Accompaniment for the climb: Becoming reparational language educators of Spanish as a ‘heritage’ language

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Dedication

For Toni and for all of our jóvenes con derechos – those who have come before and those who are coming.

Abstract

‘Heritage’ language classes (e.g., native speaker or native language literacy classes) are often taught by already licensed world language teachers. Only a handful of U.S. teacher preparation programs offer explicit and extensive preparation for teaching ‘heritage’ languages (National Heritage Language Research Center, 2017). ‘Heritage’ language pedagogies (Fairclough & Beaudrie, 2014) and teacher preparation (Caballero, 2014; Potowski & Carreira, 2004) are underdeveloped and undertheorized. This dissertation considers what is possible when a teacher learns to teach Spanish as a ‘heritage’ language by attending to raciolinguistic ideologies and raced-language schooling policies/practices, generational knowledge of colonialism and anticolonial resistance, and lineages of collective struggle. This is informative for both the preparation/support of ‘heritage’-language specific teachers and for conceptualizing of critical and humanizing pedagogies that center the desires and possibilities of ‘heritage’ language learners.

This dissertation emerges from the participatory design of one multiyear ‘heritage’ language program at a Midwestern city public high school that took shape around reparational aims for educational justice. It draws on five years of participatory research designs and the use of paired collective memory work. Participatory research connected multilingual and multiply racialized youth of Américas descent (self-named as Jóvenes con Derechos), their black multilingual non-Latina Spanish as a heritage language teacher (Toni), and a white multilingual non-Latina teacher educator (Jenna) as co-researchers and co-designers. Over five years, Jóvenes con Derechos youth, Toni, and Jenna engaged in multiple overlapping and interacting participatory action research and design projects that shaped the development of a reparational stance towards ‘heritage’ language education, curriculum, and pedagogical approaches. Youth-led participatory action research projects connected youth with existing movements for social change led by members of their own communities and in solidarity with other communities of color and Indigenous communities in their state and beyond.

Using participatory design research components of historicity, instructional thinging, curricular infrastructuring, and role re-mediations, this study offers methodological and conceptual theorizing of participatory and humanizing research and pedagogies. I argue for the need of “methodological arts of the contact zone” and suggest as examples the framework of “interlapping participatory research projects” and collective memory work. This work also outlines an argument for conceptualizing ‘heritage’ language education as reparational in its desires and designs. The methodological framework of interlapping participatory research, accompanied with paired collective memory work, is then used to make visible the processes of becoming reparational language educators through a memory work montage of instructional thinging and necessary role re-mediations over time. Final implications consider what is required of teacher preparation institutions to engage in the formation of critical pedagogues who take a reparational stance to language education that understands multilingual youth of color as co-designers of their educational experience in schools.

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Prologue[1]

"I honestly don't know where to go with this one. At some point, it's too many factors, you know? At some point, it's no, your Spanish *isn't* up to it, but that's not the real issue. I think I'm frustrated because she's supposed to be *better*, you know? It's like you said, she can talk the talk, she's walking the walk, she shows up to things and sounds like she *wants* to do this. But, then, when it comes down to it, she just *can't let go*. She needs to control the space. She needs to control *them*. And she's giving up on everything she says she wants to define herself with as a teacher to hold on to *that*."

I'm pacing in short circles in my living room. Nodding and mm-hmm, mm-hmming, saying "yeah – yeah" while Toni lays out her frustrations on the other end of the phone. Over the past two years, she's had a string of people in and out of her classes: teacher candidates, short term observers thinking of becoming teachers, returning students working as teaching assistants, and first year teachers wanting to observe what's happening with her and her students. She and her students have received a lot of attention from the school district, local media, the university she did her licensure program with, teachers and administrators across the state. Toni's Spanish as Heritage Language[2] classes are unique in many ways. The curriculum is built around identity exploration (Cummins & Early, 2010; Fránquiz, 2012) and tenets of social justice youth development

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[1] See Appendix A for data sources.

[2] This course name (Spanish as a Heritage Language) will be unpacked in chapter one. Throughout this dissertation, when reference to the official name of the program is being made, I use the official title: Spanish as a Heritage Language. After the intersections of heritage study, heritage language, and Spanish have been unpacked, I will use as Spanish as a 'heritage' language to refer to these programs in general.

(Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). Texts, classroom instruction, and units are designed around translingualism (Canagarajah, 2014; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014), identification and use of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2006), and critical pedagogies that include youth-led participatory action research (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Mirra, García, & Morell, 2015) and critical service learning (Mitchell, 2008). In the four years since Toni started the program, Eleanor High School boasted that its graduation rate amongst Latinx[3] youth had moved from below 43% to nearly 75% (Minnesota Department of Education Data Center, 2016). When media covered this change, Eleanor's principal credited the heritage language program as one of the primary reasons and something he hoped to see could function as a model for other schools and languages. In the program's third year, Toni and I attended graduation and watched the vast majority of our first cohort of youth walk across the stage with their diplomas. That year, Eleanor was named as showing a 15% graduation rate increase amongst its Spanish-

[3] The term Latinx (pronounced "la-TEEN-ex") is used to disrupt the embedded gender binary and deference to masculinity in Spanish. Spanish is a grammatically gendered language with only a masculine and feminine (e.g., male: Latino and female: Latina). When a group gathers with multiple gender identities, Spanish would subsume all gender identities to the generalized male "Latinos." Readers may be familiar with Latina/o and Latin@ (pronounced "la-TEEN-at") as attempts to represent mixed gender groupings. However, these terms reinforce gender binary, and Latinx attempts to represent gender multiplicity and fluidity. The use of -x to indicate this disruption is also a way to make more visible the Indigenous roots of many racialized in the United States as Latinx (roots in present day "Latin" America), as many languages of the Américas have more prevalent [x] orthographic representations than the colonial European languages of Spanish and English. This term is contested within the Spanish-speaking community and amongst people of Américas descent. I use Latinx because it is the preferred term amongst our Jóvenes con Derechos youth. I use Latin(a)(o) only when referring to individuals who identify as male or female, or when quoting original usage. For an introduction to and grappling with the question of Latina/o/x/@, I suggest Cristobal Salinas Jr and Adele Lozano (2017), as well as Black Puerto Rican feminist Ariana Davis' (2017) essay "Coming to terms with 'Latinx'" http://www.refinery29.com/2017/03/147477/what-is-latinx.

speaking Latinx students. Again, the principal credited Toni's heritage language program as a reason for this increase.

From the beginning, Toni has been taking instructional risks as a new teacher, and now, in her fourth year – officially a tenured teacher – her classroom has been packed to the gills with pre-service and new teachers (both to the profession and to teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' Language). Each has come to apprentice in her explicitly anti-oppressive and transformative-action-oriented Spanish as a Heritage Language classes at Eleanor High School. Sometimes, Toni and I get a chance to talk with these new and aspiring teachers first, feel them out for their commitments to social and educational justice, get a sense of their skills in Spanish and Spanglish[4], and their philosophy on language use and youth agency. Usually, we get a twenty-minute meet and greet, almost never with youth around. It is more of a standard interview than a contextualized exchange.

"I just want to say...." Toni sighs heavy. I can picture her shake her head in exasperation. "Sorry, man. You're not the one we've been waiting for."

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[4] Ricardo Otheguy and Nancy Stern (2010) argue that, although it is carried as a badge of honor, Chicanx political ideology, and bicultural identity by some within the Latinx community, the term Spanglish has been used more often with negative implications and to disparage the Spanish spoken by U.S. Spanish speakers. They suggest Spanglish be referred to as 'Spanish in the United States' or simply Spanish. We use Spanglish to align ourselves with the identity politics and anticolonialism of the Chicanx movement as well as the multiplicity of language varieties that the term Spanglish accounts for. This was expressed by Chicanx feminist Gloria Anzaldúa (2012). "Chicano Spanish sprang out of the Chicano's need to identify ourselves as a distinct people. We needed a language with which we could communicate with ourselves, a secret language. For some of us, language is a homeland closer than the Southwest – for many Chicanos today live in the Midwest and the East. And because we are a complex, heterogeneous people, we speak many languages" (p. 36).

I pause. It's one of many moments when I recognize my allegiances are weighted towards Toni, rather than a sense of responsibility to the field of teacher preparation or some imagined charge of supporting her development as a school leader. "Yeah," I say, slowly, "it's not sounding good in there. And no wonder they [the students] are pushing back and, it sounds like, throwing their hands up. They're losing patience – and, honestly, they've been more than generous. I just don't think she's able to see it with everything she's trying to juggle and figure out and learn and dismantle all at the same time."

"No, I hear you," Toni says, "but still."

"Also, though…" I start back in, and I'm not sure if it's the right thing to say. "What you said – she's not the one we've been waiting for. I can't help but think, like, think about yourself that first year, or when you were where she's at in student teaching. I don't know – and I mean you're *very* different, so I don't know – if you were you talking to yourself back then, do you think you'd have been who you're waiting for now?"

It's mental gymnastics and there's no way to answer it. Even once I've said it, I think to myself – maybe? – and try to remember how Toni had been in her foreign language and English as an additional language student teaching placements: lots of student-centered learning, lessons focused on interesting questions that showed curiosity in who her students were as young people exploring their worlds and themselves, and also maybe a little disjointed. Students had seemed to really like her and maybe the lessons had seemed a little haphazard, because she seemed to be trying to teach by listening to them rather than what she'd planned. There had definitely been something there already. Toni and I have talked before about both of our memories of our earlier

teaching days, and this question: *Why do we expect the most novice teachers to be able to do the most innovative and social-justice focused work? Would we have been who we are looking for now?*

"You know, I don't know," she says. "Maybe not." And then she laughs, tells a quick memory of her first year teaching, and in it, the students are watching her run around the classroom – no white or black boards, just huge strips of paper taped to the walls as stand-ins – asking themselves, '*who is this??*' "I've said that, you know? If you'd have asked me then what kind of teacher I'd be, would I have been able to say *this*? I can't say I would."

"No, yeah, I know," I say back. "I'm the same way. This isn't who I pictured I could be either. Maybe it'll be like that for her [this novice teacher], too."

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Toni and I first met each other on both of our first days at the University of Minnesota. It was the fall of 2011 and she was starting the initial licensure program to earn a Masters of Education and licenses to teach both K-12 English as an additional language and Spanish as a world (foreign) language. I was moving out of K-12 English as an additional language teaching and starting the PhD program in language education. My graduate assistantships that year included supervision of teacher candidates in their practicum placements and as a graduate instructor and discussion facilitator for a new course about schools in society that was organized around a set of "Great Lessons." In it, candidates from across most of the secondary content license areas (sciences, social studies, and English) and K-12 licenses (world languages, English as a second language,

physical science and health, and art) met ten times throughout their fifteen-month post-baccalaureate program.

The Great Lessons were intended to cover sociocultural issues connected to education that included the history of education in the U.S., race, class, gender identity, sexual orientation, and (dis)ability and to link them to an introduction to culturally responsive pedagogy. After each Great Lesson, in which roughly 150 teacher candidates gathered for three hours, a smaller group of about eleven from a mix of three different licensure areas met for another two hours in eight to ten person professional learning communities (PLC). Each PLC was paired with a graduate student "facilitator" whose job was to guide reflective activities and serve as a mentor (Tobin, 2016). Shannon McManimon and I have referred to this role as a "nurturing disruptor" (Cushing-Leubner & McManimon, 2015). Nurturing disruptors provide emotional support and draw teacher candidates and themselves into places of psychic and emotional crisis (Britzman, 2012) while excavating, interrogating, and coming to new places in regards to their identities, positionalities, theories of change, and desires as related to their cultural and educational biographies. In their PLCs, teacher candidates also worked through a series of five written identity self-studies, described by Jason Martel and Andie Wang (2015), in which candidates considered their own cultural and educational biographies in interaction with significant others and key sociocultural and educational contexts, as well as five written reflections on professional rotations, which were intended to draw their self-study together with Great Lessons topics to make sense of experiences and observations in their school-based practica.

Toni (as a teacher candidate) and I (as a new PhD student) were placed together in a PLC for the duration of the fifteen-month licensure program. I also supervised two of her student teaching placements to become K-12 licensed in English as an additional language (elementary and secondary) and Spanish as a foreign language. My own teaching background was first in bilingual education (German and English) and English as a foreign language in an Austrian city school and then in English as an additional language in Minnesota. Within a few weeks of starting the PhD program, I was asked to join a team of teachers and research liaisons at Eleanor High School, a public city school that at the time had a burgeoning and steadily deepening partnership with the college of education, which continued to deepen over the course of our five years together (Beaton, 2016).

Eleanor's student population was rich with languages, ethnic and racial backgrounds, family economic experiences, and personal and family experiences with migration and transnational movement. At the same time, similar to most schools in the U.S., its teachers were predominantly English-speaking, white, of European descent, and largely from middle-class backgrounds. Recognizing that what was happening in their classrooms was working for some of their students and not for many of their multilingual students of color, a group of fourteen teachers from different content areas had come together to do inquiry and action research into ways to better reach and teach youth who were being failed by the way things were going. Tania, the school's university research liaison introduced herself to me in the hallway on campus one day, told me about the teachers' plan, and asked what I knew about the term "long-term English learners" – the

group of students the teachers had decided to focus their energies on. My answer was, “not much” and by that, I meant “nothing at all.”

Together with the practitioner inquiry and action research team, I spent the next six months learning all that I could about this new designation steadily gaining ground in academic literature and education policy. The term ‘long-term English learners’ had emerged in California and was spreading as a label for multilingual youth who had been denied access to bilingual education, shuttled through ineffectual and inconsistent English language and literacy development, and offered linguistically and culturally subtractive curriculum and learning environments (Menken & Kleyn, 2010). Through this process, this group of youth from multilingual homes are restricted from maintaining and growing their multiple languages and are offered limited to no culturally relevant (Ladson-Billings, 1995), responsive (Gay, 2010), or sustaining (Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014; 2017) curriculum in their schools. They are also disproportionately pushed out of schooling at the kinds of high rates that earn a label of “at risk” (Flores, Kleyn, & Menken, 2015; Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012). Youth are placed in these positions after experiencing instruction that isn’t designed for their success in the first place, and one of the results of this linguistically subtractive schooling in the name of English language development is that youth of color from multilingual homes are often constrained linguistically by the very schools that prize additive bilingualism amongst predominantly English-speaking white students (Flores & Rosa, 2105; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Malsbary, 2014; Valenzuela, 1999). In terms of Latinx youth, who most commonly receive the label, this feeds into existing raciolinguistic ideologies (Flores & Rosa, 2015)

that frame Latinx youth as "academically at risk" "long-term English learners" undergirded by the long-standing specter of semilingualism (Flores, 2017). In place of putting a spotlight on the structural barriers of monoglossic, Euro-centric, English hegemonies played out throughout youths' schooling experiences, this specter of semilingualism suggests that "Latin[x] students are not sufficiently bilingual and that their lack of bilingualism is a primary barrier to their academic achievement" (p. 76).

Due to early successful state policy initiatives organized by the group Californians Together, led by Laurie Olsen (2010, 2012), the term 'long-term English learners' had been gathering steam and carried with it extensive suggestions for supporting primarily Latinx youth in strengthening their academic English and English literacy skills. These suggestions, which I relayed to the practitioner inquiry group, fueled the teachers' action research projects that year, particularly in the areas of English academic language scaffolding, increasing classroom discourse opportunities in English, collaborative learning, and focused attention to English-language print literacy across the curriculum. At the same time, as I scrambled to learn whatever I could to support the teachers and impress the university, I needed to interrogate the ideologies and politics of monoglossic English Americanization that were implicit in the California initiative and resulting resources, and that I had implicitly internalized. What I learned through this inquiry led me to stop suddenly short and wish we could rewind.

Put forth within the restrictive, legally mandated English-only education policy environment of California, thanks to the Unz-initiative Proposition 227 (Combs, González, & Moll, 2012), the suggestions for "changing course for long-term English

learners" (Olsen, 2010) were also restricted to English-only practices (Cushing-Leubner & King, 2015). It was at this time that CUNY-NYSIEB in New York state offered a counter to the English-only resources coming out of California in the form of a translanguaging guide for educators (Celic & Seltzer, 2012) and later *Framework for the Education of 'Long-term English Learners' Grades 6-12* (Ascenzi-Moreno, Kleyn, & Menken, 2013). The central difference to their framing and approach to changing the so-called course laid out for multilingual youth in English-dominant schooling was the clear necessity to reverse the monolingual constraints placed on multilingual youth in predominantly-English schooling, instead allowing them the opportunity to access, use, and continue to grow all of their linguistic resources across multiple social, intellectual, and academic spaces (García, 2009; García & Wei, 2015).

It was at this point that the principal at Eleanor made a decision that resulted in Toni and me staying together beyond the end of her licensure program. While we were attempting to change course towards translanguaging in our practitioner inquiry group, the principal had also sent a survey out to students at the school asking for their interest in offering new foreign language electives the following year. In an overwhelming response from Eleanor's nearly 45% Latinx-identifying youth, survey after survey came back with requests for "Spanish – but for us." In response, the school agreed to offer a new class the following year to provide Spanish language electives to youth from Spanish-speaking homes. At the time, only a handful of other schools in the state offered such a course, each calling it by a different name, and Eleanor's administration opted for Spanish as a Heritage Language.

By the end of the year, Toni had completed a teaching placement at the school and the principal asked her to apply to teach there the following year in a two-part position: co-teaching English as an additional language in content classes half of the time and taking on the curriculum design and teaching of their new Spanish as a Heritage Language course the other half. Toni asked me to coffee the following week and told me about the job offer. She seemed excited, but trepidatious. She'd encountered teaching Spanish to native speakers or as a 'heritage' language, but it hadn't been a central part of any of her coursework or clinical experiences. In this, she had a lot in common with nearly every language teacher learning to teach foreign and second languages in the United States who might end up teaching youth who have been restricted from bilingual education in their time in U.S. schools (Potowski & Carreira, 2004). Her plan was to use a final project in her methods course to find out what she could about it, but she wanted to know: what did I think of sticking together informally for the next few months and putting something together with her for the curriculum? What did I know about teaching heritage language? "Not much," I said. And by that, I meant "nothing at all."

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What does this dissertation seek to explore?

'Heritage' language classes (sometimes referred to as native speaker or native language literacy classes) that are offered as middle and high school world language electives are most often taught by teachers who are already licensed in foreign or world language instruction. However, only a handful of teacher preparation programs across the United States offer explicit and extensive preparation for teaching heritage learners in

school-based language elective settings (National Heritage Language Research Center, 2017). Both heritage language pedagogies (Fairclough & Beaudrie, 2014) and teacher preparation (Caballero, 2014; Potowski & Carreira, 2004) are underdeveloped and undertheorized. This dissertation seeks to make visible what is possible when a teacher learns to teach Spanish as a 'heritage' language by attending to raciolinguistic ideologies and raced-language schooling policies/practices, generational knowledge of colonialism and anticolonial resistance, and lineages of collective struggle. This is informative for both the preparation/support of 'heritage'-language specific teachers and for conceptualizing of critical and humanizing pedagogies that center the desires and possibilities of 'heritage' language learners.

This dissertation emerges from the participatory design of one multiyear 'heritage' language program at a Midwestern city public high school that took shape around reparational aims for educational justice. It draws on five years of participatory research designs and the use of paired collective memory work. Participatory research connected multilingual and multiply racialized youth of Américas descent (self-named as Jóvenes con Derechos), their black multilingual non-Latina Spanish as a heritage language teacher (Toni), and a white multilingual non-Latina teacher educator (Jenna) as co-researchers and co-designers. Over five years, Jóvenes con Derechos youth, Toni, and Jenna engaged in multiple overlapping and interacting participatory action research and design projects that shaped the development of a reparational stance towards heritage language education, curriculum and pedagogical approaches that aligned with this reparational stance, and youth-led participatory action research projects that connected

youth with existing movements for social change led by members of their own communities and in solidarity with other communities of color and Indigenous communities in their state and beyond.

Participatory action and design research involve participants across multiple sociopolitical positionalities engaging with making visible and upending hegemonic discourses and institutional policies and practices by centering those made most marginalized by these discourses, policies, and practices in positions of leadership and expertise (Bang & Vossoughi, 2016; Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991). When participatory research projects geared towards actionable social change and redesign of learning environments are attempted in schools, they must contend with hegemonies of Euro-centricism, English monoglossic supremacy, and dominance of whiteness. These projects require a flexibility of power that does not align with the roles and assumed power dynamics that are ascribed to those positioned as teachers, students, and teacher educators in K-12 and teacher preparation institutions. Much scholarship that focuses on the existence of youth-led participatory action research in schools assumes the existence of democratized participant structures that refuse these pre-prescribed positional roles (e.g., Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Cammarota & Romero, 2014; Hermes, Bang & Marin, 2012; Irizarry, 2011; 2015; Romero, Arce, & Cammarota, 2009). Yet institutions of K-12 schooling and higher education that prepare and support teacher learning, and which fund these same participatory research scholars, maintain rigid expectations of the relationships and power dynamics that are legitimate for research, scholarship, and classroom practice. This study responds to Bang & Vossoughi's (2016)

call to participatory action and design researchers to make visible the processes and implications of refusing and re-mediating these role positions.

This dissertation also seeks to make these processes and implications visible by considering a five-year timescale of the formation processes of becoming a critical pedagogue – specifically in the context teaching Spanish as a ‘heritage’ language in a U.S. high school. Paired collective memory work served as the primary methodology and analytic. Sessions elicit the voices of two of the adult participant designers: Jenna (an academic researcher) and Toni (a practitioner co-researcher). These two participants were chosen in order to speak directly to the refusal and re-mediation the cultural myths of becoming a teacher (Britzman, 1986; 2012), which magnetize to discourses of exceptionalism, bootstrapping, whiteness, and technologies of colonial progress. Analysis and implications assume critical and humanizing educational research to exist in a contact zone (Pratt, 1991). In other words, that all educational research takes place in “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out” (p. 4). In schooling and teacher education contact zones, power relationships amongst adults dictate what is pedagogically possible. Teachers learning to teach with a reparational approach are precariously situated: early in their careers, non-tenured, and often isolated from fellow critical pedagogues in their formation.

Using the participatory design research components of historicity, instructional thinging, curricular infrastructuring, and role re-mediations, this study offers methodological and conceptual theorizing of participatory and humanizing research and

pedagogies. I argue for the need of "methodological arts of the contact zone" and suggest as examples the framework of "interlapping participatory research projects" and collective memory work. This work also outlines an argument for conceptualizing 'heritage' language education as reparational in its desires and designs. The methodological framework of interlapping participatory research, accompanied with paired collective memory work, is then used to make visible the processes of becoming reparational language educators through a memory work montage of instructional thinging and necessary role re-mediations over time. Final implications consider what is required of teacher preparation institutions to engage in the formation of critical pedagogues who take a reparational stance to language education that understands multilingual youth of color as co-designers of their educational experience in schools.

On deciding what stories to tell

One day, three years into our partnership, Toni and I were standing on a subway platform waiting on a train. I was distracted and felt stiff – how I usually felt when I was about to inject a reminder that part of our relationship included my scholarship. During a lull in our conversation, I mentioned I was starting to think about how to decide what aspects of what we were doing in the Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes should go into the dissertation part of disseminating what we were learning. A dissertation like mine is usually only read by a small group of educational researchers and teacher educators and then, later, if it's well-received, portions of it might be converted into manuscripts for journal publications. In the case of this work, the most likely audience for these would still be educational researchers and teacher educators. "So what do you think you'd have

wanted your instructors to know when you were getting your license?" Toni thought for a while; the wind picked up in the tunnel, signaling the train was about to arrive.

"You know," she said, "When I was in the program, we'd watch these TED Talks, or get these quick shots of teachers doing amazing things. Like – *wow* – that's what it is. And, honestly, I would think, *but how are you doing that*? When I went in and I thought, I'm going to be *that kind* of teacher. And then – well you know how it is. Some days, we are *so on* and some days – if I'm honest, a lot of days sometimes – it's a mess in there," she laughed. "But, like, now? Now we're *doing it*. Now *I'm* 'that' teacher. And *I* know it's messy, but now all these people are coming around, looking in to see some magic show. And it's embarrassing, you know? I don't want them to see, because I don't want them to be like, 'oh… I thought she was this whole thing. Um, slow your roll….' you know?"

I nodded and the train pulled in. "So something to speak back to that?"

"I just, you know, I wish they were more realistic. More like: You want to get there? Yes. You need to do this and this and then *maybe*, maybe you can get there. But also, we're human, you know? Like you and me, what we've been doing, *that's* how we're getting there[5]. And then people are coming around wanting to see magic on a single day. It just doesn't happen that way. So, yeah, it could be that. Just – here's *really* what happens. Because I might have given up trying. I was about to give up."

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[5] Dynamic collectives of critical and humanizing teachers and teacher educators meet and gather across the United States. Some of their processes for creating and sustaining these spaces and relationships can be found in the book *Confronting racism in teacher education* (Picower & Kohli, 2016). They include the Columbia Teachers College racial literacy roundtables, Institute for Teachers of Color Committed to Racial Justice, the People's Liberation Movement, Freirian Culture Circles at Columbia Teachers College, and the Pin@y Educational Partnership.

The field of educational studies is plentiful with stories. Stories of perseverance and determination, refusal and struggle, desire and decline, envisioning and relinquishing. In chapter four, I describe the collective study and critical research Toni, Jóvenes con Derechos youth, and I engaged in together over the course of five years. However, the bulk if this study does not seek to analyze and interpret this aspect of our participatory research. This was an intentional choice. In line with the ethics of youth-led participatory action research wherein youth are primary decision-makers from the formation of research questions to the shape and audience for dissemination (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Tuck & Yang, 2014), JcD youth determined the audiences and directions for dissemination of their research projects. JcD youth choise these audiences and forms of dissemination based on where and how they saw their research projects having the most impactful. Together with JcD youth and adult co-researchers, I have co-presented and co-authored more extensive descriptive and inductive analyses of these projects elsewhere, and continue to do so. These forms of dissemination have included book chapters, creative-form journal publications, teacher practitioner conferences, professional development settings, youth and community conferences, youth trainings and informal gatherings, and both national and international academic conferences.

The audience and form of this dissertation as a means of dissemination was not decided by youth (though it was shaped in part through the desires of Toni who was a practitioner co-researcher). This places this dissertation as an outlier of the youth-led participatory action research that serves as a central defining component of the larger research study. As such, based on extensive conversations with Toni and several JcD

youth, we decided that the energies I would put into this dissertation should be focused on providing a map for adult collaborators and co-conspirators who envision a way of being in school spaces that are transformational and reparational. As such, the majority of the pages that follow are devoted to exploring adult co-researcher journeys towards a justice-oriented approach to language education in school, which I term *reparational language education* (see chapter one).

On becoming reparational language educators

This dissertation tells part of a much larger and ongoing story, with multiple origins and multiple destinations. Toni's (as a new and early career teacher) and Jenna's (as a new and early career teacher educator) journey(s) are shaped by, shape, and are reshaped within the ecologies of the contact zone (Pratt, 1991). These are spaces "where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths" (p. 4). Our journeys existed within and engaged multiple participatory designs and research projects. At times, these were paired with pulling back and examining what was and might be happening through a critical and actionable ethnographic lens – an "ethnography de lucha" (Villenas, 2012) or "fight-back ethnography" (McCarty, 2012). Drawing on my participation in fight-back ethnography that linked our participatory design and action research projects to social change movements that included the Minnesota Coalition to Increase Teachers of Color and American Indian Teacher, the local and national movements to implement and secure ethnic studies curricula in schools, and the struggle for bilingual education (which aligns to 'heritage' language

education as a form of what I call 'late-acces bilingual education'). This study show this work through the prism of participatory design researches four tenets: historicity, thinging, infrastructuring, and role-remediations. Taken together, these show the possibilities offered by a pedagogical stance rooted in epistemologies of youth-led participatory action research (YPAR) directed towards reparational language education in the contact zone.

Overview of chapters

In chapter one, I outline the concept of *reparational language education* as the organizing theoretical framework through which the entirety of this dissertation study makes sense. Reparational language education argues for a specific justice-orientation in the mandated schooling experiences of multilingual youth of color who are consistently marginalized and violated in physical, psychosocial, cultural-linguistic, and spiritual ways through raciolinguistic subtractive schooling policies and practices (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Malsbary, 2014; Paris & Alim, 2017; Valenzuela, 1999). Reparational language education does not align with transitional and restitutional justice, which suggests a social imaginary that believes there was ever a healthy and just social positioning of multilingual communities of color in the United States that might be returned to someday. Similarly, reparational language education is skeptical of educational policies and practices that seek justice but assume a damages-orientation (Tuck & Yang, 2014) towards youth, their families, and the communities that raise them. Instead, reparational language education seeks institutional transformation that is defined by long-held community-desires for social change. As an organizing framework, reparational language

education also shapes the methodological designs of this dissertation, in that it requires new imaginings of research methodologies that align to the tenets of transformational change, in light of the existing ecology of settler colonial, heteropatriarchal, racial capitalism of U.S. institutions.

In chapter two, I explore the complexities and possibilities afforded by multiple co-occuring participatory research projects, what I call *interlapping participatory projects*. This chapter opens with a thick description of Pratt's (1991) contact zone and its accompanying arts. After reflecting on my positionality in this work, I then offer a model of an ecology of interlapping participatory projects. This model is intended to make sense of the ways multiple sometimes coinciding and sometimes independently operating participatory projects interact with and inform individual, collective, and institutional research that is connected to and intended to be in service of social change movements. Each of these participatory designs: youth-led participatory action research (YPAR), collaborative practitioner action research (CoPAR), participatory design research (PDR), and ethnography de lucha/fight-back ethnography (FBE) are described in detail. This is followed by an overview of the multiple research questions this interlapping design makes space for, along with a specific example from the larger study of how research questions across these designs can work together and inform one another. This chapter includes a description of collective memory work, a methodological art of the contact zone that I use throughout this dissertation. Collective memory work is briefly explained along with the analytical process of collective memory work mapping (which I developed to navigate the extensive collective memory and co-occurring data from the interlapping

participatory projects), as well as a short note on representation of the memory work that appears in chapters four and five.

In chapter three, I take up the first of the four tenets of participatory design research: historicity. Finnish activity theorist Yrjö Engeström (2001) noted that the particular problems and potentials of any system can only be understood against the backdrop of its own history. This history must include the "history of the theoretical ideas and tools that have shaped the activity" (p. 136-137). In a special issue bringing forth participatory design research that I see as being responsive to the contact zone[6], Megan Bang and Shirin Vossoughi (2016) suggested that the processes of radical critique, social dreaming, and "inciting the enfleshment of these ideas in current practice" emerge, in part, "through reflective discourse about the historicities that shape and give rise to the present as well as what kinds of desired futures projects imagine and work to enact" (p. 178). These historicities look towards past cycles of enactment in order to flesh out the desires, contestations, and complicities of institutions, practices, and people's positionalities with and against them. To understand the learning environment of Jóvenes con Derechos as a reparational 'heritage' language classroom, I trace the history of

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[6] In chapter two, I describe in more detail participatory design research (PDR) and its dual origin stories. These origins are northern European, rooted in Marxist refusal of Taylorism, and what I call a contact zone (Pratt, 1991) origin which is described in a special issue of Cognition and Instruction co-edited by indigenous feminist and critical race participatory research scholars Megan Bang and Shirin Vossoughi. I term Bang & Vossoughi's conception of PDR as *contact zone PDR* in homage to its similarities and sibling ties to what Torre & Ayala (2009) have called "participatory action research entremundos" – which "challenges us to seek knowledge entremundos, between the cracks of multiple experiences, underscoring relationship and interdependence" (p. 391). As I argue in chapter two, PDR's dual origins make it at home in reparational education in the contact zone of heritage language teaching in U.S. schools, where teachers and youth exist and come from varying origins and alignments with the settler colonial projects of linguistic subtraction and deculturalization through schooling institutions.

heritage language education in U.S. schools. Added to this, I explore recent routes to critical heritage study with and for Latinx youth in schools which align with reparational aims. These describe attempts being made to engage in culturally sustaining pedagogies, including several examples that do not have explicit linguistic aims. The historicity work of this chapter also reflects the bulk of my own role in our participatory design of the Jóvenes con Derechos 'heritage' language program in the first two years, during which we searched for models and examples beyond the traditional language classroom to envision our collective desires and possibilities for our program.

In chapter four, I take up the second tenet of participatory design research: the *instructional thinging* of the Jóvenes con Derechos Spanish as a 'heritage' language program. "Thinging" is a move away from tools-thinking, which is a focus of much of traditional design-based research, and instead draws meaning from the Nordic etymology of a Thing as "an 'assembly' around 'matters of concern[,]' taking place at a certain time and at a certain place" (Björgvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2010, p. 43). Thus, this chapters sheds light on what takes place in the JcD 'heritage' program. The data for this chapter were gathered through methods of fight-back ethnography (McCarty, 2012; or "ethnographies de lucha," Villenas, 2012). Fight-back ethnography is described in depth in chapter two and require engagement in social change on the part of participant researchers, as well as alignment with larger social change movements. This chapter opens with a description of the aims and desires of Jóvenes con Derechos, which were shaped through iterations of participatory design research, drawing on multiple youth-led participatory and collaborative practitioner action research projects (YPAR and CoPAR).

It then lays out four youth-led Jóvenes con Derechos participatory action research projects which emerged over five years, some of which re-shaped in later iterations into critical project-based or service learning units that have become anchoring units for the course series. In this chapter, I am careful to detail the different roles taken up by JcD youth, Toni, and me across these participatory projects as well as the larger movements for social change that these projects connect with.

In chapter five, I take up the third tenet of participatory design research: infrastructuring. *Infrastructuring* first emerged from the northern tradition of PDR (Björgvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2010; Dantec & DiSalvo, 2013) and is not the same as the more static concept of *infrastructure*. Rather, infrastructuring is a living and breathing aspect of learning environments, social movements, and organizational spaces. Infrastructuring is the elements of a space that keep it functioning towards its desired aims, and it changes as it moves towards those desires and interacts with different mediating forces. It is always ongoing, taking shape and shape-shifting as the environment and relationships of those within the environment change (Björgvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2010). This chapter opens with a short interlude that explains the concept of infrastructuring in more depth. Then, relying on memory work mapping, this chapter tries to make visible the complexities and questions of infrastructuring towards sustainability and emerging counterpublics. This is done by stitching together three collective memory work pieces and layering one of these with secondary analysis. This secondary analysis highlights the contestations of infrastructuring as it expands beyond the classroom and into spaces of forming counterpublics with colleagues.

In chapter six, I take up the fourth tenet of participatory design research: role re-mediation. Examining role re-mediation recognizes that relationships amongst participants in participatory projects can and should serve as a unit of analysis in order to understand how the "tension between research and participants' subject positions is preserved, troubled, realigned, and leveraged" (Bang & Vossoughi, 2016, p. 275). This chapter begins with an interlude that is similar to chapter five. In this interlude, I outline the hegemonic role that is played by the positional roles afforded by educational institutions (K-12, higher education, teacher education, teacher professional development), as well as the mythologies of hegemony that these roles uphold. In order to keep with the epistemological stance of participatory research projects that research is conducted collectively and rooted in the knowledge and intentions of those most impacted by socio-historical and socio-political ideologies, policies, and actions, these roles must be refused and shifted to new constellations. This refusal and redefinition of roles is considered through the lens of role re-mediation. As with chapter five, this chapter then draws on collective memory work pieces, which emerged through the memory work mapping phase of analysis. These memory work pieces show how Toni and Jenna experienced and resisted role re-mediations throughout their first four years of relational partnership in participatory design and practitioner inquiry.

In chapter seven, I offer some concluding thoughts using the metaphor of climbing mountains. During a conversation on the possibilities and imaginings of liberatory praxis, critical pedagogues and scholars Paulo Freire and Miles Horton shared a story of a dream of climbing a mountain, and in the climb, a range of mountains coming

into view. In this chapter of concluding thoughts, I consider the mountains that can be seen from the vantage point this dissertation offers. Two of these mountains consider the methodological arts of the contact zone and the relationship to philosophies of education and teaching that are afforded through a pedagogical stance of youth-led participatory action research.

What does this study offer?

This study makes the argument for designing and supporting new teacher learning and induction in ways that are synergistic with the ongoing learning of teacher educators. It calls for a method of teacher (educator) education that is collaborative and relational at its core. This work resulted in the conceptualization of reparational language education (see chapter one), the construction of an activist research methodologies framework that engages the complexities of multi-leveled participatory designs (see chapter two), and the crafting of pedagogical stances and practices rooted in critical and participatory action research epistemology (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; see chapter four). Importantly, this study reveals the necessity to resist institutionally approved roles and positionalities in order for adult co-researchers, collaborators and conspirators to work towards reparational aims that are driven by youth and community desires in schools. The collective memory work sessions that are woven together to form the larger story of this dissertation make clear our reliance on working together and suggests to other practitioner-research collectives the legitimacy of the time and relational focus that are required for transformative processes to take shape.

This is the story of a journey. This particular journey tells us about the synergistic co-formation of a teacher and teacher educator/educational researcher towards reparational justice-oriented teaching selves. We cannot control who our stories resonate with – though we hope they reach a wide audience of (aspiring) critical researchers and educators. I believe the pages that follow offer insights that I believe will be valuable to teacher educators interested in supporting the formation of critical pedagogies and heritage language teachers, language teachers interested in reparational language teaching, and educational researchers interested in participatory design methodologies. For teacher educators, it offers insights into what must be considered if teacher education is to institutionalize the sort of synergistic co-formation of a long-term partnership between a new teacher and teacher educator that was stumbled into and highly impactful for both of their developments. Through the lens of this collaborative partnership, it speaks to new ways of considering critical pedagogies in language education towards reparational ends. Finally, for educational researchers it offers new insights into teaching and research methodologies involving participatory research designs and critical pedagogies.

Chapter One

On Spanish as a 'heritage' language: A call for reparational language education in U.S. schools

What's in a name? Teaching and learning Spanish as a 'heritage' language

In 2011, when Eleanor High School began offering Spanish as a Heritage Language, its school district began making moves to implement similar courses in six of their middle and high schools, with the district's multilingual department calling to expand offerings to nearly every middle and high school in the district. This expansion coincided with the passage of the state's seal of bilingualism and biliteracy addendums to high school diplomas (LEAPS Act; one of the first states in the country to offer this, and the only state at the time to attach both college and high school elective credit options). It was around this time, too, that Eleanor's school district chose the school as the site to expand the district's second 9-12 Spanish dual immersion programs. The dual immersion program primarily catered to youth who had attended the district's K-8 Spanish immersion schools. As with other programs of its kind increasingly available across the United States, it was particularly popular with middle class, predominantly English-speaking families of European descent seeking to increase the multilingual resources of their children (e.g., Delavan, Valdez, & Freire, 2016; Palmer, 2009; Scanlan & Palmer, 2009). The Spanish as a Heritage Language elective course at Eleanor sought to offer something different to serve a population of Latinx youth who had not been provided the

opportunity for bilingual education leading in to high school, and had been imposed with the specter of semilingualism (Flores, 2017).

The contestations and desires of Spanish as a 'heritage' language

The idea that we have reason to offer 'heritage language' education in U.S. schools is situated within an unhealthy ecology wherein societal multilingualism stands in tension with ideologies of American nationalism. American nationalism is deeply entangled with monoglossic English ideologies (Bale, 2011; Bale & Knopp, 2012; Valdés, Fishman, Chávez, & Pérez, 2006). These monoglossic ideologies play out, in part, through the restrictive and narrow language and curricular policies and practices of U.S. schools (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Malsbary, 2014). Within this restrictive language ecology, societal languages and their speakers are formed into heritage languages and heritage language learners through natural multilingual maintenance and vital use being refused. In other words, so-called heritage languages are formed out of "nonsocietal and nonmajority languages spoken by groups often known as linguistic minorities" (Valdés, 2005, p. 12) through institutional denial of naturalistic maintenance and development. While heritage language learners have a variety of ethnolinguistic and country-of-origin identities and backgrounds, they tend to share in the way their home languages have been converted into 'heritage' languages. These are languages that are commonly spoken at home and often in the larger community. However, unless youth have access to bilingual schools, upon entering the English-only or English-dominant U.S. school system, their language use and literacy options are often severely restricted to English, despite the availability of some domains of use of their other language(s) outside of school, or with

peer groups at school. Development of academic subject linguistic complexity and print literacy is almost entirely in English, and very often at the expense of the maintenance of home languages and literacy in those languages (Valdés, 2005).

Using the term 'heritage language' is contested, though it has become more common, and is an improvement on the overt deficit terminology commonly applied to multilingual individuals restricted from home language maintenance through schooling (e.g., quasi native speakers, semilinguals, limited proficient) (Valdés, 2005). Ofelia García (2005) argues that the positioning of languages as 'heritage' languages is problematic as it "rear-views" these languages, framing them as "what was left behind in remote lands, what is in one's past [...] something that one holds onto vaguely as one's remembrances, but certainly not something that is used in the present or that can be projected into the future" (p. 601). Language policy researchers who take an ecological approach to defining heritage languages (Bale, 2010; Hornberger & Wang, 2008) suggest a broad definition of heritage language that "considers an individual's ancestral ties to the heritage language; individual agency in identifying as a heritage language learner or speaker, and how the heritage language and its speakers are positioned in social, political, and economic terms" (Bale, 2010, p. 45).

Jeff Bale (2010), in a comparative review of international perspectives on heritage language education policy research, suggests that the term 'heritage language' be broadly applied in order to assume a critical stance that names the linguistic hegemony of English-dominant contexts or where English is the colonial language. This means that, in order for courses in 'heritage language' education to exist, we must first accept the

underlying proposition that multilingual education does not exist. From this point on, I will regularly refer to these courses and programs as Spanish as a 'heritage' language in agreement with Guadalupe Valdés' (2005) argument that the term 'heritage' is deeply undesirable and problematic, but might be used with the understanding that it is meant to implicate the monoglossic and Anglo-white supremacist ideologies, policies, and practices that shape the schooling project of multilingual youth of color in the U.S.

Spanish, heritage, and colonization

Spanish has a unique positioning in the United States, which adds an additional layer of contestation and complexity to its place in 'heritage' language education. As a European language and a language of colonization across the Américas, it has been used as a mechanism for linguistic and cultural removal and replacement. This has been paired with the sociopolitical, economic, and institutional privileging of Spanish over Indigenous, African (and historically some Asiatic) languages to further entrench the suppression and linguistic-cultural erasure of these groups of people (Galeano, 2009; Vigil, 1998). In the United States, Spanish represented the language of a group of people who, in the efforts of Anglo-European settlement and westward expansion had been vilified as a threat to the formation of the nation-state as Spanish subjects and disposable as people with Indigenous roots who needed to be conquered for the emergence and survival of the state (Gonzalez, 2000; Limerick, 1987). The long history of attempts to conquer, remove, and replace created a stance of distrust towards Mestizx[7] and Spanish-speaking peoples and furthered demand for assimilation (García, 2009).

[7] The term Mestizx (also Mestizo/a/@, see discussion on "Latinx" in prologue) is a term used throughout the Américas in different ways to racialize and to construct nation-state identities

Due to its use as a mechanism for the colonization of the Américas, Spanish is a language that was spoken across much of the present U.S. before political borders were drawn and moved over land lived on by generations of Mestizx peoples (Fishman, 1999). This made it a language that was used early on to mark its speakers as racialized others in the present-day United States. Complemented by nativist narratives, Spanish-speakers with roots in the Américas (racialized as Latinx) were and are framed as incipient economic and political enemies from within (Santa Ana, 2002). To add to this, the varieties of Spanish spoken by large numbers of Spanish-speakers are marked by Indigenous languages, preserved in part through the linguistic dexterity of Américas-Spanishes (e.g., Anzaldúa, 2012; Bills & Vigil, 1999; Brody, 1995). The othering of Spanish-speakers with Américas roots was bolstered by a general mid-19th Century U.S. nativism nurtured by two world wars (Fishman, 1999; García, 2009). As the long-held most commonly spoken language other than English in the United States, this has played out with Spanish (and its actual and imagined speakers) garnering xenophobic backlash,

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amongst people with mixed Indigenous and European backgrounds. In many countries, it is seen as a term of racial categorization rooted in colonial ideas of blood-quantum, making it a problematic label (for a parallel variant, consider the anachronistic "Mulatto" in the U.S.). Post-revolutionary Mexico adopted the terms Mestizo and Mestizaje to construe a political national identity. In *La Raza Cosmica*, Jose Vasconcelos (1966, first published 1925) offered a solution to the need for an imagined identity to bind the many-backgrounded peoples of the burgeoning Mexican nation-state. He offered up Mestizaje as the "cosmic race" – a 'fifth race' that was meant to transcend existing racial categories to create an amalgamation of the many peoples of the Américas, bound together by a shared spirit (see also Knight, 1990; Wade, 1997). Chicana feminist and queer scholar Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) describes reclaiming her Mestiza identity in the borderlands spaces of the present-day United States and Mexico as a way of reclaiming her Indigenous roots in the face of overlapping patriarchal colonial erasure. Still, Mestizaje is not without its contestations, including arguments that it is rooted in anti-blackness in its African and Indigenous erasures (Banks, 2005). The construction of Mestizaje as la raza cosmica, for example, called on Indigenous peoples of present-day Mexico to reject their Indigenous cultures, including no longer speaking Indigenous languages in favor of Spanish (Bartolomé, 1996; Knight, 1990).

resentment, and continued attempts at suppression, segregation, and assimilation (Bale, 2012; García, 2009).

The erasure of Spanish and its speakers' experiences with language shift and marginalization are complicated in that the language simultaneously enjoys a far-reaching vitality across large numbers of Spanish-speaking communities, is heralded as an additive resource language (Ruiz, 1984) to be learned by predominantly-English speaking youth of European descent (Scanlan & Palmer, 2009), and is framed as a linguistic problem (Ruiz, 1984) on the receiving end of logics of biocultural elimination (Wolfe, 2006) amongst speakers with Américas roots. This logic of elimination plays out particularly effectively through language in education policies and practices in place in U.S. schools (García & Baetens Beardsmore, 2009; Spring, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). Thus, at the center of the ongoing conversations of both what to call Spanish as a 'heritage' language education and what the purpose of these classes should be is the central conflict of many language policy debates: the contestation over the *meaning* and *significance* of equal (or equitable) opportunities for linguistic and cultural maintenance and strength in multiethnic, multicultural, and plurilingual sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts (Schmidt, 2006). These contestations point to the core theoretical questions, "What is at stake?" (p. 99), "For whom?" (p. 96) and "For what?" (Ortega, 2005; Valdés, 2005).

Outlining the central issue: The question of teaching for language reparation

If teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language in U.S. schools is a question of equal or equitable opportunities, recognizing the linguistic and culturally subtractive schooling policies and practices played out on Spanish-speaking youth with Américas roots, then

the teaching of Spanish as a 'heritage' language calls for a justice-orientation. This dissertation is predicated on a journey of becoming a certain type of justice-oriented language teacher (educator): one who is committed to and attempts to do what I call *reparational language education*. Reparational language education should not be confused with *reparative* approaches, which would seek to name and repair deficiencies and problems.

Reparational language education is rooted in justice-approaches, but is, for example, distinct from the goals of restorative justice, which can sometimes be found in schools – particularly connected to behavior policies. Restorative justice makes moves to restore balance between individuals who have harmed and have been harmed. In schools, restorative justice (when it is used) is often chosen as a counter to zero-tolerance and punitive response approaches to 'behavior management.' Though the idea of restoration may be appealing when considering the subtractive impacts school language policies and curricular practices have had on multilingual youth and families in the United States, it does not go far enough to address the historical design of U.S. schooling as a social determinant. Restorative justice desires a restoration to balance. Reparations continues to seek justice, but resists the myth that balance was there to begin with. Recognizing the history of schooling as an intentional mechanism for the production and reproduction of societal inequities, I thus opt instead for *reparational* language education. Reparational justice, which forms the foundation of this concept, draws from theories of corrective justice and societal reparations for institutionalized and systems-infused harms (Bolner, 1968).

In what follows, I will briefly outline the idea of reparations, along with the theories of justice and social cohesion that taking up reparations is in conversation with. This is followed by a review of reparations-thinking that already exists in educational studies. Though usually not specifically named as reparations, reparations-thinking and its alignment to different principles of justice theory are present in educational theories that serve as the foundation for both transformation and reform work connected to schools and schooling, curriculum studies, and educational research. This section ends with a description of what I mean by *reparational language education*, particularly in connection with teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language. As a predominantly English-speaking woman of European-settler descent who became multilingual through additive language education, I look largely to native, indigenous feminist, and scholars of color as I lay out and synthesize the idea of reparational language education.

Theories of societal justice and the case for reparations

This dissertation is written in a time period that is outlined by highly visible struggles for freedom and from violences that shape, for instance, the Movement for Black Lives, state-sanctioned separations of families through deportations and holding of unaccompanied minors in detention centers, ongoing struggle for native sovereignty (e.g., #NoDAPL, the Standing Rock water protectors, and the autonomous Oceti Sakowin Defender of the Waters school), water security in Flint, Michigan, and pervasive anti-Semitic and Islamaphobic hostilities and violences. Though struggles for liberation and sovereignty have defined the history of the United States, following the wax and wane of interest convergence, we are at a time when "teaching for social justice" is en vogue.

While I believe the earnest desire by many teachers to stand on the side of right and to do good, I wonder about the conflicting theories of justice that come into contact in spaces of schooling. I suggest a reparations approach to thinking about educational justice. This requires agreements on the following premises: (a.) the U.S., inclusive of its violences and false images, is a socially-constructed society made up of people, institutions, and acts; (b.) what justice looks like is socially constructed in different ways depending on the histories and positionalities of people, societal institutions and acts; and (c.) these different constructions of justice can have conflicting goals, theories, and principles.

A great deal has been said and written about paradigms of justice (including the impossibilities of justice) that begin from stances of survivance and desire rooted in Indigeneity, sovereignty, Afro-pessimism, and collective liberation (e.g., Grande, 2015; Hill-Collins, 2002; Sexton, 2011; Tuck & Yang, 2013b; 2014; Waziyatawin, 2008). Because reparational language education, as I am framing it, is situated within the context of the settler colonial nation state institution of schooling, in the following section, I begin by drawing from European philosophers of justice and social constructs that have served as the foundation for what Indigenous justice theorist Ada Pecos Melton (2005), attributing the term to a number of contemporary native communities, has called "the American paradigm of justice." This paradigm is distinct from an Indigenous paradigm in that its roots are in a European worldview. I am certain there will be strong disagreement regarding the virtue and possibility of working with the very tools of European thought that have been so effective in pardoning biocultural erasure and evading justice, which has long and emphatically been demanded by those most harmed by the systems and

institutions of the United States. I grapple with this, because I have also opted to engage with the potential for healthier spaces in schools for the reason that they have long, and continue to be, state-mandated (for an account of schooling as a compulsory technology of the state and sanctioned violence, see Vaught, 2017). Because of this, in the following section, I turn to European philosophical thought and paradigms of justice, which form the foundation of U.S. social institutions and the American paradigm of justice across institutional systems. I choose to do this so that the case for reparational language education cannot be mistaken as being mal-aligned with the U.S. institutional designs. In other words, by drawing on the frameworks that the system of state-mandated public schools is based in, it might be harder to refute the legitimacy and validity of reparational language education within the American paradigm of justice.

