1) I have adopted the "appropriate, well recognized" methods of practitioner inquiry, multicase thematic analysis, descriptive content analysis, and descriptive statistics; (2) I have drawn on my "familiarity with [the] culture of participating organizations" in that I have taught at my school and served its communities

for 6 years now; (3) I have triangulated the data by drawing on multiple sources such as my own end-of-day field notes and reflective journaling, student writing, case study interview data; as well as quantitative counts; (4) I helped “ensure honesty” from participants by not grading student writing for content but only for length and generally built trust with students via consistent, predictable behavior with them; (5) I engaged in “debriefing sessions” with my dissertation advisor; (6) I employed “peer scrutiny” via critical friend dialogues; (7) I used “reflective commentary” via journaling; (8) I produced end-of-day field notes that provided thick description of my participant observations; and (9) I framed the study’s findings within previous academic research (p. 73). To this list Davis (1992) would add “prolonged exposure” to and “persistent observation” of the space under study, which my daily presence in the classroom and daily fieldnote taking assured. To account for the transferability (Shenton, 2004) of my findings to other contexts, I will provide the context of the research site in this chapter such that readers can judge their ability to apply my findings to their contexts. To account for dependability of my findings I will provide in this chapter an in-depth description of my methods. Confirmability will be accounted for via (a) the aforementioned triangulation of data sources, (b) a detailed description of my own positionality and exploration of it in my reflective journaling, (c) recognitions in the reflexive journaling process and the final dissertation of “shortcomings in the study’s methods and their potential effects” (see Chapter 8) and (d) the aforementioned in-depth description of my methods (p. 73).

Context of the research site

My school

In the age of the internet it will be difficult to keep confidential the identity of the school where I teach, yet I give it the pseudonym Eastside Middle School. This reflects a discourse circulating in the urban metropolitan area where I live and work, which casts the east side as a homogenously more privileged or successful space in which to attend school or to teach. The building was rebuilt in 2009 and at the time of the research served over 740 students in grades 7 and 8. Its enrollment began to grow as a result of this renovation and the securing of three special programs, two of them with “gifted” entrance requirements, which have attracted much “school choice” attendance. As crude a measure as the identity and income demographics collected by schools are, they are worth citing. At the time of the study, the school as a whole was 69% White and 33% free/reduced lunch in a district that is 41% White and 59% free/reduced lunch and a state as a whole that is 77% White and 37% free/reduced lunch. During the study year, only one teacher at Eastside identified as a person of color.

My school’s neighborhoods

The neighborhood immediately surrounding the school is predominantly middle to upper middle class and White in demographics, yet the school’s attendance boundaries include far wealthier parts of the city as well as other parts that a few teachers openly testify to being afraid to go to due to safety concerns. I characterize Eastside as neither entirely inside a fearful, White, middle class “bubble” nor entirely outside of one.

My Spanish II classroom

In keeping with a TCI approach, the desks in my classroom are arranged in rows to promote the traditional focus toward the teacher's presentation at the front of the room, but students learn to quickly rearrange the desks for pair work or groups of four. Class sizes vary from 20 to 40. The walls are decorated with a revolving display of student artwork, for example masks similar to bear costumes common to the versions of Carnaval celebrated in Oruro, Bolivia. Wall space and the space above the cabinets are decorated with cultural products gathered by myself in Mexico, Guatemala, and Utah. Classes Monday through Wednesday were 50 minutes long, and classes Thursday and Friday were blocked most weeks during the school year under study, meaning that classes met for 90 minutes on Fridays. During certain weeks when block schedule was canceled, Thursday's class was 50 minutes and Friday's was 35.

Participants

My positionality

I was the only teacher of Spanish at Eastside during the 2014-2015 school year. I was 41 years old during the research and had been a teacher in the district where Eastside is located since 1999. The 2014-2015 school year was the seventh year I have taught middle school Spanish. I want to position myself as an inquirer into the consequences of what I too engage in, such as the standardization of language, a teacher authority that is accentuated by my maleness, access to capital, and private ownership of colonized land. I look and act White—my ancestors came from France, Germany, England and Ireland—which entails racial privilege. My parents grew up on the White side of San Antonio, Texas, a Mexican colonial town recolonized like the rest of the Southwest by the U.S. in

the mid-1800s. My father's family brought him up and sent him to medical school on money made off of developing suburbs and strip malls to its north styled on the White flight of the post-war era. I am a native speaker of a privileged variety of an already privileged language, English. And I learned a privileged variety of Spanish via an undergraduate major in literature written in Spanish and homestays with middle class families in Spain, Argentina and Ecuador. Yet I want to enter my explorations of complicity with the goal of enabling and activating results rather than the opposite. I do not want to give myself or the reader the impression that since we are all complicit in some form, we can or should do nothing about social injustices.

Student characteristics

Students in seventh and eighth grade are normally between the ages of 12 and 14. Students who take Spanish choose it as an elective, although the school strongly suggests that all students from the two gifted programs take either Spanish or Chinese, the two language options. This means that there is somewhat of an overrepresentation of highly schooling-identified students in Spanish classes, yet it does not appear to be that unrepresentative a subgroup of the school as a whole. For example, I am currently teaching an extra class offered to (or to some degree foisted upon) students who struggle to maintain C's and higher. About a quarter of the students who have come and gone from that class have at some point been my Spanish students as well. Chapter 4 describes more precisely the demographics of each class I studied.

Selection criteria

Four students volunteered to be interviewed, two boys and a girl from Sixth Period, all White and middle class, and one boy from Fourth Period who identified as working-class, Latino and Navajo/Diné and who had been taught a significant amount of Spanish at home. It was anticipated that some cases might stand out as more compelling or deserving of more lengthy exploration, while others may seem to merit little more than summaries. All students were interviewed twice, but one of the boys from Sixth Period was not pursued as a case because of the limited elaboration present in his answers. The three remaining cases were treated in equal depth in the analysis relative to the amount of time the interviews lasted.

Critical friends

The coining of the methodological practice of critical friendship in practitioner inquiry is attributed to Stenhouse (1975). It has continued to be used in practitioner research as a means of increasing the rigor and trustworthiness of the research process. The researcher recruits one or more trusted individuals who agree to be a dialogue partner on one's experiences and interpretations of the project and the data. The critical friend's role is to bring a less immersed perspective to the researcher and ask questions and problematize assumptions the researcher may never have thought to. Farrell (2001) has written about the practice within language education and found it to be fruitful for the professional growth of both parties. I had planned to recruit fellow P-12 teachers based on a balance between (a) already having a trusting relationship with them that seemed conducive to the critical feedback I was seeking and (b) seeking teachers with positionalities relevant to the research that complemented my own. I hoped to have at

least one teacher at my school, one teacher not at my school, one woman, and one Latin@. The one Latina teacher at our school resigned unexpectedly prior to the study year, so I recruited the Latina registrar, another male elective teacher, and a female elementary teacher from another district.

Data collection

Teacher-researcher end-of-day field notes and self-reflective journaling

In order to ensure that my end-of-day field notes created a rich record of my participant observation of the classroom and to quote key moments in class discussions as accurately as possible, I kept a notebook on my classroom desk where I could do “jottings” of key events that I could then develop into full field notes immediately at the end of each teaching day while my “headnotes” were as fresh as possible (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 51). The end-of-day field notes were typed in a word processing format that was easily importable into the NVivo software used to organize my data. The computer files that contained these field notes had a second column for reflections and preliminary analysis-related thoughts that came to mind as I recalled the day’s events in the field notes column. I moved back and forth between these two types of writing as a standard daily activity.

Following Ortlipp (2008), I see self-reflective journaling as a means of making “the messiness of the research process visible” (p. 704) within the doctoral dissertation process, a way of considering the “baggage” the researcher brings to the process, and as a tool for considering various options for the final shape of the project. In this spirit I also follow Richardson and St. Pierre’s (2005) broader recommendation to use writing of various forms as a method of inquiry. They suggest that following the understanding that

“writing *is* thinking, writing *is* analysis, writing *is* indeed a seductive and tangled *method* of discovery,” writing can be part of a process of deconstructing the “will-to-method” and avoiding its limitations (p. 967). This writing as inquiry that happens via journaling not only had a direct deepening effect on the analysis but also served as a source of data to be quoted as part of what was learned in the investigation. A major—though not exclusive—goal of the journaling process was to be a means of exploring and articulating how my own identities—including the aspect of being a former student and current P-12 teacher of Spanish—have “been both a producer and a product” of the research project and the final text (p. 964).

The practice of qualitative researchers including their own voices and interrogating their own social positions and assumptions with respect to their research—particularly as a means of relating more ethically to the people they interview and represent in writing—owes its origin largely to feminist research practice. Pillow (2003) worries that reflexivity has become so widespread and obligatory a practice in qualitative research that it has lost much of its radical purpose in favor of being reduced to a “methodological tool to get better data” (p. 175). She urges that researchers push themselves to engage in “uncomfortable reflexivity” that remains tenuous in what it discovers (p. 188) and does not seek simplistic forms like “clarity, honesty or humility” (p. 192). Yet I do not make this embrace of reflective practice with ease. I too am worried about subjecting readers to “the morass” of myself as Pillow (2003) summarizes Daphne Patai to put the not always cheerful reception reflexivity gets among readers; I do not want its inclusion to become “narcissistic” or “tiresome” and undermine its intentions of disrupting the disembodied authority and innocence of the researcher and enriching the

study (pp. 176-177).

Student journaling and Spanish writing samples

All students in the classes were assigned the task of journaling three times during the year: the end of October, mid-March, and late April. It was done in typed, digital form in a school computer lab or on tablet computers in the classroom as a means of creating electronically searchable data within NVivo. Edmodo—a web-based platform available to educators to facilitate communication among teachers and students where each student has a secure account through which to submit assignments—was used to facilitate the sharing of the journaling files between myself and students. Students were guided to reflect on key events or ideas that stand out for them from what we have been watching, reading and discussing. Appendix A includes the three writing prompts given to the students during the three journaling sessions.

Holistic teacher assessments and student self-assessments using the ACTFL proficiency guidelines

The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) is a prominent professional organization of U.S. world language educators. Their guidelines for rating language proficiency are frequently used in the field. They have the advantage over the U.S. federal government's standards and the Council of Europe's standards of a greater number of total levels with which to make a more precise measure of beginning and end points for student progress. As far as their theoretical basis and intended use, ACTFL (2012a) describes them as

not based on any particular theory, pedagogical method, or educational curriculum. They neither describe how an individual learns a language nor

prescribe how an individual should learn a language, and they should not be used for such purposes. ...[Their] direct application...is for the evaluation of functional language ability...[as a] global assessment in academic and workplace settings. (p. 3)

They differ in this from ACTFL's performance descriptors and can-do statements which are for assessing mastery of practiced content that is influenced by the traditional curriculum of language functions and themes to which TCI is not oriented.

Assessing proficiency rather than performance is more in line with TCI's goal of developing a core, high-frequency vocabulary that can be applied to nonrehearsed situations. ACTFL's performance (rather than proficiency) descriptors document (ACTFL, 2012b) estimates that most 2-year secondary programs in the U.S. yield students who master the novice high level, while 4 years of secondary instruction in the average U.S. program yield students who have mastered intermediate low tasks. Yet the document cautions that similarity between known and target languages, cognitive ability in general, and time on task in the target language will naturally affect a student's rate of progress up the levels. My experience teaching Spanish with TCI for several years now led me to expect that Eastside students were capable of reaching the target proficiency of novice high (ACTFL's average estimate) because of (1) the close similarity of English and Spanish, (2) the district-wide, magnet gifted program at my school that promotes the study of either Spanish or Chinese, and (3) TCI's focus on comprehensible input for fluency.

Appendix B contains the two forms I used for holistic teacher assessment and student self-assessment. The first is the original form developed prior to the start of the research. It quotes the descriptors from the ACTFL (2012a) proficiency guidelines for the novice and intermediate levels. For ease of use with middle school students, the

descriptors have been abbreviated in many cases. All students except home speakers filled these out during September 2014 and again during May 2015 by checking off what seems to be the best description in each of the four areas: “speaking, writing, listening, and reading in real-world situations in a spontaneous and nonrehearsed context” (p. 3). I sought to explain the two assessments to the class in a way that attempted to promote honest self-reflection from them rather than providing me with what they thought I wanted to hear. I talked them through the somewhat complex descriptors of the novice levels and invited them to read upwards until they found the description that best matched their abilities.

Home speakers were treated in a way more appropriate to their situation. The second form was developed in April in order to better accommodate them. In September, during the administration of the self-evaluation (on the original form), I asked them to mark their abilities in only reading and writing, since speaking and listening abilities were far above the intermediate level and not the focus of instruction for them. Yet in reflecting on this choice, I decided the original form was overly biased toward the nonhome speakers in the class—beyond the bias already present in how the scale was conceived and written. The second form is a specialized version I produced in April in response to my concerns that made advanced and superior levels available so that a more appropriate spectrum was available. It asked the home speakers to mark where they felt they had started and ended the year. This form was used as the data for the *expertos*’ self-evaluation and the original forms they had filled out were ignored because they had not represented the full spectrum of possibilities.

In making my evaluations of students, rather than filling out paper forms directly

as the original form suggests at the top, I chose the more expedient route of entering my holistic evaluations directly into the spreadsheet I was developing for analysis. I did this prior to looking at student self-ratings in order to avoid it influencing me. Starting in May, I entered my holistic evaluations in a new set of columns prior to looking at student data from May.

Case study interviews

I conducted two interviews with each case study student, one in December/January and one in late March. These were conducted in my classroom after school by arrangement with students and parents. In terms of interview format, I followed what Fontana and Frey (2005) call semistructured interviewing. I proceeded from the interview guides detailed in the Parent Permission and Student Assent Forms reproduced in Appendices C and D. I used the guides in a way that sought to engage in a free-flowing conversation that would produce texts on student responses to the class and their experiences of bilocal culture-crossing in and out of the classroom.

Critical friend dialogues

Audio-recorded critical friend dialogues occurred once in November with the elective teacher, once in December with the registrar, once in January with the elementary teacher, and once again in February with the registrar. Unrecorded and less formal interactions with critical friends were often included in reflective journaling. These were one-on-one conversations in which I brought up salient issues that have come out in my end-of-day field notes and reflexive journaling and generally described how the curriculum and student responses were evolving. I asked these critical friends to help me

challenge my assumptions and ask challenging questions of why I see things the ways I do and why I make the instructional choices I make. I prompted discussion by asking for what was salient for them in what I said that they might have looked at or done differently.

Ethical considerations in interviewee recruitment and data management

In an effort to ensure the maximum protection of participants' confidentiality and safety when participating in this research, I followed the University of Utah's Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines and my school district's policy on external research. Though all students enrolled in my Spanish II classes during the 2014-2015 school year were participants in the study, I obtained approval from these two bodies to conduct my research in a way that treats only interview participation as needing parent permission and student assent since all other data constitute regular classwork that might be assigned whether or not a study were being conducted. The parental permission and the student assent documents were designed to inform Spanish II students and parents of the purposes and procedures of the study as well as risks and benefits to their participation and how risks would be minimized.

Back to School Night, to which all the schools' parents were invited, was held on August 26th, 2014. Parents who attended followed an abbreviated version of their student's schedule and met all their teachers in 10-minute intervals. My presentation to the Spanish II parents who attended focused on informing them of the nature of the study and the rationale for separating basic participation from interview participation that asks for consent. I explained that I was awaiting dissertation committee approval before I distributed parental permission forms. I informed them how to contact me with further

questions.

The assent document was presented to students soon after the dissertation committee had approved the proposal in early September. We read through the document as a class and I tried to make students feel free to ask questions. I explained that they were being given the choice to assent to participation in interviews and that their parents need to also consent with the attached form. I explained that the nature of their participation in the regular classwork portion of the study had been exempted from requiring their consent by the University of Utah's Institutional Review Board that approves research on human subjects. I gave all students a copy of the parent permission document to take home to their parents or guardians. There were no non-English speaking participants, but I learned from a few students that they had parents who were in need of a Spanish translation of the parental permission document, which I was able to furnish them within a week. Three students came forward in the next few days with signed student assent and parental permission forms. Another student came forward with the forms after I discussed the research with his mother at parent-teacher conferences in October. In 2015 I reiterated invitations to participate to four students I was particularly interested in hearing from, but either students or parents were not interested. Three were home speakers and the other was a student who was quite vocal in class and vocal in his resistance to social justice discourse.

I followed a series of procedures to protect participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Interviewed students were not identified or treated differently or specially during regular class time and the contents of interviews were discussed only with research colleagues and through the academic publishing process. Interviewed students

were not discussed in any nonresearch contexts. Interviews were conducted in my classroom at a time when the rest of the class was not present. Student names were converted to an encrypted series of letters when used in end-of-day field notes or reflections such that they would only be recognizable to me. The list connecting the encrypted letter strings with names was kept in a separate data file in case I should forget the encryption pattern. Audio recordings of interviews were immediately identified with these encrypted strings of letters rather than names and moved quickly from a password-protected smartphone to servers or hard drives protected by password where the other electronic data resided. Regular classwork such as writing samples were treated with the same level of privacy protection as in my normal classroom teaching, which meets school district policy. Because of their electronic nature, the student journaling had the added privacy protection of being accessible only by password protected account access by the student and the research team. After final grades were issued for the fourth quarter of the school year, student classwork to be used as data was transported to my home office. Student names were replaced throughout the data set with the corresponding encrypted strings of letters.

Data analysis

Case study research

Case study research is particularly appropriate to applied fields like education and in those situations where context is paramount (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002) or where the goal is “insight, discovery, and interpretation rather than hypothesis testing” (Merriam, p. 42). Merriam (2009) argues that case study research can borrow procedures from other forms of qualitative (or mixed methods) research and analysis; what makes it

unique is that it considers its unit of analysis—cases—as bounded systems that are uniquely deserving of a detailed, holistic description; thus some see it differing most not in its methods but in its end product and the kind of questions it asks.¹⁴ This boundedness and particularity of the case counts even for cross-case analysis in multicase studies; although these “build abstractions across cases” or “a general explanation that fits the individual cases,” there is something unaveragable to cases in comparison to mere members of data set (Merriam, 2009, p. 203).

Multicase thematic analysis of interviews and student
and teacher-researcher writing

For the two research questions that required an interpretive orientation to textual content, I chose to perform a qualitative thematic analysis approach across multiple cases (which I shorten to *multicase thematic analysis*) using my critical sociocultural theoretical tools.

Multicase thematic analysis

Patton (2002) defines content analysis quite generally as any “sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (p. 453), usually applied to texts rather than field notes. Seale (2004) defines *interpretive* content analysis or *qualitative thematic analysis* as a general description of the qualitative research method where the content of the data is interpreted thematically. He sees these terms filling in a gap in the methodology lexicon by describing “what many qualitative researchers actually do,” which suffers from being perceived as lacking a “legitimate name” (p. 314). In Merriam’s (2009) typologies, this would be seen as a

combination of critical research with basic qualitative research. I see this basic kind of qualitative research as the interrogation of data with theory and theory with data; in general, this means using my theoretical lens to look for patterns in discourse and field observations that offer answers to my research questions and interrogating the completeness of my theoretical framework when those patterns suggest it. More specifically, I followed the process described below, dividing the process into a case-selection phase, a descriptive phase and an interpretive phase, although description and interpretation are not wholly separable concepts.

Case-selection phase

Four students agreed to participate as interviewees and therefore potential case studies. One student in Sixth Period participated in both interviews but gave responses that were much less rich and lengthy than the other three interviewees. For that reason this student was not selected as a case study for the analysis phase of the project. The three other students were chosen. It was also decided that the two class periods would be treated as cases where no particular students were singled out. This would provide a richer description for answering the research questions and better take advantage of the large amount of data that did not speak to any of the student case studies in particular.

Descriptive phase

Merriam (2009) suggests that codes and categories determined in this phase be (a) responsive to the research questions, (b) exhaustive enough to cover all important aspects of the data, (c) sensitively specific to the data they include, (d) and conceptually congruent such that “the same level of abstraction should characterize all categories at the

same level” (p. 186), and (e) mutually exclusive. Patton calls this last quality external heterogeneity. When discussing this external heterogeneity, Merriam argues there should be no reason one item of data should fit in two categories, and Patton agrees but with a little more wiggle room. I do not agree that these assertions necessarily follow from the mutual exclusivity of codes, hence I found this requirement a bit reductive for my study considering how I see discourse as able to carry multiple meanings.

A preliminary list of codes and potential categories to organize them by was generated by deriving a list of key concepts from (a) component elements of the research questions, such as “BCC apply,” “BCC interpret,” “negative motivation” and “positive motivation”; (b) how these questions were theorized in Chapter 1, such as “ethical use of cultural knowledge,” “move between locales,” and “fairness, structures of power, global designs”; and (c) supplementing this list with themes that had already emerged in ongoing reflection, such as “critique teacher’s lack of BCC” and “stand-alone admonition.” See Appendix E for the full list of codes. Since I knew I would eventually want to do queries that could focus in on particular students or classes, I created a parent node in NVivo called “Cases” with child nodes beneath it, one for every student’s encrypted identifier and one for “anonymous Fourth Period” and one for “anonymous Sixth Period.” All student case nodes were given the attribute of either Fourth or Sixth Period so classes could be queried in aggregate. This prepared me to be able to assign multiple codes to instances in the data (that is, to drag the selected text into a theme node and a case node) so that an individual case could be analyzed in isolation for any particular theme.

All documents and audio files were brought together under one project file within

NVivo. Following the approach of Halcomb and Davidson (2006) and Wainwright and Russell (2010), interviews were recorded analyzed while still digital audio files and were not transcribed in their entirety. NVivo makes it possible to code an audio or video fragment with or without a corresponding transcription. When reviewing coded fragments that have been associated under nodes or that result from queries, the audio chunk may be re-listened to with a click of the mouse just as quickly as it can be visually read. I decided on an order by which to make a first coding pass through the data and arranged the files vertically in NVivo to reflect this decision. I then followed a process of open coding (Merriam, 2009) and open categorizing where new codes were added and new categorizing arrangements of these codes piloted as patterns began to emerge from the data; such recategorization or analytical coding (Merriam, 2009) is simple, reversible, and ever-dynamic in software like NVivo. Ultimately, for example, I came to see interpreting and applying BCC as part of the same process and that the distinction was not clearly reflected in the data. I journaled,

Is it going to be helpful to distinguish between “interpret” and “apply” BCC in coding? Most stuff seems to fit both. Applying implies an interpretation, and interpreting is a form of applying, no? ...they are two stages of the same practice.

A note was attached to any nonoriginal code stating at what point in the first coding pass the new code was created. Examples of new codes that emerged were categories of BCC interpretation/application such as “agency, identity reshaping with or against BCC,” “connection to own experience, heritage,” and specific reasons for motivation and satisfaction such as “don’t like method” and “high school, college and career.” The second pass through the data, then, was partially focused on (a) assuring that all openly produced codes were applied to any files they had not been applied to in the first pass and

(b) rectifying any oversights in coding in all documents. Appendix E shows the complete initial and final codebooks. The final codebook shown does not contain codes created to answer research questions around my experience and teacher authority that did not ultimately remain in the study.

Interpretive phase

The second pass through the data also involved identifying the thematic codes that had the most coded instances and therefore suggested thematic salience. Ultimately, for example, I chose not to focus on issues of teacher authority as originally planned in the research questions because the data did not suggest salient themes. I created a glossary of the key concepts from my theoretical framework to refer to as I looked for patterns so that I could keep firmly in mind the lens through which I might begin to explain them. I journaled in a word processor as I went through this interpretive phase and began to sketch potential sections of data chapters in separate documents. I performed queries in NVivo that looked at thematic nodes case by case. I also performed queries of multiple thematic nodes at once to look for patterns that might suggest larger themes that were more explanatory. On the second pass through the audio files, which I had determined to be the richest source of data for my student case studies, I created a word processing document to fill with notes on salient fragments and transcriptions of any fragments that were likely to be reported as emblematic of emerging themes. Ultimately I used the process of writing sections of draft data chapters to fully conceptualize and compare the cases through my theoretical lens.

Looking for student motivation, satisfaction, and the reasons

Answering the second research question required a method that could yield a brief quantitative description of how motivating and satisfying students felt the class had been, as well as a qualitative summary of the reasons offered. Unlike the interpretive content analysis used with research questions one and four, here I used a version of textual analysis that essentially takes what students have said at face value and both describes and counts it. Content analysis is a broadly defined method that can either look quantitatively at the frequency of occurrences of particular elements within texts or look qualitatively at the way information is conveyed in a way that is generally more descriptive than interpretive as with critical discourse analysis (Krippendorff, 2013). Huckin (2004) summarizes content analysis as answering “what texts talk about” (p. 13). Following Sandelowski (2001) I chose to quantitize some of the qualitative data, where quantitization refers to processes where “qualitative ‘themes’ are numerically represented in scores, scales, or clusters in order to more fully describe and/or interpret a target phenomenon” (p. 231).

To answer this question I looked at two indicators: statements about *motivation*—what Tremblay and Gardner (1995) more narrowly call “desire to learn the language”—and statements about what Tremblay and Gardner call “satisfaction with the task of learning the language” (p. 506). Under *satisfaction* I included two indicators: compliments or complaints about the class and statements expressing the amount of Spanish proficiency gained during the study year. I used the three student journalings as the data sources for three reasons: (1) The journalings allowed me to narrow in on how each student felt in a way that end-of-day fieldnotes could not; (2) the first two

journalings asked students to comment directly on their current motivation to learn Spanish and their current Spanish abilities (in the second journaling it included “how they compare with where you started this year”); and (3) many students used all three journalings as a forum for complaints and compliments.

Following Idler, Hudson, and Leventhal (1999) and Plano Clark, Garrett, and Leslie-Pelecky (2010) I developed a system for assigning a quantitative score to represent my evaluations of what students made explicit about their motivation or satisfaction. If they made reference to motivation itself, the tenor of the comments was rated, from most motivated to least, 1, 0.5, -0.5, or -1. An example of a 0.5 was “I am kind of motivated to keep learning Spanish.” If they made explicit comments about motivation in a second journaling, a separate score was also recorded in the spreadsheet where I prepared to make calculations based on the quantization of these data. A similar procedure was followed for explicit statements about satisfaction, which encompassed how much they felt they had learned that year and compliments or complaints. Since some amount of learning was to be expected, reference to having learned without any positive or negative intensification was given a score of 0.5. References to having learned with an intensified phrasing—such as “greatly improved,” or “stretch my abilities farther than I thought I would ever have been able to”—were given a score of 1. A reference that included a negative qualifier received a negative score (-1 for stronger, -0.5 for weaker); an example of a -1 was “I might be improving...I started a lot worse,” and an example of a -0.5 was “I have learned some Spanish since then. ... I realized I do know more Spanish since then, but not much.” The same procedure was followed for explicit compliments about the class (1 for stronger, 0.5 for weaker) or complaints about the class (-1 for stronger, -

0.5 for weaker). As an example, a -0.5 score might result when both were present but the complaints seemed to outweigh the compliments. No score was recorded when no explicit reference was made to motivation, amount learned, compliment or complaint, and no score was recorded when there was an even balance of negative and positive references within the same journaling. Again, if the student made explicit reference to the same motivation or satisfaction aspect in a second journaling, a separate score was also recorded. For each student, all recorded scores were averaged, yielding one score for motivation and one for satisfaction. The final score generated ranged from 1 (motivated/satisfied) to -1 (unmotivated/dissatisfied). These scores could then be represented as a set of descriptive statistics to give a picture of how motivated the classes characterized themselves as.

Lastly, I examined the coded data to produce a quantitative description of the reasons offered for motivation and satisfaction or their lack. For each class I counted the number of instances within each reason-based to assess which were most salient. Ultimately this process led me to be able to categorize the major sources of dissatisfaction into four principal themes.

Looking for changes in proficiency over time

I used two sources of evidence of any student gains in proficiency: (1) student holistic self-assessments, (2) teacher holistic assessments that included analysis of early and late writing samples. As a first step, I created a spreadsheet in which to enter all data related to ACTFL proficiency ratings in preparation for a later analysis with descriptive statistics. I created a system for quantizing the levels in the ACTFL scale: 1 for novice low, 2 for novice mid, 3 for novice high, 4 for intermediate low, and so forth. When I or

students felt that their proficiency was on the cusp between two levels then that was entered as the lower level's number value plus 0.5.

As a second step, I entered my teacher assessment data for September directly into the spreadsheet, creating a set of four columns for each of the four skills and entering a preliminary holistic assessment of writing that would be updated by a later content analysis. Much consideration went into how to apply the ACTFL scale—which was written with second language learners in mind—to the situation of the four native speakers in the study. My goal with these students was to increase literacy: to create more confident reading and writing that was increasingly lengthier per unit of time and more accurate in spelling (and thus use of accent marks in Spanish). The ACTFL scale for writing in particular is problematic when applied to this situation because it foregrounds neither speed nor spelling. Spelling and punctuation conventions are only mentioned at the intermediate low and the superior levels. What the scale does emphasize, however, is intelligibility via vocabulary and grammar as well as the increasing use of formal register, that is, writing that departs from a resemblance to oral language. Since these were not a focus of my instruction and objectives, the use of the ACTFL scales was problematic. What I chose to do in response was to delay the finalization of my evaluations of *expertos'* writing until May when I was able to use an early versus late comparison to help tease out differences that corresponded to differences in the ACTFL descriptions. (In my midyear letter to parents, I focused on any quantitative improvement in spelling and use of accents.)

As a third step, I entered student self-assessment data from completed versions of the holistic assessment form reproduced in Appendix B. As a fourth step, midyear, I

performed a content analysis of the first three student writing samples available via collected student work that generated a rating on the ACTFL proficiency guidelines for writing. I gave preference to the earliest two, including the third sample only when the other two were insufficient in amount of writing. This was done in conjunction with a midyear progress letter I sent home to parents. I then created a second group of columns and entered the ratings in the spreadsheet as the writing portion of my early holistic assessment of each student. As a fifth step, starting in May, I created a third set of columns and began entering my final holistic assessments of students, again using the last two (and when necessary the third to last) writing sample to determine a more precise rating for writing. I then created a fourth set of columns and entered the student self-evaluation data from May.

As a sixth step, I began a process of generating descriptive statistics, one group focused on gains over time and one group focused on final achievement of the target proficiency level for nonexpert speakers. I created sets of columns that averaged teacher and student scores together for each of the four skills, one average score for September and one for May. In essence these two scores were triangulated to produce the final proficiency rating for each student. Any gaps in data were removed from the averaging calculations rather than being treated as zeros. These two average scores were then compared for positive or negative gains over time in each of the four skills. An average gain across all four skills was then calculated. These cumulative average gains were then averaged to produce an average amount of gain per student across all skills.

In addition, the triangulated averages (of teacher and student assessments) were subjected to counts of how many (and what percentage of) students ended the year below

the target proficiency of novice high (numericized as 3) in each of the four skills. These target-comparative calculations in particular excluded home speakers—who were not compared to this target, being already above it in all cases—and the one student for whom I did not have a final self-assessment. Again, I performed both within-case and cross-case analysis of case-study data.

Debriefing with dissertation advisor

At the writing phase, I met approximately once a month to debrief with my dissertation advisor. This accomplished similar goals as the critical friend dialogues, but here the interlocutor was more familiar with the research and writing process about which I was seeking feedback. By having such a forum for discussing formative conclusions and interpretive quandaries, these debriefings were one of the ways I addressed trustworthiness in my research because my advisor offered perspectives to triangulate my own analysis of the data and the ways I choose to report it.

Table 3.1
A schematization of how the research questions were answered

Research Questions	Data Gathering Tools	Data Set	Analysis Tools
How did the two classes interpret and apply bilocal culture-crossing—the social justice concept at the center of the curriculum?	Three sessions of computer-based journaling by all students, participant observation of classroom teaching, case-study interviews	Student journaling texts, researcher end-of-day field notes (as typed word processing files), audio files of interviews with case-study students treated as texts for analysis and organized with NVivo software	Multicase thematic analysis of data set for within-case and cross-case patterns using NVivo software
As the two classes participated in the translanguaging approach to TCI, how did the “Spanish proficiency” portion of students’ repertoires change over time?	A form for holistic assessment by teacher or student based on ACTFL proficiency guidelines, students’ handwritten assignments archived throughout the year, participant observation of student abilities during classroom teaching	Completed teacher assessment forms and student self-assessment forms from September 2014 and May 2015, students’ handwritten assignments gathered in chronological order, teacher knowledge of student ability	Descriptive content analysis using spreadsheet software that (a) quantified any change in student and teacher holistic (self-) assessments between September and May, (b) based teacher evaluation of student writing on early versus late writing samples, (c) counted number of students reaching target proficiency

Table 3.1 continued

Research Questions	Data Gathering Tools	Data Set	Analysis Tools
How motivating and satisfying was the experience for the two classes and what reasons did they offer?	Three sessions of computer-based journaling by all students, participant observation of classroom teaching, case-study interviews	Student journaling texts, and audio files of interviews with case-study students treated as texts for analysis and organized with NVivo software	Multicase thematic analysis of data set for within-case and cross-case patterns using NVivo software, including a descriptive content analysis that (a) quantified statements in student journaling on motivation and satisfaction and (b) categorized and counted reasons given
How did case study students' positionalities shape their experience of the middle school Spanish curriculum implemented in these two classes?	All of the above	All of the above	All of the above

CHAPTER 4

SETTING THE STAGE: THE TRANSLANGUAGED CURRICULUM, THE TWO CLASSES, AND THE CASE-STUDY STUDENTS

Curriculum and instruction

Critical curriculum in use prior to this study

My teaching of Spanish II in prior years has included a social justice component that has usually been conducted in English, yet most class time has been designated as Spanish-only and reserved for TPRS and other forms of TCI. I have woven the social justice component of the course into the study of culture in the Spanish-speaking world, to which I have dedicated approximately 20% of class time. With some exceptions, I have organized this around the marking of festivals or important dates (for example, César Chavez's birthday) in the Spanish-speaking world as they came up on the calendar by presenting students with texts, images or videos that testify to ways the holiday is celebrated in particular communities or ways those communities go about living and interpreting life in their particular locales. I seek to characterize the materials for students as testimonies by their authors on dynamic and diverse cultural practices rather than objective facts on culture as static and homogenous.

Of the various materials used to present content, the ideal medium is in-person contact framed as an interview. This we have done by inviting many of the Spanish-

speaking adults in the building to be interviewed and this year I am piloting inviting the Spanish-speaking students who have recently immigrated to the U.S. The medium of video is the second most preferable format because it delivers a large quantity of information in a short period of time by visually and aurally contextualizing it. Recent scholarship in language education corroborates this view of the effectiveness of video for providing language input with much better cultural contextualization (Hammer & Swaffar, 2012; Herman, 2014; Herron, Dubreil, Cole, & Corrie, 2000; Herron, York, Corrie, & Cole, 2006; Joynt, 2008; Sturm, 2012; Tognozzi, 2010; Wilcox, 2009; Zhang, 2011). Because of its ability to sustain student interest and emotional investment, one preferable genre of video-based culture testimony is a full-length fictional movie in Spanish with English subtitles with some degree of critical potential, one designed for “authentic” rather than language-learning audiences. Despite a broad search, the number of videos I found to be strategic for use in a middle school located in a conservative city was quite few. Another preferable genre of video-based culture testimony is a 15- to 60-minute documentary video in English or subtitled in English. If a satisfactory full video cannot be found, I gather series of video clips from online sources such as YouTube. If video clips are unavailable or need more contextualization, I employ graphic novels, news articles, photos or a short nonfiction text in Spanish written by myself to maximize comprehensibility, such as a summary of the derivation of the word Carnival and how it relates to the Catholic traditions of Lent and Holy Week.

Curricular changes for this study

The Spanish II curriculum shifted for the study in two major ways. First, this critical cultural curriculum was made central rather than occasional and the silly

storytelling made occasional rather than central. The principal silly feature that remained present was the 10 minutes of daily silent reading each student chooses to do from a library of books that are mostly comical. The materials used to present content were varied as they have been in the past, but were principally movies and videos to be MovieTalked. This video continued to be mostly in English or subtitled in English, but the amount of time spent on each increased and involved the integration of TCI to discuss each culture testimony in Spanish and connect it to the lived experiences of the class. Following an approach that sees community Latin@s as an important resource of cultural knowledge for a Spanish class, I intensified our inviting of Spanish-speakers in the school and extended the invitation to Latin@ adults from students' communities. In addition, students were asked to do research each semester on a story of bilocal culture-crossings in their family or community: They were asked to interview family or community members about experiences of bilocal culture-crossing and prepare a written speech on their findings to the class, which then became another cultural testimony to discuss.

As theorized in Chapter 1, the students were allowed to contribute constructively to the discussion with an ethic of resorting translanguaging toward “English” only when their “Spanish” could not do justice to their point and usually only with teacher permission. I rephrased any English contributions into comprehensible Spanish and prompted further commentary by means of Spanish—though sometimes scaffolded with English as is standard TCI practice, for example, by occasional translations or by posting a list of key vocabulary and English equivalents on the screen and adding to it as needed during the discussion. These translanguaging discussions were the means of providing plentiful, engaging comprehensible input in the targeted area of students' languaging

repertoires in a way that could also capture the complexity of the cultural politics involved.

Grading policies and the local institutional parameters of Spanish II

Students, parents and the institution all expect midterm and quarterly grades. I try to leverage this institutional practice for empowerment rather than discouragement of students' language learner identities. I see grades as a tool for motivating and encouraging students to pay attention and take class time seriously. Because innate ability and background knowledge in language learning vary so greatly, and because my classes include students whose presence tends to make the variation seem even starker than it otherwise would—home speakers, students with prior education in Spanish, and students from the school's magnet gifted program—I strive to use grades to reward effort and collaboration rather than innate ability or prior knowledge. I have chosen for several years to grade students with participation points for following the expectations of class participation, on length of written production rather than accuracy (or on arriving at accuracy after group consultation), and on occasional quizzes on the key structures used and clearly displayed throughout a class period. Such quizzes function largely as a strategic bridge with student identities that have certain expectations for “real” schooling; the quizzes capture some of the mystique of accountability to encourage students to focus; quizzes tend not to affect student grades significantly except in a few cases. I have found this to be an ethical means of encouraging students of all language learning aptitudes to make maximal use of class time and to continue to choose Spanish as an elective until they reach the fluency they find sufficient for satisfactory communication. These same policies continued for Spanish II during the study. More details of grading

policy are available in the Open Disclosure Document given to students and parents, which is included as Appendix F. This document also details how the study year's curriculum fit with the state curriculum standards.

A typical day

On January 13th I sent home a letter to all parents as a means of responding to negative feedback my administrators had received from a few parents. My administrators communicated that the tenor of the complaints was that we were “just watching movies.” Part of what I attempted to do in this letter was paint a clearer picture of what we did in class besides just MovieTalk (such as silent individual reading, presentations, guest speakers, reading of texts, skits, and games) and what we did to process what we had watched when engaged in MovieTalk. I wrote, “We rotate among four main activity types—three that promote fluency by exposing students to comprehensible input and one that assesses its results:”

Silent individual reading of simple novels designed for Spanish learners. We do this for 10 minutes once or twice during the first half of the week and then 20 minutes every blocked Friday. Students get a Very Important Student Award every time they finish a book. ...

Whole-class writing, which inevitably involves discussion of the ideas and the writing conventions. We use this as a means of processing into Spanish either a student presentation or the information just learned from a video. (Sometimes we are answering a series of teacher or teacher/student generated questions, and sometimes merely writing a summary from scratch in paragraph form.) Normally, one student volunteers to be the *secretario* who types what we tell them to at the computer while another volunteer tracks participation with tally marks on the seating chart. English rather than Spanish participation probably happens about half the time (but is decreasing as of late because of increasing skills), and this is okay (with my permission) because it firmly establishes the comprehensibility of what we then write or say in Spanish afterward. Students are invited to both suggest what to write as well as to point out spelling or punctuation problems. The native speakers ... let me know when what I consider the right word sounds weird to them, and we often consult the internet to settle the disagreement.

Discussion without writing. This includes any time in class where we are simply

talking about what is coming next, reviewing what we've done earlier, or discussing a video, text or presentation we've just seen without immediately producing a written text about it. ... Most of the time, ... students are ... receiving the incentive of a participation tally mark every time they make a comment or ask a question. Three tally marks equals an extra point on their grade for the day. It is often hard to predict how much discussion any one segment will produce, which makes it a more organic process than the daily word lists I use in Spanish I. And for me to permit student-initiated tangents to the conversation is often intensely productive of comprehensible input; the fresh, unrehearsed nature of these sidebar discussions can really pique student interest and refresh their focus.

Student-only writing. This takes the form of individual quizzes or partnered write-ups to help me assess what students have gotten out of the discussions and to document how well they can express themselves in Spanish.

The calendar

Table 4.1 outlines the topics and activities we engaged in order to generate comprehensible input in Spanish and expose students to perspectives from Latin@ cultures.

The two classrooms

Demographic comparison

Fourth Period had 16 students while Sixth had 24. Both classes were 25% Latin@ and 75% White. Fourth Period was 31% female while Sixth was 17% female. Fourth Period was 13% working class while Sixth was 8% working class. Approximately 60% of Fourth Period were in honors or gifted classes while approximately 50% of Sixth Period were. Home speakers of Spanish constituted 19% of Fourth Period and 13% of Sixth.

The Fourth-Period class

Fourth Period had 16 students, four Latin@ and 12 White, 5 female and 11 male, 2 working class and 14 middle class. The three home speakers were all boys, two

advanced speakers and one intermediate-mid at the beginning of the year. One of the White, middle-class boys was in seventh grade, and the rest of the students were in eighth grade. Approximately 10 of the students were in honors or gifted classes. Fourth Period was held right before lunch.

The Sixth-Period class

Sixth Period had 24 students, six Latin@ and 18 White, four female and 20 male, two working class and 22 middle class. The three home speakers were all boys, two advanced speakers one intermediate-low at the beginning of the year. Approximately 12 of the students were in honors or gifted classes. All students were in eighth grade. Sixth Period was the second to last class of the day.

Three case study students and their positionality

Miguel: A “brown,” “mostly Latino,” working-class positionality

Miguel was a self-proclaimed “short” eighth-grade student in Fourth Period whom I had taught in seventh grade also. He had been in both a class designed for students needing extra help in math and my Spanish II class. Miguel was navigating membership in multiple communities of practice. His mother’s side of the family was Navajo/Diné and his father’s side was Mexican-American, both sides working-class. He saw himself of as “brown” and “mostly Latino” because he “came from [his] dad’s family.” He was also a student body officer at Eastside, a signal that he was also a skillful navigator of the White, middle-class cultural norms that were dominant in the school.

Around the time of kindergarten at age 5 or 6, two major life events occurred:

His father was deported to Mexico and he started living with his father's sister and mother rather than living with his own mother. He was the only child there. He returned to living with his mother, younger sister and younger brother around the fifth grade, but he continued to communicate with his father by phone. He visited his aunt and grandmother on weekends. He learned Spanish from his father's side of the family, but his confidence and fluency were much stronger in English.

Rainy: A "White American," middle-class "girl" positionality

Rainy was a middle class student Sixth Period and a self-described tall, "White American" girl. She began Spanish I as a seventh grader and with little to no proficiency in the Spanish language. English is her only other language. She was an enthusiastic student that year and began her eighth grade year with enthusiasm, but her enthusiasm waned.

Kirk: An unmarked White, middle-class male positionality

Kirk was a White, middle class boy in Sixth Period who wanted to be a rocket scientist. He began Spanish I the previous year at Eastside with little to no proficiency in Spanish. English is his only other language. He was enthusiastic about volunteering to be interviewed. It is significant that he never explicitly referenced any major aspects of his positionality because it demonstrated his access to the privilege of the unmarked positions of Whiteness and maleness, for example.

Organization of findings chapters

The next three data chapters will answer the first three research questions one by one. The fourth research question, as it deals with the case studies used to explore the

two classes' experiences in more detail, will be answered as an additional layer of analysis within each of the three data chapters. It became evident within the case studies that their positionalities made a significant difference in how they interpreted and applied BCC but no difference in regard to proficiency, motivation and satisfaction. In order to highlight that, I will focus in on the case studies in the most detail within Chapter 5. I will lay out the six major themes that emerged from the data, of which the sixth will engage with the case studies in detail to illustrate how positionality influenced interpretation and application of BCC.

Table 4.1
Calendar of topics and activities

Date begun	Topic or activity
9/1	Activities to get to know one another
9/8	Interview of Assistant Principal
9/10	Fiesta de Yamor, Ecuador
9/15	Child immigration crisis in Central America
9/18	Possible Catalan independence from Spain
9/19	Interview of Uruguayan student
9/23	Eduardo Galeano, Uruguayan author
9/25	Film, <i>The Year My Parents Went on Vacation</i>
10/3	Interview of guest speakers, grandparents of a student
10/7	Finished <i>The Year my Parents</i> and compared to Brazil's presidential candidates
10/21	World Cup and protests
10/24	Story Corps animated shorts about Latin@s
10/25	Presentations: Do a story corps of someone in your community (begins here and occurs periodically for several weeks)
11/3	First journaling
11/7	Interview of Peruvian grandfather of a student
11/13	Roberto Clemente documentary
11/17	Article on bullying victims in the movie <i>Bully</i> (shown schoolwide)
11/21	Animated series: <i>El Chavo</i> (periodically)
11/25	<i>Mariachi High</i> documentary
12/2	<i>The Incredible Journey of the Butterflies</i> documentary (including background on David Koch, who funded it, and art project)
12/15	Began film, <i>Viva Cuba</i> (technical problems delayed finishing it)
12/16	Began process of presentations on a family knowledge tradition, periodically for several weeks
12/18	Legend of the poinsettia
1/5	Documentary on Panama, including canal zone and 1989 invasion
1/9	Student presentations on a knowledge tradition in their family
1/15	<i>Brown is the New Green</i> documentary about George Lopez and Latin@s in the media
1/23	Bolvia Alasitas art project
1/27	Interviewed school registrar
1/30	Article on Cuba-U.S. relations changing
2/2	Returned to <i>Viva Cuba</i> , including skits
2/17	Dominican Carnival art project
2/18	Interview of a student's parents, one Colombian
2/23	<i>The Harvest</i> documentary on child farm workers
2/25	Kinesthetic class-made quiz on the Colombia interview
3/2	Week of the school play: Film, <i>Rio 2</i>

Table 4.1 continued

Date begun	Topic or activity
3/9	Skits based on school play
3/10	Threatened birds in South America, Kickstarter project
3/13	Interview of a Venezuelan mother of students at the school
3/18	Second journaling
3/20	East L.A. walkouts
3/24	Wrote up experiences from schoolwide career day
3/25	<i>Papel picado</i> art project
3/27	Film, <i>The Book of Life</i>
4/6	Discussed spring breaks
4/8	Film, <i>La Misma Luna</i>
4/30	Final journaling
5/1	Game with <i>La Misma Luna</i> questions

CHAPTER 5

STUDENTS INTERPRETING AND APPLYING BILOCAL CULTURE- CROSSING WITH COMPLEXITY, RESISTANCE, AND (SELF-)RECOGNITION

Six major themed findings emerged in answer to the question of how students in the two classes interpreted and applied bilocal culture-crossing (BCC) as engagement with eth(n)ical issues:

1. Translanguaging as a form of BCC
2. BCC interpreted and applied as taking others' perspectives
3. BCC allowed recognition and a speaking back to issues of unfairness
4. BCC as a disciplinary technology
5. Resistance to BCC
6. Student positionality shaped how self-recognition work was taken up using BCC

Table 5.1 is an overview of these themed findings to orient the reader prior to delving into their details. The remainder of this chapter is organized to review each themed finding supported with excerpts from the data and detailed analysis that support the conclusions and elaborate the interpretations. For the final themed finding, I draw on the case studies to illustrate how their positionalities shaped the self-recognition work they took up using BCC.

Finding 1: Translanguaging as a form of BCC

In both classes, students experienced translanguaging as a form of BCC that provided opportunities for interrogating the complexity of power relations. The fluid mixing of linguistic forms that could be classified as either English or Spanish was a staple of our discourse community. I especially eased my regulation of students and myself in exclusively practicing the “Spanish” area of students’ repertoires when this area was unlikely to let them adequately process the complexity of the issues at hand. These complexities were often subtle nuances of the operations of power. As an example, in my January 22nd field notes of Fourth Period I wrote,

I put up a picture of [the Andean god] Ekeko to see if anyone recalled from last year who he is. There are several comments resembling [one student’s]: **es el diablo [it’s the devil]**. Me: Now let’s step back and do a little bilocal culture crossing. I think from their perspective he looks like a happy guy offering prosperity. Let’s not just stick him in to our own system of things immediately. [This same student] and others: no, he’s scary, he’s creepy, etc. Me: “well, can’t you imagine what he might look like to the people celebrating the festival? This is a good BCC moment for us.” Many: no! but they got the point...

This was a fairly typical teachable moment that I took advantage of to forward the idea of BCC as being able to consider another cultural perspective without a rush to judgement from one’s own. Notice that “English” is employed to “step back” and do an analysis of contrasting perspectives, yet students were able to express themselves with the “Spanish” in their repertoires and did so with “Es el diablo.”

Interestingly, translanguaging issues and politics were also some of the complex topics we translanguaged about, so I will provide a few of these as examples. In the first example, from my April 8th fieldnotes of Sixth Period, students are arguing during a game that translanguaging itself is a form of BCC:

There was a pair of moments about expertos’ versions of Spanish differing from

mine. One was when [an experto] translated a sentence I made with an apostrophe S rather than X of owner. **I dismissed it as “Spanglish.”** His teammates, motivated by the desire for two rather than just one point... **argued that it was BCC, a natural mixture.** I asked [the student], “En realidad tu familia usa apostrophe S en español? [In reality your family uses apostrophe S in Spanish?]” He nodded, sort of, but he was smiling so much I couldn’t feel like I’d gotten a straight answer. “En serio lo dicen así en su casa [Seriously they say it like that in your house].” His team sort of overpowered his voice and argued that it was a faster way to say it, repeating that it was BCC.

I was using the discourse of the undesirability of Spanglish to challenge expertos to prepare to function in monolingual “Spanish,” yet ultimately I used the standard of whether their families also translanguaged in that way to grant legitimacy to moves they made in the classroom to try to ensure these were not motivated by a desire to underchallenge themselves. In the following Fourth-Period exchange on lexical variation stemming from the “Spanish” word *sandwich*, fieldnoted on November 18th, we see several alternations between language’s”:

[Student A]: “realmente es la palabra para sandwich?” Yo: es uno. Depende de la región. I look at [Student B] who’s in the corner next to me, “en mexico es torta, no?” Si. [Student C]: “torta no es cake?” me: “sí, food words get all scrambled around based on the region. Torta es sandwich en mexico pero cake en espana. Por eso yo no enseño las comidas, porque hay tanta variación entre regions.” [Student D]: “puede preguntar algo en ingles?” [it’s so ironic that his question about using english is so impeccable and yet he doesn’t dare venture much farther into Spanish.] si. [Student D]: “you say that we aren’t learning about foods, but you’ve told us a lot about different foods, especially Mexican foods.” Yo: “sí, but I have really focused heavily on it cuz it’s just so confusing. Varía mucho por región. Que significa, clase?” many: “it varies by region.” Someone: “so how do we survive in a restaurant?” me: [Student E] and i meet each others gaze in agreement, “You point to what you want and say, como se llama?” he finished my thought, “damelo por favor.” Yo: “sí, exactamente.”

We see in this excerpt how translanguaging was taken up in the classroom to clarify the word “sandwich” in Spanish but also to deepen their understanding and discussion of a topic they sought to make meaning about—regional differences in the use of vocabulary to identify a sandwich. This discussion allowed students to view the bilocal culture

crossing that is needed linguistically to make oneself understood.

Two other examples from Sixth Period are illustrative of how we translanguaged around languaging politics itself. The first was fieldnoted on April 8th and narrates what happened after I reminded the class that a so-called double negative is how things work in “Spanish.”

Rainy raised her hand super high and insistently. Rainy: “puedo usar ingles [may I use English] (si) Now you do know that when you use a double negative you’re basically saying a positive, right? You’re saying it’s not nothing, so it’s something.” Me: “well, I disagree.” [Student A]: indignantly, righteously, “Oh, Sr. D, you disagree with the meanings of words?” me: “Well, the way I see it, it depends on the tone of voice.” Several were trying to insert their opinions here but I finally got a chance to explain further: “I would say that if you said, “I didn’t do nothin’” then you’re just adding extra emphasis to the nothing, but if you said, “I didn’t exactly do “nuh-thing [slowly pronounced]”” then you’re showing that you’re implying that you did do something.” [Student A]: “that’s an interpretation, but that’s not the meaning.” Me: “but see the way I see it words have meanings only because communities agree that’s what a word means, and if one community makes a different decision than another, well then that’s just how it is.” I was about to bring it around and connected it to [two expertos’] versions of Spanish that we’d found out about, but [Student B] started standing and shouting, “This class is a community, and we think your double negatives don’t make sense.”

Here and in the next example we see some students mounting fierce resistance to a discourse of abandoning language standardization. On April 21st I fieldnoted on Sixth Period:

[Student C] who said *brung* instead of *brought* and there was laughter and mockery, but I defended it as a regional variation and repeated my claim that correct language is decided by the members of a community and that unfortunately school oftentimes tries to call the way the powerful people do it “correct” and other ways incorrect. [Students D and E]: “It’s bilocal culture-crossing.” [Student F] with permission: “So where is this community that uses *brung*?” me: “We’ll google it.” It came up as “dialect.” Me: “See, dialect is another way of saying regional variation.” [Student G] with permission: “Well then if write that I done got me some apples on the Sages [high-stakes end-of-year tests] and fail, it’s your fault.” [Student F]: “But that’s just what google says it is, but you haven’t convinced me cuz you haven’t shown me a real community that talks that way.” [Student G]: “By your logic ‘**yo watz up homes how’s my chicken**’ is correct grammar.” Me: “I think it is.” Others chimed in with

stigmatized phrases. I felt we didn't have the time to delve and that my BCC point had been made.

In hindsight, I wish I had immediately addressed the question of race in the bolded phrase, but there was so much discursive power being channeled by these several White, male, upper middle-class "gifted" students that I found it hard to counter it all at once. Had we relied merely on students' "Spanish" repertoires, these complex debates would have been stunted and perhaps never been initiated.

**Finding 2: BCC interpreted and applied as
taking others' perspectives**

In both classes, the BCC process was often experienced by students as surprising and transformative of their knowing about other perspectives. Table 5.2 (at the end of this chapter) offers a comparison of the phrases used to express these new insights and shows how greatly they differed in tone. The key phrases shown in Table 5.2 as used by Fourth Period showed more enthusiasm and emotional investment. With a few exceptions, the discourse that Sixth Period used to express similar perspective-taking realizations was more matter-of-fact. This difference seems to align with how resistance to BCC played out in the two classes as I will discuss later in finding 5 because Sixth Period showed more skepticism regarding social justice discourse. In both classes there was also widespread perspective taking by both frequent and infrequent contributors to the class which demonstrated transformation of knowledge. A few examples serve to illustrate how students interpreted and applied BCC as perspective taking. In Sixth, one girl wrote on the issue of immigration,

From **our point of view** it may seem like, based on certain media, that illegal immigrants are criminals and that they should be sent back to Mexico, but this movie showed that they are simply people trying to have a better life. **I feel now**

that I understand the Immigrant situation much better than I did before. I always knew that people came to America in search of happiness and opportunity but **I had no idea** how difficult and how terrifying it could be to get here and to even stay here.

Her discourse in bold suggests that the perspective-taking she did seems to have catalyzed significant shifts in understanding—for example, who the “we” was when she said “our point of view.” She also wrote of another “bilocal culture crossing moment”:

Whenever Cuba came up I thought of it as a bad country. Once we learned about the people **I realized** it wasn't Cuba that was causing the problems with America it was the leadership. Many of the people were miserable in Cuba and were not bad people at all. They were just like me but in another country. It also made me aware of problems in America that **I had never heard about before**.

She highlights her prior positioning of herself as part of an American community in opposition to “bad” countries like Cuba—a discourse rooted in the historical relations of the Cold War. Her taking of others’ perspectives is evident when she states, “Many of the people were miserable in Cuba and were not bad people at all” These “realizations” during class of Cuban people being “just like me” in another community whose differences in practices were the site of international conflict disrupted this good/bad dichotomy. An infrequent contributor to Sixth-Period class discussions applied BCC in a way that similarly allowed him to take others perspective and disrupt negative U.S. discourses about Latin America.

It was somewhat uncomfortable, as we spoke of how the United States has been at times unkind to Latin America ... **previously I have been told** of how the citizens within these countries chose to have their current economy due to their personal actions. ... **this has taught me that** the United States itself has been involved in the past in causing this... Through gaining this knowledge, it has caused me to develop a larger respect for what the people in these countries are experiencing...

As he added to his repertoire of knowledge about the structures of power and historical relations that involve his nation—Anderson’s (2006) original application of the concept

of imagined communities—he enacted an altered view of that community. Another example is from a relatively infrequent contributor in Sixth Period who wrote,

The kind of bilocal culture crossing [the makers of *La Misma Luna*] were trying to make us do was understanding how bad we are to Mexicans. The plan did work on me because **before, I didn't really think about** how desperate some people are to get into the U.S., but I was already a United States citizen, so why should I care? **But now, I see** how much other people hate us for not letting them in.

He too was attesting to a realization that transformed his view of the U.S. community of which he is a member. In this case, it was his interpretation of another community's discourse about the U.S. that made him reevaluate what it meant to be a “citizen” and not to have to “care.” A last example is a rather infrequently contributing home speaker in Sixth Period who followed this pattern of applying BCC yet did it by making a more personal connection rather than a political one:

I never considered how it must feel like to lose your dad and you didn't know what happened to him **especially in devastating times like the cold war**. I feel wrong and really uncomfortable Thinking about losing my parents because I don't want my parents to die and thinking of them dead or they left me and never came back. I think this is a bilocal culture-crossing...

Yet in referencing the Cold War, this student shows he clearly did not lose sight of the political context and structures of power operating around this personal story.

In Fourth Period, one interesting way BCC was occasionally applied was to treat the perspective of the other community with interest yet without definite conclusions.

Two examples were illustrative here. In my April 19th fieldnotes I wrote,

The discussion went in the direction of what would you do if you were Carlitos and your grandma had just died? Call the godfather, the old guy who's the family friend? “Carlitos no lo llamo, pero lo dejo una nota, no? llamarias al hospital, a la policia? [Carlitos didn't call him but he left him a note, right? Would you call the hospital, the police?] [A student]: “no se, yo no tengo una madre en otro pais. [I don't know, I don't have a mother in another country.]”

I reflected on this frequent contributor, “It strikes me now that there's somet[h]ing

incredibly BCC and wise about that response by [this student]: to honestly know you don't know what you would do and that there's something about the other's situation that you really will never fully comprehend with certainty." In an analogous way, an infrequent contributor in Fourth Period wrote of the L.A. school walkouts:

The story of why and how they walked out was **very thrilling** to hear. ... It makes me think about what it would be like to be where those protestors were and to do what they did. It would be interesting to take their point of view for a short time. I really enjoyed that documentary and hope we can do things like that again.

This application of BCC was also open-ended. There was more curiosity than conclusions about the other perspective being taken.

Overall, Fourth Period wrote more enthusiastically about seeing new perspectives. There were several instances where Fourth-Period students expressed surprise at the insights they had gained into other perspectives. They often enthusiastically increased their participation in the social justice discourse community I was attempting to form within the classroom. This suggested that some students took full advantage of opportunities offered by the curriculum to build their repertoire with new forms of knowledge and that the new perspectives that resulted had an agentic, empowering effect on them. One Fourth-Period student, for example, made a very simple but powerful statement about the power of new information that I recorded in my fieldnotes:

With the one minute left after it, I asked, "So why was what we did BCC, clase?" [Student]: "Cuz we're understanding the situation of other American[s] who have to work really hard. And I didn't even know anything about it before today." (February 24)

I remember vividly that this student said the last sentence with evident enthusiasm. He saw BCC as perspective-taking that was able to offer eye-opening novelty and surprise.

A very quiet Fourth-Period student wrote of the George Lopez documentary,

I felt **very inspired** by it. How he said he was always made fun of and treated bad, even by his own family, but he ignored everyone and ... became an actor. ... It really makes the bi local culture crossing stick out when you think about how if you went somewhere else people might treat you different even if you just look a little different. **It's so cool** how far we have come from this.

His enthusiasm was evident in the phrases “very inspired” and “it’s so cool.” He applied BCC by imagining what it would be like to be in Lopez’ racial position. Another Fourth-Period student made a connection between an interview we did of a parent of students at the school who was from Venezuela and a previous discussion of how Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez had once handed a politically-charged book to President Obama.

One of the most interesting bilocal culture-crossing projects that we have done, is when we interviewed [the parent]... When she talked about Venezuela and the differences of there and here, I was very **fascinated**. Although she did not talk about (at least I think) the arguments and relationships between the U.S. and Venezuela, covering those things in class were very interesting. It was also a great example of bilocal culture-crossing. **I realized** that although to the citizens of the U.S., we look like we are only trying to help and make the world a better place, to others we seem like a country that likes to go to others and take over. **I had never really thought about** how much of a threat we were to others smaller countries. It was great to get look at how others see the United States.

This student embraced the practice and the name of BCC and associated it with “fascination.” She interpreted it as perspective-taking—of “realizing” or “never having thought about”—and applied it by understanding that there are discourse communities with quite different views of the international influence of the U.S.

Finding 3: BCC allowed recognition of and a speaking back to issues of unfairness

Student engagement with issues of unfairness during BCC discussions was present in both classes. Most students seemed to reach conclusions that there was unfairness in the world by way of the perspective-taking they had done, and many chose

to make passionate critiques of that unfairness. There were moments of agency where students strategically used cultural tools and resources to attempt to disrupt structures of power. They demonstrated how students in this class were willing to enact membership in the social justice discourse community I was facilitating. A few students focused on environmental justice, such as a Fourth-Period student who wrote, “It was really cool, I thought... These foundations protect their habitat and make sure that trappers are not taking these beautiful birds and selling them as pets.” Some students focused on a discourse of economic and labor inequality, such as when this Fourth-Period student called for legal changes:

My opinion on the matter is that it is wrong that children should be unfairly forced to work on farms every day from sun up to sun down. And **it’s not the family’s fault for being poor**. When it comes to agriculture, there is no minimum wage. Because of this unfair law, families must all go out and work in the fields for days just to scrape by. This is unfair treatment, and **I propose that a law be made that controls the wages** for working in fields. Otherwise, it creates an evil cycle. Once they start working in the fields, they can’t stop. Because they get paid so little, they will never be able to remove themselves from poverty, ultimately **being forever doomed to the hot, dusty farms** on which they work.

This student’s passion is evident in his poetic language of “being forever doomed to the hot, dusty farms.” He attacks the discourse that the poor are to blame for their own poverty, embracing a discourse of raising wages to guarantee a certain standard of living and alter structures of power. Other students made clearer connections to race in their economic critiques. One Fourth-Period student, for example, made a similar economic critique of migrant farm work but that the workers’ “heritage has put them in that situation.”

I think these moments were interesting because it goes to show how we are treated compared to them, and **their heritage has put them in that situation**. ... It goes to show how **unfair** we treat these people who are **very helpful to our economy** and [should] be recognized more.

Another Fourth-Period student employed a powerful discourse of “taking advantage of” or exploitation that was even more explicit about race.

It made me think that we should be crediting Mexicans and all Latin’s more and not assume they are unintelligent and can’t work an office job. It made me feel like **Americans are just taking advantage of Latinos and making them work harder than us for less pay...**

Both these students implicated themselves in the injustice by including themselves in the “we” that does the mistreatment. Another Fourth-Period student also spoke to structures of power by highlighting the racial division of labor while writing of the lack of “sustaining jobs” in the Latin@ community:

From this topic I learned about the discrimination towards Hispanics during that time and how **they made a difference by saying no more** towards this treatment. ... It made me think about the people around me and **the little amount of Hispanic teachers or people with sustaining jobs**. And that we should become more diverse as a country and as people.

He also included a discourse of Latin@s empowering themselves in the face of injustice.

Other students emphasized aspects of racism that were not strictly economic. One Fourth-Period student, for instance, wrote that learning about the L.A. walkouts “made me think about how right after we ended segregation with blacks, we moved on and then we were discriminatory towards Latinos. It is amazing how we didn’t learn our lesson about racial equality and how to treat others with respect.” Two other Fourth-Period examples showed students situating racism explicitly in the present as well. One student highlighted educational inequality that she implied was along racial lines:

They wanted to have every opportunity that the other children had to get a good education, but because of **the racism that was in the country** they did not have the opportunity to. ... Although the schools are trying to become better and teach everyone, **there are still student who do not get all the same opportunities**.

Another student responded this way to the George Lopez documentary: “It was amazing

that he was able to make such an impact and bring so much awareness of how racially discriminated against Latinos are in the media. He made me understand how **racism still exists in our world, even in everyday actions.**” All these students were experimenting with greater membership in the social justice discourse community that often does not penetrate world language classrooms very deeply.

Two examples written by home speakers of Spanish in Sixth Period are passionate critiques of racism. The less frequent contributor wrote,

The part that most stood out to me in the documentary was when George [Lopez] was talking about **how White people liked to judge the Mexicans because we were a different color then they were. They thought that Mexicans are really stupid** and it wasn't f[a]ir because we came from a different place and in that place we spoke a different language and not being able to speak English was a huge disadvantage for the Latinos. **This had in impact on me** because at that moment that I too was being mistreated or misjudges just because I had a different skin color then the rest were.

Without knowing how much experience this student had had with voicing his thoughts on racism, it is difficult to say how much transformation of knowledge occurred via his crossing to the perspective of this Latino comedian, but the phrase “this had an impact on me” does imply the reshaping of knowledge toward a more empowered critique. The more frequent contributor of the two wrote,

When we were watching the video on the immigrants coming from Honduras because of the gang violence I thought oh they should let them come[;] what are they going to do that is wrong[?] there just going to come to stay safe here and then those people that where outside of the bus telling them to go back to Mexico they didn't even know what they were saying[;] **they were being racist[;] that was a bad moment for me[;] I didn't like how they were doing that[;]** ... they would want to do the same thing and then what if we were telling them to go back were they came from[?] they wouldn't like it either[;] they don't know how it is down there[;] their not **seeing it from the immigrants point of view...**

Unlike the first student, the second did not enact his Latino identity explicitly. He

applied BCC by crossing to the perspective of the Honduran immigrants and then used BCC discourse—“seeing it from the immigrants point of view”—to critique the protesters as failing to do BCC. He reads the anti-immigrant protest as racism, and in the words, “that was a bad moment for me; I didn’t like how they were doing that,” we can read at least some transformation of knowledge about racism and the need to actively critique its presence.

Several students in Sixth Period responded to the topic of the L.A. school walkouts with powerful critiques of injustice. A Latino student with some experience with Spanish at home wrote,

Its interesting to see what happened in the past because we are like **whoa that happened?** Why would they treat them like that? It made me feel better that they got through with it. We are in school and we don’t have to walk out. **Treat everyone the same.**

The question, “whoa, that happened?” suggested that this student experienced a powerful transformation of knowledge that helped build his repertoire of sharable discourses surrounding racism against Latin@s. A White student in Sixth Period wrote that the students involved in the walkouts had

had enough of racism. I am surprised **racism is still alive today** because I think it’s crazy for someone to judge another person based on their beliefs, race, or ethnicity. **That movie really spoke to me** because many of my close friends are a different race than me, and I can’t understand why some people in our country think less of non-Whites.

This student reacted to the historical event in question without locating racism only in the past. That the movie “really spoke” to him suggests that learning about another event of the Civil Rights movement confirmed his knowledge of unfairness and strengthened his outrage at the existence and effects of racism.

**Finding 4: BCC as a disciplinary technology to enforce
seeing others' perspectives**

A pattern developed in the BCC discourse community I was trying to develop of using the BCC term as what Michel Foucault would refer to as a disciplinary technology, a form of power used to regulate people's behavior which in this case took the form of the admonishment of individuals who were viewed as not seeing the other perspective. For example, on December 18th I fieldnoted how a frequent contributor in Fourth Period had stayed behind after class to tell me a few things: "Then she said, 'And you're always accusing me of making fun of [another student]. I was just saying good job in the orchestra.' Me: 'it was your tone of voice. I guess I misinterpreted.' [The student]: 'yeah, bilocal culture-crossing.' And she shut the door." She applied BCC as a stand-alone utterance to admonish me for not seeing it from her perspective. On April 20th I fieldnoted that I had said to the Fourth-Period class that a particular student "dice que el personaje del hombre del baño es un estereotipo. Es posible? [says that the character in the bathroom is a stereotype. Is that possible?] several: si [yes]. [A frequent contributor]: 'es [it's] BCC.'" Here the admonishment was directed at the movie for not seeing the perspective of those who might feel stereotyped.

A few examples will demonstrate how it tended to occur during Sixth Period. On November 10th I documented these events:

Someone connected this to BCC, [a frequent contributor] probably, who's often bringing it up ... when there's some sort of disrespect issue or dismissing or simplifying of a perspective or identity. ... A prime example was when someone mentioned that Clemente had insomnia. ... [Another frequent contributor]: "it was the Romans, not the Greeks. The Greek god of sleep was hypnos." I said, "oh como hipnotizar [oh, like hypnotize]" I said the last word with a hypnotizer voice and extended my arms as if performing magic. Suddenly there were more accusations of (a failure to) BCC. So [I] said, "Oh, I'm not living up to BCC by

making fun of the names of other people's gods. Lo siento [I'm sorry]..."

On April 10th I fieldnoted that a Sixth-Period frequent contributor said the term BCC during a movie scene. When I asked why, he responded, "They said gringo." He was using BCC as a stand-alone term to critique the movie for not seeing the perspective of those who might be offended by the word "gringo." On March 16th I fieldnoted this exchange between two Sixth-Period frequent contributors: "[Student 1]: 'that makes no sense that a country could have different minutes on their time. How could they do that?' [Student 2]: 'They're just trying to express their individuality. Gosh. Bilocal Culture Crossing.'" The term stood alone to admonish the first student for failing to see the other country's perspective.

Finding 5: Resistance to BCC

The main themes that emerged from the data on resistance were students opposing perceived "one-sidedness" of certain instances of social justice discourse and resisting the BCC term itself. There was some resistance by students to social justice discourse in Sixth Period. It followed a pattern where those who voiced it were arguing against what they saw as a one-sidedness to what we were discussing. In most cases it was evident that the students shared identities with the groups such as "White, American" being critiqued by the social justice discourse in question. These students who spoke out struggled over their belonging to the social justice discourse community I was organizing around the concept of BCC. They were selective in what discourses they were willing to engage with and adopt into their repertoires because some of these discourses were coming into conflict with other discourses of fairness they identified with.

A first example occurred while we were discussing the documentary on Roberto

Clemente, which mentioned he had often organized baseball clinics for poor children in Puerto Rico. On November 18th I fieldnoted this translanguaged exchange:

In the midst of the write up when we got to Clemente's final service/activist phase, some[o]ne brought up that he gave clinics. Me: a quien? dio clínicas de béisbol a los niños ricos? [To whom? **Did he give baseball clinics to rich children?**] [Student A]: Si, dio clínicas a todos los niños porque no es discriminación. [**Yes, he gave clinics to all children because it's not discrimination.**] Me: okay, okay, okay. I stand up. [Student B]: oh, un momento de [**a moment of**] **BCC!** Yo: si [Me: yes!] I proceed to give a speech in mostly Spanish... Clase, es equal treatment? No, pero es un resultado igual. [Class, is it equal treatment? No, but it's an equal result.]

Moje and Lewis (2007) argue that agency can entail “the strategic making and remaking of ... histories” (p. 18). By asserting the opposite of what the documentary asserted, student A remade history in an agentic move to disrupt my local micropractice of teacher power, that is, my constant drawing of their attention to the social justice aspects of what we had watched. He also strategically employed the term “discrimination” to instantiate the discourse that equality is superior to equity. Essentially, student A was communicating that both Clemente and I were being “one-sided,” to borrow a term from the next example, and therefore not fair. By declaring this to be a “bilocal culture-crossing moment,” student B identified even before my “speech” that what was being struggled over were the social justice discourses I had been attempting to connect to the term BCC.

The same two students—both frequent contributors—were involved in this next example as well. This exchange came in the midst of the discussion of a video called *The Panamanian Way of Life* that included a discussion of the conflict over the U.S. ownership of the Canal Zone and a discussion of the U.S. invasion of 1989. On January 5th, I fieldnoted,

[Student B] asked, “puedo usar ingles [May I use English]? Why does the video make only the U.S. look bad? It’s one sided.” [Student A]: yeah. Me: “good topic. Let’s consider that issue.” ... I sort of took a defensive tack of well, the video also gave this perspective. Me: “Well the other kid that was interviewed said nothing bad about the U.S., she said bad stuff about her own country because it was relying too much on the U.S.” [Student B]: “but **they still want the U.S. out. So it’s a one-sided video.**”

Student B objected to the video because it showed perspectives that were negative toward the U.S. nation—the imagined community—that he had membership in. He agentively resisted legitimizing these perspectives because that would have meant having to reshape his version of history in ways he was not prepared to do. By calling the video “one-sided” he strategically implied that had the video also represented perspectives closer to his own, he might have been more open to considering opposing perspectives.

The next example also involved student B and occurred during *La Misma Luna*.

On April 10th I wrote in my fieldnotes,

at the point where [the character] Paco gives his [first they screwed the Native Americans, next they screwed the slaves, now they’re screwing the Mexicans] summary of US history, [student B] said, “**I don’t feel comfortable with that.**” Me: “okay, we’ll talk about it.” [Student B]: “good.” About a minute later the scene was over and I say, “...you said you didn’t feel comfortable during that scene. Why?” [Student B]: “**I don’t agree that it’s as simple as we screwed everyone who isn’t White.**” Me: “Okay, well this is a moment of bilocal culture crossing... Your summary of US history would be different. (Yes.) But can you see his point? Can you put yourself in his shoes for a second?” ... [Student B]: “Jess.” (as in yes with a Latino accent).

Similar to the video on Panama, the U.S. and its history were cast in a negative light—this time even more starkly. Student B, who is White, held to a version of history that does not centralize exploitation in the same way. What is interesting to note is how this moment of resistance was less thoroughgoing than the previous one, suggesting that perhaps over time student B had opened up more space to hear perspectives critical of his own. For him to say “I don’t feel comfortable with **that**” was a much more specific and

localized disagreement than his accusation that the entire Panama video was one-sided. Moreover, he did not directly disagree with the idea that racial exploitation is part of U.S. history; he merely disagreed that it was the central thread to which the history could be simplified. Lastly, the pronunciation of the word “yes” with a Latin@ accent suggested an effort to reconcile contradictory perspectives, one that could see the character’s viewpoint and one that resisted through mockery the erasure of a traditional U.S. nationalist viewpoint.

Many other students critiqued *La Misma Luna* in their final journalings and the ambivalence of student B was echoed by others: There was acknowledgement of perspective-taking but also refusal to accept aspects that seemed overstated or one-sided. An infrequent contributor wrote that the point of the movie was

to cause the audience to understand these people and the challenges and difficulties that they have faced in their lives through working to live in the United States... However, this did not work on me, as the movie did not have accurate examples of how Americans treated them at times, and insulted those in authority through their songs and describing the history of the United States.

One stance seemed to cross to the perspective of the immigrants in the movie while another refused to be more empathetic because there was a sense of being insulted by Paco’s version of U.S. history and by the portrayal of the characters who are U.S. citizens. A frequent contributor in discussions explained this point in more detail, displaying the same ambivalence:

They show a perspective of immigrants from Mexico and how they struggle to make it with all of the things against them. ... I think, however, that this movie doesn’t show bilocal culture crossing as well as it could because it really **only shows one point of view**. It shows the immigrants as being valiant heroes ... and they show all of the other people ... being harsh, cruel people that wish to crush the immigrants’ chances of succeeding, and this does not show good bilocal culture crossing at all.

This student applied BCC by seeing the perspective of the immigrants but went on to

argue that the movie failed to apply BCC because it one-sidedly dichotomized heroes and villains too simplistically along immigrant and nonimmigrant lines.

In Fourth Period several students rejected the legitimacy of the BCC term. Resistance to applying BCC in Fourth Period came mostly in the form of disputing the legitimacy of the term itself. Several students interpreted BCC as an illegitimate way to refer to the practices I was using it to encapsulate. For instance, in my December 12th fieldnotes I wrote, “[A student:] ‘Ingles? I don’t really get what BCC is.’ We had a now familiar discussion about it not being real, being made up.” Yet while the term was often rejected, the practices themselves were only seldom seen as illegitimate. Several Fourth-Period students thus periodically exerted agency by resisting my authority to coin a new term—a term they disidentified with—while at the same time usually adopting and identifying with perspective-taking and critiques of unfairness. In the March journaling one student wrote, for example,

Este año hemos aprendido muchas cosas. ... Un otro es que hay lo introduccion de “bilocal culture-crossing”, que no es real pero Sr. D cree que es. Es un diferente punto de vista de gente. [This year we have learned many things. ... Another is that there is the introduction of “bilocal culture-crossing”, which is not real but Mr. D believes it is. It is a different point of view of people.]

At the same time this student rejects the term as “not real,” he defines it in line with the perspective-taking interpretation. This bears similarity to a student remark I fieldnoted on May 1st: “It’s a real concept just not with that name.”

The resistance was most salient on the day of the final journaling which may also indicate that weariness with the curriculum had set in for several students. In my fieldnotes I wrote,

Doing last reflection in computer lab upstairs, there was much talk of bilocal isn't real. I was doing final one-on-one oral interviews in the hall and [another teacher]

came in: They said she'd said only "buy local" was real. I was annoyed and not interested in debating it. (April 30th)

One student's journaling that day read,

I think [the makers of *La Misma Luna*] were not trying to do bilocal culture crossing, because **it does not exist**, instead i think they were trying to **get you to understand the hardships** of getting from the Mexico to the U.S. or they were just trying to make some cash. Their plan did not really work on me.

Here we can detect the pattern of disidentification with the term I had coined while at the same time acknowledging its equivalence to perspective-taking in the phrase "get you to understand the hardships." Yet we also see resistance to embracing this perspective-taking in the reference to the movie "just trying to make some cash" and to not feeling more empathy for the hardships depicted.

In Sixth Period several frequently mocked the BCC term visually when including it in documents and webpages. Some students appeared to resist the seriousness of BCC discourse by using two means of mocking the term visually. The first was by formatting the term in rainbow colors in journalings and occasionally in whole-class writing on the screen. On March 18th I fieldnoted, "I had to ask" some students "to stop playing with fonts and colors. But it was kind of cute that ... two were putting BCC in rainbow colors while the rest was in simple black." This showed that I found this form of resistance rather innocuous, similar to how I found occasional verbal playfulness with the term BCC. I fieldnoted on April 8th that while discussing Spring breaks two home speakers said that they had watched the movie *Fast and Furious 7*:

"Es verdad que hay un carro que salta de un edificio a otro [Is it true that there is a car that jumps from one building to another?]" Si [yes]. [A frequent contributor]: "Es un tipo de [it's a type of] bilocal culture crossing, es [it's] bilocal building crossing."

But the visual mockery reached a deeper level when one student began to create a

website dedicated to BCC and a few other students joined in to help. On March 20th I fieldnoted that the initiator of the project

informed me that he's begun to create a bilocal culture crossing website. "Do you want to see it?" ... It thus far looks like just one page with some animated gifs and BCC in a crazy font. But I look forward to seeing what it turns out to be or becomes. Talk about data!

Over the course of the next week I was shown more. The initiator said

of the main animated GIF: "it's Vladimir Putin riding a cracker." It's a weebly page with several subpages all mostly a collage of one kind of cartoon image (besides Putin). Me: laughing, "It's just a bunch of people vomiting rainbows!" [The chief collaborator]: Si [yes]! [The initiator]: "Let's show him that video I made." He tries to show video and says it won't play right. (March 25th)

By March 27th,

there's several pages now with collages of images. There's a [line of clothing?] called bilocal and a Human Rights Campaign of Ohio T-shirt with bilocal on it that came up in their image searches. They even added some rainbow vomit in photoshop or paint to some pictures that didn't originally have it.

On April 17th I saw that a third student

was producing some sort of BCC poster on the back of his handout. He put it up on the chalk tray as we did the dismissal. It said in the middle bilocal culture crossing T-Shirts. In the corners "donate today" and "support the cause" and at the bottom bilocalculturecrossing.weebly.com. [The chief collaborator] was hanging around it ([two other students] were still lingering also) and I asked him about it: "so the website now has a shopping section where you can buy t-shirts?" he: "yes."

Students used their agency to remake BCC via cultural tools and resources—computers, the internet, images, memes, the genre of the fundraiser—in a new visual medium available to the world beyond our classroom. Because those involved in creating the website were so eager to show it to me, I am inclined to interpret it as a playful and artistic form of resistance, yet it was unmistakably a micropractice of power in that it exposed to global scrutiny the lampooning of a term I had meant for only our classroom

use. Perhaps the website and rainbow lettering were ways for these students to distance themselves from the hard realities of what we were studying or to enliven or protest what was a less silly approach than they had had the previous year.