Social and racial contracts in U.S. society

In his 1762 treatise on the question of what sustains a capitalist-political society, French political philosopher Eugene Rousseau (1997) suggested that society holds together through an implicit agreement called the social contract. In exchange for membership in the society and its promised benefits (including safety, security, and access to material resources and positions of power based on merits agreed upon by the society), members of the society agree to cooperate and sacrifice some individual benefits. Race-conscious and feminist social theorists have argued that applying the social contract to the imagined community of the United States – so imagined largely by European male settlers and their descendants – is, in fact a misapplication. This is because it assumes all people currently conscribed to the U.S. society to be signatories to

that contract, when, in reality, peoples constructed as people of color (e.g., native peoples of the Américas, Africans brought through enslavement) were never intended to be included in the social contract that foregrounds the general good and equal opportunities for benefit.

Caribbean social and political philosopher Charles Mills (1999) argues, for instance, that the social contract's only signatories in the U.S. settler colonial nation-state were European settlers and their descendants (and later, arguably, members of ethnolinguistic groups who are offered 'honorary' whiteness [Bonilla-Silva, 2004] through a willingness to sever certain ethnolinguistic identity ties [Baldwin, 1984; Woods, 2015]). Mills argues that the U.S.' social contract is underwritten and guided by a racial contract that constructs people as 'white' and 'nonwhite,' legitimate and illegitimate members of society/knowledge/tellings of history/facts, and people who matter and those who don't (or aren't considered fully human in the first place). These framings of what it is that holds people together (by choice or coercion) are central to considering what is meant by justice when a person or group of people assert their allegiance to and attempts to work towards societal justice. What then, is meant by 'justice' and how do calls for reparations interact with different theories of justice?

<u>Theories of justice and the case for reparations</u>

One way to view attempts at justice as a means of creating equality in society is through Aristotelian ethics of being either distributive or corrective. Distributive justice is concerned with creating equality by dividing and distributing resources (including honors and positions of power) in a society based on relative merits of the members within the

society. Corrective justice is concerned with rectifying an injustice that has been committed by a member of society on another member of society in order to restore a more ideal form of equal circumstance (Weinrib, 2002). Reparations are concerned with the justice principle of corrective justice insofar that they seek to rectify unjust distribution of resources and opportunities (both past and contemporary).

In putting forth a theory of reparations, James Bolner (1968) argued that reparations are "[b]enefits extended in various forms to those injured by racial discrimination practiced by, or with the acquiescence of, the government of a representative democracy [...] a payment of damages to those nonwhites who have been injured by racial discrimination" (p. 41). While reparations may seek corrective justice, Bolner also asserts their necessity to the maintenance of a precariously stitched together and foundationally unjust society, saying that "reparations extended to minority groups humiliated or injured in the past is a simple way out of a nasty problem. Justice in this connection is a bonus" (p. 41). Reparations are most often concerned with resource (including economic and land) redistribution; however, Bolner does mention that "the community may proceed to extend reparations in the form of special treatment [in such areas as] education to individuals injured by racial discrimination" (p. 47). Bolner's proposal of reparations as necessity is a compelling one, and one that speaks to the implicit assertions that underlie an alignment to either a belief in the social contract (Rousseau) or the racial contract (Mills) as the foundation for U.S. society. Here, Bolner suggests that reparations are only necessary in the face of either the breaking of the social contract's (Rousseau) agreement for equal distribution of resources and opportunities

towards the good of the society as a whole (Rawls, 1971) or as a demand by people of color and native people historically left out of, or socially constructed to be in-service of, the white supremacist underwriting of the United States' inequitable distributions (Mills, 1999).

There can be incommensurabilities in terms of how reparations take shape across the primary and numerous groups of people who have experienced physical and biocultural elimination (Wolfe, 2006) in the name of the settlement and economic construction of the U.S. In terms of reparations for the enslavement of African peoples and ongoing violences (Alexander, 2012; Hartman, 2006), calls for reparations often focus on economic payments, resource redistribution, access to decision-making bodies, prison abolition, and setting aside land as compensation. Indigenous feminist scholar Andrea Smith (2004), however, notes a primary tension felt amongst native communities. This tension rests on the idea of land propertization and distribution to nonnative people as a means of reparations, when land return is a primary aspect of reparations to native communities whose main desire is sovereignty. On this, Smith notes that "no matter how much financial compensation the U.S may give, such compensation does not ultimately end the colonial relationship between the United States and indigenous nations" (p. 95). Speaking from a location that argues reparations for boarding school abuses, Smith goes on to offer up that

> if we think about reparations less in monetary terms to compensate for social oppression than as a movement to transform the neocolonial economic relationships between the U.S. and people of color, indigenous peoples, and

Third World countries, then we see how critical this movement could be to all of us. (p. 95)

Reparations-thinking in education

Andrea Smith (2004) recognizes the tension within reparations-thinking through the lens of resource distribution that includes land-as-property to people who do not claim indigeneity to that place as being incommensurable with native sovereignty. She does this as she outlines a call for reparations-thinking in regards to the cultural genocide perpetrated on native communities, in part through boarding schools. Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang (2012) refer to this sort of tension as "what is incommensurable between decolonizing projects and other social justice projects" (p. 4). They suggest that recognizing this tension and incommensurability can inform an “ethic of incommensurability" for justice projects. Such an ethic of incommensurability might allow educators interested in corrective justice and reparational education to seek reparations projects in education that recognize that anti-racist work is not always in the service of decolonization, and that anti-colonial projects might focus on the ongoing and always moving target of anti-racism in the service of internal decolonization towards contingent solidarities. Smith’s (2004) call to consider reparations in line with schools and schooling is instructive and one of the only examples of explicit naming of reparations connected to education outside of political, legal, financial, and property resource redistribution I could find. However, reparations *thinking* in education, in the form of calls and outlines for corrective justice, do exist. In this way, reparations can take

shape beyond the legal, political, and financial to include the curricular and pedagogical (Tuck, 2011).

Smith (2004) offers one example of a native-community's collaboration to determine the shape of reparations connected to educational rights and boarding school abuses. She describes the Boarding School Healing Project, whose goals include documenting abuses of Native communities linked to schooling and demanding corrective justice. Its project focuses on the primary goals of healing (from historical trauma at the hands of schooling practices), education (by and within native communities to encourage participation in documentation and accountability processes, as well as education of those outside of native communities), documentation (done using a community researcher action research model), and accountability (with a focus on communities acting collectively to challenge colonial relationships and accompanying structures the U.S. government and its institutions have with Native communities and nations). Reparations thinking can also be seen in the models of "education debt" (Ladson-Billings, 2006), "rematriating the curriculum" (Tuck, 2011), "anticolonial methodologies" in Chicana feminist deconstructions of curriculum (Calderón, 2014), and ethnic studies initiatives (e.g., Banks, 1973; Cammarota & Romero, 2014). These generative lenses are enriched by the strong and growing body of scholarship around education studies and designs informed through critical race theories (e.g., Ladson-Billings, 1995; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lynn & Parker, 2006; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) and anticolonialism (Dei & Kempf, 2006; Kempf, 2009), which offer lenses and analytics to view the endemic nature of racism and colonial processes as well as tools for

the deconstruction and reconstruction of curricular and pedagogical systems, structures, policies, designs, and discourses.

Reparations-thinking in the form of corrective justice are at the heart of Gloria Ladson-Billings' (2006) outlining of educational debts that result in achievement gaps, and the call by many in education to name and close "opportunity gaps." In her presidential address to the American Educational Research Association, Ladson-Billings laid out a case for what is essentially educational reparations through her framework of educational debts that result in persistent 'achievement gaps.' This framework consists of historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral debts. Ladson-Billings argued that these debts must be addressed in order to shift the present state of education and schools, understand the offerings of educational research to date, and (potentially) transform the future trajectory of education in its relationship to public institutions. This sort of corrective approach focuses its energies on what justice theorist John Rawls (1971) called the "opportunity principle" of justice. The opportunity principle recognizes that resources (including positions of power and decision-making) are distributed based on socially perceived and conferred merits. However, in a settler-colonial and race-capitalist society like the United States, these merits have long been narrowly defined in ways that privilege white English-speaking European-descent post-enlightenment people and thinking (Mills, 1997). Therefore, root-application of the opportunity principle would seek to correct that injustice not by redefining the legitimacy of what counts towards a person's merit, but by attempting to ensure that all people have reasonable opportunity to acquire the skills that those merits are based on (Rawls, 1971).

In Eve Tuck's (2011) exploration of how curriculum and curriculum studies might play a role in "upending settler colonialism" which anchors heteropatriarchal white supremacy, she suggests that an anticolonial curriculum could serve as rematriation in the face of ongoing colonial practices of racialization and privileging, protecting, and preserving whiteness. She aligns with settler colonial premises that colonialism is ongoing, scales from historical activities to the present, and is predicated on the elimination of peoples in terms of both the physical and the biocultural (e.g., linguistic, knowledge epistemologies, social designs, social imaginaries, conceptualization of place and space, time, and spiritual realities) (Wolfe, 2006). Tuck (2011) frames what I would consider reparational education first through a lens of repatriation ("restoring homeland, or going home again" [p. 35]) and then through an Indigenous theorizing that re-visions this as rematriation wherein reclamation includes "cultural knowledge and artifacts, theories, epistemologies and axiologies" (p. 35). Tuck's invitation is for a curriculum of rematriation to be a participatory and anticolonial approach that is done *with* communities of people, not on or to them in ways that reconstitute the patriarchal, imperial, and colonial relationship of existing hegemonic powers. Centering "redistribution of power, knowledge, and place, and the dismantling of settler colonialism" (p. 37), Tuck offers a framework of nine aims for curricular rematriation. This framework is guided by the questions of "what it might mean for tribal communities and urban communities (a) to repatriate [sic] the aims of research/curriculum and (b) to use research/curriculum to repatriate knowledge and theories that have been used against us and our interests" (p. 35).

Educational reparations that take shape as curricular rematriation can be seen in anticolonial educational projects (Dei & Kempf, 2006; Kempf, 2009) that include interrogation and decentering of whiteness in antiracist curriculum (Howard, 2006), internal decolonization processes that reclaim agency and connection to place and language (McCarty & Lee, 2014), and honing "resistance to domination of the past, contamination of the present and the stealing of a people's future" (Dei, 2006; p. 11). Numerous examples can be found in native and Indigenous schools and education projects, such as Papahana Kaiapuni, a Hawaiian language mode of instruction program in the Hawaiian K-12 public schools. Papahana Kaiapuni was started by parents and language revitalization activists who "sought reparations for the injustices against their government, land, and people [...] calling for sovereignty and restoration of many culturally important practices [that included the Hawaiian language]" (Luning & Yamauchi, 2010, p. 47). Other examples are the shapes of education in schools described by Cueponcaxachitl Dianna Moreno Sandoval (2012) as "ancestral practice" and a "schooling indigenous presence." These can be seen at schools such as Academia Semillas del Pueblo Charter School Xinaxcalmecac/Anahuacalcemac, a K-12 community-based charter school in Los Angeles. Anahuacalcemac was co-founded by Indigenous Mexican educators and "embodies a dream of an entire movement, the Chicano Movement, for an alternative education capable of fostering dignity in our children through autonomous intellect and knowledge" (Semillas Community Schools, 2017).

Such native appropriation of school projects takes up Indigenous scholar Linda Tuhiwai-Smith's (2012) offering of indigenizing that centers knowledge and place in decolonization efforts. However, as Indigenous Chicana feminist scholar Dolores Calderón (2014) cautions, Tuhiwai-Smith's (2012) indigenizing cannot be appropriated and taken up by just anybody, as it centers indigeneity and Indigenous contexts. Instead, Calderón (2014) offers *territorializing* as a related project to be used by non-native people to "confront our own entangled and intimate relationship to coloniality" (p. 83). Specifically, Calderón offers up the use of territorializing to critique existing curriculum and create new curriculum that forefronts how "settler land policies and ethics targeting indigenous peoples and other groups [helps us understand] how most people come to be in a given place, which continues at the expense of indigenous peoples" (p. 91). Calderón also calls on Pendleton Jimenez' assertion of a Chicana pedagogy as a point of departure for teachers and students who do not have or do not identify as having ties with indigenous communities, saying that "we must first understand ourselves within the complex web of coloniality in order to come to a critical subjectivity that is constantly engaged with issues of power, heteropatriarchy, and race" (Calderón, 2014, p. 91). This examination and generative use of colonial and Indigenous entanglements can provide particular guidance in terms of reparational education of Latinx youth in U.S. school settings where youth come from a variety of backgrounds across the Américas, sometimes identifying with Indigenous roots, sometimes not at all, and sometimes excavating those ancestral ties; and where teachers and other educators may identify as European settler, African-descent, person of color, Latinx/Chicanx, native, etc.

Reparational language education

How, then, do the specifics of corrective justice in Spanish as a 'heritage' language spaces take shape? This dissertation study is part of a larger project, which seeks to examine, make visible, and prod the possibilities of teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language in U.S. schools as a location for *reparational language education*. Drawing from histories of schooling and theories of justice and reparations, two central premises of reparational language education are: (a) that schools serve as socializing institutions, with histories of operationalizing monoglossic, colonial, and Anglo-white supremacist ideologies into policies and practices of linguistic and cultural separation, subtraction, and erasure (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Spring, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). And therefore (b) that heritage language education in schools must be positioned to make amends for and compensate those impacted by deculturalization and culturally-linguistically subtractive policies and practices.

Reparations, not repair – Desires, not damages

It is important to make the distinction between a reparations approach and the reparative approach detailed in the prologue (Olsen, 2010). A reparational approach to language education is distinct from a reparative approach, in that the latter assumes Latinx youth from Spanish-speaking homes and families are somehow damaged and in need of repair in their linguistic and cultural knowledge, skills, even identities. Reparative curriculum, instruction, and research takes up what Indigenous feminist scholar Eve Tuck (2009) has called a damage-centered approach. In her letter to communities, researchers, and educators, Tuck calls for a moratorium on damage-

centered research, which is primarily interested in “document[ing] pain or loss [and] looks to historical exploitation, domination, and colonization to explain contemporary brokenness” (p. 413). One result of such damage-centered frameworks is the pathologizing of oppression so that it “singularly defines a community,” often in the name of leveraging damage narratives for political or material gains. Instead, Tuck suggests centering desires in order to “[stop and counteract] the effects of a poison, [...] not the supposed damage of Native communities, urban communities, or other disenfranchised communities but the frameworks that position these communities as damaged” (p. 416). In line with this, reparational language education is interested in desires-based approaches to liberatory learning for self-determination, as opposed to a damage-centered reparative approach that assumes Latinx youth from Spanish-speaking homes and families are semilingual or deficient in their linguistic and cultural identities. As a desires-centered approach, reparational language education is “concerned with understanding complexity, contradiction, and the self-determination of lived lives” (p. 416) while also “account[ing] for the loss and despair, but also the hope, the visions, the wisdom of lived lives and communities [specifically] the *not yet* and, at times, the *not anymore*” (p, 417, italics original).

For Latinx youth, the colonial mechanisms of schooling and language replacement plays out two-fold. In the U.S., English-dominant and Euro-centric schooling is a technology of biocultural removal (Wolfe, 2006) and deculturating Americanization (Spring, 2005). Historically, across the Américas, the coupling of Spanish with the Catholic church and accompanying colonial schooling structures were

primary mechanisms for the formation of first colonial and later political nation-state subjects through biocultural erasure (Galeano, 2009; González & González, 2007; Vigil, 1998). These histories and lived realities must inform the "not yet" and the "not anymore" of a reparational language education project embarked on with Latinx youth and communities.

Such a reparational approach to language education is concerned with corrective social justice; however, too often social justice approaches to language education start and end with identity and being known. Certainly, these are necessary to humanizing the school space (Freire, 2010; Salazar, 2010). Without commitments to ongoing identity work (both personal and collective) and moving to know one another, reparational language education cannot proceed. However, these are not singular aims. Reparational language educators must ask: With the breadth of injustices, what does justice want in this particular place, with and from us as teachers-students, from this particular and representative institution? In the case of a Spanish as a 'heritage' language program, such as the one that this dissertation highlights, justice must answer to historical harms of subtractive schooling (Valenzuela, 1999), linguistic and cultural erasure (García, 2011; Valenzuela, 1999), and the educational debts (Ladson-Billings, 2006) owed to multilingual youth of color (and in this case, particularly to Latinx youth) that focus on *language* as the central problematic (Gándara & Contreras, 2009).

As LatCrit theorists Daniel Solórzano and Tara Yosso (2001) and raciolinguistic theorists Samy Alim, Nelson Flores, Christine Malsbary, and Jonathan Rosa (Alim, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Malsbary, 2014; Rosa, 2016) have shown, Spanish serves as a

location for the ‘racing of language’ and the ‘languaging of race’ through the ideological ear of the white listening subject (Flores & Rosa, 2015), which positions Latinx youth as nonwhite first and semilingual second. Amongst multilingual youth of color with ancestral roots across the Américas, this racing of language means that being and sounding multilingual is used to racialize and to perpetuate race-based injustices, particularly connected to schooling policies and practices (Malsbary, 2014). Therefore, a justice-orientation in language education that seeks to offer late-schooling access to bilingual and home literacy retrieval, sustenance, and expansion calls for a reparational justice that comprehensively responds to the targeted denigration, silencing, refusal, and erasure of home languages, knowledge, cultural practices, literacies, ways of learning and being, and worldviews.

To teach with commitments to and aims of enacting reparational language justice requires being explicit in the desire to both stop and then restore against institutionalized harms perpetrated against multilingual youth of color and their families and communities. In the case of ‘heritage’ language this means inhabiting culturally sustaining and revitalizing pedagogies (McCarty & Lee, 2014; Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014, 2017) and critically compassionate intellectualism (Cammarota & Romero, 2006; Romero, Arce, & Cammarota, 2009). Such designs do two things. First, they recognize the historicity (Bang & Voussoughi, 2016) of institutional designs and practices in silencing and erasing – creating the environment for language and literacy attrition. Second, they move beyond attempts to be responsive to the languages, cultural funds of knowledge (González, Moll, Tenery, Rivera, Rendon, Gonzales & Amanti, 1995), and cultural

wealth of youth's communities (Yosso, 2006). Thus, reparational language education projects in the name of teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language would seek to "perpetuate and foster – to sustain – linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling" (Paris, 2012, p. 95) with aims to "nurture and foster within students, parents, and teachers the courage and understanding needed to change the racial and social order inherent within the US educational system and society" (Romero, 2015, p. 33). The study this work emerges from seeks to better understand what it means to do reparational language justice in the particulars and complications of the context of Spanish as a 'heritage' language spaces.

Concluding thoughts and beginnings

This dissertation tells only one of the many stories of this reparational language education project. The following chapters tell Toni's and my story of becoming educators (together) towards an impossible goal – of becoming language (teacher) educators with reparational aims within the very academic institutions designed to Americanize through the separation and removal of linguistic and cultural resources, identities, and knowings of self. This story considers a particular element of becoming reparational language (teacher) educators, a project that spans K-12 and post-secondary academic institutions and seeks to embrace and enact critical and corrective justice-oriented commitments and practices. This goal is wrapped up in making visible, drawing out, and second-guessing the possibilities and impossibilities of anti-colonial and anti-racist projects in U.S. schools, which historically serve as a technology for and primary institutional site of

settler colonization (Wolfe, 2006) and Euro-centric Anglo-white supremacy (Spring, 2005; Moll & Ruiz, 2002; Watkins, 2001).

Chapter Two

Interlapping participatory projects: On methodological arts of the contact zone

The work of reparational language education in the name of becoming a 'heritage' language teacher – indeed, the work of teaching and learning in settler colonial schooling – occurs both conceptually and physically in what literary and cultural theorist Mary Louise Pratt (2002, originally published 1991) terms a "contact zone." Contact zones are spaces "where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths" (p. 4).

In the cases of schooling, of raced language dynamics, and of academic research, making visible and engaging the entanglements of asymmetrical power relations and their accompanying historicities construe zones of possibility for making sense of what is both taking shape and being shaped by the meeting, clashing, and grappling of cultures. These dynamics play out across the identities, positionalities, and roles of teachers, researchers, youth, students, and community member participants. In addition, these dynamics are entangled in the historicities, designs, and ideological aims of institutions, curricula, protocols, methods, and representations of knowing. Furthermore, these dynamics include the linguistic, embodied, and visual ways people and institutions represent themselves, their actions and telling of those stories, and their preferred positionalities.

Contact zones and their arts

In her framing of contact zones, Pratt tells the story of a 1,200 page letter written by the Andean Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. In his letter, through 800 pages of written text and 400 drawn images, Guaman Poma used a mixture of Quechua and Spanish to chronicle the Incan people and the history of Spanish colonization from the perspective of a person of the Andes. The document went unread in the annals of the Danish Royal Archives for nearly 350 years, written in "a mixture of Quechua and ungrammatical, expressive Spanish" and existing outside the European colonial imaginary that believed Quechua had not been a written language at the time, nor Andean cultures to be print literate (p. 3).

In an effort to tell a counter-story to the grand narrative of Spanish colonial rule and suppression of indigenous Andean peoples, Guaman Poma used a genre (i.e. the historical chronicle) that had been asserted on the Américas by the Spanish, "[taking it over] for his own ends" (Pratt, 1991, p. 4). Doing so encapsulated and disseminated both communal self-knowledge and counternarratives to the colonial rule that sought to strip indigenous languages, knowledge storage, and intergenerational sharing and to replace them with Spanish and with imported writing systems in order to subsume the people, languages, and cultures of the place. As with any colonial project, this was needed to facilitate the exploitation of people and land as resources for empire building. Embedded in the Spanish colonial genre, Guaman Poma recorded pre-Incan history and knowledge, processes of colonial rule, customs, laws, leadership structures, and social relations. Writing in a way that would make them recognizable through the European colonial gaze, Guaman Poma buried a protected telling of Incan knowledge and societal forms that were

subject to erasure, as they were otherwise kept through oral memories shared by elders and in quipus (a complex system of storing knowledge through knots placed on an array of colored, lengthed, and types of fibers, which predated imposed European writing systems).

Arts of the contact zone

Pratt (1991) suggests that the pressures of the contact zone necessitate and provide the ecology for its own arts of expression, what she calls the 'arts of the contact zone.' In my study of the arts of the contact zone (e.g., Bell & Roberts, 2010; Canagarajah, 1992, 1997; Fine & Torre, 2004; Kramsch, 2006; Patel, 2012; Torres, 2007; Wolff, 2002), I see these arts of the contact zone across four forms: the arts of survivance, metamorphosis, transculturation, and refusal. *Survivance arts* are shaped by the liminal space of preservation that is about neither vitality of something nor its extinction. *Metamorphosis arts* are shaped through unyielding pressures and can be seen when cultural processes, practices, or performances come into contact within these unyielding pressures and transform into something newly definable. *Transculturation arts* are involved with selecting, adapting, and inventing in ways that draw from dominating group practices and materials and can be used to speak back to marginalizing and erasive narratives. An example of this is Pratt's suggestion of autoethnography, which is intended to create a dialogue of grand narrative and counter-story in order to contest domination. *Refusal arts*, unlike transculturation arts, are unconcerned with speaking back to or converging with dominating cultures. Rather, refusal arts are autochthonous forms that tell stories that are important to the marginalized group, only

interested in being decipherable to members of the community by and for whom they were told and about whom they are centered, and unconcerned with speaking back to or engaging in transcultural exchange with the oppressive culture they are forcibly in contact with.

Guaman Poma's chronicle was a primary example of autoethnography – one of the many arts of the contact zone that Pratt outlines. Pratt (2002) also suggests specific arts forged by and through the power dynamics and struggle of the contact zone. These include "[a]utoethnography, transculturation, critique, collaboration, bilingualism, mediation, parody, denunciation, imaginary dialogue, vernacular expression" (p. 11). Alongside these arts, she suggests what she considers to be perils of the contact zone, but could also be considered arts of refusal and metamorphosis. These 'perils' are "[m]iscomprehension, incomprehension, dead letters, unread masterpieces, absolute heterogeneity of meaning" (p. 11). Pratt also balances these perils with joys that include "rage, incomprehension, and pain … exhilarating moments of wonder and revelation, mutual understanding, and new wisdom" (p. 17).

Safe house desires in schooling contact zones

These arts, joys, and perils become particularly salient within the context of a 'heritage' language classroom. In some ways, the 'heritage' language classroom space harbors desires to act as what Pratt (2002) has called "safe houses." Safe houses, Pratt suggests, are dialectical to the perils of the contact zone, and serve as "social and intellectual spaces where groups can constitute themselves as horizontal, homogeneous, sovereign communities with high degrees of trust, shared understandings, temporary

protection from legacies of oppression" (p. 17). When teachers and youth take up reparational stances, and seek to operationalize these stances through curriculum, pedagogies, and language practices, there is potential for these classrooms to be locations for safe houses, albeit precariously held. When classrooms as safe houses are defined by ethnolinguistic and racialized identities and social positioning, they often come under attack as being exclusionary. Viewed through an unexamined and complicit colonial lens of liberalism and whiteness, exclusivity that is reserved for groups of people who are not white becomes framed as unfair (to white people). However, viewed through the lens of the contact zone, these spaces are justified, as "where there are legacies of subordination, groups need places for healing and mutual recognition, safe houses in which to construct shared understandings, knowledges, claims on the world that they can then bring into the contact zone" (Pratt, 2002, p. 17).

Suresh Canagarajah (1997; 2012) has explored the concept of safe houses in connection to translingual and raced language practices and groups in school settings. He suggests that "in enabling minority students to keep alive their community-based discourses, knowledge, and values, safe houses can counteract the academy's history of suppressing minority discourses and reproducing dominant social relations and ideologies" (1997, p. 191). Of course, functioning within the colonial projects of deculturation and assimilation, these are always precarious and likely partial (e.g., a safe house for some and a continuation of the pressures of the contact zone for others). Considering the contradictions of attempting to carve out safe houses within institutions

that serve as mechanisms of colonial and heteropatriarchial white supremacy, Canagarajah (1997) offers that

> Safe houses can nurture such marginalized groups by providing a sanctuary for members of each community to interact among themselves and develop their discourses [in order to confront and negotiate with hegemonic groups]. Situated within the very institution they seek to change, safe houses can function as a strategic ‘underground’ for conscientization, mobilization, and organization. (p. 191)

In the context of our work, which is the basis of this dissertation study, Toni, the youth and students of Jóvenes con Derechos, and I moved within and across institutional, ideological, and linguistic contact zones and safe houses.

Our context in the contact zone

Together with youth, Toni and I were entangled in the contact zone in our pedagogical and curricular desires. This contact zone was multi-ethnic, translingual, transcultural, and multiracial(ized). Our roles, positionalities, and historicities were enmeshed with the roles, ideologies, and historicities of the curriculum, implicit language policies, instructional moves, and the institutions we were involved with and were socialized through. Toni identifies as black, not Latina, and multilingual. I identify as white, European descent, not Latina, and multilingual. Both of us experienced English-mode of instruction, additive language schooling, in predominantly white schools outside of cities. I had grown up working class and in the rural countryside outside of a mid-sized town in Wisconsin and Toni had grown up in a semi-suburban semi-rural part of

Minnesota. We both drew from varying experiential knowledge of community organizing and participation in collective actions, and we shared commitments to social justice as a way of acting in the world that recognized limitations of intersecting identity politics. We each had experienced racialization, race consciousness, and schooling in very different ways, and in ways that were markedly different than most JcD youth.

When our partnership first began, neither of us had much academic background knowledge about Latinx/Chicanx studies. While our commitments were aligned to justice-orientations in broader ways, the specifics that are needed to teach in solidarity with, and defense of, Latinx youth being socialized by nativist and race-language xenophobic racism in the United States were not things either of us were equipped for. In this ill-equippedness, we were thus aligned with the unexamined hegemonies of whiteness that riddle our curricula, school language policies and practices, and instructional approaches. Over time, as we existed, resisted, and reconstituted the positionalities and historicities that are indexed (Kramsch, 2006) in school spaces, despite localized justice desires, Toni, JcD youth, and I made attempts to engage methodological arts that resisted and transposed the institutional constraints and miseducations experienced by youth and adults (who can also be complicit in these miseducations) in schools which have so long functioned as a core tool of colonization and marginalization.

In the 'heritage' language classroom, youth and adults – both institutionally positioned as being powerful/disempowered, legitimate/illegitimate in very different ways – come into contact in an institutional space built to marginalize them. There, they draw from multiple languages with varying prestige and legitimacy due to the social and

political constructions of languages as proper/improper, standard/substandard, academic/social. Conceptualizing the Spanish as a 'heritage' language classroom as a contact zone makes sense, as it is a "messy social space where very differently situated people [can] work together across their own varying relationships to power and privilege" (Torre, 2009, p. 110). In her work, which brings together Anzaldúan (1987) borderlands perspectives with the conception of the contact zone, Maria Elena Torre (2009) offers that a space like we have in the 'heritage' language classroom can be viewed as a *contact zone entremundos*. Here, hybridity is embraced and valued, encouraging those who gather there to be explicit about "varying identities, communities, relationships to power and privilege, experiences, desires and vulnerabilities" (Torre & Ayala, 2009, p. 390). With this in mind, Toni and I utilized dialogic and problem-posing approaches to explore with youth what the content and pedagogies of a Spanish as a 'heritage' language-as-contact-zone educational space should include.

In line with participatory action research entremundos (Torre & Ayala, 2009; Cammarota et al., 2016), we asked youth and ourselves to "theorize from the flesh" (Anzaldúa, 2012). We attempted to usurp the sterility and oftentimes violence of the classroom and to claim it instead as a place to offer ourselves to one another and to "[expose our] rawest wounds and deepest desires to write, theorize and reclaim that which has often been denied" (Torre & Ayala, 2009, p. 388, referencing Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1981). PAR entremundos became the life-force of our contact zone classroom. We planted ourselves in Freirian traditions of the praxis of critical reflection and critical hope born of creative, conscious actions – and we fertilized our praxis with the

intersectionalities of critical race theory, intersectional feminist theorizing, territorialization and indigenization of the curriculum, and heritage study of ancestral knowledges that live in us despite colonial attempts to silence them.

Pedagogical arts of the contact zone

Pratt (2002) suggests that Guaman Poma's subversive use of colonial imagery and language shows "a conquered subject using the conqueror's language to construct a parodic, oppositional representation of the conqueror's own speech [... mirroring] back to the Spanish (in their language, which is alien to him) an image of themselves that they often suppress and will therefore surely recognize" (p. 7). In the processes and products of justice-oriented and reparational approaches to 'heritage' language education and its accompanying scholarship, I find great value in recognizing the ways that curriculum and educational research might take up these and other arts of the contact zone. In her collection, *Professing in the contact zone*, Janice Wolff (2002) brought together explorations of these in terms of pedagogical arts, which aim for teachers to

> see the power differential in the classroom and other institutional spaces, to reflect and to theorize, to read the rhetoric of the classroom … to produce a rhetorical reading of multiple spaces … to bring disparate elements together – material practices in the classroom in relation to sociocultural situations of students and teachers, theories of community juxtaposed with the sometimes violent spaces within education – and to reimagine the already imagined spaces of the classroom. (p. xiv)

As pedagogical arts of the contact zone, Wolff includes historical positioning of disciplinary thinking and topics (Beauvais, 2002), treading the "difficult path between the danger of losing common purpose and that of imposing sameness" (Gottshalk, 2002), the role of unsolicited oppositional discourse in becoming a teacher (Philion, 2002), the question of whether it is possible to become a learning community within the matrix of ideological, political, and socially positioned raced identities and discourses (Miller, 2002), linguistic points of contact and clash in classroom discussion (Pinrod, 2002), and the reimaginings (Yee, 2002) and cultural terrorism that can occur when personal narratives become pedagogical tools (Herrick, 2002). Many of these pedagogical arts became central to the workings of the reparational language space of Toni's and JcD youths' Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes (see chapter four).

Methodological arts of the contact zone

In this chapter, I will outline some of the *methodological arts* of the contact zone. For participatory pedagogical and humanizing research projects (Paris & Winn, 2014) in school spaces, the contact zone pressures of these spaces both require and forge methodological arts that also fall across survivance, metamorphosis, transculturation, and refusal. Methodological arts of survivance, metamorphosis, transculturation, and refusal can exist both unintentionally and with full knowing. In the case of educational research that believes itself to be applied or engaged, these arts can be at play in contradictory ways – in particular when research design and ideological foundations are in the service of colonial and white supremacist desires, or when researcher ideology is in conflict with the ideological foundations of the research design. In the case of participatory research

designs, these methodological arts can at times overlap, work in tandem, and work to their own accord.

In what follows, I will first offer a view into how I make sense of my role, positionality, and stance in research that seeks to be collaborative, participatory, and humanizing. This is not the whole story of who I am in relation to this research, what has brought me to this work, and what has kept me in this work. My intention is that, throughout this dissertation, my shifting roles, positionalities, and desires will be continuously visible. I will then introduce the theoretical design of what I call *interlapping participatory projects*. This design is complex, but as a person living the ongoing attempts of humanizing and participatory research, this theoretical model has offered a vehicle for ongoing transparency and clarity of the true complexities of long-term engaged participatory work. I break down the constituent parts of this particular interlapping model as youth-led participatory action research (Cammarota & Fine, 2008); collaborative practitioner action research (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2003), participatory design research (Bang & Voussoughi, 2016), and fight-back ethnography (McCarty, 2012; Villenas, 2012). Following a broad example of how these parts might work together, I outline the specific aspects explored in this dissertation and their research questions. Finally, I outline the parameters of the study that are explored in the following chapters.

The researcher and the research

One thing that draws me to participatory and engaged research is that it asks the academic researcher to leverage their skills and positioning to take part in existing social

change movements (Hale, 2006). Participating in social change through the leveraging of institutionally supported research mechanisms requires academics to recognize their positioning and positionality in different aspects of the research and with(in) different individuals, systems, and institutions, and to accept a charge of being a "researcher-learner-advocate" (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993).

In her reflexive writing on her own shift from participant observer to action taker, Concha Delgado-Gaitan (1993) details her coming to grips with what she considers to be an intervention during the course of her ethnographic research, which conflicts with her academic training which instilled that to participate in intervention actions, when her role is to be an ethnographer, might call into question the integrity of her attempts at taking an objective stance. Ultimately, this brings her to question the privileging of academic rationalizations of objectivity. Opting, instead, to engage in a community request for her to act as a facilitator for parent meetings as part of a parent-driven organization's efforts for school change, she describes discomfort and difficulty reconciling a now further complicated positioning as insider/outsider and group member/non-member.

Although Delgado-Gaitan's work is a far-cry from the activist involvement expected in humanizing participatory research epistemologies (Paris & Winn, 2015) and methodological arts of the contact zone, her framework for revealing what she considers to be the "cultural center of the enduring self of those involved" is a useful analytic for understanding researcher stance and relationships in activist and collaborative participatory research contexts. These are "1) transcending fear, 2) liberating our voices

through self-acceptance, and 3) transforming the situation through the situated self" (p. 408).

On discomfort

Delgado-Gaitan's (1993) candid examination of her discomfort and her sometimes decisive, sometimes indecisive shifting roles and positionings in her ethnographic work from participant observer to active member of community-driven actions also serves as an example of Wanda Pillow's (2003) classifications of reflexivities of discomfort. Drawing on the development of reflexivity in qualitative research by numerous modernist and postmodernist scholars, Pillow considers varying typologies and dialectical elements that have emerged to make sense of what is meant by reflexivity. She argues that feminist and critical race researchers must not avoid, but rather settle into, the discomforts that occur when research is recognized as a type of human interaction that is also engaged with and reflective of longstanding, often damaging and problematic, power structures that facilitate ongoing hegemonic oppression. She describes four interconnected types of reflexivities and considers them ways to involve and interrogate the discomforts of research. These are reflexivity as recognition of self, as recognition of other, as truth, and as transcendence. Pillow's typology attempts to maintain the benefits of feminist poststructural rejection of Cartesian divisions while keeping central the moves towards structural impositions and deconstructions required by humanizing and activist research in contact zones. In this way, reflexivity becomes a tool not only to help the researcher interrogate their decisions, but for research to engage in transformative action across identities, stances, and

positionalities of difference, power, and complicity (Fine, 1994a; 1994b; Villenas, 1996; 2000).

The research process tends to inscribe and reinscribe the socio-historical constructions of racialized, gendered, and classed Others (Fine, 1994b; Villenas, 1996; 2000). Thus, my own situated stance of researcher-learner-advocate will always exist in shifting sands, based on what is changing in the broader context. These shifting sands require reflexive practices of discomfort, an ongoing examination and scrutiny of myself, those with whom I interact, and "how we go about talking about our positions […] and how [our reflexive] practices impact, open up, or limit the possibilities for critical representations" (Pillow, 2003, p. 177). It is only through such reflexive practices that what I (think) I know and how I am coming to know it can be recognized, interrogated, and made both visible and useful.

To this end, I agree with feminist and critical race researchers who call upon reflexive practices and methodologies (Burdick & Sandlin, 2010) to engage in research that attempts to create less distorted representations of humanized and praxis-oriented theory (theory always in interaction with humans and their actions in the world) *because* of the practice of calling into question assumptions, comforts, and what may seem like commonsense. These feminist and critical race reflexive practices reflect a belief that it is possible to make research less exploitative, linked to sociopolitical action, and empowering to those most involved and affected by the process and its outcomes. To do so requires an eschewing of traditional "objective" researcher stance and disembodied

attempts at representations of the context, researcher, participants, and actions (Fine, 1994b).

On seeking a stance of "we" and "our"

Michelle Fine (1994a) considers feminist and activist stances in research contexts and examines the messiness of the demands of a feminist and race-conscious praxis of reflexivity and activism. In addition to the ongoing reality of complicity to the violences perpetrated by and through institutionalized research, Fine highlights how the research stances that one takes is part and parcel to research that "fractures the very ideologies that justify power inequities" (p. 24). She further links these to collective activist research, describing its capacity to:

> spin through a fragile, exhilarating, always tentative "we" [wherein] "we" […] is a utopian marker for a collective of differences in constant negotiation. "We" is not […] an imperial net thrown over the bodies and minds of Others from my ivory tower. "We" is a political and intellectual stance; a wish worth aspiring toward; a fantasy never coherently achieved. "Our" work is a montage, and it is anything but intellectually independent. (p. 30)

This is neither the first nor the last time feminist, postructural, and critical researchers express the desire to inhabit a "we" and "our" in their research.

Critical activist epistemologies rely heavily on the researcher refusing to inhabit a role of objective, distanced, observer and recorder (Hale, 2008a; Torre, Fine, Stoudt, & Fox, 2012). My own affinity and political agreement with humanizing and activist research is linked to my resistance to the isolationism and presumption I associate with

traditional academic research that situates itself as distanced from and looking out on individuals, populations, and communities. What resonates most strongly with me in Fine's (1994a) description is not just that finding a "we" and "our" – even if it is a contingent one (Tuck, Smith, Guess, Benjamin, & Jones, 2013) – is a "wish worth aspiring to," but that this is simultaneously an incoherent and unattainable fantasy. In the context of participatory and activist research in contact zones, seeking reflexivities of discomfort may be one key to these contingent "we"s. Registering this as one my desires creates space to ask questions such as: Who is defining the collective and what it means to have membership? Who agrees upon participation and the qualities and forms it takes? Whose desires are being centered and whose are going unrecognized or ignored? What epistemologies am I drawn to and obedient to in this work? How do I know what I know (in this moment) about these answers? Why are these perhaps more recognizable, acceptable, legitimate over others, taken as commonsense or as shared practice?

This interrogation of "we" is more than an important task of meaning-making for me as an activist researcher. As a white person; an adult woman in schools; a representative of the university with its historic and continuing white supremacy, colonization, and patriarchial dehumanization; there are plenty of reasons for people I hope to align with in solidarity and collaborate alongside to be resistant to my fantasy of "we" and "our." bell hooks (1990) has described this fantasy of "we" and "our" that is about a researcher:

> [wanting] to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing

> you, I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still the colonizer, the speaker subject, and you are now at the center of my talk. (p. 152)

There is no escaping the pitfalls of (mis)representation hooks describes here, particularly if I am to remain part of academic institutions and engage in work that is in interaction with people, organizations, and hegemonic institutions. For this, I rely on another piece of wisdom from Fine (1994a) that warns against attempts at ideological alignment, saying that "when we listen closely, to each other and our informants, we are surprised, and our intellectual work is transformed. We keep each other honest to forces of difference, divergence, and contradiction" (p. 31). As Maisha Winn and Joseph Ubiles (2013) suggest in their description of a university researcher (Winn) and teacher (Ubiles) who collaborated, co-taught, and exchanged roles in the process, humanizing research that seeks first reciprocity and dialogic consciousness raising, is defined by dignifying, caring, and respectful relationships, and both encourages and supports calls to action amongst participants and researchers in ways that reconstitutes a researcher-learner-advocate academic as a "worthy witness" – a legitimate friend.

Fine (1994b) also considers ways for activist researchers engaged in collective and participatory work to resist patterns of essentialization and singularity by "working the hyphens" of multiplicity in all of our identities, experiences, and positionalities. These hyphens of multiplicity emerge as ecological factors shift; draw out identities and stances; interactively position people; define, defend, and call into question our language choices and desires for representation. My whiteness, likely my university affiliation, my being an adult, my gendered performances, my language choices and embodiment

presence each act as citations (Kumashiro, 2002) to positionality, identity, and desires. These citations will sometimes confer power and sometimes expect collusion. At times, these citations will cause discomfort, desire, despair, and refusal. Of course, my own stances are also hyphenated with subtexts – just as all of our identities and stances are. For me, depending on the context, it might be my linguistic identities and practices, my working-class and rural raising, the hushed and pained stories of my mother's family's severance with Judaism, the unsettling jokes I would tell as a child about my German-Jewish-Polish roots and how that reflected the pains and promises of becoming American and claiming whiteness (Thandeka, 1999; Woods, 2015), my processes and teachers of race-consciousness with its intersections with class and settler colonialism. What do these, and those I have not included, mean and how do they inform a desire for research that allows me to seek a "we" to engage in transformation that is "ours"?

On solidarities and accompaniment

According to Douglas Foley and Angela Valenzuela (2004), activist ethnography, particularly partnering with collaborative actions such as critical participatory action research (Torre, Fine, Stoudt, & Fox, 2012) demands that researchers "work the self-other hyphen reflexively and to invite their research subjects to co-construct their ethnographic accounts" (p. 290). They draw on standpoint theory (Harding, 1987) and situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988) to show how these allow researchers doing scholarship from activist projects to speak, write and work alongside community members from historically, socioculturally, and politically situated standpoints. Such standpoints reject the researcher's ability to claim an objective, universalist, omnipotent

vantage and recognize that researchers are bound by cultural practices and interactional positioning through intersecting discourses of, for example, race, class, documentation, gender performance, and sexual orientation. Rejecting the notion that any knowledge, experience, or reading of the world can be apolitical or neutral has created inroads not only for recognizing researcher role and interaction with others and the situated context. It has also created space for methodological arts of the contact zone that include (collective) memory work, (collective) autobiography and biography, introspective auto- and duoethnography, dream narratives, and arts-based and embodied representations such as theater and collage (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Activist and humanizing research expects different things from the academic researcher than traditional scholarship, including an acceptance that theoretical knowledge will not constitute the expertise or utility I might imagine or have been trained to assume (Land, 2015). However, approaching participatory and activist research as though I have nothing to offer is not only counterproductive, it is also presumptuous. Mindsets of whiteness and colonial reproduction assume that people not associated with the academy would have interest in providing intellectual, emotional, and career-advancing labor and sustenance in return for an academic researcher's interest in standing in "solidarity" and transmitting these efforts to additional audiences. To imagine differently what I as a researcher bring with me to contingent collaborations of humanizing research in contact zones, I have found Archbishop Óscar Romero's liberation theology concept of accompaniment helpful.

Accompaniment is a principle throughout liberation theology and Freirian praxis (e.g., Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Freire, 2010). I first encountered the term accompaniment connected to research when I heard critical sociolinguist and whiteness scholar Mary Bucholtz (Bucholtz, Casillas, & Lee, 2016) present on the ongoing work of SKILLS (School Kids Investigating Language in Life and Society). SKILLS brings together almost one hundred youth aged six through nineteen to explore linguistic subordination and engage in liberatory and resistive acts of linguistic empowerment. Youth are predominantly of Mexican American descent, but include youth of African, Asian, European, and Native American descent. SKILLS youth meet together with graduate students and university researchers to embark together on sociolinguistic study that centers the experiences of linguistic stigmatization, aligns itself with making visible policies and practices of marginalization, and is intent on youth leadership. Bucholtz and her colleagues veer away from ideas of empowerment – which suggests that power is given – and instead view SKILLS through the lens of accompaniment.

Daniel Fischlin, Ajay Heble, and George Lipsitz (2013) offer avenues to draw on Romero's writings on human rights to support political and social change movements and actions. Accompaniment carries with it the principles of liberation theology that gives preference to the most marginalized, recognizes institutional violence, and a belief that these violences are reflective of structural sins and must be seen as social acts that cannot be redeemed through the workings of the individual. These principles moved "against exploitation and hierarchy but also create new social relationships that *enacted* the utopian hopes that religion and radical politics alike had previously only *envisioned*.

Action led to new ideas, analyses, and interpretations" (Tomlinson & Lipsitz, 2013, p. 10). As Fischlin and his colleagues (2013) note:

> *Accompaniment* (connected to the verb *acompañar*) designates an approach to collective mobilization. ...[T]he idea of accomapaniment envisions political action as a journey taken together, an excursion in which people from different backgrounds and experiences can work together respectfully as equals. (p. 235)

Approaching participatory projects through a stance of accompaniment asks us to do two things at once: to listen and to share. Both must be done from a standpoint of liberation that gives preference to the desires and dreams of those experiencing the most harm at the hands of social and structural sins. Neither can be done selfishly. Accompaniment also accounts for the pressures of the contact zone and the need for safe houses. Tomlinson and Lipsitz (2013) point out that

> there are times when it will be wise to work together and times when it will be wise to remain apart. Yet accompaniment allows disagreements to be seen as evidence of problems yet to be solved, discussions yet to be conducted, understandings yet to be developed. (p. 10)

Approaching this work through accompaniment is a stance that sees theoretical and experiential knowledge as interactive, both legitimate, and both necessary for making sense and change. As with the tentative "we," I view accompaniment, too, as a "political and intellectual stance; a wish worth aspiring toward; a fantasy never coherently achieved" (Fine, 1994a, p. 30). It is with this in mind that I turn now to the framework of methodological arts of participatory research through which this study took shape.

Many parts moving together: A framework for complex and human participation

Understanding educational research in schools as existing in a contact zone asks researchers to consider the methodological arts that are both demanded and forged by the multiple asymmetrical power relationships across scales of time and social worlds. In their book *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry with youth and communities*, Django Paris and Maisha Winn (2013) offer a syllabus of some of these methodological arts, which include dialogic consciousness-raising (Blackburn, 2013), participatory action research (Irizarry & Brown, 2013), collaborative and critical ethnographies (Green, 2013; Jocson, 2013; Kirkland, 2013; McCarty, Wyman, & Nicholas, 2013), listening and storying (Kinloch & San Pedro, 2013), critical narrative analysis (Souto-Manning, 2013), critical media analysis (Jocson, 2013), and refusal (Tuck & Yang, 2013b). An ongoing ethics of transparency is required across these methodological arts. Who might benefit in what ways? Who needs and desires what from the research and scholarship? What pressures and demands are different people under and feel as though they are facing?

As a researcher engaging in participatory projects with co-researchers and co-participants, this means we need to make clear what our roles, positionalities, desires, benefits, and risks are *as they shift throughout the project* with the shifting ecologies and shapes of the project designs and processes. In his description of the pedagogies and methodologies at play in educative youth-led participatory action research projects that are linked to critical ethnography of those projects, Brian Lozenski (2016) suggests that the dialogic processes of these methodological arts are akin to an "irreversible chemical

reaction" and describes the alchemy of participatory engagement linked to educational projects as when players come together in jazz, sometimes soloing, sometimes playing in syncopation and complementary chords, sometimes weaving through the primary melody to solo and back again. "There were moments when dialogic pedagogy took the lead and ethnography played back-up, and other times when PAR foregrounded itself in unison with ethnography. These aspects of control remained constantly in tension, providing dissonance and possibility" (p. 282). However, Lozenski was describing collaborative research in safe house: with youth of African descent, as a person of African descent himself, brought together in a community organization's space with explicit aims of forging a safe house space for the development of children of African descent through African-centered programming, literature, and knowledge systems thinking.

I suggest that, although the methodological arts of the contact zone can and do fuse and metamorphose into new possibilities, *in particular* when research occurs in contact zone spaces and with multiplicities of identities, backgrounds, and purposes, we must regularly be asking and making visible the questions of "for whom and why?" While, at times, "for whom" and "why" may overlap, in contact zone participatory research spaces, the "by whom" is always multiple. Therefore, "for whom" and "why" may have multiple answers at any given time, sometimes working in tandem, sometimes complementary, sometimes contingently connected, sometimes diverging, and even, at times, at odds. Others have attended to the complexities in critical research by conceptualizing complex methodological designs. For instance, Joe Kincheloe (2001) suggests envisioning a critical bricolage, wherein multiple diverse methodologies are

brought together in a sort of collage. Lois Weis and Michele Fine (2012) suggest the image of a "braided design" that brings together the personal with the sociopolitical and structural. Both critical bricolage and braided design draw together complex issues and critical methodologies; however they do not reflect the synergies of these methodologies and pedagogical projects as they interact with, shape one another, and are constituted by each other.

Interlapping participatory research projects

Conceptualizing the methodological arts of the contact zone as co-existing, interdependent, and synergistic suggests a conceptual framework for what happens in these educative research spaces as sometimes self-determining, sometimes interactive, and sometimes overlapping – what I call *interlapping*.