**Finding 6: Student positionality shaped how self-
recognition work was taken up in BCC**

Fourth and Sixth Periods in general

Recognition of the self in some way in the curriculum seemed key to students being able to engage in BCC. For example, one kind of resistance to applying BCC that arose was when students could not find a way to take interest in a topic, oftentimes precisely because it was about a community they could not find a way to identify with, possibly because I did not adequately plan a way to help them do so. One student wrote in her journaling, “I don’t love learning about the heritages. [I] think you can learn Spanish without learning about the history and Mexico itself. It would be much more interesting to learn about something more related to me like things that occur here in Utah or the U.S.” This seems connected to how other students emphasized an interpretation of BCC where a sense of personal connection facilitated perspective-taking, as when a Fourth-Period student wrote, “Thanks to bilocal culture crossing, I can see how this connects to me because I look at how some of the people there are the same age as me, and yet they are treated as unequal. I was very interested in this topic of The Harvest.” This is perhaps how BCC topics operated best in the two classes: when there were enough similarities to students’ already enacted identities in order to spark interest and yet there were enough differences to catalyze new knowledge and identities.

Across the two classes, self-recognition work while doing BCC emerged. Many

students made reference to their own privilege in their BCC perspective-taking. This seems tightly linked to how new knowledge can alter identities. As students came to know another community's practices, they seemed also to gain new definitions of their own communities' practices or freedom not to engage in certain practices. The taken-for-granted and the normalized were put in relief and made more visible. Most students framed this revelation of privilege through a discourse of being "lucky," "fortunate," "thankful," or "grateful." Take these two examples from Fourth Period:

I realized **how lucky I am** to have the opportunity to go to school each day and learn. Seeing that there are young children who are working in the fields and do not have the opportunity to get a good education in the United States, was **something I had not really realized there was before**. It **amazed** me that the children could work such long tiring jobs day after day.

I didn't know that this was going on in our country. It made me think about **how lucky I am and all that I have**. It made me feel sad for those kids but made me feel **grateful**. It connects to me because, I live in the country where these things happen. BCC comes to me in the way that I live so differently than these poor teenagers do.

Here the first student was "amazed" at the newness of the information, and the second student "didn't know," indicating a transformation of identity for both. In this process both applied BCC by comparing their own opportunities in the educational system, for instance, to child migrant workers and added to their repertoires a new sense of the privileges they had.

Other students used discourse that was closer to the social justice discourse of privilege per se rather than "good fortune" or "being thankful." One Fourth-Period student wrote:

I think the thing that jumped out at me about that movie the most is just the devastation and all the hard times that these kids have to go through just to provide some food for **our mostly care-free and easy life**. That was really surprising to me because I think that anyone our age could live the same life and

have the same opportunities if they were **privileged** and put in a spot like that like we are. It made me feel a little bit angry because I think that everyone should get the same level of opportunity in life as anyone else because we all pretty much have the same amount of potential. ... **The bilocal culture-crossing that this movie gave us is that we need to look at our own lives and recognize all the things that we have that seemingly go unnoticed most of the time because not everyone has these things, even if we think they might.**

This student used the discourse of “recognizing” one’s “privilege” and characterized it explicitly as a practice of BCC. One relatively frequent contributor in Sixth wrote,

I have a garden, and I know what it feels like to be out picking plants, and pulling weeds while the sun is high in the sky, and shining super bright. However, I was never without water, and I was doing it because I ‘enjoyed’ it. These people have to do that for survival. ... **This asks me to *bilocal culture-cross*** by looking at their way of life, and comparing it to mine. My lifestyle is way better than theirs, and I would always want to help people get out of that situation and change it to one more resembling to mine. I thought that this was a really important subject to learn about. It helped me realize what I have, and to **not take it for granted.**

She enacted membership in the BCC discourse community I had attempted to create by converting the term into a verb and reiterating its definition. She painted a picture of herself performing agricultural labor as a pastime in order to accentuate the privilege of her “lifestyle” in comparison to migrant farm workers. She shows agency in strategically enacting this privileged identity and in order to demonstrate an identity shift toward a more activist identity of wanting “to help.”

Other students used a stronger social justice discourse of “class” and “race” to enact an identity more aware of privilege. An infrequent contributor in Sixth Period wrote,

This is sad, but it made me realize how **fortunate** I am. I think this is a good example of bilocal culture crossing because it shows how varied the lives of people of different backgrounds can be. **Living in a class like mine**, people are **convinced** that you can determine your fate as long as you are willing to make that commitment. However, in the movie, one of the kids is crying because she is **convinced** she is stuck in a cycle she can’t break.

He identified himself as “in a class,” which suggested he was referring to the structures of power of economic opportunities when he spoke of one’s “fate” and being “stuck in a cycle.” His use of the term “convinced” emphasized that he was comparing discourse communities, which he saw as each having its own narrative of economic opportunity.

This same student later reflected,

This connects to my experiences because I have to work hard in order to achieve good grades and a good reputation, but unlike the girl, **I am not targeted due to my race and heritage**. This is a good example of bilocal culture crossing because it demonstrates how people of different locales can be targeted due to their differences.

Here he focused on race and ethnicity (“heritage”) as structures of power rather than economic class, acknowledging that he is seen as part of the dominant, non-“targeted” community (despite having a Colombian mother). Analogously, an occasional contributor in Sixth Period discussions also used “race” and “heritage” to acknowledge that she was not exposed to discrimination in this regard:

This helped me do bilocal culture crossing because it put me in the point of view of someone who was being **discriminated against because of their race**. I am not usually in that view point so it was interesting to see how differently you could be **treated based on your heritage**.

Both these students performed membership in the BCC discourse community I had hoped to foment by actively engaging with the term and its social justice components.

The case study students’ experiences of BCC

What became obvious across the data for Fourth and Sixth Period was that a student’s identity positionalities made a bigger difference to how they engaged with BCC than their class membership. To illustrate this point, the experiences of the three case study students, Miguel (Fourth Period), Rainy (Sixth Period), and Kirk (Sixth Period)

will be described and compared to highlight their positionalities and how it shaped how they engaged with BCC.

Interpreting BCC

Both Rainy and Kirk clearly interpreted BCC through a discourse of appreciating cultural diversity. Table 5.3 features the case study students' acrostic poems that both classes were asked to write during the last journaling. The instructions were as follows (see Appendix A):

1. An acrostic poem uses the letters of a word or phrase to start the first word of each line.
2. Type each of the letters of "bilocal culture crossing" hitting enter after each letter.
3. Write an acrostic poem that demonstrates your interpretation of bilocal culture crossing.

In Rainy's poem we read, "Understanding situations from other cultures; Local people have different cultures" (Table 5.3, lines 12-13). In Kirk's acrostic we read, "cultural diversity" and "interesting heritage" (lines 8, 23). Miguel's acrostic does not clearly contain this discourse and the acrostic was the only time in the dataset when Miguel engaged directly with interpreting the term BCC. However, when I asked him to describe the class in general, he responded, "You learn about different cultures in Mexico," and in reference to the presentations students were asked to do, he stated, "I think it was good to know what other people's traditions were and to know more about them, to see what they do in their life." Thus, although Miguel's linking of BCC to a discourse of appreciating cultural diversity was more tenuous, all three students essentially shared this interpretation. It is as we move into more politicized interpretations that we see more divergence among the cases.

Rainy was the student who most strongly linked the term BCC directly to her use of social justice discourse, most explicitly in this example:

Their **bilocal culture crossing** plan seemed to me was see that it is very hard to come across the border and try and start a new life, so be nice and patient to those who are undocumented. ...I would have made the woman who Rosario was working for a little nicer. ... But I totally understand by adding that little piece in there comes a whole lot of **bilocal culture crossing**.

Rainy was therefore the student who appeared to most fully perform membership in the discourse community I was attempting to create around the term BCC and the discourses I associated with it. At the other extreme, Miguel was most resistant to adopting the term. With one lone exception, he did not incorporate it into his repertoire of sharable discourses, as when he stated in the second interview, “I don’t really know what bilocal culture-crossing is.” The one exception to this was his acrostic poem. Line two in Table 5.3—“insulting people on how they look and act”—demonstrates a direct link to social justice discourse and shows that by the end of the study period when he wrote this final reflection on April 30th, Miguel was willing to adopt the term at least to the degree of completing three lines of the acrostic. In similar fashion, Kirk’s one explicit linking of the term BCC directly to social justice discourse occurred in his acrostic poem: “Restless LA walk outs” (Table 5.3, line 19). Apart from this line, the discourse conveyed by his poem is a more depoliticized valuing of “cultural diversity.” In comparison, Rainy’s acrostic delved deeper into a discourse of “not ignoring others[’] perspective” (line 24) and keeping an “open mindset to different standpoints” (line 20). It also made more explicit reference to differences in power that are characteristic of social justice discourse: “Ethnical issues and contradicting op[i]nions; Crossing between the lines of government issues and civil rights issues; Racial issues” (lines 17-19). Whether by

“ethnic” Rainy meant *ethical* or *ethnic*, the effect of these three lines is still to associate BCC with serious “issues” involving conflict and social stratification. Yet Kirk had the distinction from the other two students of performing the most openness to reshaping his interpretation of BCC by consistently seeking feedback from me on my opinion of his interpretations and examples. Miguel engaged least with the term BCC but showed increasing willingness and eventually the most interest in engaging in explicit discussions of power differentials.

Thus the data suggest that case study students’ interpretations and applications of BCC aligned more with their unique constellations of identities. Despite this overall identification with participating in social justice discourse, the kinds and degrees of privilege students had access to (structures of power surrounding their options and choices for identity performance) strongly aligned with how they enacted identities around social justice issues and how they appropriated and resisted the term bilocal culture-crossing. To illustrate this it is important that we first understand the different ways case study students enacted their race, class and gender identity positionalities and how they took up the interview in narrating their experiences.

Case study positionalities

The three students all apply BCC by touching on race, ethnicity, economic class but with different emphases. Also, the structure of power in which maleness is the unmarked category and femaleness the marked category seemed in these three cases to hold largely true in that, of the three students, Rainy, the one female case study, dealt most extensively and explicitly with gender politics and identity. Miguel engaged with gender briefly by explaining, “She [my mother] doesn’t want my sister to be like a girly

girl” but instead “wants her to be tough.” Miguel was most thorough in his analysis of his own ethnicity and race and where those stand in relation to the dominance of Whiteness. He used mentions of visits to the Navajo reservation and powwows to position himself as part Diné but preferred to think of himself as “mostly Latino.” He spoke of how he was “brown” but “acted White” (and weak) before moving to his current neighborhood, where he was learning to “fit in” to a new community of practice and discourse. He recognized that as a Latino he was subject to structures of power that cast his category as “dangerous” and had experienced “that most people don’t really talk to Latinos.” He recognized that “Latinos don’t really get paid that much” and are restricted in their job opportunities when undocumented. He applied BCC from the perspective of the margins, which is encapsulated by the fact that in his acrostic poem the first line casts BCC as “being different.” Miguel used the category of “preps” who “get anything they want” and the discourse of “nice” neighborhoods to position himself by nonmembership as working class. He said his mother only bought him clothes “if they’re worn out” and spent her money “on rent or food.” Yet although Miguel enacted this working class identity, he did not position himself as a critic of wealth inequality per se. Instead, he agentively resisted the identity of lack of money by ascribing excess to preps and by stating, “You don’t have to have much money to be happy.”

Unlike Kirk, Rainy explicitly acknowledged her racial position as White—“I never even realized that since I have always been in perspective as a White American”—and associated it with a privileged position with the phrase “up at the level of class that White people are in.” Rainy did not ascribe to herself an ethnic heritage within Whiteness in the way Kirk did when he identified himself as one quarter Swedish. Yet

Kirk never mentioned the category “White,” leaving it unmarked, which enacted its dominance. Kirk’s critique of racial injustice was less extensive and cogent than the other two students’. It was largely confined to this instance, where “Latinos,” “civil rights,” and “prejudice” do the work of critique: “Several high school **Latinos** decided to do a walk out! ...when you add the layer of **civil rights** onto [it,] it becomes a big deal. ...it really showed the **prejudice** in some people.” Furthermore, race or ethnicity were absent from Kirk’s powerful critique of migrant farm work by children. This showed less engagement with racial structures of power. Neither Rainy nor Kirk acknowledged their economic class membership explicitly like Miguel, and their references to class were few. Rainy spoke of a family having “such a small house” and argued that “discrimination between poor and rich” is “always the scenario.” Kirk spoke of “the lower class world” and argued that “poverty ... is no way for anyone to grow up.” Kirk spoke most strongly on the issue of the environment, but did so in a way that did not delve very deeply into the economic relations connected to its destruction. In addition, Kirk made no explicit reference to gender. What Kirk and Rainy did say suggested a stronger critique of wealth inequality than Miguel exhibited; yet it simultaneously enacted identities from the more privileged end of that wealth spectrum. Their more cogent critiques were still embedded within relations of power in which they had more access to resources and less need to reject a discourse of deficit or lack.

Kirk’s narrations of BCC

Kirk’s disidentification with struggle was evident in how he did not utilize discussions of BCC to narrate his struggles in the way Miguel and Rainy did. Kirk utilized the interview locale to enact identities that are based around interests. He

positioned himself as a fan of soccer and someone interested in the history of the conquistadors. He enacted an identity around a cluster of topics having to do with outer space: He was a fan of Captain Kirk and Star Trek, an attendee of space camp, and he would like to be a rocket scientist who designs the means of transport to Mars but not go there. Kirk did narrate one anecdote from his life—how he had gone to a friend’s house to celebrate Chinese New Year—but this differed from how the other two students narrated their histories in a more autobiographical way. Besides when Kirk described understanding and producing Spanish as a struggle, he used discourse that located struggle outside of himself.

This is unbearable, **I have never in my life had to experience any pain or suffering that those students did**. ... These students parents, or even them grew up in **poverty** which is no way for anyone to grow up, but it does give you a little insight on that.

On the one hand, this worked to acknowledge his level privilege and to show respect for those who lack his privileges. On the other hand, to enact an identity of one who does not mention one’s own struggles and does not narrative one’s own life—though perhaps agentively strategic in some ways—might in fact impede the quality of BCC one can do.

Kirk embraced the BCC term and worked agentively to center himself and his experiences when making sense of it, but his privilege and disidentification with struggle seemed to block him from connecting it to power imbalances

Although Kirk did explicitly address unequal power relations, there was a disidentified tone to how he went about it. Kirk worked actively in interviews to get my feedback on whether his interpretation of BCC was what I intended, but at the same time

he reasserted his own version of BCC both inside and outside the interviews. In this way, his participation in the discourse community of the class, which I tried to center around BCC, was willing but selective. This showed agency in that he adopted but reshaped this form of knowledge I was presenting. His interpretation generally continued to rely on a discourse of making personal connections rather than seeing perspectives or unfairness. Our first interview featured three exchanges that portray this pattern. First was my request for a definition:

GD: Bilocal culture-crossing, what's that all about?

Kirk: What I thought is you kinda **make connections with kinda you and another culture**, and at the [recent event where kindergarteners came to the school for mentoring] I had a kid named Fernando and he was Hispanic, so that was bilocal culture-crossing, maybe, a little bit. **But it's interesting, I like it.**

In giving the example of the Latino kindergartener he was paired with, enacts his nonmembership the Latin@ community. Both the definition and example he gave point to a discourse of making a personal connection across cultural difference. In saying he liked and was interested in BCC he showed a willingness to share this discourse, that he found it a strategic way to enact a student identity. Yet he seemed to perform a kind of filtering out of its more political aspects.

The interview in March featured examples Kirk gave of BCC that indicated his interpretation stayed resistantly much as it had started despite my efforts to reteach my interpretation. This resistance may have been part of a strategy to remain positioned with a less political and therefore less uncomfortable view of culture. Kirk spoke of going over to the house of a friend whose mother is Chinese for a special meal for Chinese New Year, and he focused in on his distaste for most of the dishes. There was also this exchange:

GD: Let's talk about bilocal culture-crossing you do outside of class.

Kirk: I'm a fourth Swedish and we do the Swedish tradition of Santa Lucia every uh winter [GD: oh right, uh huh]. **Is that bilocal culture-crossing? Like doing it in America and sharing it with all of our friends who are from other heritage?** [GD: sure, uh huh] We do that.

These examples were both about sharing a holiday tradition with friends from another heritage; they were about bringing in nonmembers of a community of practice as guests. For Kirk these again represented a personal connection he made to cross-cultural experience. They also function to enact a White racial identity.

Lastly, Kirk's enduring interpretation of BCC as personal connection extended to how he participated in the practice that developed within the Sixth-Period community of saying the words "bilocal culture-crossing" in class as though they constituted a complete thought. In my December 5th fieldnotes I documented this exchange:

[GD:] "maybe I should make you give me speeches in spanish convincing me why I should let you go [to an event with visiting kindergarteners]." Kirk: **"Bilocal culture-crossing.** There's a kid [I'm paired with] at the elementary school who..." he said something about the kid **speaking Spanish or being from somewhere else...**

As when this experience came up in the interview, BCC was equated here with making a connection, having a cross-cultural encounter. That day I reflected, "When they say it like Kirk did, it's a sentence unto itself: capital B Bilocal culture-crossing. Period." However, unlike other students' use of this practice, Kirk did not use it "to say something like, 'There's always another perspective to consider, to not dis, to not steamroll over with your perspective ... no put downs.'" Instead, Kirk seemed to interpret the term as he made explicit in the first interview: "making ... connections with your life to another culture." Another example of this pattern came on March 13th:

At one point the guest asked if people knew where Iran was, so I changed the Venezuela map to one of Iran. Me: "y de que parte es la familia de su esposo [and

from what part is your husband's family]?" Tehran. Kirk: "Sr. D, **bilocal culture crossing**, puedo usar ingles [can I use English]? [si] **Tehran looks very similar to [the city where Eastside is]. I did a report on it in sixth grade.**"

Here BCC was interpreted as being able to make a connection between personal educational experience and the current cultural information being presented. In concert with the overall pattern, Kirk failed to connect BCC to differing viewpoints and levels of power.

Kirk applied BCC through the use of social justice discourse

but resisted identifying with this practice

The data feature Kirk using social justice discourse on a few occasions, which I have defined as an application of BCC, but these appeared to be largely disconnected from how he interpreted the concept. BCC was never mentioned directly in association with Kirk's use of social justice discourse. In addition, there are signs of a kind of disidentification with social justice discourse even as he was performing it. Most powerful, perhaps, were his views in the final journaling on the East L.A. school walkouts of 1968:

Several high school **Latinos** decided to do a walk out! ...when you add the layer of **civil rights** onto [it,] it becomes a big deal. One of the main things that caught my eye was the police brutality. ...it really showed **the prejudice in some people**. ...it made me think how do the police sleep at night. Do they ever remember all of the innocent high school students being beat to a pulp? This is unbearable, **I have never in my life had to experience any pain or suffering that those students did**. This movie is a very good **gate way to the lower class world**. These students parents, or even them grew up in **poverty** which is no way for anyone to grow up, but it does **give you a little insight** on that.

This excerpt applies BCC as perspective taking and fairness seeking in several ways.

With the discourse of "Latinos," "civil rights," and "prejudice," Kirk engaged with structures of racial power relations in the U.S. The highly emotional engagement with

the police brutality—“I have never in my life had to experience”—indicates a performance of the practice of perspective taking, as do the ideas of gateway and “insight.” The discourse of “lower class world” and “poverty which is no way for anyone to grow up” suggests a critique of wealth inequality.

Yet in other passages where Kirk engaged with social justice discourse, there was less investment in performing an identity of critic of social injustice. Kirk wrote this about the documentary about migrant farm working youths:

“The Harvest” was a movie about under aged workers picking crops during the harvest season in America! Can you believe these kids are being taken out of there schools to pick crops! This is wrong they should be in school learning to get a better job! **There isn’t much to say on this movie** except that kids shouldn’t have to do that.

Despite the passion of what he did say, saying this little and asserting that “there isn’t much to say” showed him enacting a bilocal culture-crosser identity that was less invested than what was evident in discussing the walkouts, which remained the overall pattern.

Rainy’s narrations of BCC

Rainy did much less narration than Miguel, but with a similar central purpose, to explain her own struggle of recent years, her depression. She also told an anecdote of how when she was in first or second grade she had thought her mom was Mexican. Though to a lesser extent than Miguel did in his interviews, she thus performed in a way that Kirk never did a remaking of her own history, recontextualizing this childhood confusion within new understandings of Latin@ perspectives.

Rainy's performance of gender identity stood out as she defined herself against the boys and a male teacher in the class

Gendering can be seen as being ascribed to and identifying oneself with imagined communities such as “girls” and “boys.” Rainy enacted this identity discourse early in our interviews and returned to it many times. As my only female interviewee, gender may have become salient for Rainy especially in interview data partly in how she was positioning herself relative to my identity as male. There were two key moments when the gender imbalance in the class arose as part of an explanation for what was going wrong pedagogically. This first exchange followed Rainy's comments at the beginning of the first interview that “sometimes people get bored” and “lose focus” “doing serious topics”:

Rainy: But usually the girls that, cuz there are **only four girls** in this class and it kind of, I think there should be a little bit more girls, cuz **girls tend to stick, stay more on topic than boys.**

GD: Right. Yeah I would like there to be more of a balance, too.

Rainy: But is there any possible way?

GD: It would mean moving people from Fourth. I could talk to the counselor. [Rainy: because that would] At the semester break, maybe. We'll see if that's possible.

Here she was agentively pushing the idea of moving more girls into the class with some seriousness. In the process, she is enacting her own membership in the community of practice that is “girls,” to whom she ascribes a greater ability to stick to a discussion topic. What this engages is a larger structure of power where girls are socialized to be more compliant with adults than boys are, which is part of a larger structure where men have more power than women.

A second exchange also showed how for Rainy the gender imbalance was part of

the pedagogical problem of the class not being fun enough. Her implication became clearer that it was boys' interruptions and distractions that were a part of what was impeding her learning. Yet she made two important moves: First, she ascribed a negative practice to the community of girls, "drama" or conflict. This speaks to the theoretical understanding of community membership as an always contested struggle over the terms of belonging.

GD: So, more fun. I know, it's hard—

Rainy: It's hard with this class because there are **only four girls**.

GD: That too. Yeah, what is, tell me about that, has that gotten better since the beginning of the year being one of only four girls?

Rainy: Uhh, I mean **I don't really mind being around guys cuz they're less drama**. [GD: Ah, okay] It's, it's yeah, it's less drama. **Girl drama is, *no me gusta*** [I don't like it], but sometimes **guys get a little crazy**, and it's kinda, I don't really, I'm not that crazy. I'm crazy but I'm not that crazy. So I don't know, and I'm just not [GD: okay], I'm not, I honestly do not care like but sometimes it kinda **makes me mad because I really wanna learn Spanish**.

She implies that it can be a relief sometimes to be a visitor in another community where one does not have to engage in the same politics of belonging. Second, Rainy words the gender binary carefully in order not to exaggerate the difference. Just as she said, "girls tend to" in the above exchange, here she characterized herself as "crazy" like boys, but simply not *as* crazy.

Rainy connected BCC to her own identity as someone who understands her own mind in comparison to others' minds

There were two discourses by which Rainy enacted an identity of mental self-understanding, of a person who understood her own mind and who positioned that mind in relation to other minds. The first discourse by which she accomplished this arose in response to a question about BCC. She described herself as "suffering through

depression,” that is, she authored herself through the medical discourse of mental health. This was part of a process of joining the discourse communities of individual and group mental health therapy. From participation in these communities she’s learned to talk of putting on “a mask” that hides her “true sad self” from others. She connected her interpretation of BCC discourse to this identity performance through the fact that her parents are “working on accepting other people’s points of view” by participating in a support group with her.

GD: Who are your heroes? Who are the people you look up to?

Rainy: Uh, **my parents definitely**. Uh, is

GD: Do you feel like, would you say they do a good job of **bilocal culture-crossing, understanding other perspectives** and? [Rainy: Uh, we] Have they taught you

Rainy: We’ve actually, um, like, like, you probably didn’t know this but for about 2 years now I’ve been **suffering through depression**.

GD: Oh, I didn’t know that.

Rainy: Yeah and it’s been really hard and so I’ve gone like to the therapist and we went to, and we’ve gone to like a group like a group **support group thingy that like talked about ... accepting other people’s differences** and like not like doing stuff and it’s kind of it’s been helpful validation kind of. [GD: okay] It’s been really hard for my mom cuz **she’s like a super rational person**, like she’s like, when I was crying um because the play ended ...

GD: She couldn’t understand that.

Rainy: She couldn’t really understand that. I was like, stop being so rational, mom. But so yeah we’ve been, we’ve been working on **accepting other people’s points of view**. I mean **I’ve already done it but my parents are trying to**.

GD: You’re ahead of them?

Rainy: Yeah, I’m already **2 years ahead of them** in that. So yeah.

GD: You know that’s interesting to hear. I would never have pegged you as somebody who was in therapy for depression cuz you seem upbeat. [Rainy: Yeah.] Except since the play.

Rainy: Yeah ... you kinda just put **a mask** on [GD: right] your expression cuz like so people don’t like really um see **your like true sad self**, and so you just like put on a mask all day and it kinda just stays on there for a while so people know you’re okay for the whole day. And then when you take it off then you’re just like, “Oh, reality [GD uh huh], hi, how are you? You’re bad? You hate me? Okay, cool.” So that’s what it kinda is. It’s kinda been hard since October of last year.

By characterizing her mother as “super rational” she constructed her own identity in

comparison as emotionally intelligent, willing to engage with her emotions. This identity construction seems to connect to her belief that she is “2 years ahead” in “accepting other people’s points of view” thanks to her 2 years of participation in discourse communities that have given her a language to understand her depressed state of mind. She used this identity of mind to respond to my attempt to connect BCC with her life outside of the classroom. She set herself against her parents in order to enact an identity of being good at “accepting other people’s differences,” which appears to be an interpretation of BCC.

While Rainy’s first discourse was emotional, the second discourse she employed to construct an identity of mental self-awareness was intellectual. She performed metacognition about how her own brain learns.

Reading and listening teach you the most because it’s, it’s easier to like think through than trying to come up with sentences, and **I’m not the best** at grammar and language arts ... **some brains don’t process stuff as quickly as others do**, so that’s always hard for me, but I understand that **other people** move at a faster pace, but I’m one of the slow [inaudible].

She simultaneously enacted an identity of smart in self-understanding and thinking about thinking while not smart in mental processing speed and linguistic intelligence.

Rainy learned to interpret and apply BCC in ways that demonstrated a transformation of knowing about the perspectives of Latin@s in the U.S.

Rainy’s written reflections showed her taking up BCC in ways that were similar to what I had tried to teach and had hoped students might say in response. I attempted in the interviews to get more deeply at how she was taking up bilocal culture-crossing, yet she agentively moved the conversation toward topics more of her making than mine. She was outspoken with her opinions about the class and pushed for what she wanted and

against what she did not want.

In her first journaling at the beginning of November, Rainy enacted an identity of not being “that good” at either Spanish or BCC. She seemed to use this discourse strategically to communicate that she was not yet sure what sort of discourse or analysis I was asking her to take up with the concept of BCC. She also had not fully adopted the term into her repertoire, agentively reshaping the process in terms of “seeing bilocal connections,” doing a “bilocal crossing,” and thinking of “bilocal relations between different viewpoints,” all terminology that suggested an interpretation quite close to the one I had tried to communicate.

I’m not that good at seeing bilocal connections unless someone tells me something that I probably didn’t think of, and **I’ll probably get it eventually**. ... **Do things that are easier** to do a bilocal crossing because it is hard for me to think of bilocal relations between different viewpoints.

She enacted an identity of confidence that she would “get it eventually” but at the same time found it “hard” because it was at this point in time difficult for her to identify with the curriculum, which she thus declared “boring”: “**I saw their perspective** of how it is culturally important to them but it wasn’t attention-grabbing for me.” She was already applying BCC—by seeing other perspectives—but had yet to adopt it as a meaningful discourse community to join. These lines were full of evident emotion:

The violence was when the gangs wanted kids to join and the kids didn’t want to join, but if they didn’t the gangs threatened to kill loved ones. This fact took me into shock ... I felt really bad for the kids and I’m in a very difficult situation where I want to help, but the number of immigrants is increasing and I can’t do anything about it.

Yet they were followed almost immediately with the statement, “Yo no le gusta connection porque es muy aburido [I don’t like connection because it is very boring].”

Thus Rainy had begun to interpret BCC similar to how I had hoped but had not begun to

interpret it as important enough to fully adopt as a knowledge process.

By our first interview in December, her identifications had begun to shift. There Rainy interpreted BCC to be about comparing two cultural points of view: “Bilocal culture-crossing is connecting two cultures from the same like, taking two point of views, like two points of view from different cultures and into the same thing. Is that a valid [GD: yeah], valid definition?” What this definition lacked relative to what I tried to teach was an element of social justice discourse, but this discourse was salient in her second and third journalings in April and May. Here she applied BCC in ways that demonstrated that the curriculum had led her to an expanded understanding of the perspectives of Latin@s in the U.S. It suggests she had built her repertoire to include more social justice discourse. As a first example, she wrote:

George Lopez and the Latino media situation was very interesting. **I never even realized that since I have always been in perspective as a White American.** I never realized that because my parents never really addressed the issue. ... I had no idea that Mexicans were **being made fun** of in such a rude manner. The subject was very interesting **to see what Latinos were faced with** almost every day. **Coming from George Lopez’s point of view** I thought it was very interesting **to see how hard it might be for Latinos** to be up at the level of class that **White people** are in.

Here she acknowledged her own privileged racial position in society by referring to being “up at the level of class that White people are in” and by positioning herself as a nonmember of the community of Latin@s she was discussing. This shows her understanding that racial divisions are a structure of power to be critiqued. She also acknowledged the limitations of her “perspective as a White American” that came in part from her parents. She repeated three times that she found it “very interesting” to take the perspective of the Latin@ community on how they were portrayed or included in the media.

A second example is the paragraph she wrote on the documentary *The Harvest*, which portrayed the lives of teenage Latin@s who had done migrant farm work in the U.S. from a young age.

The Harvest was very **mind blowing**. **I had no idea** that these kids were trying to make a living to help their family by picking crops. I remember how the kids would be **forced to leave their homes** in order to pick crops. They would also have a lot of kids which would **stun me** because **if you have such a small house you wouldn't have so many kids**. I can't believe that mostly all of them have to **quit school** to have to help pay for the family. **It makes me feel sad** because they're **working twice as hard as any of us** from a young age and they are the ones who are getting minimum wage.

Here again she showed evidence of learning and emotional engagement in that the information—the need to migrate, the working conditions, the educational impacts—was “mind blowing” and she had “had no idea” about it; it stunned her and it made her “feel sad.” Yet a limitation to her learning my version of BCC is evident here. The sentence about having “so many kids” betrays that in the community of practice her family operates within, family size is smaller and incomes are higher; she used one community's standards on how much space is appropriate per child to judge the family planning of another community. Yet this momentary lack of BCC lends authenticity to the journaling; this sentence would not have appeared if she had merely been parroting my discourses insincerely and simply regurgitating what she thought I wanted to hear.

Miguel's narrations of BCC

Miguel used the most narration of the three students and elaborated most on his struggles. He was positioned as less privileged than Kirk both racially and economically and this figured into how he told these stories. Miguel utilized the locale of the interviews to narrate his father's deportation, his moving in with his father's sister during

kindergarten, and how he returned to live with his mother in fifth grade. The central struggle he narrated was that of acquiring the “strength” needed to adapt to his new circumstances in a neighborhood that is not “nice” and home to more people of color than where he lived before. This overarching story was punctuated by anecdotes such as a ball going over the fence into the alley, witnessing domestic violence at a neighbor’s house, getting in trouble in the third grade. This storytelling was a strategic making of self.

Miguel’s interpretation and application of BCC as recognition constituted

an other form of appropriation of curriculum or discourse

we might see as a kind of border thinking

We have already seen how over time Miguel learned to participate in the BCC discourse community by becoming more explicit about power in his discourse. We have also seen how he enacted resistance to BCC in that he never adopted the BCC term itself and only wrote three lines of the acrostic that demonstrated how he defined it: “Being different; Insulting people on how they look and act; Looking at people differently.” This discourse of recognition echoed what he said in the second interview in response to how one of his heroes, Mrs. P, was good at BCC, where “sees you,” “say your name,” and “sees people in trouble” also implied that he interpreted BCC as recognition. Yet when at first Miguel did not participate as readily in the sort of social justice discourse I was recommending, by my reading it was not out of resistance per se, but a process of appropriation *on his terms and at his pace*. He took a stance that was open to learning to participate in a new community. What he did resist was performing an identity of lack—he rejected being seen as deficient just because he was not yet able to articulate the new discourses I was asking for, that is, that his participation was still quite peripheral.

Indeed, he seems to have found the BCC discourse inappropriate for adopting *as-was* because it had not been sufficiently framed from the marginalized perspective. In place of immediate participation he did the self-recognition work of (a) projecting himself into the curriculum when asked about it and (b) using me as a source of recognition by speaking extensively in ways he never did in class and speaking about himself in the spirit of the BCC presentations we did in class that he declined to participate in.

Considering his Latino and Navajo identities, this could be read as a kind of *border thinking* in the tradition of Rigoberta Menchú, who globalized her people's struggle by *testimoniando* to an academic in 1983 (Pérez Huber, 2009). To the extent Miguel applied BCC as border thinking testimonio it was not simple appropriation because he flipped it (a) from recognizing to being recognized and (b) from his doing it to my doing it (not as well I wanted to, I admit). In the discussion, I will return to how future research might delve into how better to describe and name this process: Employing agency neither to resist nor to adopt a discourse (one finds inappropriate for oneself) but instead to find a third way to position or perform oneself—be recognized—with respect to it.

Miguel positioned me as the bilocal culture-crosser by agentively
reshaping the interviews toward his purposes of identity
performance and pushing my methodology
toward *testimoniar*

A little over a minute into the first interview, Miguel filled a silent moment with the question, “What else?” This move encapsulates his stance as a willing and even eager contributor but a participant willing to exert power over the interview process. Despite the fact that I was in the position of more authority as both teacher and interviewer—

crafters of the questions—it was Miguel’s exertions of agency that gave the overall shape to the spaces of both interviews. My goal of getting his feedback on the class I was teaching did not get nearly as well met as his apparent goal of performing particular identity positions. Miguel exerted agency in various ways to direct the second interview in particular toward opportunities to enact identity performances. First, he attempted to begin the interview as soon as possible on the scheduled afternoon. My fieldnotes state,

So then I saw Miguel near the office as I was coming back through the commons from the spirit bowl ... and he said, “Are we doing that thing today?” me: “Yes, but can you give me like ten minutes to clean up and get my head straight?” He: “sure.” ... I saw Miguel hovering back and forth past the door like he was anxious and not really sure where to wait or how.

Second, there were two moments when I tried to wrap up the interview but he kept it going.

GD: Well, I will let you go, I mean I’m fascinated by everything you’re saying [Miguel: yeah] but we’ve got almost an hour that we’ve been talking. ... I want to hear more about you. You have a really different experience than what I grew up in and I’m really interested to hear about it.

Miguel: I always tell myself that I could just make a book about my life. I think everyone should, just to, just get to know them, see what they lived through.

Two minutes later I again attempt to end the interview.

GD: We’ll talk again and you can tell me some more.

Miguel: Yeah, and the aunt thing, she didn’t live here in [this city], she’s living in [other city], so I’d go to like a [GD: oh] different school from kindergarten to fifth.

The interview continued for another 18 minutes.

Second, he performed a kind of inversion of shy, quiet classroom self. In my March 27th reflective journaling I wrote,

This was such a transformed Miguel. This was not the silent but totally compliant middle school student. This was the vociferous, long-winded Miguel who was noncompliant with my interview’s expectations of what we’d ultimately relate the information back to, the class.

And along with that inversion of his quietness, I came to see after the second interview that Miguel had agentively placed me in the position of doing more bilocal culture-crossing than he. My March 27th reflective journaling also highlighted this theme that I had expected him to do more BCC than I would do.

So as the talk evolved it was apparent to me that my expectations had been overturned. I had expected the interview would be about me getting him to do bilocal culture-crossing about what I'd tried to get the class to talk and learn about, and perhaps failing to get him to say much and feeling like a bad interviewer. But instead **the interview became about me doing the bilocal culture-crossing and coming to know him and see the vastly different perspectives he has.**

I pointed to how the second interview had positioned him as teacher and me as student.

I was just sitting there **stunned with his wisdom and eloquence** that was so different from mine; it didn't have the same sentence constructions and connectors and clauses and middle class school frills but it was eloquence. There was never a lack of words, never anything but a calm confidence that he had something to say for my study even if it wasn't directly about our class. As I let go of my agenda and **let his agenda come to the fore** I became more and more comfortable, natural, eloquent myself in terms of fluidly moving from question to question or commenting myself on connections to me. I realized that the themes he kept returning to were the discourses of subjectivity my study was looking for, but it wasn't as purely in response to my teaching but sort of in "presponse", it was what he was choosing to reveal to me of **who he'd been before I ever taught him anything**, of what he already knew, and that my teaching with BCC sort of **gave him the trust and context within which to teach this all to me.**

I reflected on how my membership in communities with more privilege had meant that I had not been able to access the knowledge that Miguel could in all its particularity.

This was the particular, the powerful, undeniably grand particular and ungeneralizable. It was not the voice from know-where but a real somebody from somewhere with something to say and to watch him empower himself to do so right in front of me felt like such a gift, such a kindness, and in that process I was suddenly the charity case, the deprived one, the at risk one, he who was lacking knowledge. I was desperately without enough knowledge, destitute in my privilege that blocked so much of the world from my eyes.

In the next several paragraphs I discuss the major themes that emerged from this

knowledge Miguel felt empowered enough to share with me. He had pushed my methodology in the direction of *testimoniando*, helping research participants of color to tell their stories of identity and struggle as a means of helping displace racism from the center of American culture (Pérez Huber, 2009). But his agency over the process suggested I take further the process of discussing testimonio as a verb, *testimoniar*, that Miguel was the subject of.

Miguel me testimonió the BCC he had done in his life, his wisdom, which centered on not claiming to fully know the privileged other, yet getting street-stronger than them

Miguel wanted to reveal to me that he was joining an imagined community of “the streets” where one must unweaken oneself, and it is set against the world of the “preps”—upper middle class Whites—a community in which he performs nonmembership.

Wisdom on the streets where the preps are not. Miguel returned often to the concept of “the streets,” employing it as a cultural artifact around which to perform his recent, nascent membership in that network of communities of those living in a marginalized urban setting, the supposedly dangerous part of town figured as a world where one must get street smart.

GD: That’s perfect bilocal culture-crossing right there, right? is if I don’t live on a street like yours, what do you want me to know? What do you want me to understand that I don’t understand from my point of view, cuz you, you live on, you see it, right?

Miguel: Yeah. ... Uh, never be scared when you just walk. So, yeah, don’t be scared, um just make sure you don’t really see what they’re trying to do. And, uh. ... Don’t get into people’s business. Never, well, I don’t know if you should call a cop, but if it’s like something serious, yeah.

Miguel imparted wisdom like this to me as part of the process described in Finding 2—a process that placed me the researcher in the position of bilocal culture-crosser much more prominently that I was able to place him there as a student of my curriculum.

Miguel often defined his neighborhood via this danger located in the streets. He used the cultural artifact of a movie to pivot into discussing this:

I think we should watch like a movie where—I'm not sure if we can watch this but the *End of Watch*—where it gives like **a perspective of like streets** in California... Cuz it gives perspective, two cops are gonna go do like a drug bust or see how the neighborhood is like and it's just dangerous streets in California and how dangerous the cartel can be. So I think that's a good one just **to see how other people really live in those kind of streets**. [GD: Yeah] My street's kind of like that, there's like drug dealers around the corner and at night there's just people in the alley, so it's pretty crazy.

He applied a bilocal culture-crossing discourse of seeing others' perspectives in recommending that the class watch this film. Yet his intent seemed also have been to pivot the conversation into showing me that he had been performing bilocal culture-crossing in adjusting to his mother's neighborhood, joining a new community of practice. He performs his identity by narrating his learning trajectory through the transition from his aunt's to his mother's community. He had been separated from his mother and lived with his aunt because his mother “[would] always be in prison, jail, out on the streets, stuff like that.”

This neighborhood being defined by its streets and its danger was echoed elsewhere in our second interview. For example,

1. My uncle teaches me that stuff. To, he's always saying, hmm, don't mess with like the wrong people. Don't do any stupid stuff in the, **in the streets** or anything. You can get you killed, just for looking.
2. Now I just live in a different neighborhood where there's like cops just roaming the, around the block. Uh, the neighborhood, I mean, the alley where you see cars drive by and stop and at night see people doing stuff, you know. Just different.

3. All you see is just cars come off the freeway.

The streets, the alley, the corner, the freeway ramp, (circling) the block are cultural artifacts that allow him to paint his neighborhood, an identity-endowing space, as somehow devoid of the safety of houses, of needing more policing. The cops and drug gangs in the movie share this imagined community.

Miguel is viewing this neighborhood not wholly from within but as a newcomer where he's only been for 3 years. "I'm getting used to it. I'm like trying to, trying to fit in, to the neighborhood." This is why he can say, "Just different," because it's different for him as well as for me. He's seeking to understand this new space and one of the things he uses is the idea—the cultural artifact—of the category of "preps" who definitely don't live there.

GD: So this has been cool for me because I feel like I've been doing this culture crossing and figuring out your experience and what it's like to grow up in a much different neighborhood than I grew up in, you know?

Miguel: yeah like, I think, I think they call preps, you know, called preps [GD: mm hmm]; the **preps live in nice neighborhoods**.

When I tried to explore how he defined preps, he agentively resisted my take in order to keep the category simple and make it fit his purposes of helping him define his neighborhood and himself.

GD: Are they all White or are there some Latino preps?

Miguel: **I don't think there's any Latino preps. ... I'm not really a prep** cuz they [my parents] don't really buy us clothes. They only buy us clothes if we're, if they're worn out. ... She doesn't really buy us things if, cuz she just **spends it on rent or food**, nothing [inaudible].

GD: There's not as much, so in a prep family there's a lot more money left over for other stuff?

Miguel: Yeah, like I always think that **they get anything they want**, you know. They get to do whatever they want and live free, but I think that **some Latinos really do that**.

He was working here to define himself as a nonmember of a community of families who

have plenty of money, perhaps even too much. He defined his own family's economic situation against a simplistic picture of classmates getting "anything they want" and "whatever they want." He claimed membership in a community whose practice was to be more frugal. It was implied that his parents *could not* spend more money on him, but he discursively endows them with more agency by choosing to say that they *do not*. By ascribing *excess* to preps, he agentively resists an identity of lack. This was echoed at the end of the interview.

GD: That's good cuz I have a problem with always thinking, my gosh, I wish I had what that guy has. And it's not healthy, it's not good for me.

Miguel: I always just tell myself just be glad with what you have now. You don't have to have that much money to be happy. So I think I'm happy right now cuz I have family.

He was also trying to match up this class distinction neatly to the racial categories of Latin@ and White. This is visible when he asserted, "I don't think there's any Latino preps," and in the following example where Latin@ is the category counterposed to preps.

GD: Do you feel like the girls in prep families are being told to be more a girly girl?

Miguel: Uh, eh, yeah. I'm not really sure **cuz I don't really know how they [preps] live so I can't pretty much judge them**. But if you see most of the Latino girls, they try showing no fear...

GD: Do you think of me as a prep? What are the teachers? How do the teachers fit into this equation? The White teachers.

Miguel: I always think that teachers [GD: I mean there's not] **maybe had rough times too**, you know, cuz they live a different lifestyle than, students don't really know that, they pretty much just pay attention to the like other kids.

My questions were meant to explore how he might disentangle race and class. He agentively worked to keep them closely linked yet found it necessary to admit that the correlation was not neat.

GD: But not all White kids at Eastside are preps, right? [Miguel: uhh] What do

you, how do you think of a, **are all White kids preps?**

Miguel: Some people think that. Mm, **I think they are**, cuz, maybe not some preps ... some, like their parents have good jobs so they get money, so, Latinos don't really get paid that much, so **I think almost all White people are pretty much preps, but I don't know that cuz I don't really know how they live.**

In qualifying the neatness of the preps/Latin@s identity dichotomy, he drew on a discourse of not claiming to fully know the other. When faced with the instability of the category against which he'd been choosing to author himself, he agentively chooses to both use the "prep" shorthand for the dominant community, yet also keep open the possibility that there is more to them than he knows that might be worth discovering. This stance was echoed when Miguel spoke—as quoted earlier—of writing a book about his life: "I think everyone should, just to, just get to know them, see what they lived through." This openness to knowing another community while still acknowledging differences in power can be read as Miguel's interpretation of BCC.

Streets and movement. Streets are spaces of movement. Miguel used this to continue carve out his identity as other than the dominant cultural group, as in this example:

Latinos always wander the streets, you know, but I don't really see any preps wander around. Some of the preps their parents are very strict, like some of my Latino friends, their parents are strict, they never let them out and so they don't know how to live the streets.

This identity he performs of moving about his neighborhood—and being other than those who are not allowed to—at first lines up with the racial/ethnic/class distinction between Latin@s and preps, but the correlation breaks down as he talks more about it. What we see here is a manifestation of the fact that Miguel is a member of overlapping communities of practice—Latin@s, his family—but he constantly performs membership and reinstatiates these communities in how he talks about them. He has a micro-

practice that he identifies with—wandering his own neighborhood—which he interprets through a macropractice of “living the streets” that identifies him with so-called urban youth and disidentifies him with preps, that is, (upper) middle-class Whites. He claims and eschews membership in these macrocommunities with their different levels of privilege, different levels of access to resources such as money and safety.

This concept of moving about the neighborhood was salient. For example,

We always try riding our bikes around the neighborhood as much as possible and always try to roam the city, you know, like some preps I think don't really do that that they just really stay in their community and don't really like walk to stores or to the gas station, but my mom wants us to like explore the world by ourselves [GD: mm hmm], explore without her helping us.

Here he describes practices of movement that his mother encourages seemingly as a means of teaching him how to gain fuller membership in the community.

Interestingly, though Miguel identified closely with moving about his neighborhood, he did not identify with the idea of moving away from it. This was despite the fact that he praised “nice” neighborhoods: “And then where my aunt lives, it was like a nice neighborhood. Like there's no activity going on, just perfect.” It was also despite the fact that he felt gangs were forever bound to “mess up” his “scary” neighborhood.

GD: Or how do we fix it or, I don't know. [Miguel: “Uhh”] I mean instead of, cuz you probably want to move out, right? You'd rather live somewhere else or you wanna [Miguel: Mm] stay?

Miguel: Mm, well, I think that sometimes but I always tell myself like this is where my mom was raised, you know, so me and my brother are used to it; I'm getting used to it. I'm like trying to, trying to fit in, to the neighborhood. So yeah.

His identification with the neighborhood was not finished, not whole. That he was still joining the neighborhood seemed to be part of what made it hard to think about leaving.

“I always wonder how it is living in a place like that, living in a really nice house, but I don't know, I guess I'm happy where I am now. ... Even though it's scary, we still have

fun during the day.” By roaming the neighborhood by day perhaps he builds a confidence that cannot build during the “scary” night.

I don't mind staying there cuz I know my mom went through it. But she says back then it was okay like there was no pedophiles, no breaking into houses. She says now it's changed a lot, but. I think, well, if they change it it's gonna end up the same cuz all these gangs start and might mess the neighborhood up. So I think it's just safe for how it is now.

But though he identified with “the streets,” that did not extend to identifying with gangs.

GD: Why do you think people join gangs or want to be in gangs?

Miguel: Maybe just because they're scared or they don't really have any friends, they don't feel as protected with their family. Or [inaudible] they join gangs to protect themselves, protect their family. ...

GD: So why, why not? What makes you different from the people who do [join gangs]?

Miguel: I want to succeed and help my family. And I want to show my brother that. ... I think in third grade when I got in trouble and to the office he started following my footsteps and I think my mom told me you have to stop or else your brother's going to end up like that. And so I committed not to do any of that. ... In third grade I was hanging out with people who were in gangs.

Gangs are communities whose practices are part of what made the neighborhood scary for Miguel, but he also saw them as a way people solved being afraid. For Miguel, his family sufficed to provide that security.

Streets and strength. In Miguel's last reflection he wrote this about the L.A. school walkouts: “It made me feel like, just because of their color and personality that they can't graduate, but I wouldn't give up. Just like what they did they still stayed strong.” Miguel's use of “I wouldn't give up” indicates that he identifies with the students who organize the walkout from the schools, and strength is the discourse he used to encapsulate the students' grassroots power. Strength versus weakness became a major theme in the third interview. It first came up in relation to fear of being out at night in the neighborhood.

Miguel: **It's just scary** cuz I think I played basketball **at night** and I, the ball went over the fence into the alley so I didn't want to go get it, so I just left it.

GD: Yeah, wow, okay. Was it there in the morning?

Miguel: Yeah, it was there.

GD: So why are there some neighborhoods like that and some that aren't like that? And what should we do about it? Cuz, don't you think everybody deserves to feel safe?

Miguel: Well, it depends on the person because maybe they like it because they knew they were raised and that they just **want to feel strong and not weak**. You know, like show no fear. If that makes sense.

It's interesting how he admits to fear of getting the ball because of the neighborhood then immediately identifies with staying in the neighborhood in order to show no fear. It's interesting also that he says "feel" strong, implying that for him he feels stronger having endured and continuing to endure feeling scared and weak.

Weakness was precisely the theme Miguel wanted to say more about when he most clearly exerted agency by resisting my attempts to end the interview. Perhaps strength is a trope for agency.

GD: We'll talk again and you can tell me some more.

Miguel: Yeah, and the aunt thing, she didn't live here in [this city], she's living in [other city], so I'd go to like a [GD: oh] different school from kindergarten to fifth to a school where there was kind of less Latinos, so I'd always hang out with like the White kids, and so I don't know, I think **I was a weak kid back then**. But once I went, once I moved in with mom and started living in **the neighborhood it's like changed me**, you know. Like I'm not as, I'm not as like, cuz I think I was like pretty much still **colored brown, but I acted like a White kid** [inaudible] but I don't know, **now I just live in a different neighborhood** ...

GD: Yeah, and that difference is fascinating to me. I mean, you said, you said when you lived with your aunt, you're in [another city], you're in a school with mostly White kids, you acted White, is that what you said? [Miguel: yeah] But didn't you also say you were weak? [Miguel: yeah, I] So tell me about the, are those connected, in your mind?

Miguel: Pretty much, I think so.

GD: So tell me more about weakness and Whiteness.

Miguel: Uh, well I don't think I, **I acted a little bit White** cuz I'd always hang out with the White kids instead of the Latinos, like how I did when I moved here. Um, I think, **I wouldn't dress White**, I'd dress like, I don't know how to explain that, but I wouldn't dress white like the kids here. I'd just put normal pants and normal shirt.

GD: It's funny cuz from your perspective, right, I don't dress White, I just put on normal clothes. [Miguel: yeah] You know what I mean? But from my perspective I dress White and that's normal, you know? It's interesting. Go on, go on, tell me more like about the weakness thing

Miguel: Um, I don't know cuz, I wouldn't leave the house at my aunt's. I'd always **stay inside, play in the yard**, but ever since I came over here it's like I've been, I feel like **I'm getting stronger** cuz my brother, he um, he uh, we fight sometimes.

GD: he's younger, right?

Miguel: Yeah, and he's taller too, so. We always fight but I always tell him it's probably good because **we make each other stronger**, you know. Like, we always like play games, play these games where we kick each other in the shins and then, I don't know, just to get used to it, just so if someone kicks you out of nowhere **you don't really feel that much pain**. Cuz ever since I've lived here I've been like falling, um like getting bruises because of the things I do like ride a bike and fall on accident, but, and then **I always hear my mom yell so I never heard that from my aunt, so I think that made, makes me kind of weak** when I think about it.

Miguel was working out how to make sense of the differences between having lived with his aunt and now living with his mother and siblings. He was working out the transition from one space, one community of practice, to another. He pointed to his mother as one source of the strength discourse both explicitly through advice and implicitly through yelling. He characterizes her as wanting her children to be strong enough to defend themselves but not so into strength that they get into fights. "My mom always did that stuff. She doesn't want me to go to [other middle school], [other middle school] or any other school cuz of all the fights she always had. And how people always talked, talked in her back or something. [GD: mm hm] So she told me I had to go to Eastside."

Miguel: But some of my Latino friends now are pretty, they're like wimpy or something, I don't really know, cuz they don't really **live in the neighborhood** I live in. Like, uh, they hear **yelling** but you know they **don't know how to make themselves strong**. Like, **yelling is one of the things you can get strong at** cuz if someone yells at you, you know how, I don't know, I don't really know.

GD: How to not let it get to you?

Miguel: Yeah. That's pretty much, like some of them **get punched and they say it hurts** and, and then if they did that to me it's just pretty much nothing cuz my brother pretty much hits me and then I hit him. When he hits me I always defend

myself. My mom always says that: if someone starts something then just **defend yourself, don't always start something**.

Miguel construed being yelled at and being punched and kicked as strengthening, as exercise, as preparation for interactions outside the family.

GD: Is that kinda what you're saying that [Miguel: yeah, like] when you lived in the nice neighborhood people discouraged fighting kind of, right?

Miguel: Yeah, like, um, I don't know, we just, me and my brother, try not to show fear against each other, you know. ... Uh, she [my mom] wants us to be able to, she **wants us to be strong**, you know, and **stand up for each other, stand up for ourselves**. So, she doesn't want my sister to be like a girly girl, you know, she like wants her to be tough. ... But if you see most of the Latino girls, they try showing no fear to other girls, you know, they know how to stand up for themselves cuz their parents taught them. But, you know, I think the preps think that nothings gonna happen to them cuz they can't get touched, you know, but it's really not like that."

Three elements to his change in situation come to the fore: The racial and class politics, the scariness of the neighborhood, and the family politics (different parenting style, the presence of siblings). In effect he implies what he has are constellation of challenges that now are making him stronger; when he lacked these challenges he was under-challenged and left weak. First is the racial/class challenge: For Miguel, White and prep are hard to pull apart as are Latin@ and working class. He is a working-class Latino in a financially unequal, White supremacist society where he does not get access to as much privilege, as when he observes, "Latinos don't really get paid that much." Yet he needs to be cautious about potential rejection from some in the Latin@ community if he tries to access more privileges by "acting White" and befriending Whites/preps. Second is the geographic challenge of contending with a neighborhood that is "scary" and not "nice." Third is the family politics where he is exposed to a parenting style that includes yelling and has siblings around (unlike at his aunt's) who cause him physical pain.

But some of my Latino friends now are pretty, they're like wimpy or something, I

don't really know, cuz they don't really live in the neighborhood I live in. Like, uh, they hear yelling but you know they don't know how to make themselves strong.

This chunk of discourse encapsulates how the challenges seem to have a cumulative effect for Miguel. He has friends who are Latin@ and get yelled at, but since they live in “nicer” neighborhoods, they're still missing that important piece to becoming strong like him.

Despite resisting use of the BCC label, over time Miguel learned to participate in a social justice discourse community by using more explicit discourse about power and the need for recognition. Two events were significant here. Even in late March during our second interview, Miguel revealed that the meaning of my chosen term, bilocal culture-crossing, had not sufficiently resonated with him to become part of his repertoire of sharable discourses.

GD: Here's a question. Mrs. P, do you think that she is, that she is good at bilocal culture-crossing, like we've been talking about? Is that part of what makes her a hero for you maybe?

Miguel: yeah, **I don't really know what bilocal culture-crossing is.**

GD: Well you know how we've talked about seeing, that it's seeing other people's perspectives [Miguel: oh] and crossing out of your own experience and kind of understanding [Miguel: yeah] Do you think she's good at that?

Miguel: yeah

GD: What, what kind of things does she do that shows that's one of her strengths?

Miguel: Mm, let's see. It's like, I think **when she sees you or notices something weird, she'd always say your name**, so she'd usually say, Miguel, come talk to me after school or beginning of school, you know. And so I think that's how **she sees people in trouble** and she tries to help them. [GD: uh huh] I think it just depends on your mood or how you feel or if you're struggling she can talk to you about that.

Yet what he said about Mrs. P implied that he interpreted BCC as recognition—“sees you,” “say your name”—often specifically recognition of others' struggles—“sees people in trouble.”

In the April journaling I asked students to write an acrostic poem with the initial letters of bilocal culture-crossing as a means of investigating very directly how they interpreted it. Miguel only completed the first three lines. Since he was not reticent in the rest of that day's journaling the message sent by this lack of inspiration to complete the poem is another rejection of the label I invented. His incomplete acrostic read, "Being different; Insulting people on how they look and act; Looking at people differently." What is most interesting here is how he agentively framed bilocal-culture crossing from the marginalized perspective. He writes "being different" rather than something along the lines of "being respectful of those who are different." When I reiterated the definition of bilocal culture-crossing I tended to focus on the discourses of seeing the other perspective or moving to the other perspective. Yet what is also significant is that by writing "insulting people on how they look and act" he showed that by the end of the study period he had strongly connected BCC to understanding and countering discrimination.

Miguel's application of bilocal culture-crossing appeared to evolve toward a more power-aware analysis. Early in the study period he spoke up a few times in class in ways that revealed he was not yet being explicit about power. On September 10th I wrote in my fieldnotes about a question I had asked about why most indigenous members of an Ecuadorian community had refused for many years to attend a local festival. "He said they didn't go to the festival cuz they didn't want to go. I felt like okay I've got him talking but I don't have him thinking deeply enough. Perhaps a little too harshly I said okay, good, but why, what were their reasons? He said, I didn't get that part." Miguel had attended to the video without an ear for the sense exploitation the indigenous people

felt.

Yet by the end of the year there was evidence of appropriation of the discourse.

In the last journaling in April, he engaged wholeheartedly with structures of power:

East L.A.

I remember that the high schools said that the Hispanics didn't have a good chance of graduating because they didn't know very good English. Also that the **White people judged them by their color and race** just like the African Americans.

I think those moments represented the Civil rights, but I'm not sure. It made me think that the Hispanics got judged by the way they talked and by their personality. Another thing it made me think that the **White people didn't believe that the Hispanics couldn't do good in school or learn English, and that they couldn't graduate high school.**

It made me feel like, just because of their color and personality that they can't graduate, but I wouldn't give up. Just like what they did they still stayed strong.

This corroborates the pattern of a gradual repertoire building to be able to participate more fully in a social justice discourse community like I attempted to make of our class.

As a Latino Miguel seemed to appreciate the curricular focus on Latin@ issues and frequently used a language of seeing himself reflected in the curriculum. One moment in class that stood out for him was an interview of the parents of one of the Spanish II students, one of whom was Colombian and the other from St. Louis, Missouri.

It kinda reminds me of how me, um I mean my dad and my mom met. [GD: oh really?] Yeah, cuz she was Navajo and he was Hispanic so [GD: right] And they were all from different countries or states, cuz my dad was from Mexico and my mom was from Utah. So I think it was kinda like almost the same.

This self-recognition work enmeshed even more intimately with the curriculum when he described why our viewing of a documentary on Roberto Clemente—the first Latino baseball star in the U.S. major leagues—had also made an impression on him. “I think that one stood out because I think when I was a kid I'd always like baseball and so I wanted to be like the first Latino in the major leagues but now there's like a lot of them.”

Miguel’s childhood merges in a way with Clemente’s story—he understands it by incorporating it into his own history, employing what Moje and Lewis (2007) would call “the strategic making and remaking of ... histories” with our agency to re-narrate our identities (p. 18).

Chapter summary

As referenced in the title of the study, one case study student summarized bilocal culture-crossing (BCC) as “eth(n)ical issues,” as if to tie this concept to both ethics and ethnic studies. This fortuitous neologism encapsulates how overall students in both classes engaged substantively with social justice discourse when interpreting the central concept (BCC) directly and in applying it through discussion of the curriculum. There were six major thematic findings of how students interpreted and applied BCC as engagement with eth(n)ical issues:

1. Translanguaging as a form of BCC
2. BCC interpreted and applied as taking others’ perspectives
3. BCC allowed recognition and a speaking back to issues of unfairness
4. BCC as a disciplinary technology
5. Resistance to BCC was present
6. Student positionality shaped how self-recognition work was taken up using BCC

First, students joined me in translanguaging in order to make themselves understood around the complexity of power relations. Second, students actively used discourses of taking others’ perspectives in response to the curriculum. Third, more often students recognized and spoke back to issues of unfairness. Fourth, students also began to use their conceptualization of BCC as a way to discipline and admonish those who they

perceived to not be adhering to BCC, including the teacher. Thus, students mostly appropriated rather than resisted social justice discourse, with resistance, the fifth theme, centering on the term I had coined and on perceived one-sidedness in some of the videos we discussed.

The final thematic finding that emerged was the most complex: Students participated in our BCC discourse community through processes of self-recognition work. Often students clearly reenacted familiar identities as a means of applying or resisting BCC, yet in many cases they were just as clearly transforming those identities through their participation and were attesting to their own transformations of knowing. Miguel illustrated this by displaying a complex process of (non)participation in our BCC discourse community that defied the simple polarity of resistance and appropriation. He interpreted and applied BCC from a marginalized perspective, reversing my discourse of *hearing other perspectives to getting one's perspective heard*. He used our one-on-one discussions of the BCC curriculum as an opportunity to *testimoniar*, performing a Latino identity which allowed him to assert the equal value of his current knowledge and experience while at the same time remaining open to gradually adding a more explicit social justice discourse to his repertoire, moving to less and less peripheral participation in the social justice discourse community I had initiated, though never fully embracing the BCC term.

Table 5.1
Findings on interpretation and application of BCC and
case-study student positionality

1. Translanguaging as a form of BCC
2. BCC interpreted and applied as taking others' perspectives
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Similarly in both classes there was widespread perspective taking by both frequent and infrequent contributors, which demonstrated transformation of knowing and identity. • Fourth Period wrote more enthusiastically about seeing new perspectives.
3. BCC allowed recognition and a speaking back to issues of unfairness
4. BCC as a disciplinary technology to enforce seeing others' perspectives
5. Resistance to BCC
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was some resistance to BCC despite the overall embrace of social justice discourse. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some students in Sixth openly resisted social justice discourse when perceived as “one-sided,” that is, unfairly targeting their identities. • There was resistance directed at the BCC term itself. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Fourth several students rejected the legitimacy of the BCC term. • In Sixth several frequently mocked the BCC term visually.
6. Student positionality shaped how self-recognition work was taken up using BCC
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In both classes there was observable identity work of the recognition of one's own privilege. • Differences in marginality and privilege—whether recognized or not—made a bigger difference with respect to BCC than membership in Fourth or Sixth Period. • Kirk <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kirk embraced the BCC term and worked agentively to center himself and his experiences when making sense of it, but his privilege and disidentification with struggle seemed to block him from connecting it to power imbalances. • Kirk applied BCC through the use of social justice discourse but resisted identifying with this practice. • Rainy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rainy's performance of gender identity stood out as she defined herself against the boys and a male teacher in the class. • Rainy connected BCC to her own identity as someone who understands her own mind in comparison to others' minds. • Rainy learned to interpret and apply BCC in ways that demonstrated a transformation of knowing about the perspectives of Latin@s in the U.S.

Table 5.1 continued

- Miguel
 - Miguel's interpretation and application of BCC constituted *an other* form of appropriation of curriculum or discourse we might see as a kind of border thinking.

Miguel positioned me as the bilocal culture-crosser by agentively reshaping the interviews toward his purposes of identity performance and pushing my methodology toward *testimoniar*.

Miguel *me testimonió* the BCC he had done in his life, his wisdom, which centered on not claiming to fully know the privileged other, yet getting street-stronger than them.

Table 5.2
A comparison of phrases used to describe realizations

Fourth Period	Sixth Period
• I realized	• I realized
• I had never really thought about	• I never understood
• I had never considered	• I feel now that I understand
• I had never really thought about	• I had no idea
• I did see how it was hard	• I had never heard about before
• Definitely made me think more about	• Previously I have been told ... this has taught me
• It was interesting to see	• Before, I didn't really think about
• I didn't even know anything about it before today	• But now, I see
• It surprised me	• I never considered
• I was actually really surprised	• It showed me
• That was really surprising to me	• This made me think about
• This moment really educated me	• Made me a lot more aware
• I felt very inspired	• Allowed us to know
• It's so cool	• But it did give me a new look
• Very powerful	• Changed the way I look at
• It amazed me	• I thought it was really interesting to see
• Very thrilling to hear	• That moment was really significant to me
• This really impacted me	• Woah that happened?
• I was astonished	• I was really struck
• It was fascinating	
• I was very fascinated	
• It had shocked me to see	
• It opened my eyes	

Table 5.3
A comparison of the three case study students' acrostic
poems that spelled out BCC

Rainy	Miguel	Kirk
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be validating • Interesting points of view • <i>La Misma Luna</i> • Opinions from a diverse perspective of the same situation • Comparing and contrasting • Advance in the knowledge of a culture • Leaving to travel the world in search of very various cultures • Cops not being trusted • Understanding situations from other cultures • Local people have different cultures • Trees of the rainforests in South America • U • Ratify situations • Ethnical issues and contradicting op[i]nions • Crossing between the lines of government issues and civil rights issues • Racial issues • Open mindset to different standpoints • Similarities being shared • Songs about undocumented immigrants • Illegal immigrants • Not ignoring others perspective • Good people having tough experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being different • Insulting people on how they look and act • Looking at people differently 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bilingual Learning • Interesting cultures • Lots of diversity • Over the sea • Cultural diversity • Authentic lifestyles • Learning languages • Creative learning • Unusual lives • Land differences • Talking about differences • Unreal lifestyles • Rosario in the U.S. • Energetic people • Carlitos's long journey • Restless LA walk outs • Over the border • Saving lives • Small children in Cuba • Interesting heritage • Natural lives • Gate way to a new world

CHAPTER 6

CHANGES IN PROFICIENCY

**Average Spanish proficiency growth and goal attainment were acceptable
by state and district standards, Fourth showing more growth
and Sixth attaining higher proficiency**

As shown in Table 6.1, Sixth Period showed better results in reaching the target proficiency of novice high by May while Fourth Period showed more growth from September to May. In terms of growth, the students in both classes gained an average of 0.86 steps on the ACTFL scale between September and May. The Utah curriculum standards for world languages—and Eastside’s School District’s world languages department—outline the expectation of Spanish students progressing from novice mid to novice high in Spanish II, that is, progressing one step on the ACTFL scale.

In terms of nonnative speakers reaching the target of novice high proficiency, productive skills showed less success than receptive skills across both classes. This is perhaps due largely to what students and I observed as we went over the self-evaluation forms together—that the ACTFL proficiency guidelines seem to have relatively higher expectations for production as compared to reception. A total of 82.9% reached the target proficiency in speaking, and 80.0% did so in writing. Meanwhile, only 1 student (2.9% of the students) did not reach the target proficiency in listening. All students

reached it in reading. This means that—taking a rough average of all four skills—90% of the time students met the target and that this particular approach to teaching with comprehensible input yielded acceptable results vis-à-vis other possible approaches.

In terms of growth, the students in Fourth Period gained an average of 0.96 steps on the ACTFL scale between September and May. In terms of nonnative speakers reaching the target of Novice High proficiency, productive skills showed less success than receptive skills. A total of 76.9% reached the target proficiency in speaking, and 69.2% did so in writing. Meanwhile, only 1 student (7.7% of the students) did not reach the target proficiency in listening. All students reached it in reading.

In terms of growth, the students in Sixth Period gained an average of 0.79 steps on the ACTFL scale between September and May. In terms of nonnative speakers reaching the target of novice high proficiency, productive skills showed less success than receptive skills. A total of 86.4% reached the target proficiency in both speaking and writing. Meanwhile, all students reached it in listening and reading.

**Case study students all progressed less than the average student
and all partially underestimated that progress**

Miguel underestimated his progress in Spanish proficiency

Miguel's confidence in writing was so low at the beginning of the year that he snuck home his first writing assignment and polished it with help from the internet. This unfortunately left a gap of 2 months before an accurate sample was available. In late October he wrote,

Los manifestadores [vocabulary provided on screen] en Brasil no quieren que el gobierno construir [vocabulary provided on screen in infinitive form] la Fifa. Los manifestadores y los personas quieren que el gobierno hace un salud para los

personas en Brasil. Los manifestadores tambien quieren el gobierno que construir un escela para los niños.

The above paragraph matches the description of an intermediate low writing sample:

“These are short and simple conversational-style sentences with basic word order. They are written almost exclusively in present time. Writing tends to consist of a few simple sentences, often with repetitive structure” (see Appendix B). His final free write without a dictionary shows more fluency:

Cuando yo estoy en el collejío (highschool) yo quiero ser un fútbolista buena. Quiero ser unas de los buen fútbolista en todo mundo eso es mi suéno (dream). Pero mi tía mé dice que si puedes ser una marine pero no se que quiero a ser porque me gusta el fútbol y quiero ser una marine. Tambien mi gusta el boxeo, por que mi abuelo le gusta el boxeo y entonces yo mé quiero ser un boxador (bóxer). Yo no sé que quiero hacer hay tres cosas futbol, marine, y boxador. Pero yo quiero hacer los cosas para todo mi vida. Tambien quiero ayudad mi familia.

It matches the description for intermediate mid, which “resembles oral discourse” and shows “evidence of control of basic sentence structure and verb forms,” but “there is little evidence of deliberate organization” (see Appendix B).

As shown in Table 6.2, Miguel’s estimations of his ability were generally lower than mine and he reported a significant drop in listening ability. Notice in Table 6.2 how he rated his listening in September at 5 (intermediate mid) while rating it in May at 2.5 (between novice mid and novice high). Miguel was the only student in both classes whose average gain was negative according to the evaluations. If we posit that he is unlikely to have lost proficiency and reset his losses to zero gains, he appears to have gained just under a third of a level.

Rainy's perceptions of her growth in proficiency in

Spanish conflicted with one another

My observations suggested Rainy's proficiency grew by half a level. An early writing sample reads,

Yo no le gusta connection porque es muy aburido. Es muy aburido porque so ve el importance de connection de dos local. Pero yo ve a punto de tú porque tú quieren nosotros aprender español buena. Yo saben tú punto se ver porque yo quieres aprender español. Gracias Sr. Delavan para being my maestro.

I would argue this passage is already half way to novice mid because it contains complete sentences despite being on a complex topic. The pronouns are correct, but no verb agrees correctly with its subject except "es" (is), and she resorts to English three times, which could interfere with the message for a native speaker. In her final free write, she resorts to English only once, writing,

Yo es el bebé por mí familia. No es facil porque yo recibio mucho attention, no le gusta mucho atencion. Un hermana es veinticuarto y cause [casada], pero no tiene niños. El otro hermana es veintidos. Se llama Sarah. Sarah es en PT escuela en dos semanas. Mí otro hermana con veinticuarto tiene un trabajo.

Here only two of the verbs do not agree with their subjects, and I might even argue that this sample approached intermediate low except for fact that despite over 10 minutes of available time it amounted to the length of novice high's "short messages, postcards, and simple notes."

As shown in Table 6.3, Rainy's gains in proficiency according to her self-evaluations are significantly higher than her testimony in the interviews and journalings would have predicted, except in reading where her reported drop in proficiency echoes her testimony in the second interview: "I feel like this year I have actually decreased my Spanish fluency." Yet if we posit that she is unlikely to have lost proficiency in

reading—more in line with her testimony that, “I haven’t that much progress this year”—and her loss in reading is reset to zero gain, she appears to have at least gained the half level that I observed.

Kirk self-evaluations did not match the growth in proficiency in
Spanish he testified to in his interviews

An early example of Kirk’s writing read like this, despite access to a bilingual dictionary:

Es una myestro muy muy muy gallito [from dictionary]. Es myestro vigilancia [from dictionary] niños drink fresco en la aula [from dictionary] clase. Myestro es cheveré, Una chico doesn’t want to escela madre es loco. Desgundo extro material *munch, munch*

The message would be intelligible enough to a native speaker who did not know English to rank as novice mid. Kirk’s final free-write exercise without dictionary access read like this: “Yo quire comida. Yo juega futbol y vidiojuegos. Yo juega Drum y piano. Yo tiene piano on lunes, y drums on martes. Futbol practicar es también on martes.” There is clear improvement in the ability to convey a message, yet I would argue that its heavy use of English prevents it from reaching the level of novice high writing, where one is “able to recombine learned vocabulary and structures to create simple sentences on very familiar topics” (see Appendix B).

As shown in Table 6.4, Kirk’s losses in proficiency according to his self-evaluations are out of step with his testimony in the second interview. If we posit that it is unlikely that Kirk would lose proficiency and set his self-rating speaking and listening gains to zero, he would have gained nearly half a level.

Chapter summary

In terms of changes in proficiency over time, none of the three interviewed students was representative of the group of students as a whole who on average gained almost a whole level and nearly all reached the target proficiency of novice high. The case study students all reported unlikely losses in proficiency, and even with these reset to zero gain, all three students gained less proficiency than the averages for students in the two classes. Miguel's and Kirk's self-evaluations reported major drops in proficiency that diverged dramatically from my evaluations of them and resulted in minimal or negative gains. Rainy's and my evaluations corresponded more closely, though she did report a drop in reading ability, bringing her gain to under half a level. If we posit that the students did not intend to report any loss in proficiency and reset all such losses to zero gain, Miguel gained just under a third of a level, Kirk gained just under half a level, and Rainy gained just under two thirds of a level. Both Rainy and I agreed she met the target proficiency of novice high in all categories (3), and both Kirk and I agreed that he did not. Despite being a home speaker, Miguel reported that he did not even begin at the target proficiency, though I felt he did. In Chapter 8 I will speculate on how the self-rating instrument might have been altered so as not to yield such unlikely losses in proficiency.

Table 6.1
Proficiency results of the two classes

Group of students	Percent of students reaching target proficiency (novice high, 3) by May				Average ACTFL level gain by May
	Speaking	Writing	Listening	Reading	
Fourth Period	76.9%	69.2%	92.3%	100%	0.96
Sixth Period	86.4%	86.4%	100%	100%	0.79
Both classes	82.9%	80%	97.1%	100%	0.86

Note. Level gain goal was 1.0

Table 6.2
Miguel's changes in proficiency over time

My September proficiency ratings				Miguel's September self-ratings			
Speak	Write	Listen	Read	Speak	Write	Listen	Read
5	4	6	5	4	2.5	5	2.5
My May proficiency ratings				Miguel's May self-ratings			
Speak	Write	Listen	Read	Speak	Write	Listen	Read
5	5	6	6	4.5	1.5	2.5	2.5
Gain in averages				Average gain			
	Speak	Write	Listen	Read			
As reported	0.25	0	-1.25	0.5	-0.125		
If reported losses are set to zero gain	0.25	0.5	0	0.5	0.3125		

Note. ACTFL ratings are as follows: 1 = novice low, 2 = novice mid, 3 = novice high, 4 = intermediate low, 5 = intermediate mid, 6 = intermediate high.

Table 6.3
Rainy's changes in proficiency over time

My September proficiency ratings				Rainy's September self-ratings			
Speak	Write	Listen	Read	Speak	Write	Listen	Read
2.5	2.5	4	4.5	2.5	2.5	3	5
My May proficiency ratings				Rainy's May self-ratings			
Speak	Write	Listen	Read	Speak	Write	Listen	Read
3	3	4.5	5	4	3.5	3.5	3.5
Gain in averages						Average gain	
		Speak	Write	Listen	Read		
As reported		1	0.75	0.5	-0.5	0.4375	
If reported losses are set to zero gain		1	0.75	0.5	0.25	0.625	

Note. ACTFL ratings are as follows: 1 = novice low, 2 = novice mid, 3 = novice high, 4 = intermediate low, 5 = intermediate mid, 6 = intermediate high.

Table 6.4
Kirk's changes in proficiency over time

My September proficiency ratings				Kirk's September self-ratings			
Speak	Write	Listen	Read	Speak	Write	Listen	Read
2	2	3	4	4	3	3.5	3
My May proficiency ratings				Kirk's May self-ratings			
Speak	Write	Listen	Read	Speak	Write	Listen	Read
2	2.5	4	5	2.5	4	2	3
Gain in averages						Average gain	
		Speak	Write	Listen	Read		
As reported		-0.75	0.75	-0.25	0.5	0.0625	
If reported losses are set to zero gain		0	0.75	0.5	0.5	0.438	

Note. ACTFL ratings are as follows: 1 = novice low, 2 = novice mid, 3 = novice high, 4 = intermediate low, 5 = intermediate mid, 6 = intermediate high.

CHAPTER 7

STUDENT MOTIVATION AND SATISFACTION

Speaking Spanish is great for me, because I can open section of my family history that I barely knew about a few years ago. I'm ¼ Hispanic from my dad's side, so learning the language that was also my grandfather's first language is big for me. Something that really stood out for me in class is when I found out we would be doing some of our responses in English. This isn't a terrible thing, but I think that if we were to do most of our work in Spanish, we would be using BCC more. ... Also, there's something that I've noticed during class. A lot of people (including myself) goof off during class. I think this is because the class isn't interesting enough. We can't relate enough to the things we're learning about, and we get bored with it. Maybe instead we could learn about some things that are more relevant to us, like when we talked about the World Cup.

—Sixth-Period student

No one student can represent the overall picture of the variety of student responses, but there was something about the way the student who wrote this chapter's epigraph put things that made me feel it captured something representative of the whole. He had plenty of reason to be interested in discussing Latin@ culture yet still found the class not "interesting enough" to merit, it appears, all the time we spent using "English" that we could have been using "Spanish." Carrying forward what I concluded in Chapter 5, there appeared to be a certain amount of personal relevance needed to spark interest in culture-crossing toward the other. I myself chose to summarize BCC as similarities, differences and fairness, with similarities coming first. I will take up in the final chapter how I found it harder than I had anticipated to target this first locale of bilocal—one's own cultural identifications and interests—in my attempts to get students to new second

locales.

Fourth Period

Motivation and particularly satisfaction were low for many students, and the reasons given for this were insufficient relevance of the culture-based curriculum, the degree of comprehensibility of the input, and insufficient focus on specific language skills

Two indicative events

There were two key events that were indicative of Fourth Period's lower than expected satisfaction with the curriculum. The first was a lengthy act of resistance on September 24th led by four students. I fieldnoted how student A

led a sort of insurrection that lasted half the class period. ... There was only one major voice against this movement, and many minor grunts of agreement with it. At first I was annoyed and threatened and wanted to quash it, but went with my gut to air their concerns and see what they had to say. It began with a discourse of: these questions aren't teaching us Spanish. What does this have to do with learning Spanish? we don't know the basics, we can't understand when the native speakers talk to you, we didn't really get what the guest speaker said. It's kind of a big hint that when we get to the quiz we're still asking you what the questions mean. Me: Well, we do have a list of Spanish words to understand the questions. [Student A]: but it's just a random list of not very common words, it's not a group of words in a theme that make sense together. We need the basics first. Me: if I asked you to tell me a few things about our guest speaker right now, I bet you could tell me. [Student A:] Yes, after we went over it together after. [Me:] Oh, well, that's what we'll do every time to make it make sense. So I should rephrase what the native speakers say in simpler Spanish? [Student A:] No. That's not my point. My point is that you haven't taught us the basics. We ... don't know enough. We can't understand our books. [Student B]: yeah, we have no idea what they're saying. You didn't teach us enough. I cheerfully get out book and say, this is level one, third book, and read sentences one by one. ... They shout out the translations. Anyone not get that? [Student A]: Yes, fine, on the first page it's easy but my book kept talking about Chichen Itza and autobus and I have no idea what those mean. Me: did you look in the glossary? [Student B]: mr Delavan, nobody wants to do that, nobody uses that. ... [Student A]: I don't want to tell you how to teach, but maybe we should be learning by themes like body parts, animals. [Student B]: you should put us in small groups and let us have

conversations. Me: those things you're mentioning ... are traditional methods that the research shows don't work as well as talking with the teacher about a topic. [Student C]: the research (sarcastically). Well we're not interested in the topics you've given us. Who cares about Eduardo Galeano's book? ... [Student A]: maybe review a little bit each day [of last year's material] ... Last year we did senior wooly['s silly music videos] which we loved and you told stories that were okay, but the lists of words we needed to know were clearer.

Afterward I reflected, "Their discourse was we want to learn Spanish, [but] not what we might learn in a history or language arts class—resisting the switch to content—[so] they want that daily targeted list of the first 150 days?" I wondered if they were right that the switch was too hard or too soon, that perhaps I was being selfish in making these curricular choices. "Am I too impatient? Too bored with staying so targetedly in bounds?" This spirit of protest continued to resurface occasionally throughout the year in Fourth Period, but the discourse shifted away from having insufficient Spanish proficiency for discussions. On October 8th I fieldnoted, "They were pretty responsive to questions during and between scenes and i think the overall confidence is going up in being able to understand enough to do these serious talks;" and on November 21st, "Still an easy class to teach now that cooperative and not feeling like they don't get it."

The second event that indicated low satisfaction with the curriculum was a higher than usual attrition at midyear. Seven students dropped Fourth Period at the semester whereas only one student dropped Sixth Period. As a means of comparison, in 2013-14, three students dropped from one Spanish II class and one dropped from the other. In 2015-16, four dropped from one Spanish II class and two dropped from the other. There appeared to be a connection between this higher attrition and parent complaints that came to my attention just before the semester ended. On January 9th I fieldnoted,

Big meeting with [administrators] about [parent] complaints of no focus, only movies, offended about skinny/fat movie title [discussion of *Real Women Have*

Curves]. Am I being narcissistic in trying to do upper level topics in Spanish 2 and neglecting their needs for a “Real” Spanish 2 curriculum and their age-appropriate needs and abilities?