In the case of the formation and ongoing humanizing research projects over multiple years that define Jóvenes con Derechos', Toni's, and my work together, conceptualizing of these as interlapping allows for transparency of purpose and interaction across multiple projects. For the purpose of scholarly dissemination – such as the case of a dissertation – this also makes visible the specificity of what is being interpreted as well as the broader ecology that shape the context, situations, and relationships being examined. For example, at the widest lens, JcD might be understood through the methodologies of activist ethnography (Hale, 2008a; McCarty, 2012). Over time, the learning environment itself is shaped and theorized through participatory design research (Bang & Voussoughi, 2015; Björgvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2010; Spinuzzi, 2005). Within that learning environment, youth might engage in their own participatory

action research projects (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). Likewise, teachers in this learning environment might engage in their own collaborative inquiry and action research connected to their pedagogical processes and designs (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009). Independent of one another and in connection with one another, these critical and participatory research projects may have simultaneously different and interlapping shorter and longer-term aims. Figure 2.1 shows a comprehensive view of how these projects are situated in relationship to one another.

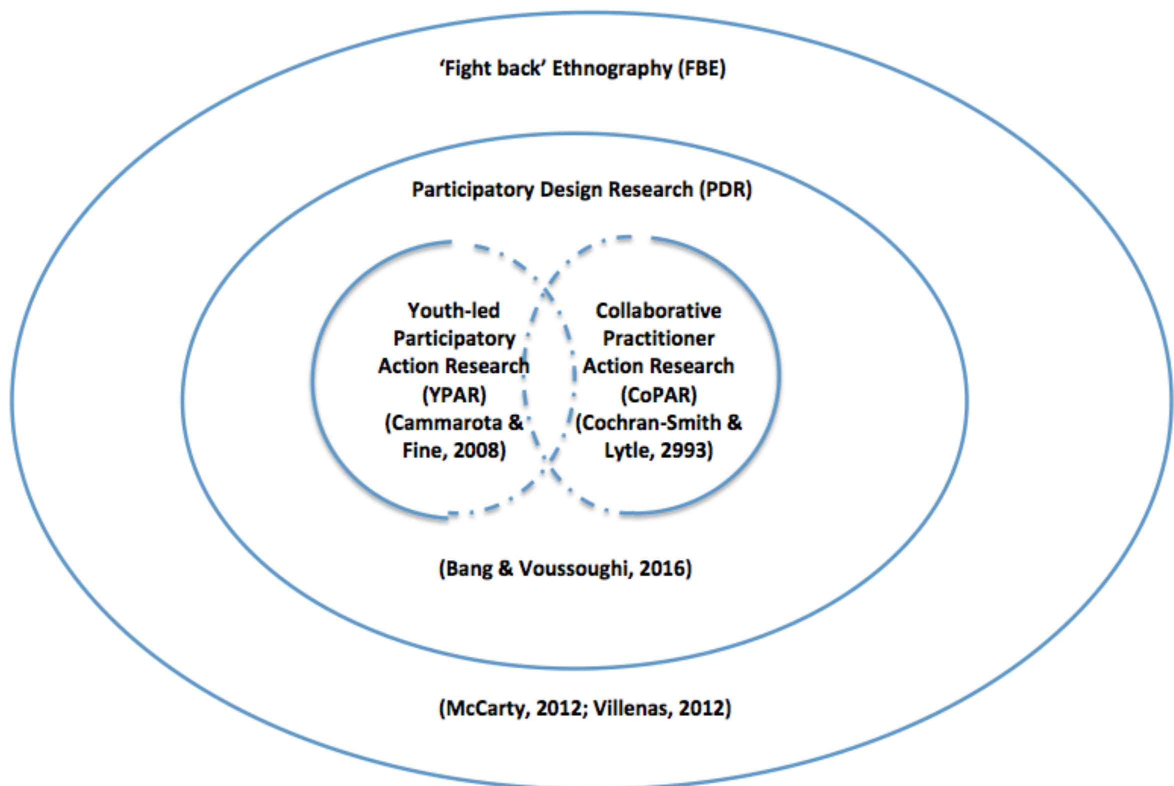

Figure 2.1: Top-view model of interlapping participatory projects

Figure 2.1 can be read as a bird's eye view of these interlapping projects. It suggests that YPAR and CoPAR projects may, at times, be operating independently, but

are also very likely to be in fusion with one another – reflective of the irreversible methodology (Lozenski, 2016) of pedagogical participatory projects. These co-exist within the learning environment that is formed and theorized through participatory design research. All of these might be understood through the activist processes of what Teresa McCarty and Sofia Villenas call “fight-back” ethnography (McCarty) or ethnography de lucha (Villenas). The one-dimensional perspective offered here may suggest the appearance of always overlapping, or nesting within one another. Rather than viewing these as central and periphery projects, this model is better read as placing these interlapping projects in terms of micro (everyday – YPAR and CoPAR), meso (environmental – PDR), and macro (systems and structural – FBE). At times, each research project and design may stand on its own, speak to its own issues and research questions, and offer theorization independent from the others. At other times, these may interact in order to nuance, make visible, problematize, and offer new theorizations that reflect the complexities of the full ecology of the study. Figure 2.2 provides a side-view to orient the interactive overlapping aspect of interlapping participatory projects.

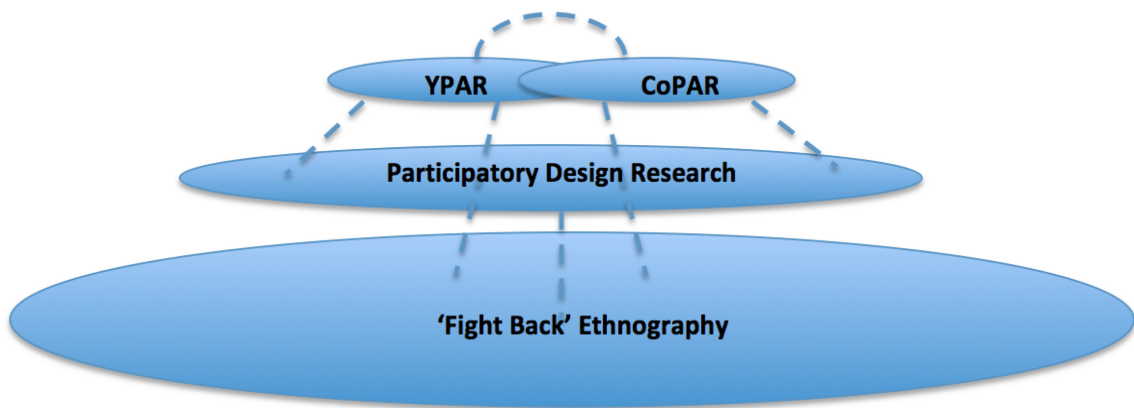

Figure 2.2: Side-view model of interlapping participatory projects

Figure 2.2 offers a side-view of these interlapping projects to indicate the ways they may interact with one another. The dotted connectors suggest that this is not a constant interaction, but that one or more of each participatory research project type may engage or be informed by one or more of the others. For example, a component of participatory design research, which focuses on the infrastructure that facilitates the use of youth-led participatory action research as a pedagogical stance may draw from active YPAR projects in its design research intending to hone in on the re-mediation of anticipated roles participants are expected to play in a school classroom. At the same time, research that attempts to make sense of ecological questions may examine different aspects of these projects alone or in interaction with one another using ethnographic tools with the express purpose of strengthening an argument for more participatory models in language classrooms (i.e. fight-back ethnography). In the following section, I will briefly outline each of these research designs, starting with the micro projects of YPAR and CoPAR, then moving to the meso project of participatory design research, and finally the macro project of fight-back ethnography.

Youth-led participatory action research (YPAR)

Youth-led participatory action research, or YPAR (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Mirra, García & Morrell, 2015), has roots in the Freirian pedagogical approaches of humanizing learning spaces through problem-posing that centers lived experiences as legitimate texts and contexts for intellectual work, praxis that fuses theory and practical application, and the re-mediation of teachers into students and students into teachers. Pedagogically and ideologically, it aligns with southern traditions of educative participatory action research (Cammarota, Berta-Ávila, Ayala, Rivera, & Rodríguez, 2016). This southern tradition, or PAR entremundos (Valenzuela, 2016) reflects education through YPAR as a project of sociopolitical transformation and liberatory conscientization (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Freire, 2010; Martin-Baró, 1994).

Methodologically, YPAR is an outgrowth of critical participatory action research, or CPAR (Torre, Fine, Stoudt, & Fox, 2012). CPAR is rooted in the worldview that those who are made most vulnerable by social positionings, policy impacts, and institutional processes in their daily lives are uniquely knowledgeable about the issues and root causes of their experiences and are also most legitimately positioned to speak to their own needs and desires as well as those of their community. This uniquely validates them to speak to the questions research should be asking, the data that would inform the research, who should participate and how, the ethics of representation and privacy that should shape the research, and the message and form of dissemination the research should take (Torre, Fine, Stoudt, & Fox, 2012, p. 180). CPAR sees those made most vulnerable by sociopolitical and historical power asymmetries as most legitimate decision-makers in

research that has an impact on their own lives. It also expects research to be actionable in the here and now and views the local context as a primary site for dissemination, particularly taking shape as transformative and educative actions. YPAR, as a pedagogical sibling to CPAR shares this epistemology and places youth in the driver's seat (Cammarota & Fine, 2008), while maintaining its focus on social justice youth development across the praxis matrix of self-awareness, social awareness, and global awareness (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002).

YPAR is becoming increasingly popularized for use in connection to school climate and integrating youth voice in schooling spaces (Caraballo, Lozenski, Lisicott, Morrell, 2017). Numerous studies have described YPAR that has centered Latinx youth experiences and research in connection with schooling experiences that range from internal school segregation, racialized tracking into remediated and high interest course offerings, youth experiences embodying identities as researchers and academic achievement, structural inequalities in school building safety and resource distribution, institutional barriers and facilitators to YPAR projects resulting in change within the school, and youth enactment of critical policy analysis and design (e.g., Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Cammarota & Romero, 2009; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; García, Mira, Morrell, Martínez, & Scorza, 2015; Irizarry, 2011; Ozer & Wright, 2012). Growing out of the ongoing work of the National Latina/o Education Research Agenda Project (NLERAP), two books have been put forth to outline the promises and possibilities of YPAR as an avenue both for liberatory education centering Latinx youth and for growing critically conscious teachers from within Latinx communities (Cammarota et al., 2018;

Valenzuela, 2016). These two books, *Growing critically conscious teachers: A social justice curriculum for educators of Latino/a youth* and *PAR entremundos: A pedagogy of the Américas,* outline and operationalize a framework of what Maria Elene Torre (2009) and Jennifer Ayala (Torre & Ayala, 2009) call "PAR entremundos."

PAR entremundos, which is fed by the neither-here-nor-there, and the both-of-here-and-of-there sensibilities of Gloria Anzaldúa's borderlands is a methodological art of the contact zone that identifies its inspirational and intellectual legacies of humanization in dehumanizing setups. Alongside this, it situates itself with "personal lineages [which] link [Latinx youth] to diverse geographical locations throughout America Latina, [and whose] varied positionalities facilitate traversing borders in [their] daily lives, as [they] move back and forth from dominant spaces to the margins." (p. 17). Gloria Anzaldúa's (2012) borderlands scholarship elucidates the plurality of identities, the ways our flesh embody knowledge and collective memory, and the regular movement across social worlds and the imposed borders between them as entremundos – a liminal third space that doesn't conform to the cultivated social constructs that define the bordered social worlds. In the case of interlapping participatory projects, knowing them as entremundos spaces that disrupt colonial and Euro-centric comforts and designs can make way for the contingent collaborations of participants who come together in the contact zone classroom.

<u>Collaborative Practitioner Action Research (CoPAR)</u>

Teacher (or practitioner) action research, too, has a long-standing presence and rich history. As a paradigm of practice, it serves as a philosophical, cultural, and

conceptual framework for educators to engage in action research cycles to examine their own pedagogical practices, transform teaching and learning spaces to better facilitate youth opportunities for deep and impactful learning, restructure program designs, better understand and integrate student identities and desires into curriculum and instruction, and formatively guide their instructional choices (Mertler, 2009; Pine, 2008; Stringer, 1999). Teacher action research is essentially oriented towards recognizing that something needs to change, being collaborative (with youth, other teachers, community members) in evaluating and questioning what is and isn't working to meet educational aims, being public in its processes, and focusing on critical and transformational aims (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009; Compano, 2009; Pine, 2008).

In order to empower 'heritage' language teachers with reparational aims to move beyond approaches that may seem student-centered, but continue to rely on unexamined theories of societal language (e.g., privileging monoglossic ideologies in translingual realities), the inquiry stance (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009) of teacher action research can serve as a complementary methodological art to ally practitioners with the PAR entremundos projects of youth. The inquiry stance of teacher action research may have individual components (e.g., reflexivity, positionality and identity examination), but is meant to be collective in its critical examination of institutions, histories, and of theories of language, schools, sociopolitical dynamics, and the purpose of education. The public and communal dialogue that shapes teacher action research cycles in contact zones engage youth (who may also be participating in their own action research) as knowledgeable educators of the schooling experience and desires for liberatory learning.

Rooting teacher action research in an inquiry approach asks teacher-learners to examine their own shifting ethical and political identities and positionalities (Clarke, 2009). By collectively engaging in these inquiries, teacher-learners forge critical cohorts of practitioners who know one another through experiences of vulnerability and challenges to internalized hegemonic ideologies. Through this, safe houses for humanizing educators can take shape, wherein "[t]eachers find colleagues who share a similar set of principles, and when opportunities arise, they take action together" (Campano, 2009, p. 334). Inquiry as a stance for teacher action research is distinct from reflective practice (Dewey, 1933; Schön, 1983; 1987; Zeichner, 1987; Zeichner & Liston, 1996) in that it centralizes critical consciousness and transformation of activity space within schools, which act as an ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 1971).

The power asymmetries of the contact zone place teacher inquiry and action research beyond the here and now. Amongst teachers who identify as or are racialized as teachers of color, including through societal and institutional raciolinguistic marginalization, inquiry and action research engages what W.E.B. Du Bois (1989) termed a double consciousness: Maintaining a humanizing understanding of oneself while operating within dehumanizing ecologies of imperialist, racist, xenophobic, classist, heteropatriarchal contexts (hooks, 2004). Amongst white, English-dominant teachers, inquiry and critical, race-conscious action research engages the development of double image (Seidl & Hancock, 2011), which "provides White people with insight into the images they project in cross-raced encounters, allowing them to anticipate the ways in which People of Color might perceive some of their behaviors, responses, and beliefs and

to understand the emotions these might raise" (p. 690). As teachers across racialized identities and positionalities take up and navigate in different ways their expanding critical consciousness, they also draw on their pre-existing and ongoing time in schools. In taking an inquiry stance and drawing on the methodological arts of critical teacher action research alongside and in allegiance with youth-led PAR, they create a contingent entremundos relationships. This allows them to learn together and from youth, fellow socially conscious teachers, families, and community members to develop locally-informed ways to embody the practices of humanizing and culturally sustaining (Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014; Paris & Alim, 2017) pedagogical arts of the contact zone.

Participatory Design Research (PDR)

Participatory design research (PDR) shares some methodological similarities to PAR entremundos and can trace its lineages in two directions – a northern European tradition and a tradition emerging in the United States that is an ongoing re-imagining of design-based research. Like PAR, participatory design research is a methodology that "understand[s] *knowledge by doing*" (Spinuzzi, 2005, p. 163), follows localized iterative research design processes (Spinuzzi, 2005; Engeström, 2011), is focused on transformation and real-time impact from and through the research (Bang, Faber, Gurneau, Marin, & Soto, 2016; Engeström, 2011), and "attend to the ways in which normatively powered dynamics are reinscribed in the roles and relations between researchers and 'the researched' [to deliberately] work to disrupt or create new roles and relations to achieve transformative ends" (Bang & Vossoughi, 2016, p. 173). Distinct from PAR, participatory design research stems from learning sciences, has an explicit

focus on reconstruction of the learning environment rather than social, political, and ideological change, and is interested in concrete reconstruction through intervention as a mode of change. This focus on the learning environment means that PDR is interested in those impacted by teaching and learning in the space identifying concrete problems and then engaging in iterative processes of design thinking to determine solutions, resulting in a tangible change.

Its northern European lineage grew out of strong labor union-supported commitments to transforming working environments in ways that are resistive to an adherence to Taylorist[8] technocratic approaches that strip agency and creativity from participants in the space. These aims resonant with the teacher-proofing models of narrow methods and best practices approaches that teachers learn to do and are instructed to sustain (e.g., to tailor one's instruction to a pre-existing curriculum, or one's instruction and curricular designs to a common or externally created assessment). "[R]ather than allowing workers to determine how to accomplish their tasks – and develop their own tacit craft skills and knowledge not possessed by management – the Taylorist manager examines the work, then breaks it into discrete, formal tasks that can be optimized, regulated, and taught to new workers" (Spinuzzi, 2005, p. 165). This tradition of PDR sought to democratize changes to the working environment through

[8] Taylorism is named for white industrial-age engineer Frederick Taylor. It is committed to production efficiency and derives from Taylor's approach to fragmenting what used to be skilled trades into disconnected tasks. Using Taylorism, any job, action, or task could and would be broken into specific and simple segments, each of which could be easily completed with minimal skill, increasing the benefits of repetition and decreasing the need to learn and study the larger trade.

"agonistic struggle" (Björgvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2010), which approaches the possibilities of consensus and conflict as a "polyphony of voices and mutually vigorous but tolerant disputes [which are] political acts and always takes place in a background of potentially challenged hegemony" (p. 48). In this tradition of PDR, the desire was to move away from disempowering technocratic approaches and move towards "judging the value of an innovation by the degree it opens up for constructive and sustainable questions and possibilities within a specific geographically and historically located situation" (p. 48).

Participatory design research in the U.S. context is in the family of iterative and participatory interventionist research models. In public health, it takes shape as community-based participatory research (Wallerstein & Duran, 2010) and community-based design research (Bang, Faber, Gurneau, Marin, & Soto, 2016) have been used to combine community knowledge with designing educational interventions, at times rooted in intervening in public health disparities (Erickson, 1994). In the learning sciences, design-based research (Cobb, Confrey, diSessa, Lehrer, & Schauble, 2003) focuses on the co-design, implementation, and testing of teaching and classroom learning interventions as design-based research. Also in the learning sciences, social design experiments (Gutiérrez, 2008; Gutiérrez & Vossoughi, 2010) focus on creating tools and instructional practices that better facilitate learning with a focus on youth from nondominant communities by designing hybrid third spaces that can bridge everyday literacies with academic literacies. Aligned to these, design-based implementation research (Fishman, Penuel, Allen, Cheng, & Sabelli, 2013) draws together evaluation, community-based

participation and voice, co-design of design-based research, and implementation research. Design-based implementation research is particularly interested in designing for sustainable systems changes.

Similar to its northern-European lineage, PDR, as it has grown up in the United States and in its connection with education, is less concerned with designing individual projects, instead aiming for concrete transformations and theorization about "Infrastructuring" and "Thinging." The verbalization here is important, as it suggests neither infrastructure nor things are static structures or tools, but rather ongoing processes that involve action and interaction amongst participants, systems, and what Shirin Vossoughi and Kris Gutiérrez (2010) refer to as their "critical historicities," or a persistent orientation to the tensions between lived lives and a historicized understanding of an institution, its policies, and practices. In the case of schools and schooling, this would include pedagogies, curriculum, place, instructional practices, and assumed roles for adults and youth. Attention to Infrastructuring in PDR focuses its attentions on the "ongoing alignment between contexts" and "partly conflicting interests" (Björgvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2010, p. 43) that critical historicity can be generative towards. "Thinging" is a move away from tools-thinking, which is a focus of much of traditional design-based research, and instead draws meaning from the Nordic etymology of a Thing as "an 'assembly' around 'matters of concern', taking place at a certain time and at a certain place" (Björgvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2010, p. 43). In a special issue of the journal *Cognition and Instruction*, Megan Bang and Shirin Vossoughi (2016) introduced

the U.S. conception of participatory design research[9] and began to flesh out its theoretical and tangible affordances. They suggested that PDR expanded on existing design-thinking in the learning sciences, by bringing its concrete aims for transforming educational spaces and systems together with internal decolonization and decolonization of the academy. They highlighted how this iteration of PDR could share in the ideological and social change elements of critical participatory action research (Torre, Fox, Stoudt, & Fine, 2012). This participatory design research – a methodological art suited for and forged from the contact zone. It offers a location to engage in actionable processes for changing the learning environment (e.g., pedagogical practices, participating members, physical space, locations for learning, curricula, texts, assessments, language policies). At the same time, it opens up for much-needed theorization around "(a) critical historicity, (b) power, and relational dynamics [that] shape *processes of partnering* and the possible forms of learning that emerge in and through them" (Bang & Vossoughi, 2016, p. 174).

Fight-back ethnography / Ethnography de lucha (FBE)

In her 2010 Presidential Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in New Orleans, Teresa McCarty (2012) called out the continued need for critical policy analysis and policy activism in the face of – and in response to – ongoing circulating narratives of crisis that frame dominant and

[9] Phillip Bell (2004) first suggested expanding design-based research in the direction of participatory design, saying there would be benefits to "giving a significant degree of epistemic authority during research to the microculture of the participants" (p. 248). Linking to northern European PDR (Blomberg, Giacomi, Mosher, & Swenton-Wall, 1993; Bodker, Gronbak, & Kyng, 1993), Bell noted that design projects in education could involve a mix of competing interests for change, and saw participatory design as a means to "understand and develop designs that knowingly navigate the tensions and harmonies held by the stakeholders involved with the dealings of a particular setting" (p. 249).

stagnating discourses of risk, heroism, and villainy in U.S. education. Recognizing that academic and policy research have long been complicit in and have driven the formation and sustenance of these narratives, McCarty (2012) suggests critical ethnographers of education take up an ethic to ethnographic research that "fights back" (p. 6):

> In the present moment of hyperbolic and increasingly racist crisis narratives, it is incumbent on us to 'make public' the injustices our ethnographic work reveals and to work alongside the antihegemonic projects of insurgent educators, youth and communities … we might think of this as 'fight-back' ethnography. (McCarty, 2012, p. 6)

In response, Sofia Villenas (2012) described the lineage of "ethnographies de lucha" that have shaped Latinx educational ethnography. Ethnographies de lucha leverage institutional resources and attention to play a role within and in alignment with struggles against marginalization, vilification, and subordination, which academia and public policy are guilty of resting on Latinx communities, families, and children. Ethnographies de lucha critique these sociopolitical contexts. Simultaneously, ethnographers use a logic of interruption (McCarty, 2012) to engage with political, interpersonal, and social transformative actions and existing movements (e.g., Cammarota, 2008; Delgado-Gaitan, 1993; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Foley & Valenzuela, 2004). Activist anthropologist Charles Hale (2006) describes this logic.

> To align oneself with a political struggle while carrying out research on issues related to that struggle is to occupy a space of profoundly generative scholarly understanding. Yet when we position ourselves in such spaces, we are also

> inevitably drawn into the compromised conditions of the political process. The resulting contradictions make the research more difficult to carry out, but they also generate insight that otherwise would be impossible to achieve. This insight, in turn, provides an often unacknowledged basis for analytical understanding and theoretical innovation. (p. 98)

As I think about what is available to me as an educational researcher who is not Latina but is doing research connected to struggles for educational rights through relational invitation, the question of alignment without co-optation is an ongoing reflexive and ethical concern. Because academic institutions and disciplinary educational research are complicit in deficit discourses and crisis narratives that denigrate and scapegoat multilingual, transnational, and communities of color, I must call into question what I am able to learn and know from the lineage of ethnographies de lucha. In their discussion on activist collaborator ethnographers engaged in justice projects, Lois Weis and Michele Fine (2004) put plainly that "the research has to make a positive difference to the worlds of the 'Others' (the participants). This moves the ethnographer beyond simply being reflexive to being an activist" (p. 243). As a white community-engaged researcher, my role in any ethnographic projects of and with Latinx education is best situated to speak against discourses of whiteness, to and within predominantly white academic institutional spaces, and to act with the understanding that interrupting and fighting back against them requires more than voicing critique in semi-private ways. Rather, it demands an activist stance, wherein I (as a researcher) and the research is

aligned to, and engaged with, social movements and transformational actions in ways that leverage platforms, privileges, and resources I have access to.

Sofia Villenas and Douglas Foley (2010) trace the development of Latinx educational ethnography as becoming a practice of critical ethnography in response to deficit constructions of Latinx youth and communities as failures (e.g., in school, in citizenship, in Americanization, in health, in housing, in finances). These ethnographies took on steam in the 1990s, in part due to the successes of the ethnic studies movements in higher education in the 60s and 70s, and in part responsive to a return to increased anti-Latinx sentiment that took shape (among other things) as nativist education policies (Bale, 2014; Cammarota, 2008). This tradition of critical ethnography draws on diasporic and borderlands theoretical perspectives. These perspectives "examine how families' transnational practices of education and their schooling rupture geographies and borders" (p. 175). A diasporic lens is meant to be inclusive of longstanding and more recent communities across the present-day United States. It also takes into consideration the diversity of ethnicities, linguistic varieties, and geographic homelands within these communities that are particularly representative of new diaspora settings. This is important to ethnographies de lucha, as these represent both "new barriers and distinct ways in which diverse groups are incorporated and racialized into American society and its schools" (p. 175). These contexts require ethnographers of Latinx education to find new ways to conceptualize otherwise essentializing constructions of culture, identity, and language. Additionally, they require innovative and better representative research methodologies and ways for stories to be told.

Referring to McCarty's (2012) call for ethnography that fights back against oppressive circumstances, Villenas (2012) goes on to describe what she considers the inherent "fight-back imperatives of Latino education ethnography" and frames these ethnographies de lucha as always and necessarily connected to social movements. She calls on their enduring focus on the high potential of youth marginalized through language, on the use of class and race analyses to highlight Latinx youth's cultural production within subtractive schooling (Valenzuela, 1999) environments, and on the way that ethnographies de lucha have offered a macro ethnographic lens to view Latinx (particularly Mexican American) youth identities and experiences with schools and community education both within a matrix of sociocultural, historical, and political contexts and in terms of their current cultural practices. These cultural practices include the use of family language and literacy practices in a local-global nexus (Fine, Tuck, & Zeller-Berman, 2007) of transnational home and community spaces. Such educational practices include the use of consejos (narrative advice), cuentos (traditional tales), and historias (stories) (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Espinoza-Herold, 2007; Fránquiz & Salazar-Jerez, 2007; Huerta, 2011). Such ethnographies de lucha bring the richness of home literacy and language practices to light, which can then be used to counter false narratives of language deserts and sparse literacy landscapes.

Many early "ethnographies of Latinidades" (Villenas, 2012) brought to light Latinx youth and community experiences with racialization in the U.S.; school policies and instructional practices; language socialization and practices of hybridity; home and community education, language, and literacy practices; and youth civic engagement. As

Villenas points out, these “changed the vocabulary about ‘culture’ – from cultural difference to transborder and borderlands cultural practices” (p. 16). This change of vocabulary ushered in fertile opportunities for education to be understood through a prism of “funds of knowledge” (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) and cultural organizing (Cammarota, 2008). Drawing from these, Villenas (2012) suggests that ethnographies de lucha:

- talk back to negative public discourses about Latinxs […]
- talk to each other and engage in their own conversations and disagreements about the complexities of Latinx lives and education […]
- are politically “adept at planning our movidas (tricky moves) […]
- at the same time “carefully consider our discourse to maximize [effective] policy, programs, and teaching practices” (p. 16)

Ethnographies de lucha are grounded in the belief that education is not only cultural transfer, but is itself a social movement, and views fight-back ethnography as playing an integral and constituent role in education as social transformation. Such a stance means that researchers have much to learn from social movements and grassroots political organizing (Oakes & Lipton, 2002). In their examination of why one de-tracking school reform effort failed, Jeannie Oakes and Martin Lipton suggest that in order to move past incremental reforms to problematic schooling structures, researchers of educational equity should draw from the logics and strategies used by grassroots social and political movements in order to “expose, challenge, and if successful, disrupt the prevailing norms and politics of schooling inequality that frustrate equity-focused

reforms" (p. 383). Ethnographies de lucha recognize their location within histories of struggle. Thus, Villenas (2012) asks for a commitment from researchers that: "our ethnographies *de lucha* should continue to renew the field of Latino education as social movement, and to use our carefully crafted research to locate cultural agency and educational change from within and from without" (p. 17).

Interlapping methodological arts in action: Methods, data, and analysis

Over the five years that formed the ecology from which this dissertation study is pulled, this complex model of interlapping participatory projects shaped, and were shaped by, one another. This web of projects thus informs the more narrow scope of role re-mediation connected to participatory design, which I will describe in the following chapters. In order to examine one aspect of one of these participatory projects, it must be understood within the larger map of co-existing projects (see Figure 2.3).

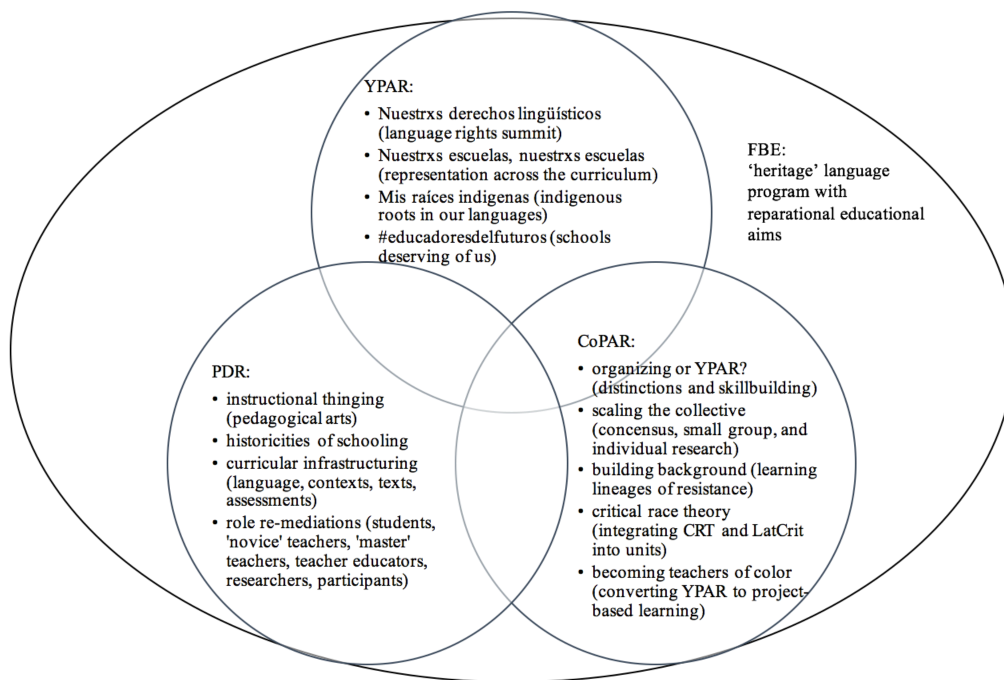

Figure 2.3: Project map of interlapping participatory projects

Figure 2.3 provides a map of the multiple YPAR, CoPAR, and PDR projects that interlap within the sphere of fight-back ethnography, which considers what happens in a Spanish as a 'heritage' language program with reparational aims. This map outlines the multiple foci of participatory projects across the span of the larger study. Each project has its own research questions, some of which interact with one another (see Figure 2.4 for one example of this). Research questions fall across the micro, meso, and macro. For

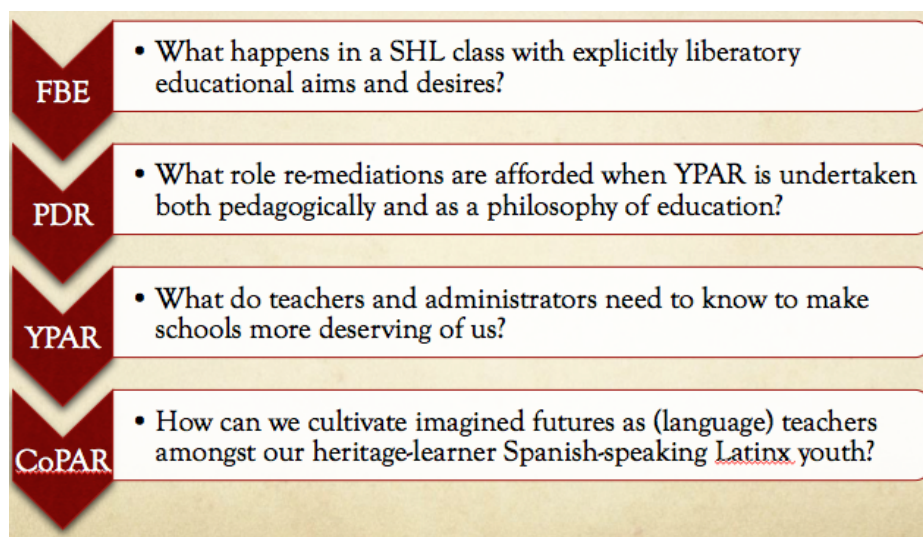

Figure 2.4: Interactive research questions

example, in one YPAR project the youth-generated research question was: What do teachers and administrators need to know to make schools more deserving of us? As youth undertook this research, Toni and I formulated our own CoPAR research question, which existed in interaction with the YPAR project. Our research question asked: How can we cultivate imagined futures as (language) teachers amongst our heritage-learner Spanish-speaking Latinx youth? This interacted with the YPAR project because youth's action-oriented data cycles had them experiencing the processes of planning, teaching,

and reflecting on multilingual lessons with Latinx-centered content with second through fifth-grade elementary students. What we learned during our CoPAR project informed a decision to convert this YPAR project into a project-based learning unit for use in future years. On a meso-level, our ongoing participatory design research involved us looking closely at roles of JcD youth, elementary youth, elementary teachers, the 'heritage' language teacher (Toni), and the university researcher and teacher educator (Jenna). Our PDR question was a vehicle to make visible what the roles were that different people assumed and shifted into: What role re-mediations are afforded when YPAR is undertaken both pedagogically and as a philosophy of education? As a meso-level project, to respond to this research question, we drew from data surrounding these YPAR and CoPAR projects while viewing them within the timescale of previous and ongoing YPAR and CoPAR projects. All of these research questions were asked and considered in connection to the macro FBE question: What happens in a Spanish as a 'heritage' language class with reparational aims and desires?

Research Questions

The following chapters hone in on what can be learned from the meso-level of our participatory design research. There were both practical and theoretical reasons for focusing on questions related to our participatory design research. Across the multiple participatory projects, research questions lent themselves to implications directed towards a range of audiences and decision makers. As we discussed who needed to know what was being learned and ethics of representation, JcD youth, Toni, and I would, at different times, share findings and implications in different forms, through different vehicles, and

to different audiences. YPAR projects were often directed at local audiences – fellow youth, teachers, administrators, and occasionally local teacher educators and district administrators. CoPAR projects generated important learnings that directly impacted pedagogical changes and had valuable implications to be shared in particular with language teachers with justice aims and desires. Because a dissertation (this one in particular) is most likely to be read by and broken up for dissemination for people in academia and involved with teacher education, we decided that it made most sense to use this as an opportunity to closely examine our experiences of becoming teachers and teacher educators who are attempting to take up reparational aims in language education. The following questions guided the data collection, analysis, and writing:

1. What do our memories of our journeys towards becoming reparational language educators in schools make visible to us?
2. What does a critical friendship between a novice teacher and teacher educator with shared visions, but distinct roles involve, afford, and make visible?
3. How are the roles of 'teacher', 'student', 'teacher educator', 'researcher', 'participant' re-mediated through processes of participatory research and pedagogical arts in this example of a schooling contact zone?

These questions are all informed by critical historicities, and the ongoing project of drawing them out and to the surface in the face of persistent whiteness and colonial desires for erasure. They do not assume that any of us have 'arrived' at some final destination of being transformational or transformed, successful in culturally sustaining pedagogy, or definitive in an imagined 'best practices' for 'heritage' language

development. What these questions do assume is that this is an always ongoing process, and that this is a process that has benefits for youth, teachers, and teacher educators.

This particular study

Site and participants-researchers

The iterative processes of the larger ecology of interlapping participatory research projects was the context for data collection and analysis. All data are derived from the context of this larger study. The site is a high school Spanish as a 'heritage' language program that uses a two-year cohort model. This means that youth are together with the same teacher for two year cycles. This study specifically draws from the Levels 1 and 2 cohort, with Toni as the primary teacher. The school is a public upper Midwest city school (Eleanor High School) with high ethnolinguistic and racialized diversity amongst youth school-wide. Nearly all of the teachers and administrators in the school are white, European-descent and predominantly English speaking. Over the course of the study, which spanned five years, of roughly 60 teachers, there were between three to seven teachers of color at Eleanor High School (including Toni). The school had a constantly fluctuating number of adults in positions as grade-level academic/student deans, principals in training, community/family liaisons, student mentors, or special education program assistants. These positions were largely filled by people of color, many of whom were multilingual in Spanish and several in Somali. Within the Spanish as a 'heritage' language program, there was a range of self-identified ethnolingusitic and racialized identities, which included Mexican-origin, Mexican-American, Mexican, Ecuadorian, El Salvadorian, Cost Rican, Minnesotan, Latinx, Mestizx, biracial, and mixed. Across the

participatory projects, the primary co-researchers-participants were Jovenes con Derechos youth, Toni, and me[10].

The research questions for this dissertation center on processes of infrastructuring and role re-mediation (Bang & Vossoughi, 2016; Gutiérrez & Bang, 2010) within participatory design research and across justice-oriented pedagogical arts. In particular, I am interested in the ways that a teacher and teacher educator experienced infrastructuring as an ongoing process and role re-mediations as an integral part of that process. Bringing these to the surface of research can speak to the preparation and support of teachers and teacher educators committed to justice-oriented pedagogical arts in schooling contact zones. Therefore, the primary participants are Toni and me. In our first year together, we took on the roles of teacher educator (me) and teacher candidate (Toni), and spent fifty hours together in university classrooms and school practica settings. Over the following four years, I spent 1,280 hours in Toni's Spanish as a 'heritage' language classroom. Over phone, text, facebook, and drinks, we would regularly spend another two to ten hours a week together. Over the summer and on weekends, I met regularly with JcD youth, traveled with them to local, regional, and national conferences and events to share their research. On two different occasions, Toni and I spent three and then seven days together attending workshops and conferences to learn and share about PAR and teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language. We also co-taught and facilitated workshops, institutes, and a two-credit graduate course (in the form of a week-long summer institute) over three summers.

[10] Additional participants involved with YPAR projects, which will not be reported on here, included youth and community members, as well as Eleanor high school teachers and staff.

Data and data deluge

This study draws heavily on conversations and reflective processing of experiences scaled over time between and by Toni and me. Because it is a constituent part of multiple interlapping participatory projects, the data and analysis in the following pages must be understood within the far more expansive web of data collected in line with collaborative and activist ethnography (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995; Hale, 2008a; Madison, 2005). Data across this ecology included practitioner/researcher created and designed instructional materials, youth-created materials used in public aspects of their action research, practitioner/researcher reflective journals, visual data (photos, videos, and digital stories available in public disseminations), conversations between Toni and me over social media (including texts), reflexive essays and journals by Toni and me, semi-structured critical friend conversations between Toni and me that took shape as dialogic interviews, and collective memory work (Crawford et al., 1991; Davies & Gannon, 2006; Haug et al., 1987) which were recorded and transcribed. On several occasions, our memory work around infrastructuring was shared publicly. These were video recorded and transcribed. Conversations that were not part of our collective memory or semi-structured critical friendship dialogues were transcribed and noted in real-time and followed by a reflective memo (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). Six collective memory and semi-structured dialogues, four public presentations, and forty-five real-time conversations are included in the data set.

Educational design-based researcher Peter Reimann (2011) refers to the quantity of data in similar ongoing participatory and iterative research projects as ‘data deluge.’

When so much is potentially meaningful, and continually accumulating, it can feel like the researcher is drowning in data. Researchers must "grapple with the complexities of planning and documenting the multi-cyclical process of design and theory revision" (p. 47). By collaboratively deciding to draw out singular aspects (i.e., infrastructuring and role-remediation), Toni and I have navigated a way to swim within this data ocean – knowing there is pleasure in the swim and there could be no swimming if there were no water. To examine research questions regarding infrastructuring and role re-mediation, data comes primarily from written and oral dialogues and collective memory sessions between Toni and me. In addition, some data come from our own independent reflexive writing, which we then shared with one another and analyzed through the lenses of our own memories and personal stories. This was not data triangulation. Rather, it was an integral process to data analysis and the iterative process of meaning making that constitutes the methodological art of collective memory work. When representations of this data appear throughout this dissertation, direct links to data sources that have been drawn on and woven together are provided in Appendix A.

Collective memory work and mapping ("data & analysis")

Collective memory work

Collective memory work (Crawford et al., 1992; Davies & Gannon, 2006; Dyke, 2016; Haug, 1999; 2008; Haug et al., 1987; Hayward Collective, 2015; Nagar, 2016; 2014; Stutelberg, 2016) is committed to social agency and transformation of oppressive contexts. With roots in European feminist expansions on Marxist critique in sociology, it recognizes that we are "not simply stamped with the imprint of social relations but [are]

also implicit in and unconsciously participating in [our] own social formation" (Stutelberg, 2016, p. 21). Used across anti-oppressive contexts that include anti-racist, anti-heteropatriarchal, and anti-colonial, collective memory work disrupts the Western, capitalist, and colonial stronghold on the individual. This comes through drawing knowledge from collective understandings of individual experiences, and viewing individual experiences as being diffuse and resonant of circulating ideologies and societal power dynamics (Haug et al., 1987). In the contact zone of schooling, this disruption must be nuanced. It must consider the limitations of what can be made visible based on who constitutes the collective and what their remembrances and examinations of experiences will therefore reflect and erase. It must hold itself accountable to the distinct knowledge that emerges from experiences across varying identities and positionalities within the collective. Collective memory work must make space for testimonios and counterstories (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002), even as it disrupts the privileging of the individual experience (Hayward Collective, 2015).

A grandmother of collective memory work, German feminist Marxist Frigga Haug (1991) shared one form of the collective memory work process in a step-by-step method guide that reflected the method used by collectives she had been a part of. However, the steps to doing collective memory work have varied as it has been used in different contexts and with different collectives (Crawford et al., 1992; Davies & Gannon, 2006; Hayward Collective, 2015; Nagar, 2008; 2014). Regardless, principles and some components of the process exist across these contexts. Participants-researchers connect diffuse personal experiences to political, ideological, and theoretical claims

through shared excavation, analysis, and reconstitution of their memories as sites of experience (Crawford et al., 1991; Davies & Gannon, 2006; Haug et al., 1987). Collective memory work shares desires for decolonizing claims on knowledge which involves “elaborating theory with [nonacademics] instead of about them … grounding our theories, anchoring them, on the reflections nonacademics make about social life as they live it” (Cruz, 2008, p. 656).

When doing collective memory work, participants-researchers first agree on an impetus for memory (e.g., “A/That time when…”). Then, they individually construct their own memories in writing or orally and share them with one another. As memories are shared, they are collectively analyzed using tools of (for example) critical discourse analysis (Rogers, 2011) and critical narrative analysis (Souto-Manning, 2013; 2014). The process we used for this was less like the method put forth by Frigga Haug (1991), and more like Bronwyn Davies’ and Susanne Gannon’s (2006) use of “memory-telling,” which is an oral telling of memories and personal stories woven together with dialogic questions about the memories and stories, interactional responses, and an oral process of dialogic theory-building. This oral component of memory-telling was key to our process and aligned more naturally to the realities and constraints of ongoing practitioner collaboration in schools. In Davies and Gannon’s (2006) construct of memory-telling, embodied and experiential knowledge are woven together with theory, taking shape as real-time analysis. We recorded these memory-tellings as they occurred in private settings (collective memory sessions, dialogic interviews, critical friend conversations) and in public settings (presentations, facilitations of workshops). As a final step in

collective memory work, memories are then reconstituted (orally, in writing, visually, through embodiment, etc.), taking shape around and through the collective analysis and revelations of political, ideological, and theoretical claims.

As a methodological art of the contact zone, collective memory work intentionally places knowledge as praxis (Friere, 2010) in conversation with hegemonic discourses that either do not represent or misrepresent what has been learned through transformative action. Through collective memory work, Toni and I theorized from the flesh (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1983) and reflexively sussed out miseducations, false consciousness, and hegemonic discourses as well as enactments of desires, refusals of dominance, and resistive and liberatory moves for self-determination. Although early use of collective memory work as a method called for more than two people, our use of collective memory work was shaped around the particulars of our social and institutional locations and was reflective of the roles and positionalities of "teacher educator" and "novice teacher" that we sought to disrupt (Dyke, 2016). As an example of paired collective memory work, Erin Dyke and Audra used collective memory work to make visible the demands of colonial and racialized power dynamics within teacher education. Their paired collective memory work showed specific and unquantifiable ways that these dynamics asymmetrically enforced Erin (as 'researcher' and 'teacher educator') in the role of authoritative academic intellectual and Audra (as 'teacher candidate' and 'student') in the role of practitioner laborer and learner. Similar to their use of paired collective memory work, our process was iterative over time, did not adhere to Frigga Haug's (1987) method of linguistic analysis, and instead "engaged the embodied ways we re-experienced

important moments and situations together" (Dyke, 2016, p. 81). The prologue chapter and chapters four and five are the main sites of collective memory work in this dissertation. In these representations, I sought to maintain the centrality of the memory-tellings while including the theoretical insights that emerged over the length of time we engaged in collective memory work (nearly five years). To show this, at times I weave theoretical insights together with representations of our memory work in the main text (e.g., throughout the prologue chapter). In these instances, I am careful to demarcate the "data" of memory work from the insertion of theoretical insights in the data sources table found in Appendix A. This table includes starting and ending phrases from the text that link to specific data sources. These data sources were not altered or fictionalized in their transfer into the written text of this dissertation. In chapters four and five, in-text woven theory is paired with the use of footnotes in order to offer a theoretical dimension that are important to understanding the content of memory-tellings, but whose presence in the text of the memory-telling would undermine the integrity of the collective memory work itself as the central focus of the chapters.

Collective memory work and participatory research

Collective memory work has been part of feminist and participatory action research praxis in a number of ways. White feminist poststructuralist Patti Lather (1991) viewed collective memory work as "allowing groups of people to analyze how their own modes of thinking and being in the world have been colonized by dominant patterns of thought" (p. 95). Its use with participatory action research has emerged in particular in combination with examinations of gender (Johnson, Singh, & Gonzalez, 2014; Kivel &

Johnson, 2009). In their participatory action research study with queer, transgender, and questioning youths' experiences with sexual orientation and gender identity in high school, Corey Johnson, Annaliese Singh, and Maru Gonzalez (2014) used collective memory work as fitting comfortably within the larger tradition of participatory action research. Similarly, Dana Kivel and Corey Johnson (2009) took up collective memory work in combination with participatory action research to consider questions of hegemonic masculinity, leisure, and media as they were experienced by a group of nineteen to twenty-four year old male-identifying people.

In both cases, the use of collective memory work together with participatory action research rested on the methodologies' shared conflation of participants-researchers, as well as participatory action research's and collective memory work's shared commitments to consciousness-raising and praxes of justice. This pairing works because collective memory work resists the "potentially exploitative relations of conventional research" (Johnson, Singh, & Gonzalez, 2014, p. 422), making it a natural partner to the accompaniment and action-orientations of participatory projects.

Collective memory mapping

The final stage before transferring our collective memory work to the page in the form of this dissertation was a series of phases of analysis and data visualization that I call *collective memory mapping*. The point of this stage was to make the amount of data more manageable by honing in on the memory-tellings that resonated most strongly and continuously over time. This stage is described in more detail below, accompanied by an image of a portion of collective memory map as well as a description of a sample

echocardiogram from an excerpt of a memory-telling. These echocardiograms are a data visualization tool I created and were part of the secondary analysis phase of the collective memory mapping.

Initial phase (rough codes): Visual data[11] were first scanned and organized by theme (e.g., representations of schooling, borderlands spaces of the school, showing desires through arts). All audio data were transcribed, including visual cues when video was available. These data were compiled along with in-time transcription files and field notes. All collective memory work, dialogic interviews, and critical friend conversations were then organized with attribute codes (Saldaña, 2015, p. 55) of date, participants, space (e.g., in person at school, by phone, in person outside of school). These were then reviewed once more and tagged for broad structural codes (Saldaña, 2015, p. 66). Structural codes emerged as I reviewed in-time transcriptions and notes, and as I transcribed audio recordings of semi-structured dialogues and collective memory sessions. In alphabetical order, these structural codes were: arts, becoming a teacher, borderlands, planning, program design, reflection, struggle, YPAR events, visioning.

Secondary phase (mapping): The second phase was to create a collective memory map as a way to visually represent the memory work that resonated most strongly across multiple years of partnering and interlapping participatory projects. To do this, I first reviewed all transcribed data and outlined instances of memory-telling (Davies & Gannon, 2006). These memory-tellings were given code-titles (e.g., "the cart conversation," "I can't do this," "it gets better," "they didn't think I/they/we could," "this

[11] I did not return to and use these visual data for the purposes of this study.

isn't who I thought I'd be," "infrastructuring: how we did it"). Each distinct memory-telling was then positioned on the map (see Figure 2.5 for an example map portion).

Figure 2.5 shows an example of a portion of the collective memory map that included six memory-tellings ("identity," "the cart conversation," "heritage language and licensure," "becoming an ethnic studies teacher," "They didn't think I/they/we could do it," and "Infrastructuring: how we did it"). These memory-tellings are visualized on the map as hills, and the map is meant to be read akin to a relief map. A relief map shows the contours of a terrain and might be used if you were about to go for a hike in a hilly area so you could get a sense of the heights and sizes of different hills, but does not quantify these with specific dimensions. A relief map might use shadowing to show dimensions, but it can also use contour lines (as the collective memory map does). Contour lines form concentric shapes, with the center shape indicating the highest point. The original occurrence of the memory-telling is shown in the center of the hill and includes the date of its data source (e.g., 14.10.13 for "the cart conversation"). For the purpose of this map, the shape itself does not represent anything in particular about the memory-telling, except that each memory-telling was different, so their shapes differ from one another. The contour lines indicate how closely adhered to the original memory-telling each subsequent memory-telling was. For instance, the "infrastructuring: how we did it" memory-telling has a very different shape in its origin than the shapes of its later contours. This is because the memory-telling itself changed over time as infrastructuring continued to take shape (for more on this infrastructuring, see chapter five). Each hill is named for its memory-telling's title-code (e.g., "the cart conversation").