I struggled the rest of the year with worries that the transformation of my identity toward a more social justice oriented teacher was self-serving and was occurring at the expense of my students, that it was having serious consequences for their ability to enjoy and benefit from the class. The worry is visible also in the critical friend dialogue conducted January 10th.

GD: I’m having a crisis with the project.

Critical friend: In what way?

GD: [The administrators] called me in and said there’d been three complaints.

Critical friend: About?

GD: That people feel they’re not learning, that they’re not really ready for the discussions and that it’s too wishy-washy and unfocused. ...

Critical friend: But a lot of kids still like it, right?

GD: I think so ... I’m worried that a lot of people, more than just those three people, are not liking it. You know what I mean? And that just the really talkative people and I are having this conversation. And then I say something simple and everybody responds and I think “Oh, everybody’s with us.” But maybe they’re just responding to a very small fraction of what’s going on.

This worry that my teacher identities included narcissism seems tied here to my use of agency to find wiggle room within/against a structure of power: the legacy of the Exam in the expectations that students, parents and curriculum standards often have for what “Spanish II” signifies. My goals of promulgating border thinking were not necessarily in harmony with parents’ and students’ goals in taking the class, which perhaps centered mostly on language acquisition and often perhaps on simply participating in recognizable curricular traditions of world language education. Though our translanguaged MovieTalk discussions ultimately proved to be effective at building proficiency, they were not necessarily recognized or experienced as an acceptable approach by all students and parents.

Distribution of motivation and satisfaction and the reasons given

By quantizing student journaling data on satisfaction—which combined feelings of how much their Spanish had progressed with complaints and compliments about the class—and motivation I was able to get a more accurate picture of how widespread the dissatisfaction was in Fourth Period, which to me as a teacher felt higher than average. Chapter 3 details my method of assigning a quantitative score to represent my evaluations of what students made explicit about their motivation or satisfaction. Table 4.2 (at the end of this chapter) places the results from Fourth Period next to Sixth Period for comparison. The results from Fourth Period indicate motivation and satisfaction were below normal expectations, which Sixth Period's results more closely resemble. On a scale of 1 (motivated/satisfied) to -1 (unmotivated/dissatisfied), the average student was positive but close to the middle at 0.28. Fifty percent of the class had a motivation score of 0.5 or higher while 31% had a negative motivation score. In terms of satisfaction, the average student was positive but closer to the middle at 0.14. Thirty-eight percent of the class had a score of 0.5 or higher while 38% also had a negative score. Refer to Table 7.2 for the raw scores.

Reasons given for motivation were by and large disconnected from the current class students were taking except in the case of negative motivation. One student cited the reason, “to communicate with a lot more people around the world,” and another cited travelling “to a Spanish speaking country.” Two students cited the ability to communicate with local Spanish speakers. Three students cited that it was easy to learn. Three students expressed a desire to use it to communicate with family members. Three students found it fun or interesting to learn: “Spanish I find actually kind of fun to hear

and speak.” “I want to keep learning more Spanish because it is fun.” “It is a very interesting language.” Five students expressed improving their Spanish or becoming fluent as a motivation. Two students cited career reasons like “widen my future and choices for a good college which leads to success.”

Students with medium to low motivation said things like, “I am somewhat motivated to learn Spanish. My mom really wants me to be fluent and I have learned that it is much easier to learn something if you want to so I am trying to be optimistic.”

Currently, I have mixed feelings about whether or not I am motivated to learn Spanish. I understand that it is very useful when getting hired for good jobs, which is important to me. But, I don’t want to dedicate and spend all of my time doing something that I don’t really enjoy.

No tenia muchas motivaciones por esto clase pero necesitan. Sr. D ensena muy confusado y aburrido pero ello pensar esto es la major metodo a aprender espanol y yo respecto. [I don’t have much motivation for this class but I need it. Mr. D teaches very confusing and boring but he thinks this is the best method for learning Spanish and I respect that.]

“I am not especially motivated to continue with Spanish right now because a lot of it is kind of boring and I think that this class needs to be more interactive and hands-on, because I think that’s why a lot of people kind of just check out.” “I don’t feel motivated about learning more Spanish right now because of the way I am learning it and because I am not good at it.”

Here are examples of how students expressed satisfaction with how much they had learned during the year in positive ways: “My Spanish abilities have thoroughly progressed. At the beginning of the year, I was not very fluent, because I almost never could create my own Spanish.” “I feel more confident with past, present and futuristic tenses of the Spanish language and have shown it through my speaking and writing.”

“Tengo aprender mucho el ano y yo quiero aprender mucho en el futuro. [I have learned

a lot this year and I want to learn a lot in the future.]" "I'm able to use a wider selection of vocabulary and I don't have to pause as much to think of the next thing I'm going to say." "Now I am able to speak and write in complete sentences." "I continue to improve my Spanish speaking the longer that I am in this class. I feel like I keep learning more every day."

Some students expressed ambivalence or negativity about their improvement:

"Although I still have troubles reading the books, I am finding it easier to communicate and construct sentences." "I have taken Spanish for almost 2 years and I still don't know that much Spanish as I should."

Here are some examples of compliments students gave the class: "Yo aprendir mucho interesante cosas para la cultura de los gentes de hablar espaniol. Espaniol dose es mi favorito classe. [I learn many interesting things of the culture of the peoples that speak Spanish. Spanish II is my favorite class.]" "Hearing each other's stories is a very interesting thing that we have done in Spanish." "Lo ayudame a tener un tiempo Bien cuando nosotros vimos peliculas sobre culturas de espanol. [It helps me have a good time when we watch movies about cultures of Spanish.]" "Y yo tamien me gusta leer los libros en clase. Tambien cuando nosotros hablan con personas sobre su vida. [And I also like reading the books in class. Also when we talk with people about their lives.]" "The [m]ovies we watch are very informational ad let me know about what is going on in thhe world that I should ... know." "I really enjoyed that documentary and hope we can do things like that again." "Esta ano es mas dificil a espanol 1 perro tiene mas oportunidades. Mi le gustan. [This year is more difficult than Spanish I but it has more opportunities. I like it.]"

Complaints about the class fell into three categories: boredom, method/curriculum, and incomprehensibility. Three students expressed general boredom and disinterest: “Esta clase no es mi favorito por que hacemos actividades muy aburrido. [This class is not my favorite because we do very boring activities.]” “Sometimes it is fun but most of the time it is pretty boring.” Seven students critiqued the teaching method and curriculum: “The teaching method you talked about doesn’t really work for me.” “I think we should practice more Spanish instead of studying culture and stuff like that for hours.” “In this class, I feel like everything is scattered, making it harder for my brain to pick up the new information. ... I liked how we would learn the words [last year] by putting them on the board and memorizing them.” Two students complained of incomprehensibility. “And some of the words seem kind of complicated and advanced and I think a lot of the people in the class don’t understand a lot of what you are saying because they don’t have a base to work with to understand the harder words.”

In sum, it appears that what drove the higher than average dissatisfaction in Fourth Period were insufficient relevance of the culture-based curriculum, the degree of comprehensibility of the input, and insufficient focus on specific language skills. The final chapter will engage in more discussion of how these issues might be remedied in future applications of a similar approach.

Sixth Period

Motivation and satisfaction were as expected, though satisfaction was lower than motivation as with Fourth Period and dissatisfaction was driven by largely similar reasons

Distribution of motivation and satisfaction among students

showed a more typical profile than Fourth Period

Only one student dropped Sixth-Period Spanish at the semester. As shown in Table 7.1, on a scale of 1 (motivated/satisfied) to -1 (unmotivated/dissatisfied), the average student was generally motivated at 0.45. Sixty-three percent of the class had a motivation score of 0.5 or higher while 17% had a negative motivation score. In terms of satisfaction, the average student was positive but approaching the middle at 0.29. Fifty percent of the class had a score of 0.5 or higher while 21% had a negative score. Refer to Table 7.2 for the raw scores.

Reasons given resembled Fourth Period except for the addition

of complaints about classroom management

As with Fourth Period, reasons given for motivation were by and large disconnected from the current class students were taking except in the case of negative motivation. Twelve students cited reasons like, “You can communicate with a variety of more people,” “traveling to places that speak Spanish,” and the prospect of using it on a Mormon mission. Two students cited the ability to communicate with local Spanish speakers. One student cited that it was easy to learn. Five students expressed a desire to use it to communicate with family members. Three students found learning Spanish fun: “It’s fun to speak a different language than the one you’re used to.” “I have found

learning Spanish is very enjoyable.” Five students cited the desire to get better or become fluent as a motivation: “Yo quiero continuar aprender español hasta yo sepa todos del español. [I want to continue to learn Spanish until I know all of Spanish.]” Eight students cited career reasons like, “I could get a job more likely,” “I found out that in order to go to a college out of state, I’d have to do three consecutive years of language in high school,” and “help me to get into a good college.”

Students who expressed medium and low motivation said things like this: “I don’t feel motivated at all to learn Spanish, because I feel bored at times, because I don’t have enough context clues to understand the topics we are talking about.” “I’m not that motivated to continue Spanish because I haven’t that much progress this year and it is very frustrating.”

Here are a few examples of how students expressed satisfaction with how much Spanish they had learned during the year in positive ways: From home speakers: “I think that I am getting better at using the accent marks now. The speed of my reading has increased as well.” “The book I’m reading right now is helping me read better because even though I can speak Spanish ... I never really read anything in Spanish maybe only a couple of sentences[;] I was never really good at reading or writing in Spanish.” “En este clase de Español, yo aprendí mucho más que yo pensaba yo iba aprender. [In this Spanish class, I have learned much more than I thought I was going to learn.]” From others: “I think that reading before class starts has really started to help, improve the reading abilities of everybody in the class. My Spanish vocabulary has greatly increased since the beginning of the year.” “Now, I feel as if I can speak in short sentences, and don’t have to use as much English as I did.” “My Spanish abilities have thoroughly

progressed.” “This year, I have learned when to add accents and how to construct longer and more complex Spanish sentences and even paragraphs.” “It comes more fluidly to me than it did last year.” “Yo sobe mucho mas espanol de la primera del ano. Y puedo hablar mas major. [I know much more Spanish since the first of the year. And I can speak better.]” “I think that I can change just about any sentence into Spanish if I use easy vocabulary.” “Yo tenia aprendido mucho mas espanol que mi ano primera en la classe de español. [I have learned much more Spanish than my first year in Spanish class.]”

A few students had ambivalent or negative feelings about their progress: “I can speak more fluently with less pauses but my vocabulary has not improved as much as I would have liked.” “I don’t know if I’m really improving that much in Spanish.”

I feel as if I haven’t been learning as much as had been last year. I think that this is because of the way you are teaching. Instead of looking at words and translating sentences/stories, we’re learning more about the cultures and democracies in different countries.

Here are some examples of compliments students gave the class: “Este ano nosotros hacer cosas interesante. [This year we do interesting things.]”

Tambien hemos arpendier mas informacion sobre los problemas en otros paises, y la relacion entre los problemas aqui y alli. En hablar sobre estos, nosotros hemos Bilocal- Cultura Crossing, cual compara las vidas de nosotros, y los gentes en suramerica y como ellos son similar. Esto es muy productivo... [Also we have learned more information about the problems in other countries and the relationship between the problems here and there. In talking about these, we have BCC, which compares our lives and the peoples of South America and how they are similar. This is very productive...]

“Spanish is an interesting class. There is some joking and some seriousness that happens and it is pretty fun most of the time.”

Yo piensa que necisito verar mas peliculas. Tiene mucho informacion. Usted sabe mucho espanol y esta un muy Bueno maestro. Yo le gusta la realista vida eventos

que nosotros hablar sobre por que tiene mucho informacion y estan muy eneresante a la sabemos sobre los eventos. [I think that I need to was more movies. It has a lot of information. You know a lot of Spanish and are a very good teacher. I like the real life events that we talk about because it has a lot of information and is very interesting to know about the events.]

“I think that when we do the movies then go over them at the end *sin pausas* [without pauses]. It really helps everybody improve their vocabulary and fluency.” “I think that watching movies and pausing it every ten minutes or so and talking about it is a good way to expand my vocabulary.” “I think Sr. D does a good job teaching us Spanish.”

As with Fourth Period, complaints students expressed in journalings fell into the categories of boredom, method/curriculum, and incomprehensibility, but a fourth category emerged: classroom management, which seems related to the fact that Sixth Period was a more difficult group to manage from my perspective. Seven students complained about boredom and disinterest: “It was one of the only funny and interesting things we did in this class ... Usually we talk about boring unrelated topics that don’t even apply in any way to real life, and are unimportant.” “I don’t really like the document[arie]s that we have because they aren’t really as entertaining as the actual movie[s].” “I think that all the books we read in the beginning of class are not really interesting and that [is] probably why no one in class wants to read the books.” “We can’t relate enough to the things we’re learning about, and we get bored with it. Maybe instead we could learn about some things that are more relevant to us, like when we talked about the World Cup.” Eight students critiqued the method or curriculum: “I would like to go back to the way we were doing it last year, even if we don’t do it every day.” “I think that my vocabulary has not increased as much because Sr. D has spent too much time talking about Bi-local culture crossing.” “This year I didn’t learn new words

but I just familiarized myself with speaking the language.” “I think that it would be more affective if we would learn some more vocabulary every once in a while.” “You don’t take enough time going over vocab that we don’t understand because of how concentrated you are in just getting us to hear the Spanish.” “Right now it feels like we are just being surrounded by the language and you expect us to absorb it but I do not think that we are there yet.” Five students complained about not being able to understand the discussions. “Occasionally it is impossible to understand the topic we are on and what we are talking about because we don’t have any context clues and it is impossible to get back on track when I fall a little bit behind.”

The reasons given for dissatisfaction and lack of motivation were largely similar to Fourth Period—insufficient relevance of the culture-based curriculum, the degree of comprehensibility of the input, and insufficient focus on specific language skills—except that three students complained or had suggestions about certain classroom management choices, such as, “We usually don’t get things done in Spanish.” The final chapter will address implications for other educators’ uses of similar approaches.

Case study students

Miguel

Miguel said little about how motivated or satisfied he felt with the class. He declined to comment on that question in the second journaling, though in the first he did write, “I feel motivated to keep learning Spanish right now, and in the future because right now I speak Spanish, but I just need to know how to communicate and write and know a little bit more on how to speak and communicate in Spanish. So that in life it could make it easier.” He did not seem to find it important to identify with discourses of

motivation or satisfaction with learning, whether positive or negative. This seems related to how he responded when I pressed him on whether he was satisfied with his neighborhood—which he found it important to discuss at length and to describe to me as “scary” and “not nice”—and whether he wanted to eventually move away. He seemed to reject the opportunity to enter a discourse of dissatisfaction and instead used a discourse of identification with one’s home and family that was free of the question of lack—of whether one wants or deserves better.

Rainy agentively asserted that this year’s format was not as motivating
and did not feel as effective at teaching her Spanish

Rainy began both interviews with statements about what she saw as the lesser effectiveness of Spanish II versus Spanish I. In the first interview, I had expected my first question to elicit a general outline of the fact that we were discussing serious topics and doing bilocal culture-crossing, but she outlined the class in general as a primarily means of learning more Spanish.

GD: If you were to explain to [your friend] what happens in the class, what would you tell her? What am I trying to do?

RAINY: Uh, **trying to teach Spanish to a higher level**. Um, since most of us did Spanish One. Like if we were at first year we, I think first, year first year went like, **Spanish One was more effective than this**, was a little more effective cuz we were doing **funner things**, like doing Sr. Wooly videos [GD: ok] and like we did like the daily vocab tests but that, like the vocab tests helped a little bit. ...

GD: Would you say that would help us this year if we did the daily tests on the vocab?

RAINY: Uh, we could do it once in a while, I’m kinda

GD: You don’t *wanna* do it?

RAINY: I don’t *wanna* do it. [GD: you think it might be more effective] It might be more effective because doing the like **serious topics sometimes people get bored** with them and they don’t, they tend, I think they lose focus.

She thus used the first question to immediately construct a critique of the social justice

curriculum as more boring and a critique of my anti-Exam move to center discussion over tested vocabulary lists. In the second interview, a similar critique begins even prior to my first question:

RAINY: **So first of all**, I think it's been, it's the, **my Spanish has been dropping a little**. [GD: Really?] yeah, I don't know, probably because of **the class environment** or something, but for me the most effective way of learning the Spanish was like, like doing the daily quizzes. [GD: okay] even though I really hated them [laughs] they were the most effective. ... **I think my Spanish fluency has been going a little downward**.

GD: I've noticed you seeming less excited.

RAINY: Yeah, I'm, I've just been really tired because of the play.

GD: Was it the play? Yeah, I noticed right around the play. ...

RAINY: **I haven't really been learning new stuff**. I mean like it's cool to learn about the L.A. walkouts, that's really cool, and then understand how [inaudible], but I don't know, it's just the funner things seem to stick.

If motivation is satisfaction with increasing participation, then Rainy is clearly unmotivated because she sees her participation decreasing. Her overall motivation was still intact at the end of the December interview:

I'm going to take it like for all 4 years if I can because, I mean, it's going to be a useful language one day. And it's like if someone, if like you're in with someone who, like if you're going to somewhere where they speak Spanish you'll probably know what they want to say, cuz you don't want to have a tra-, like a translator by your side. And kinda, and I yeah I just wanna learn it because it's a useful language.

Yet by her March journaling her motivation was low:

In Spanish I feel like I have not progressed very much. I don't know about how you feel about the situation, but I feel like this year I have actually decreased my Spanish fluency. I can understand very basic Spanish when I listen, write and talk. I was definitely way better last year than I was last year. I have no idea what it was about last year, but it was so much more relaxed than this year. We need to write a lot more in Spanish. I think there were a lot more fun activities that we did last year which made it more fun than last year. I know a lot of people don't like quizzes but I think also that quizzes would be more helpful. **I'm not that motivated to continue Spanish because I haven't that much progress this year and it is very frustrating**.

Although Kirk saw flaws in the pedagogy, his motivation and sense that he was learning Spanish increased as the year progressed

In his first journaling in early November, Kirk wrote of vocabulary not being taught explicitly enough and of not feeling the motivation that increasing participation in a discourse community engenders.

One Problem though is I feel that **you aren't teaching many Spanish words directly**. You may mention some words when you talk about a culture, but half the time I then can't remember them. Currently I feel that my Spanish speaking skills don't fare to well. When we interview guest I don't understand half the material. Currently at this rate I feel that next year when I go to high school I **won't want to pursue Spanish**.

In the first interview in December this exchange occurred, which reemphasized his desire for more explicit access to vocabulary and his sense of not learning fast enough.

Kirk: I feel like I know more than I did at the end of last year. I'm starting to be able to say a few sentences...but I feel like I'm learning at an average, right below the middle of average ... I think **I learned a little more last year than I am learning this year**. ...

GD: ...what do you think makes the difference in comparing last year's activities?

Kirk: **We had vocab lists**, I think, but yeah we had vocab lists.

In this interview he also stated that he planned to start learning either German or Arabic in high school. Yet in the March interview he expressed higher motivation due to a feeling of increased ability to participate in the discourse community.

GD: How are you feeling about learning? motivation?

Kirk: Okay. I feel like I'm learning, well at the beginning of the year, like the last interview, I think I said I felt like I wasn't learning as much [as] last year, but **now I feel like I'm learning more than I did last year**.

GD: Okay, what's different now?

Kirk: I don't know, I just feel I can, **I'm starting to speak more**. That's, I've noticed that, and **being able to write better**. Like in December I wouldn't have been able to write what I did in the computer lab, and only need help a few times.

GD: Nice [Kirk: and] yeah, I've noticed your writing kinda take off.

He also compared the year's discussion format favorably to the more traditional

curriculum his sister was exposed to in high school.

GD: Has she [your sister] talked about her class compared to ours?

Kirk: Yeah, it's more like standard learning like memorize, put it out on the test, and forget. ...she said ... it seems like you're learning more than I did in my first 2 years or 3 years, in my first year, so. **Your way is definitely working much better.**

GD: Okay. That's good to hear. As long as I have the vocabulary on the screen available like you suggested.

Chapter summary

Although reasons given were similar, Sixth showed more motivation and satisfaction than Fourth. The reasons offered in journalings for both high and low motivation and high and low satisfaction were similar between the two classes. The only clear difference was that Fourth Period did not offer any complaints connected to classroom management.

Yet satisfaction with the study year's serious curriculum has to be put in the context of the fact that most students had taken Spanish I with me the previous year and been exposed to an often silly curriculum of storytelling and comedic MovieTalk. Both classes frequently hinted that that year had been more fun and therefore engaging. For example, two students in Fourth Period reminisced in their journalings about the silly videos we had watched much more of the prior year. "I feel comfortable and happy during days that we learn about Señor Wooly videos because I enjoy them. I enjoy them a lot, perhaps because the songs stick in my head and help me learn more Spanish."

Another student wrote that these silly videos

actually caught my attention and other people's interest and it helped the whole class feel better about learning because it could be a more fun and enjoyable time and then people would learn more Spanish and the class will be more successful because there would be a lot more participation.

As examples from Sixth Period, I fieldnoted on October 7th that when one student came to parent-teacher conferences, “his mom said right off the bat that he says he’s not as entertained this year.” On November 18th I fieldnoted this translanguaged exchange:

[A student] asked at beginning what the silly drawings on the board were. ... Me: tonterías, silly stuff, para espanol uno [for Spanish I]. Many: why don’t we get to do silly stuff. [Another student]: espanol 1 es mas fun que espanol dos [Spanish I is more fun than Spanish II]. [A third student]: espanol dos es mas fácil [Spanish II is easier]. Me: ... necesitamos mas pruebas o que [do we need more quizzes or what]? ... Several: mas [more] fun stuff.

For most of the students, perhaps, but especially those who enact identities that demand more fun and silliness, the study year was often perceptibly less satisfying to them from my perspective as teacher than their Spanish I experience had been. The final chapter will speculate on ways future applications of the approach could enhance (a) personal relevance of the culture-based curriculum, (b) the degree of comprehensibility of the input, and (c) the perception of adequate focus on specific language skills.

Table 7.1
A comparison of motivation and satisfaction in the two classes

	Fourth Period	Sixth Period
Average student’s motivation score	0.28	0.45
Average student’s satisfaction score	0.14	0.29
Percent very motivated (0.5 or higher)	50%	63%
Percent unmotivated (less than 0)	31%	17%
Percent very satisfied (0.5 or higher)	38%	50%
Percent dissatisfied (less than 0)	38%	21%

Note. Motivation/satisfaction scores ranged from 1.0 (very motivated/satisfied) to -1.0 (very unmotivated/dissatisfied).

Table 7.2
Distribution of quantitized scores of statements in journaling
about motivation and satisfaction

Fourth Period		Sixth Period	
Motivation scores	Satisfaction scores	Motivation scores	Satisfaction scores
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	0.83	1.00	1.00
1.00	0.83	1.00	0.83
1.00	0.75	1.00	0.83
0.75	0.50	1.00	0.83
0.50	0.33	1.00	0.75
0.50	0.17	1.00	0.70
0.00	0.00	1.00	0.63
0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
0.00	-0.17	1.00	0.50
-0.25	-0.25	0.75	0.50
-0.25	-0.50	0.75	0.25
-0.25	-0.60	0.50	0.13
-0.50	-0.63	0.50	0.00
-1.00	-1.00	0.25	0.00
		0.25	0.00
		0.00	0.00
		0.00	0.00
		0.00	-0.17
		-0.25	-0.25
		-1.00	-0.33
		-1.00	-0.83
		-1.00	-1.00

Note. Motivation/satisfaction scores ranged from 1.0 (very motivated/satisfied) to -1.0 (very unmotivated/dissatisfied).

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter will offer a concluding overview of the study and a summary of the findings then moving on to discuss the study's contributions to educational practice and what implications they have for theory and future research.

Summary of the study

Though there have been plentiful calls for more critical and activist forms of teaching in secondary world language classrooms, little has been written about the application of the concept of *translanguaging* to this area or attempts teachers have made to put such recommendations into practice. In particular, the discourses and practices of those world language teachers who see themselves as *teaching with comprehensible input* (TCI) have not been looked at within the context of the conversation in the academy around translanguaging or teaching languages for social justice.

The TCI community advocates filling the majority of class time with engaging, personalized, teacher-led dialogue to develop a core vocabulary of high frequency language structures that can be applied to a wide variety of communicative situations; TCI avoids a focus on directly or indirectly rehearsing grammar patterns, themed vocabulary lists or highly specific language functions. TCI employs students' dominant language to establish and clarify meaning, as well as to increase metalinguistic awareness

and cross-language transfer of language skills (Melby-Lervåg & Lervåg, 2011). In this sense, TCI lends itself well to being viewed through the lens of translanguaging.

Translanguaging refers to negotiating meaning by drawing on one's entire repertoire of linguistic forms in a way that complicates monolingualist discourses of standardized and named language "s" that ought to remain separate (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). A translanguaging approach to instruction embraces code-switching and translation, but challenges the language separation they imply; it is built on advocacy for linguistically minoritized communities and a political opposition to the status hierarchies among language practices; therefore, a translanguaging pedagogy grapples with the contradiction of also strategically celebrating identities constructed around language "s" like "Spanish" and preparing students to function well in locales driven by the monolingualist discourses it opposes (García & Leiva, 2014; Yip & García, 2015).

This dissertation has sought to fill these literature gaps and bring these discourse communities into conversation through practitioner inquiry into a year-long curriculum built around issues, perspectives and cultural topics with social justice implications. Discussion and other activities built around this content were conducted in a way that targeted the development of a core vocabulary in the "Spanish" area of students' repertoires—following TCI—and that allowed teacher and students to heighten complexity and comprehensibility by freeing up their natural propensity toward translanguaging.

The study used a critical sociocultural theory lens and mixed methods to perform case studies of two classes and three students that could help illustrate or offer counter examples to themes observed in the classes they were members of. I asked (1) how the

two classes under study interpreted and applied the central social justice concept used in the course (*bilocal culture-crossing*), (2) how their Spanish proficiency changed during the course, (3) how motivating and satisfying the experience was for them, and (4) how case study students' positionalities affected their experience of the curriculum.

Research questions 1 and 4: As referenced in the title of the study, one case study student summarized bilocal culture-crossing (BCC) as “eth(n)ical issues,” as if to tie this concept to both ethics and ethnic studies. This fortuitous neologism encapsulates how overall students in both classes engaged substantively with social justice discourse when interpreting the central concept (BCC) directly and in applying it through discussion of the curriculum. There were six major themes of how students interpreted and applied BCC as engagement with eth(n)ical issues:

1. Translanguaging as a form of BCC
2. BCC interpreted and applied as taking others' perspectives
3. BCC allowed recognition and a speaking back to issues of unfairness
4. BCC as a disciplinary technology
5. Resistance to BCC was present
6. Student positionality shaped how self-recognition work was taken up using BCC.

First, students joined me in translanguaging in order to make themselves understood around the complexity of power relations. Second, students actively used discourses of taking others' perspectives in response to the curriculum. Third, more often students recognized and spoke back to issues of unfairness. Fourth, students also began to use their conceptualization of BCC as a way to discipline and admonish those who they perceived to not be adhering to BCC, including the teacher. Thus, students mostly

appropriated rather than resisted social justice discourse, with resistance, the fifth theme, centering on the term I had coined and on perceived one-sidedness in some of the videos we discussed.

The sixth thematic finding that emerged was the most complex: Students participated in our BCC discourse community through processes of self-recognition work. Often students clearly reenacted familiar identities as a means of applying or resisting BCC, yet in many cases they were just as clearly transforming those identities through their participation and were attesting to their own transformations of knowing. Miguel illustrated this by displaying a complex process of (non)participation in our BCC discourse community that defied the simple polarity of resistance and appropriation. He interpreted and applied BCC from a marginalized perspective, reversing my discourse of *hearing other perspectives to getting one's perspective heard*. He used our one-on-one discussions of the BCC curriculum as an opportunity to *testimoniar*, performing a Latino identity which allowed him to assert the equal value of his current knowledge and experience while at the same time remaining open to gradually adding a more explicit social justice discourse to his repertoire, moving to less and less peripheral participation in the social justice discourse community I had initiated, though never fully embracing the BCC term.

Research question 2: Utah's curriculum standards for world languages—and the district's world languages department—outline the expectation of Spanish students progressing from novice mid to novice high in Spanish II, that is, progressing one step on the ACTFL scale. Overall the data indicated that students' Spanish proficiency grew the amount necessary to meet these state and district objectives. Fourth Period showed more

growth and Sixth Period attained higher proficiency. Across both classes the average student progressed 0.86 levels over the course of the year. The skill with the highest achievement was reading, where all students met the novice high target, and the skill with the lowest achievement was writing, where 80% met the target. Coincidentally, all three case study students seemed to underestimate their progress compared to the classes as a whole, which suggested limitations in how the self-evaluation had been designed or limitations to the use of self-evaluation to measure proficiency in P-12 world language contexts generally (Butler & Lee, 2006).

Research question 3: Fourth Period was less satisfied by the experience than Sixth Period was, citing insufficient relevance of the culture-based curriculum, the degree of comprehensibility of the input, and insufficient focus on specific language skills. One of the case study students from the more satisfied Sixth Period class spoke of a lack of satisfaction and motivation because the previous year's less serious topics were more fun and more engaging, and they ultimately felt more effective to her at fostering proficiency because "the funner things seem to stick."

Overview of discussion and implications

A first section will cover the interpreting and theorizing of the findings. I will provide a possible explanation for the differences between Fourth and Sixth Periods. I will then address implications of bringing the translanguaging lens to secondary world languages. I will then discuss how approaches like this study's can be particularly beneficial to Latin@s in WL classrooms. Next I will revisit the theoretical implications of the concepts of *testimoniar* and border thinking and propose allopropriation as a new concept to capture Miguel's uptake of BCC. I will close by theorizing the balancing of

goals for world language education and how to gauge success.

A second section will discuss implications for P-12 educators and those who mentor them. First I will recommend that teachers should grapple with the contradictory goals within translanguaging pedagogy. Then I will discuss lessons to be drawn from student resistance like that observed in this study and lessons to be drawn from Fourth Period's and Rainy's low satisfaction and motivation. Lastly, I will advocate supporting teachers who dare to challenge students to do social justice and dare to do the identity work of practitioner inquiry.

A third section will briefly discuss methodological limitations of the study and their implications for further research. A section of final thoughts will then conclude the dissertation.

Interpreting and theorizing the findings

A possible explanation for the differences between Fourth and Sixth Periods

The demographics of the two classes do not seem different enough to explain Fourth Period's lower motivation and satisfaction yet more enthusiastic journaling, and different form of resistance. The only major demographic difference was the fact that Sixth was overwhelmingly male, and none of the four girls was a particularly vocal leader, but gender performance does not seem to fit as an explanation for the differences. Perhaps the difference in styles of engagement—the shape the two discourse communities took—could provide an explanation. In my midyear letter to parents I wrote,

Fourth Period is the quieter, calmer class, where I have to do much more of the talking...and a lot more *pep* talking. This is the class that expressed huge worries near the beginning of the year that they just hadn't learned enough to do

discussions. . . . Sixth Period is the more participatory—but occasionally more interruptive—class. I’ve never had trouble convincing this class they could do it; I’ve only had trouble convincing them that I also want a chance to talk!

On October 10th I reflected, “Such a nice balance when Fourth can do it, and so much more fun than the constant battle against interruptive humor in Sixth. Which do I prefer to battle, the interruptive humor or the noninterruptive ennui?” On November 10th I wrote that Fourth Period “were almost too serious about the content and me too, unlike in Sixth where someone always manages to lighten it up, but occasionally takes it too far.” On April 15th I reflected, “Fourth just sort of has leaders with a culture of this is too complicated and Sixth has leaders that are like, bring it on. So the followers kind of follow those two routes.”

It could be that the Sixth-Period discourse community’s more animated leaders and more humor-infused discussions with more student participation led to more motivation and satisfaction with the discussion-based curriculum. It could also be that the less serious tenor of this community’s discussions led to less passionate critiques of injustice and more willingness to mock BCC visually and critique what was seen as one-sidedness in the social justice discourses presented. Meanwhile, the Fourth Period discourse community’s more serious approach to the issues may explain their more passionate critiques of injustice, and yet their leaders’ salient expressions of not being ready for a discussion-based curriculum may have set the stage for less motivation and satisfaction. Lower motivation and satisfaction may have in turn been expressed through resistance to accepting the legitimacy of the term BCC. This rejection of the term but not the content may have been symbolic of a resistance to how I structured the class but not to the idea of learning about social justice per se.

Implications of bringing the translanguaging lens
to secondary world languages

Three main conclusions emerge in reflecting on this study's use of translanguaging theory and pedagogy. First, applying a translanguaging lens to the study of secondary world language classrooms revealed that harnessing the power of translanguaging can enhance the ability of world language teachers to communicate complex, assumption-challenging content in novice-level courses while still using the discussion of that content to build proficiency in targeted areas of the translanguaging repertoire.

Second, one can draw from the proficiency findings that the translanguaging approach and the complexity of the topics did not ultimately interfere in meeting goals for targeted areas of the repertoire, though greater gains may have been possible. But the finding on passionate embrace of social justice discourse and the growth across time the case study students showed indicates that perhaps some sacrifice of proficiency is worth risking.

Three, recontextualizing translanguaging research within a secondary world language locale should take seriously the lessons of the gentrification of bilingual education. Wei and García (2016) have called for studies like this one that conduct research with dominant language students and in world language instruction. As discussed in the introduction, a translanguaging perspective has been applied to nearly every kind of language learning classroom except to those of secondary world language students and teachers. The positive aspect of this is that translanguaging has not yet been *misapplied* to this new context. The caution I attempted to heed myself and would advise

other scholars to heed is to take care not to colonize translanguaging research on behalf of privileged students deliberately or otherwise. The translanguaging literature has been produced by a discourse community whose aim is social justice for multilingual communities in the face of English hegemony and the structure of power of the monolingual view of multilingualism (which is part of language standardization discourse that emerged from the colonialist and nationalist project).

In order to draw on and contribute to the literature respectfully, we need to avoid inadvertently producing work that positions this concept for exploitation by English-privileged students. We do not want it to become yet another discursive tool in the toolbox of the neoliberal revalorization of multilingualism. An appropriate application of the translanguaging lens to world language classrooms that largely serve dominant language students—especially if they are privileged in other dimensions—would have to be invested in a political commitment to initiate English monolinguals into multilingualism in a way that fosters identities in cahoots with social justice for those who come to schooling already multilingual or lacking English privilege. True applications of a translanguaging lens in secondary world languages would be as part of studies committed to using the courses taught in this area to forge justice-seeking identities attuned to the sounds of border thinking.

Approaches like this one can be particularly beneficial
to Latin@s in WL classrooms

As the findings on Miguel suggest, social justice content in a Spanish-as-a-world-language classroom can offer particularly important opportunities for Latin@s—no matter the level of Spanish proficiency they bring—to explore the politics of their

identities. This is of course because it is Latin@ communities that will be the focus of study. Leveraging this opportunity can be part of a broader movement toward equity of access and benefit for native and heritage speakers in world language settings and toward promoting the empowerment needed for higher formal educational attainment for Latin@s in the U.S. Recent research has highlighted the fact that although historically absent options have opened up for home speakers of Spanish in U.S. secondary schools, these options are often still problematic from an equity/heritage perspective (Leeman, 2005; Leeman & Martínez, 2007). In addition, in the majority of schools the only access to formal educational opportunities for home speakers to develop their literacy in Spanish continues to be to join novices in beginning Spanish as a world language courses. In these contexts their prior knowledge and expertise tend to go unappreciated or even interpreted as threatening. In similar ways, heritage speakers—generally understood as those whose families spoke Spanish in previous generations but who have very little competence themselves—are also still generally poorly accommodated in Spanish as a world language settings (Harklau, 2009; Schreffler, 2007; Valdés, 2006).

Carreira (2007) sees the “so-called Latino achievement gap” (p. 147) as including a higher drop-out/push-out rate than other racial groups, but point to evidence that it is those with the least opportunity to acquire oral and academic English that stop formal schooling at the highest rates. She thus focuses on Latin@ ELs and the factors that limit their educational opportunities, arguing that Spanish-for-native-speakers instruction in secondary schools can play a key role in narrowing this opportunity gap. Yet for Latin@ students who do not have access to such programs—either because their schools do not offer them or because of intergenerational language shift away from Spanish—the world

language classroom can still offer progress toward the goals many have outlined for critical Spanish heritage instruction (Correa, 2011; Faltis, 1990; Leeman, 2005; Martínez, 2006).

Testimoniar, border thinking, and allopropiation

Critical sociocultural theory suggests that as we learn to participate with less and less peripherality in communities of practice and discourse, we go through a process of resistance and selective and agentic appropriation rather than passive acquisition. The findings suggested that Miguel's interpretation and application of BCC outstripped simplistic notions of resistance or appropriation. He never adopted the term BCC yet willingly expanded his repertoire to include a more explicit social justice discourse with which to describe macrostructures of power. He resisted engaging in testimonio when given the opportunity in class but he *testimoniaba* eagerly in our interviews. He critiqued privilege yet also resisted claiming to fully know the privileged other. He resisted the dangerousness of his neighborhood and the pull of gangs but did not want to move away or let go of his fascination with them. He reinterpreted BCC (a) from recognizing other perspectives to getting one's perspective recognized and (b) from him doing the storyhearing to me doing the storyhearing while he *testimoniaba*. Miguel both adopted and adapted—ad@pted—BCC.

Miguel's selective or *alternative* appropriation of BCC constituted *an other* form of appropriation of curriculum or discourse we might see as a kind of border thinking. The border thinking of Miguel was about telling a local history from the colonial margins—from the West side of the city where Eastside is located—from the margins of the racial and economic structures that were set in motion by the colonial process.

Perhaps there is something to be gained from trying to name more precisely what is going on in this identity work that happens between resistance and appropriation, and perhaps the prefix *allo-* can serve to begin a conversation here. Miguel offered an example of employing agency neither to resist nor to adopt a discourse (we find inappropriate for us) but instead to find a third way to position or perform oneself—be recognized—with respect to it. I propose terming such a move alternative appropriation or *alloappropriation* because it is a form of appropriation of new knowledge that is other (*allo-*) than prescribed, whether that is because it is marked by agentic moves in response to othering or marginalization or is in some other way a more socially just alternative. I do not want to simply say *alloappropriation* is appropriation by marginalized individuals or groups because I want to leave open the possibility that it might describe someone in a privileged position incorporating knowledge of the other without cultural appropriation of the hegemonic variety. For example, it could be said that I *alloappropriated* the ACTFL-based Utah curriculum for teaching world languages by infusing its rather apolitical perspectives-practices-products approach to teaching culture with a more power-aware discourse of social justice meant to resist (neo)colonialism and the neoliberal revalorization of multilingualism.

Future studies could explore in more detail the utility of a concept like *alloappropriation* to describing how both students and teachers in world languages continue to do similar transformation of knowing with a decolonizing cultural politics like Mignolo's.

Theorizing the balancing of goals for world language
education and how to gauge success

The results of this study suggest it is possible to make acceptable gains in student proficiency via the kind of social justice teaching called for by the literature and that TCI in particular is an approach amenable to social justice topics. The data showed students transforming their identities through exposure to new and sometimes discomfoting ideas and perspectives. The results of this study also suggest, however, that one challenge may be making TCI for social justice as engaging, satisfying and motivating for students as it has succeeded in being in its other forms (Lichtman, 2014). TCI practitioners tend to perform identities of innovating ways to maximize both satisfying engagement and language acquisition. What this study suggests is that there is tension created when a third goal—the encouragement of students to take up social-justice-seeking identities—is added. What arises is the theoretical question of how to balance this triad of goals for world language education:

1. multilingual proficiency (higher proficiency in targeted areas of the translanguaging repertoire)
2. transcultural competence that promotes social justice and recognizes the problematic context of language education
3. satisfaction, motivation and engagement that lead to students continuing to take language courses and teachers continuing to strive toward these goals

At its outset, this study was an attempt to experiment with ways to meet the first two goals simultaneously rather than continue to have them compete for space in my curriculum. In the midst of the study, what arose was the problematic of how not to

sacrifice the third goal in placing more emphasis on the second. Rainy and many students in Fourth Period reported low satisfaction with their experience and I as teacher-researcher found it challenging to manage and evaluate that experience. My study suggests that teachers and teacher-educators should not lose sight of balancing proficiency and social justice with the goal of students' and teachers' satisfaction with the classroom experience because the impact and spread of world language teaching for social justice will be diminished if it leads to student attrition or if teachers abandon it after negative initial experiences.