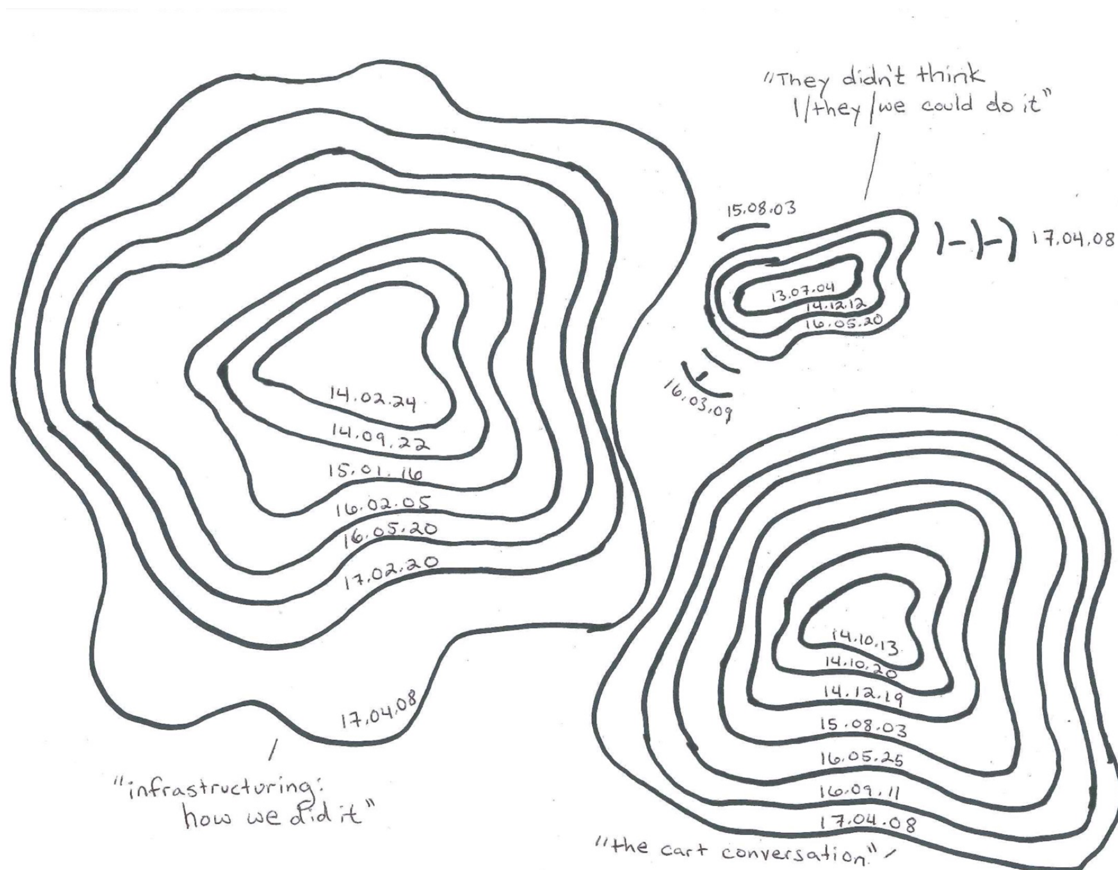

Figure 2.5: Collective memory map portion

The concentric shapes that surround the origin memory-tellings indicate four things. Each concentric shape reflects a recurrence of the origin memory-telling and is marked with an associated data source date (e.g., for "the cart conversation" 14.10.20; 14.12.19; 15.08.03; 16.05.25; 16.09.11; 17.04.08). The contour lines that run parallel to the original shape show degrees of sameness in the remembering that match the origin memory-telling. When contours vary, these indicate a shift of some aspect of the memory from that original telling. Thus, these contour lines show how strongly the memory resonated to its origin memory over each telling, as well as over how much time the

memory sustained its importance through numerous retellings. Here is an example. In the case of “the cart conversation,” this memory-telling occurred on seven different occasions between October of 2014 and April of 2017. With each retelling, this memory followed closely to the original, with only slight variations – even with the memory being shared numerous times over a three year period.

When memory-tellings emerged repeatedly over time, they were given more contour lines and physically took up more space on the map. When partial aspects of a memory-telling (e.g., quotes, references back to a moment of the memory without full return to the rest of the memory) appeared in data sources, these were shown using resonant contour line segments. An example of this is in the memory-telling hill “they didn’t think I/they/we could do it.” This memory-telling was returned to with a complete re-telling on three different occasions, but references to portions of this memory-telling were made numerous times. In the following chapters, I refer to these as resonant sources. Resonant sources show that elements of this memory continued to resonate across time and shifting circumstances, even though it may not have been necessary to explore the full memory to make political, ideological, or theoretical sense of something.

The collective memory map allowed me to organize a large amount of data from a variety of sources and visualize which memory-tellings and data sources to return to for representation in the text. I also used the map to determine which data sources to return to for the tertiary phase of analysis that was needed to consider role re-mediations (chapter six). The tertiary analysis phase took two shapes: creating echocardiograms of memory-tellings and providing a retrospective layered analysis of specific moments.

Tertiary phase (creating echocardiograms):

In order to understand how role re-mediations were occurring (see chapter six), I needed to be able to see what mediating forces were coming into play over time as our roles shifted, connected to our relationship and the participatory projects we were engaging in. I did this by returning to data sources that were listed on the collective memory map, which ranged from the first year of our partnership to a memory-telling session that took place in our fifth year together. I applied emotion codes (Saldaña, 2015, p. 86), values codes (Saldaña, 2015, p. 89), and descriptive codes (Saldaña, 2015, p. 70). Table 2.1 shows a list of codes that were used. These codes were part of an iterative process (Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2005; Patton, 2002) that was a part of our collective memory work. During and after our collective memory sessions, Toni and I noted themes that seemed to be emerging. These themes became parent codes. These were applied first. Then, I created child codes to represent the nuances of the parent codes that were appearing in the data. These were applied in a second review of the data.

Table 2.1: Code tree for secondary analysis

Emotion Codes	**Values Codes**	**Descriptive Codes**
Internal Conflict - expertise/background knowledge - perception by others - identity - pedagogy - self-doubt	(In)(ter)dependence - autonomy - isolation - cooperation	Race - critical consciousness (emergent) - critical consciousness (intersectional) -microaggressions - black teacher, Latinx students - raciolinguistics - whiteness

Anger - anger - frustration - “fed-up” - “over it”	Dispositions	Culturally sustaining pedagogies
Vulnerability	Risk	Language - language in class - language in school - language in/with community
Desires	Struggle	Subtractive schooling
Joy - humor - beauty - dreams - movement		Roles - T-J friendship - T-J collaborators - T expert - J expert
		Curriculum - Lx knowledge (heritage) - Content knowledge (ethnic studies) - Pedagogy - Knowing youth

I then looked at sections of data that had been tagged for the parent code “Roles” and its child codes. In order to see what was mediating the positioning and changing of roles over time, I created echocardiograms to visualize the mediating forces that surrounded these instances of role positioning. Echocardiograms can show the waves, or beats, of a pulsing heart as well as how various parts of a heart is moving. Figure 2.6 shows how codes were transferred into a data visualization that mirrors an echocardiogram, with a heartbeat line to indicate role positionings and color coding to indicate mediating forces around those role positionings. In the echocardiograms I created, the length of the data source was used to determine the length of the line segment. Figure 2.6 shows a fifteen-minute excerpt of an echocardiogram, marked by

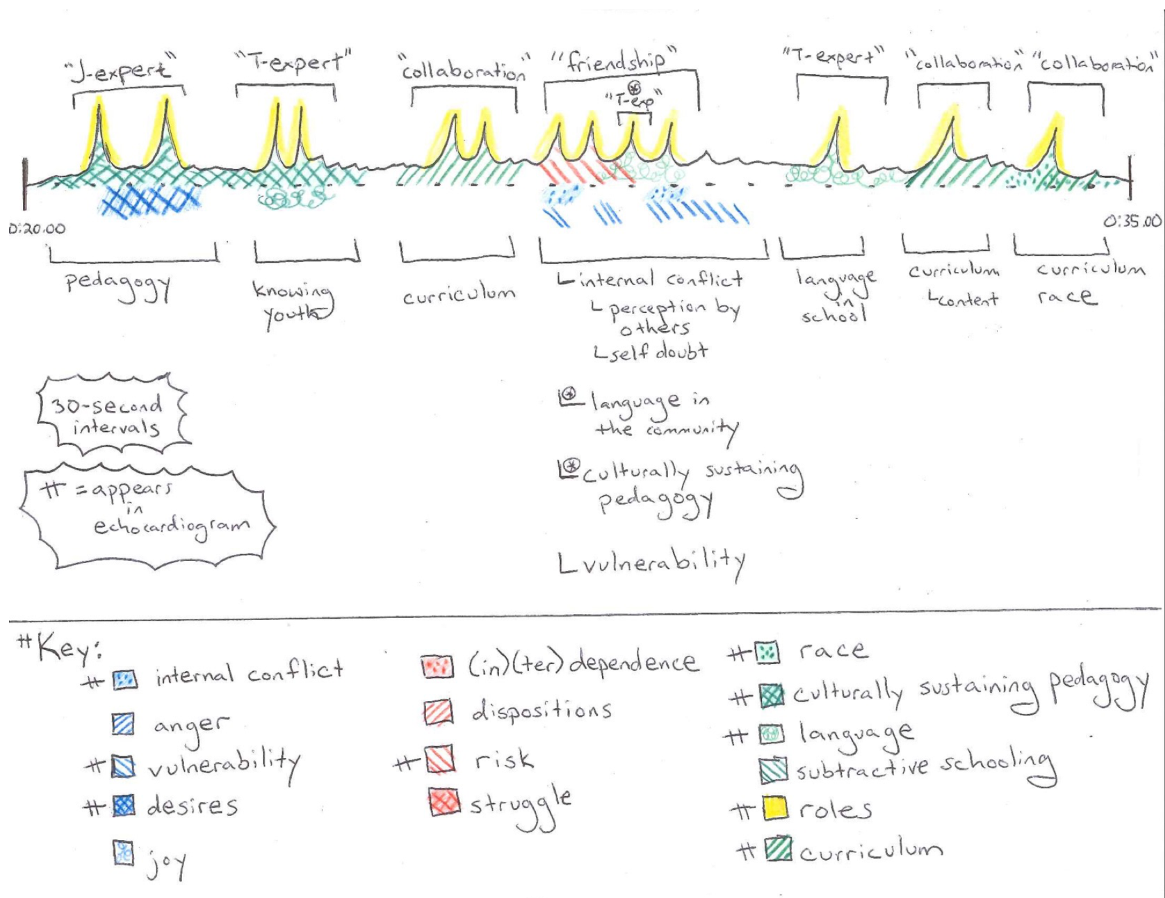

Figure 3.6: Echocardiogram segment from data source 15.06.21

thirty-second segments. Each role pulse (indicated by a line spike in yellow) is the location of an example of role positioning. The echocardiogram is annotated above with code names to specify the kind of role positioning each role pulse indicated. The echoes are indicated by color and pattern. Emotion, value, and other descriptive codes were each given a color. Emotion codes are shown with a blue base. Value codes are shown with a red base. Descriptive codes are shown with a green. Each parent code was given a consistent color code which represented it across all echocardiograms. The color-coding that surround the role positioning pulses indicate what mediating forces surrounded these

role positionings. To aid in reading this echocardiogram portion, I have included annotations of the primary mediators below the pulses in Figure 2.6. As data visualization, the echocardiograms allowed me to look over a large amount of data that spanned nearly five years and focus my attention on the emergence of role positionings over time as well as patterns and primacy of different mediating forces that surrounded these role positionings.

Tertiary phase (retrospective layered analyses): During the writing process, there were several points when I needed to return to a memory-telling in retrospect to consider what might have been happening in specific moments that had not been a part of our memory-telling. One example of this is considering what was happening within the ecology of a room of potential colleagues during a public memory-telling (see chapter five's examination of laughter). Another example of this is reconsidering what was happening in an origin memory-telling that represented initial struggle around role positioning (see chapter six's examination of a segment of "the cart conversation"). At these points, I inserted a retrospective layer of analysis. To do this I used Mariana Souto-Manning's technique of critical narrative analysis (2013; 2014). Critical narrative analysis was a useful analytic because it recognizes that "[c]onversational narratives are a complex weave of individuals' unique concerns and recycled institutional discourses. Through conversational narratives, individuals can commence questioning their realities and problem solving" (Souto-Manning, 2013, p. 202).

Critical narrative analysis draws on Habermas' (1987) notion of lifeworlds, or the everyday stories people tell, and how those everyday stories can both point to and

implicate hegemonic systems, as well as appropriate and reconstitute them. Critical narrative analysis draws on those stories as they emerge in conversation, critically analyzes them through narrative and discourse, and then uses those narratives to "engage in social actions to solve problems and address issues they identify in their own narratives" (Souto-Manning, 2014). Similar to duoethnography (Norris, Sawyer, & Lund, 2012), critical narrative analysis goes beyond "uncovering the meanings that people give to their lived experiences [and] embraces the belief that meanings can be and often are transformed through the research act" (p. 9). This creates a dialogic encounter between the teller of a narrative and hegemonic ideologies. Using critical narrative analysis to examine these moments in retrospect allowed the memory work process to continue to take shape through the writing of this dissertation.

Final thoughts

In contact zone spaces, where unequal power dynamics come together and play out in the lives of people, a wide range of arts have long taken shape and been used. These are arts of survivance, metamorphosis, transculturation, and refusal. For justice-oriented teaching that attempts to persist in contact zones of schooling, these broad arts align with pedagogical arts that are necessary to navigate and confront policies and practies of dominance. So, too, for accompanying justice-oriented research that takes up the desires that persist through the multiple institutional pressures of schooling contact zones, we have matching methodological arts available. This chapter outlines some of these methodological arts through the guiding framework of interlapping participatory projects. In the case of this study, these interlapping projects took shape as youth-led

participatory action research, collaborative practitioner action research, participatory design research, and fight-back ethnography de lucha. Expanding on this are numerous complementary methodological arts. In the following chapters, I offer examples of one of these: collective memory work. The memory-tellings that shape this dissertation were understood through the data visualizations of collective memory mapping and echocardiograms. These were at times layered with retrospective critical narrative analysis to continue to make sense of what was and is happening in this work.

These analyses and representations are "more akin to learning to play a musical instrument than to solving a puzzle [so that we might learn] how to appreciate the world in a different key" (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 118). Through these methodological arts, it became possible for Toni, JcD youth, and I to take the breaths that were needed to swim through the waters of data and make sense of the ways our historicities and roles were supplied to us by schooling institutions, reconstituted, and resisted. This then informed the instructional thinging and curricular infrastructuring that breathed life into a space intent on reparational language education within the unlikely location of schooling in a settler nation state. Through these methodological arts, taken up by each of us in sometimes uncomfortable ways, we moved and continue to move towards our impossible goals.

Chapter Three:

The historicity of Jóvenes con Derechos: Excavating roots of heritage study with Latinx youth in U.S. schools

> *My initial vision for the course – not knowing the students and not knowing a lot about the history of heritage classes – has drastically changed from my vision now – our vision. Yes, one of the objectives of the program is for students to further develop their Spanish. But it is so much greater than that – as I think you can see from what our three students talked about today. Empowerment. Motivation. Inspiration. And understanding how, historically, systems of oppression have worked, and how to work to navigate those systems, are my main objectives for the course. But I often ask myself: Can they feel it? I know what I want for them. But I wonder what it's like to sit in the class every day. I want to know if, as a student sitting there, they can feel what the goals and objectives and outcomes of the course are.* (Toni, presentation to educator summit)

In chapter one, I outlined the contested framing of Spanish as a 'heritage' language programs within the ecology of English dominant monoglossic ideologies and practices that set up the necessity for them. In addition, I drew an argument for conceptualizing these spaces as locations for reparational language education. But what does reparational language education in a Spanish as a 'heritage' language classroom want? As Toni notes in the opening comment here, these spaces must be about more than academic language and literacy. She suggests that, for her, the shape reparational language education takes is "empowerment, motivation, and inspiration." Moreover, "understanding how, historically, systems of oppression have worked, and how to work to navigate those systems." What Toni does not mention here is the explicit aim her courses take to not only navigate but circumvent and disrupt those systems. In this way,

the reparational language education approach that Toni takes up stands with a lineage of transformative and critically compassionate intellectual projects (Romero, 2015) that seek to stop and counteract the institutional histories and lived experiences of silencing, pushing aside, and erasure that multilingual youth with Américas backgrounds encounter in schools. This chapter reflects the participatory design research component of critical historicity. This tracing became instrumental to the vision and scope of the Spanish as a 'heritage' language program. The program's historicity is central to understanding the desires of the reparational language education program that Toni and I designed together with participant youth, hereafter referred to by the youth-chosen name Jóvenes con Derechos (or JcD) and described in chapter four in more detail. This chapter traces the humanizing and transformational pedagogical traditions that informed the central tenets of this program: translingualism (Canagarajah, 2012; García; 2009), community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2006), and critical pedagogies (Giroux, 1988; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008). At times, this tracing will hone in on specific examples from heritage language education in U.S. schools. It also includes examples of heritage study that attend to explicit linguistic and cultural sustenance and vitality (Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014; 2017) that are outside the discipline of language education.

Heritage language access and refusal – U.S. settler colonial origin story

As I discussed earlier, 'heritage' languages and the need for 'heritage' language classes is a direct result of English and monoglossic ideologies of Americanization along with refusal to provide bilingual education to speakers of languages other than English in the United States (sometimes referred to as minoritized speakers, languages, and

communities by language policy theorists). In our current educational climate, additive multilingualism, particularly for predominantly English speaking people of European descent, is considered a personal (economic) and national (economic and security) resource, resulting in opportunities for bilingual education in the form of language immersion schooling becoming increasingly available to white and middle-class youth from English-speaking families. This disproportionate access to bilingual education is woven into the long-standing settler colonial education policy fabric of the United States.

If they so choose: European and Indigenous distinctions

In contemporary terms, the offering of 'heritage' language options in U.S. schools is driven by an ethic of liberal pluralism that asks: "How can different ethnolinguistic minority groups maintain their cultures and languages *if they so choose* while peacefully co-existing with the majority dominant group(s) within the modern, liberal state?" (Ricento, 2006, p. 232, emphasis in the original). The problem with this as a guiding question is the stance that minoritized groups may be allowed to maintain their minoritized languages *if they so choose*, which disregards the historic and hegemonic power structures, systems of oppression and erasure, and processes of European ethnolinguistic white settler language privileging (Grande, 2015; Iyengar, 2014; Waziyatawin, 2004) that necessitate 'heritage' language education. The increasing availability of immersion bilingual education in languages considered an additive resource for white English speakers (e.g., Spanish, Chinese, Arabic), while simultaneously considered a problem for native speakers who are often racialized through their speaking of those very languages (Flores & Rosa, 2015), is reflective of what

postcolonial language theorist Suresh Canagarajah (2005) describes as the fetishizing of one localized language while subjugating another. The settler-colonial context of the United States is fertile ground for this contradiction. As Malathi Iyengar (2014) articulates about the myth of liberal multiculturalism in schooling choice,

> Euro/American settlers could say, "I'll send my children to the common school, if and only if that school provides education in our mothertongue." Native parents could say, "I'll send my children to the off-reservation Indian boarding school," but did not have the option of adding, "only if you agree not to beat our language out of them while they're there." (p. 52)

In her systematic historical analysis of language policy and language ideology as it has played out as a tool for constructing the Eurocentric institutions of schools within the U.S. settler colonial state, Malathi Iyengar (2014) provides a clear history of the ways maintenance of European languages of settlers up through the 20th Century (to the time of World War I) were considered both legitimate and a benefit to English language development. One example of this was the strong and consistent implementation of bilingual education for European languages in both privately and publicly funded schools. These early public schools were institutions representative of successful lobbying by European settlers to preserve ethnic cultural identity and their European languages within the context of community education and English language development. Not only did bilingual public education for white settlers of European ethnolinguistic descent become the norm, it flourished, with the common schools of the

time positively responding to communities demanding that they be a location for maintaining European mother tongues (i.e., localized or community languages).

Malathi Iyengar's (2014) description of this early and long-standing commitment to providing bilingual education in response to community demand on behalf of European settlers is deftly juxtaposed with the fact that, at the same time, the U.S. was kidnapping and conscripting native youth into English-only and Eurocentric boarding schools. The clearly stated purpose of these residential boarding schools were, as Captain Richard Pratt in his description of the Carlisle School founding described, "to kill the Indian, and save the man." This was done through schooling practices that sought to separate Indigenous youth from their families and communities, strip them of their home and ancestral languages to interrupt intergenerational identity and knowledge sharing, and replace these language and knowledge systems with English and European epistemologies and cultural practices through submersive schooling that did not hesitate to use physical and psychological violence. As Joel Spring (2005) notes, this process of deculturalization – using schooling to strip language and culture in order to replace them with those of the dominating group – proved so efficient that the U.S. settler governance believed they could subjugate a group of people within a single generation. This linguistic stripping and forced attrition of first (heritage) languages directed at Indigenous people, while white European settlers experienced the opportunity of first (heritage) language maintenance through bilingual education serves as an eerie mirror of present day subtractive language education for some (predominantly multilingual immigrant

youth of color) and additive language education for others (predominantly English-speaking youth of European descent) (e.g., Donato, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999).

Necrolinguistics and the Faustian bargain

In U.S. schools, multilingual youth of color experience race-language policies (Malsbary, 2014) that communicate the school space as a site for English, for 'appropriate' interactions that are dictated through middle-class European norms, for expressions of learning and knowledge that are narrowly defined through Eurocentric standards. Angela Valenzuela (1999) refers to the resultant loss of linguistic and cultural connection and positive self-identification due to Eurocentric and English-dominant school demands as *subtractive schooling*. John Mugane (2005) might consider these policies and practices part and parcel to U.S. settler society's *necrolinguistic* tendencies. In his historical account of the animalistic use of muzzles during Transatlantic crossings on African people being sold into settler enslavement, he describes the act of shipmen muzzling African men and women, and as such, physically and literally silencing speakers and their (heritage) languages. As with subtractive schooling practices, "[t]he muzzle muffles the identity, the location, and the dignity of the person" (Mugane, 2005, p. 160). For Mugane, the muzzle is "the quintessential form of linguistic incarceration" (p. 161) that simultaneously silences, distorts and suppresses expression of the self and the collective or community of speakers. He goes on to say that the "confinement of language in people's minds is the initial step in erasing them" (p. 161). A necrolinguistic take on subtractive schooling positions schooling practices and policies as collaborators to long-standing settler colonial politics of replacement.

In outlining his theory of necrolinguistics, Mugane (2005) describes how slaving ships simulated a sort of Tower of Babel – organizing people so that speakers of shared languages would not be near each other. The intention was to create a mix of languages that would destabilize people's capacity to communicate and organize through shared languages. The design was meant to create a relative strength in the crew who were far outnumbered and did not speak the languages of the Africans on board. This divide to conquer technique (Freire, 2010) was intended to maintain order and suppress attempts at rebellion. In U.S. schools, both explicit and implicit "English-only" and "we speak English here" policies partner with restrictive prioritizing of "academic language" and "proper language" in mainstream and world/foreign/heritage language classes alike (Helmer, 2011; Malsbary, 2014). These classed and often white-racialized variations of languages, reflective of culture of poverty deficit narratives (Faltis, 2013; Flores & Rosa, 2015), accompany both explicit and implicit teaching and learning policies which suggest that complex thought requires an academic language variety for expression. When academic language structures must first be exhibited by students in order to engage with inquiry and complex co-constructions of knowledge, it furthers this to reflect a stance that so-called academic language begets complex thought.

Framing subtractive schooling policies as being necrolinguistic resonates with Patrick Wolfe's (2006) description of settler colonial linguistic and cultural elimination. Concomitant schooling policies and practices of linguistic and cultural replacement in favor of English and Eurocentric cultural norms and knowledge systems suggest what Wolfe (2006) described as attempts to form a *brokerage class*, or what Eduardo Bonilla-

Silva (2004) has called the construction of some people of color as 'honorary whites.' Bonilla-Silva describes phenotypic, economic, ideological, and social indicators of people of Américas descent who may be positioned or seek to position themselves in this brokerage class, highlighting the intersections of phenotype (light-skinnedness) and ideological indicators of race consciousness and internalized alignment with white supremacy. Nelson Flores and Jonathan Rosa (2015) suggest that the racing of Spanish and perceived accents in spoken English when these languages are spoken by people with phenotypes that racialize them as Latino also play into whether the 'white listening subject' might pass a person into either whiteness or 'honorary whiteness.' I suggest there are parallels between this process and Vasconcelos' offering of Mestizaje identity to Indigenous peoples in post-revolution Mexico, in exchange for taking up Spanish and refusing to speak one's Indigenous language and discontinuing one's native cultural practices. Wolfe (2006) describes U.S. settler society's formation of a brokerage class that is compelled by the "Faustian bargain – have our settler world, but lose your Indigenous soul" (p. 397). This Faustian bargain continues today in the contemporary subtractive schooling environments that Angela Valenzuela (1999) describes in her account of Mexican/-American youth' experiences in U.S. schools and which can be seen in the experiences of many Spanish-speaking youth with Américas roots (e.g., Cammarota & Romero, 2014; Gándara & Contreras, 2009).

It is within this prism that U.S. 'heritage' speakers of Spanish exist in schools. Youth speak Spanish varieties that are often reflective of Indigenous languages having come in contact with Spanish through colonization (additionally layered with these

varieties coming in contact with multiple varieties of U.S. English). Coming from linguistically vibrant homes and communities, the longer they spend in U.S. schools, the more these languages face bifurcation. Learning and legitimated school literacy practices happen predominantly – if not completely – in English. Further, complex thoughts are required to be expressed through a specific academic variety that might be very disparate from those used in organic intellectual interactions. It does not take long for the spectrum of languages that multilingual Latinx children live through and use to connect their learning and share their ideas across multiple spaces to be framed as best suited for the playground, for whispering across desks, or not at all where school is concerned. Nor does it take long to learn that if one has something important to say or do, it should be done in the elusive moving-target of 'proper English' (Flores, Kleyn, & Menken, 2015).

I do not trace the origins of the Jóvenes con Derechos program to the roots of U.S settler colonial school projects of erasure and silencing to suggest the height of the mountain that reparational language education projects must climb in their struggle for justice. Rather, this tracing is meant to recognize the length of historical designs that go into the institution of schooling, which 'heritage' language programs within schools must seek to crack apart and grow through. For reparational language education projects with youth of Américas descent, justice-oriented educators have powerful examples of community-driven liberation efforts that have focused on transforming schools into locations for self-determination (e.g., Cammarota & Romero, 2015; Bernal & Alemán Jr., 2009; Donato, 1997; García & Castro, 2011; San Miguel, 2013). These projects make clear that when languages of marginalized people are used to express, to connect, to

preserve, to organize, and to speak into being alternatives to the present, these languages become dangerous tools of agency that can effectively overpower oppression. In the following section, I will explore the ways that humanizing pedagogies provide fertile ground for these to take root and grow.

The fertile grounds of humanizing pedagogies

> *The starting point for a political-pedagogical project must be precisely at the level of the people's aspirations and dreams, their understanding of reality and their forms of action and struggle*. (Freire, 1998, p. 214)

Humanizing pedagogy is a member of the family of educational approaches which seek to be anti-oppressive and liberatory, putting it in relation with critical (Giroux, 1988; Kincheloe, 2008), culturally responsive (Gay, 2010), culturally relevant (Ladson-Billings, 1995), and culturally sustaining (Paris, 2012) pedagogies. This family of pedagogies trace their lineage to the works and teachings of Paulo Freire (1997; 1998; 2010). Humanizing pedagogy first emerged in the last decades of the 20th Century (Graman, 1988; Bartolomé, 1994) and, after lying dormant for several years, has recently reemerged in educational studies and teacher education (Fránquiz & Salazar, 2004; 2007; Huerta, 2011; Price & Osborne, 2000; Salazar, 2010; 2013; Salazar & Fránquiz, 2008; Salazar, Lowenstein, & Brill, 2010). For Spanish as a 'heritage' language, tracing roots to the fertile ground of humanizing pedagogy makes particular sense because it has been primarily conceptualized by Latinx scholars and intentionally weaves multilingualism, expansive views of language and literacy, and the centrality of linguistic political and

ethnic identity together with critical pedagogy frameworks intent on seeking the humanity of oneself in one another.

One of the many things humanizing pedagogy shares with critical pedagogies is that they are both entwined with the praxis cycle of critical reflection, awareness, action, and transformation (Freire, 2000). Humanizing pedagogy extends this by explicitly connecting the theoretical Freirian ideal of humanization to practical transformation that holds collective and individual humanity at its core. Freire (2010) describes this ideal of humanization as the continuous act of becoming more fully human in unity with others in ways that are transformative socially, spiritually, politically, and creatively. He maintains that humanization is the primary ontological vocation of human beings, and he insists that a humanizing pedagogy is "the only effective instrument in the process of re-humanization" (p. 55) within the dehumanization that occurs in schools through the systemic separation of people from their lived experiences, each other, and their collective processes of becoming. Freire claims that, through a raising of critical consciousness (*conscientização*), people become more aware of their presence in the world, enabling them to name themselves and their circumstances, become authors of their own experiences, and re-imagine and re-write their individual and collective social worlds. Connecting this to pedagogy, Freire describes this as a revolutionary approach that mutually humanizes both teacher and student and, by flipping the script of who has access to and transmits legitimate knowledge out of the hands of the teacher and into the hands of the students, classrooms have the opportunity to stop being "an instrument [through] which teachers can manipulate students, but rather expresses the consciousness

of the students themselves" (p. 51). This flipping of the script imagines classroom spaces in which learning and teaching is structured around problem-posing that deconstructs traditional classroom hierarchies and replaces it with a community of co-investigators in dialogue with one another, the goal of which is engaging in a praxis of *conscientização*, wherein students-teachers[12] work to "perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and *to take action against* the oppressive elements of reality" (p. 17, italics added). It is through the praxis of conscientization that humanity can be sustained.

The Freirian notion of humanizing pedagogy reemerged in Lilia Bartolomé's (1994) rejection of the "best practice" ideal for approaching the schooling of students labeled "at risk" and as "culturally and linguistically diverse" by applying technical teaching methods in a way that assumes learners' identities and experiences, as well as the schooling experience itself, are neutral and apolitical. In this, she puts forth that such "best practices" serve as technical fixes (drawing on Giroux, 1992), rather than engaging youth from multilingual communities in democratic and emancipatory educational experiences. In Bartolomé's (1994) understanding of humanizing pedagogy, she puts forth a combination of philosophical orientations and instructional methods and asserts that humanizing pedagogy – what was largely considered a theoretical approach – could link explicitly to practice. In so doing, she suggests that teachers engaging in a

[12] Freire's (2010) notion of students-teachers and teacher-student rejects the hierarchical assumption of legitimate knowledge access and brokering on the part of the teacher directed at students. Instead, it insists that students, through the acts of writing their own worlds and engaging in inquiry into the realities of their lived experiences and communities' expertise, function as producers and distributors of knowledge and texts. He asserts this as a direct contrast to traditional "banking" or uni-directional education, saying that "education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling both poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers *and* students" (p. 59).

humanizing pedagogy need not reject learned teaching approaches and methods across the board. Rather, they should resist those approaches, structures, and methods that are not critical in their nature, choosing to focus instead on pedagogies that are grounded in a reflection on the world outside the classroom, their and their students' relationships to that world, and taking action within that world in order to transform it. According to Bartolomé, this allows teachers to "recreate and reinvent teaching methods and materials by always taking into consideration the sociocultural realities that can either limit or expand the possibilities to humanize education" (p. 177). In so doing, she challenges education to conceptualize and take up instruction that builds on the realities of students' lived experiences, asserting that this is not a philosophical imagining, but a practical approach that embodies Freire's philosophy of humanizing pedagogy in practice.

Following Bartolomé (1994), a small number of studies within K-12 classrooms considered how a humanizing pedagogy might present itself in classrooms of multilingual youth. Some of these studies focused on multilingual youth in ways that recognized personal ethnic and linguistic identities (Fránquiz & Salazar, 2004; 2007), while others framed multilingual youth as "English language learners" or "ESL students" (Salazar, 2010; Salazar & Fránquiz, 2008) – muting their unique and shared multiple language and literacy practices, even as the pedagogical approach seeks to work against the effects of these very same institutional labels. Many of these studies focus on the ways a teacher experiences humanization when they engage in humanizing pedagogies, and through that, the classroom environment is transformed into a more humanizing space (Fránquiz & Salazar, 2004; Salazar, 2010; Salazar & Fránquiz, 2008).

Recent work has brought teacher education in particular into the spotlight, suggesting a responsibility to teach and support pre-service and induction years teachers in the cultivation of *humanizing dispositions* (Salazar, 2013; Salazar, Lowenstein, & Brill, 2010) as they develop their pedagogical practices. This focus on the teacher resonates with Freire's (2010) belief that humanizing pedagogy humanizes both the oppressed (e.g., multilingual youth in U.S. schools) and the oppressor (e.g., the teacher as authority figure representative of, and otherwise engaging in, subtractive schooling practices). Still, humanizing pedagogy and dispositions scholar María del Carmen Salazar (2013) asserts that this focus on the teacher is also shortsighted. She identifies the field's focus on teachers in the act of becoming more fully human as a retreat to the theoretical and a problematic shift away from how youth experience and insist on humanizing spaces in schools. She asserts that education must reinvent humanizing pedagogy in a way that explicitly links itself to actual classroom contexts, specifically the lives and self-representation of students.

In her extensive review of research on humanization in education and humanizing pedagogy, Salazar (2013) suggests and explicates on five key tenets that are "requisite for the pursuit of one's full humanity through a humanizing pedagogy:

- The full development of the person is essential for humanization
- To deny someone else's humanization is also to deny one's own
- The journey for humanization is an individual and collective endeavor toward critical consciousness.

- Critical reflection and action can transform structures that impede our own and others' humanness, thus facilitating liberation for all.
- Educators are responsible for promoting a more fully human world through their pedagogical principles and practices. (p. 128)

Salazar then provides ten principles and practices of a humanizing pedagogy that operationalize these theoretical aims in the form of recognizable dispositions, knowledge, and skills for educators. These are that:

1. The reality of the learner is crucial.
2. Critical consciousness is imperative for students and educators.
3. Students' sociocultural resources are valued and extended.
4. Content is meaningful and relevant to students' lives.
5. Students' prior knowledge is linked to new learning.
6. Trusting and caring relationships advance the pursuit of humanization.
7. Mainstream knowledge and discourse styles matter.
8. Students will achieve through their academic, intellectual, social abilities.
9. Student empowerment requires the use of learning strategies.
10. Challenging inequity in the educational system can promote transformation. (p. 138)

While Salazar provides a framework for recognizing and enacting humanizing pedagogies, she does not name the ways that language identities and practices might play – and have long played – in engaging education that is humanizing, particularly with multilingual and multidialectal youth. Although language often goes unnamed, it is a

constituent part of the structural ways schools allow for the continued humanization of some students (e.g., predominantly English-speaking, positioned as middle or upper middle class, often white or positioned as white) and concurrent dehumanization of some students (e.g., speakers of recognizably dispreferred or disprivileged languages and dialects, often identifying as or positioned as people of color, and as working class).

Centering language in humanizing/critical pedagogies

Early work by Tomas Graman (1988) speaks to the centrality of language in humanizing pedagogical approaches and makes an explicit link between humanizing pedagogies and language learning classrooms. While Graman's discussion squares itself in the areas of English as an additional language and foreign language learning, he also writes his discussion of applying humanizing pedagogies to language learning before the field of 'heritage' language learning in school contexts had come of age in the United States (Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001). He argues for the use of "problematizing reality"[13] as content in the language classroom, asking learners to co-construct critical knowledge in order to make sense of, speak back to, and act against issues that impact them. Through this co-construction, they also access and expand the language they need to express and take action. Graman's discussion resonates with both Gloria Anzaldúa's (2012) identity politics of borderland Spanish and with the institutional environments that

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[13] Problematizing reality is when learners identify problems and, through dialogue with each other, texts, the lived experiences of others, and their and their communities' knowledge of the world around them, "recognizing and understanding the significance of those problems in relation to their own lives and the lives of others," which Freire (2010) argues leads to critical reflection and consciousness raising that only then can and must lead to attempts to overcome these problems and to improve the conditions associated with them experienced by members of the community.

currently operate around the development of Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes in most U.S. public secondary schools. These institutional environments continue to denigrate youth language use of Spanglish, Chicanx English, and Black English as proof of semilingualism. As Graman notes,

> The students in ESL and foreign language classes in the United States suffer from an abuse of professional authority that denies the value of their ideas and interlanguage constructions. Many teachers and administrators refer to much of these students' language as inferior, as gibberish, or as 'mindless ungrammatical chatter.' In the Freirean sense, however, 'mindless chatter' results not from the language's lack of standard or native-like grammar, or from any aspect of the form of language, but rather from the absence of meaningful content. (Graman, 1988, p. 439)

Such critical and humanizing pedagogies of linguistic identity and care speak back to the pervasive and problematic situation of subtractive schooling that multilingual youth face as they navigate the institution of the U.S. public school system. Ethnographic work in Spanish as a 'heritage' language classrooms, and in schools with large numbers of Spanish-English bilingual students, show youth continue to experience subtractive and disengaging educational experiences in their time in schools. Constraints on Spanish language use and development leads to imposed attrition of Spanish language and literacy through restrictive instruction focusing on English language development (Iddings, Combs, & Moll, 2012; Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012). In addition, increased control over curricular content continues to ensure students' lack of

access to meaningful and culturally responsive curriculum. Youth often experience tracking into remediation courses, limited access to high interest electives, and severely restricted curriculum that is not representative of a U.S. identity that is not of the white, monolingual English experience. (Andrews, 2013; Cooper, 2012; Harklau, 2009; Helmer, 2011; 2013; Romero, Arce, & Cammarota, 2009). Certainly, humanizing pedagogies are not a solve-all, particularly in light of the structural constraints and limitations placed on multilingual youth of color in U.S. schools (e.g., curricular mis-representation and lack of representation, course tracking, hyper-surveillance and criminalization of youth behaviors). When combined with structural interruption and dismantlement, humanizing pedagogies offer ways out of the quagmire of if subtractive and violative schooling. In particular, humanizing pedagogies must be defined through critical care (Valenzuela, 1999) and critical hope (Duncan-Andrade, 2009), which embrace resistance to the structural constraints that many Latinx youth experience in U.S. schools due largely to language and the intersecting raced and classed ways they are positioned through their language uses and enacted identities.

Freire himself argued for first language and literacy development in the name of liberatory learning. His early conceptualizations of humanizing pedagogy took shape from his community-based literacy circles in Brazil, a core tenet of which was maintaining a high value and legitimacy for the language of the learner (Freire, 1997; 2010). Educational linguist Christian Faltis (1990) draws on Freire's problem-posing process (1997) and suggests how problematizing reality could take shape in a Spanish as a 'heritage' language classroom. In his description of the problematizing reality approach

in a Spanish for Native Speakers course, the problem-posing process begins first with learners' engaging in authentic discourse and their teacher listening carefully and intentionally for critical themes that resonate across students and with larger societal and political issues. These form what Freire termed generative themes, because they can be used to generate future discussion, and decoding and creating texts that are both meaningful and connect the personal to the political. Based on these generative themes, the teacher finds and shares situations that are representative of the way personal issues are reflective of larger sociocultural and political issues. This can be done using images, interactive media, representations of conversations, songs and poems, stories and other narratives. The purpose of this is to make visible the ways individual personal concerns and critiques are both common and relevant to the lives of many. At this point, teacher and students "codify" these themes (e.g., 'multilingual identity' vs. 'ideologies of English supremacy'; 'Spanish/English variety language assets' vs. 'privileging of standard or academic varieties'). The purpose of this codification is to begin to understand together how the problem that they have posed applies to them, what the causes of the problem are, and what they might do to solve it. As the students choose which generative themes and codifications resonate most strongly with them, the teacher's job is to dialogue with students as they attempt to collectively understand the problem, imagine alternatives, and design possible pathways to transform what they imagine into reality.

In order to do this, Faltis (1990, citing Wallerstein, 1983, p. 20-21) suggests teachers and students engage in the following five-step process.

1. Naming the problem.

2. Defining the problem.

3. Eliciting similar situations in students' lives.

4. Directing students to fit their individual experiences into a larger historical, social, or cultural perspective.

5. Encouraging students to discuss alternatives and solutions. (p. 120)

Faltis (1990) suggests that problem-posing designs be understood as woven together with language use and development. In the initial steps – "naming the problem" and "defining the problem" – specific language for instruction is drawn from both the students' descriptions and theorizing, as well as from examples and texts taken from the larger sociocultural context (e.g., song lyrics, media, stories). In the following steps – "eliciting similar situations in students' lives" and "directing students to fit their individual experiences into a larger historical, social, or cultural perspective" – texts are sought out and created that relate students' personal stories to political realities. The language and literacy here are embedded in readings, the creation of language experience narratives, and the recording and representation of community member experiences and wisdom. In the final stage – "encouraging students to discuss alternatives and solutions" – language and literacy are instrumental to formulating, co-constructing, and representing these possibilities and actions for change. Broadly, this supports that problem-posing approaches are inextricable from humanization through heritage language use and development because language is the conduit through which problems are posed, connected to larger issues, made sense of with community members and elders, and

representations of alternative realities and pathways towards constructing them are written and engaged with.

The role of conscientização

A key aspect of humanizing pedagogy is the Freirian notion of *conscientização* (Freire, 2010). This is most often translated from the Portuguese as concientización in Spanish and as critical consciousness or meta-consciousness in English. In Freire's conceptualization, conscientização involved an inseparable combination of awareness-and/through-action. Without action, there can be no conscientização. When educators attempt to translate this into instructional designs in already problematic schooling contexts, however, conscientização intentions can mutate in ways that maintain the status quo. Even when educators identify (or desire to identify) as critical pedagogues, whether it is conceptual misunderstanding or through compromise, schooling environments that police and dehumanize teachers and students alike can strip conscientização of its need for taking action. This means that awareness-and/through-action gets taken up as some combination of critical thinking, having a conscience, and being aware of the realities of multiple experiences and perspectives. Still, critical consciousness in the Freirian sense is inextricable from action. It is not awareness building. It is not critical thinking. It is the cyclical process of awareness, action, and reflection to further awareness, action, and reflection. In the reparational language education space of teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language, I suggest the praxis of conscientização needs to engage two principles, both of which can be seen in existing scholarship of critical approaches to

language education in Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes: *linguistic conscientização* and *community conscientização*.

Linguistic Conscientização – beyond critical language awareness

If Spanish as a 'heritage' language courses are to be spaces for language healing, maintenance, and expansion, then critical consciousness needs to concern itself with a praxis of critical linguistic and sociocultural awareness, action, and reflection. In her call for the use of critical pedagogy approaches for heritage speakers in college-level Spanish for Native Speakers courses, Jennifer Leeman (2005) suggests that a critical pedagogies approach to heritage language education must start with critical language awareness (CLA) (Pennycook, 2001). CLA recognizes that languages are political and politicized, play a role in hegemonic struggle and status quo maintenance, and are capable of being a tool both for subjugating speakers of certain languages and for imaginative resistance. Leeman (2005) insists that critical Spanish as a 'heritage' language pedagogues treat CLA as necessary and foundational, and suggests that teaching and learning must also move past this as an intellectual project of awareness-building and take relevant action. A humanizing pedagogy for Spanish as a 'heritage' language agrees with this and expects that students and teachers utilize CLA to act in order to transform the status quo in an effort to disrupt the current reality and to enact social change.

Later work by Jennifer Leeman, Lisa Rabin, and Esperanza Román-Mendoza (2011) suggests moving beyond CLA by first focusing on an examination of material contexts and consequences of pervasive language ideologies at work in the lives and desired futures of youth and their communities. For this, they suggest the use of critical

service learning (Mitchell, 2008)[14] and view this as a means for language activism and language identity to become linked, with heritage language as the vehicle for action. Critical service learning is distinguishable from traditional models of service learning that continue to be predominant. In her literature review on traditional and critical service learning models, Tania Mitchell (2008) provides a succinct description of the similarities and differences. Similar to traditional service learning, critical service learning models include both community and classroom components and reflection across spaces. However, the central purpose of traditional service learning is on the participating student engaging in a combination of "learning to serve" and "serving to learn," participating students often engage with service learning in communities of which they are not members, and the outcomes are largely weighted on student personal development and an experience of individual change on the part of the participants. Critical service learning seeks to balance these individual outcomes with a centralizing focus on social change that involves direct efforts to redistribute power and develop authentic relationships. Although it is not obligatory in order to be considered critical service learning, participants usually do critical service learning projects in the communities they belong to. Leeman, Rabin, and Román-Mendoza (2011) contend that critical service learning in one's own community is a necessary next step from critical language awareness, as it relies on the agency of the individual as both an actor and a member of a collective

[14] This has also been referred to as "social awareness" by Shawn Ginwright and Julio Cammarota (2002), who critique traditional service learning for being apolitical and advocate for a social justice approach to service learning that facilitates youth recognition of the historical political and social roots of social inequality as they participate in community problem solving and service projects.

action. They consider a CLA-informed critical service learning context to be the opportune site for the heritage language learner's ability to act together for a purposeful action related to and through the heritage language. In a later section, I will also suggest the inclusion of critical participatory action research (CPAR) as a vehicle for moving beyond critical language awareness and towards conscientização in Spanish as a 'heritage' language.

Community conscientização – connecting the classroom to the heart of the community

Spanish as a 'heritage' language has the opportunity to strengthen the linkages between youth and community members when it legitimizes and strengthens multiple varieties of Spanish, including local varieties spoken by youth and people in their immediate communities (Leeman, 2005; 2015) which often go silenced or ignored (Leeman, 2015). This is particularly important considering the diversity and range of varieties spoken in what is referred to in academic scholarship as "new Latino diaspora" communities (Harklau, 2009; Wortham, Murillo, & Hamann, 2002). These are communities across the United States that have experienced relatively recent increases of people of Américas descent, such as can be found in many Northeastern and Midwestern states. The demographics of these new Latinx diaspora communities often enjoy much more ethnic, geographical, and linguistic diversity than more long-standing Latinx communities found primarily across Western and Southwestern states, or what Gloria Anzaldúa (2012) and many Latinx and Chicanx scholars refer to as borderlands regions.

In much of the literature specific to Spanish as a 'heritage' language classroom contexts, which primarily describe higher ed settings, what I call *community conscientização* takes shape as critical community service. Leeman, Rabin, and Román-Mendoza's (2011) show the importance of language identity and language activism within youths' communities being central components of these projects. Although, in the projects they describe, 'heritage' languages tend to be the focus of activism and not necessarily the vehicle through which critical service learning happens. They argue that because identity has and will always be at the core of 'heritage' language education, so too must language identity be at the core of community conscientização (called critical service learning in Leeman 2005; 2015; Leeman, Rabin, & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Rabin, 2011). In speaking to this, Leeman, Rabin, and Ramón-Mendoza (2011) draw on the rich history of language rights activism, connected to identity, within the Chicanx community.

Lisa Rabin (2011) also traces an example of this history through a historical modeling of Leonard Covello, who was a New York City language teacher from 1915-1956 who pushed for Italian and Spanish heritage language classes in schools. He did this through the use of community language varieties being used for what would now be considered critical service learning projects within students' own East Harlem neighborhoods. Covello believed that his and his students' work created community-centered schools, with classrooms being extensions of the "heart of the community itself" (Covello, 1939, quoted in Rabin, 2011, p. 338). His work with his students worked against similar deeply entrenched monolingual English ideologies connected to

Americanization and US exceptionalism as those circulating today. Additionally, his and his students' work intersected strongly with issues of race and class, both of which continue to inform the experiences of Latinx and multilingual Spanish-speaking youth and their communities today. Covello's work is just part of a the strong heritage of community-driven refusal and claims to greater self-determination school-based learning that persisted through the Chicanx rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., García & Castro, 2014; San Miguel Jr., 2013) and continue today (e.g., Bernal & Aléman, 2016; Dyrness, 2011; Cammarota & Romero, 2015; Valenzuela et al., 2016).

This history of community conscientização provides a legacy of multilingual youth and 'heritage' (language) educators resisting and overwriting the types of problem-driven discourses often applied to them, similar to those that Shawn Ginwright (2007) describes in his examples of Black youth challenging constructs of black and Latinx youth as "thugs" and "troublemakers" in public policy. At one point, Ginwright tells the story of a town hall meeting convened to discuss the "youth problem," with no youth originally invited to represent, and the subsequent impromptu speech given by a black teenager named Ricky. In this, Ginwright shows how, through acting within their communities in ways that give name to the process of constructing problem-driven discourses about both youth and communities of color and poverty while simultaneously resisting a compulsory participation, they effectively recast themselves as "key civic partners in community change efforts" (p. 411). Leeman, Rabin, and Román-Mendoza (2011) argue that, through similar recasting in curricular and pedagogical ways, critical Spanish as a 'heritage' language can be construed and can move beyond the walls of the

school and seed a sense within youth that they might self-identify as experts, activists, and whatever else they can imagine themselves to be. Jennifer Leeman (2015) pushes this further in connection to a community conscientização when she describes critical service learning's capacity to directly engage Spanish as a 'heritage' language students in their own communities, saying that it provides an "examination of the structural, political and ideological roots and implications of the problems being addressed and foregrounds the role of language" (p. 285). In this way, communities and community members are not constructed as simply resources or representations of "authenticity." Rather, youth and elders enter into partnerships in order to share and exchange knowledge and to work collaboratively towards shared goals that have been collectively determined for the good of the community.

Looking to the forest for the trees of humanizing pedagogies

> *[It] is the moral duty of educators to understand and enact humanizing pedagogy that is grounded in theory, possible in practice, and shaped by the realities of students' and teachers' lives.* (Salazar, 2013, p. 142)

While traditional banking models of education (Freire, 2010) "refuse to accept and legitimize the students' language" (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 124), humanizing pedagogy is inextricably linked to the lived experiences and languages of the learners. As such, Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes – with their speakers of multiple variations of Spanish and their goals of 'heritage' language maintenance and extension, alongside the development and expansion of language and literacy practices – are prime spaces for humanizing and critical pedagogies, wherein "the successful usage of the students'

cultural universe requires respect and legitimation of students' discourses [… and] their own linguistic codes, which are different but never inferior" (p. 127).

The first part of this chapter outlined the tenets of a humanizing pedagogy, considered an explicit centralizing of 'heritage' language in humanizing pedagogy that often continues to go unnamed, and explored the role of linguistic and community conscientização in this approach. For this, I was able to draw on Spanish as a 'heritage' language specific contexts, albeit primarily college-level classrooms, which is reflective both of the location of much Spanish as a 'heritage' language classroom learning in the United States and where a great deal of research continues to be conducted. However, here I'd like to remember *why* there is such an emphasis on the need to create introductory level Spanish as a 'heritage' language courses at U.S. colleges and universities, which is that this is a reflection of the results of consistent constraints placed on otherwise multilingual and multidialectal youth as they experience a K-12 school system that is undergirded by subtractive language and schooling practices in general (Anzaldúa, 2012; Cummins, 1994; Olsen, 2010; Valenzuela, 1999).

Spanish as a 'heritage' language has the potential to take on the role both of enacting linguistic healing and expansion and to take part in the halting and healing of the sociocultural traumas shaped by subtractive and necrolinguistic schooling practices. The personal, communal, spiritual, political, and historical healing and rebirth a humanizing approach offers aligns it with the aims of reparational language education. This maintains alignment with Ofelia García's (2005) call for heritage language to be used as a term for this educational project in order to lay claim to a tradition of language rights in the face

of the imposition of English monolingual hegemony, as well as Jennifer Leeman's (2005; 2015) recognition that Spanish as a 'heritage' language has always been a political identity project. In imagining heritage language education as an act of reparational justice, language and literacy must be inextricably woven with an activism of care, a philosophy of education that embraces resistant schooling, the explicit collective goal of learning for self-determination, and a focus throughout on language-and-social justice.

How these four constituent parts might be operationalized can be found throughout programs such as Tucson Unified School District's Mexican American Studies program and Social Justice Education Project (Cammarota & Romero, 2015), University of Toronto's Proyecto Latin@ (Guerrero, Rosas, & Guerrero, 2013), Project FUERTE (Future Urban Educators conducting Research to Transform urban Education) (Irizarry, 2011), the race-radical #BarrioEdProj (Mayorga, 2014), and the Chicana feminist writing for social change project (Sanchez, 2009). All of these programs emphasize heritage and ethnic identity study, critical participatory action research (Cammarota & Fine, 2008), race radical and indigenous knowledge, and critical pedagogy. As Chiara Cannella (2014) suggests, these components, when combined with an explicit focus on the sociohistorical context of schools and students experiencing U.S. schooling, provides space for the forging of a pedagogy of humanization that can speak to the complex and intersectional identities of Latinx youth. Two pillars are vital in these programs: what Julio Cammarota and Augustine Romero have termed critically compassionate intellectualism and the pedagogical form of participatory action research termed youth participatory action research (Cammarota & Fine, 2008).

In their extensive representations of the Social Justice Education Project as part of Tucson's Mexican American Studies program, Cammarota and Romero detailed the humanizing approach of the first pillar: critically compassionate intellectualism for educating Latinx youth for truly democratic participation in contexts where liberation can be reality (Cammarota & Romero, 2006; Romero, 2015; Romero, Arce, & Cammarota, 2009). To do so, teachers must take up a simultaneous trilogy of critical pedagogy; relationships of critically compassionate caring (Valenzuela, 1999) amongst students, teachers, and parents (see Romero, Arce, & Cammarota, 2009 for the addition of parents); and social justice content. These play out in classroom and community learning that encompass a critical consciousness about education and the institution of school, integration of critical literacy practices, compassionate relationships, and content that does not shy away from the realities of institutional and systemic oppressions across the intersections of race, language, gender identity, sexual orientation, ability, spirituality, and social/economic class. They insist that the simultaneous implementation of this trilogy fosters true forms of student liberation that serves to break up the "mechanisms of silence at work in schools" (Cammarota & Romero, 2006) by aerating the seeds of critical intellectualism that have been muted through the subtractive schooling process.

The second pillar is the use of youth participatory action research (YPAR) (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). As an epistemology and methodological approach, participatory action research (PAR) involves members of an institution or community conducting research within that institution or community in order to initiate changes for the purpose of critically transforming something that impacts them from within that

institution or community. YPAR is similar to this but is described by Julio Cammarota and Michelle Fine as a pedagogical approach that aligns with the critical PAR epistemology, staying consistent with community-identified and broader social justice methodologies. Cammarota and Romero (2009) connect YPAR to a funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) approach in order to centralize and capitalize on the knowledge and skills youth learn and have access to through their home and community relationships. Through this, YPAR provides a pathway for the sort of community conscientização that was described earlier, wherein youth are participants in enacting liberatory and sustainable transformations within their own communities or in the ways their communities are discursively and politically constructed through media and popular narratives and public policy (Cammarota, 2014; Cammarota & Romero, 2009; 2011; Romero, Cammarota, Dominguez, Valdez, Ramirez, & Hernandez, 2008).

To better understand how the application of humanizing approaches can be central to the Spanish as a 'heritage' language classroom, I have drawn here primarily on the work of Latinx-centric education that intentionally emphasizes identity, community engagement, and social justice. Language and positive ethnolinguistic identity attrition amongst multilingual youth, particularly speakers of marginalized languages and dialects, is so tightly knitted to the project of schooling that even these remarkable examples of Latinx-centric ethnic studies and YPAR programs tend to lack a primary emphasis on heritage language healing and growth. Still, JcD has found great strength and solidarity in aligning with these humanizing projects and the impressive opportunity to articulate their power and potential with Spanish as a 'heritage' language courses by weaving language

healing into their epistemologies and methods. By doing this, Jóvenes con Derechos attempts to engage ‘heritage’ language education as an act of reparational justice, in line with the aims of the social justice education models described here.

Chapter Four Interlude: Agonistic thinging

Instructional thinging: Pedagogical arts of critical heritage study

One of the four tenets of participatory design research is what Erling Björgvinsson, Pelle Ehn, and Per-Anders Hillgren (2010, 2012) refer to as "agonistic thinging." Agonism, as in John Dewey's (1954) belief in an agonistic democracy, views conflict as a struggle for freedom and sees this as necessary for democratic participation and collective self-determination. Agonism as ongoing struggle is distinct from antagonism, in that the struggle is generative. Agonistic struggle may not have or need to 'win' over an opponent or opposing view, whereas antagonism desires to win against a hostile opponent. Agonism, instead, sees struggle amongst strong partners as the win, in that each is strengthened through the process of struggle.

Agonism can also be seen in Anzaldúan (2002) theorization of choques, which show how "conflict, with its fiery nature, can trigger transformation, depending on how we respond to it" (p. 4). In their visioning of a framework of participatory action research entremundos, María Elena Torre and Jennifer Ayala (2009) are clear in the ways that agonism takes shape as choques in contact zones, such as Spanish as a 'heritage' language spaces in schools are.

> Within a PAR framework, *choques* emphasize the importance of incorporating conflict and disjunctures that arise in the research as potential analytical resources. Resisting the common participatory impulse to organize around consensus, a PAR that embraces *Mesizaje* seeks random outliers, analyzes

> emerging *choques* in interpretation and explores the disagreements among co-resarchers, all the while searching for clues of larger social political dynamics at work. This process heightens a collective's ability to recognize and analyze ways micro-tensions in the research reflect macro-level policies and practices (Fine and Torre, 2004). (Torre & Ayala, 2009, p. 390)

Torre and Ayala argue that choques are spaces of both contestation and creativity, formed through cultural collisions and the pressures of colonization processes. In so saying, agonism – when viewed in the setting of the U.S. as a democratic process that can not be untangled from settler colonialism and racial capitalism – is clarified and enriched through this understanding of the transformations that choques bring in a humanizing and participatory teaching and learning space.

As participatory designers and co-researchers across multiple entrypoints, Jóvenes con Derechos youth, Toni, and I engaged in iterative participatory action research and design projects that shaped the purpose and happenings of our Spanish as a 'heritage' language program. As I will show in this chapter, these processes reflected the agonism of transformation, which can not "presuppose the possibilitiy of consensus and rational conflict resolution" (Bjögvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2012, p. 128). By virtue of their existence within and resistance to the violences and pressures of the contact zone, these instructional processes (thinging) were also shaped through choques, which infused resistance to demeaning societal and institutional structures and connection to ongoing struggle for social change beyond the classroom.

Thinging, in the northern geneology of participatory design research, is not about the creation of objectives or static tools. Rather, thinging returns to earlier etymologies, wherein "Thing" meant "an 'assembly' around 'matters of concern,' taking place at a certain time and at a certain place" (Björgvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2010, p. 43). Thus, thinging reflects "assemblies, rituals and places where disputes were dealt with and political decisions made" (p. 43). As an example, one of the world's oldest and longest-standing democratic parliaments is in the Nordic settlement island of Iceland. Located in the rift valley, beginning in AD 930, representatives from family settlements across the island agreed to gather at what is now known as "Thingvellir" – the valley of gatherings, or "thinging fields." The Alþingi (or Thing) was an active process of assemblage, exchange, consensus, accountability, entertainment, and engaged collective self-governance. It wasn't until the 1800s, when Iceland came under the rule of Norwegian and Danish monarchies, that the Thing as an active process of assemblying was revisioned as a static place of governance – what is now the Althing, or parliamentary house. Etymologically, too, over time, the gerund Thing (a nominalized active verb, much like "the gathering") became the static object "thing."

In the Jóvenes con Derechos Spanish as a 'heritage' language program, instructional designs were active process, not presupposed. Over the course of our five years together, we shaped and were shaped by the actions of teaching and learning together. Toni did not have an instructional plan, nor did she have a curriculum or curricular materials when she first entered into the program. She described this in

multiple accounts and paired collective memory sessions, reflecting the failings of individualistic designing that led to the participatory cycles of our interlapping research.

> *When I walked into the classroom on day one, it was really hard to get away from my training. So, I walked in with a very – I mean, I walked in with a deficit model in line for language. I thought, 'Ok. These students, you know, there's something that we need to fix. They're going to come in and we're going to work on academic language.' And that was very much my focus: 'We're going to take what they've learned and we're going to improve on it.' And that's how I started for the first three or four months teaching. And I – you know, I put that on the table, and as you can imagine, the students left it right there on the table.* (Toni, internal data reference, 170408)

Toni's initial move was to design the Spanish as 'heritage' language program around the external damages-framework or reparative language instruction. She believed "there's something that we need to fix. They're going to come in and we're going to work on academic language." This damages-framework reflected the deeply entrenched narratives of the specter of semilingualism (Flores, 2017) that hover over the discussions about and reparative instructional approaches designed for 'heritage' learners, who are viewed as not quite proficient in any of their nation-state oriented languages (e.g., Spanish, English). The reparative language instruction of focusing on Spanish academic language development that Toni initially drew on came out of "appropriateness-based models of heritage language education" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 160). Youths' refusal ("I put that on the table, and as you can imagine, the students left it right there on the table") became

the catalyst for our early participatory design research. Toni regularly returned to this early moment of youth refusal in our memory work, forming this into the catalyst for understanding the Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes as agonistic spaces (spaces of constant and generative struggle), and therefore the catalyst for conceptualizing our instructional thinging as reparational in its desires.

The pedagogical arts of instructional thinging

Through our interlapping participatory youth-led and practitioner-led action research projects, the active pedagogical arts of instructional thinging took shape. Pedagogical arts were the forms and processes that were required for 'heritage' language education with reparational aims to emerge and enact desires for liberation, healing, and collective self-determination. As I described earlier, pedagogical arts of the contact zone (Wolff, 2002) call on practitioners-researchers-learners to leverage understandings of the power differentials that exist across classrooms and other institutional spaces. In line with the agonism of choques, the pedagogical arts of instructional thinging meant that youth, Toni, and I asked of ourselves and each other to "reimagine the already imagined spaces of the classroom" (p. xiv). These pedagogical arts fused historical positioning; interdisciplinary thinking; unsolicited oppositional discourses; community learning within the matrices of ideological, political, and socially positioned raced identities and discourses; language contact, morphing, and clash; and making new realities by reimagining the here and now. This chapter offers examples of these pedagogical arts by detailing the youth-led participatory action research projects that Jóvenes con Derechos

took up in the formation of the instructional thinging of their Spanish as a ‘heritage’ language classes.

Viewing instructional thinging through fight-back ethnography

This chapter describes a particular aspect of instructional thinging within the reparational language education work of the Jóvenes con Derechos Spanish as a ‘heritage’ language program. Specifically, I outline the youth-led participatory action research (YPAR) projects that serve as the heart and muscle of the program. The processes towards, audiences for, and shape of dissemination of these YPAR projects were determined by participating youth. These dissemination products often took place as educational actions. In this chapter, I will describe four of these YPAR projects. Both Toni and I took active part in these projects, which I will include in these descriptions. As part of the larger interlapping participatory design (see Figure 4.1), these YPAR projects, in addition to reflecting the instructional thinging of the program, were instrumental to ongoing curricular infrastructuring (described in more detail in chapter five). They also shaped much of the collaborative practitioner action research projects which co-occurred with YPAR projects and dramatically shaped the ongoing study, professional development, instructional and curricular designing, and later scaffolding for new teachers who would join the program to mentor into ‘hertiage’ language teaching with reparational aims.

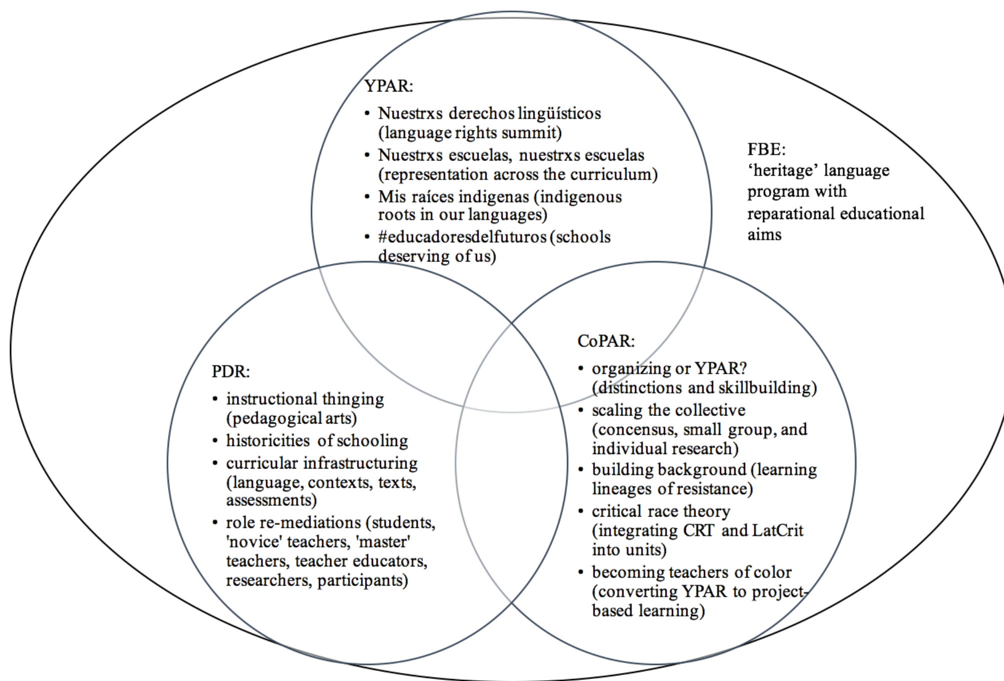

Figure 4.1: Project map of interlapping participatory projects

In describing these YPAR projects, Toni and my roles in their enactments, and their interconnectivity to the interlapping components of participatory design research and practitioner action research, I utilize the tools of fight-back ethnography (McCarty, 2012; Villenas, 2012). These ethnographic tools included long-term embedded participation and observation within the learning environment. Akin to critical ethnography, fight-back ethnography uses ethnographic tools for thick description to name and attempt to disrupt marginalizing power dynamics (Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2005). In line with critically engaged and activist research methods (Hale, 2008), fight-back ethnography demands that the research and attending scholarship/dissemination connects to existing social change movements.

In her outlining of the expectations for fight-back ethnography, Sofia Villenas (2012) calls on ethnographies de lucha to speak back to negative public discourses; be a

part of the complex conversations that reflect the ongoing struggle for freedom and collective self-determination; are savvy and strategic in their navigation of the shifting sands of politics; and take up discourses that maximize the “tricky moves” of policy, programs, and teaching practices that aim to disrupt harmful policies and practices (p. 16). Villenas further calls for a commitment from researchers for “ethnographies *de lucha* [to] continue to renew the field of Latino education as social movement, and to use our carefully crafted research to locate cultural agency and educational change from within and from without” (p. 17). Using these tools of fight-back ethnography, I describe the youth-led work of four of our YPAR projects, how these projects were situated in the larger story of the reparational aims of the Spanish as a ‘heritage’ language program, the roles that Toni and I played in these projects, and the larger and already existing social change movements we connected youth to through their YPAR projects.

My roles in Jóvenes con Derechos’ YPAR projects

Over the course of five years, I spent between five to ten hours per week in Toni’s Spanish as a ‘heritage’ language classes. In the first two years, this time was largely spent in first the two sections of the Level 1 course and later the five sections of the Levels 1 and 2 courses. Toni and I met regularly to co-plan. I joined groups of students during class to learn with them and to gather and share ideas for what was working, what was sparking interest and a desire to go deeper, and what was falling flat. During class periods, Toni and I would sometimes connect in the moment, shift gears or go deeper based on youth input and responses. Youth participated in course scope and content decisions. In addition to this, my primary role in the first year and a half of the program

was to seek out program models, resources, and texts in response to Toni's and youth's desires-framework for the course design. Much of this early work formed the historicity aspect that is represented in chapter three of this dissertation. These then shaped the content of the Chicanx/Latinx-centric, intra-ethnic studies curriculum that served as the foundation of the Level 1 course (described later in this chapter).

In the second year, based on youth voices and the guidance and courage we gained from existing models for action-oriented social justice youth development education designs with Latinx youth (e.g., Cammarota & Romero, 2009; Irizarry, 2011; Romero, Arce, & Cammarota, 2008), my role shifted significantly. I taught research methods to Toni and youth, based on the direction their YPAR projects were taking them. I spent an increasing amount of time outside of the classroom so that Toni and I could balance our time with youth. For study and research work that youth participated in after school, on weekends, and during summer projects, I became the primary adult co-researcher, complementing what was also happening during the school-day and year with Toni. This was only possible because Toni and I remained in constant contact, communicating daily with phone calls, texts, and Facebook messenger (which we used to share texts and resources). When groups of youth expressed interest in a particular research question, in the school-day portion of the program, I often worked behind the scenes, searching out and sharing resources and texts with Toni, or connecting Toni and particular youth with community members, scholars, artists, and activists who were doing similar work.

In the third and fourth year of the program, my primary role in the YPAR projects became behind-the-scenes. I wrote grant applications to pay for community educators' (including parents of youth) to co-teach lessons, share testimonios, and come as guest speakers. At one point, I was able to secure a private $10,000 matching grant by leveraging my teaching assistantship as the university's matching funds. This money paid for transportation (e.g., travel expenses for youth to attend local and national conferences; busses to bring forty youth from our program to two different elementary schools for their #educadoresdelfuturos project, described later in this chapter), stipends to pay youth for time they spent doing YPAR projects that spanned beyond the school day or school year, and food so that attendees at the multiple public symposia and conferences that youth organized around different YPAR projects fed bodies as well as minds and spirits. I was also able to leverage my connections at the University to bring attention and participation amongst high-stakes policymakers, the network of teacher education programs, and district-level administrators to conferences and symposia organized by youth that took place at their consistently underresourced school. Because I was not a teacher at Eleanor High School but was considered on "special assignment" as a school-university liaison, I also had a unique position in relation to the school's administration. This allowed me to advocate on behalf of Toni, youth, and the program in ways that neither our youth nor, at times, Toni were in a position to feel comfortable doing.

In the later years of the program, Toni and I faced the importance of sustainability. Recognizing that I was a graduate student and may not be able to find local employment once I graduated, we wanted to ensure that the program could maintain itself

and continue to grow strong without being reliant on either of us as individuals. We built in to our plans that I would become less present physically as Toni came into her own as the reparational language educator she envisioned for herself and the youth she taught. We put more of our efforts into growing future multilingual, critically-conscious teachers of color through our Spanish as a 'heritage' language program and connecting them with support mechanisms in the local teacher preparation programs. I spent more of my time working with individual youth as we navigated college applications and essays, scholarship and grant applications, DACA and Dream Act paperwork, funding and financial aid realities and needs, and connecting with campus resources for first generation college students. At the same time, we used my connections in the University's teacher education program to reach out to justice-oriented teacher candidates who we wanted to mentor through their teaching practica, giving preference for the very few multilingual candidates of color their program had sought out and supported. Here, my role shifted yet again to act as an additional support and coach for these teacher candidates and to support Toni as she grew into her teacher mentor and educator role. All the while, these new teachers were learning to teach in ways that neither Toni nor I had benefitted from – through experience with the instructional thinging of youth-led curriculum designing, youth-led participatory action research projects, and collaborative practitioner action research to convert these learnings into the pedagogical arts of reparational language education.

Bringing instructional thinging to new places –YPAR and critical heritage study

Neither Toni (who identifies as black) nor I (who identifies as white) are Latina, and there were many times that we, too, were learning, alongside youth in the Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes, about what is not provided space in school curricula. This meant seeking knowledge and expertise from our students and a healthy dose of ongoing self-education. We all watched documentaries on the Braceros program, and on community actions that included orchestrated school walkouts in the name of language and education rights led by Chicanx communities. We brought in community members, educators, and artists – sometimes in person and sometimes through the use of technology – and we moved our classes into the community to talk with and interview Latinx community members about the topics we were learning about. All of this was done using the radical idea that the multilingual assets of youth and their communities – in particular, multiple varieties of Spanish and Spanglish – were *the* languages through which inquiry would be undertaken, knowledge and expertise would be shared, claims would be co-constructed, and actions would be taken. As we made our road by walking it, we identified with youth the need for our study and actions to be explicitly aligned with both Raza studies (Cammarota & Romero, 2015) and critical multilingualism in public school settings. Together, these became the sustenance of the reparational aims of the Jóvenes con Derechos program.

Chapter Four

"Maybe it's our job to teach": A fight-back ethnographic look at instructional thinging

Youth-led participatory action research (YPAR) does not begin at the collective formation of research questions. Rather, YPAR begins with collective study and solidification of the theoretical foundations that will shape the parameters of the products of the research project (across design, implementation, and dissemination through activation). This component of collective study and formation of a shared theoretical foundation is not always included in descriptions of YPAR projects. However, Nicole Mirra, Antero Garcia, and Ernest Morrell (2015) offer insights into the necessity and value of this in their description of a year-long YPAR project that began with a summer intensive research camp. This week-long camp brought youth researchers, graduate student researchers, teacher researchers, and university researchers together for two things: community building and developing a shared critical theory foundation that would frame whatever directions they would choose to move together in for the following months. In line with their attention to the inclusion of developing a shared critical theory lens, I will first briefly describe the shared study we undertake in the first year (Level 1) of the Jóvenes con Derechos Spanish as a 'heritage' language program. This is followed by a description of four YPAR projects that emerged from this foundation over the five year timescale this dissertation spans. I describe our first project ("Nuestrxs derechos lingüísticos") in detail, in order to outline the steps our initial YPAR project process

involved. The three remaining YPAR project are described more generally, for the purpose of providing scope for later synthesis and clarification for the infrastructuring process (described in chapter five). These descriptions highlight the ways Jóvenes con Derechos' YPAR projects live beyond their initial formation and generate instructional thinging that include critical service learning projects (Mitchell, 2008) and project-based units that derive from YPAR projects of earlier Jóvenes con Derechos cohorts. Finally, I close with the social change movements that these YPAR projects connected to and connected youth researchers with.

The sprouting of Jóvenes con Derechos

When Toni was hired to teach the Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes and reached out to me to co-design the program, we gathered what we could find in terms of existing curricular models. The more promising examples suggested using language arts standards to create a Spanish-language literature and composition course, with a focus on Latin American and Caribbean authors. Later, in our second year, we learned of localized curricula being created in college and university 'heritage' language courses that turned local language and community activities into the basis of grammar exercises and learner-created textbooks and digital media tasks. However, as Linda Harklau (2009) pointed out, despite growing interest, Spanish as a 'heritage' language lacks critical holistic and nuanced examples in either educational research or in the form of instructional tools (see also Parra, 2016). In those early years, we found almost nothing illuminating instructional practices, curricular content, or student experiences in successful and critical Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes – particularly in new Latinx diaspora contexts, such as in

northern and midwestern U.S. states. Instead, we turned to examples of justice-oriented education across the country where we found youth with Américas roots thriving in culturally and linguistically sustaining spaces (e.g., Cammarota & Romero, 2009; Irizarry, 2011; Cammarota, Arce & Romero, 2009).

Co-creating the kinds of humanizing and culturally sustaining spaces that we found outside of explicitly 'heritage' language education contexts spoke to our goals for the program. We decided the content for the first year course (Level 1) would be on personal, community, and political identity and promoting a sense of positive ethnolinguistic identity, belonging, and ownership of Eleanor High School. We did this by spending our time with youth focusing on the mobility and transformation of heritage practices, Latinx and Chicanx rights movements in the United States, Indigenous identities and struggles for land rights and educational sovereignty, and mobilizing youth engagement and passion about pressing issues of language rights, educational rights, and xenophobic and nativist immigration laws and rhetoric through the use of justice-oriented action and research projects.

In the first year, youth, Toni, and I studied the lineage of struggle and collective actions that few of us had been exposed to in schools to that point, but all of Jóvenes con Derechos were connected to as members of the U.S. Latinx community. For example, we drew upon the history of the Braceros program, linking it to contemporary maquiladoras and global flows of workers, and exploring the efforts and wins of the United Farm Workers led by Dolores Huerta and César Chávez. We traced the distance between Zoot Suiters (Tovares, 2002) and Latinx (particularly early Puerto Rican) hip-hop intellectuals

and breakdancers (Rosario & Bishop, 2015). We examined how colonization, the one drop rule, and colorism played out within and across Latin American countries and different U.S. Latinx ethnic communities. We studied collective organizing efforts that were shared amongst youth, educators, community members, and legal advocates in fights for educational rights. For this, we began with the "Lemon Grove Incident" and the Méndez v. Westminster court cases – two of the U.S.' earliest successful school desegregation cases, both of which pre-date Brown v. Board. This was followed by learning about the East Los Angelos Unified School District walkouts of 1968 (i.e. Chicano Blowouts), which were initially organized by Chicanx youth, teachers, and community members to protest and demand changes to unequal structural and curricular conditions. We paired these U.S.-based components with exploration of the autonomous Zapatista schools (or Zapatista Freedom Schools) of Chiapas, México. We then took up the ongoing movement for ethnic studies in the United States through the documentary film *Precious Knowledge* (Palos, 2011). Synthesizing our study of earlier texts and contexts, we interrogated the historical and political context within which the Mexican-American Studies program in Tucson, Arizona had flourished, been attacked, and was being suffocated and tried to parse out what could be learned from the powerful struggle put up by young people and their communities against the banning of ethnic studies.

Jóvenes con Derechos' YPAR projects

In the second year, youth energies began to bloom. There were frustrations, insights, and a growing sense of collective efficacy and strength that undergirded calls from youth to know more, tackle the issues that faced them, and engage with social

change and structural transformation. In response, we entered into the second major phase of YPAR: transformative critical participatory action research (YPAR) projects (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). Through YPAR (see Figure 4.2), Toni, youth, and I sought to connect and move the knowledge that lives within youths' communities and generational memories to youth-led actions for change. In the first iteration of the second year of the

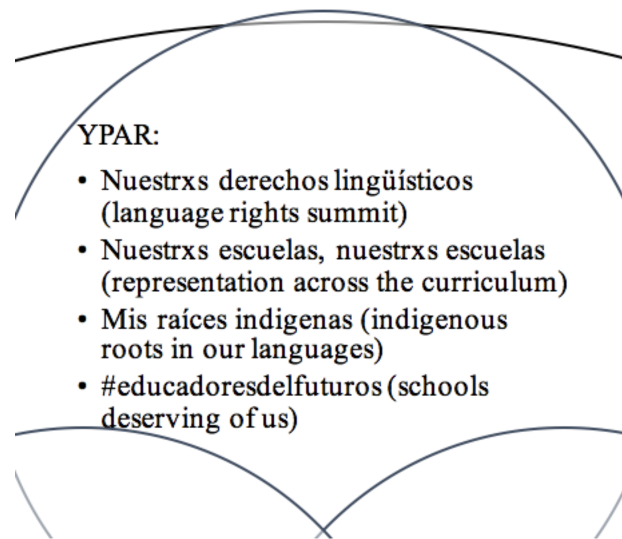

Figure 4.2: Snapshot of instructional thinging – Jóvenes con Derechos' YPAR projects

program, youth engaged in two YPAR projects, which culminated in different primary forms for dissemination. The first was a language rights summit ("Nuestrxs derechos lingüísticos"), with students, teachers, community members, school and district administration, teacher educators from local universities, and a state senator attending. The second was a heritage curriculum expo ("Nuestrxs escuelas, nuestrxs historias"). In the third year, a smaller group of the second year cohort of youth designed a summer YPAR study that examined and made visible the ways indigenous langauges and knowledge persevered through different varieties of Spanish and familial cultural

practices of song, poetry, and brujería ("Raíces indigenas"). Through this project, youth created a series of stop motion short films that drew from their research. In the third and fourth years, youth engaged in a long-term and extended research project ("#educadoresdelfuturos") that built off of previous cohorts' study to construct a vision of what schools that would be deserving of them would involve and ask of public education (K-12 schools and teacher preparation). As years compounded and youth entering into Jóvenes con Derechos learned from and alongside youth in earlier cohorts, YPAR projects built on and expanded upon previous iterations. Youth began to form rhizomatic research, designing multiple research projects with the shared goal of presenting collective learnings. Toni and I were joined by other practitioners – teachers in different subject areas at Eleanor High School (including English as an Additional Language) and teachers from schools around Minnesota. These practitioners, together with Toni and I, engaged in ongoing collaborative practitioner action research to co-design units that were structured to follow the steps that had emerged organically in several of youth's YPAR projects.

Nuestrxs derechos lingüísticos

On November 5, 2014, Jóvenes con Derechos took part in their first of many collective actions and orchestrated a multilingual linguistic rights summit at Eleanor High School. The youth who planned and organized the summit were students in their second year of the program. Conference attendees included teachers, students, administrators, school district officials from the multilingual department, local political figures, and university professors in the city's teacher education and licensure programs. The purpose

of the conference was for youth to share narratives that had been collected through interviews of family members, classmates, teachers, and community members discussing their experiences surrounding the topics of linguistic conflict and linguistic discrimination. In addition, they were looking for a commitment from attendees to make changes to the raciolinguistic climate of their schools across multiple levels.

Down the rabbit hole: Our first attempt at YPAR

This was the first time both Jennifer and JcD youth had taken up YPAR. And at times YPAR's effects of "lead[ing] the student 'down the rabbit hole' past the layers of lies to the truths of systematic exploitation and oppression as well as possibilities for resistance" (Cammarota & Fine, 2008, p. 1) could not feel more real. Youth interviewed classmates, teachers, and community members; gathered autoethnographic accounts of their own experiences; and did document analyses of school, district, and international language-in-education policies. Thinking about YPAR as "an innovative approach to positive youth and community development in which young people are trained to conduct systematic research to improve their lives, their communities, and the institutions intended to serve them" (UC Berkeley, 2015), the decision was made to focus efforts on the school as one of the primary institutions that impacted all participants' lives.

We began our research by co-constructing definitions of the term "right." As a class, we discussed questions such as, "What is a right?" "What is a human right?" "What is the purpose of defining rights?" "What is the distinction between a right and a privilege?" "Who are rights for?" etc. Once we had developed a running definition of the term that the majority of the class agreed upon, we then asked ourselves the question,

"What is a linguistic right?" We explored this as "What are the rights of people whose first language is something other than English?" and "What are the rights of people who speak more than one language?" Youth concluded that a linguistic right is a right that protects people from being treated unjustly because of language, dialect/variation, and/or accent. Then they developed three essential questions to drive their research:

1) How do language, accent, and dialect affect how people are treated?

2) How can we ensure that our school is a place where all languages are respected?

3) In what ways is being multilingual an asset?

Overcoming silence: Talking to each other, talking back

Youth decided that interviewing would be an effective way to collect the stories and data that would assist them in answering their essential questions. Everyone in the class knew someone closely who could speak to the experience of navigating the world through multiple languages. Many youth chose a friend or classmate to interview. In addition to friends, youth asked family members to share experiences of linguistic conflict, discrimination, and success. As criteria for choosing an interviewee, we decided it should be someone who was currently living in the United States and a) spoke a first language other than English or b) spoke multiple languages regularly.

In order to generate five interview questions that everyone across two different class periods would use to interview one person of their choice, Toni divided the classes into groups of three and each group came up with three interview questions. These were then compiled into a list of sixteen questions that youth discussed in terms of overlaps,

focus, and range of topics linked to their research questions, which they then collectively ranked. The top five were used for interviews.

The five interview questions were:

1) Have you ever been treated unfairly because of the way that you speak?

2) Have you ever been confused for/assumed to be someone of another race/ethnicity for the way that you looked or spoke?

3) Has speaking another language ever been an advantage for you?

4) Have you ever been belittled because of the way that you speak?

5) Have you ever been able to help someone by using two different languages?

Youth spent one week conducting their interview and took notes, paying special attention to the stories that their interviewees shared. These would be the stories that youth would present (with permission) during the linguistic rights summit.

Nuestrxs Derechos Lingüísticos: Speaking truth to power

Once interviews were complete, data were brought to class for group anaylysis. Youth brought stories that had been collected from their classmates, teachers, neighbors, and family members. Toni once again divide youth into small groups to read the stories and to discuss each situation individually. Most stories had to do with cases of microagressions (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Sue, 2010) and/or overt discrimination based on race, ethnicity, belief system, language and/or language variation/dialect. When asked the question, ¿Te han hecho sentir menos por tu forma de hablar?[15], one interviewee responded, "Yes, I was interpreting in a hospital and the nurse spoke a different dialect of

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[15] Have you ever been made to feel "less than" for the way that you speak?

Spanish so she made fun of me and that did bring me down." Across community interviews, youth and adults alike shared experiences of raciolinguistic discrimination and aggressions. JcD youth shared numerous examples in their presentations, including the following:

> Ej7: Una joven fue a la cafetería para el almuerzo, se sentó con un grupo que no era de su raza. Rápido las jóvenes la hicieron mover porque fue distinta de las otras y que se fuera sentar con las mexicanas.[16]

> Ex23: Erick was going through the McDonald's drive-thru. The operator didn't understand what Erick was trying to order because of his accent and asked him to pull up to the window. The operator told him that he should learn how to speak like an American because he's in America.

Youth found evidence of white supremacy playing out through raciolinguistic ideologies. In example seven, a young Salvadoran woman was racialized through mechanisms of linguistic whiteness (wherein Spanish-speaking equates to being "Mexican," unless one is white-skinned or racialized first as black). In this example, she sat down at a lunch table with a group of other youth who did not speak Spanish and who she did not believe to be Latinx. They told her to move and to "sit with the Mexicans". Example twenty-three shares Erick's story of being told to "learn how to speak like an American because he's in

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[16] One girl went to the cafeteria for lunch and sat down with a group of people who weren't the same race as her. The group at the table got up quickly and moved because she was different from them and she should be sitting with the Mexicans.

America." This example reflected ways that "being American" is conflated with a constantly moving target of "appropriate English" speech, which can never be achieved, in particular when coming from the mouths of brown and black speakers (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

Linguistic discrimination, racialization of language use, and being socially and academically reprimanded for using languages other than English not only resonated amongst JcD youth, it linked their experiences to larger race-language policies and practices in schools (Malsbary, 2014). These data showed youth that suppressive language environments in Minnesota were not unique to those one might expect to find in states like Arizona, with their overt restrictive and English-only school policy environments (e.g., Cammarota, Berta-Ávila, Ayala, Rivera, & Rodriguez, 2016; Iddings, Combs, & Moll, 2012). Indeed, in a northern Midwest state that touts itself as relatively progressive, multilingual youth reverberated with the English-dominant, monoglossic ideologies of what it means to be an "American" in the United States today.

In addition to collecting narratives of prejudice and discrimination, youth chose to word the research and interview questions in a way that that would also allow stories of resilience and empowerment to emerge. One interviewee shared such a story when asked the question, ¿Alguna vez hablar español fue una ventaja para ti?[17] Her response was, "Yes, when I needed to help someone who didn't speak English. At that time it was an advantage." Throughout the community interviews, people consistently offered examples of linguistic and cultural brokering (Morales & Hansen, 2005; Orellana, 2009) only

[17] Has speaking Spanish ever been an advantage for you?

available to them thanks to their ability to move across multiple languages, communication styles, variations of languages, and cultural norms. While these stories were present, JcD found great determination in the need to bring to light the stories of raciolinguistic profiling and discrimination they felt continued to go under the radar in their schools and in the preparation of predominantly English-speaking and monolingual teachers who youth viewed as having limited raciolinguistic consciousness.

Youths' next step was the result of an individual comment during a class discussion following the initial reading of the narratives that emerged from the interviews: "Yes, we know that happens, but, what can we actually *do* about it?" A silence fell upon the group as some youth nodded in agreement and others shifted in their seats and looking intently at one another. We seemed to be in the "rabbit hole," and for a time, we reflected on just how sticky the "layers of lies" and "truths of systematic exploitation and oppression" really were. Several youth mentioned feeling defeated and overwhelmed in that moment. But through this, we also talked our way to recognizing the "possibilities for resistance."[18] For Jóvenes con Derechos, the first iteration of their resistance had already taken place – they had rejected the narratives of linguistic and intellectual deficiencies placed on them as U.S. Latinx youth and become researchers and documentarians of lived experiences. For the next iteration, it was time to speak truth to power. Out of the question "so what we do with this now?" came the idea to draft a list of

[18] The previous sentences reference the earlier quote by Julio Cammarota and Michelle Fine (2008) that YPAR "leads the student 'down the rabbit hole' past the layers of lies to the truths of systematic exploitation and oppression as well as possibilities for resistance" (p. 1)

"linguistic rights" to voice and lay claim to the protections people should have from raciolinguistic discrimination and aggressions. As part of an impromptu, large-group discussion, we created a linguistic right that corresponded with each case that showed how people who were members of racial, ethnic or linguistically marginalized groups were placed in situations of discrimination and unjust treatment. For example, in response to the above anecdote concerning the interviewee who was mocked and looked down upon in the hospital because of the variation of Spanish that she spoke, the following right was drafted: "Todos tienen derecho de no ser discriminados debido a su lenguaje, acento, o dialecto."[19]

Youth then went back into their interviews. As they poured over their data, they conducted narrative analysis and thematic coding in small groups. Each group then brought the stories and anecdotes they had highlighted along with their thematic analyses all together. After compiling and compressing similar themes, they ranked them by number of occurrence. They also considered the impact of the stories shared and collectively determined which stories were best representative of the different themes. These themes were then translated into their own list of rights (see Figure 4.3).

[19] Everyone has the right to not be discriminated against based on his or her language, accent or dialect.

Nuestra Declaración de Derechos Lingüísticos

1) Todos tienen el derecho de no ser categorizados por el color de su piel o su lenguaje
2) Todos tienen el derecho de hablar el idioma que quieran en público
3) Todos tienen el derecho de no ser juzgado a la forma de actuar, color de piel o como se ven
4) Todos tienen el derecho de pedir un intérprete
5) Todos los estudiantes tienen el derecho de hablar en cualquier idioma con sus compañeros
6) Todos tienen el derecho a comunicarse con alguien que entienda su idioma en el trabajo

Figure 4.3: Youth's declaration of linguistic rights

Many of their rights reflected the conflation of racialization, language, and white supremacist discourses of "being American" in the United States and in Minnesota. Youth put forth that everyone has the right to

1) not be categorized by the color of their skin or by their language
2) to speak the language they want to in public
3) not to be judged by the way they act, what color they are, or how they appear
4) to request an interpreter
5) as students, to speak in any language with peers
6) to communicate with someone who understands their language at work

Once the list of rights had been drafted, the next step was to decide who needed to know what we knew, how the findings and analysis should be presented, and who would be our spokespeople. We came to the consensus to hold a summit at Eleanor High School and to invite school administration, teachers, community stakeholders, and politicians.

After some deliberation, youth agreed that these were key people in positions to affect change concerning how language rights and injustices played out across multiple levels in educational institutions.

Along the way, youth also developed community and event organizing skills. They developed a calendar of key dates, a list of key decision-makers as invitees. They discussed the ways language variation, rhetoric, and presentation (oral, written, supported visually, etc.) can either limit participation or welcome it across community members. Honing their critical language awareness, youth made decisions to use everyday language; to preserve the integrity of the language used by interviewees when they shared their stories; to incorporate multiple variations of Spanish, English, and Spanglish; and to

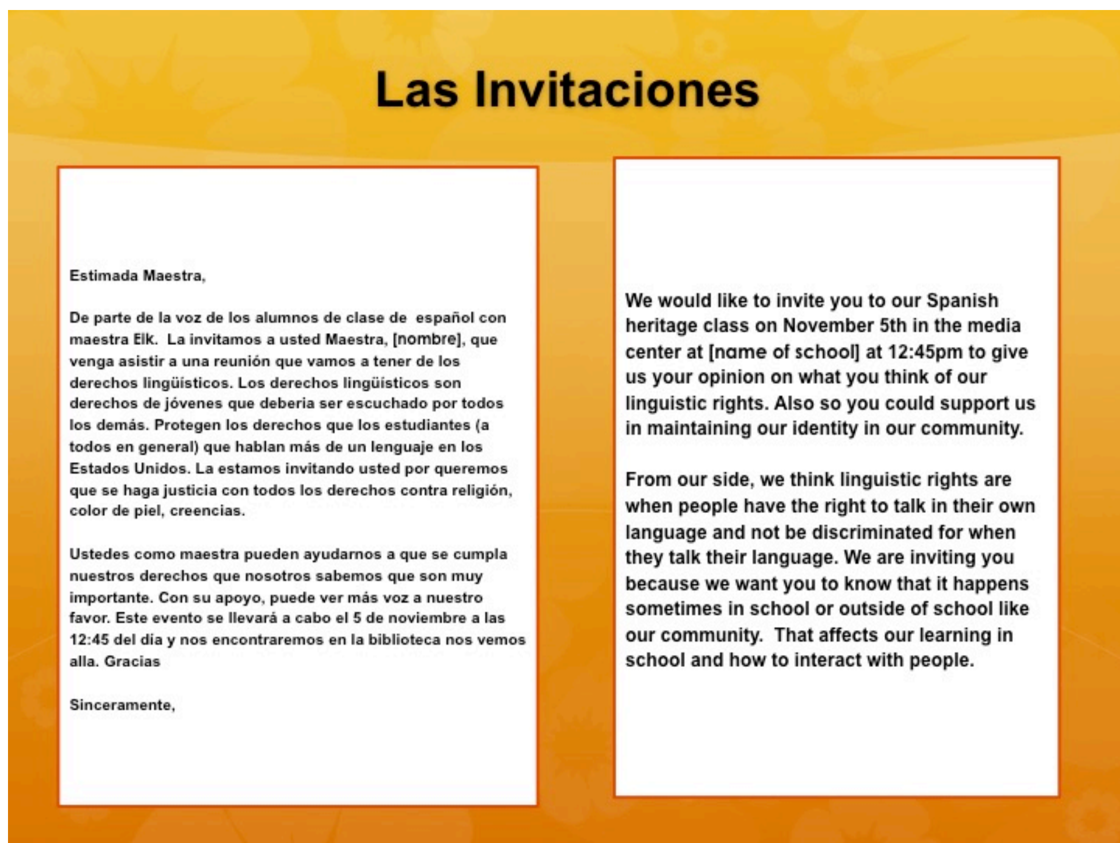

Figure 4.4: Bilingual invitations to JcD's linguistic rights summit

not “clean up” the natural translanguaging that carries knowledge and experience in their own communities. In designing the summit, they agreed it should be multilingual, with the option to participate in predominantly English, predominantly Spanish, and translingual (Spanglish) spaces. Figure 4.4 shows how this emerged in the invitations youth wrote and sent out to key participants. Invitations were not written in one language and then translated into another; rather, invitations reflected differential rhetorical styles that fit the language it was written in. Youth in charge of invitations hand-wrote invitations with the messages shown here. When invitees were known to be dominant English or dominant Spanish speakers, they received an invitation in those languages. When invitees’ language preferences were unknown, they received the invitation in English with a Spanish insert.

Collecting ourselves, Creating change

On the day of the summit, youth led participants through their experiences of conducting research in their communities and working to create a collection of school-based language rights. In the lead-up to the summit, Toni and I guided youth in developing the skills to organize everything from finding space, seeking a small budget, getting food from a local Mexican family-owned restaurant, presenting, videotaping, and leading subsequent discussions. Following their presentations, youth engaged attendees in a conversation about their commitment to taking action on language rights in their own lives.

Attendees commented about being prompted to think in a way that they hadn’t before. Many noted they had never been provoked to consider the assumptions that they

made about other people based on their accent, language, and/or variation/dialect. The conversation also prompted attendees to consider how systems of raciolinguistic white supremacy can use a person's speech and language to limit access to opportunities. Each person who attended the conference was also responsible for filling out a commitment form before leaving (see Figure 4.5). Commitment forms were a way for people to pledge

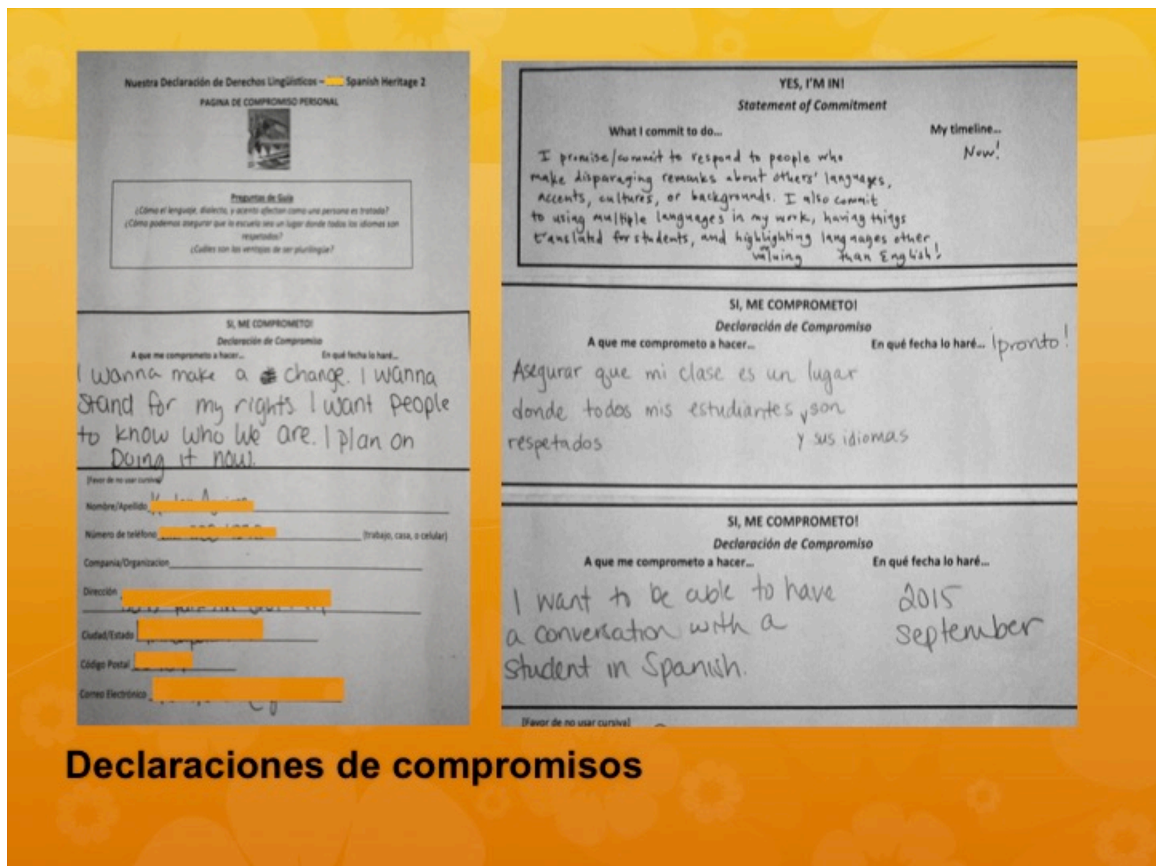

Figure 4.5: Sample commitment forms

to making a change in their lives – whether it was in the classroom, in the halls at school, at work, or at the district level – to assure that other's linguistic rights were being recognized and defended. This also offered youth ways to follow up with attendees and

guided individual and partnered extension projects that interested youth and connected to commitment ideas shared by those in attendance.

Nuestrxs escuelas, nuestrxs historias

Representation across the curriculum

Jóvenes con Derechos' second YPAR project took shape as a curriculum expo. This was held in Eleanor High School's media center expo in the spring of the program's second year, following the energy that grew out of the language rights summit that winter. The decision to explore questions of who is is not represented and centered in mainstream school curricula took shape after a heated discussion in the Level 2 class about a need to learn about urgent issues across Central and South America and the U.S. Latinx community's involvement as change makers. Youth were angry and annoyed that, as high schoolers, there had still been no coverage of any of this in their mandated schooling. Instead, they continued to be barraged by toxic, nonsense narratives about Latinx people. It was then that Angel, a 10th grader who had been increasingly speaking out about his frustrations with other teachers in the building, broke in. Shrugging, he said matter-of-factly: "Maybe it isn't their [the teachers'] fault. Maybe they're just ignorant. I mean, if *we* never got to learn about us in school, they probably know even less. So let's make it so they don't have that excuse."