There has long been recognition of the problem of attrition from world language programs, which leaves the vast majority of students exposed to only 1 or 2 years of study if they choose to study a language at all (Lambert, 2001). In only 10 of the U.S. states, for example, is world language credit required for high school graduation (Duncan, 2010). In the short term, therefore, social justice teaching will reach the most people if emphasized in the first two levels. Yet in the long term, the elective nature of most world language classes would seem to make the goal of increasing student satisfaction of paramount importance in encouraging more students to continue language study into higher levels. The tension that arises is how to make the ethical imperative to teach for social justice improve retention rather than worsen it. At the heart of this is the question of how to approach the issue of student satisfaction in light of the literature's consensus that experiencing discomfort with identity-challenging ideas and taking interest in the other as other are necessary components of social justice learning, and that some amount of student resistance to these is inevitable. The TCI discourse community has been tempted to engage in a problematic discourse for its rationale for how it engages

students by personalizing classroom input: “The only thing our students are truly interested in is themselves” (Rowan, 2014, para. 6). The goals of social justice teaching certainly do include the imperative to find ways of making content relevant to students, but they also include challenging students to engage with a diversity of perspectives beyond their own.

Another theoretical question related to the research is epistemological: How ought we to evaluate and understand to what extent we are meeting these three goals for world language education when we move beyond the plentiful recommendations for social justice practice and continue to produce research on what it looks like in practice that can in turn inform further recommendations? Gloria Ladson-Billings (2015) reminds us that “The real work of teaching is messy and complex. It does not conform to the neat conceptions of ... antioppressive education about which we theorize” (p. xii). Were it not for the second goal of social justice, we might be able to stay within the neat confines of pre-and-post-test-for-acquisition research and Likert-scale surveys of student satisfaction and motivation. But to evaluate the extent and effects of engagement with social justice issues through TCI, for example, we need to reconnect that anti-Exam community of educators with anti-Exam academia by adding a sociocultural/qualitative, describe-participation supplement to the cognitive/quantitative, test-for-acquisition paradigm it has tended to exclusively rely on for legitimation from research.

Implications for P-12 educators and those who mentor them

Teachers should grapple with the contradictory goals within translanguaging pedagogy

As Wei and García (2016) note, translanguaging pedagogy contains a contradiction: It puts quotation marks around the S in language“s” but it does not erase that S. Teachers should harness natural propensity toward translanguaging but still grapple with the contradiction of how to regulate language use in one way or another so that students are challenged to expand the repertoires and function in the status quo of monolingualist and “standard” contexts. Although teachers’ practices should reflect and allow students to reflect the more natural translanguaging of even “monolingual” persons, the natural fluidity inherent in translanguaging will have to be regulated like any other classroom practice in order for the repertoire to be most effectively expanded.

It seems there are two phenomena at issue: *Harnessing* translanguaging and *regulating* it. With respect to harnessing, Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue that each locale will have unique circumstances that will need to be taken into consideration.

While reviewing the literature they note,

Lin (1999) acknowledged the switching between English and Cantonese in her study ensured understanding and motivation, but she warned against notions of easy transferability to other classrooms in other contexts and the danger of participating in the reproduction of students’ disadvantage. Further, the development of pedagogies that respond to the research literature will not work in any “mechanistic generalizable way” (Arthur & Martin, 2006, p. 197). The importance of responding to local circumstances is made clear in the literature reviewed here. Although we can acknowledge that across all linguistically diverse contexts moving between languages is natural, how to harness and build on this will depend on the sociopolitical and historical environment in which such practice is embedded and the local ecologies of schools and classrooms. (p. 107)

The same principle of responding to local circumstances should hold true with regulation

of translanguaging. Teachers will need to use their professional judgement to determine through local experimentation how to regulate how students move between languages.

World language education and middle school have their own circumstances for how to balance the goals of translanguaging: Students of all ages want a mixture of freedom and structure/guidance from teachers—so long as that structure is respectful and fair—but in my experience middle school students tend to be especially prone to requesting freedoms and avoidances of challenge they are not ultimately satisfied with when granted. For example, student choice in free reading time may need to be regulated a bit so students do not underchallenge themselves too much with reading materials. Analogously, students allowed to translanguage in a completely unregulated fashion may underchallenge themselves output-wise, seldom forcing themselves to experiment with new ways to make meaning in the less developed areas of their repertoire. Similarly, teachers who are not strategic about their own translanguaging in the classroom may end up underchallenging students input-wise, allowing them to tune out messages that are more difficult to decode if they are reasonably sure that they need only wait awhile for an equivalent message that they need not expend as much effort in decoding.

The compromise I forged with the contradiction inherent in translanguaging was to utilize the discourse of separate language “s” to help me harness and regulate translanguaging. For example, although it was hardly simple to enforce without exception, I sought to have students seek permission for using “English.” The positive proficiency results I achieved in this study came about through a combination of harnessing and regulating translanguaging. Future studies might try to tease apart whether a shift of the balance in one direction or the other would have improved

proficiency outcomes.

Lessons to be drawn from student resistance

The findings corroborate the idea that teachers work to embrace resistance as inevitable and as a form of engagement. Kindred (1999) conceptualizes resistance socioculturally as “a constructive and deconstructive process in which learners forge bridges between pasts and presents and emerge themselves as authorial participants” (p. 196). She suggests that if resistance is engaged rather than repressed or avoided, it can become an “entry into a dialogic and potentially exploratory process” and a form “of intense involvement and learning” (p. 218). This very much reflects the view of discourse communities as sites of a constant flux of resisting, adopting and reshaping forms of knowledge and identity.

The literature on teaching students about relations of power suggests that teachers should expect some amount of resistance to social justice discourse and that such resistance can be seen as productive. As Ahlquist (1991) and LaDuke (2009) suggest, when students resist multicultural content, such as when many students in Sixth Period resisted the portrayal of Whites and law enforcement in *La Misma Luna*, they are in fact engaging in the critical consumption of information and avoiding blind conformity to the authority of the instructor or the text. When students voice resistance it creates an opportunity for more dialogue and the deeper construction of a discourse community than might be possible if resistance is absent, silent, or silenced. Micropractices of power in a classroom where privileged students resist social justice discourses certainly reflect macrostructures of power, but such resistances may also serve as the very best opportunities to focus student attention on those macrostructures. Resistance reveals that

we may not convince, transform or “liberate” our students in the way some who call for critical teaching seem to suggest we ought to, but by engaging this resistance with further discussion we create increased opportunity for students to transform their knowing and both empower their marginalized identities and becoming more reflective about their privileged identities.

Perhaps the lesson to be drawn from the students’ resistance in this study is that teachers should see it as engaged participation within their goal of getting students to critique unfairness. The students in this study tended to resist social justice discourse through a lens that cast it as unfair. Teachers can respond to such resistance by continuing to guide privileged students away from an equality discourse (where any focus off the privileged or on the misdeeds of the privileged can seem unfair) and toward an equity—and therefore sometimes “one-sided”—discourse.

Lessons to be drawn from instances of low satisfaction and motivation

As discussed in Chapter 1, many researchers have subsumed satisfaction under motivation (Dörnyei, 2001; Tremblay & Gardner, 1995) whereas this study chose to separate them. The benefit of this separation was that it allowed the findings to show that satisfaction may be of more concern than motivation when considering lessons that can be taken from this project to others. Yet as discussed, maximizing both motivation and satisfaction for both students and teachers in applications of social justice teaching in secondary world languages will increase the likelihood of students continuing to take language courses and teachers continuing to teach critically. This in turn will of course expose more students to social justice discourse and for a longer duration, enhancing the ability of these approaches to make a broader impact on society. The findings suggested

three sources of dissatisfaction and low motivation:

1. the degree of comprehensibility of the input
2. insufficient focus on specific language skills
3. insufficient relevance of the culture-based curriculum

Allow me to address these in a way that shows how they might all be conceptualized as calling for more attunement to relevance.

Because of the novel and experimental nature of the project and the curriculum, I had expected the year to have a bit of a rough draft feel. I agreed as a participant observer that there was a loss of comprehensibility and skill focus in comparison to other years. In my April 27th reflections I wrote, “mistakes had been made with Spanish 2 this year, particularly the not having a tangible daily vocab goal and quiz to keep it concrete for this age group.” On June 7th I spoke of “inadequate structure” and inadequate use “of perceptible daily learning goals, especially vocabulary.” These critiques were truer of the first half of the year because the feedback from parents in mid-January led to an increase in the use of a clear vocabulary structure. In Chapter 3 I discussed how TCI teachers make choices about how targeted to particular vocabulary lists their input will be. I had started the year following a less targeted approach to the MovieTalks that would form the centerpiece of the curriculum. Herman (2014) describes this:

The power of the visual in a MovieTalk to make input comprehensible allows for “loosening up class discussions.” MovieTalks can be done without targeted structures and they are still largely comprehensible, although less transparent (translatable), but this is how vocabulary is acquired. (p. 21)

Yet that “loosening up” was not exploited sufficiently to increase personalized relevance for the specific students in my class. Moreover, an additional “loosening up” was apparently not sufficiently exploited—the opportunity to translanguage into highly

comprehensible clarification when needed as well as highly personalized contributions by students about what interested them most.

Recognition of the self in some way in the curriculum seemed key to students being able to engage with interest in BCC. One student wrote in her journaling, “It would be much more interesting to learn about something more related to me like things that occur here in Utah or the U.S.” Many students emphasized how a sense of personal connection facilitated perspective-taking, as when a student wrote, “Thanks to bilocal culture crossing, I can see how this connects to me because I look at how some of the people there are the same age as me, and yet they are treated as unequal.” BCC topics operated best when there were enough similarities to students’ already enacted identities in order to spark interest and yet there were enough differences to catalyze new knowledge and identities. I found it harder than I had anticipated to target this first locale of bilocal—one’s own cultural identifications and interests—in my attempts to get students to new second locales.

In order to address insufficient relevance, the findings suggest that part of a relevancy-building process is finding better ways for students to connect teacher-chosen issues to their experiences in their own discourse communities. It is hardly news that good instruction builds on students’ current identities to build relevance, but my curriculum process underappreciated this wisdom. Teachers who want to build on what I have done should be open as I was to discovering how students use their current identities within structures of power to agentively take up the social justice discourses we recommend, but might try to improve on my efforts to let that help them inform how to choose future topics and spark interest at the beginning of units. I would argue that a

paramount focus on relevance to the particular students in a class could guide a teacher seeking to implement a curriculum to help mitigate dissatisfaction with comprehensibility and skill focus as well. If students had felt more heard by the discussion process—allowed to dwell a bit more on the first locale of BCC before being asked to move to the second—they would likely have had higher emotional engagement in the content, which would theoretically lead to higher comprehension, more willingness to tolerate gaps in comprehensibility, and less worry about mechanics and the need for a more traditional focus on form.

Additionally, for teachers implementing curricula similar to that used in this study, relevance and satisfaction will surely increase if only the most compelling topics and videos are included via student input. Although I often allowed students to vote on choices from a list of topics I had planned, since the study I have discovered videos for MovieTalk and topics that would certainly have displaced some of the less engaging units used during the study. Moreover, Miguel's allopropriation of BCC demonstrated that relevance for students with marginalized identities would likely increase if a teacher's central social justice concepts are (a) framed from both the marginalized and privileged perspective and (b) more accessibly stated than my choice of BCC—even *culture-crossing* alone or simply *perspective-taking* might have been significantly more accessible and less inviting of rejection by all categories of students.

Supporting teachers who dare to challenge students to do social justice
and dare to do the identity work of practitioner inquiry

The above implications of this research are certainly of relevance to teacher educators and administrators, but an implication more specific to them is that they work

to offer support for teachers' challenges and vulnerabilities during either innovation toward social justice, practitioner inquiry, or a combination as in my case.

If identities are positions that we enact within the sets of possibilities for discourses and practices offered to us by our community memberships, then the teacher identity I enacted during this project was discernible through the pedagogical choices I made (practices) and the ways I talked about them (discourses). Yet if identities also evolve along the learning trajectories we travel, then my discursive interpretations of how well those choices worked out for my students and myself demonstrate transformations of my teacher identity. For this project I overlaid a researcher identity that was formalizing this process of interpretation of pedagogical practice. This researcher identity drew partly on the academic community through which the research was being theorized and given feedback but also on the reflection inherent in teaching. In this sense it was not possible to delineate a clean separation between my teacher and researcher identities, although it was often tempting to do so in writing this chapter. When I was writing my end-of-day fieldnotes, for example, I was generating discourse that enacted my position as teacher by recalling and reflecting on what had occurred in class, yet this discourse was also in negotiation with my position as a researcher who was formalizing these recollections and reflections as data.

One of the difficult aspects of practitioner inquiry is that we turn a mirror on ourselves that can often reflect back not only our identities that inhabit the community of our professional practice but also on our identities of a more personal nature. I enacted a personal identity that influenced my teacher identity to be highly self-critical and influenced my teacher and researcher identities to reflect in writing in rather harsh terms

about the aspects of the teaching that did not go as well as the others. On March 13th I admitted to myself in my reflections, “The success of this project has become [so] normalized I too often remain focused on its occasional and inevitable failures.” The negativity that stemmed from this interaction among identities was in fact one of the more salient ways I responded to the teaching and research processes.

As detailed in Chapter 5, early in the year several students in Fourth Period staged a protest of sorts against the discussion-based curriculum claiming they did not yet know enough Spanish to engage in discussion. They argued that they still had not been taught many areas of vocabulary that they had expected to learn as beginning Spanish students. My teacher identity at first felt vulnerable because this expression of dissatisfaction with the curriculum would be documented by my researcher identity and might constitute part of an overall picture of a failed attempt to innovate curriculum. Yet ultimately my teacher identity felt I handled the situation well and felt excited to be feeling confident and competent in the face of this challenge. My researcher identity was excited to have such a strong student response to use as data. The second event came midyear: I received word from my administrators that a few parents had complained about the class. Such complaints had not happened in 7 years and my teacher identity felt quite vulnerable that it was being researched and having all of this documented.

Just as students are more likely to take intellectual risks and make the mistakes that are integral to learning when they perceive themselves to be in caring relationships with their teachers—what García, Woodley, Flores and Chu (2013) have ventured to reframe as *transcaring*—so teachers are more likely to take risks on behalf of their students and marginalized members of society generally when they too perceive themselves to be in caring contexts. For comfort in difficult moments during the analysis and writing phase of this

project I displayed the following phrase on the side of the printer on my desk: “Perhaps big clear wisdom comes from the big *mist aches* that become the ‘ity’ bit in clarity.” Education works best when all its participants are less vulnerable to imagining their mistakes will somehow become permanent.

Methodological limitations and implications for further research

Further research is certainly called for in this area. It would be important to the field to find what results emerge from similar projects in P-12 world language classrooms yet in less privileged and more diverse contexts, at different grade levels, at different instructional levels, and with different target language“s.” This study’s methodology had some limitations that could be compensated for in other studies. As was illustrated with all three case study students, student self-evaluations of proficiency were structured in such a way that they could report losses in proficiency that were highly unlikely. The literature does suggest that there are often limitations to the use of self-evaluation to measure proficiency in P-12 world language contexts generally (Butler & Lee, 2006). Although the anti-Exam theoretical orientation of the study drove the choice of holistic evaluation, perhaps another study could find a more trustworthy way to measure changes in proficiency. Part of the problem might have been the high complexity of the language used in the evaluation forms. An added triangulation to my holistic self-evaluations could have been to ask students at the end of the year to specify both their starting and ending proficiencies. This would have helped preclude students mistakenly reporting drops in proficiency.

Collaboration with others in the research process was also underutilized in this study. More frequent critical friend dialogues could have enhanced the study greatly as a

source of data and feedback on curriculum adjustment. Member checking with interviewed students and graduate student peer collaboration at the writing phase could have enriched the trustworthiness of the findings.

Final thoughts

Although there is certainly no reason to be nostalgic and look backward for a time when public schooling was at the forefront of solving social injustices, it is certainly a space in which to stand one's ground for solutions now. The Exam is intensifying its grip on educational spaces as curriculum standardization and high-stakes standardized testing are being used to make public schooling appear to be unable to foster a better world without the intervention of elites and their capital or their selfish, entrepreneurial mindset of gentrification. Accepting this discourse leaves us sliding sideways toward school privatization or forever chasing jobs to the next Rust-Belt-to-be where we watch the same colonial segregation reassert itself.

We find ourselves in just such a scenario in the U.S. after the 2016 presidential elections, where the once reliably Democratic "Blue Wall" of the union-heavy Rust Belt states of Michigan and Wisconsin turned out to be the critical lynchpins in a strategy to elect yet another president on an agenda of White self-interest and fear, yet this time less veiled and coded than ever. To the extent that Trumpism was antineoliberal prior to the election (for it has not been antineoliberal since the inauguration), it was so on the basis of nativist White supremacy rather than consciousness of economic injustices committed against anyone besides oneself. Wisconsin's eligible voters had been made whiter and wealthier on average by a recent voter ID that disqualified as many as 300,000 voters before an election where Trump's margin of victory was just over 20,000 (Cassidy &

Moreno, 2017). The new secretary of education hails from Michigan and will seek to go national with that state's school-choice system built on resegregation and profiteering:

White parents tended to use the choice system to move their kids into even Whiter districts. ... About 80 percent of the state's charter schools are run by for-profit companies—a much higher share than anywhere else in the country—with little oversight from the state. (Rizga, 2017, para. 35)

In the face of this, teachers have as much reason as ever to see themselves as part of those social movements that are making the world fairer right where they are. Teachers can employ agency in their classrooms to assert at the grassroots level that education need not be reduced to a mere economic and racial instrument and that culture in language classrooms not be reduced to a depoliticized, taco-Tuesday version of multiculturalism. Secondary world language classrooms can be locales for discussions of eth(n)ical issues that prepare students with the heart—*cordialism*—to balance out the self-interest that comes out of our heads—*capitalism*—and the *colonialism* that comes out of our... history of global designs.

APPENDIX A

STUDENT JOURNALING INSTRUCTIONS

October journaling

Intro (English for *principiantes, expertos eligen el idioma o combinan [experts choose a language or combine]*)

Write an intro that completes these three steps. Say as much as you can in each step because there's no finishing early: *You have to keep writing for the whole class even if you've already reached the minimum amount.*

1. Respond to my latest response to you.
2. Describe what you think your abilities in Spanish are right now.
3. Describe how motivated you feel right now about continuing to learn Spanish.

Paragraphs on moments that stood out (English for *principiantes, expertos eligen el idioma o combinan*)

Unless you think you have a better way of reflecting on what we've learned, your writing can be a series of paragraphs that each cycle through these five steps:

1. Describe a moment that stood out for you in what we've seen, read or discussed since your last journal entry.
2. Why was that moment significant or interesting?
3. Was the moment comfortable or uncomfortable and how so?
4. How does the moment connect to you and your experiences? What sort of *bilocal culture-crossing* are you doing between your own cultural locales and the cultural locales of others in the class or the world?
5. Describe whatever you feel is important to say that might not necessarily be included in this list.

Spanish summary

12-15 minutes before the end of the activity, I will announce that it is time to shift to a summary in Spanish of what you have written.

Example:

10/29/2014

Intro

I think you're right in what you said about me, Mr. Delavan, I *am* an amazing student with wonderful ideas. Thanks for noticing. But I'm not sure I agree with you that video X was showed us more of Y than video Z. I thought that...

Right now about my Spanish abilities I'm feeling... And right now about my motivation to keep learning Spanish I'm feeling...

Moment 1

The first moment that stands out in my mind since the last journal entry was when we talked about... I think it stuck in my mind because I had never considered how... It was actually a little uncomfortable to think that...because... It makes me think of the time that I... Thinking about this is a kind of bilocal culture-crossing because in my cultural locale we... but in Z's cultural locale they... I also want to add that...

Moment 2

The next moment that stands out is...

Summary

Yo pienso que

March journaling

Say as much as you can in each step because there's no finishing early: *You have to keep writing for the whole class even if you've already reached the minimum amount.*

Intro paragraph (English for *principiantes, expertos eligen el idioma o combinan [experts choose a language or combine]*)

4. In several sentences, describe what you think your abilities in Spanish are right now and how they compare with where you started this year.
5. In several sentences, describe how motivated you feel right now about continuing to learn Spanish.

Bilocal culture-crossing paragraphs (English for *principiantes, expertos eligen el idioma o combinan*)

Write a series of paragraphs that each addresses all these questions:

6. Pick a topic from the list of what we've discussed since the last journaling that you think you could say a lot *serious* stuff about.
7. What were some moments of interaction or learning you remember most vividly from that topic?
8. Why were those moments significant or interesting?
9. What did they make you think?
10. How did they make you feel?
11. How does all this connect to you and your experiences?
12. What sort of *bilocal culture-crossing* does all this ask you to do between your own cultural locales and the cultural locales of others in the class or the world?
13. Describe whatever you feel is important to say that might not be included in this list.

Spanish summary

12-15 minutes before the end of the activity, I will announce that it is time to shift to writing as much as you can in Spanish about things we've learned or that have happened this year in our class. Principiantes, use simple language you know instead of trying to say it exactly as you would in English and getting stuck on specific words. *Expertos, concentrense en usar los acentos correctamente.* [Experts, concentrate on using accents correctly.]

End of April journaling

(English for *principiantes, expertos eligen Español o Inglés o combinan*)

Say as much as you can in each step because there's no finishing early: *You have to keep writing for the whole class even if you've already reached the minimum amount.*

15 min: Acrostic poem

1. An acrostic poem uses the letters of a word or phrase to start the first word of

each line.

2. Type each of the letters of “bilocal culture crossing” hitting enter after each letter.
3. Write an acrostic poem that demonstrates your interpretation of bilocal culture crossing.

15 min: Do bilocal culture crossing with the makers of La Misma Luna

1. Give several specific examples from the movie to support your answers to these questions:
2. What seems to be the perspective of the makers of La Misma Luna?
3. What kind of bilocal culture crossing did it seem like they were trying to get their audience to do?
4. Did their plan work on you? What sort of bilocal culture crossing did the movie make you do?
5. If you had been a member of the team making the movie, what would you have suggested happen differently?

15 min: East L.A. high school walkouts of 1968

1. What were some moments of interaction or learning you remember most vividly from that topic?
2. Why were those moments significant or interesting?
3. What did they make you think?
4. How did they make you feel?
5. How does all this connect to you and your experiences?
6. What sort of *bilocal culture-crossing* does all this ask you to do between your own cultural locales and the cultural locales of others in the class or the world?
7. Describe whatever you feel is important to say that might not be included in this list.

APPENDIX B

PROFICIENCY ASSESSMENTS

**Holistic assessment that abbreviates the ACTFL proficiency
guidelines for the novice and intermediate levels**

Name		Date	
------	--	------	--

Circle one: Self-evaluation by student Teacher evaluation of student

The ACTFL (2012a) Proficiency Guidelines “are descriptions of what individuals can do with language in terms of speaking, writing, listening, and reading in real-world situations in a spontaneous and nonrehearsed context” (p. 3).

Please circle one level for each skill (speaking, writing, listening, reading) for *a total of four circles*. If you can’t decide between two levels right next to each other, circle them both and write “in between” in the middle so I am sure it is not a mistake.

SPEAKING
<p>Intermediate High Speaking</p> <p>Intermediate High speakers are able to converse with ease and confidence when dealing with the routine tasks and social situations of the Intermediate level. They are able to handle successfully uncomplicated tasks and social situations requiring an exchange of basic information related to their work, school, recreation, particular interests, and areas of competence.</p> <p>Intermediate High speakers can handle a substantial number of tasks associated with the Advanced level, but they are unable to sustain performance of all of these tasks all of the time. Intermediate High speakers can narrate and describe in all major time frames using connected discourse of paragraph length, but not all the time. Typically, when Intermediate High speakers attempt to perform Advanced-level tasks, their speech exhibits one or more features of breakdown, such as the failure to carry out fully the narration or description in the appropriate major time frame, an inability to maintain paragraph-length discourse, or a reduction in breadth and appropriateness of vocabulary.</p> <p>Intermediate High speakers can generally be understood by native speakers unaccustomed to dealing with non-natives, although interference from another language may be evident (e.g., use of code-switching, false cognates, literal translations), and a pattern of gaps in communication may occur.</p>

Intermediate Mid Speaking

Speakers at the Intermediate Mid sublevel are able to handle successfully a variety of uncomplicated communicative tasks in straightforward social situations. Conversation is generally limited to those predictable and concrete exchanges necessary for survival in the target culture. These include personal information related to self, family, home, daily activities, interests and personal preferences, as well as physical and social needs, such as food, shopping, travel, and lodging.

Intermediate Mid speakers tend to function reactively, for example, by responding to direct questions or requests for information. However, they are capable of asking a variety of questions when necessary to obtain simple information to satisfy basic needs, such as directions, prices, and services. When called on to perform functions or handle topics at the Advanced level, they provide some information but have difficulty linking ideas, manipulating time and aspect, and using communicative strategies, such as circumlocution.

Intermediate Mid speakers are able to express personal meaning by creating with the language, in part by combining and recombining known elements and conversational input to produce responses typically consisting of sentences and strings of sentences. Their speech may contain pauses, reformulations, and self-corrections as they search for adequate vocabulary and appropriate language forms to express themselves. In spite of the limitations in their vocabulary and/or pronunciation and/or grammar and/or syntax, Intermediate Mid speakers are generally understood by sympathetic interlocutors accustomed to dealing with non-natives. Overall, Intermediate Mid speakers are at ease when performing Intermediate-level tasks and do so with significant quantity and quality of Intermediate-level language.

Intermediate Low Speaking

Speakers at the Intermediate Low sublevel are able to handle successfully a limited number of uncomplicated communicative tasks by creating with the language in straightforward social situations. Conversation is restricted to some of the concrete exchanges and predictable topics necessary for survival in the target-language culture. These topics relate to basic personal information; for example, self and family, some daily activities and personal preferences, and some immediate needs, such as ordering food and making simple purchases. At the Intermediate Low sublevel, speakers are primarily reactive and struggle to answer direct questions or requests for information. They are also able to ask a few appropriate questions. Intermediate Low speakers manage to sustain the functions of the Intermediate level, although just barely.

Intermediate Low speakers express personal meaning by combining and recombining what they know and what they hear from their interlocutors into short statements and discrete sentences. Their responses are often filled with hesitancy and inaccuracies as they search for appropriate linguistic forms and vocabulary while attempting to give form to the message. Their speech is characterized by frequent pauses, ineffective reformulations and self-corrections. Their pronunciation, vocabulary, and syntax are strongly influenced by their first language. In spite of frequent misunderstandings that may require repetition or rephrasing, Intermediate Low speakers can generally be understood by sympathetic interlocutors, particularly by those accustomed to dealing with non-natives.

Novice High Speaking

Speakers at the Novice High sublevel are able to handle a variety of tasks pertaining to the Intermediate level, but are unable to sustain performance at that level. They are able to manage successfully a number of uncomplicated communicative tasks in straightforward social situations. Conversation is restricted to a few of the predictable topics necessary for survival in the target language culture, such as basic personal

information, basic objects, and a limited number of activities, preferences, and immediate needs. Novice High speakers respond to simple, direct questions or requests for information. They are also able to ask a few formulaic questions.

Novice High speakers are able to express personal meaning by relying heavily on learned phrases or recombinations of these and what they hear from their interlocutor. Their language consists primarily of short and sometimes incomplete sentences in the present, and may be hesitant or inaccurate. On the other hand, since their language often consists of expansions of learned material and stock phrases, they may sometimes sound surprisingly fluent and accurate. Pronunciation, vocabulary, and syntax may be strongly influenced by the first language. Frequent misunderstandings may arise but, with repetition or rephrasing, Novice High speakers can generally be understood by sympathetic interlocutors used to non-natives. When called on to handle a variety of topics and perform functions pertaining to the Intermediate level, a Novice High speaker can sometimes respond in intelligible sentences, but will not be able to sustain sentence-level discourse.

Novice Mid Speaking

Speakers at the Novice Mid sublevel communicate minimally by using a number of isolated words and memorized phrases limited by the particular context in which the language has been learned. When responding to direct questions, they may say only two or three words at a time or give an occasional stock answer. They pause frequently as they search for simple vocabulary or attempt to recycle their own and their interlocutor's words. Novice Mid speakers may be understood with difficulty even by sympathetic interlocutors accustomed to dealing with non-natives. When called on to handle topics and perform functions associated with the Intermediate level, they frequently resort to repetition, words from their native language, or silence.

Novice Low Speaking

Speakers at the Novice Low sublevel have no real functional ability and, because of their pronunciation, may be unintelligible. Given adequate time and familiar cues, they may be able to exchange greetings, give their identity, and name a number of familiar objects from their immediate environment. They are unable to perform functions or handle topics pertaining to the Intermediate level, and cannot therefore participate in a true conversational exchange.

WRITING

Intermediate High Writing

Writers at the Intermediate High sublevel are able to meet all practical writing needs of the Intermediate level. Additionally, they can write compositions and simple summaries related to work and/or school experiences. They can narrate and describe in different time frames when writing about everyday events and situations. These narrations and descriptions are often, but not always, of paragraph length, and they typically contain some evidence of breakdown in one or more features of the Advanced level. For example, these writers may be inconsistent in the use of appropriate major time markers, resulting in a loss of clarity. The vocabulary, grammar and style of Intermediate High writers essentially correspond to those of the spoken language. Intermediate High writing, even with numerous and perhaps significant errors, is generally comprehensible to natives not used to the writing of non-natives, but there are likely to be gaps in comprehension.

Intermediate Mid Writing

Writers at the Intermediate Mid sublevel are able to meet a number of practical writing needs. They can write short, simple communications, compositions, and requests

for information in loosely connected texts about personal preferences, daily routines, common events, and other personal topics. Their writing is framed in present time but may contain references to other time frames. The writing style closely resembles oral discourse. Writers at the Intermediate Mid sublevel show evidence of control of basic sentence structure and verb forms. This writing is best defined as a collection of discrete sentences and/or questions loosely strung together. There is little evidence of deliberate organization. Intermediate Mid writers can be understood readily by natives used to the writing of non-natives. When Intermediate Mid writers attempt Advanced-level writing tasks, the quality and/or quantity of their writing declines and the message may be unclear.

Intermediate Low Writing

Writers at the Intermediate Low sublevel are able to meet some limited practical writing needs. They can create statements and formulate questions based on familiar material. Most sentences are recombinations of learned vocabulary and structures. These are short and simple conversational-style sentences with basic word order. They are written almost exclusively in present time. Writing tends to consist of a few simple sentences, often with repetitive structure. Topics are tied to highly predictable content areas and personal information. Vocabulary is adequate to express elementary needs. There may be basic errors in grammar, word choice, punctuation, spelling, and in the formation and use of non-alphabetic symbols. Their writing is understood by natives used to the writing of non-natives, although additional effort may be required. When Intermediate Low writers attempt to perform writing tasks at the Advanced level, their writing will deteriorate significantly and their message may be left incomplete.

Novice High Writing

Writers at the Novice High sublevel are able to meet limited basic practical writing needs using lists, short messages, postcards, and simple notes. They are able to express themselves within the context in which the language was learned, relying mainly on practiced material. Their writing is focused on common elements of daily life. Novice High writers are able to recombine learned vocabulary and structures to create simple sentences on very familiar topics, but are not able to sustain sentence-level writing all the time. Due to inadequate vocabulary and/or grammar, writing at this level may only partially communicate the intentions of the writer. Novice High writing is often comprehensible to natives used to the writing of non-natives, but gaps in comprehension may occur.

Novice Mid Writing

Writers at the Novice Mid sublevel can reproduce from memory a modest number of words and phrases in context. They can supply limited information on simple forms and documents, and other basic biographical information, such as names, numbers, and nationality. Novice Mid writers exhibit a high degree of accuracy when writing on well-practiced, familiar topics using limited formulaic language. With less familiar topics, there is a marked decrease in accuracy. Errors in spelling or in the representation of symbols may be frequent. There is little evidence of functional writing skills. At this level, the writing may be difficult to understand even by those accustomed to non-native writers.

Novice Low Writing

Writers at the Novice Low sublevel are able to copy or transcribe familiar words or phrases, form letters in an alphabetic system... Given adequate time and familiar cues, they can reproduce from memory a very limited number of isolated words or

familiar phrases, but errors are to be expected.
LISTENING
<p>At the Intermediate level, listeners can understand information conveyed in simple, sentence-length speech on familiar or everyday topics. They are generally able to comprehend one utterance at a time while engaged in face-to-face conversations or in routine listening tasks such as understanding highly contextualized messages, straightforward announcements, or simple instructions and directions. Listeners rely heavily on redundancy, restatement, paraphrasing, and contextual clues.</p> <p>Intermediate-level listeners understand speech that conveys basic information. This speech is simple, minimally connected, and contains high-frequency vocabulary. Intermediate-level listeners are most accurate in their comprehension when getting meaning from simple, straightforward speech. They are able to comprehend messages found in highly familiar everyday contexts. Intermediate listeners require a controlled listening environment where they hear what they may expect to hear.</p>
<p>Intermediate High Listening</p> <p>At the Intermediate High sublevel, listeners are able to understand, with ease and confidence, simple sentence-length speech in basic personal and social contexts. They can derive substantial meaning from some connected texts typically understood by Advanced-level listeners although there often will be gaps in understanding due to a limited knowledge of the vocabulary and structures of the spoken language.</p>
<p>Intermediate Mid Listening</p> <p>At the Intermediate Mid sublevel, listeners are able to understand simple, sentence-length speech, one utterance at a time, in a variety of basic personal and social contexts. Comprehension is most often accurate with highly familiar and predictable topics although a few misunderstandings may occur. Intermediate Mid listeners may get some meaning from oral texts typically understood by Advanced-level listeners.</p>
<p>Intermediate Low Listening</p> <p>At the Intermediate Low sublevel, listeners are able to understand some information from sentence-length speech, one utterance at a time, in basic personal and social contexts, though comprehension is often uneven. At the Intermediate Low sublevel, listeners show little or no comprehension of oral texts typically understood by Advanced-level listeners.</p>
<p>At the Novice level, listeners can understand key words, true aural cognates, and formulaic expressions that are highly contextualized and highly predictable, such as those found in introductions and basic courtesies. Novice-level listeners understand words and phrases from simple questions, statements, and high-frequency commands. They typically require repetition, rephrasing, and/or a slowed rate of speech for comprehension. They rely heavily on extralinguistic support to derive meaning. Novice-level listeners are most accurate when they are able to recognize speech that they can anticipate. In this way, these listeners tend to recognize rather than truly comprehend. Their listening is largely dependent on factors other than the message itself.</p>
<p>Novice High Listening</p> <p>At the Novice High sublevel, listeners are often but not always able to understand information from sentence-length speech, one utterance at a time, in basic personal and social contexts where there is contextual or extralinguistic support, though comprehension may often be very uneven. They are able to understand speech dealing with areas of practical need such as highly standardized messages, phrases, or instructions, if the vocabulary has been learned.</p>

Novice Mid Listening

At the Novice Mid sublevel, listeners can recognize and begin to understand a number of high-frequency, highly contextualized words and phrases including aural cognates and borrowed words. Typically, they understand little more than one phrase at a time, and repetition may be required.

Novice Low Listening

At the Novice Low sublevel, listeners are able occasionally to recognize isolated words or very high-frequency phrases when those are strongly supported by context. These listeners show virtually no comprehension of any kind of spoken message, not even within the most basic personal and social contexts.

READING

At the Intermediate level, readers can understand information conveyed in simple, predictable, loosely connected texts. Readers rely heavily on contextual clues. They can most easily understand information if the format of the text is familiar, such as in a weather report or a social announcement. Intermediate-level readers are able to understand texts that convey basic information such as that found in announcements, notices, and online bulletin boards and forums. These texts are not complex and have a predictable pattern of presentation. The discourse is minimally connected and primarily organized in individual sentences and strings of sentences containing predominantly high-frequency vocabulary.

Intermediate-level readers are most accurate when getting meaning from simple, straightforward texts. They are able to understand messages found in highly familiar, everyday contexts. At this level, readers may not fully understand texts that are detailed or those texts in which knowledge of language structures is essential in order to understand sequencing, time frame, and chronology.

Intermediate High

At the Intermediate High sublevel, readers are able to understand fully and with ease short, non-complex texts that convey basic information and deal with personal and social topics to which the reader brings personal interest or knowledge. These readers are also able to understand some connected texts featuring description and narration although there will be occasional gaps in understanding due to a limited knowledge of the vocabulary, structures, and writing conventions of the language.

Intermediate Mid

At the Intermediate Mid sublevel, readers are able to understand short, non-complex texts that convey basic information and deal with basic personal and social topics to which the reader brings personal interest or knowledge, although some misunderstandings may occur. Readers at this level may get some meaning from short connected texts featuring description and narration, dealing with familiar topics.

Intermediate Low

At the Intermediate Low sublevel, readers are able to understand some information from the simplest connected texts dealing with a limited number of personal and social needs, although there may be frequent misunderstandings. Readers at this level will be challenged to derive meaning from connected texts of any length.

At the Novice level, readers can understand key words and cognates, as well as formulaic phrases that are highly contextualized. Novice-level readers are able to get a limited amount of information from highly predictable texts in which the topic or context is very familiar, such as a hotel bill, a credit card receipt, or a weather map. Readers at the Novice level may rely heavily on their own background knowledge and extralinguistic support (such as the imagery on the weather map or the format of a credit card bill) to derive meaning. Readers at the Novice level are best able to understand a text when

they are able to anticipate the information in the text. At the Novice level, recognition of key words, cognates, and formulaic phrases makes comprehension possible.

Novice High

At the Novice High sublevel, readers can understand, fully and with relative ease, key words and cognates, as well as formulaic phrases across a range of highly contextualized texts. Where vocabulary has been learned, they can understand predictable language and messages such as those found on train schedules, roadmaps, and street signs. Readers at the Novice High sublevel are typically able to derive meaning from short, non-complex texts that convey basic information for which there is contextual or extralinguistic support.

Novice Mid

At the Novice Mid sublevel, readers are able to recognize the letters or symbols of an alphabetic or syllabic writing system or a limited number of characters in a character-based language. They can identify a number of highly contextualized words and phrases including cognates and borrowed words but rarely understand material that exceeds a single phrase. Rereading is often required.

Novice Low

At the Novice Low sublevel, readers are able to recognize a limited number of letters, symbols or characters. They are occasionally able to identify high-frequency words and/or phrases when strongly supported by context.

Source: <http://www.actfl.org/publications/guidelines-and-manuals/actfl-proficiency-guidelines-2012/english/writing#sthash.zuNcdHjs.dpuf>

Holistic assessment that abbreviates the ACTFL proficiency guidelines for all levels of reading and writing

Name		Date	
------	--	------	--

Expertos: Para la lectura y la escritura, escribe “Empecé aquí” al lado del nivel donde crees que empezaste el año, y escribe “Terminé aquí” al lado del nivel donde crees que terminaste el año. [Experts: For reading and writing, write “I started here” next to the level where you believe you started the year, and write “I ended here” next to the level where you believe you ended the year.]

The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines “are descriptions of what individuals can do with language in terms of speaking, writing, listening, and reading in real-world situations in a spontaneous and nonrehearsed context.” See more at:

<http://www.actfl.org/publications/guidelines-and-manuals/actfl-proficiency-guidelines-2012/english/reading#sthash.ZCkWHQAU.dpuf>

Reading

SUPERIOR

At the Superior Level, readers are able to understand texts from many genres dealing with a wide range of subjects, both familiar and unfamiliar. Comprehension is no longer limited to the

reader's familiarity with subject matter, but also comes from a command of the language that is supported by a broad vocabulary, an understanding of complex structures and knowledge of the target culture. Readers at the Superior level can draw inferences from textual and extralinguistic clues.

Superior-level readers understand texts that use precise, often specialized vocabulary and complex grammatical structures. These texts feature argumentation, supported opinion, and hypothesis, and use abstract linguistic formulations as encountered in academic and professional reading. Such texts are typically reasoned and/or analytic and may frequently contain cultural references.

Superior-level readers are able to understand lengthy texts of a professional, academic or literary nature. In addition, readers at the Superior level are generally aware of the aesthetic properties of language and of its literary styles, but may not fully understand texts in which cultural references and assumptions are deeply embedded.

ADVANCED HIGH

At the Advanced High sublevel, readers are able to understand, fully and with ease, conventional narrative and descriptive texts of any length as well as more complex factual material. They are able to follow some of the essential points of argumentative texts in areas of special interest or knowledge. In addition, they are able to understand parts of texts that deal with unfamiliar topics or situations. These readers are able to go beyond comprehension of the facts in a text, and to begin to recognize author-intended inferences. An emerging awareness of the aesthetic properties of language and of its literary styles permits comprehension of a wide variety of texts.

Misunderstandings may occur when reading texts that are structurally and/or conceptually more complex.

ADVANCED MID

At the Advanced Mid sublevel, readers are able to understand conventional narrative and descriptive texts, such as expanded descriptions of persons, places, and things and narrations about past, present, and future events. These texts reflect the standard linguistic conventions of the written form of the language in such a way that readers can predict what they are going to read. Readers understand the main ideas, facts, and many supporting details. Comprehension derives not only from situational and subject-matter knowledge but also from knowledge of the language itself. Readers at this level may derive some meaning from texts that are structurally and/or conceptually more complex.

ADVANCED LOW

At the Advanced Low sublevel, readers are able to understand conventional narrative and descriptive texts with a clear underlying structure though their comprehension may be uneven. These texts predominantly contain high-frequency vocabulary and structures. Readers understand the main ideas, and some supporting details. Comprehension may often derive primarily from situational and subject-matter knowledge. Readers at this level will be challenged to comprehend more complex texts.

INTERMEDIATE HIGH

At the Intermediate High sublevel, readers are able to understand fully and with ease short, non-complex texts that convey basic information and deal with personal and social topics to which the reader brings personal interest or knowledge. These readers are also able to understand some connected texts featuring description and narration although there will be occasional gaps in understanding due to a limited knowledge of the vocabulary, structures, and writing conventions of the language.

INTERMEDIATE MID

At the Intermediate Mid sublevel, readers are able to understand short, non-complex texts that convey basic information and deal with basic personal and social topics to which the reader brings personal interest or knowledge, although some misunderstandings may occur. Readers at

this level may get some meaning from short connected texts featuring description and narration, dealing with familiar topics.

INTERMEDIATE LOW

At the Intermediate Low sublevel, readers are able to understand some information from the simplest connected texts dealing with a limited number of personal and social needs, although there may be frequent misunderstandings. Readers at this level will be challenged to derive meaning from connected texts of any length.

NOVICE

At the Novice level, readers can understand key words and cognates, as well as formulaic phrases that are highly contextualized. Novice-level readers are able to get a limited amount of information from highly predictable texts in which the topic or context is very familiar, such as a hotel bill, a credit card receipt or a weather map. Readers at the Novice level may rely heavily on their own background knowledge and extralinguistic support (such as the imagery on the weather map or the format of a credit card bill) to derive meaning.

Readers at the Novice level are best able to understand a text when they are able to anticipate the information in the text. At the Novice level, recognition of key words, cognates, and formulaic phrases makes comprehension possible.

Writing

SUPERIOR

Writers at the Superior level are able to produce most kinds of formal and informal correspondence, in-depth summaries, reports, and research papers on a variety of social, academic, and professional topics. Their treatment of these issues moves beyond the concrete to the abstract.

Writers at the Superior level demonstrate the ability to explain complex matters, and to present and support opinions by developing cogent arguments and hypotheses. Their treatment of the topic is enhanced by the effective use of structure, lexicon, and writing protocols. They organize and prioritize ideas to convey to the reader what is significant. The relationship among ideas is consistently clear, due to organizational and developmental principles (e.g., cause and effect, comparison, chronology). These writers are capable of extended treatment of a topic which typically requires at least a series of paragraphs, but can extend to a number of pages.

Writers at the Superior level demonstrate a high degree of control of grammar and syntax, of both general and specialized/professional vocabulary, of spelling or symbol production, of cohesive devices, and of punctuation. Their vocabulary is precise and varied. Writers at this level direct their writing to their audiences; their writing fluency eases the reader's task.

Writers at the Superior level do not typically control target-language cultural, organizational, or stylistic patterns. At the Superior level, writers demonstrate no pattern of error; however, occasional errors may occur, particularly in low-frequency structures. When present, these errors do not interfere with comprehension, and they rarely distract the native reader.

ADVANCED HIGH

Writers at the Advanced High sublevel are able to write about a variety of topics with significant precision and detail. They can handle informal and formal correspondence according to appropriate conventions. They can write summaries and reports of a factual nature. They can also write extensively about topics relating to particular interests and special areas of competence, although their writing tends to emphasize the concrete aspects of such topics. Advanced High writers can narrate and describe in the major time frames, with solid control of aspect. In addition, they are able to demonstrate the ability to handle writing tasks associated with the Superior level, such as developing arguments and constructing hypotheses, but are not able to do this all of the time; they cannot produce Superior-level writing consistently across a variety of

topics treated abstractly or generally. They have good control of a range of grammatical structures and a fairly wide general vocabulary. When writing at the Advanced level, they often show remarkable ease of expression, but under the demands of Superior-level writing tasks, patterns of error appear. The linguistic limitations of Advanced High writing may occasionally distract the native reader from the message.

ADVANCED MID

Writers at the Advanced Mid sublevel are able to meet a range of work and/or academic writing needs. They demonstrate the ability to narrate and describe with detail in all major time frames with good control of aspect. They are able to write straightforward summaries on topics of general interest. Their writing exhibits a variety of cohesive devices in texts up to several paragraphs in length. There is good control of the most frequently used target-language syntactic structures and a range of general vocabulary. Most often, thoughts are expressed clearly and supported by some elaboration. This writing incorporates organizational features both of the target language and the writer's first language and may at times resemble oral discourse. Writing at the Advanced Mid sublevel is understood readily by natives not used to the writing of non-natives. When called on to perform functions or to treat issues at the Superior level, Advanced-Mid writers will manifest a decline in the quality and/or quantity of their writing.

ADVANCED LOW

Writers at the Advanced Low sublevel are able to meet basic work and/or academic writing needs. They demonstrate the ability to narrate and describe in major time frames with some control of aspect. They are able to compose simple summaries on familiar topics. Advanced Low writers are able to combine and link sentences into texts of paragraph length and structure. Their writing, while adequate to satisfy the criteria of the Advanced level, may not be substantive. Writers at the Advanced Low sublevel demonstrate the ability to incorporate a limited number of cohesive devices, and may resort to some redundancy and awkward repetition. They rely on patterns of oral discourse and the writing style of their first language. These writers demonstrate minimal control of common structures and vocabulary associated with the Advanced level. Their writing is understood by natives not accustomed to the writing of non-natives, although some additional effort may be required in the reading of the text. When attempting to perform functions at the Superior level, their writing will deteriorate significantly.

INTERMEDIATE HIGH

Writers at the Intermediate High sublevel are able to meet all practical writing needs of the Intermediate level. Additionally, they can write compositions and simple summaries related to work and/or school experiences. They can narrate and describe in different time frames when writing about everyday events and situations. These narrations and descriptions are often, but not always, of paragraph length, and they typically contain some evidence of breakdown in one or more features of the Advanced level. For example, these writers may be inconsistent in the use of appropriate major time markers, resulting in a loss of clarity. The vocabulary, grammar and style of Intermediate High writers essentially correspond to those of the spoken language. Intermediate High writing, even with numerous and perhaps significant errors, is generally comprehensible to natives not used to the writing of non-natives, but there are likely to be gaps in comprehension.

INTERMEDIATE MID

Writers at the Intermediate Mid sublevel are able to meet a number of practical writing needs. They can write short, simple communications, compositions, and requests for information in loosely connected texts about personal preferences, daily routines, common events, and other personal topics. Their writing is framed in present time but may contain references to other time frames. The writing style closely resembles oral discourse. Writers at the Intermediate Mid sublevel show evidence of control of basic sentence structure and verb forms. This writing is best defined as a collection of discrete sentences and/or questions loosely strung together. There is little evidence of deliberate organization. Intermediate Mid writers can be understood readily by

natives used to the writing of non-natives. When Intermediate Mid writers attempt Advanced-level writing tasks, the quality and/or quantity of their writing declines and the message may be unclear.

INTERMEDIATE LOW

Writers at the Intermediate Low sublevel are able to meet some limited practical writing needs. They can create statements and formulate questions based on familiar material. Most sentences are recombinations of learned vocabulary and structures. These are short and simple conversational-style sentences with basic word order. They are written almost exclusively in present time. Writing tends to consist of a few simple sentences, often with repetitive structure. Topics are tied to highly predictable content areas and personal information. Vocabulary is adequate to express elementary needs. There may be basic errors in grammar, word choice, punctuation, spelling, and in the formation and use of non-alphabetic symbols. Their writing is understood by natives used to the writing of non-natives, although additional effort may be required. When Intermediate Low writers attempt to perform writing tasks at the Advanced level, their writing will deteriorate significantly and their message may be left incomplete.

NOVICE

Writers at the Novice level are characterized by the ability to produce lists and notes, primarily by writing words and phrases. They can provide limited formulaic information on simple forms and documents. These writers can reproduce practiced material to convey the most simple messages. In addition, they can transcribe familiar words or phrases, copy letters of the alphabet or syllables of a syllabary, or reproduce basic characters with some accuracy.

APPENDIX C

PARENTAL PERMISSION DOCUMENT

Hello,

My name is Garrett Delavan and I am your child's Spanish II teacher. I am writing to ask for your help in studying my efforts to improve the Spanish curriculum I use and my students' reactions to this change as the basis for my doctoral dissertation research at the University of Utah.

BACKGROUND

I have been having great success using a teaching Spanish I and II at [Eastside] Middle School for several years now with an approach that is coming to be known as *teaching with comprehensible input*. My uses of this approach involve leading students through creative conversations, either by talking them through a video with frequent pauses or asking them plentiful questions as we create a silly story. The focus on meaning rather than form is designed to keep students engaged and relaxed. This allows students to stay attentive to plentiful and comprehensible oral and written input in the Spanish language. This approach builds a core knowledge of vocabulary and grammar that gives beginning students a more effective route to language competence and confidence than most textbook-based approaches used in K-12 classrooms in the U.S. while still meeting the Utah standards for world languages. For students entering with higher Spanish proficiency, whom I'll call "home speakers," my standard curriculum focuses on development of their reading and writing skills such as by having them keep a written record of the stories, videos or conversations.

However, what is often missing in the recommendations of educators who practice teaching with comprehensible input is meaningful study of the diverse cultures and communities that speak Spanish inside and outside the U.S. So far in my teaching I have depended on English-language videos and discussions to introduce these topics in class. This didn't take advantage of the opportunity these discussions present for continued Spanish language development. My goal for the 2014-2015 school year is to redesign Spanish II in a way that uses as much Spanish as possible for more time in these cultural discussions and allows the chance to go into more depth. This research project will use the idea of *bilocal culture-crossing* to describe how people learn through cultural contact to navigate back and forth between familiar and unfamiliar cultural points of view. Students will be asked to do bilocal culture-crossing by considering similarities, differences and questions of fairness while studying issues in Spanish-speaking communities.

The silly stories I have commonly used in both Spanish I and II will take up less space, making

room for a greater focus on cultural study in Spanish II for the 2014-2015 school year. Silly stories will remain the focus of the daily 10-minute sustained reading at the beginning of the period, and will reappear as an occasional fun break. Other than that most class time will be spent on discussions of topics that are of cultural significance to diverse Spanish-speaking communities. Comprehensible video segments in English or subtitled in English that give students a window on diverse ways that Spanish-speakers around the world make sense of life, enjoy life, and struggle with life will continue to set the stage for discussion and literacy activities as they have in my other Spanish classes, but I will now lengthen our treatment of each segment and fill it with as much comprehensible input in Spanish as possible. Students will be able to contribute to the discussion in English if necessary, but I will rephrase each idea in Spanish and clearly post the language structures students will need to continue to discuss and document the idea in Spanish. The same method of teaching with comprehensible input and the same Utah core curriculum will underlie the new approach, so similar outcomes in terms of language development are expected.

All students in the class will be participants in the study at its most basic level: a teacher studying his own practice as a means of improving it. Student work, including discussion responses, will be quoted and discussed in the study anonymously or under a pseudonym (fake name). These activities that are part of the existing curriculum of my class do not require parent permission. However, since I would also like to conduct interviews with 4-6 students to go into more depth about their reactions to the class, I am asking you to give consent for your child to be considered as one of the 4-6 students that will be asked to take part in the research at this "case study" level. From the pool of students and parents who have agreed to participate at this case study level, I will choose 4 to 6 students to participate in three audio-recorded interviews on their views and experiences relevant to the class. These will be conducted in my classroom after school or at another time and location preferable to students and parents. All student work and interview responses will be anonymously quoted and discussed in the study under a pseudonym (fake name). Case study participants will be offered the opportunity to review, change and approve what has been written about them before the research study is finalized.

Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please ask me for more information if there is anything that is not clear. Take time to decide whether you want to volunteer your child to participate at the case study level of this research study. Activities that would occur regardless of whether the study was happening or not do not need research consent.

STUDY PROCEDURES FOR REGULAR CLASSWORK (NO PARENTAL PERMISSION REQUIRED)

Classroom Observation Notes. Written notes will be taken by me during and after each class from September 1, 2014 through May 1, 2015. These notes will create a rich record of my observations of the classroom and anonymously quote key moments in class discussions as accurately as possible.

Home-speaker note-taking. One of the means of differentiating instruction to challenge home speakers of Spanish to improve their reading and writing in Spanish will be to have them take notes in Spanish during class discussions. Both home speakers and non-home speakers will be invited to contribute orally to the discussion. Based on the level of literacy of the individual home speaker, a certain word count of note taking will be specified for them to earn full

participation points for the day.

Student-produced community research. Students will be asked to do research each quarter on a story of bilocal culture-crossings in their family or community. This will include interviewing a family or community member and preparing a pre-written speech to teach the class what they learn. The first two quarters, these will be in English or Spanish, the second two quarters Spanish will be required. A minimum word count rather than content will be graded, but automated translations will not be accepted.

Dialogue journals. Dialogue journals between student and teacher offer the opportunity for a more individualized discussion of the key events or ideas that stand out for students from what we have been watching, reading and discussing. All students in the classes will be assigned the task of this dialogue journaling at least monthly and at most weekly in a combination of English and Spanish. Rather than being graded on content, students will be given a grade based on meeting a certain minimum number of words and be rewarded with extra points for writing more. All but the last 10 minutes of each session of journaling will be in English. Home speakers of Spanish whose Spanish writing ability is on par with or above their English writing ability will be given the option of reversing the languages or combining them.

STUDY PROCEDURES THAT REQUIRE PARENTAL PERMISSION

Case Study Interviews. I plan on three audio-recorded interviews with each of the 4 to 6 selected students, one in October/November, one in January/February and one in March/April. These will be about 20 to 30 minutes long and structured around themes similar to the questions that guide the dialogue journals.

First Interview

- Background information
 - Reminder of how the interview is part of me getting a PhD. Feelings about being a case study student and getting interviewed and whether future plans might one day include research like this or a degree beyond high school. (Mainly an icebreaker topic.)
 - Reactions to last year's class.
- Experiences in Spanish II
 - Reactions to differences this year.
 - Your understanding of bilocal culture-crossing.
 - Experiences in the class that have stood out.
 - Why was that moment significant or interesting?
 - Was it comfortable or uncomfortable and how so?
 - In reflecting on that moment, how does it connect to you and your experiences?
 - What sort of bilocal culture-crossing are you doing between your own cultural locales and the cultural locales of others in the class or the world?
 - Without naming names, kinds of things said in discussions you've liked and not liked and why.
 - What's missing from discussions?
 - Issues you'd like us to cover before the end of the year.
 - Feelings about increasing competence in Spanish and motivation to keep

learning.

Second Interview

- Update on experiences in Spanish II
 - Experiences in the class since the first interview that have stood out.
 - Current feelings about increasing competence in Spanish and motivation to keep learning.
 - New ideas for what we might focus on or change.
- Experiences outside the class
 - Experiences in other classes, at home, in community, with friends—that relate to what we've talked about.
 - Community members, family, friends, heroes that have experiences similar to what we've talked about.

Third Interview

- Update on experiences in Spanish II
 - Experiences in the class since the first interview that have stood out.
 - Current feelings about increasing competence in Spanish and motivation to keep learning.
 - New ideas for what we might focus on or change.
 - What issues this year were you most passionate about? Which were most memorable to learn about and discuss?
- Overall comparison of Spanish I and Spanish II
 - Pros and cons of both silly and serious approaches
 - Any comments on to what degree Mr. Delavan himself, the class materials or our discussion have lived up to the bilocal culture-crossing I've tried to recommend to the class.
 - What would you keep and change if you were the teacher?
- Future plans for studying and using Spanish
 - How do you see Spanish fitting into your life?
 - How has that changed over the course of the year if at all?

Interviews can be conducted in my classroom after school or can be scheduled at a more comfortable or convenient place or time to students and parents.

RISKS

Because data will be kept safe and anonymous, any risk to students' public reputations will be negligible. Though there is some risk that case study students may be identified despite pseudonyms (fake names) as having had their statements quoted in the final document, only the interviews will constitute statements not already uttered in a public space—a public school classroom—respecting the sharing of diverse opinions.

BENEFITS

The direct benefit for students taking part at the case study level will be the opportunity to learn about the research process at the doctoral level by having a say in how they are represented in the final document or by experiencing the interview process first hand. The indirect benefit is that study will provide greater understanding of how to continue to improve my own teaching and world language education in general for students, teachers and society as a whole.

CONFIDENTIALITY

All data associated with this study will be viewed by me, as well as members of my research team, to assist with debriefing, analysis, and write-up of the study's findings. Dr. Verónica Valdez, my dissertation advisor at the University of Utah will be consulted on a regular basis. Participant anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained by all members of the research team.

Data and records will be stored either in a locked cabinet, on a password protected computer located in the researcher's workspace, or on a password protected internet server for file sharing between teacher and student. Only the researcher will have access to this information. In publications and discussions with other teachers and researchers, your child's name will be changed to a pseudonym.

PERSON TO CONTACT

If you have questions, complaints or concerns about this study, or if you feel you have been harmed as a result of participation, you can contact Garrett Delavan at [Eastside] Middle School at ... between 8am and 4pm on days when school is in session. In case he is not available please feel free to leave a voice message. His email is...

Institutional Review Board: Contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant. Also, contact the IRB if you have questions, complaints or concerns which you do not feel you can discuss with the investigator. The University of Utah IRB may be reached by phone at (801) 581-3655 or by e-mail at irb@hsc.utah.edu.

Research Participant Advocate: You may also contact the Research Participant Advocate (RPA) by phone at (801) 581-3803 or by email at participant.advocate@hsc.utah.edu.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Research interviews will only include students who choose to take part and whose parents have given consent. You can tell us that you don't want your child to be part of this aspect of the study. If you grant consent, you can change your mind at any point even after your child starts the interviews, and choose to stop your child's participation. This will not affect your or your child's relationship with the investigator.

It is up to you to decide whether or not your child can take part in the case study level of this research study. Refusal to participate or the decision to withdraw from interviews will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your decision on whether your child participates or not will not affect the class grade, the amount of work required for that grade, or your child's fair treatment as an equal member of the Spanish II class.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION TO PARTICIPANTS

There are no costs or compensation associated with participation in this study.

CONSENT

By signing this consent form, I confirm I have read the information in this parental permission form and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I will be given a signed copy of this

parental permission form. I voluntarily agree to allow my child to take part in the interview portion of this study.

Child's Name

Parent/Guardian's Name

Parent/Guardian's Signature

Date

Relationship to Child

Name of Person Obtaining Consent

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

WITNESS STATEMENT: (For Non-English Speaking Participants Only)

Consent was obtained from the participant using a short form for non-English speakers. The short form is available in the participant's language and this (long) consent form was read to the participant using an interpreter.

As a witness, I confirm that I was present for the complete consent process for this study. I confirm that the participant named above was read the information in this consent document in a language he/she understands and that the participant has agreed to take part in the research study.

Name of Witness

Signature of Witness

Date

APPENDIX D

STUDENT ASSENT FORM

Assent to Participate in a Research Study

Who are we and what are we doing?

Hello, my name is Mr. Delavan and I am your Spanish II teacher. I am writing to ask for your help in a research study I am doing to earn my PhD at the University of Utah. My research will explore my efforts to improve how I teach Spanish. I want to understand my students' reactions to the changes I make to Spanish II this year. Your real name will not be used in what I end up writing about our class. I will keep the written classwork saved on a computer so I can study it later, but I will store it in a way that keeps your name hidden.

I am asking if you are okay with being interviewed for this project so that I can learn more about your reactions than just what you contribute to the class through regular schoolwork. Again, your real name will not be used in what I write about the interviews and the recording I make will be stored in a way that keeps your name hidden. Plus, students whose interviews get written about in my final document will be offered the chance to make recommendations for that section until they are comfortable with how they are talked about.

Why are we asking you to be in this research study?

I have been having great success using a teaching Spanish I and II at [Eastside] Middle School for several years now with an approach that is coming to be known as *teaching with comprehensible input* (TCI), which means letting students hear and read as much Spanish as possible but in a way that makes sure they understand it. In my classes TCI means leading students through creative conversations, either by talking them thorough a video with lots of pauses or asking them lots of questions as we create a silly story. We have conversations rather than memorizing lists or rules, and that helps keep students engaged and relaxed. This approach builds a core knowledge of vocabulary and grammar that gives beginning students a better route to language competence and confidence than most other teaching approaches in the U.S. while still meeting the Utah standards for world languages teachers have to follow. For "home speakers" who enter my class already knowing some Spanish from home, we'll focus on improving their

reading and writing skills such as by having them keep a written record of the stories, videos or conversations.

The problem is that even though teaching with TCI has been going well, I haven't fully figured out how to balance silly practice in the language with meaningful study of the diverse cultures and communities that speak Spanish inside and outside the U.S. So far in my teaching I have depended on English-language videos and discussions to introduce these topics in class. My goal for the 2014-2015 school year is to redesign Spanish II in a way that uses as much Spanish as possible for more time in these cultural discussions and allows the chance to go into more depth.

This research project will use the idea of *bilocal culture-crossing* to describe how people learn through cultural contact to move back and forth between familiar and unfamiliar cultural points of view. Students will be asked to do bilocal culture-crossing by considering similarities, differences and questions of fairness while studying issues in Spanish-speaking communities.

I am asking you to help me understand how students react to a class that uses TCI for serious cultural discussions in Spanish and not just silly stories.

What happens in the research study?

What I will use as evidence or "data."

As places to look for evidence of how students react to the class I will use four types of our regular classwork:

1. At the end of each school day I will add to a journal where I record interesting events from our discussions or the class in general.
2. The notes or writing that I ask home-speakers to take on our discussions and videos to help them develop their writing skills.
3. The research reports students will write on someone from their community and then present to the class for discussion.
4. Dialogue journals where students and I will carry on a written conversation in both English and Spanish that explores what students are thinking about what we are studying.

Class activities that would happen whether or not a study is happening can be used to look for evidence or "data" without student and parent permission if it is done responsibly.

How you could help me get more evidence or "data."

You could help provide more information to the study by agreeing to let me interview you and make an audio recording. I plan on three interviews with each of the 4 to 6 students I select. From those who sign this form and agree to participate in interviews, I will choose a group of 4 to 6 students with a wide variety of backgrounds and viewpoints. There will be one interview in October/November, one in January/February

and one in March/April. These will be about 20 or 30 minutes and similar to the reflective writing of the dialogue journals. These are the kinds of things I'll ask those who participate:

First Interview

- Background information
 - Reminder of how the interview is part of me getting a PhD. Feelings about being a case study student and getting interviewed and whether future plans might one day include research like this or a degree beyond high school. (Mainly an icebreaker topic.)
 - Reactions to last year's class.
- Experiences in Spanish II
 - Reactions to differences this year.
 - Your understanding of bilocal culture-crossing.
 - Experiences in the class that have stood out.
 - Why was that moment significant or interesting?
 - Was it comfortable or uncomfortable and how so?
 - In reflecting on that moment, how does it connect to you and your experiences?
 - What sort of bilocal culture-crossing are you doing between your own cultural locales and the cultural locales of others in the class or the world?
 - Without naming names, kinds of things said in discussions you've liked and not liked and why.
 - What's missing from discussions?
 - Issues you'd like us to cover before the end of the year.
 - Feelings about increasing competence in Spanish and motivation to keep learning.

Second Interview

- Update on experiences in Spanish II
 - Experiences in the class since the first interview that have stood out.
 - Current feelings about increasing competence in Spanish and motivation to keep learning.
 - New ideas for what we might focus on or change.
- Experiences outside the class
 - Experiences in other classes, at home, in community, with friends—that relate to what we've talked about.
 - Community members, family, friends, heroes that have experiences similar to what we've talked about.

Third Interview

- Update on experiences in Spanish II
 - Experiences in the class since the first interview that have stood out.
 - Current feelings about increasing competence in Spanish and motivation to keep learning.
 - New ideas for what we might focus on or change.
 - What issues this year were you most passionate about? Which were most memorable to learn about and discuss?

- Overall comparison of Spanish I and Spanish II
 - Pros and cons of both silly and serious approaches
 - Any comments on to what degree Mr. Delavan himself, the class materials or our discussion have lived up to the bilocal culture-crossing I've tried to recommend to the class.
 - What would you keep and change if you were the teacher?
- Future plans for studying and using Spanish
 - How do you see Spanish fitting into your life?
 - How has that changed over the course of the year if at all?

Interviews can be conducted in my classroom after school or can be scheduled at a more comfortable or convenient place or time to students and parents.

Will any part of the research study hurt you?

Because data will be kept safe and anonymous, any risk to students' public reputations (what's known about you) will be small. Though there is some risk that even with fake names case study students may be recognizable by their statements quoted in the final document, only the interviews will include things students haven't already said aloud in a public space—a public school classroom—respecting the sharing of diverse opinions.

Will the research study help you or anyone else?

The direct benefit for students taking part in interviews will be the opportunity to learn about the research process at the PhD level by experiencing the interview process first hand and having a say in how they are represented in the final document.

The indirect benefit is that study will provide greater understanding of how to continue to improve my own teaching and world language education in general for students, teachers and society as a whole.

Who will see the information about you?

All data associated with this study will be viewed by me, as well as members of my research team, to assist with understanding and writing about the study's findings. Dr. Verónica Valdez, my dissertation advisor at the University of Utah will be consulted on a regular basis. Participant anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained by all members of the research team.

Data and records will be stored either in a locked cabinet, on a password protected computer located in the researcher's workspace, or on a password protected internet server for file sharing between teacher and student. Only I will have access to this information. In publications and discussions with other teachers and researchers, your child's name will be changed to a fake one.

What if you have any questions about the research study?

It is okay to ask questions. If you don't understand something, you can ask me. I want you to ask questions now and anytime you think of them. If you have a question that you would rather your parents ask me, their permission form has this contact information also: They can call me at ... between 8am and 4pm on days when school is in session. My email is....

Institutional Review Board: Contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant. Also, contact the IRB if you have questions, complaints or concerns which you do not feel you can discuss with the investigator. The University of Utah IRB may be reached by phone at (801) 581-3655 or by e-mail at irb@hsc.utah.edu.

Research Participant Advocate: You may also contact the Research Participant Advocate (RPA) by phone at (801) 581-3803 or by email at participant.advocate@hsc.utah.edu.

Do you have to participate in interviews?

Deciding whether or not to participate in the interview part of the study is your choice, and I want you to feel comfortable either way. Deciding yes or no on participating in interviews won't affect your grade in the class or how I treat you in class. Even after agreeing to be interviewed, you can change your mind at any time and decide not to be interviewed.

Agreeing to be interviewed

I was able to ask questions about this study. Signing my name at the bottom means that I agree to be interviewed as described above. My parent or guardian and I will be given a copy of this form after I have signed it.

Printed Name

Sign your name on this line

Date

Printed Name of Person Obtaining Assent

Signature of Person Obtaining Assent

Date

APPENDIX E

INITIAL AND FINAL CODEBOOKS

Initial codebook

Bilocal Culture-Crossing (BCC)	Motivation
BCC Apply	negative motivation (reasons)
agency, identity reshaping with or against BCC	boring
critique teacher's lack of bcc	feeling unsuccessful
stand-alone admonition	too hard, incomprehensible
BCC Interpret	positive motivation (reasons)
buy local, uncover local history, storyhearing	connection to own experience
ethical use of cultural knowledge	family communication
fairness, structures of power, global designs	feeling successful
language and power, norms but question	intrigued by the new
move between locales	My teacher authority reactions
similarities and differences	negative teacher authority reaction
Translingual	positive teacher authority reaction
Proficiency	My teaching process responses
negative proficiency	negative teaching process response
positive proficiency	positive teaching process response

Final codebook

BCC
agency, identity reshaping with or against BCC
agency, nonparticipation in (articulating) BCC
buy local, uncover local history, storyhearing
connection to own experience, heritage
critique others' mistreating or lack of bcc
ethical use of cultural knowledge

fairness, structures of power, global designs
language and power, norms but question
other, (not) taking action
perspective, move between locales
similarities and differences
stand-alone admonition
Translingual/translanguaging
Motivation, satisfaction
negative motivation, satisfaction (reasons)
boring, not as entertaining
don't like method
feeling unsuccessful, low progress
other
reading time boring
teacher unfairness, strictness
too hard, incomprehensible
positive motivation, satisfaction (reasons)
communicate with world, travel
communicate locally
easy to learn
family communication, heritage
feeling successful at learning
fun to hear and speak and learn
get better, fluent
go on mission
high school, college and career
intrigued by the new
likes this method
personal connection, interest
use in future
Proficiency
ambivalent proficiency
negative proficiency
positive proficiency (see also success proficiency)

APPENDIX F

OPEN DISCLOSURE DOCUMENT FOR THE COURSE

Course Description

- A further introduction to the Spanish language and the diverse cultures that use it. Emphasis will be placed on acquiring (rather than learning/memorizing) a larger core, high-frequency vocabulary via a MovieTalk approach focused on discussing multiple cultural viewpoints and silent extensive reading of level-appropriate texts from the classroom library. I am studying my own teaching in this course for my PhD dissertation, which is titled *A Bilocal Culture-Crossing Approach to Teaching with Comprehensible Input in Middle School Spanish*.
- The silly stories of TPRS (Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling) that were the focus of Spanish One will be deemphasized this year in favor of serious MovieTalk discussion and silent extensive reading. All three of these approaches are types of *teaching with comprehensible input*, a way of naming all those best practices or strategies in language teaching that are based on the research showing that plentiful exposure to easily understood language is of primary importance in learning (as opposed to merely learning or memorizing) a language. Forcing novice learners to extensively produce the new language is understood to be counterproductive.
- Teaching with comprehensible input is the dynamic set of approaches of professionals who gather at two annual conferences, National TPRS and the International Forum on Language Teaching. Dr. Karen Lichtman at the University of Northern Illinois has summarized the research on the effectiveness of TPRS at <http://forlangs.niu.edu/~klichtman/tprs.html>. MovieTalk's research base is explained at <http://glesismore.com/movietalk/preview.html>. Extensive reading's research base is summarized by Dr. David Shaffer at <https://chosun.academia.edu/DavidShaffer/Conference-Presentations>.

Most important things for parents to know

- I will be conducting research for my PhD on the regular schoolwork students produce in Spanish Two this year. I will also be seeking six students to interview about their experience of the class, for which I will seek student assent and parent permission. All students will receive a copy of a student assent form and a parent permission form approved by the University of Utah. These forms discuss the research in detail. Please contact me with any questions not answered by the assent and permission forms. This disclosure document focuses on explaining the

instructional objectives and approaches for the year rather than the research on their results.

- We will use Edmodo.com as a way of exchanging student-teacher dialog journals to reflect individually on what we're discussing in class. If your child is under 13 years old, he or she must have your permission to have an Edmodo account, and you must read and agree to the Edmodo Terms of Service (<http://www.edmodo.com/corporate/terms-of-service>) on your child's behalf. You must also read and agree to the Edmodo Privacy Policy (<http://www.edmodo.com/corporate/privacy-policy>). Edmodo takes privacy seriously and has a User Trust and Safety team dedicated to protecting the privacy and safety of its users. The only information required from students to set up an Edmodo account is the teacher's class code, their name, and a username and password. Any parent may also sign up for a parent account on Edmodo, which connects to your child's account:
<https://support.edmodo.com/home#forums/20888720-how-to-sign-up-as-a-parent>.

Format and Procedures

- The typical day will start with 10 minutes of silent extensive reading where individual attention will be given to students on a rotating basis. The class will then follow a MovieTalk discussion format that will consist of talking over or pausing movies, documentaries and videos on Spanish-speaking country and its cultures to discuss what is happening and comparing multiple points of view. This will help students acquire three to five high-frequency vocabulary/grammar structures per day, periodically assessed with a quiz at the end of class.
- A few days will focus on artistic creation as a way of studying Spanish-speaking/Latin-American cultures.
- Four research reports (one each quarter) on a story of cultural points of view. This homework assignment will include interviewing at least one family or community member and giving a pre-written speech to teach the class what they learn. The first two quarters, these will be in English or Spanish, the second two quarters Spanish will be required. A minimum word count rather than content will be graded, but automated translations will not be accepted.
- One in-class essay will be written (in English) on students' proposed solutions to the problem of drug gangs in the Americas. Extra credit will be given for producing a Spanish version of the essay as long as it is not done by automated means.
- Dialogue journaling at least monthly and at most weekly between student and teacher. This will be done in typed, digital form in a school computer lab or on tablet computers in the classroom and submitted via Edmodo.com.
- Differentiated curriculum for advanced students. Students who enter the class already knowing more Spanish than a typical level two student will be asked to do alternate work around the MovieTalk curriculum that better suits their learning needs. They will often take notes (in complete sentences) on discussions and receive their participation points for producing a reasonable amount of writing. During certain class activities that do not meet their learning needs, they will help other students one-on-one to translate or revise their research reports for

presentation.

- Because the class is an elective, homework other than the quarterly research reports will be minimal, usually restricted to completing classwork that went unfinished.

Objectives and Rationale for Learning with Comprehensible Input rather than Learning “Basic Functions”

- The 2012 Utah Core Standards for World Languages implied that only high schools and colleges are able to offer Level II instruction. The 2014 Utah Core Standards for World Languages have moved away from defining instructional levels by years in favor of the ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages) proficiency levels. Yet the 2014 standards continue to imply that only high schools and colleges are able to move students to a novice-high level in two years. The high schools in this district tend to follow this model and recommend Spanish Two even for students that have completed Spanish Two in middle school.
- My objective in recent years has been *to defy these low expectations* and produce a significant number of middle school students with novice-high proficiency after two years of *learning with comprehensible input*. In cases where students have prior experience with Spanish either in school or at home, the objective is to achieve higher on the ACTFL scale than they started at the beginning of their study at [the school], especially in reading and writing. Some students will remain at the novice-mid level after taking Spanish Two with me (just as some do in high school and college programs). For them I will recommended repeating Spanish Two in high school rather than moving on to Spanish Three.
- In synch with the 2014 Utah standards, my *Bilocal Culture-Crossing* approach will have students use their knowledge of Spanish “to engage in meaningful, intercultural communication, understand and interpret the spoken and written language, and present information, concepts and ideas in local and global communities” thereby gaining “an understanding of the perspectives of other cultures and compare the language and cultures learned with their own.”
- Unfortunately, in their embrace of “more functional, communicative and intercultural goals” rather than “a focus on grammar and translation,” the 2014 Utah ACTFL-based standards define goals that are *excessively* “small, incremental, and achievable.” The 2014 standards too narrowly define early language study as a set of skills for specific thematic functions (introductions, talking about the weather, classes, food, etc.) rather than a process of developing a vocabulary of high frequency words that can be used in many more situations by remaining general. A teaching-with-comprehensible-input approach seeks to build a general fluency by using class time to dialogue with students around content (stories, videos, etc.). This stands not only in opposition to the grammar/translation approach the 2014 core rightly criticizes, but also the traditional themes/functions approach that seeks to build a narrow and specific list of “basic skills.” Teaching with comprehensible input is part of a larger movement toward education that is enriched from the start for all types of learners rather than teaching basic skills first and enriching curriculum only after those are

- “mastered.” In many cases, this has helped to lock learners with less social privilege into curricula that are forever basic and never enriched.
- The [district’s] ACTFL-scale-based *World Languages Framework for Developing Proficiency* has a similar mixture of (a) lofty higher-order-thinking goals backward-planned from the AP and IB curricula and (b) a traditional themes/functions/basic-skills approach to getting there. My comprehensible-input approach will build a high-frequency vocabulary in the *Framework’s* thematic areas, but in a dispersed fashion rather than as discrete instructional units:
 - Me and my world; school; family and friends; leisure; food; daily routines, home environment, domestic tasks; clothing, fashion, city life, beauty; holidays, vacation, travel.
 - In many respects the 2012 Utah standards are better stated than the 2014 standards if one removes the themes/functions-based example activities in parentheses. What follows are the 2012 objectives reorganized under *italicized* explanations of how this course will meet them.

Via participation in MovieTalk and extensive reading students will be able to:

1.1

- a. Ask questions regarding routine activities.
- b. Participate in conversations on a variety of familiar and everyday topics.
- c. Give and respond to oral directions and commands.
- d. Interact in a variety of situations for basic survival and to meet personal needs.

2.2

- a. Understand and interpret authentic writing, video and music.
- b. Understand and interpret written messages and announcements on topics of interest.
- c. Understand and interpret simple personal written communication such as notes, invitations, and letters.

3.6.c. Apply mathematical skills in the world language.

4.9.a. Understand and use appropriate verbal and non-verbal communication of the target language.

As formative assessments of their acquisition of targeted vocabulary, students will:

2.3.a. Write and share short texts at the paragraph level of discourse using culturally appropriate language with increasing accuracy.

Via brief, repeated “pop-up” explanations of grammar and writing conventions during discussions students will be able to:

4.8

- a. Recognize cognates.
- b. Recognize idiomatic expressions.
- c. Recognize and use differences in grammatical structures among languages.
- d. Recognize differences in pronunciation within the target language.

Via smartboard-based word processing of class topics, students will:

3.6

- d. Apply composition techniques learned in English class to writing in the target language.
- e. Transfer technology skills to the target language classroom.

Via children's literature in silent extended reading time and video designed for native speakers students will:

3.7.a. Examine and discuss authentic literature.

Via videos, art projects and class discussions students will:

2.4

a. Identify significant cultural practices and behaviors in the target culture. (*Per district policy I-11 religious traditions will be studied in a way that neither promotes nor disparages them.*)

b. Identify similarities and differences for everyday life in the United States and the target culture.

2.5

a. Identify and describe various products or symbols of the target culture.

b. Identify and describe examples of artistic expression in the target culture.

c. Study current events from the target culture.

d. Study the geography and history of the target culture.

3.6

a. Demonstrate knowledge of key historical and current events in the target culture.

c. Continue to demonstrate an awareness of music and art in the target culture.

3.7.b. Access media from the target culture to gain information and to identify different perspectives.

4.9

b. Analyze the similarities and differences in cultural reaction to local and world issues.

c. Recognize contributions and influences on the target culture to the United States.

Via an essay project on drug gangs in the Americas students will:

5.10. d. Identify examples of the interdependence of the world's communities.

Via interaction with guest speakers and instructors students will:

5.10

a. Participate in school and community events related to the target cultures.

b. Practice the target language with family, peers, or community members.

c. Identify community resources to expand student awareness of the target cultures.

5.11

a. Demonstrate interest in and appreciation of the target language.

b. Use the target language beyond the school setting.

Course Requirements & Rules

- To maximize use of and attention to the target language, student use of English aloud to the whole class is prohibited between the bell and cleanup, unless an English response is invited by the teacher. Violations will reduce daily points.
- Punctuality to class and regular attendance is expected. Tardies will result in reduced daily points, as will absences until the work is made up as described above. Full participation in class activities and completion of in-class assignments is expected.
- Respectful, responsible behavior toward others. School-wide rules apply, such as no cell phones or headphones used or visible, no food or drink.
- Plagiarism on tests and quizzes will be reported to parents/guardians and

- complete loss of points on that assignment will result.
- Class policies beyond school rules posted in room:
 - Follow teacher reminders of the instructions, rules and procedures
 - Show respect: no interruption, distraction (like passing notes), intimidation, insults or vandalism
 - Use language (Spanish) and topics appropriate for this public space of learning
 - The consequence for those who don't follow teacher reminders will be lost points or a time-out to compose themselves, and if those are insufficient, a call home and/or disciplinary referral to the administration.

Grading Procedures

- Each quarter is approximately 45 days long. The quarterly grade will be calculated as follows (numbers are approximate and may vary depending on school activities, class progress and other circumstances):

Class participation, 10 points per day	450
27 quizzes—usually three per week (10 points each)	270
Quarterly report (community research and speech)	100
Binder check and other assignments as announced	100

- Class participation will include following rules and directions, which includes completing any assigned tasks. Students will lose participation points for tardiness, lack of preparedness, lack of work, speaking English without permission and any serious failures to follow expectations.
- As in Spanish I last year, missed days will result in zeros. Make-up credit will consist of studying for and retaking missed quizzes or doing an at-home version of the class activity. Students are responsible for initiating the process: A clipboard by the door explains what happened on prior days, and an online version will be available at the webpage listed above (which can also be linked to from my faculty page on the [school] website). This “record of lessons” is also a good resource for review at home and enrichment activities.
- Tests and quizzes are individual, but during partner or group work *cooperation is required and rewarded!*
- Tests can be retaken any time before final grades are in, but outside of class time or by appointment at lunch. Quizzes can be retaken only in the case of an absence.
- Extra credit reaches a maximum at 10% of total possible points.
- Grades visible on PowerSchool should seldom be more than a few days out of date.
- Citizenship grades will reflect a student's compliance with the class and school policies listed above.