Youth took up the following research questions: "Who is represented in what we learn about in school?," "Who is at the center of what we learn about in school?", and "What do our communities want us to know about?." Using the interview skills they had honed in their first research project, youth divided their efforts into doing thematic and

content analysis of textbooks and state standards, as well as interviewing community and family members. Through what had, at times, been an overwhelming and stressful process in preparation for the linguistic rights summit, youth had developed skills for doing a YPAR project in conjunction with event planning and community organizing. In this second time through, Toni and I were caught off guard at the ease with which youth took the lead in full. During the research project that had culminated with the linguistic rights conference, Toni had walked youth through dividing into working groups, determining who was well suited to which aspect of the research, action-dissemination, and organizing. When there had been disagreements and prolonged agonism over decision-making, finding spokespeople, and choques, Toni often stepped in. In learning and determining methods for data gathering and analysis, I had played a central role in training Toni and youth. In this second project, Toni and took on practically attendant roles – connecting youth with resources as they requested, bringing information to the attention of key attendees, and providing feedback for final products and presentations.

After compiling their curriculum analyses and interview data, youth agreed that key decisionmakers for curriculum and instruction (district administrators, school administrators, and teachers) should be a targeted audience for organizing a similar public event as they had with the language rights conference. This time, they would take over the school media center and situate multiple stations around the room to share their implications for how intra-ethnic studies curriculum could be pervasively centered across different content areas. Stations would reflect small group research projects into different aspects of personal and community identities and critical perspectives on the value of

heritage study, as well as interdisciplinary and interactive unit and text suggestions. Once again, there would be about eight professors and graduate students from the University teacher education program in attendance. After reflecting on the language rights summit, youth also opted to do focused invitations to specific teachers and request that they bring their classes. This meant requesting permission from Eleanor's principal to organize their curriculum summit over the course of the last three periods of the school day, so they could optimize the number of fellow students who could attend. The principal agreed, and the curriculum expo ("Nuestra historia, nuestra herencia") was set for one of the last weeks of the school year. Stations reflected research through Spanish and Spanglish (see figure 4.6 for bilingual event invitations).

> Nos gustaría invitarles a nuestra clase de español para hispanohablantes el 21 de mayo en la sala de prensa (Media Center) a las 12:15 para conocer diferentes culturas y aspectos de nuestra herencia. Estamos estudiando los temas que nos interesan como nuestras raíces, raza, identidad, y de dónde venimos. Tuvimos un invitado que vino a nuestra clase y nos hizo entrar en el tema de tratar de averiguar lo que realmente somos y cómo empezó nuestra cultura. Su presentación nos inspiró para aprender más acerca de nosotros mismos. Nos gustaría compartir lo que hemos aprendido.

> Our class of Spanish Heritage Language 2 is excited to invite you to our conference which is named "Nuestra Historia, Nuestra Herencia" Our goal of this conference is to show people that we care about our Heritage. For the past 3 weeks we have been learning about our nations flag, origin, language, and indigenous roots. We feel that If we don't tell our own stories someone else will.
>
> Our event will take place in the [Eleanor High School] Media Center on Thursday, the 21st of May from 12:30 - 3pm. There will be food, music, and games. We had fun learning about our past and roots, that we tried our best to make it fun for you and everyone else. Hope to see you there!

Figure 4.6: Bilingual invitations to curriculum expo

Stations included visual guides, youth-created digital story libraries, interactive online games, informational boards, and conversation centers. Topics included exploring indigenous roots of Latinx communities (with a focus on indigenous languages), community histories of movement and migration (with a focus on the political and economic pressures that often determine a family's need to be highly mobile), a crash-course on the political symbolism of the flags of Central and South American countries of origin for youths' families, how knowing one's ethnic identity and heritage changes one's future trajectory, exploring how young people of color can organize around social justice issues, and exploring how young people can be researchers about issues that they care about in their own communities and take action for social change.

Mis raíces indigenas

Indigenous roots in our languages

During the summer, I traveled with a smaller group of Jóvenes con Derechos' original cohort to attend and facilitate a workshop at the Allied Media Conference in Detroit, MI and the Free Minds, Free People Conference in Oakland, CA. This was in addition to local presentations and workshops that youth facilitated with other high school and middle school aged young people, community educators, parents, and teachers. During these workshops youth focused their energies on teaching the skills to other youth to collectively organize around issues they care about, and engage in participatory action research to strengthen their social change momentum. Through my friendship with another local adult co-researcher who worked with a collective of youth of African descent, we traveled across the metro area to meet on Saturdays, share our

research, learn from and with one another, and develop friendships and ideas for researching similar questions from different perspectives.

Some of the youth from this smaller group of Jóvenes con Derechos, had taken an interest in indigeneity and the persistence of indigenous languages across Mexico (one of the countries of origin represented in the group). The driving force of this study was Adreana's stories of her increasingly strained relationship with her dad, who was from Ecuador and spoke a predominantly Quechuan variety of Ecuadorian Spanish. Adriana's mother spoke Spanish and English, and Adreana, who had lived her whole life in the United States, was one of the few Spanish as a 'heritage' language students who had gone through the first two years of the program and still expressed great discomfort speaking Spanish. Because English was her strongest language, and the Spanish she had been learning was not infused with Quechuan, and her father used only Quechuan-Spanish, she felt unable to communicate with her dad. As our group rallied around Adreana, her friends and fellow Jóvenes con Derechos showed her love and support by sharing stories and laughter of communication breakdowns within their own families. These communication stories led to language stories about the distinctions between rural and city speakers, the treatment of speakers who sound "educated/city-living" and "uneducated/country-living," and eventually links to the ways that rural varieties of Spanish are often longer-lasting safehouses for Indigenous language and knowledge systems. This turn, to the question of what is lost, what survives, and what it might mean to reach back in order to thrive, became the focal point of an independent summer YPAR project.

Adreana – who rarely spoke publicly, was often resistant to presenting as knowledgable, and was an emotional stronghold and courage-support for her Jóvenes con Derechos friends – became the central voice in the decision-making processes for this research study. They asked the following research questions:

1) Why is it that we don't know about our 'missing pieces' – our indigenous roots?
2) How do our languages act as forms of resistance?
3) To what degree has the indigenous culture survived in our Spanishes?
4) How has the indigenous tongue survived (or 'pushed') through Spanish?

Their research design was to do family inquiry paired with what we came to call "constellation recruitment." After explaining the concept of "snowballing" for participant recruitment, we discussed the importance of connecting with people using the loving networks of families, particularly for a study like this one, which was interested in the geneology of language survivance and threat.

Youth interviewed family members, particularly elders; one of the participating youth visited family in Mexico that summer and interviewed people in her family's rural hometown as well as the neighboring town which she knew to have many speakers of an indigenous language – but that had been the extent of her knowledge to that point. Youth explored language attitudes amongst people of Américas descent concerning "rural" speakers, "uneducated" speakers, and speakers of indigenous languages. They also kept language observation logs of their own language and the language used by those around them, in order to track word variations and phrases that were unique across their Spanish language varieties that they would then use for etymological tracing to search for

indigenous language roots carried within their own speech and communication practices. They also researched the use of language, religion, and schools in the colonization of the Américas. I connected them with researchers at the University working on Indigenous language revitalization both in the United States and in Mexico, as well as Ecuadorian-origin learners of Quechua who were seeking to revitalize the language out of the dominance of Spanish that had taken hold in their generation.

Out of this research, youth built off of the digital storytelling skills they had developed during the YPAR project that had culminated in the curriculum expo. As they collected and analyzed their data over the summer, they came to six implications, which we agreed to organize and share at an international language policy conference that I had been accepted to present at and was being held that fall in Calgary, Canada. Their findings were as follows:

- Indigenous languages are not erased: Our words, idioms, and indigenous knowledge stories come from our ancestors and mix with the Spanish.
- Internal colonization leads to language refusal.
- When we lose our languages, we lose our families.
- The future disappears when a language disappears – our knowledge transfer becomes threatened.
- The idea that languages should be chosen to be taught and learned because they are "useful" or a resource to the person, needs to be challenged because of the role of colonization on language losses.
- Indigenous languages aren't seen as indigenous in our communities. Internal colonization has successfully reframed them as "backwards" (rural/city, educated/uneducated, resourced families/poverty).

The decision to share their work at this international conference was agreed upon after the decision to make local Latinx youth and community members the primary audiences for action-disseminations. Cecilia had discovered a strength and interest in video production after creating digital stories for the curriculum expo the previous year. As one of Adreana's closest friends, the two agreed to work together to convert findings into a series of short stop action videos that would be bilingual in Spanish and English and could be easily shared and intentionally accessible to a wide audience. We added their names to the program as co-presenters, the group chose one of these videos to be the centerpiece of a presentation on the possibilities that are afforded when youth are seen as legitimate language policymakers in their schools and communities. This two-minute video was titled "Mis raíces indigenas"[20] (see Figure 4.7). The text of the video appears

Figure 4.7: Mis raíces indigenas opening shot

[20] "My indigenous roots"

in print in English as the images change. This is accompanied by concurrent voiceover in Spanish. The audio goes back and forth between two Latina voices:

> *Soy un árbol. Un árbol que crece y persigue la luz. Mis ramas siguen creciendo, acercándose al sol. Fui plantado por mis ancestros. Con mucho amor y cariño me regarlo. Haciendo crecer mis raíces, mis raíces indígenas. Crecí y crecí, pero había algo que detenía mis raíces: la colonización. Me quisó sofocar. Me sofoqué con español, con catolicismo, con piel blanca y con muerte. Quisó muerte mi cultura. Con la cultivación de mis ancestros indígenas y la afixia de la colonización, salí yo. El árbol mestizo. Pero mis raíces aún siguen vivas y hacen mucho más fuertes. Debe ser cuando brotan de la tierra.*[21] (oral transcript of "Mis raíces indigenas")

An image-by-image text of the video, with the on-screen English text, scene visuals, and transcription of the Spanish language voiceover can be found in Appendix B.

#educardoresdelfuturos

Making schools deserving of us

In the third year of the program, youth came into the Level 2 classes with a clear distinction from the youth who were part of the initial cohort. They had benefitted from

[21] I am a tree. A tree that grows and chases the light. My branches keep growing, getting closer to the sun. I was planted by my ancestors. With much love and care they watered me. Making my roots grow, my indigenous roots. I grew and grew, but there was something stopping my roots: colonization. It wanted to suffocate me. It suffocated me with Spanish, Catholicism, white skin, and death. It wanted to kill my culture. With the cultivation of my indigenous ancestors and the suffocation of colonialism, I came out.. The mestizo tree. But my roots are still alive and becoming stronger. And occasionally they sprout from the ground.

observing that first cohort's YPAR project formation and culminating dissemination actions. Nearly all of them had attended one or both of the language rights summit and curriculum expo, and came into the school year saying they were ready to go. In many ways, the processes of our YPAR project that year were clearly imprinted by the learnings youth brought from their friendships and observations of the previous cohort. Youth who had completed the program (we had not yet expanded into a third year) were also beginning to come back, request spending a study hall hour in her class or to sign up to be a teaching assistant if they were seniors and had extra credit hours free. These returning youth became co-teachers, dramatically altering the learning environment and spurring Toni's question one day: "How many of you would think of becoming a teacher?"

For several minutes, nobody answered. Then, Rochelle spoke up, laughing a little and saying, "Why would we want to do that?" Daniel laughed, too, adding, "Why are you surprised? You're the one teaching us what schools are up to." Toni nodded, saying, "True, true," but a couple of weeks later, on a day I hadn't been in class, she told me she had brought it up again. It was bothering her. "This is the thing," she told me over the phone. "My whole thing is that I want one of them to take my job. Some of them, I can already see, they'd be so good." I agreed and added, "Yeah, and they'd go into it already knowing this is how you could teach – this is a way to be – these are the kinds of things you could learn about." It was another few weeks before Toni brought it up again. She was telling me that she thought she could see and hear their YPAR project beginning to take shape. It was November – a little later than the first cohort, but in this iteration of the

Level 2 course, we had added a unit at the beginning of the year on key court cases and concepts of LatCrit and critical race theory.

Youth began by asking questions about their experiences in schools. They drew heavily on their attendance at, and learnings from, the previous cohort's curriculum expo that called for greater representation and centering in what was learned about in school. The new cohort's main frustration was that they were both happy that they had the opportunity to learn about these things at Eleanor and they knew it was deeply unfair that kids should have to wait until high school. They wanted to go extend this study and ask: "What would make schools more deserving of us?" and "What should Latinx kids be learning about in elementary school?"

They began by interviewing (individually and in small groups) youth in their school, people on the street and in their neighborhoods, and community member adults who worked at Eleanor High School as support staff. They asked people to share what a perfect school would be like. They also asked people to share what they would want their little brothers/sisters to get to learn about in schools. They included one another in theses interviews and captured them in video, giving the option for people to not have their faces shown.

After coding their data for themes, they reflected on the intra-ethnic studies curriculum of their first year in the Spanish as a 'heritage' language program. They contrasted this to what they were being taught in their American History and Civics courses. The group agreed that the audience for their findings should be elementary teachers, but then struggled to decide what the shape of dissemination might be. They

didn't want to reproduce the summit or conference setup that the previous cohort had done. Toni brought up that all the teachers in the school were required to attend monthly faculty meetings and a couple of times a year attended half-day professional development sessions together. Some of the youth were interested in the idea of teaching their teachers. During this conversation, Jazmín argued that their research wasn't preparing them to talk back to teachers. When she was challenged on this, she went on to convince the group that, if they wanted to speak to teachers, they needed to know where teachers were coming from. They needed to know what teachers would most likely say would be what they needed and what would hold them back from putting their ideas into action.

Toni reached out to a couple of her colleagues who she had met during her licensure program at the University who were now working as English as an Additional Language teachers in two different elementary schools in the district. Youth decided to draw on their own study of U.S. Latinx social justice history to become teachers to multilingual 3rd-5th graders and the two schools for a day each. They first drew on their own studies in the Spanish as a 'heritage' language program to design the content of their learning circles, they then stepped in to positions of teachers. They learned the steps and components of lesson planning, explored theories of active and collaborative learning, considered ways to assess learning, learned about concepts of differentiation, and drew on arts-based theater and body work they were experiencing with a visiting teaching artist to infuse the arts in their lesson plans. Learning circle topics included identity and the Latinx community; moving between between worlds; history of segregation and the Mendez v Westminster Case; Latinx-led labor and educational rights

movements; Zoot suiters and fashion as rebellion to oppression; our futures and desires for ourselves; and community cultural wealth and our friends.

After spending nearly a month desigining their lessons, materials, and practicing with one another, youth traveled to one of the partnering elementary schools and facilitated their learning circles with nearly 300 young people, mostly youth of color and multilingual (though not all Spanish-speakers). Drawing in their knowledge of translanguaging, youth showcased their linguistic dexterity, choosing their language use based on the shifting groups of young people they were teaching. The following week, they repeated their learning circles, this time at a Spanish-English dual immersion elementary school in the district, agai with nearly 300 young people. Following the learning circle days, youth engaged in collective critical reflection. They noted differences between the bilingual and English submersion school environments, student background knowledge, and positive sense of ethnolinguistic identity; they agreed that teaching is harder than they had anticipated and were able to specifically name factors; finally, they shared their observations on racial, linguistic, and ethnic representation amongst the teachers at the schools and the different alignments and misalignments with the representation of youth at the two different schools. After these critical reflection days, Toni once again asked youth her question from earlier in the year: “How many of you would think of becoming a teacher?” This time, seven youth raised their hands.

Reflections on the learning circles led to the confident creation of a three-hour professional development workshop, designed for teachers who were interested in teaching ‘heritage’ language classes, or in equity approaches with multilingual and Latinx

youth. I reached out to a group of twenty-two teachers, administrators, and district curriculum designers from around the metropolitan area who had contacted either Toni or me with interest in visiting our program. We instead invited them to join us for the afternoon at Eleanor High school, allowing youth to opt in to the workshop based on when they needed to be in their afternoon classes. Youth drew on their experiences collaboratively designing and redesigning learning circles lessons, paired with their interview study data, to communicate community expectations for linguistic and cultural representation in the schooling experiences of multilingual youth of color. It was through this study that youth highlighted the power of YPAR as a key pedagogy of possibilities for mutilingual youth to claim, reclaim, and sustain languages other than English as well as the reconstruction of the curriculum to represent an ethnic-studies framework in early grades for the purpose of cultural sustenance and school success.

Extending YPAR to other instructional acts

The learning circles YPAR project ("#educadoresdelfuturo") emerged organically in this first iteration. However, in subsequent years, youth began to request that they "do the elementary school project." Due to the data gathered through fight-back ethnography, we had access to extensive ethnographic field notes and the gathering and storing of anecdotes, resources, and youth-created documents from all along the processs. Similarly,Toni and I had been collaborating in practitioner action research that asked how we might grow identities as future teachers amongst Jóvenes con Derechos. This offered extensive reflective memos and text-based planning and reflection sessions. In the two years that have followed the initial #educadoresdelfuturo project, we have converted this

into a recurring project-based unit. We have done this unit each year, based on youth requests to connect with and teach elementary-aged young people. This unit has thrived and strengthened by embedding it into the curriculum (this is a form of curricular infrastructuring, see chapter five). Most notably strengthened has been the development of deep partnerships with these two elementary schools. In the year when this dissertation was written, fifth graders were meeting up with their third cohort of Jóvenes con Derechos learning circles teachers. These younger youth have become experts at the learning circles process and knowledable about some of the recurring topics. They lovingle challenge Jóvenes con Derechos to go deeper, making complex synthesis that our youth-teachers later reflect on with great pride. They also advocate for the learning designs that work best for them – asking for arts-based instruction, clearer definitions, or closing activities to allow them to reflect and transition into the rest of their day in school. As Jóvenes con Derechos teach younger youth in their communities and sometimes families, they develop incisive clarity into the ways that collective study and action can connect them to social change in concrete and meaningful ways. This then shapes their collective study and later YPAR choices.

Connecting YPAR to social change movements

Epistemologically, the research methodology of YPAR names youth most marginalized by systems of oppression as being best positioned to have insights into those systems, and therefore best suited to construct implications for change (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). As the fabric of the agonistic instructional thinging of the Spanish as a ‘heritage’ language program with aims for reparational language education, it positions

multilingual youth of color as transformative policymakers (McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol, & Zepeda, 2009). YPAR as a pedagogical art connects co-researcher-teachers with the language and educational policymaking of youth through practicing critical consciousness and critical solidarity (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Mirra, Garcia, & Morrell, 2016) and positions them as necessarily knowledgable about and responsible to their role as policymakers in school settings (Menken & García, 2010). YPAR centralizes youth engagement and leadership in social change. As engaged and activist research, fight-back ethnography asks academic researchers to ensure that our research practices connect to and are guided by movements for social change (Hale, 2008; Oakes & Lipton, 2002; Villenas, 2012). Agonistic thinging, too, connects participatory design research to social change movements (Björgvinsson, Ehn & Hillgren, 2012). I close this chapter by briefly listing the local, national, and transnational social change movements we have been able to connect youth to through their Spanish as a 'heritage' language YPAR projects.

How did youth's YPAR projects connect to existing movements for social change? As youth researched experiences with raciolinguistic oppressions and resistances, and put forth a claim for their language rights in schools, we connected youth to ongoing movements for educational rights and community-driven school transformation. Youth were able to meet with Dr. Julio Cammarota (former director of the Tucson Social Justice Education Project) and reach out to youth who had been instrumental to the fight to save Tucson Unified School District's Mexican-American Studies program. As the federal court case to reinstate Mexican American Studies gained momentum, Jóvenes con

Derechos created solidarity signs and sent their own testimonies of gratitude and learnings to youth and teachers fighting the ban. In these ways, youth recognized in clear ways how their fight for language and educational rights was part of a longer lineage and could give back to support the actions of the movements that had fed their own critical consciousness and designs for action.

Youth's research on representation in the schooling curriculum aligned to both a national and local conversation and movement for change surrounding the implementation of ethnic studies courses. We connected Jóvenes con Derechos with a collective of youth of African descent who were also doing YPAR. They learned from, expanded on, and informed one another's research. When Jóvenes con Derechos decided to organize their curriculum expo, they invited fellow youth researchers from around the metropolitan area to be included in their arguments for greater representation and ethnic studies in school. This shifted their focus from Latinx-centered to an intra-ethnic studies focus that youth saw as necessary in order to speak to the diversity of racial and ethnic backgrounds of youth who attended Eleanor High School and the larger district. At the same time, a resurgence in pressure to offer ethnic studies courses in their school district had been growing over the previous three years. This resurgence coincided with the federal trial to lift the ban on Mexican American Studies in Tucson and the growth in institutionalized ethnic studies courses across California. Youth invited district curriculum coordinators who were key to the designs and professional development of teachers for these courses. They were able to speak directly with these key policymakers. We also invited community members, artists, activists, and educators who often are the

primary educators for the ethnic studies curriculum that goes untaught in U.S. schools. Through this, youth got to know community educators and, in several cases, future mentors.

In the interim, youth representatives traveled with Toni and I to local workshops and social justice education conferences – facilitating workshops, presenting on their research and organizing plan, and providing keynote talks that integrated their research findings with spoken word and performance arts. I organized a fundraising campaign to support youth travel to Detroit, MI and Oakland, CA for the Allied Media and Free Minds, Free People conferences. On these trips, they traveled, attended, and collaborated with their new friends and co-researchers from a youth research collective from across the city. By leveraging connections within the university, these trips were largely sponsored by individual and departmental donors connected to the University teacher education program. They learned from groups enacting social change connected to education from across the country and drew on their research to become part of these interconnected conversations.

As youth took up research questions around indigenous languages, cultural practices, and survivance within overlapping contexts of colonization (contact and settler), we connected them to Indigenous language revitalization work happening in the United States, Mexico, and Ecuador. Contexts ranged from sovereign and place-based educational spaces to institutional school spaces. Youth researchers interviewed and developed friendships with activist-researchers engaged with indigenous teacher education and curricular design in Oaxaca, México. We connected them with university-

community co-researcher projects to document and produce community-designed language saving and revitalizing resources for use by families and Quechuan speaking elders in Ecuador. Through our shared study and co-research, we gathered resources and materials to further self-study and offer to others interested in learning about and revitalizing their own indigenous language roots.

Finally, as youth examined questions of what it might take for schools to be spaces more deserving of them, their #educadoresdelfuturo YPAR project became a site of rich and ongoing connectivity to coinciding social change movements towards dismantling white supremacist curriculum and instruction in U.S. schools. As youth became teachers themselves, they then took what they learned from that experience to inform professional development for new and practicing teachers. We continued to keep connected to local and national movements for ethnic studies. Toni and I also invited representatives from the Minnesota Coalition for increasing Teacher of Color and American Indian Teachers. From them, youth learned about the coalition of college campuses that were organizing towards legislative and institutional mechanisms to recruit and sustain teachers of color into Minnesota schools. The organization lists five interconnected goals:

- eliminate discriminatory teacher testing requirements
- provide scholarship incentives and student teaching stipends
- offer loan forgiveness for teaching service
- provide induction and retention support
- support pathways to teaching for diverse youth, paraprofessionals and career changers (see www.tocaimn.org)

Representatives had attended youth dissemination events and were familiar with some of the collective study and YPAR youth had been engaging in. Coalition members provided guidance materials and resources, and made personal connections with youth who expressed interest in becoming teachers following the learning circles experience. For youth who felt daunted by all they would need to navigate and the many moving pieces of accessing and maneuvering within higher education, we connected them with advisors on different campuses that could offer personalized guidance and support.

As YPAR shaped the agonistic instructional thinging of the Jóvenes con Derechos Spanish as a 'heritage' language program, youth experienced a primary learning goal that went beyond the language and literacy objectives of a typical language class. Youth, in the coinciding roles as participants in the cycles of design research, put forth a desire to name, clarify, and expand their developing theories of change (Tuck & Yang, 2013b). These theories of change drew on resistance capital (Yosso, 2006) and insights into future desires that drew on their knowledge of the past. Youth honed skills of leveraging, navigation, flexible rhetorical expression determined by audience, and how to collectively set goals and benchmark their achievements. Youth developed a variety of theories of change, which then came into contact and conflict as they agonized over which model best suited their collective desires, and how to sustain and soothe themselves and one another when agonism became antagonism. If a theory of change was not successful, youth used all of their language and emotional resources to piece apart what had happened, how to move next, what to reconsider so they might come back strategically and move in the direction that was needed. These interactions – around

issues that mattered most to them and with people who mattered more than chasing a grade – formed the ecology for language use, growth, and transformation.

Chapter Five Interlude: Infrastructuring

Through the use of interlapping participatory research projects, we began to see what could be possible in a Spanish as a 'heritage' language classroom that took up explicitly liberatory educational aims and desires (see Figure 5.1). As a starting point, we looked to stop and counteract the effects of schooling designs that set out to silence, deculturate, immobilize, and dispose of multilingual youth of Américas descent. Over the course of our first three years together, participatory design research was the primary vehicle for shaping the curriculum and confirming pedagogical stances as practitioners and resistive participants in the larger ecology of schooling and academia.

Through participatory design research, curriculum and stance were shaped through iterative cycles of inquiry and action, which involved letting theory take the lead at times and letting situated practical knowledge (Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1986; Van Driel, Beijaard, & Verloop, 2001) take the lead at other times. For example, when situated practical knowledge led, it informed a developing theory on learning to teach, teaching, and learning in school-based Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes. Similarly, when theory from the fields of language learning and education in addition to anticolonial and antiracist education took the lead, theoretical knowledge informed what played out in practice in the classroom. Figure 5.1 is a reminder of the complex ways participatory design research interacted with both youth-led participatory action research projects and collaborative practitioner action research. These YPAR projects were

intended to focus on youth desires for their own liberatory learning, while CoPAR projects were intended to focus on the changing of instructional choices in the space.

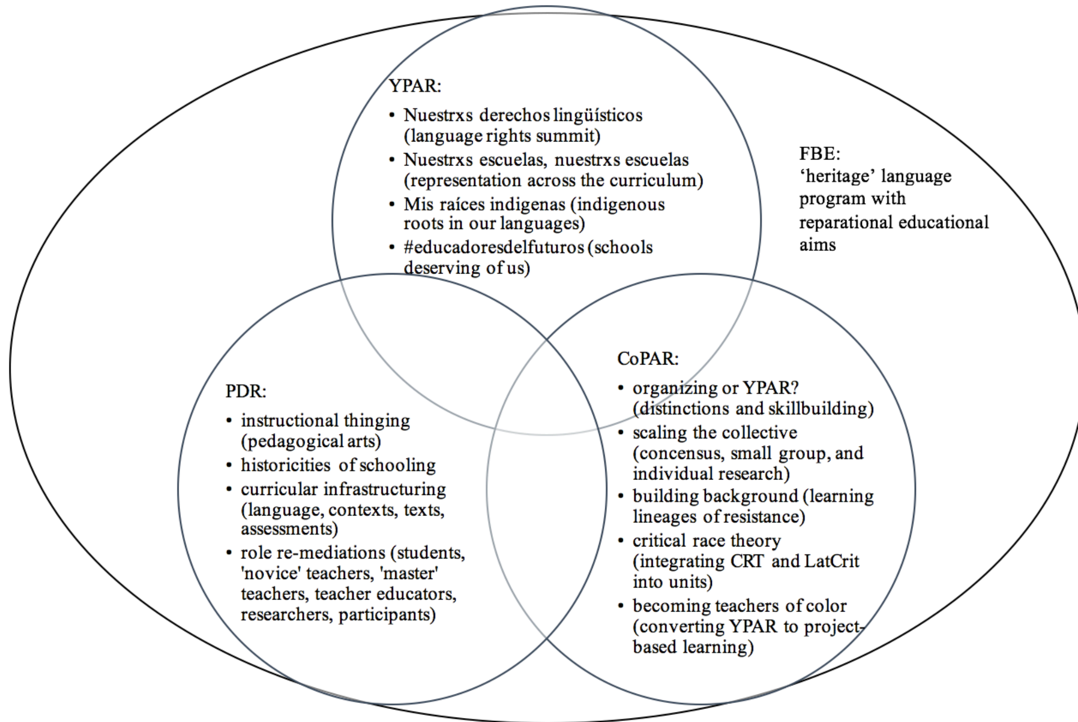

Figure 5.1: Project map of interlapping participatory projects

What happened across the YPAR and CoPAR projects informed what was made visible in much of the participatory design research, as well as what the participatory design research needed to focus on. One aspect of participatory design research centered on *instructional thinging* within the space. These are the active pedagogical arts that 'heritage' language education with reparational aims requires to enact desires for liberation, healing, and self-determination. This component was often directly informed through CoPAR projects. Another aspect focused on making visible the *historicities of schooling* that shaped the demand for a reparational approach to language education. One form of the outcomes of this work can be found across the opening chapters of this

manuscript. A third aspect tackled *curricular infrastructuring*. This curricular infrastructuring encompasses content, texts, contexts, instructional designs, scope and sequence, language and literacy foci, where and how learning was taking place, definitions of competencies and proficiencies, approaches to assessment, skills development, and instructional stance. The fourth aspect examined *role re-mediations* (see chapter 5). Roles here included the social construction of ‘students’, ‘novice teachers’, ‘master teachers’, ‘mentors’, ‘mentees’, ‘teacher educators’, ‘researchers’, and ‘participants’.

Chapter five outlines the aspect of curricular infrastructuring, which both resulted from and led to the role re-mediations component of our participatory design research (see Ch. 5). This is done primarily through the use of three distinct collective memory work pieces, which, together, form a constituent whole. The first memory work piece is an extended paired reflexive memory, transcribed from a public sharing and primarily voiced by Toni, which both reveals and interrogates the dynamics of our early curricular infrastructuring from Toni’s perspective. The second memory work piece shuffles the perspective of our memory work by considering a particular moment of our curricular infrastructuring around the interlapping component of youth-led participatory action research through my (Jenna’s) eyes. The third memory work piece returns to a paired reflexive memory session, this one done in private. Through this memory work, Toni and I consider what the infrastructuring of YPAR as a core component of the curriculum offers to our understanding of the broader attempts of the course towards reparational language education. The specific data sources for each of these memory work pieces are

linked in Appendix A. Resonant data sources (data sources where aspects of this memory work are present, but which do not serve as the primary source) are also included in Appendix A.

Viewing curricular infrastructuring through the work of collective memory

At times in this chapter, collective memory work that emerged through the memory work mapping phase of analysis has been layered with secondary analysis that places memory work in interaction with theoretical desires of a reparational language education approach to teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language in the contact zone of schooling. For example, this chapter's initial memory work piece is represented through a word-for-word (and some visual) transcription of one variation of a memory that appeared seven times across the memory work map and incorporated multiple key curricular infrastructuring mediators. This memory was captured in video recordings on three different occasions. The transcription of this memory includes both language and visual cues. As a memory of the process of expanding curricular infrastructuring, it makes visible this aspect of our participatory design research. At times, memory work analysis provides vectors to the theoretical underpinnings of our curricular infrastructuring. At other times, an additional layer of analysis draws back to analyze the dynamic space where memory work of curricular infrastructuring is shared to consider the always present incommensurabilities of doing justice-oriented work within the toxic ideological and visceral ecologies that construe the institutional technologies of white, English-dominant settler colonial statehood.

The memory work around curricular infrastructuring that is represented in this chapter looks back at particular moments in our initial year of partnership. In particular, much of this memory work looks back at our first attempt at doing YPAR as a part of the Spanish as a 'heritage' language courses. Secondary analysis of this public memory work reveals the discord and complexity that can define the transformative nature of infrastructuring in participatory design research. The "cart conversation" memory work piece also acts as a link to the accompanying role re-mediations that are analyzed in more depth in Chapter 5, where the cart conversation is considered through a different lens. This chapter closes with a third memory work piece, in which Toni and I returned to the youth-designed and led language rights summit, which was the result of the first YPAR project Toni, JcD youth, and I actualized. This closing memory work is intended to reflect how initial curricular designs expanded and fused during these iterations of PDR to form the foundation of curricular infrastructuring that is described in the first half of this chapter.

Curricular infrastructuring for reparational language education

Over the years, curricular infrastructuring (see Figure 5.2) in the Spanish as a 'heritage' language program took shape through integrating *identity work* (Cummins, 2015; Cummins, Hu, Markus, & Kristiina Montero, 2015; Montero, Bize-Zaugg, Marsh, & Cummins, 2013; Nagle & Stooke, 2016), *culturally sustaining representation* (Cammarota & Romero, 2015; Cabrera, Milem, Jaquette, & Marx, 2014; Dee & Penner, 2016; Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2017), *translingual practices and pedagogical translanguaging* (Canagarajah, 2013; García & Wei, 2015, Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012),

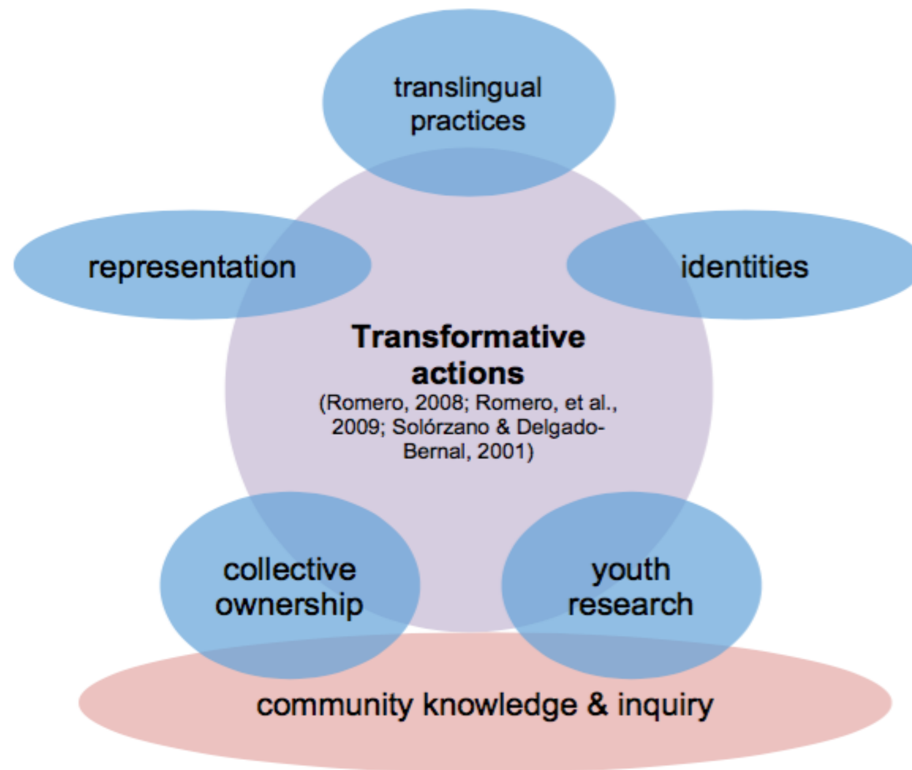

Figure 5.2: Curricular infrastructuring of Jóvenes con Derechos

collective ownership of the learning space (Cammarota & Fine, 20010; Cammarota & Romero, 2015; Irizarry, 2011; 2015); *youth research* (Cammarota & Fine, 2010; Irizarry, 2011; Mirra, García, & Morrell, 2015), community knowledge in the form of *community cultural wealth* (Yosso, 2006), and *transformative actions for social change* (Solórzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Ginwright, Cammarota, & Noguera, 2006). Because infrastructuring is always ongoing, taking shape and shape-shifting as the environment and relationships change (Björgvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2010), our memory work revealed some of the complexities that are part of the "ongoing

alignment between contexts" and "partly conflicting interests" (p. 43) of the dynamism of infrastructuring. The following memory work and secondary analysis also suggests there is much yet to do if we are to shift the impossibilities of reparational language education in the contact zone of schooling into a zone proximal to possibility.

Seeing curricular infrastructuring through memory work

Increasingly, Toni and I have been asked to share with fellow teachers and teacher educators about the program's curricular infrastructuring, which, in itself, is an always ongoing process. Memory work mapping marked that these paired and public sharing of memories repeatedly included frustrations and shortcomings in our own visions and knowledge base that generated our initial cycles of participatory design. The representation of memory work in this chapter include these frustrations and shortcomings and appear similar to impressionistic tales (Van Maanen, 2011). Both memory work and impressionistic tales are always unfinished and always unveiling more with each retelling and with each heteroglossic (Bakhtin, 1981) reading. Throughout our relationship, Toni and I often told tales and remembered and re-remembered together. We did this with each other – about our work and ourselves. We did this to ourselves – which we sometimes then shared with one another, initially embedded in a tale about our work and later on as reflective memories in tales we shared about ourselves to each other.

As our relationship took on a public professional aspect and we began to present together, write together, and co-facilitate professional development, we would sometimes remember in public. These were versions of our memory work that took shape as tales specifically intended for public consumption. Van Maanen suggests there is distinct value

of impressionistic tales such as these. “By telling our stories and telling them over in different ways, we are admitting to those we trust that our goals are not necessarily fixed. That we are never free of doubt and ambiguity, that our strategic choices [...] are often accidental” (p. 120). This chapter shares memory work about curricular infrastructuring using memories that have been told in one way, recognizing that the same memory can be told in many ways, depending on context, circumstance, reception, and aim. Memory work, thus, can be read to show the “jagged edges” (Lather, 1991) beneath the veneer of what is often discursively shaped for the public.

Infrastructuring is a verb

Through memory work mapping, I found examples of the first of the following memories (“From the initial vision”) shared on six different occasions, with slight variations (see Appendix A with links to resonating data sources). On three of these occasions, this paired public memory was video recorded and later transcribed. That this memory work about curricular infrastructuring was produced publicly is important, because it sets it apart from our other memory work. Much of our memory work was enmeshed with private components that remain private, though these private elements informed our critical consciousness and shifting ideologies and accompanying practices. The fact that this memory work became a public product is so distinct from our other memory work that we would sometimes joke about its public appearances.

In the examples from the memory work map, this public memory work took place early on both in workshops that we were facilitating and in presentations. Toni would usually step forward into the sharing of this memory following my historical outlining of

subtractive and deculturative schooling practices and policies. Every time, at the same two points in the public sharing of memory, there was laughter in the room. Trying to understand this laughter is key to making visible the sometimes contentious work of infrastructuring. This is because *infrastructuring* is not a static description of an infrastructure finished and in place. As with *thinging* (see chapter four), *infrastructuring* is a verb. It is a moving feast, always ongoing, at times expanding into new reaches, at times contracting and reconstituting itself. In this way, infrastructuring is a constituent part of the formation of a public – an inherently uneven, permeable "configuration of individuals bound by common cause in confronting a shared issue" (Le Dantec & DiSalvo, 2013, p. 243, drawing together theoretical understandings of publics and counterpublics from Habermas, Fraser, Warner, and Dewey).

Infrastructuring and the formation of (counter)publics

This participatory design research initially considered the particulars of localized curricular infrastructuring (i.e., the learning environment of the Spanish as a 'heritage' language program). When Toni, JcD youth, and I engaged in interlapping participatory projects that necessarily took place and took us beyond the confines of the classroom, we also brought a desire for infrastructuring towards an expanding public that would be bound by our common cause in confronting the shared issues of reparational language education, refusal of subtractive designs, and enactment of desires-based curricula. This expansion of curricular infrastructuring then begins to include a multitude of publics (Dewey, 1954) with shared cause and issue but distinct configurations of individuals (e.g., teachers and teacher educators rather than youth or parents; adults of a combination

of descents that include a large number of European descent rather than youth of primarily Américas descent that include Indigenous, African, and European descent). In response to the shape-shifting that constitutes curricular infrastructuring, this chapter couples the use of memory work (to show the sources and findings of *curricular* infrastructuring) with secondary analysis of moments of infrastructuring as it reaches past the parameters of the program itself and encounters potential publics in the form of colleagues and institutional re-imagining and transformation. These secondary analyses show infrastructuring that is continually in motion as it "contend[s] with future issues, rather than focusing solely on proximate concerns" (Le Dantex & DiSalvo, 2013, p. 243).

For infrastructuring to be a part of the formation of publics involves collective identity formation, or a feeling out and determining of "who we are" (Melucci, 1995). Laughter can serve as a primary tool for collective identity formation towards counterpublics and social change (Fominaya, 2007). As a meaningful social linguistic interaction, laughter can be employed to show alignment, affinity, and familiarity, particularly in interactions with power differentials (such as in a public presentation) (Fominaya, 2006; Glenn, 2003; Glenn & Holt, 2013; Thonus, 2008). This is how Toni and I have read these points of laughter: as markers of group empathy and indicators that laughers in the room are showing alignment and familiarity with what's been said. If one of the goals of reparational language education is to move away from the constraints of what is possible as provided by current narratives and institutional definitions and to form counterpublics (Fraser, 1993; Warner, 2003) that imagine otherwise, then the dynamics of these spaces, which might be locations for colleagues and collaborators to find one

another, are also key to the design aspect of infrastructuring, which is needed to collectivize and resist ideologies and practices of domination. Thus, in the representation of this paired public memory work that follows, I pull away at the two points of laughter and use secondary analysis to reconsider what alignments and familiarities the laughter of the space may be communicating. These possible alignments and familiarities are not meant to be read as narrowing to a single determination. Rather, they co-exist as multiple "perhaps..." that resonate across each group, which performed the same social cues of laughter as they considered the possibilities and impossibilities of attempting similar work.

Chapter Five

"A platform to speak back from": Collective Memory of Curricular Infrastructuring

From the initial vision: A paired public memory of curricular infrastructuring

"I put it on the table and they left it right there on the table": Counternarratives and humanizing the language classroom

Toni's hands are clasped loosely in front of her, her index fingers coming to a point just below her waist. This is her resting stance, and she seems to be appraising the room. She knows herself to be a highly empathic person, so taking in the space and the people she is sharing it with at this moment is not done for effect. She is about to decide how much will get shared in the rest of the time we have together, how much they deserve and how much she will be able to handle in the exchange.

"So," she starts, and gestures to the figure of our curricular infrastructure, "I want to talk a little bit about my initial vision for the class, and then how we kind of arrived at this point. So, at the end of my licensure program, we had done a visit to Eleanor High School, and I was like 'This is the place for me. I want to be at this school.' So I approached the principal and said, 'This is what I'm going to come in with: double license, K-12 ESL and Spanish. This is what I'm going to have in the spring. Is there going to be a position available?'

And he said, 'Well, actually, we've been thinking of doing this thing called a heritage course.' And then he was like, 'are you interested?'

And I said, ‘Absolutely.’

And then I ran home two hours later and [typing motions] was like: ‘What is a heritage language course?’ Because I had no idea, but I was really excited about the prospect of having a job.”

Here, a few people laugh and nod their heads. In the three recorded versions, Toni laughs at this point a little, too. This is sequenced coordinated laughter, when the speaker has first shown something to be laughable, “and because he/she has the floor initiates laughter and then invites the hearer to participate” (Thonus, 2008, p. 35). What could be happening here? The job market is hard. People get that. But there is something else. Most of the people in the room don’t know the answer to, but feel the need for, that search question, too. Laughter, here could also be in the service of collective identity formation (Melucci, 1995), with shared laughter being a part of “generating a sense of cohesion of ‘*who we are’*, and as a necessary corollary a sense of otherness or ‘*who we are not*’” (emphasis original, Fominaya, 2007, p. 244). When the room is filled with ‘heritage’ language teachers, nods of recognition accompany the laughter. It is rare that somebody expresses having felt confident in knowing what to be doing in these classes, or that they had felt prepared for the first time they had taught in these settings. Perhaps the laughers feel a familiarity with Toni’s remembered self. Perhaps they are remembering, or imagining, their own unknowing and turning to whatever they could find for support. Perhaps this laughter is working to begin to form a collective identity that who we are are people who are trying something, who want something, but don’t quite know how best to do it.

Toni goes on to provide some information about Eleanor High School and the students our program is designed for. “So, to provide a little context for people who don’t know much about Eleanor. We have about 48% Latinx youth – really high percentage of students who come from Spanish-speaking backgrounds of some aspect – and that can mean a lot of different things. They were looking for a course that strayed away from the traditional world language courses for these students, because they’re completely inappropriate. So I was presented with this opportunity and Jenna and I sat down and started brainstorming together.”

“The ideas that we talked about actually looked more like this.” Toni gestures again to the curricular infrastructure image (Figure 5.2). “But when I walked into the classroom on day one, it was really hard to get away from my training. So, I walked in with a very – I mean, I walked in with a deficit model in line for language. I thought, ‘Ok. These students, you know, there’s something that we need to fix. They’re going to come in and we’re going to work on academic language.’ And that was very much my focus: ‘We’re going to take what they’ve learned and we’re going to improve on it.’

“And that’s how I started for the first three or four months teaching. And I – you know, I put that on the table, and as you can imagine, the students left it right there on the table.”

Here the room always laughs again, but the laughter is qualitatively different. There is always more of it for one thing. For another, Toni hasn’t invited a laughter sequence by laughing first. This laughter, then is an example of single-party laughter, “because the hearer recognizes or accepts” (Thonus, 2008, p. 335) something as

laughable without the speaker first initiating it as laughable. Single-party laughter involves myriad "perhaps," because it exists in a closed system, whereby the hearer laughs at something uncued as laughable by the speaker but that they (the hearer) have determined is laughable. So, what could be the reason there is laughter at this point in group after group? Perhaps people are warming up to Toni and her way of telling her story. Perhaps laughers are performing their affinity and familiarity for Toni to put her at ease, to show that they get her, to show they get this situation.

But there could be something else happening here, too. While there were head nods before – when Toni shared remembering that she did not really know what it was she had just signed herself up for – at this point, the laughter and the nods are more numerous, louder, more emphatic. Perhaps Toni has good comedic timing (she does) and the room is just warming up to how funny she is? However, Toni has just shared something that is not funny at all. In fact, if laughter is a marker of alignment, then she has shared (and we have shared in) a somber and collective shamefulness ("I walked in with a deficit model for language") that shows, despite if one is positioned as a person of color or as white, how integrated and internalized these deficit narratives of semilingualism and dehumanization are in people's socialized experiences in the United States and explicit learning through the spectrum of academia. Her memory makes visible the internalized white and settler colonial logics of monoglossic ideologies (Flores & Rosa, 2015) and semilingualism (Flores, 2017), primacy of English, deficiency discourses of so-called "language gaps" (Avineri et al., 2015; Labov, 1972), and the

simultaneously racist and class-based myths of restrictive and expansive language codes that inform the discursive construction of "academic language" (Faltis, 2013).

The room's laughter is once again of recognition and once again towards collective identity formation. The point when this laughter occurs is important to considering what this collective identity formation may be attracted to. The laughter does not happen when Toni says it was "hard to get away from [her] training[22]." If it did, perhaps it would suggest a shared experience of breaking away from those ideologies, or commiseration over the deficit narratives that much of the "best practices" for teaching language in schools with multilingual youth of color are steeped in. Nor does the laughter happen when Toni mentions academic language, when she ends with the point that "there's something that we need to fix. They're going to come in and we're going to work on academic language." If it did, perhaps it would signal recognition of the deeply marginalizing, racist, sexist, and classist construction of academic language that has been taken up as the symbolic arbiter of intellectual thought and cognitive capacity in schools.

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[22] Toni's "training" here scales beyond the attempts, successes, and shortcomings of her particular teacher preparation program, in ways that index her personal memories with broader sociopolitical realities. For example, I am aware that Toni's teacher preparation program did attempt to incorporate translanguaging and humanizing teaching, and to center a cultural/linguistic funds of knowledge approach to their language teaching methods coursework. Toni also researched and presented on teaching heritage language learners as her final project for her language teaching methods course series. These attempts are important, because, as Kim Potowski (2003) has pointed out, "few foreign-language teacher-training programs include coursework on teaching Spanish to native speakers [and] many teachers do not have any training to work with [heritage learners]" (p. 302). Still, what Toni refers to as her "training" is about much more than the intentions and attempts made in a condensed period of time over the course of her methods coursework. "Training" indexes a multitude of teacher educators: cooperating/mentor teachers, practicum supervisors, critical friends both within and beyond the profession, a lifetime of socialization through media images, and a lifetime of lessons in the politics of respectability and access, contradictory ideological messaging regarding 'success', 'achievement', 'potential', and more.

Or, perhaps laughter at "academic language" would signal alignment with deficit narratives of semilingualism and intelligence directed towards Latinx youth that paint them as disinterested in or incapable of the intellectual complexity that an "academic language" variety is supposedly best suited to communicate.

However, the laughter does not (and did not this time) come at these points. The laughter comes at the point of memory when Toni shares that Latinx youth refuse what a teacher – through her training in language teaching, and with the support of best practices literature in language and literacy teaching – has decided is best for her students to learn. Toni shares that, after she put academic language "on the table. As you can imagine, they left it right there on the table." Why might the teachers and teacher educators in the room be laughing here? Toni has just revealed that, in retrospect, she "walked in with a deficit model in line for language." These are the very deficit models that inculcate the harms of subtractive and deculturative schooling. The youth in her classes refused by "leaving it on the table." In this way, youth collectively refused the white supremacist ideologies that operationalized themselves as a reparative approach to academic language instruction that viewed them as "needing fixing." And, in so doing, they were also refusing Toni – the teacher who brought these into the space. As such, the youth in Toni's classes were drawing on the arts of refusal to continue to survive the schooling contact zone. Their refusal revealed what Tara Yosso's (2006) community cultural wealth model would consider "resistance capital," which is "grounded in the legacy of resistance to subordination exhibited by Communities of Color" (p. 80). It is possible that the laughter that this moment of Toni's memory triggers is a laughter of recognition and joy at the

way these youth are drawing on their resistance capital to lay claim to what they do and do not deserve in school. More likely, though, this laughter can be read as empathetic to Toni as *who she had been* at the historical moment retold in her memory – just as one would likely read the moment of shared laughter that comes before it. In a room of educators – current teachers and former teachers who are now teacher educators – there is laughter in the room because they can picture the refusal, and they can picture themselves being refused by who they imagine to be Toni's students. Perhaps they know the refusal of teenagers, and some are remembering or imagining the power that exists in a classroom when a student or students employ the resistive art of not complying. Perhaps they are afraid of or feel disdain for people of color – what they might do, how they might perceive them, what their own fear or disdain says about themselves – and this is exacerbated by the imagery that is painted by and pervades media representation of black and brown youth and their communities, and some are remembering or imagining that *of course* those kids would straight out refuse them, even though, as their teacher, they had brought something that was 'in their best interest.'

Toni pauses at the laughter, and then goes on. "That was not what they had thought the course would be about. And, in their defense – completely in their defense – that mental model probably felt just as oppressive as any other language course that they had been a part of. So, I went back to the drawing board and I said: 'This isn't working. I gotta do something differently.' And I started to look up Latinx Civil Rights Movements. And I came across the story of the 1968 East L.A. walkouts – the biggest protest for educational rights in this country. Five East L.A. schools unified and basically protested

against oppressive and racist educational practices in schools. They were Chicanx and Latinx youth. It was about not being able to use their native languages in the classrooms. It was about being punished. It was about being punished and having to do janitorial work as a form of punishment. It was also about tracking – being pushed into secretarial positions for the women, and construction and whatnot for the men. So they were looking for more opportunities for people to support them and actually believe that these people could go on to higher education. So I brought that story to the classroom the next day. I actually, I put up, we did a gallery walk the next day, and I put up different anti-Latinx propaganda from the 1920s on, and I put them up and we walked around the room and they took little notes. And I was like, 'Hey, are you all aware of this? Have you seen this before?' And from that moment on, I had them. The engagement level went kind of from zero to – well they're teenagers, so not quite 60.' Toni laughs a little here, 'but just about 60! I had their attention. So we started – that was my entry point."

"Conversation would roll": Translanguaging and curricular representation

This particular time that Toni is sharing her memories from that first year, she uses this public memory work as a jumping off point to make visible more of the curricular infrastructuring.

"So right now?" Toni says, "The point where we're at now – there are three levels. The program has grown significantly. So in year one, we focus on those stories – those counternarratives of civil rights, resistance – resistance movements and civil rights movements within the United States, mostly for Latinx communities. And we do it bilingually. So, a lot of the materials I found, you can't necessarily find in Spanish, but

they're just as important to the content and the curriculum. So we do a lot of translanguaging." Toni turns and gestures to me.

At this point Toni and I usually switch off, and I talk to the group about translanguaging. We discuss the natural translingual practices and flows of languages between people and across spaces, particularly under pressures of linguistic imperialism (Canagarajah, 2012). Included in this is a brief outlining of distinctions between languages (including varieties, "dialects", "registers", and the concept of mutual intelligibility) as being politically bound (see MacSwan, 2017 for a considerable and critical synthesis of current multiple conceptions of translanguaging in bilingual education). This moves to a history of translanguaging in the classroom as a pedagogical art of survivance in Welsh language revitalization (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012) and its outgrowth in the United States in the context of teaching emergent bilinguals (Celic & Seltzer, 2012; García & Wei, 2014; Hesson, Seltzer, & Woodley, 2014). Sometimes, I share Ofelia García's (2009) metaphor of using an "all-terrain vehicle" vs. a "bicycle" as a way to center a multilingual paradigm in understanding integrated translingual practices. Other times, I will say that insisting on one-language policies in learning and teaching is like asking a person who is used to using two legs to move through the world to tie one leg behind them and walk across the room. It can be done, but what is the investment in insisting on disabling somebody (Ramanathan, 2013)? Here, Toni steps back in and picks up with her memory of infrastructuring, while also playing out the ideological struggle for pedagogical translanguaging in her practice as it intersected with representation in the curriculum.

“So, the way that metaphor of tying your leg behind you played out in my classroom was we were talking about oppression and racism, historical oppression and racism within school systems, and I was asking them to draw on their own experiences and their own knowledge. And what I found was that when I tried to adhere to what my training was – you know, I was in a ‘world language’ setting, which it *wasn’t*. My training was: be in 90% target language. I found that when I pushed for that, conversation was very quiet. I didn’t get as much feedback. We didn’t get as much interaction. Students were quieter and less likely to share. When I said, ‘Answer in whatever language you feel most comfortable in,’ conversation would roll, though. So, that’s kind of where I found that that philosophy worked best in my classroom.

“So I’ve had to pick and choose when I feel like, ‘Ok. Today, Spanish is the focus. This is what we’re going to do in the ‘target language.’ And when I feel like we’re going to respond in whatever language students are most comfortable with: Spanish, English, Spanglish, whatever it may be.”

Toni is describing an ideological struggle around the misalignment of ‘heritage’ language education with learning to teach a ‘foreign’ language to secondary language learners (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Potowski, 2003; Potowski & Carreira, 2004). Kim Potowski’s work with the Chicago Heritage Language Teacher Corps (2003) highlights clear distinctions between what is needed for continued learning of ‘heritage’ languages compared to new learning of an additional or second language. These distinctions include rethinking viewing the relationship between language and identity as aspirational (future resource-oriented, imagined) or language and culture as circumstantial (Trifonas &

Arivossitas, 2014). Rather, ‘heritage’ language education asks teachers to view language as dynamic, honoring familial ties and collective knowledge of self, intertwined with socio-political consciousness and a socio-political context, and inextricable from cultural identities as multiple and complex. This paradigm shift is what Toni is showing when she recognized she was approaching her classes as though they were a "‘world language’ setting, which it wasn’t." As Maria Carreira and Olga Kagan (2011) suggested following an extensive national survey of heritage language learners of multiple languages, living in multiple geographical locations, ‘heritage’ language education does not fit with the goals and designs of second or ‘foreign’ language learning. Primarily, they called on ‘heritage’ language programming to center knowing the learner, knowing the language, and connecting the learner and the community. Though these may seem like simplistic aims, each contains multitudes. When a ‘heritage’ language teacher does not acknowledge, utilize, and extend the legitimacy of learners’ and primary languages and varieties that may include Spanglish, it not only becomes impossible to collectively center and take up these three aims, it distances the desires of the learner from the reparational possibilities of the space (Helmer, 2011).

"We create a platform for ourselves to share these stories and push back": Collective ownership and youth voice

Toni moves across the room, glancing at me a couple of times to check if we should push ahead. Translanguaging can be a hang up. As a theory of language, there is dissonance up against the monoglossic ideologies that have long-informed second language teaching in the United States. Explicitly and implicitly, Spanish as a ‘heritage’

language classes almost always fall under second language learning by virtue of not being English – the dominant societal and institutional language in the United States. However, the best practices research that informs second (or ‘foreign’) language teaching center monolingual-first experiences of additional language learning. For ‘heritage’ learners, they are already always learning and being multilingually – in languages they already live in and through, which include Spanish, English, Spanglish, and codemeshes like Spangbonics (Irizarry, 2017). Additionally, as a pedagogy, translanguaging can seem out of reach for educators who are monolingual, dominantly-English speaking, or multilingual in languages that are not shared with their learners. Sometimes we will reach into this dissonance, excavate the ideologies at play and the naturalistic practices of languages on the move that can humanize classroom spaces that often dehumanize the people gathered within them through monoglossic ideologies and linguistic imperialism of dominant varieties of both English and Spanish.

This time, Toni decides to move on. The people in this room are not coming from fields of language teaching. Time together is limited, and tackling translanguaging as a theory of language and a pedagogical stance with the meaning it deserves would almost definitely mean the rest of the pieces go untold. It is an impossible choice, because the curricular infrastructuring fails without all the pieces moving in tandem and generating together. Here, the franticness of attempting to teach for reparational justice and the realities of hegemonic struggle within the white supremacist settler colonial technology of schooling become highly visible. Nothing seems to escape the disservice of this quagmire.

“So, that’s year one.” Toni goes on. “Year one we focus on those counternarratives of resistance movements that students often times – we don’t hear about that stuff growing up in high school. I didn’t learn about that stuff in high school. So, year two – or towards the end of year one – this tends to happen every year organically. It’s really strange. Right around March they’ll say:

‘What’s the deal with this?’

‘Why haven’t these stories been a part of my education?’

‘Why haven’t I learned about this?’

“So, that sparks the conversation. And we move to:

‘What can we do about it?’

“And that’s how we get to it. So year two is kind of our YPAR action research year, where we really address that question of: ‘What can be done about the fact that these stories aren’t being told?’

“And, so now, this is what the heritage course is rooted in: Translingual practices. Representation in the curriculum. It’s all about them. It’s all about people who share the same backgrounds, languages, linguistic backgrounds, racially. They see themselves in what we study. The youth research piece. The identity piece. We ask ourselves these questions:

Who am I?

Who are we?

Where are we going?

And how can we create a platform for ourselves to share these stories and push back against dominant Euro-centric narratives?'"

"Now, what are we going to do about this?": Pushing back through pedagogical arts of youth research

Toni puts her hands down at her sides and breathes out. She turns to me. She's done talking. I pick it up. This is the part that people come to hear about. This is the part that gets the institutional attention. But it's also the part that can be most dangerous, that can put people at most risk. The YPAR projects usually focus on dismantling and transforming subtractive schooling – in the very schools that are proving they are not deserving of the youth who are required to spend their days there. For now, JcD youth's public performances and presentations of their research have garnered applause and interest – though little by way of structural changes. Some of our JcD youth are not well-liked by some of their teachers. Sometimes, when one of our youth presents, one of their teachers will come up to Toni and say something like, "How'd you get him to do that? He just comes in and head down for me." More than once, Toni has slowed me down in my excitement about YPAR, reminding me that she is nervous that this work will be used by others to punish our youth for 'trying to make trouble.' Toni is not yet a tenured teacher. She is one of the very few black women teaching in the district. Both of us know what gets said about other black women who are teaching and going through the hiring process – they can be "difficult," they aren't always "team players," they might mean "too much work."[23]

[23] These are specific instances referencing specific black women teachers and teacher candidates who have taught in and applied to teach in the district. However, these are by no means unique to

I step over and bring in my memory of this piece of the curricular infrastructuring.

"This is a cohort model. They stay with each other for two years. They stay with Toni for two years. And the foundation is critical theory. So, the foundation is getting to a place where they're exploring together questions that are rooted in critical theory. Only after that do we move together to do the public part of the youth-led participatory action research. And it doesn't happen until youth come into the classroom saying, 'What are we going to do about this?' And that's the moment. And it comes at different times every year. Sometimes it comes towards the end of the first year together. Sometimes it comes day one of their second year together.

"They come in going, 'All summer, I've been doing stuff with this. I've been connecting with people. I've been working on things. I've been thinking about things. I've been talking to people. So, what are we going to do about this?'

"And we start doing the specific pedagogies of youth-led participatory action research. But if we hadn't spent the time doing the critical theory work, if we hadn't spent the time doing the identity development work – that inquiry into individual and collective identity and how that positionality is created in connection to systems and institutions and sociohistorical realities – then what we'd be doing is just project-based learning. Or maybe critical service learning. We'd still be doing stuff that's about

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this district. Empirical research by Rita Kohli and Marcos Pizarro (2016) provides evidece of ways that teachers of color committed to racial justice in particular are framed overwhelmingly by colleagues and administration as both troublemakers and incompetent. For further discussion on racist discursive framing of black women educators see, for example, Gloria Ladson-Billings (2009), who extends the foundational black feminist scholarship of Patricia Hill-Collins (2000) into the fields of teaching and teacher education.

learning in community and learning in and with youth's communities. But it would be very different."

This distinction between YPAR, critical service learning, and project-based learning is something that is a recent clarity to come out of our participatory design research around instructional thinging – or the pedagogical arts of the 'heritage' language classroom. After JcD youth had done a couple of YPAR projects in the early years, I found myself thinking YPAR was an answer and a solution. YPAR was becoming my new grand narrative to replace other solutions-based grand narratives that are rooted in educational rights and justice, but when they are taken up and don't function as the end all to generational trauma and subtractive schooling they can be transmuted into failings on the parts of youth, families, and teachers. YPAR must be led throughout the process by youth as primary decision-makers (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). In a school-based context, youth decision-making is tightly constrained. Teachers who could potentially relinquish their grip on needing to orchestrate timing, decision-making, and knowledge processes, may find themselves feeling like they need to control these aspects when attempts are made to locate YPAR in school. This could be because they are new teachers, teachers without the securities of tenure, teachers without the support of key administrators or veteran teachers or union representatives, teachers of color and with intersecting identities that cishet-ableist-colonial-white supremacy[24] uses to construct

[24] This construction"cishet-abilizing-colonial-white supremacy" appears throughout this manuscript, with some variation of terms. The phrase construction mirrors Black feminist bell hooks' (1981; 1984) attempt to gather the intersecting hegemonic power of "white supremacist capitalist patriarchy," recognizing that none of these functions in isolation from the other, all coexist, and together they constitute and reconstitute one another. Thus, the limitations of tackling patriarchy without recognition of its relationship with white supremacy and capitalism. Over

them as incompetent, problematic, or more readily disposable. We needed a plurality of pedagogical arts, all of which aligned with reparational thinking, but through their pluralities offered options for learning that allowed youth to lead with the accompaniment of their teachers. With this lens, we could see that YPAR wasn't always what was happening or what youth were moved to do together.

The pedagogical arts of reparational language education in the service of teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language must be multiple and flexible, while maintaining their justice aims. For multilingual youth of color, particularly if they are living in lower-income neighborhoods or circumstances, schooling is often a prescriptive (or scripted) space. Access to high interest, authentic, and meaningful learning in school is limited. Tracking into language, math, and literacy remediation is common – as are inconsistencies and restrictions in allowing for playful intellectualizing with peers (Menken & Kleyn, 2010). Against this, project-based learning, particularly interdisciplinary project-based learning can be a space to reclaim education for self-determination and collective ownership (Bell, 2010; Moje & Hinchman, 2004). Similarly, critical service learning (Mitchell, 2008), with its focus on "encourag[ing] students to see themselves as agents of social change, and [to] use the experience of service to address and respond to injustice in communities" (p. 51) is a pedagogical art that links youth and

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time, these toxic enmeshments continue to be clarified through anticolonial, critical disability, critical race, and feminist women of color thinking to include heterosexual, imperialist, settler colonial, cishetero, and abilizing. Cishetero refers to the ideological privileging and norming of people who are both cisgendered (when gender identity and performances align the social expectations for the sex one was assigned at birth) and heterosexual. Ableist refers to ideologies that defines a person through a biological lens of ability and disability, rather than the view that people are abled and disabled depending on social circumstance that enable (or restrict) particular ways of thinking, interacting, and moving through the world.

classroom learning to community organizations and educators already working against these injustices. Critical service learning projects connect youth with community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2006) around resistance and navigational capital. At the same time, it requires the cycle between the classroom and community space to align youth understandings of social injustices with social change knowledge that rests largely on linguistic, social, and familial capital – all while feeding youth aspirations from within their own communities. Thus, through our interlapping participatory research, we found that there were times that YPAR projects were what youth were moved to do for their educational liberation. At times, they were moved to connect with community organizations to excavate the structures of social oppression and community-generated well-being through critical service learning. At other times, they requested to explore anew the work that had emerged through YPAR in a previous year, which reshaped itself as interdisciplinary and critical project-based learning.

"The cart conversation": A memory from the midst of our first time with YPAR

This clarity around pedagogical arts in reparational language education spaces played a key role in curricular infrastructuring, and this clarity came out of multiple iterations of interlapping participatory research. The following telling of the "cart conversation" (see Appendix A for data source) is the result of several collective memory sessions that sought to reconstruct what it felt like to be attempting to do YPAR, in school, in a teaching context (Spanish as a 'heritage' language), while we were still trying to learn ourselves, and for the first time. Our first attempt at YPAR has been documented in great detail elsewhere (Cushing-Leubner & Eik, 2018). Wanting to explore the benefits

of multilingualism and name the deficit discourses that inform the experiences of multilingual people of color in Minnesota and their school, JcD youth carried out an interview study with over thirty-five youth, parents, teachers, administrators, and community members. Using narrative and thematic analysis, they drew up a list of linguistic rights and organized a *Language Rights in Schools Summit* to present their findings and call on attendees to commit to acting out for the rights of multilingual youth of color in schools. The summit was such a success that JcD youth who had just spent four months doing research and organizing a large-scale event approached Toni two weeks later to request that they spend the last three months of the school year honing their skills to organize another summit – this time on ethnic studies representation in their other content classes. After the language rights summit, youth who were in the first year cohort of the program started asking us, "When's it our turn? We're ready now." It was these successes and what we learned from the language rights summit experience that made clear to us what infrastructuring needed to be happening in ongoing ways. In the midst of this, however, we could not see this is where we were heading.

The cart conversation

It's three weeks before the language rights summit when Toni and I have what we later begin to call "the cart conversation." The students in fifth period are poking away at their work. Energy seems low, but things are getting done. There's a murmur of gossip about the upcoming meeting between the logistics team and the principal. Toni's already told me that the principal is planning on offering to provide money so they can have food at the summit, but he's going to make the students present what they've been planning.

He wants them to make requests of him. He wants them to 'work for it.' And he wants them to have something – this gift of a food budget – to show for it. But the students don't know any of this yet, and so the word is starting to spread that the meeting is about the principal trying to deter the summit from happening. Stories are circulating that he frowned when they first asked to meet with him. I love this part of the gossip, because I can picture his nodding frown while he calculates his schedule and how to make sure that this, too, will be a learning experience.

After the bell, I offer to go with Toni to grab the computer cart from one of the English rooms before seventh period. It's a circuitous route through the school and we take our time, winding through the hallways around the band room. Toni seems distracted and quiet. I try to check in with her, try to mention how things seem to be going well, ask her how the new calendar is going to get the kids to start planning backwards, making benchmark goals, start to see that three weeks off is barely enough time. But Toni is quiet. She's always very thoughtful with her speech, but she seems detached today. She shrugs. She sighs. She shakes her head a little and says, "I don't know. I don't know." We're rounding back through the hallways near the band room now, maneuvering the cart around corners and through narrow doorways when she says:

"Don't take this the wrong way, but somebody was talking to me about project-based learning and inner city students, like our students – they called it 'Montessori' style – they said, 'Research shows' that it doesn't work with inner-city kids, with our kids. They need parameters and I'm seeing that, just from the beginning. I mean. They aren't

doing anything. And there's not enough I can do. I just feel like if I'm not there, they can't *do* it."

My stomach drops and I can't believe I'm hearing her say this. She doesn't seem to want to be saying this. She looks miserable and let-down. There's so much in the framing of this, the idea that she's not pushing back on how her kids are being described in this conversation with this 'somebody,' the idea that she might feel so at her end that this would be something she'd nod along to.

"It's not even that," she says then. The cart seems to have gained forty pounds and it's dragging and scraping its way towards her classroom. "It's me. *I* can't do this. Remember in the beginning of the year? I said how much better it is in year two? I mean, at one point last year, I felt like this. I thought I just needed the school year to be over so I could start over. But not by now. Not by October. I just feel like I can't do this. I don't know how to do this." I realize Toni is near tears. She makes an exasperated noise and her hands fly to her face. "I'm not sure I'll make it through the year."

For the next few minutes, I try my best to tell her that they're doing it, that she's doing it, that nobody knows what they're doing, but she's not failing them. I tell her it sounds like it takes more front-loading than we anticipated, but it will still be worth it. But I'm not sure what to say, so it comes out fast and muddled. Toni wipes her eyes, annoyed that she has to. "It's fine," she says. She seems to want to reassure me. "It's ok. It's just a lot." And we walk upstairs to meet seventh period in the computer lab. At the top of the stairs, she turns, takes the box of markers from my hands, and under her breath says, "It's just that I don't even want to go in there with them right now." She's looking

at the ground. The students are waiting, watching. I can't help thinking, they don't seem aloof. Toni says, "They don't want to be doing this and I'm starting to wonder why we are."

I tell her I'm sorry. I want it to sound like empathy, but I know it's because, at this moment, I feel like she's doing this for me. That I got excited and got her excited, too, but she's the one doing most of the work. It's one thing for me to say, "nobody really has a model – we have to figure it out as we go". It's another thing for *her* to figure it out as *she* goes. Later, my friend David tells me that sounds like I'm saying she doesn't have any agency in this, which isn't fair, because she's committing to it every day. But David hasn't said this to me yet, and I can't help thinking that I asked Toni to throw herself under the bus, because I thought she could be the kind of radical teacher I didn't become. I can't help thinking, "she's doing this as a favor to me." I watch Toni start talking with the students. For the first time since I've known her, she sounds annoyed with them. As I turn to leave, I can't shake that this isn't the teacher I know. I think about a conversation I had with another teacher educator before this all started. "The second year is when a new teacher realizes they are radical. If it doesn't happen by then, it won't. They're already on their way to fossilizing." For the first time since we started together, I'm worried for Toni. For the first time since we started together, I start to wonder if the kind of support she's being offered by me, that's meant to keep her in teaching, because teaching for liberation is supposed to feed us, is being done in a way that's starving her and might just be the reason she leaves.

"I still can't believe I did that": Curricular infrastructuring through youth insights

After the linguistic rights summit, Toni and I sat down together and recorded our memory work about the experience. At the time, I hadn't shared how I had been feeling during the cart conversation, and I did not share it with her until almost a year later. It would be almost two years after the cart conversation before we will have experienced the sort of role re-mediations (see chapter 5) that would allow us to remember and make sense of that conversation together. During the session that is represented in this final section, our memory work focused on what had just happened – the Language Rights in Schools Summit. This third memory work piece shows us coming clearer on how JcD's first YPAR experience in school would play a core infrastructuring role by contending with future issues (what could this language education program be capable of?) through a focus on proximate concerns (what unlikelihoods have youth and Toni proven possible?).

Finding voice through collective action

The majority of our memory work when we considered YPAR's role in curricular infrastructuring during our first year involved us talking about youth, replaying things that were said and things that happened in our initial attempts. Through the collective memory work mapping, I noticed that these memories overwhelmingly returned to a theme of recollecting how different JcD youth each came to points of naming "I didn't think I could do that" or "I still can't believe I did that." A large portion of our memory work during this section of the memory work map involved Toni reflecting on teacher-colleagues who came up to her to express surprise at how JcD youth showed out, the impact the summit and JcD's YPAR findings had on them, or surprise that this or that JcD youth "could do that" or that Toni "could have pulled it off." Some of this memory

work is outlined below. In this third memory work section, infrastructuring can be seen as an always ongoing process that includes collective identity formation along with the more concrete curricular elements that could be seen in this chapter's opening memory work piece ("From the initial vision"). The following memory work reveals how our focus on remembering the joyful moments of youth sharing "I still can't believe I did that" are just as much avenues for us as practitioners to garner strength and purpose towards moving the impossible – reparational language education – into a zone proximal to possible.

One example of this is the remembering of Mari, who was expressive, sharp, on point, and often making others in the group stop and think. When it came to speaking out in public, including in large groups and in her classes, though, Mari was impeccably quiet. She reserved her voice and her energies for specific spaces, and before she would offer up her voice and her energies, the people in those spaces needed to show her that they could be trusted with them. Nobody was required to present at the language rights summit. In order to decide who would present the collective research, JcD youth nominated who they thought would lend the strongest presence to the public performance. As a group, we shared the strengths people had listed for each nominee and the nominees then decided if they wanted to accept the role or not. Mari was not one of the people who had wanted this role.

The summit was held during the school day, in several rooms so that each room could have a different language preference: predominantly in Spanish, mixed across Spanish and English, and predominantly in English. At the end of the presentations and small-group discussions, everybody gathered together in the library media center for a

commitment sharing session and closing. During the commitment sharing, one of the school's English as an additional language teachers walked in. Afterwards, she asked several youth what was going on. When they told her, she asked if she could bring her emergent bilingual and mostly Somali students in during the next class period to hear from them about their research. Most of our JcD youth had to go to other classes, but a few people had free periods, like Mari and her friend Emi. They agreed to present to the group of twenty-four people, if they both would do it. Even though they hadn't prepared as presenters, they had been part of the team to prepare the slide shows and they all had been part of the research process of gathering data, analyzing, and determining findings.

Remembering this, Toni described it this way: "So, for Mari to do what she did, which was to get up, without being prompted to, in front of the group and give the presentation? I was *very* surprised. She's very quiet. She doesn't feel super comfortable speaking Spanish. She presented in English, but she doesn't feel that comfortable speaking in general. She gets really shy. So, I was very surprised that she did that. I don't know what exactly could have been her motivation to do that, to just stand up at that moment. She's good friends with Emi and I know Emi was standing up, so maybe it was having her friend there who was like, 'Come on, let's do this.' You know?"

Toni pauses, her eyes look to the wall and focuses somewhere midway up it. "I talked to her about it. I just said,

'Yeah. That was surprising. I was *surprised* that you did that!'

And she was like, 'Yeah, I know, me too. I still can't believe I did it.'

Still kind of, you know, deer in the headlights? But she was really proud of herself."

Toni leans forward in her seat. "I don't know what it was. But I think it has a lot to do with confidence. The stuff we talk about? They don't know it's – there's no right or wrong answer. It's just thinking and digesting stuff, and throwing your ideas out there. And I feel that in my seventh hour, that ball didn't get rolling, because there's not a lot of kids yet who feel comfortable doing that. In fifth hour, I had at least four who were really comfortable doing that, and so, that got other kids to see that, you know, if you share your ideas, this is how it's going to be received and this is how it contributes to what we're doing. And everybody started to feel like they could speak up."

She narrows her eyes and leans in further. "I don't think either of them feel confident about how smart they are. Because they tell me things like, 'I don't get this' or 'I don't know,' even though it's not about *knowing*. It's just about reflecting and thinking, and critically thinking. They'll say, 'I don't know.' Things like that tell me that somewhere along the line – I don't know. Somebody, or something, inhibited their … or just told them that they were *wrong* too many times. I don't know what it is. But, for me to ask a student to give their opinion: 'What do you think about this?' And then for them to feel like they don't want to share it, or that their opinion's going to be wrong? That kind of tells me that somewhere along the line, that wasn't respected."

For half a minute, Toni is quiet. She turns in her seat so she's leaning her shoulder back and several times she alternates between opening her mouth to speak and looking towards the door.

Finally, she says, "I have conversations with other teachers who know those two as well, who feel like this class has really changed them. I was talking to a history teacher. And he was saying that students like Mari and Emi, that he could just tell that now they feel empowered. They are starting to know more about themselves. They're starting to feel more confident in their skin. And that he's just seen a difference in how they express themselves. And I guess that… So, he feels like it's due to this class."

On infrastructuring as an expanding art of the schooling contact zone

This closing memory work is intended to reflect how initial curricular designs expanded and fused during these iterations of PDR to form ongoing curricular infrastructuring that may turn back on itself to constitute its continual formation. Curricular infrastructuring here included the paradigm shifts and ideological struggles that had to be navigated for Toni (as a new teacher who had not been "trained" to teach language in reparational ways) to integrate the elements of identity work, culturally sustaining representation, translingual practices and pedagogical translanguaging, collective ownership of the learning space, youth research, community cultural wealth, and transformative actions for social change. In addition, as a dynamic component of the learning environment, infrastructuring is neither linear nor confined to the space of the classroom. Rather, in the case of justice-oriented approaches, it is also part and parcel to the formation of counterpublics.

The collective identity formation of potential justice-oriented colleagues, as with other aspects of infrastructuring, is contentious and filled with question marks. If collective identity formation seeks to define and declare "who we are" often with the help

of “who we are not,” how do we know who shares in our issues and common causes? As with Mari, who needed to know those she shared the space with could be trusted, both the “cart conversation” and secondary analyses of laughter shed light on the work of collegial formation for the purpose of justice aims in the contact zone of schooling, which asks practitioners to read and question many “could bes” and “perhapses” of their colleagues and potential critical friends. Finally, this chapter opened with a claim that the curricular infrastructuring of the Spanish as a ‘heritage’ language program at times asked theory to inform practice, while at other times what happened in practice would push the theoretical visions for the program. However, infrastructuring towards impossible aims of justice connected to schooling requires more than the symbiosis of theory and practice to nourish it. Infrastructuring is also a social act that calls on people to engage in the dynamic re-mediation of themselves and their positional roles as the learning environment itself continuously comes into being. The following chapter returns to the questions of “who we are” and “who we are not” through the perspective of roles: those that are provided to us and are mediated by circumstance and those we redefine and which are re-mediated through interlapping participatory projects.

Chapter six interlude: Role re-mediations

The role of roles in justice-oriented education and research

Examining our positional roles and the re-mediation of these roles is particularly important in social justice education and its orienting research. Justice-orientations in education and educational research with staying power must navigate role re-mediation in environments that are unwelcoming and hostile to their justice aims (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Picower & Kohli, 2017). Though the specifics of social justice work in education are as myriad as the specifics of oppression as it is experienced across intersectional societal experiences and contexts, the wide body of scholarship around social justice education and educational research agree on the following: (a.) systemic and accompanying interpersonal patterns of oppression must be made visible; (b.) participants in those systems need to resist and refuse the structures and allures of positional power; and (c.) refusal needs to be actively mobilized to take shape as dismantling and transforming existing structures towards transgressive liberation (e.g., Ayers, Quinn, & Stovall, 2009). These active mobilizations may be resonant of what has been lovingly and transgressively shaped in the past, but are also not yet fully imagined (hooks, 1994). Part and parcel to this work, Megan Bang and Shirin Vossoughi (2016) articulate the need for participatory justice-oriented education projects to unveil and interrogate unnamed hierarchies of domination, lest we continue to reify these hierarchies in the name of (and in efforts towards) transformation.

Cultural myths in the formation of roles in teaching and educational research

The normalized roles provided by educational institutions and traditional research paradigms (e.g., university researcher/practitioner participant; teacher educator/teacher candidate; knowledgeable coach/novice teacher) are integral to preserving hierarchies of domination. Unless unveiled and interrogated, these roles are sustained in large part through entrenched socially constructed cultural myths (Barthes, 1972) that are constituted by, and likewise reinforce, their need and value. Such cultural myths that sustain these hierarchies of domination include what constitutes the role of teacher. Deborah Britzman (2012) offers the cultural myths of the rugged individual and self-made teacher. Both of these myths feed and are fed by ideologies of individualism and resilience that are integral to the U.S. American identity mythology. Erica Meiners (2002) explores the long legacy of ‘white lady bountiful’ in the social imaginary of archetypal bodies and types of young, servile and docile, white women who are best suited to become teachers. ‘White lady bountiful’ thirsts for and after the archetypes of white savior, settler innocence and righteousness, and white feminist models of maternalism (dialectic to a sexualized female self). Amber Pabon (2016) outlines the limiting prototype of the black male ‘superhero’ teacher as being the panacea solution to generational disinvestment and violence of anti-blackness across the schooling experience and the sociohistorical reality of the United States (Dumas & ross, 2016). Gloria Ladson-Billings (2009) draws on Black feminists’ outlining of the predominant cultural myths that construct Black women as ‘mammy’, ‘sapphire’, and ‘jezebel’ (Hill-Collins, 2000). The mammy myth is a distorted image of a Black woman caregiver to

white children who is asexual, callous, and "neglectful of her own children and family while simultaneously overly solicitous toward Whites" (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p.89). The 'sapphire' myth constructs Black women as "stubborn, bitchy, bossy, and hateful" (p. 89). The 'jezebel' myth constructs Black women as promiscuous, hypersexualized, and manipulative of men. Ladson-Billings outlines the ways these cultural myths follow Black women into teaching and delimit what is available to them in the already narrow space of who can become a teacher, let alone a 'good' one. For Black women in the profession, becoming a teacher is an already illusory world. When paired with the trope of 'white lady bountiful' (Meiners, 2002), the impossibility of becoming a Black woman teacher within the white imaginary of the settler colonial project of schooling can be palpable.

These are by no means an exhaustive review of the cultural myths available to define the roles laid out for teachers, teacher educators, and researchers-participants. However, they outline the field of cultural myths that resonate across myriad public discourses on "good" teachers, teaching, and collaborations. These public discourses include TED talks, social and traditional media coverage, and circulating narratives that spin the heroes and villainy of public education (e.g., McCarty, 2012). The role of teacher is central to research on teaching and learning in schools, as well as teacher preparation and teacher education. In terms of research involved with teacher education, these cultural myths of who is best suited for becoming a teacher and what defines good teaching feed the mechanisms of who becomes a teacher. Because of the credentialing process of many teacher licensure programs, teacher educators must increasingly have

current or recent licensed experience in K-12 teaching. Thus, the cultural myths that constitute the role of a teacher can likely be traced through the practices of teacher education as played out by former teachers, now in the roles of teacher educator and educational researcher.

These cultural myths of what it means to fill the role of teachers and teacher educators, along with myths that constitute the role of being an educational researcher and being a practitioner participant run counter to the work of reparational justice education, which seeks to interrupt and intercede against the very hierarchies of domination that rely on these cultural myths to subsist. Further, these roles are deeply entrenched and resistant to change, often relying on what Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang (2012) call "moves to innocence" to slip away from being refused and reshaped into roles more conducive to justice work. These roles, which Toni and I were provided and attempted to re-mediate, are embedded within, informed by, and informative of the white supremacist, capitalist, settler colonial technologies of schooling and academic research. For interlapping participatory research projects with educational justice desires in the contact zone of schooling, the roles that are offered to university-based collaborators and school-based collaborators, despite their commitments to and need for each other, should be read as already and always in the service of maintaining the hegemonic status quo of the schooling project of subtraction (Valenzuela, 1999) and deculturation (Spring, 2005). Thus, for justice-oriented educational (research) projects, provided roles must be unsettled. In this way, prescribed role definitions that inscribe positionalities of power and submission should be resisted and re-mediated in the service of reparational justice.

Role re-mediation in participatory design research

Role re-mediation comes out of sociocultural work in literacy that examines avenues for new and different forms of processing the world through interactions with others and objects. Re-mediation is rooted in a socio-historical approach to change that views “development [as] systems’ reorganization” (Cole & Griffin, 1986, p. 65). This alignment with systems-level reorganization makes it useful as a tool within interlapping participatory research projects. In particular, the participatory design research aspect of these interlapping participatory projects benefits from an analysis of role re-mediation because of participatory design research’s focus on the formation, reimagination, and transformative reconstruction of the learning environment as a socio-historical ecology (Bang & Vosoughi, 2016; Gutiérrez & Vossoughi, 2010). As Bang and Vossoughi (2016) note, role re-mediation must be understood in tandem with a socio-historical approach. This is because roles occur within social systems. These social systems, along with assigned (and accepted) roles, are imbued with historicities. Roles are also shaped by and through these social systems. This synergistic and historicized shaping, or “qualitative reorganization” (Cole & Griffin, 1986, p. 55) is re-mediation.

The participatory design and action research that Toni, JcD youth, and I did with each other depended on the re-mediation of our prescribed roles (student, teacher, researcher, participant, novice teacher, teacher educator, learner, expert). The collective memory work mapping of Toni and my partnership, friendship, and collaborations as they emerged and shifted over time made it clear that “It takes three to tango: the two people and the system they create between them” (Cole & Griffin, 1986, p. 59). Kris

Gutiérrez and Shirin Vossoughi (2010) argue that “re-mediation involves a reorganization of the entire ecology for learning” (p. 102). This ecological reorganization reflects a shift in the environment and a “systems reorganization in which designing for deep learning requires a social system’s reorganization” (Cole & Griffin, 1986, p. 73). Megan Bang and Shirin Vossoughi (2016) extend this to suggest that “role re-mediations within PDR [are] reflective of systems-level reorganizations, both resulting from and potentially engendering shifts in the activity system” (p. 174). For the interlapping participatory projects Toni, JcD youth, and I engaged in to take up reparational justice aims, such a shift in the activity system of deculturaltion, dominance, and subtraction had to take place.

Mapping memories of role re-mediations

The goal of this chapter is to use memory work to understand what the relational, historical, and ethical dimensions of our partnering process and role re-mediations were as we engaged in PDR. In order to do this, I first drew on our reflective collective memory work and used the analytic process of ‘collective memory work mapping’ (see chapter two) to map memory themes, co-occurrences of role indicators with themes, and mediating forces (e.g., relational demands, experiences, interactions with ideas or people). The goal of this process was to map Toni and my role re-mediations as they shaped and were shaped by shifts in the ecology and activities of the JcD teaching and learning environment over the course of our first five years together. Drawing from the collective memory work map, this memory work traces some of our role re-mediations as they happened over the course of our interlapping participatory projects.

The memory work in this chapter returns, in part, to the cart conversation from our first attempt at YPAR at Eleanor (see chapter 4). All memory work and memory work segments are linked to data sources in Appendix A. The memory work of this chapter took place nearly three years after the cart conversation (see chapter 4, p. 174); however, the memory work map revealed that this conversation had been returned to at least eight times over the years since it had happened. This memory has become integral to recognizing the discord that played out through the paradox of initially embracing our positional roles while attempting to do participatory and justice-oriented work. In what follows, I open with an earlier segment of memory work from the end of our first year together. This memory segment introduces the discomfort I had felt in the months where, from my perspective, our prescribed roles were shifting from “student teacher”/”teacher educator” (which is already frought with false dichotomies) to “participant”/“researcher” (which imposes an even worse dynamic for this work). This discomfort preceded any attempts to do participatory research or justice-oriented, collaborative teaching, and reflects an ideological struggle against the zero-point epistemology (Mignolo, 2009) that pervades the hierarchical role provisions of traditional educational research (Patel, 2015). This is followed by memory work that took place four years later that stitches together meaning making about the cart conversation with explorations of our role re-mediations that have shaped and been shaped by the interlapping participatory research projects of the five years we have been together. Taken together, this tapestry of memory work makes visible both the necessity of the re-mediations of our roles and what our role re-

mediations afforded our attempts towards reparational language education and justice-oriented participatory research.

Chapter Six

"This isn't who I thought I'd be": Roles, Myths, and Re-mediations

"This went really well, right? Like, *much* better than I thought." Toni passes me a small container with a mix of pickled hot peppers that I dump on my sandwich. We're sitting in the sun during our last lunch break of a week-long, thirty-hour intensive week of professional development focused on teaching heritage languages that we co-designed and were facilitating together. This was the third time that summer – which marked our fourth year together – that we had done something like this. The first was a four-hour professional development on teaching through ethnic studies and identity texts (Cummins & Early, 2010) in 'heritage' language classes that had been participatorily designed with JcD youth and had twenty-two teachers and administrators from five different districts in attendance. The second was a two-day workshop with twelve Spanish as a 'heritage' language teachers that had taken place earlier that summer and that drew exclusively on our collaborative practitioner action research projects, bolstered by examples from several interlapping youth participatory action research projects. And now, this week-long institute with thirty K-12 and college teachers from four different states, which was an extension and expansion of those earlier collaborative designs. Already, we'd had three more requests to meet about facilitating further professional development for the fall, and JcD youth had been invited to participate as keynote speakers or to facilitate workshops for other youth and teachers/teacher educators. Some of these invitations were

based on curiosity and some on wanting to explore what it would take to make moves towards enacting similar justice-oriented work.

It is at times like this that I am often stunned at how different our relationship has become since we met four years earlier. Toni has heard my musings on this several times by this point. “It *is* going well. We make a good team, though, so…” We laugh and pretend to clink our water bottles like we are at a very posh and self-congratulatory lunch and not scrambling to finish our sandwiches in fifteen minutes and rush back to start up the afternoon session. Walking back, we reflect on the twists and turns of our friendship and collaborations that have brought us to this point. Our relationship to one another and to the work we are doing together is very different than the roles we initially played. We laugh at the absurdity of how we were initially positioned: as novice student teacher and master teacher educator. This positioning is in such contrast to the way we now act with one another, and the ways we morph our roles in response to others rather than to one another. This is particularly noticeable in spaces where either of us perceives the other is being positioned unfavorably or experiencing a power play by another person. This has happened, for example, in meetings with school and district administration and teacher colleagues. But it is also visible in situations like this one, where we both are being positioned overtly and perhaps overabundantly as being knowledgeable experts and master pedagogues. In these situations, there is a tendency to fall back on an acute awareness that we are always pushing our own zones of comfort of what has been already-experienced. Several times, we’ve retold stories of these situations to one another as though they are examples of a bizarro-world where, in response to these positionings,

we have learned to duck and weave in tandem, complementing one another's input and sociolinguistic cues to engage in a way that is reflective of our practical and theoretical knowledge, yet evasive of the smugness we both associate with being positioned as "rising stars."

At one point, Toni starts to laugh and launches into a bizarro-world telling of the workshop we are facilitating filled with teachers, many of whom have been teaching as long or longer than she has been: "What is going on in there? Once or twice I was like, to myself, 'Toni. They don't *know*. You were *just* here'." The "here" she's referring to is the licensure program she just finished as a student at this same college only three years earlier. She waves her hands a little in the air. And I'm up here: "Better pay attention – I've got *so much* to teach you!" She's making a joke at her own expense, but, as a first-generation and working-class backgrounded woman in academia, the feeling of being an imposter (Dover 2017; Gardner & Holley, 2011) follows me around in ways I have not been able to shake. I laugh with an ease that I do not often feel these days. This is because it is Toni. At this point in our friendship, conversations with her are some of the few times when the feeling of being an imposter doesn't feel like something I need to hide, but also doesn't feel like something I need to explain. "I know, right?" is all I say instead. Then I change the subject and launch into how good it feels to be doing this. I rehash how we have come to build off of one another when we're facilitating professional development with teachers and teacher educators, how we continue to find a dynamic cadence to read and respond to one another and the participants in the room. How we've come to perform a sort of improvisational duet, wherein we start with a planned and

practiced message, and then weave together examples from the classes with language and learning theories in response to the conversation that emerges from the participating teachers and teacher educators. As we come up to the building where the institute is taking place, Toni turns to me and pauses before saying, “For real for a minute, though. If you had told me two years ago we’d be here right now, doing *this?* I wouldn’t have believed you.” And then we walk in the doors together.

Later that day, I journal about the absurdity of the initial roles we played in each others’ lives: that Toni would write reflective papers to weave her identity exploration together with educational theories and practica experiences (Martel & Wang, 2015) while I was tasked with interjecting feedback and giving these a grade. This led to an early relationship in her first year teaching that was short of collaboration and looked more like coaching, an extension of our situated roles as novice (Toni) and expert (me). I note that it is exciting that our roles have shifted and now feel so synergistic and collaborative, rooted in a friendship that, in retrospect, we both agree should have been unlikely considering the unequal and absurd institutional power dynamic it grew out of. My excitement comes from a palpable relief that, over time, I felt less and less positioned as an expert (dialectical to her as a novice) and legitimized intellectual (as conferred by my role in academia), and more and more in tandem partnership with Toni. This shift, or re-mediation of our roles (Bang & Vossoughi, 2016; Cole & Griffin, 1983; Gutiérrez & Vossoughi, 2010), is what seems unbelievable to me. It reminded me of the shifts in role described by Maisha Winn and Joseph Ubiles (2013) in a similar example of participant researcher/educator and practicing teacher collaborating towards justice aims with youth.

Though their initial positionings were in roles of academic researcher and teacher, their collaborations shaped Winn into what Ubiles called a 'worthy witness.' Their roles shifted, with Winn becoming a co-teacher alongside Ubiles. This re-mediation of their initial roles saw an accompanying shift in the ways their collaborations became both more synergistic and generative. As a result, "[Maisha] reflected on her practice as a researcher as much as Joseph reflected on his practice as a teacher" (p. 11). The roles available to us in educational institutions and in situations of institutionally supported research are designed to maintain paradigms of hierarchy and long-standing colonial dynamics of power (Paris & Winn, 2013; Patel, 2014; 2015; Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012). Yet, to engage successfully in humanizing and justice-oriented teaching and research, these roles must be refused and broken free from (Ayers, Quinn, & Stovall, 2009; Paris & Winn, 2013). As a human social process, there is no roadmap for this. Rather, such resistive shifts in role and positioning are defined by their entanglements. At times, the re-mediations of prescribed roles and power dynamic positionalities that we were experiencing were facilitated by the participatory design and action research activities. At other times, or coincidingly, it was the dynamics of relational re-mediation itself that made it possible for the participatory design and action research to take shape.

This chapter explores the entanglements of role re-mediation in social justice education and participatory research projects in education contact zones. Role re-mediation in this case is grounded in cultural-historical conceptions of re-mediation, based in a view of how entire learning ecologies reorganize themselves by and through participants and activities within those systems (Cole & Griffin, 1986). In what follows, I

will first contextualize the importance of examining role re-mediation in social justice education and its orienting research, particularly in terms of the importance of resisting role definitions that are rooted in limiting cultural myths (Barthes, 1978) and inscribe positionalities of power and submission. Then, I will outline the conceptualization of role re-mediation within participatory design research, noting the necessity of experiences across time scales of collaborations. Finally, I offer a memory tracing of an example of some of our role re-mediations, what these re-mediations required from us, and what these re-mediations afforded us. This tracing draws from reflective collective memory data and analysis revealed through the collective memory work mapping process.

A memory: Toni – the first year

I'm sitting across from Toni at a coffee shop near campus. The year is finishing up and our relationship is headed towards a hazy space, triangulated by our shifting identities of instructor-student, mentor-mentee, researcher-participant, and friend. I'm uncomfortable with the last part because I know that I know too much about her – as my student, she's been writing deeply reflexive identity studies for months and I've been guardedly crafting what I share as an instructor with the dwindling intention of not over-influencing the teacher candidates' performances as their "teacher selves." As a researcher in an initial conversation with somebody who is now a study participant, I realize I have no idea how I'll navigate the fact that we need to be friends for her to feel safe in sharing so much of herself. Moreover, I really like her, and yet, ethically, that creates a no-man's land of handling and sharing what we talk about, how I'll analyze it,

and what I'll learn. It's a space somewhere in between and it's profoundly uncomfortable for me as a first-time researcher.

Tacit acceptance of roles and institutional positioning

This memory segment reflects on Toni and my first meeting as we were about to transition out of our initially positioned roles as teacher educator / student teacher at the university. The larger memory work session took place towards the end of our second year knowing one another. This was during our eighth month of partnership around the 'heritage' language program design. It is clear in this memory segment that my conceptualization of our roles is steeped in definitions provided by the myths of distance and objectivity that traditional research adheres to (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012). I list our roles through the binary constructions of "instructor-student" and "researcher-participant." The constructor of "researcher-participant" is particularly telling. I do not describe our roles as co-researchers, but through a binary of constructive agency in the research ("researcher") and invited player in the research ("participant"). Additionally, within the list, the binary roles are clarified with the inclusion of "mentor-mentee." By consistently stating my role hyphenated by Toni's role, the list creates a parallel structure. The inclusion of "mentor-mentee" within this list suggests my understanding of these roles to not only be binary (they are distinctive, separate, dialectical, and in this way complementary). It also suggests my understanding of these binary roles to be hierarchical: that "instructor" and "researcher" serve to unidirectionally mentor "student" and "participant."

The list closes with a discursive detour: “friend,” which, unlike the preceding role constructions is offered as a singular role without complement. One of these things is not like the other. In the discursive construction of this list of roles, it appears it is the role of “friend” that made me feel that “our relationship [was] headed towards a hazy space.” The idea that our roles might re-mediate to “friend” made me “uncomfortable” and I struggled knowing that, “moreover, I like[d Toni]” and that was a problem. This discomfort with the “hazy space” of friendship in the context of research can be read through the lens of institutional demands just as it can be read through the lens of human desire. From the perspective of institutional demands, my discomfort rested on my embrace of the institutionally expected role of researcher as knowledge-maker (Mignolo, 2009). The institutional demands of taking on the role of researcher could not allow for or imagine the humanizing possibilities of friendship. Instead, it positioned friendship as a role that would require manipulation. The requirements of research made friendship a role that required deep discomfort because it forced friendship to be constructed as what Toni, positioned in the role of participant, “need[ed …] for her to feel safe sharing so much of herself.” My discomfort with the “hazy space” of friendship can also be read through the lens of human desire. The truth was, “I really like[d] her.” I wanted to become friends, and my discomfort was rooted in the institutional demands that had already been placed on me to fulfill the role of instructor, rather than friend. That institutional role had made me feel that “I [knew] too much about her.” This was not because Toni had been coerced to share “too much” with me. I knew “too much” because the institutional demands of the role of instructor had meant that we had not *shared* in our

knowings of one another. It was not that I felt discomfort at getting to know her as a person, but that from my perspective, our roles had made it impossible to be a humanizing and reciprocal exchange[25]. I knew too much about her because she did not know enough about me. The institutional demands constructed my desires for friendship, with a person I really liked, as an ethical quagmire – a “no-man’s land.”

Justice-oriented teaching and its accompanying research must interrupt and break free from the requirements of schooling and traditional research, and these requirements include the roles that are made available to participants in those structures. These roles are steeped in settler colonial, white supremacist, heteropatriarchal desires that esteem myths of rationality, legitimacy, and validity (Mignolo, 2009; Patel, 2015; Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012). This memory segment makes clear that, within these confines, friendship and research are placed in conflict with one another. I will be honest here. The ways this has been made visible in this memory work fills me with disgust and disdain for my remembered self. I view this as a response to Wanda Pillow’s (2003) ask: “What would it mean to be rigorously self-aware – rigorously reflective about the workings of power and the desire to perform and achieve at the validated strategies [of comfortable research]?”

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[25] It is not that, as an instructor or teacher educator, this role disallows getting to know somebody who is positioned as their student. Rather, the pace, compactness, hegemonic demands and ratio of students/teacher candidates to instructors sets up an impossibility in terms of time, energy, and interpersonal resources (Picower & Kohli, 2017). In addition, most new teacher educators are also “learning to teach” and developing personal and professional identities as teacher educators that place them in similar positions to new teachers in their induction years, when they are likely to resort to what educational social historian Dan Lortie (1977/2002) calls an apprenticeship of observation. For more on the navigation and emotional interiors of new teacher educators’ learning to teach, see Jessica Tobin (2016).

(p. 188). This memory segment shows the ambivalence of the provisional roles made available to Toni and me by schooling and research which had to be re-mediated in ways that appear, in retrospect, illusory. Yet, this re-mediation did occur. Had it not, neither Toni nor I believe that the larger project of reparational language education in the contact zone of schooling would have been possible. In the memory work that follows, the re-mediations of our roles are traced from a place of humanizing desire and friendship. This tracing suggests the ways our collective need for humanization both prevailed and required resistive re-mediation in refusal of the confines of schooling and traditional research.

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"Why would I ever choose to be that vulnerable with somebody I didn't know?"

Contrived collegiality and pedagogical content knowledge

Memory work mapping indicated the arbitrary, institutionally-conferred hierarchical roles, based on zero-point epistemological thinking, that I had positioned us as embracing in this memory segment followed through into our first year of partnership. In particular, the positional roles of mentor (Jenna) and mentee (Toni) were firmly entrenched across the first four months of our partnership in the initial year of the 'heritage' language program design. Largely these roles were mediated by pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1986). In his assertion of pedagogical content knowledge, Lee Shulman describes this as "the blending of content and pedagogy into an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organized, represented, and adapted to the diverse interests and abilities of learners, and presented for

instruction" (p. 8). Early conversations were often driven by my questions about content, learners, language concept, pedagogical choices. How was Toni conceptualizing distinctions between 'heritage' and 'second language' learners? How was Toni's understanding of academic language being integrated into instruction? If identity work and critical consciousness were going to play central roles, what ways would they play out across literacy development, and interactive task designs? When Toni instigated conversations, they tended to revolve around brainstorming, troubleshooting, dilemma-processing, and making sense of these same topics. There were only ever very brief glimpses into moments of friendship – laughter, jokes, personal insights or stories that weren't contextualized by the professional relationship. When these did occur, they served as respite points, and each time, transcripts of our conversations showed that I would reroute us back to pedagogical content knowledge. These early conversations involved what Andy Hargreaves and Ruth Dawe (1990) described as contrived collegiality, which may "act as a useful preliminary phase in the move towards more enduring collaborative relationships" (p. 238). However, in our case, through pedagogical content knowledge acting as the primary mediator, this contrived collegiality was more of a hangover and functioned to sustain the hierarchical positionings that had carried over from our initial and respective roles as student teacher and teacher educator. This is because the pedagogical content knowledge itself centered the knowledge base of the academy, which embraced monoglossic, settler-colonial, and white supremacist paradigms over the paradigms of, for example, translingual realities and ethnic studies

approaches. What happened over the course of our partnership that allowed these roles to re-mediate?