Course Materials

- Films and videos on Spanish-speaking/Latin-American cultures, such as those mentioned in the tentative schedule below. Utah Education Network's *Pioneer* research resources, such as eMedia, as well as sources of pertinent video such as YouTube.

- Teacher-developed supplemental handouts, slideshows, etc.
- *Harrap's Spanish and English Pocket Dictionary*, McGraw-Hill ISBN 0071456694

Tentative Course Schedule

- We will move through several feature films at a pace shaped by the flow of discussion and student interest: *Viva Beisbol!*, *Viva Cuba*, *PBS's Latin Music USA*, *Under the Same Moon*, *Circo*, *Road to the Big Leagues*, *The Other Side of Immigration*, *Frontline: Lost in Detention*, *PBS's Brown is the New Green*, *PBS's Latino Americans*, *PBS's The Longoria Affair*, *The Harvest*, *PBS's The Graduates*, *Flamenco from A to Z*. Video is a powerful tool for teaching both language and culture, but it is difficult to find films that are the ideal combination of substantive, engaging and 100% free of content inappropriate for middle school. I will solve this dilemma by programming special software from EnjoyMoviesYourWay.com to filter the playback of DVDs or by using only selected scenes when using other software or devices.
- ...

Dear Parent or guardian,

Keep the above for your reference and return only this page so I can check off that you received the disclosure.

Please contact me with any questions you have about the course. I look forward to teaching your child!

Garrett Delavan

Student Name: _____ Period: _____

I have received the open disclosure statement for Garrett Delavan's 2014-2015 Spanish Two class. If my student is currently under the age of 13, I grant permission for the use of Edmodo.com to submit assignments (see "Most Important Things for Parents to Know" on first page) or will make alternate electronic submission arrangements with Mr. Delavan.

Student Signature

Date

Parent/Guardian Signature

Date

Please provide a parent/guardian email: _____

REFERENCES

- ACTFL. (2010). *Use of the target language in the classroom*. Retrieved from <http://www.actfl.org/news/position-statements/use-the-target-language-the-classroom#sthash.fcjEXtgv.dpuf>
- ACTFL. (2011). A decade of foreign language standards: Impact, influence, and future directions. Retrieved from <http://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/public/national-standards-2011.pdf>
- ACTFL. (2012a). *ACTFL proficiency guidelines*. Retrieved from http://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/public/ACTFLProficiencyGuidelines2012_FINAL.pdf
- ACTFL. (2012b). *ACTFL performance descriptors for language learners*. Retrieved from <http://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/PerformanceDescriptorsLanguageLearners.pdf>
- iFLT. (2013). *About iFLT*. Retrieved from <http://iflconference.org/about/about-iflt/>
- Ahlquist, R. (1991). Position and imposition: Power relations in a multicultural foundations class. *Journal of Negro Education*, 60(2), 158-169.
- Alley, D. (2005). A study of Spanish II high school students' discourse during group work. *Foreign Language Annals*, 38(2), 250–257.
- Alley, D., & Overfield, D. (2008). An analysis of the teaching proficiency through reading and storytelling (TPRS) method. In *Dimension: Selected Proceedings of the Joint Conference of the Southern Conference on Languages and the South Carolina Foreign Language Teachers' Association* (p. 13). Southern Conference on Language Teaching.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.
- Anderson, G. L., & Herr, K. (1999). The new paradigm wars: Is there room for rigorous practitioner knowledge in schools and universities? *Educational Researcher*, 28(5), 12-40.
- Apple, M. W. (2006). *Educating the "right" way: Markets, standards, God, and inequality*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Arnott, S. (2011). Exploring the dynamic relationship between the Accelerative Integrated Method (AIM) and the core French teachers who use it: Why agency and experience matter. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 14(2), 156-176.
- Asher, J. J. (2003). *Learning another language through actions*. Los Gatos, CA: Sky Oaks Productions.
- Atasay, E., & Delavan, G. (2012). Monumentalizing disaster and wreck-construction: a case study of Haiti to rethink the privatization of public education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 27(4), 529-553.
- Becker, G. S. (1962). Investment in human capital: A theoretical analysis. *The Journal of Political Economy*, 70(5), 9-49.
- Bell, D. M. (2003). Method and postmethod: Are they really so incompatible? *TESOL Quarterly*, 37(2), 325-336.
- Boulanger, G. (2014). *Raising enrollment and achievement: One district's move toward TCI*. Conference presentation at National TPRS. Retrieved from <http://ntprs.org/downloads/ntprs-2014-downloads/>
- Brecht, R. D., & Ingold, C. W. (2002). *Tapping a national resource: Heritage languages in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics. Retrieved from <http://www.cal.org/resources/digest/0202brecht.html>
- Brune, M. K. (2004). *Total Physical Response Storytelling: An analysis and application* (B.A. thesis). University of Oregon.
- Budach, G., Roy, S. & Heller, M. (2003). Community and commodity in French Ontario. *Language in Society*, 32, 603-627.
- Butler, Y. G., & Lee, J. (2006). On-task versus off-task self-assessments among Korean elementary school students studying English. *The Modern Language Journal*, 90(4), 506-518.
- Canagarajah, S. (2005). Critical pedagogy in L2 learning and teaching. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning* (pp. 931-949). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Canagarajah, S. (2011a). Codemeshing in academic writing: Identifying teachable strategies of translanguaging. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95(3), 401-417.
- Canagarajah, S. (2011b). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2(1), 1-28.
- Carreira, M. (2007). Spanish-for-native-speaker matters: Narrowing the Latino achievement gap through Spanish language instruction. *Heritage Language Journal*, 5(1), 147-171.

- Cassidy, C.A., & Moreno, I. (2017, May 14). In Wisconsin, voter ID law proved insurmountable for many. *Milwaukee Wisconsin Journal Sentinel*. Retrieved from <http://www.jsonline.com>
- Cervantes-Soon, C. G., & Carrillo, J. F. (2016). Toward a pedagogy of border thinking: Building on Latin@ students' subaltern knowledge. *The High School Journal*, 99(4), 282-301.
- Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (2009). *Inquiry as stance: Practitioner research for the next generation*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Cole, D., & Meadows, B. (2013). Reimagining sociolinguistic identification in foreign language classroom communities. In D. J. Rivers & S. A. Houghton (Eds.), *Social Identities and Multiple Selves in Foreign Language Education* (pp. 121-138). New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Correa, M. (2011). Advocating for critical pedagogical approaches to teaching Spanish as a heritage language: Some considerations. *Foreign Language Annals* 44(2), 308–320.
- Crawford, L. M. (1978). *Paulo Freire's philosophy: Derivation of curricular principles and their application to second language curriculum design* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Minnesota.
- Crawford-Lange, L. M. (1981). Redirecting foreign language curricula: Paulo Freire's contribution. *Foreign Language Annals*, 14, 257–273.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(1), 103-115.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2015). Translanguaging and identity in educational settings. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 20-35.
- Crookes, G. (2010). The practicality and relevance of second language critical pedagogy. *Language Teaching*, 43(3), 333-348.
- Crouse, D. (2012). Going for 90% plus: How to stay in the target language. *The Language Educator*, October 2012, 22-27.
- Cutshall, S. (2012). More than a decade of standards: Integrating “cultures” in your language instruction. *The Language Educator*, 7(3), 32-37. Retrieved from https://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/TLE_pdf/TLE_Apr12_Article.pdf
- Da Silva, E., & Heller, M. (2009). From protector to producer: The role of the State in the discursive shift from minority rights to economic development. *Language Policy*, 8, 95–116.

- Da Silva, E., McLaughlin, M., & Richards, M. (2007). Bilingualism and the globalized new economy: The commodification of language and identity. *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, 183-206.
- Darder, A. (2002). *Reinventing Paulo Freire: A pedagogy of love*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Darder, A. (2012). *Culture and power in the classroom: Educational foundations for the schooling of bicultural students*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
- Darder, A. (2014). Cultural hegemony, language, and the politics of forgetting: Interrogating restrictive language policies. *Rizoma Freireano*, 16. Retrieved from <http://www.rizoma-freireano.org>
- Darder, A., & Uriarte, M. (2013). The politics of restrictive language policies: A postcolonial analysis of language and schooling. *Postcolonial Directions in Education*, 2(1), 6-67. ISSN:2304-5388.
- Davidheiser, J. (2001). The ABCs of Total Physical Response Storytelling. In *The odyssey continues: Dimension 2001, Southern Conference on Language Teaching, Valdosta State University* (pp. 45-63).
- Davidheiser, J. (2002). Teaching German with TPRS (Total Physical Response Storytelling). *Die Unterrichtspraxis/Teaching German*, 35(1), 25-35.
- Davis, K. A. (1992). Validity and reliability in qualitative research on second language acquisition and teaching: Another researcher comments. *TESOL Quarterly*, 26(3), 605-608.
- De Jong, I. (2012). *AIM language learning*. Online video posted on YouTube.com by lousealix. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eb4ERmROBs8>
- Delavan, G. (2014). *A reanalysis of critical work on the history of U.S. language education policy as discursive events in five phases*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Delavan, M. G., Valdez, V. E., & Freire, J. A. (2016). Language as whose resource?: When global economics usurp the local equity potentials of dual language education. *International Multilingual Research Journal*. Advance online publication. DOI: 10.1080/19313152.2016.1204890
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 1-40). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dobnik, V. (2007, September 3). More U.S. schools teaching in two or more languages. *Provo Daily Herald*. Retrieved from www.heraldextra.com
- Donato, R. (2000). Sociocultural contributions to understanding the foreign and second

- language classroom. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 27-50). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2001). *Motivational strategies in the language classroom*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Duncan, A. (2010). *Education and the Language Gap: Secretary Arne Duncan's Remarks at the Foreign Language Summit*. Retrieved from <https://www.ed.gov/news/speeches/education-and-language-gap-secretary-arne-duncans-remarks-foreign-language-summit>
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. University of Chicago Press.
- Enciso, P. (2007). Reframing history in sociocultural theories: Toward an expansive vision. In C. Lewis, P. Enciso, & E. B. Moje (Eds.), *Reframing sociocultural research on literacy: Identity, agency, and power*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp. 49-74.
- Ewald, J. D. (1999). Comments on Graham Crookes and Al Lehner's "Aspects of process in an ESL critical pedagogy teacher education course." *TESOL Quarterly*, 33(2), 275-279.
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Harlow, UK: Longman.
- Faltis, C. (1990). Spanish for Native Speakers; Freirian and Vygotskian Perspectives. *Foreign Language Annals* 23(2):117-126.
- Farrell, T. (2001). Critical friendships: Colleagues helping each other develop. *ELT Journal*, 55(4), 368-374.
- Flores, N. (2013). Silencing the subaltern: Nation-state/colonial governmentality and bilingual education in the United States. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 10(4), 263-287.
- Fontana, A., & Frey, J.H. (2005). The Interview: From neutral stance to political involvement. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 695-728). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York, NY: Vintage.
- Freadman, A. (2014). Fragmented memory in a global age: The place of storytelling in modern language curricula. *The Modern Language Journal*, 98(1), 373-385.
- Freire, J. A., Valdez, V. E., & Delavan, M. G. (2016). The (dis)inclusion of Latina/o interests from Utah's dual language education boom. *Journal of Latinos and*

- Education*, 16(3). DOI: 10.1080/15348431.2016.1229617
- Gaab, C. (2006). TPRS: Evolution or Creation? *Language Magazine*, 5(7). Retrieved from <http://tprstorytelling.com/ci-based-methods/>
- Gaab, C. (2011). Multistory construction: Carol Gaab explains the relevance of teaching proficiency through reading and storytelling to modern teaching. *Language Magazine*, April 2011, 16-22. Retrieved from <http://tprstorytelling.com/ci-based-methods/>
- Gaab, C. (2014). *TPRS/TCI strategies for experienced teachers*. Experienced group keynote presentation at International Forum on Language Teaching conference, Denver, CO, July 15.
- García, O. (2007). Intervening discourses, representations and conceptualizations of language. Foreword to S. Makoni & A. Pennycook (Eds.), *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, pp. xi-xv.
- García, O. (2013). Informal bilingual acquisition: Dynamic spaces for language education policy. In D. Singleton, J. A. Fishman, L. Aronin, & M. Ó. Laoire (Eds.). *Current multilingualism: A new linguistic dispensation* (pp. 99-118). Boston: MA: Walter de Gruyter.
- García, O. (2014). US Spanish and education: Global and local intersections. *Review of Research in Education*, 38(1), 58-80.
- García, O., Flores, N., & Chu, H. (2011). Extending bilingualism in US secondary education: New variations. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 5(1), 1-18.
- García, O., & Kano, N. (2014). Translanguaging as process and pedagogy: Developing the English writing of Japanese students in the US. In J. Conteh & G. Meier (Eds.), *The multilingual turn in languages education: Benefits for individuals and societies*. Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters, pp. 258-277.
- García, O., & Leiva, C. (2014). Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In A. Blackledge & A. Creese (Eds.), *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 199-216). Netherlands: Springer.
- García, O., & Sylvan, C. E. (2011). Pedagogies and practices in multilingual classrooms: Singularities in pluralities. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95(3), 385-400.
- García, O., Woodley, H. H., Flores, N., & Chu, H. (2013). Latino emergent bilingual youth in high schools: Transcaring strategies for academic success. *Urban Education*, 48(6), 798-827.
- Gass, S. M. (1997). *Input interaction and the second language learner*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Gass, S. M. (2008). Input and interaction. In C. J. Doughty & M. H. Long (Eds.), *The handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 224-255). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Gee, J. P. (2014). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Geisler, M., Kramsch, C., McGinnis, S., Patrikis, P., Pratt, M., Ryding, K., & Saussy, H. (2007). Foreign Languages and Higher Education: New Structures for a Changed World: MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages. *Profession 2007*, 234-245. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25595871>
- “Gestures.” (2011). YouTube.com video uploaded by AIM Language Learning. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2b4OKoEXkf0>
- Glisan, E. W. (1986). Total Physical Response: A technique for teaching all skills in Spanish. *Foreign Language Annals*, 19(5), 419-427.
- Glynn, C., Wesely, P., & Wassell, B. (2014). *Words and actions: Teaching languages through the lens of social justice*. Alexandria, VA: The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
- Goulah, J. (2005). *Transformative second and foreign language learning: Cultivating a deep culture of global citizenship and global literacy for the 21st century*. (Doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo).
- Goulah, J. (2006). Transformative second and foreign language learning for the 21st century. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 3(4), 201-221.
- Goulah, J. (2011a). Ecospirituality in public foreign language education: A critical discourse analysis of a transformative world language learning approach. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 8(1), 27-52.
- Goulah, J. (2011b). From abstraction and militarization of language education to society for language education. In K. J. Saltman & D. A. Gabbard (Eds.), *Education as enforcement: The militarization and corporatization of schools* (pp. 173-180). New York: Routledge.
- Guilherme, M. (2002). *Critical citizens for an intercultural world: Foreign language education as cultural politics*. Clevedon, GBR: Multilingual Matters.
- Guillén, M. T. F., & Bermejo, M. L. G. (2008). Using multiple intelligences to promote language and literacy. *ELT*, 29, 29-35.
- Halcomb, E. J., & Davidson, P. M. (2006). Is verbatim transcription of interview data always necessary? *Applied Nursing Research*, 19(1), 38-42.
- Hammer, J., & Swaffar, J. (2012). Assessing strategic cultural competency: Holistic approaches to student learning through media. *The Modern Language Journal*,

- 96(2), 209-233.
- Harklau, L. (2009). Heritage speakers' experiences in new Latino diaspora Spanish classrooms. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 6(4), 211-242.
- Hastings, A. J. (1995). The focal skills approach: An assessment. In F. R. Eckman, D. Highland, P. W. Lee, J. Mileham, & R. R. Weber (Eds.), *Second language acquisition: Theory and pedagogy* (pp. 29-44). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Hastings, A.J. (2012). MovieTalk. Global Language Education Services, LLC.
<http://www.glesismore.com/movietalk/>
- Heller, M. (2002). Globalization and the commodification of bilingualism in Canada. In D. Block & D. Cameron (Eds.), *Globalization and language teaching* (pp. 47-63). New York: Routledge.
- Heller, M. (2003). Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), 473-492.
- Heller, M. (2007). *Bilingualism: A social approach*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heller, M. (2008). Language and the nation-state: Challenges to sociolinguistic theory and practice. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 504-524.
- Heller, M. (2010). The commodification of language. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 39, 101-114.
- Heller, M. (2011). *Paths to post-nationalism: A critical ethnography of language and identity*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Heller, M., & Duchêne, A. (2012). Pride and profit: Changing discourses of language, capital and nation-state. In A. Duchêne & M. Heller (Eds.), *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit* (pp. 1-21). New York: Routledge.
- Herman, D. M. (2007). It's a small world after all: From stereotypes to invented worlds in secondary school Spanish textbooks. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 4(2-3), 117-150.
- Herman, E. (2014). How to use MovieTalk to teach with comprehensible input. *International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 9(2) 18-24. Retrieved from <http://www.ijflt.com>
- Herron, C., Dubreil, S., Cole, S. P., & Corrie, C. (2000). Using instructional video to teach culture to beginning foreign language students. *CALICO Journal*, 17(3), 395-429.
- Herron, C., York, H., Corrie, C., & Cole, S. P. (2006). A comparison study of the effects

- of a story-based video instructional package versus a text-based instructional package in the intermediate-level foreign language classroom. *CALICO Journal*, 23(2), 281-307.
- Holland, D., Lachicotte Jr, W., Skinner, D., & Cain, C. (1998). *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Huckin, T. (2004). Content analysis: What texts talk about. In C. Bazerman, P. Prior (Eds.), *What writing does and how it does it* (pp. 13-32). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Idler, E. L., Hudson, S. V., & Leventhal, H. (1999). The meanings of self-ratings of health A qualitative and quantitative approach. *Research on Aging*, 21(3), 458-476.
- Isik, A. (2000). The role of input in second language acquisition: More comprehensible input supported by grammar instruction or more grammar instruction? *ITL. Instituut voor Toegepaste Linguïstiek*, 129/130, 225-275.
- Johnson, M. (2004). *A philosophy of second language acquisition*. Hartford, CT: Yale University Press.
- Joynt, R. E. (2008). *Using authentic multi-media material to teach Italian culture: Student opinions and beliefs*. (Doctoral dissertation). University of Texas, Austin, TX.
- Kanno, Y., & Norton, B. (2003). Imagined communities and educational possibilities: Introduction. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 2(4), 241-249.
- Kindred, J.B. (1999). "8/18/97 Bite Me": Resistance in learning and work. *Mind, Culture and Activity*, 6(3), pp. 196–221.
- Kramsch, C. (2005). Post 9/11: Foreign languages between knowledge and power. *Applied Linguistics*, 26(4), 545-567.
- Kramsch, C. (2006). The multilingual subject. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 16(1), 97-110.
- Kramsch, C. (2011). Theorizing translangual/transcultural competence. In G. S. Levine & A. Phipps (Eds.), *AAUSC 2010: Critical and intercultural theory and language pedagogy*, (pp. 1-14). Boston, MA: Heinle.
- Krashen, S. (2002). Theory versus practice in language training. In V. Zamel & R. Spack (Eds.), *Enriching ESOL pedagogy: Readings and activities for engagement, reflection, and inquiry*, 211-228. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Krashen, S. D. (2003). *Explorations in language acquisition and use: The Taipei lectures*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

- Krashen, S. (2004). Why support a delayed-gratification approach to language education? *The Language Teacher*, 28(7), 3-7.
- Krashen, S. (2013a). The case for non-targeted, comprehensible input. *Journal of Bilingual Education Research & Instruction*, 15(1), 102-110. Retrieved from <http://www.tabe.org>
- Krashen, S. (2013b). Keynote address at the 2013 National TPRS Conference, Dallas, TX, 23 July.
- Krashen, S. (2013c). *Second language acquisition: Theory, applications, and some conjectures*. Mexico City, Mexico: Cambridge University Press.
- Krashen, S. (2014). Case Histories and the Comprehension Hypothesis. *TESOL International Journal*, 9(1), 70-91. Retrieved from <http://www.tesol-international-journal.com>
- Krashen, S. D., & Terrell, T. D. (1983). *The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom*. Hayward, CA : Alemany Press.
- Krippendorff, K. (2013). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Kubota, R. (1999). Japanese culture constructed by discourses: Implications for applied linguistics research and ELT. *TESOL Quarterly*, 33(1), 9-35.
- Kubota, R. (2003). Critical teaching of Japanese culture. *Japanese Language and Literature*, 37(1), 67-87.
- Kubota, R. (2004). The politics of cultural difference in second language education. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies: An International Journal*, 1(1), 21-39.
- Kubota, R. (2006). Teaching second languages for national security purposes: A case of post 9/11 USA. In J. Edge (Ed.), *(Re-)Locating TESOL in an age of empire* (pp. 119–138). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kubota, R., & Austin, T. (2007). Critical approaches to world language education in the United States: An introduction. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 4(2-3), 73-83.
- Kumaravadivelu, B. (2001). Toward a postmethod pedagogy. *TESOL Quarterly*, 35, 537–560.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, 32(3), 465-491.
- LaDuke, A. E. (2009). Resistance and renegotiation: Preservice teacher interactions with

- and reactions to multicultural education course content. *Multicultural Education*, 16(3), 37.
- Lambert, R. D. (2001). Updating the foreign language agenda. *Modern Language Journal*, 85, 347–362.
- Lantolf, J. (2012). Sociocultural theory: A dialectical approach to L2 research. In S. M. Gass and A. Mackey (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 57-72). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Lapkin, S., Mady, C., & Arnott, S. (2009). Research perspectives on core French: A literature review. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 12(2), 6-30.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leeman, J. (2005). Engaging critical pedagogy: Spanish for native speakers. *Foreign Language Annals*, 38(1), 35-45
- Leeman, J., & Martínez, G. (2007). From identity to commodity: Ideologies of Spanish in heritage language textbooks. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 4(1), 35-65.
- Lewis, C., Enciso, P., & Moje, E. B. (2007). Introduction: Reframing sociocultural research on literacy. In C. Lewis, P. Enciso, & E. B. Moje (Eds.), *Reframing sociocultural research on literacy: Identity, agency, and power*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lewis, C., & Moje, E. B. (2003). Sociocultural perspectives meet critical theories. *International Journal of Learning*, 10, 1979-1995.
- Lichtman, K. (2014). *Research on TPR Storytelling (TPRS): A handout for teachers, parents, students, and administrators, updated summer 2014*. Prepared for the National TPR Storytelling Conference, Chicago, IL, July 24, 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.forlangs.niu.edu/~klichtman/LichtmanNTPRS2014-research1.pdf>
- Lichtman, K. (2015). Research on TPR Storytelling. In B. Ray & C. Seely, *Fluency through TPR storytelling, 7th Edition* (pp. 364-379). Berkeley, CA: Command Performance Language Institute.
- Macedo, D., Dendrinos, B., & Gounari, P. (2003). *The hegemony of English*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Mackey, A., Abbuhl, R., & Gass, S. M. (2012). Interactionist approach. In S. M. Gass and A. Mackey (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 7-23). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (2007). Disinventing and reconstituting languages. In S.

- Makoni & A. Pennycook (Eds.), *Disinventing and reconstituting languages* (pp. 1-41). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Malamut, A. V. (2011). *Critical literacy and the world language classroom: Complicating culture education*. (Master's thesis). University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA. Retrieved from <http://ir.uiowa.edu>
- Martínez, G. A. (2006). *Mexican Americans and language: Del dicho al hecho*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Mason, B., Vanata, M., Jander, K., Borsch, R., & Krashen, S. (2009). The effects and efficiency of hearing stories on vocabulary acquisition by students of German as a second foreign language in Japan. *The Indonesian Journal of English Language Teaching*, 5(1), 1-14.
- Maxwell, W. (2001). *Evaluating the effectiveness of the Accelerative Integrated Method for teaching French as a second language*. (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto). Retrieved from <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk3/ftp04/MQ58676.pdf>
- Mazak, C. M., & Herbas-Donoso, C. (2015). Translanguaging practices at a bilingual university: A case study of a science classroom. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 18(6), 698-714.
- McCrea, K. (2016). Using social justice education to develop literacy and global awareness in the secondary French classroom. In L. P. McCoy (Ed.), *Studies in teaching: 2016 Research digest: Action research projects presented at annual research forum*, pp. 25-30. Retrieved from <http://college.wfu.edu/education/wp-content/uploads/proceedings16.pdf>
- Meadows, B. (2010). Taking on nationalism in the name of intercultural competence. In *Proceedings of the Second Annual International Conference on Intercultural Competence* (Vol. 1, pp. 262-280). Retrieved from <http://cercll.arizona.edu/ICConference2010>
- Melby-Lervåg, M., & Lervåg, A. (2011). Cross-linguistic transfer of oral language, decoding, phonological awareness and reading comprehension: A meta-analysis of the correlational evidence. *Journal of Research in Reading*, 34(1), 114-135.
- Menken, K. (2013). Emergent bilingual students in secondary school: Along the academic language and literacy continuum. *Language Teaching*, 46(04), 438-476.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation: Revised and expanded from qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mignolo, W. D. (1992). On the colonization of Amerindian languages and memories: Renaissance theories of writing and the discontinuity of the classical tradition.

- Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34(2), 301-330.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2003). *The darker side of the Renaissance: Literacy, territoriality, and colonization*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2005). *The idea of Latin America*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2012). *Local histories/global designs: Coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Moje, E. B., & Lewis, C. (2007). Examining opportunities to learn literacy: The role of critical sociocultural literacy research. In C. Lewis, P. Enciso, & E. B. Moje (Eds.), *Reframing sociocultural research on literacy: Identity, agency, and power* (pp.15-48). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Muirhead, P. (2009). Rethinking culture: Toward a pedagogy of possibility in world language education. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 6(4), 243-268.
- Murphy, B., & Hastings, A. (2006). Making movies more comprehensible: The narrative/paraphrase approach. *International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 2(2). Retrieved from <http://www.ijflt.com>
- Nagy, W., Herman, P., & Anderson, R. (1985). Learning words from context. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 23, 6-50.
- Nayar, P. B. (1989, March). *From Krasher to Ashen: Ethnocentrism and universality in TESOL*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, San Antonio, TX.
- Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities, and the language classroom. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 159-171). Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.
- Norton, B. (2006). Identity as a sociocultural construct in second language education. In K. Cadman & K. O'Regan (Eds.), *TESOL in Context* [Special Issue], 22-33.
- Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2004). Critical pedagogies and language learning: An introduction. In *Critical pedagogies and language learning*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-17.
- O'Sullivan, E. (1999). *Transformative learning: Educational vision for the 21st century*. New York, NY: Zed Books.
- Ortlipp, M. (2008). Keeping and using reflective journals in the qualitative research process. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), 695-705.
- Osborn, T. A. (2006). *Teaching world languages for social justice: A sourcebook of principles and practices*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Paesani, K. (2005). Literary texts and grammar instruction: Revisiting the inductive presentation. *Foreign Language Annals*, 38(1), 15-23.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Paulsrud, B. Y. (2016). English-medium instruction in Sweden: Perspectives and practices in two upper secondary schools. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education*, 4(1), 108-128.
- Pavlenko, A., & Lantolf, J. P. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In J.P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 155-177). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pennycook, A. (1989). The concept of method, interested knowledge, and the politics of language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly*, 23(4), 589-618.
- Pennycook, A. (2008). English as a language always in translation. *European Journal of English Studies*, 12(1), 33-47.
- Pérez Huber, L. (2009). Disrupting apartheid of knowledge: Testimonio as methodology in Latina/o critical race research in education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 22(6), 639-654.
- Pessoa, R. R., & Urzêda Freitas, M. T. (2012). Challenges in critical language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly*, 46(4), 753-776.
- Petrovic, J. E. (2005). The conservative restoration and neoliberal defenses of bilingual education. *Language Policy*, 4, 395-416.
- Phipps, A., & Levine, G. S. (2011). What is language pedagogy for? In G. S. Levine & A. Phipps (Eds.), *AAUSC 2010: Critical and intercultural theory and language pedagogy*, (pp. 1-14). Boston, MA: Heinle.
- Pillow, W. S. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16(2), 175-196.
- Plano Clark, V. L., Garrett, A. L., & Leslie-Pelecky, D. L. (2010). Applying three strategies for integrating quantitative and qualitative databases in a mixed methods study of a nontraditional graduate education program. *Field Methods*, 22(2), 154-174.
- Prabhu, N.S. (1990). There is no best method—Why? *Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) Quarterly*, 24(2), 161-176.
- Reagan, T. (2004). Objectification, positivism and language studies: A reconsideration. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 1(1), 41-60.

- Reagan, T. (2006). The explanatory power of critical language studies: Linguistics with an attitude. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 3(1), 1-22.
- Reagan, T.G., & Osborn, T.A. (2002). *The foreign language educator in society: Toward a critical pedagogy*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Ricento, T. (2005). Problems with the 'language-as-resource' discourse in the promotion of heritage languages in the U.S.A. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9(3), 348-368.
- Richardson, L., & St. Pierre, E. A. (2005). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 959-978). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rizga, K. (2017, March/April). Betsy DeVos wants to use America's schools to build "God's Kingdom": Trump's education secretary pick has spent a lifetime working to end public education as we know it. *Mother Jones*.
- Roberts, C., Byram, M., Barro, A., Jordan, S., & Street, B. (2001). *Language learners as ethnographers*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Rousse-Malpat, A., Verspoor, M., & Visser, S. (2012). Frans leren met AIM in het voortgezet onderwijs. Een onderzoek naar de effecten van AIM-didactiek op schrijven in het Frans van brugklasleerlingen. *Levende Talen Tijdschrift*, 13(3), 3-14. English translation retrieved from <https://app.box.com/shared/static/8ys0yrr2pukhfi09u83q.pdf> via <http://aimlanguagelearning.com/research.html>
- Rowan, K. (2014). *What is TPRS?* Retrieved from tprstories.com/what-is-tprs
- Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *National Association for Bilingual Education Journal*, 8, 115-134.
- Said, E. (1994). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- San Miguel, G. (2004). *Contested policy: The rise and fall of federal bilingual education in the United States*. Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press.
- Sandelowski, M. (2001). Real qualitative researchers do not count: The use of numbers in qualitative research. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 24(3), 230-240.
- Sawyer, R. K. (2002). A discourse on discourse: An archeological history of an intellectual concept. *Cultural Studies*, 16(3), 433-456.
- Sayer, P. (2013). Translanguaging, TexMex, and bilingual pedagogy: Emergent bilinguals learning through the vernacular. *TESOL Quarterly*, 47(1), 63-88.
- Sayer, P., & Meadows, B. (2012). Teaching culture beyond nationalist boundaries: National identities, stereotyping, and culture in language education. *Intercultural*

- Education*, 23(3), 265-279.
- Schreffler, S. B. (2007). Hispanic heritage language speakers in the United States: Linguistic exclusion in education. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 4(1), 25-34.
- Schwartz, R. B., & Robinson, M. A. (2000). Goals 2000 and the standards movement. *Brookings Papers on Education Policy*, 2000(1), 173-206.
- Schwarzer, D., Bloom, M., & Shono, S. (2006). Empowerment through research: Future directions. In D. Schwarzer, M. Bloom, & S. Shono, (Eds.), *Research as a tool for empowerment: Theory informing practice* (pp. 331-349). Information Age Publishing.
- Seale, C. (2004). *Researching society and culture*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Senate Resolution 28, 109 Cong. Rec. S1693 (2005).
- Sfard, A. (1998). On two metaphors for learning and the dangers of choosing just one. *Educational Researcher*, 27(2), 4-13.
- Shaffer, D. E. (2012). In defense of extensive reading for language learning. Paper presented at *The KAPEE 2012 International Conference*, Busan, South Korea. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/download/30476969/KAPEE_2012_Proceedings_Paper.pdf
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, 22(2), 63-75.
- Stenhouse, L. 1975. *An introduction to curriculum research and development*. London: Heinemann.
- Stathopoulou, M. (2016). From 'languaging' to 'translanguaging': Reconsidering foreign language teaching and testing through a multilingual lens. Selected Papers of the 21st International Symposium on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, 759-774. Retrieved from <http://ejournals.lib.auth.gr/thal/article/download/5267/5155>
- Sturm, B. W. (2002). Lost in a story: Modeling storytelling and storylistening. In I. M. Blayer & M. Sánchez (Eds.), *Storytelling: Interdisciplinary & intercultural perspectives* (pp. 14-26). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Sturm, J. L. (2012). Using film in the L2 classroom: A graduate course in film pedagogy. *Foreign Language Annals*, 45(2), 246-259.
- Tedick, D. J., Christian, D., & Fortune, T. W. (Eds.). (2011). *Immersion education: Practices, policies, possibilities*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

- Terrell, T. D. (1977). A natural approach to second language acquisition and learning. *The Modern Language Journal*, 61(7), 325-337.
- Terrell, T. D. (1991). The role of grammar instruction in a communicative approach. *The Modern Language Journal*, 75(1), 52-63.
- Thieme Meulenhoff (publishers). (2014). *About Carte Orange: Product range*. Retrieved from <https://www.thiememeulenhoff.nl/voortgezet-onderwijs/talen/frans/carte-orange-onderbouw-2e-editie#productaanbod>
- Thornbury, S. (2013). Resisting coursebooks. In J. Gray (Ed.), *Critical perspectives on language teaching materials* (pp. 204-223). New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Tognozzi, E. (2010). Teaching and evaluating language and culture through film. *Italica*, 87(1), 69-91.
- Train, R. (2007). "Real Spanish:" Historical perspectives on the ideological construction of a (foreign) language. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 4(2-3), 207-235.
- Tremblay, P. F., & Gardner, R. C. (1995). Expanding the motivation construct in language learning. *The Modern Language Journal*, 79(4), 505-518.
- Truscott, J. (2007a). Grammar teaching and the evidence: A response to Nassaji and Fotos (2004). *The International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 3(1), 10-22.
- Truscott, J. (2007b). The effect of error correction on learners' ability to write accurately. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 16(4), 255-272.
- Worth, F. R. (1990). On fixed and fluid "texts": The singer of tales and the natural approach of Tracy D. Terrell. *Hispania*, 73(2), 522-525.
- Valdés, G. (2006). Making connections: Second language acquisition research and heritage language teaching. In M. R. Salaberry & B. A. Lafford (Eds.), *The art of teaching Spanish: Second language acquisition from research to praxis* (pp. 193-212). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Valdez, V. E., Delavan, G., & Freire, J. A. (2016). The marketing of dual language education policy in Utah print media. *Educational Policy*, 30(6).
- Valdez, V. E., Freire, J. A., & Delavan, M. G. (2016). The gentrification of dual language education. *Urban Review*, 48(4).
- Varghese, M. M., & Park, C. (2010). Going global: Can dual-language programs save bilingual education? *Journal of Latinos and Education* 9(1), 72-80.
- Wainwright, M., & Russell, A. (2010). Using NVivo audio-coding: Practical, sensorial and epistemological considerations. *Social Research Update*, 60, 1-4.

- Wallace, M. (1998). A Counter-policy to subvert education reform? Collaboration among schools and colleges in a competitive climate. *British Educational Research Journal*, 24(2), 195-215.
- Wei, L., & García, O. (2016). From researching translanguaging to translanguaging research. In K. King, Yi-Ju Lai, & S. May (Eds.), *Research methods in language and education, Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 1-14). Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Westwood, S., & Radcliffe, S. A. (1993). Gender, racism and the politics of identities in Latin America. In S. A. Radcliffe & S. Westwood (Eds.), *Viva: Women and popular protest in Latin America* (pp. 1-29). London, UK: Routledge.
- White, E. (2004). Early American nations as imagined communities. *American Quarterly*, 56(1), 49-81.
- Wilcox, K. C. (2009). The impact of student beliefs on the effectiveness of video in developing cross-cultural competence. *CALICO Journal*, 27(1), 91-100.
- Wiley, T. G. (2007). The foreign language “crisis” in the United States: Are heritage and community languages the remedy? *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 4(2-3), 19-205.
- Willinsky, J. (1998). *Learning to divide the world: Education at empire's end*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Wong, W., & Patten, B. (2003). The evidence is IN: Drills are OUT. *Foreign Language Annals*, 36(3), 403-423.
- Yip, J., & García, O. (2015). Translanguaging: Practice briefs for educators. *Theory, Research, and Action in Urban Education*, 4(1). Retrieved from <https://traue.commons.gc.cuny.edu/volume-iv-issue-1-fall-2015/translanguaging-practice-briefs-for-educators/>
- Zhang, L. (2011). Teaching Chinese cultural perspectives through film. *L2 Journal*, 3(2), 201-231.

ENDNOTES

¹ I use *language* “s” when pluralizing language throughout the manuscript to show a commitment to a translanguaging perspective.

² Lave and Wenger’s (1991) view of communities of practice has traces of these critical considerations, but the authors themselves admit they are underdeveloped (p. 42). Lewis and colleagues (2007) draw heavily on Lave and Wenger for their view of learning but complicate it with a deeper consideration of power and discourse.

³ I will not use discourse in its sense as “a unit of language larger than a sentence” (Sawyer, 2002) or James Gee’s (2014) use of discourse as “language in use” when it has a lowercase D (p. 8). Following Lewis and colleagues (2007) and Moje and Lewis (2007), I use it only in its broad sense on the level of concepts like ideology and culture; they draw on Foucault, Norman Fairclough, and Gee’s (2014) big D Discourse concept, which he bases partly on Lave and Wenger’s communities of practice concept. Sawyer (2002) traces the history of the concept of discourse in social sciences and the humanities and argues that its rise to prominence should not be attributed to Foucault as many do. He found that its spread is better attributed to the way it entered British cultural studies in the seventies via French theorists other than Foucault, whose influence on the concept of discourse came later despite having used it much earlier. He was already using “a discourse” to define what “madness” was in his groundbreaking book in 1960.

⁴ I follow other scholars in seeking to avoid the gendering effects of the terms Latino and Latina/o and in seeing the potential of the @ symbol to disrupt the gender binary embedded in Spanish grammar (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016). I see the fluid connection between the A and the O as representing both the fluidity of gender and the durable discursive constructions of maleness and femaleness.

⁵ Foucault (1995) uses the full-length term *examination*, yet I follow his shortening of “the normal” into “the Norm” (p. 184) as a means of conjuring for contemporary readers the idea (and power) of a school or medical exam.

⁶ Ray originally used TPRS to stand for Total Physical Response Storytelling. Total Physical Response is an approach introduced in the late 1960s by James Asher (2003) that recommends initial instruction in a language around responding physically to commands. TCI also conveniently sidesteps the capitalist politics of TPRS being a registered trademark.

⁷ García (2013) engages briefly with the connection between translanguaging and “transculturing” (p. 115).

⁸ Osborn’s (2006) has succinctly critiqued the communicatively uninspiring themes of these textbooks as “weather, hobbies, etc.” (p. 19), in other words, a thin communicative veneer covering a traditional syllabus of analyzed elements. He writes of “the absurd, essentialized ... assumed world referenced to create language textbooks” that “one might conclude that the distance between what textbook authors and producers assume to be the interests of students [and their] actual interests has become larger than the oceans we presume to separate us from ... the “new friends” so often caricatured in the texts as a rather unimpressive pedagogical contrivance” (p. 59). Herman (2007) reviewed four major high school Spanish textbooks and found that though they were slightly improved over their predecessors a few decades earlier, they still avoided “intellectually challenging material, real-life portraits, and social issues of the Spanish-speaking world” in favor of “imaginary worlds” without politics, conflict or any truly consequential cultural differences (p. 117). Thornbury (2013) concurs on second language textbooks in general and calls for minimized use of them.

⁹ Although the TCI community is unfortunately commoditized one to my taste considering that it is brought physically together at events sponsored by publishers and professional consultants, it appears a decentralized, democratic commons when compared to the Accelerative Integrated Method community explained further along. See AIMlanguagelearning.com.

¹⁰ This relates to my discussion further along of the postmethod conversation in applied linguistics.

¹¹ Interestingly, though the Toronto-based Jim Cummins is lending his prominent credentials by endorsing AIM (“*Gestures*,” 2011), Krashen is not in communication with the AIM community in the same way that he is with the TCI community, and a general survey of TCI blogs shows only emergent signs of cross-fertilization between the AIM and TCI communities. AIM portrays itself as “TPRS on steroids” and a complete system rather than a partial technique.

¹² See note 8 for a sense of the average textbook and the critiques of it.

¹³ Donato (2000), Lantolf (2012) and Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) outline sociocultural second language acquisition theory built on Vygotsky.

¹⁴ Patton (2002) argues that case study research is a specific means of collecting, organizing and analyzing data, but he admits that case study data can be “content analyzed,” that is, subjected to a “sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (p. 453).