Parallels of faking it

It is midway through our fifth year together. Our memory work is asking about the palpable moments when our relationship changed. To get to these moments, though, we also find ourselves remembering and revealing times of great insecurity early on in our partnership. These were times when one or both of us felt we did not know what we were doing, or if what we were doing was right or should be what we continue to do. I shared my own memories of my first year as a teacher educator, which Toni had experienced as a teacher candidate in the program where I was an instructor. At several points, I describe feeling like I was barely keeping my head above water and that I had felt like I was "faking it" and Toni, who had been my student at the time, says repeatedly she hadn't been able to tell. She goes on to re-name all the ways I had seen myself as faking it, but transposed into the ways she, too, had felt like she had been faking it her first year.

"As you're talking," Toni begins, "I hear so many parallels between your position as an instructor that first year and the processes that you went through and everything that I went through as I was starting the program."

Toni goes on to list the parallels in quick succession and in a combination of past and present tenses, which flexes the timing of when each was experienced by one or the other of us. This gives the impression that the parallels are outside of time, introducing a synchronicity, or a larger meaningfulness that rests on the coincidence of their co-

occurrence. “You’re rehearsing in the shower. Definitely did that. Your thought process of, ‘I hope they don’t figure out that I don’t know what I’m doing. I hope they don’t figure out that I’m just trying to keep my head above water.’ Yeah. I definitely felt that way. I’m not Latina. I’m not a native Spanish speaker. I didn’t really feel like I belonged in the position. Sometimes I did and sometimes I didn’t. And then, other people trying to work to ‘put you in your place’ – questioning where your instincts lay and what you knew – people trying to work to undo that and convince you that you didn’t know what you really did. That’s something that continues to happen for me.”

Failure and desire in our first time at YPAR

One of the key re-mediators of our roles was a shift in vulnerability with one another. Vulnerability both functioned to re-mediate and grew out of these re-mediations. By the time we were doing this particular memory work session, the vulnerability that allowed us to remember together and make sense of the different ways we faced fears of failure during our first attempt at doing YPAR in school came with some ease. But this had not always been the case. This memory work found us embracing our potential failures and seeking a lifeline in one another’s shared vision and desires.

“So, maybe one of the reasons things worked then and are working well for us now is that we can really identify with each other in the different roles that we play, have played, and are playing.” Toni suggests.

I nod at this and add, “For whatever reason, we were being vulnerable with each other. But at the same time, we weren’t telling each other things that were happening inside of us. For example, that first year together with the program? What I remember

thinking a lot about was all the *ideas* and the *what if we did x*. But I wasn't being asked to carry it through. You were. If I think back on it, I would have said: 'This is not a partnership. This is me going, 'I know! How about this? Ok, go ahead.''" I mime holding a large tray and shoving it towards Toni. "And I remember at one point thinking that I was caught up in wanting to try something through you, but I was really only thinking about myself. That's when I had that conversation with David[26]. It was when things were not going well. It was during that first YPAR project, and it was starting to hit me. All of a sudden, I was like a deer in headlights, and I said, 'If this doesn't go well, this is on me.' I didn't have a handle on what I was supposed to be doing, and I felt like I had started something I shouldn't have. I had basically said: 'Here's an idea. *You* should go do it.' And then, for whatever reason, you thought that I knew how to do it."

Toni nods, "I did, yeah."

"But I *didn't* know. So there was this moment when I just thought to myself: 'I lied to her. I led her into believing that one of us had a good foothold somewhere, but really we're both just tiptoeing on the side of a cliff.' And you were calling over, 'Good thing you're strapped in there!'" I make a face like I've been caught in a comedy of errors. "And I'm just like, '*I* didn't strap in!' But the person who was going to fall off was you." It wasn't a comedy of errors, though, and it wasn't happenstance that had gotten us there. It was the logical outcome of an interventionist approach to educational research that regularly puts the burden of any failures on practitioners in the name of data

[26] "That conversation with David" referenced here is the same conversation that was referenced in the "cart conversation" in chapter 4 (p. 174).

gathering and objective analysis. Perhaps because he was acting as a dialogic partner and critical friend to me, but had no personal involvement or emotional stake in Toni or me or the YPAR project, David had served as what Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) called a dialogic partner who, in tandem, shapes another's understanding of social processes and sense of self and a social reality. In memory work involving the cart conversation and this particular moment of our role re-mediations, David serves a particular role. The version of David that appears in this memory work does not speak the same as the version that appears in other memory work (see the "cart conversation" in chapter 4). David's words do not seem to be as important as the dialogic imaginary they helped produce – to re-mediate a sense of self and the social reality being formed through doing YPAR as a part of the processes of infrastructuring. "And, you know," I tell it this time, "David just sat there. And then he said, 'Are you done yet?' And in that moment I remember feeling terrible. I just said something like, 'I can't believe I did this.'"

I had felt terrible. It was a terrible that was akin to pre-emptive guilt – a pre-emptive guilt that was indulgent and self-aggrandizing. It erased Toni from my perspective, much as she had been erased from my positioning of us in the memory segment that opened this section. I described this as "feeling terrible" while simultaneously detaching it from Toni. Why did I turn to David instead of to Toni to excavate the vulnerabilities of this moment in our collaboration? I barely knew David at the time and his only connection to our work was that I was aware he had been doing YPAR for a while already. This positioned him as more of an expert in YPAR than I was. At that point, YPAR existed for us in the zone of pedagogical content knowledge.

Because Toni and I were still in the midst of contrived collegiality, I needed to fulfill my role of pedagogical expert. This was a moment where the context required our roles to be re-mediated, but one or both of us were holding them rigid. Toni and I were making attempts at humanizing pedagogy and research, and in so doing, were both novices. Even so, we continued to inhabit the contradictory roles of distance and false expertise. What was happening at this moment in our partnership reflects the larger discord between desiring humanizing experiences within contexts and rule-following that organize people into false hierarchies of importance and value, which schooling and academia are defined by.

"I think I was caught up in that I liked you, too. I wanted us to be friends." I go on. "And I remember David just said, 'You're not giving her any agency. She's making choices. At any point, she could have said yeah, that's cool, but maybe for next year.'"

Toni bursts into laughter and I start to laugh, too. In this moment, it is as though the absurdity of everything that we tried to do in that first year has overflowed onto the table between us. It is as though we bit off more than we could chew and are suddenly registering how much bigger than our mouths our eyes had been. Why had we thought we could do this? If we had known better, we wouldn't have tried it. Except also, it turned out that we could do it, because we had.

"Right!" Toni laughs.

"You know?" I laugh, too. "*At any point*. And he just said: 'She wants to do this. You know, it sucks. It sounds like she's at the shitty point of it right now – there's always a shitty point. But it sounds like she wants to do this. So you need to back off.'

I told Toni that David said “there’s always a shitty point.” In the context of our conversation, the reference is to doing YPAR. To understand why I said he said that, we have to remember that YPAR is not a technical approach, but an epistemological stance, rooted in educational liberation and justice (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). When I said David said “there’s always a shitty point” it has to be contextualized by attempting to take up YPAR within the toxic ecology of subtractive schooling and the hierarchies inherent to institutions and accompanying roles, which is antithetical to the liberatory praxis that YPAR intends. Simultaneously, this must be scaled across the limitations that define the cultural myths of being a ‘good teacher,’ furthermore, to be a good teacher in city schools, and of multilingual youth of color in a language education setting. These are the discursive framings and cultural myths that doing YPAR is up against, when doing it is happening in schools. Remember how, in the cart conversation (chapter five, p. 174), “somebody” had told Toni that “Research shows that [this] doesn’t work with inner-city kids,” that “they need parameters” and are therefore being set up to fail in situations of self-determination and collective ownership of their own learning in schools. Doing YPAR itself may not always have a shitty point. But contextualize attempting to do YPAR in the restrictive and suppressive contact zone of schooling, in the tenuous and tenacious space of justice-oriented ‘heritage’ language classes, as a novice and untenured teacher. In that context, it’s hard to imagine there not being a shitty point at some point.

This is when I tell Toni that, at that moment, I thought that I had failed her. But it it was also the role that I had embraced that had failed her. “I think it was then that I was really aware of the imbalance between us. I felt like I was constantly aware of the power

imbalance of who we were being positioned as, maybe we were positioning each other, too. For me, at that point, it was too precarious to let you know, 'um… I really can't help you. I'm scrambling. I can't help you.'"

Finding equal footing through shared experience

At certain points, our roles were re-mediated by more concrete events. For instance, at the end of our second year together, Toni and I attended a week-long critical participatory action research institute, organized by the Public Science Project. This intensive week together revolved around the theory, methods, and ethics of critical participatory action research, conditions for collaboration, and designing and implementing critical research using participatory, arts-based, and action-oriented approaches.

"For me," I say, "things changed when we both went to the critical participatory action research institute in New York. I remember feeling such relief."

Toni looks surprised at this. "Really?"

I nod. "I was *so* relieved." In fact, I feel relieved in sharing this with her now. "It just felt like a huge sigh. Now we're both on the same page. I remember thinking, 'She doesn't need me anymore. As of now, she doesn't need me anymore, so now we can actually be in this together.' But I don't think before that I felt like we were on equal footing. I always felt like I was being dishonest with you, and that was an awful feeling. At the same time, though, I also didn't want to not be doing it."

Toni sits back a little, cocks her head to the side. "I didn't pick up on any of that."

"I'm pretty good at keeping things inside."

Toni laughs. "Yeah. Apparently."

Fortification through shared praxis

In addition, our roles were re-mediated through the work we engaged in together across the span of interlapping participatory projects. These projects asked each of us to move outside of institutionally defined comfort zones, and were capacitated through working with one another. The theoretical pushed our practices, and the experiential pushed our theories. This pushing happened when we found ways to confirm what is theoretically possible through seeing it done in practice, and identifying what could be real in the otherwise imaginary of theory.

"I think about my first year teaching," Toni says then, "which is a hard year. Being a first year teacher is just tough in itself. And then I was creating all this curriculum. And I remember a handful of times calling you in a panic at eight in the morning." She laughs and talks in mock panic into her hand like it's a phone. "'Hey – I have this idea, I'm not sure if I should do it or not' or 'Hey … I don't have any ideas.' Those were the conversations that we would have. For whatever reason, I don't know what you said – you seemed to have feigned knowing pretty well. Because you *convinced* me. You gave me enough confidence in myself to do it even though you apparently had no idea either. Whatever you said was consoling enough for me to say, 'Ok. That's what I'm going to do today. I'm going to do that.' Some of the stuff worked and some of the stuff didn't, but at least I had the confidence to stand with a group of students and say 'We have a plan for today.' That was a big part of the battle right there – just to stand up and say, 'There is a plan.'"

"I feel like that was really fortifying for me, too," I say. "Because do you know what I was thinking? That I hadn't learned how to teach like this. I didn't have the space to teach like this. I didn't have the support to teach like this. And I hated teaching, because I couldn't make it be like this. So, when we had those conversations, and I would say, 'What about this?!,' there was a big question mark at the end of that. But then, when you would do it, I would say, 'Ok. So you *can* do that.' You know? It wasn't just pipe dreams. You really can do it. So that was fortifying for me, and then I could tell other people and feel assured about it. I started to say there's another way. And I believed it."

I wouldn't have believed it either

This chapter opened with Toni and me embodying roles that were unimaginable to us at the outset of our partnership. In this memory, we were about to return to a week-long intensive institute that we were co-facilitating and had co-designed. Toni had turned to me and said, "If you had told me two years ago we'd be here right now, doing *this?* I wouldn't have believed you." Toni was not alone in that. I would not have believed it either. Beyond that, Toni and I have come to see clearly that it was the lifelines of our partnership that allowed for the work to generate in the way it has. Toni's practice of vulnerability and trust in me gave proof of the reality of the theories I was bringing into our partnership. My practice of vulnerability and trust in Toni provided possibilities to the impossibility of justice-oriented education in the deculturative contact zone of schooling. However, neither of these practices could flourish until our prescribed roles re-mediated to ones that allowed for our mutual humanization.

Memory work mapping revealed intersections between re-mediations of our roles and mediating forces. In the early stages of our partnership, our roles carried over from our initial positions of teacher educator / student teacher and remained clearly defined as expert / novice and mentor / mentee. Interspersed throughout were brief moments that suggested desires for friendship outside the parameters of our prescribed roles. Over time, this imbalance shifted. More friendship talk emerged and periods of friendship talk lengthened, though in large part it continued to be mediated by the shared work of our partnership. By the fifth year of our partnership, friendship talk around work experiences had begun to take shape both as collaboration-centered and commiseration-centered. This distinction is a marker of the destabilization of the mentor / mentee binary roles that defined our early stages of partnership. Work talk began to be regulated to different times than friendship talk, and many times friendship talk would overtake work talk or be the sole purpose of our conversations. Roles were re-mediated through the social and emotional intangibles of friendship (i.e., vulnerability, trust, desires, and insecurities), interactive fortifying of the possible and the real, and through equalizers like sharing in experiences of praxis such as the CPAR Institute and the impossibility of engaging in YPAR in the contact zone of schooling. As roles re-mediated, other relational aspects of the collaborations and partnering could be tackled with greater clarity and directness, and the ecology itself could shape the practicalities and possibilities of who we could and might be and become through this work.

Chapter Seven

Another mountain: On Hills to Walk and Other Thoughts

In the 1950s, Paulo Freire and a group of liberation-educators set out to change the sociopolitical fabric of Recife Brazil. The goal was to radically shift democratic participation in order to make fundamental changes to the constitution. To do this, they first needed to attend to the structural restriction of print literacy in determining who was allowed to participate in Brazilian democracy. If a person did not have print literacy, they were not able to vote. Through these literacy laws, the vast majority of the rural population (having experienced limited, inconsistent, and woefully inadequate schooling) were barred access to democratic participation. It was a cluster of monumental, and almost impossible, tasks: print literacy, critical consciousness, mobilization and leveraging of the political power of the disenfranchized and intentionally undereducated working class.

Using grassroots education and organizing, Freire's team designed dialogic culture circles to draw out and germinate print literacy amongst adults in the Brazilian countryside. These culture circles drew on the wisdom of the lived experiences and existing language and literacy practices of participants to engage and grow the subset of skills involved with print literacy. They believed that print-based reading and writing could be accomplished if they were to draw on participants' existing knowledge, because participants in the culture circles were already skilled in foundational holistic literacy practices. This belief came from a view that literacy was grounded in making and expressing meaning in everyday life, and that print literacy was just one expression of

these already existing literacy practices. In this way, participants were always reading the world around them through symbols and symbolic interaction and using these to write their experiences into concrete, physical, and symbolic existence. It was from this starting point of literacy as lived cultural practice (Freire & Macedo, 1987) and print literacy as an aspect of these larger acts of literacy as meaning-making and making-meaning, that Freire's transformational and liberatory praxes for learning were birthed (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Freire, 1997; 2010; 2013; Souto-Manning, 2013).

Between 1962 and 1964, thousands of rural Brazilian farmworkers began to learn and teach one another to read and write using dialogic culture circles, accompanied by Freirian educators. People who had been labeled "illiterate" were using print literacy to make sense of, share, and create literature on workers rights and self-education in incredibly short periods of time – reportedly after only forty-five days. Based on what had been done before, this was unimaginable.

Today, the unfathomability of liberatory learning continues in school spaces. Problem-posing and dialogic culture circles pedagogies have been described step-by-step in numerous contexts (e.g., Faltis, 1991; Freire, 1991; 2013; Souto-Manning, 2013). Yet, despite these practical models, how often do we see liberatory learning play out in our classrooms? It is clearly not impossible to do. As the examples of Latinx-centric transformational learning that I describe in chapter three show, it has been done, and it does get done. Liberatory learning is made *im*possible through the historical and maintained designs and requirements of our schooling institutions. So, too, is the case for the project of reparational language education in schools, which I suggested in chapter

one as a framework for doing the work of teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language in U.S. schools.

Making the road we walk

I began this dissertation by outlining how teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language is about more than a technical acquisition of language and literacy. In addition, although it is inclusive of an individual and communal sense of identity and belonging, it must also centralize the realities of a language and its speakers resisting the race-language processes (Alim, Rickford, & Ball, 2016) of linguistic hegemonies that persistently lead to the imposed attrition of heritage languages and silencing of intersecting and multiple identities and worldviews (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Malsbary, 2014). It must do this while existing within schools, the historic designs of which have consistently done the work of linguistic and cultural subtraction, as an institutional technology of biocultural elimination that is necessary for settler colonialism to keep hold. At the same time, in the case of Spanish, 'heritage' language education must contend with additional layers of colonial processes of removal that utilized Spanish (along with schooling and the Catholic church) across the Américas.

As scholars, researchers, teachers, and learners, Toni, Jóvenes con Derechos youth and I regularly grappled with these contradictions and contentions, even as we oriented and re-oriented ourselves towards justice. Using the methodological and pedagogical arts of the contact zone (chapters two and four; Pratt, 1991; Wolff, 2002) that included interlapping participatory design and action research projects, we attempted to resist the colonial processes that played on us and we played into. We did this as we

taught, learned, and pursued transformation within and through the mechanisms of the very institutions that constrained us. The counterproductivity of this was not lost on us, but neither was the fact that participation in schooling is obligatory. Toni and I often found ourselves ricocheting between hope and discouragement. Hope for all that could be, for all that multilingual youth are capable of, and for all that could become of public education if teachers were nurtured as culturally sustaining and humanizing educators. Discouragement for all the constraints, resistance to transformation, and doggedness of silencing that these same youth and educators experience within institutions that exist under the guise of public good (Vaught, 2017). In these times of ricochet, we considered the power of dreaming into being, the hope that could come from creating together, and the potency of beginnings.

Creating, beginnings, and dreaming

Paulo Freire had much to say about creating, beginnings, and dreaming. In December of 1987, Freire went to visit friend and fellow liberatory educator Miles Horton at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee's Cumberland Plateau in the Appalachian mountain chain. Over several days, the two educators-for-social-change were accompanied by friends and members of the Highlander School in ongoing conversations about transformational educational practices and education for social change. These conversations were compiled into the book *We make the road by walking* (Horton & Freire, 1990).

As the two spoke their memories of how they came to be where they were in their work, Horton paused at his own memory-telling, and invited Freire to join him in

collective understanding, saying, “Now I know what I *think* took place, but I’d like to know what your reaction is to this. Is this just a construct I’m making of the past, looking back, or is there some reality to it? Am I imagining things or rewriting things?” (p. 55). This move towards collective memory by Horton strongly resembled the memory-tellings between Toni and me that are woven throughout this dissertation and constitute the examination of infrastructuring and role re-mediations in chapters four and five.

In response, Freire braided his thoughts on beginnings and creating together with Horton’s earlier memory-telling.

> I am convinced that in order for us to create something, we need to start creating. We cannot wait to create tomorrow, but we have to start creating. I am sure that in trying to create something inside of history we have to begin to have some dreams. If you don’t have any kind of dream I am sure that it’s impossible to create something. The dreams push me in order to make them real, concrete, and the dreams, of course, also are surrounded by values of other dreams. We never finish having dreams. (p. 56)

Freire was a radical change artist, and he was a dreamer. With Horton, he shared his conviction in not waiting until tomorrow to start creating. There was great hope in this, even as he reckoned with the restrictions of “trying to create something inside of history.” Creating within history is also one of the demands recognized by participatory design research, with its commitments to sustainable forms of equity work. In participatory design research, this attention takes shape as critical historicity (Bang & Vossoughi, 2016). Critical historicity recognizes that, for radical change to happen, participants must

attend to and disrupt the "normatively powered dynamics [that] account for how the need for such interventions were created" (p. 177). In this dissertation, these historical power dynamics and resulting need for critical intervention are taken up in chapters one, two, and the prologue, specifically in relation to teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language in school settings.

In Horton and Freire's (1990) conversation quoted above, Freire offered a moment of attention to the critical historicity of "creating today." In doing so, the dreamer in Freire narrowly skirted the pitfall of what Jeff Duncan-Andrade (2009) has called false hope. False hope is primarily aesthetic, ahistorical, and "ignores the laundry list of inequities" (p. 182) that impact people's lives. When Freire spoke of the necessity of dreaming in order to create within history, he teetered on the brink of deferring hope to "a collective utopia of a future reformed society" (Duncan-Andrade, 2009, p, 184). But dreams were not a mythos to Freire. They were, rather, utilities that turned what was impossible about creating something new into possibility by pushing him to "make [dreams] real, concrete … surrounded by values of other dreams" (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 56). Black cultural theorist Robin Kelley (2002) also recognized the necessity of dreaming in designing spaces more deserving of the people most marginalized by what exists thus far.

> Without new visions we don't know what to build, only what to knock down. We not only end up confused, rudderless, and cynical, but we forget that making a revolution is not a series of clever maneuvers and tactics but a process that can and must transform us. (p. xii)

Through the methodological arts of collective memory work, this dissertation focused on making visible the real and concrete of the collective and dialogic dreaming of JcD youth, Toni, and me as we engaged in interlapping participatory projects to build new visions and hold them in relationship with the multitude of dreams for reparational language education we brought together over time.

On these and other mountains

Knowing our mountain-climbing through collective memory

When Horton told Freire how the Highlander school came into being, he began to doubt his memory as soon as it was written into the world. "I know what I *think* took place," he said. And then he sought accompaniment in Freire – who had not physically been there, but whose dreams of creating had been in dialogue with Horton's even across oceans and scales of time. As his own memories, Horton did not trust the meaning he could make of them alone. "Is there some reality to it?" Horton asked. "Am I imagining things or rewriting things?"

To this, Freire recalled a previous memory-telling of Horton's in which he had shared how white U.S. sociologist Robert Lynd had told him (Horton) that he was a "mountain climber." In response to Horton's regularly changing ideas on what Highlander should be concerned with, Lynd saw Horton as a person

> who sees a mountain, who says this is my goal and it's an almost impossible goal, and yet says I'm going to climb that mountain. I'm going to dedicate everything I've got, my life and everything, to achieving that goal. When this person gets up on top of that mountain and sees that it's not as high as the next

> mountain, he says well, this is not such hot stuff; it's not such a challenge. I'm going to try *that* mountain ... You'll never end; when mountains run out you'll imagine them. (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 11)

In this memory, the Horton described by Lynd is itchy and dissatisfied. This Horton sets his mind to an almost impossible goal, which is framed as conquest: "I'm going to climb that mountain." The language of conquest is in the verbage of goal-achievement. Lynd's Horton sets a goal of completion (to climb a mountain), dedicates everything he's got to achieve it, and then does it. But after he conquers the mountain, Lynd's Horton doesn't even seem to appreciate what he's achieved. He "sees that it's not as high as the next mountain." He decides this mountain that had previously been "almost impossible" is now "not such hot stuff" because – in comparison to the other mountains – "it's not such a challenge." Lynd's Horton has been placed on an exhausting loop of conquest and disdain for his conquests, so inescapable that "when mountains run out, you'll imagine them." Is this the same Horton who tells his own story of creating the Highlander School only to question if it is even true?

When Freire retold Horton's memory, however, it shifted shape. Its terrain had been altered, and the collective revision offered a new imagining of the meaning behind the mountains.

> As you said earlier, in a very beautiful language, that you think about climbing the mountain, but suddenly you climb the mountain and discover that there is another one whose profile you could not yet see. Then, without rejecting the first dream, you discover that the first dream, which was the mountain, implies

> or demands that your dream be expanded into new dreams or visions. In the last analysis, this is the same dream with different moments. This happened also to me, and it happens with everyone. (Horton & Miles, 1990, p. 56)

Freire's memory of Horton's memory-telling created a collective reconsideration. In Freire's telling, Horton is almost unrecognizable against the Horton described by Lynd. The roles of conquest and dissatisfaction provided by Lynd have been replaced by a Horton who is positioned as being prone to reflective awe and as honoring the dreams that the mountains represent. Freire's Horton "thinks about climbing the mountain." He is interested in the process of the climb and what he might experience as he goes, not conquering the mountain as a challenge. When he sees other mountains, they are not alluring because they offer a more challenging conquest. Rather, he considers their presence as a pleasant surprise on the horizon, because "you could not yet see [their profiles]." Freire's telling sees the mountains as representative of Horton's dreams (he refers to "the first dream, which was the mountain"). And, rather than discarding them for new ones yet to be conquered, Freire's Horton honors both the mountains and the dreams the represent. Though Horton may have come to a place on the current mountain/dream where he could now make out the profiles of other mountains/dreams, he doesn't reject the mountain/dream he is climbing. Instead, for Freire's Horton, seeing the profiles of other mountains/dreams from the vantage point of the mountain he is on, "implies or demands that your dream be expanded into new dreams or visions." In Freire's memory-telling of Horton's memory, climbing the mountains is no long a series of singular conquests, but has been re-mediated as an interconnected chain: "the same dream with

different moments." Moreover, Horton is no longer alone. Freire assures him that catching sight and grasping the expanse of the profiles of the many mountains that make up the landscape of social change dreaming, even as you are climbing the one you are on, "happened also to [him], and it happens with everyone."

The profiles of other mountains

This dissertation has told stories of Toni's, mine, and JcD youths' journeys of mountain-climbing. When Toni and I met in the late spring of 2012, after Toni had accepted the position at Eleanor High School, we looked at the mountain of teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language and thought about climbing it. Using folk wisdom and any scraps of maps we could find, we tried to map the terrain as best we could imagine. We thought we had a plan, but it turned out the hillside was loose in places and rocky in others, at times the soil was sandy when we thought it would be clay, and there were waterfalls and cool pools we didn't realize until we were upon them. At times, there would be rain, which would saturate the earth, bring about new foliage, and made the ground cover slippery. As we walked, we learned there were roots that were strong footholds, that if we climbed certain trees, we could see in different directions and further than we could from where we stood on the ground. And, eventually, we found that if we went off in different directions and came back together, we could configure an image of the hillside by stitching together what each of us had seen and felt and heard along the way.

If we were to pull back now, and take in the mountain we are climbing, how would we describe the terrain differently than when we are in the midst of our climb?

This dissertation attempts to do just that, with each chapter drawing on collective memory work and weaving together different aspects of participatory design research: critical historicity, curricular infrastructuring, pedagogical arts and thinging, and role re-mediations.

In the introduction of this dissertation, I told a story of how I came to the work of 'heritage' language education in schools, how Toni and I first came to work together, and shared memory work that determined the direction this writing would take. Standing on a platform, waiting for a train in the final days of an intensive week-long study and training course on critical participatory action research, the focus of this dissertation began to grow around making visible the many arts of reparational language education in the contact zone of settler colonial schooling in the U.S. In chapter two, I laid out the case for conceptualizing teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language from a standpoint of educational reparations. In chapter four, I described some of the pedagogical arts and thinging that serve as the life-blood of teaching and learning together as Jóvenes con Derechos. This was preceded in chapter three by the outcomes of taking up critical historicity in our participatory design research and creating a tracing of the lineage of Jóvenes con Derechos, its relationship to liberatory desires and Latinx-centric education, and its resistance to subtractive schooling. In chapters two and three, I suggested that we view U.S. schools and Spanish as a 'heritage' language classes through the lens of contact zones (Pratt, 1991). Doing so brought the affordances of the broad arts (Pratt, 1991) and accompanying pedagogical arts (Wolff, 2002) of the contact zone. These led me to the need to conceptualize of methodological arts, which I offered up as an example

in the forms of interlapping participatory projects (here: ethnography de lucha/fight-back ethnography, participatory design research, collaborative practitioner action research, and youth-led participatory action research) and collective memory work (including my visualizing expansions into collective memory work mapping and echocardiograms of memory work).

Chapters four, five, and six served as the primary data chapters for this dissertation. In chapter four, I first provided an interlude into the idea of agonistic thinging – or the reason and acts of gathering that defined what and how we would learn together in the Jóvenes con Derechos program. This was followed by descriptions of four of the YPAR projects youth engaged with over the first five years of the program and the ways these projects interlaced youth with social change movements already taking place locally, nationally, and transnationally. For these descriptions, I used the tools of critical and fight-back ethnography. In chapter five, I first provided an interlude into the idea of infrastructuring and then drew on collective memory work through the memory work mapping process to thicken the mapping of what infrastructuring as an always changing part of participatory design entailed as our program developed over time, our roles within it re-mediated, and we moved towards sustainability and emerging counterpublics with potential colleagues. In chapter six, I provided an interlude into the idea of role re-mediations and then drew once again on collective memory mapping, along with the visualization tool of echocardiograms, to make visible the shifting dynamics of power and humanization that outlined the re-mediations of the roles Toni and I took up, wrestled with, and generated within the institutional pressures to maintain hierarchical stances.

Designing for reparational language education in the context of teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language was a mountain Toni, JcD youth, and I went about climbing together, and we continue climbing. This mountain has so much to still come to know differently and wonder about. The terrain is not stagnant and this mountain will always be a place to continue to be. As we've been climbing, the profiles of other mountains have both come into view and passed out of sight. As I write this, this is where we stand: Toni is tenured, the first two years of our Jóvenes con Derechos cohort classes is secured, a third is in its second year and a fourth is taking shape. The design of the curriculum is stable but in regular motion, exploring and deepening in different directions. The pedagogies of the program are flexible but contingent on critical and transformational approaches that center community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2002) and social justice youth development (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). The theories of language and desires for change that stitch the program elements together are clearly articulated. The state of Minnesota is making moves to recruit, support, and sustain teachers of color and Indigenous teachers, and the program at Eleanor seeks out the very small number of multilingual teachers of color who enter into the university's licensure program in order to mentor them into reparational language education and justice-centered pedagogies. We are making our way around this mountain, and we are able to see the profiles of other mountains, each with their own terrains to come to know. The final portion of this chapter will outline the profiles of two of these mountains/dreams, which have come into view through this work and which we are thinking of climbing. Both offer implications for the areas of methodology, pedagogy, and teacher education. These are the mountains

of the methodological arts of the contact zone and of youth-led participatory action research as a philosophy of education.

In the near distance, a mountain: Methodological arts in the contact zone

In chapter three, I began by outlining Mary Louise Pratt's (1991) idea of the contact zone – spaces "where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly assymetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths" (p. 4). As an educational researcher committed to participating in social change and desirous of justice, I opted to do my work in the contact zone of U.S. schooling. I was invited into this work first by Toni, and, with time (but not always), by many (but not all) of our JcD youth. Because of who we were, the power dynamics of the contact zone, and the tenacious and tenuous presence of a safehouse in Toni's 'heritage' language class, it is unlikely that we could have accomplished what we did through traditional methodologies or pedagogies.

One of the driving methodological questions of this work was how to align the epistemic roots of reparational language education within the contact zone of schooling with complementary methodological arts. Pratt (1991) described the arts fused in the contact zone as "autoethnography, transculturation, critique, collaboration, bilingualism, mediation, parody, denunciation, imaginary dialogue, vernacular expression" (p. 11). Not every pedagogical approach is equipped to embrace and nurture what these arts afford (Wolff, 2002); neither is every research methodology. To make visible and make sense of what happens in resistive and transformational spaces, it requires methodological arts that can hold up under the contact zone's pressures. Just as the pedagogical arts of

reparational language education in the service of teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language must be multiple and flexible, while maintaining their justice aims, so too must the methodological arts employed by scholars interested in justice work.

In chapter three, I have suggested conceptualizing these methodological arts of the contact zone in ways that serve the broader arts of survivance, metamorphosis, transculturation, and refusal. In this dissertation, I have offered an example framework for conceptualizing methodological arts to serve these purposes. This framework brings together multiple participatory projects – each serving different aims and allowing for multiple ways of participation. I have called this *interlapping participatory projects*, because participatory methodologies are able to stand on their own, function in tandem, intersect and interact with one another, and be changed by one another. Each of the interlapping participatory methodologies centers the expertise and desires of different participating members. This allows people in the collective to move from center to solidarity, dependent on the methodological aims. An example of this was when collaborative practitioner action research worked in tandem with youth-led participatory action research, each with their own outcomes and approaches, but feeding from one another's processes and findings.

Likewise, the methodological arts of collective memory work make sense for justice-oriented contact zone research. Collective memory work is a family of methodologies, which include collective biography (Davies & Gannon, 2006), use of the Haug method (Haug et al., 1987; Stutelberg, 2016), use of the Crawford method (Crawford et al., 1991), and paired collective memory (Dyke, 2016). Collective memory

work is also in relation to autoethnography, duoethnography (Norris, Sawyer, & Lund, 2012), and the use of critical narrative analysis (Souto-Manning, 2013, 2014) connected to cultural circles. All of these methods stand outside of a zero-point epistemology that believes in the distance, neutrality, and that the insights of the researcher are dependent on their detachment from the subject and objects of research. Methodological arts of collective memory, instead, views research as process and embedded in each of our embodied experiences. Much like participatory research, the lines that are imposed to separate researcher and researched are dissolved. These methodological arts are able to interact with one another because they share in epistemic agreements. For justice-oriented research in contact zone spaces, critical and humanizing researchers have much to choose from (not only these examples). This work shows the affordances of using methodological frameworks such as these, which can be multifaceted, flexible, and interactive.

In the near distance, a mountain: YPAR as a Philosophy of Education

Central to Toni's teaching with Jóvenes con Derechos youth was her formation of what I consider to be a *YPAR philosophy of education*. Such a philosophy of education (i.e., the epistemic stance that an educator draws from to determine the nature of knowledge and how we come to know) parallels the research philosophy of youth-led participatory action research. As research, youth-led participatory action research is not a method for doing research, but an epistemological stance that believes in the insights of youth in contexts where they are most marginalized by oppressive policies and practices. This epistemology rests on trusting that the knowledge of youth in these contexts are

legitimate drivers of the research process, that research can be used in humanizing ways and for social change, that humanizing and transformational research is a collective and participatory endeavor, and that research should result in direct actions that improve the lives of those who most inform the research (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). As an epistemic stance, YPAR requires methodologies that are in alignment with these agreements about how to make sense of the world and trust in the validity of the sense that is being made. When YPAR enters spaces of teaching and learning in school-based settings, this distinction (that it is an epistemology, not a technical method) must be upheld.

If a teacher wants to "do YPAR" or "create a YPAR unit" in their class, and goes about doing so using the technical process of youth doing research together and determining an intervention, I argue that this is not YPAR. That is, this is not YPAR if it is not rooted in the educational equivalent of YPAR as an epistemic stance. This would be an example of a technical approach that wants the aesthetic benefits that we see time and again that YPAR pedagogies afford. What I am suggesting, instead, is that critical liberatory, and transformational teachers can and should be supported in nurturing a particular *YPAR philosophy of education*, accompanied by a philosophy of teaching that draws on YPAR pedagogies.

The philosophies of education that largely inform teacher education fit within the four general philosophies of perennialism, essentialism, progressivism, and social reconstructionism (e.g., Kliebard, 2004; Nicholson, 2016; Noddings, 2010; Spring, 2005). Perennialism and essentialism believe in the preservation of traditional cannons of knowledge, in training and disciplining the mind, academic excellence and merit, and

group conformity for the social good. They are often framed as knowledge-centered philosophies of education, and tend to align with philosophies of teaching that are teacher-centric and based in fixed-content. The pedagogies that align with perennialism and existentialism are teacher-directed and skills-based. Progressivism and social reconstructionism believe in changing the future shape of society through reforming or reconstructing the present, on self-study and experiential learning, problem-solving and self-actualization, and individual ability and growth. They are often framed as process and problem-oriented philosophies and tend to align with philosophies of teaching that are student-centered and based on experiential knowledge. The pedagogies that align with progressivism and social reconstructionism are student-driven and inquiry-based. Epistemic beliefs, a philosophy of education, a philosophy of teaching, and the pedagogies a teacher uses should fit together. Some philosophies of teaching and pedagogies may be able to slide into line with an adjacent philosophy of education, as long as it shares epistemic beliefs. However, a massive shift in pedagogies (say, from those aligned with essentialism to those aligned with social reconstructionism) requires a shift in one's epistemic beliefs. When this does not happen is when we see the co-opting of reconstructionist pedagogies for the purposes of youth control, discipline, and coercive engagement.

YPAR might find a home in social reconstructionism, but only under the misconception that it is a method – a pedagogical practice. Drawing on five years of participatory design and action research that included ethnographic elements in transformational teaching environments, I argue that YPAR itself represents a unique

philosophy of education, with its own aligned teaching philosophies and pedagogies. As a philosophy of education, YPAR has its own commitments to the roles of teachers and learners; notions of citizenship, freedom, and democracy; determination of subject-matter and intellectual focus, and the relationship of education to society. These commitments have much in common with social reconstructionism, but carry important distinctions. For example, taking YPAR as a stance sees students as change agents (vs. constructors of knowledge), and teachers as leverage and knowledgeable accompaniment (vs. change agents). Whereas social reconstructionism views citizenship as social development, YPAR sees citizenship through the lens of theories of change (Tuck & Yang, 2012) that allow for refusal as a form of democratic participation (Tuck & Yang, 2013a). Teaching philosophies that align with YPAR as a philosophy of education push beyond student-centered and process-oriented instruction.

YPAR-aligned philosophies of teaching and their pedagogies put the values of YPAR into concrete practice. These values are youth as decision-makers (e.g., of the curriculum, of assessment or how to know what we know, of moving through conflict), a commitment to participatory processes that comprehend participation through the arts of resistance and metamorphosis, for learning to be oriented to action transformation in the here and now, and for learning to occur through inquiry, analysis, and social dreaming. In practice, these would take shape through the YPAR pedagogies I outline in part in chapter four. As part of the infrastructuring process, Toni and I came to view YPAR as carrying a flexible array of pedagogies. When understood as a philosophy of education and teaching, we were able to see that there are multiple flexible and robust pedagogies

that align to these epistemic principles. Outside of a YPAR project, an educator with a YPAR philosophy might do critical service learning, project and design-based learning, arts-based inquiry, embodiment and physical knowledge, policy theater and theater of the oppressed. Each of these carry pedagogies that share elements because of their commonalities in philosophy, but are uniquely appropriate to the specifics of teaching and learning towards different goals and in different ways.

Final thoughts

What can take shape when YPAR as a philosophy of education is taken seriously and forms the foundation for aligned teaching practices and pedagogical moves? What can be made visible and what can take shape from activist research when methodological arts of the contact zone that are collective and intentionally transformational are engaged in multiple and flexible ways?

Early in the winter of 2015, in our third year together, three JcD youth, Toni, and I were invited to give a keynote address that would start off a day-long retreat organized by the university and in collaboration with its growing number of partnership schools. Over the course of an hour, JcD youth Ayana, Augustine, and Emilia presented artists' renditions of schooling as it is experienced by multilingual youth of color, which they had created based on their participatory research. Ayana shared a poem with the lines "I am from you trying to tame me," "yo soy de un lugar en el cual se teme de uno mismo / yo soy de un sistema que cree que el conocimiento viene de la mente 'blanca'[27]," and

[27] "I am from a place where you fear yourself / I am from a system that believes that knowledge comes from the 'white' mind"

"Soy de una fantasía en donde los dichos de Freire se vuelven realidad[28]." Emilia described the roots and realities of tracking through raced language policies and raciolinguistic ideologies that are often unexamined but instrumental in decision-making in schools. She suggested to the teachers, administrators, and teacher educators in the room that intra-ethnic studies and social justice education should be available to everyone, and if a teacher was unable to find a way forward in the profession to do that because of their whiteness, because of internalized ideologies of white supremacy or dominance, that perhaps they should reexamine whether teaching was for them. And then, it was Augustine's turn. Below, I share what he shared that day in full:

> Over half a millennium ago, Europeans come to the new world, dividing people that weren't divided. They were one-whole. They gave power to the people who helped them and oppressed those who didn't. They set up a system of oppression making a group believe that they were superior to their brothers. Once again, the brothers become one, they kicked their teachers out and claimed their independence. But they kept their ideology and once again they became divided.
>
> Those "superior" stayed, built a system similar of those who had treated them so badly, and proceeded with their lives. But what happened to those who were being oppressed once again?

[28] "I am from a fantasy where Freire quotes become a reality"

What would *you* do if you had to choose between staying in the shadows of your successful brother or traveling to a new place? A place that made the promise of freedom and opportunity, a place where you were not stuck at the bottom of the caste system, where you could secure a good future for your kids?

As we know today, many people choose the second option. They traveled from a border to another. After generations passed, they began a new life, a new beginning – and with the new beginning, their old life faded. After we started our new life, we began contributing and adding to the history of this country. Contributions you probably didn't know about. Contributions like how the Braceros contributed in World War II by growing food that would be sent overseas or to the table of a family. Contributions like César Chávez in the mid-1990s – helping improve the lives and working conditions of not just Mexican-Americans, but anybody working in the fields. Contributions like the walkouts of 1968 that were a series of protests by Chicano students against unequal conditions and disagreements with the quality of their education in East Los Angeles. Contributions like Mendez vs. Westminster that went to the Supreme Court to combat school segregation ten years before Brown vs. Board.

But why aren't they in our history books? And if they are, they get a 500-word section and they get left in the shadows? Why do they get five hundred words if it took the Braceros over ten years to cultivate all that food? Why do they get five

hundred words if it took Chávez half of his life to achieve workers' rights? And should the students that walked out get five hundred words if it took years so their voice would finally be heard and if it took weeks for their bruises to heal after the police tried to stop them?

Today I want to talk to you about ethnic studies. The first time I was introduced to ethnic studies was through a documentary called Precious Knowledge. Before that, the history books made me believe that Latinos only contributed to Central and South America. It made me believe that they only came here to be servants and follow the rules of the white man. And I ask you: How am *I* going to be inspired by this?

In 2010, a group of republican legislators passed the Arizona bill SB2281 to ban ethnic studies in that state. This shows the fear they have for us stepping out of the shadows and breaking the cycle we're living in. The cycle that has us go to school for four years to end up working in construction or in the fields. Then, once your children come, have *them* go for four years and following the same steps.

But by teaching kids that there were brown people, people of their same color that changed America *for the better*, it could get them inspired to take a step and

> change America. Change America themselves, that can break the circle and go straight to the top of the caste system, not by taking jobs, but by *earning* them.

> Spanish heritage helped me find myself and it made me think about my future. Spanish heritage made me want to become an ethnic studies teacher and teach what Ms. [Toni] has taught me. It also helped me learn more about some contributions brown people have made to the American history. Contributions to *our* history – history that is not only ours, but *everyone's*. We have a system designed to keep people like me working hard, in the streets, or in jail. Yet here I am, teaching teachers how to teach, because I want to be remembered as someone who broke the cycle.

Augustine put down his microphone and looked over the crowd of over one hundred university-educated, academically-employed, mostly white adults. They applauded. Three people stood. Afterwards, our group was invited to present and speak with an equity and diversity team at one of the middle schools that many of Eleanor's youth attend before going on to high school. Afterwards everybody went back to their schools and classrooms, their homes and their neighborhoods.

At a time that is outlined by highly visible struggles for freedom and from violence, these struggles are often attributed to the shift in public discourse surrounding the election campaign and presidency of Donald Trump, "teaching for social justice" is experiencing a phase of popularity. But, as Augustine informed or reminded the crowd

that day, struggles for liberation and sovereignty are also unremarkable in the broader context of the history of the settlement of the United States. The interlapping participatory projects that defined the fight-back and action-oriented research that is represented in part through this dissertation aimed for justice. In the case of Toni's Spanish as a 'heritage' language program, these aims involved seeing how close to reparational language education we could come within schools, where so many layers of injustice are enacted. What could it look like? What would it take? As Toni later asked, after Augustine had passed the microphone and she began her story of coming to teach for reparational justice: "Can they feel it?" Toni and I were not always sure of ourselves in this work. Had either of us set off alone, neither of us believe we would have made it to the places we have on this mountain. Neither of us is certain we would still be climbing it, or if we might have found a different dream that seemed more possible alone. Some days, we operate from memories to answer these questions. Some days we only trust our memories when they are reminded to us by our companions. Some days we all can feel it – and for a minute or two or ten, all of us covered in mud, some of us nursing injuries, some of us pointing to the painted sky, we are just there, together, on our mountain, in this dream, and we know we can continue the climb.

Appendix A:

Memory Work Data Tracings

The following table provides links to the data sources that are represented in the collective memory re-presentations. Page numbers, along with first and last phrases are provided to indicate the span of the re-presentation. Associated data sources provide the source type (written, informal conversation, formalized memory work session, etc.), date, and the "mempry location" of the data source from the memory work map. The memory location is shown as the year of the partnership.

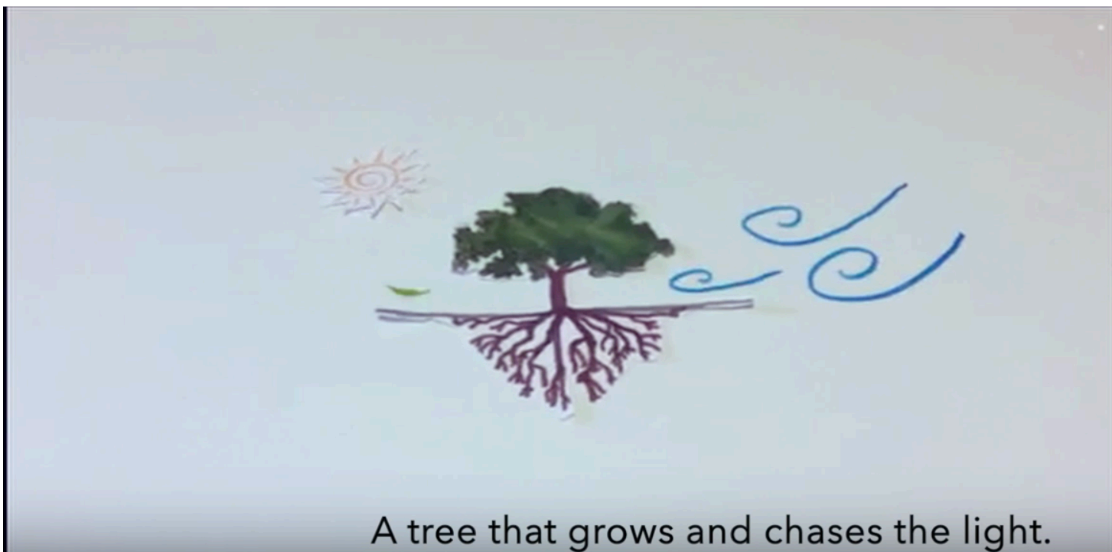
Re-presentation indicators	**Source Type**	**Memory Location**
Prologue, pp. 1-3 "'I honestly don't know where to go with this one. … Maybe it'll be like that for her, too.'"	internal data reference: 170412	internal reference: Year 5
Prologue, pp. 15-16 "One day, three years into our partnership, Toni and I were standing on a subway platform … I was about to give up.'"	internal data reference: 160923	internal reference: Year 4
Ch. 3, pp. 117 "My initial vision for the course … outcomes of the course are."	internal data reference: 150116	internal reference: Year 4
Ch. 4, pp. 152 "When I walked in … right there on the table."	internal data reference: 170408	internal reference: Year 5
Ch. 5, pp. 209-224 "Toni's hands are clasped … it would be very different."	internal data reference: 170408	internal reference: Year 5
Ch. 5, pp. 227-230 "It's three weeks … the reason she leaves."	internal data reference: 141013 (160911)	internal reference: Year 3

Ch. 5, pp. 233-235 “Remembering this, Toni described it … due to this class.’”	internal data reference: 160520 (170408) (160309) (150803)	internal reference: Year 3
Ch. 6, pp. 245-248 “‘This went really well, right?’ … And then we walk in the doors together.”	internal data reference: 160726	internal reference: Year 4
Ch. 6, pp. 250-251 “I’m sitting across from Toni … as a first-time researcher.”	internal data reference: 120709	internal reference: Year 1
Ch. 6, pp. 256-264 “It is midway through … And I believed it.”	internal data reference: 170408	internal reference: Year 3

Appendix B:

Mis raíces indígenas (Spanish-English text and screenshots)

Soy un árbol.



Un árbol que crece y persgue la luz.

Mis ramas siguen creciendo, acercándose al sol.

Fui plantado por mis ancestros.

Con mucho amor y cariño me regarlo.

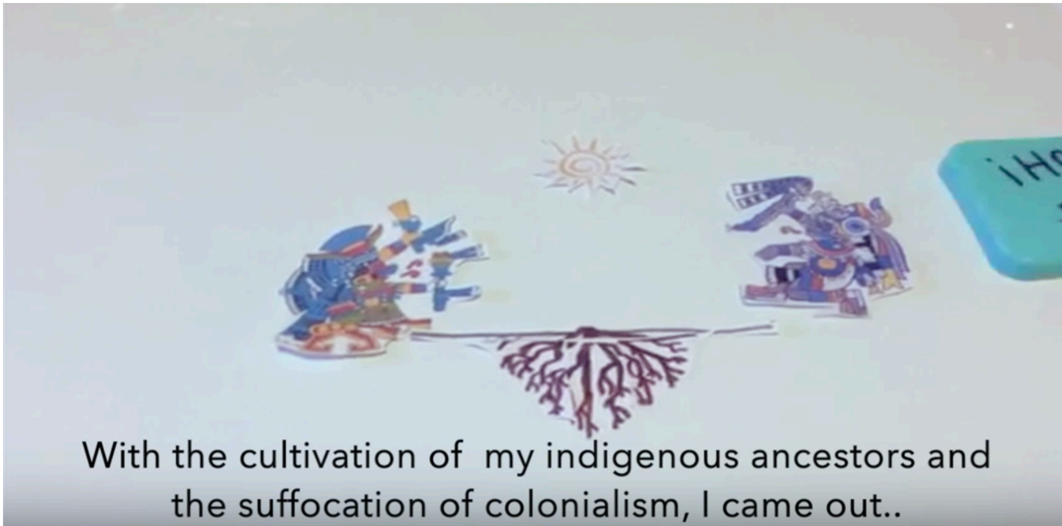
Haciendo crecer mis raíces, mis raíces indígenas.

Crecí y crecí, pero había algo que detenía mis raíces: la colonización.

Me quisó sofocar.

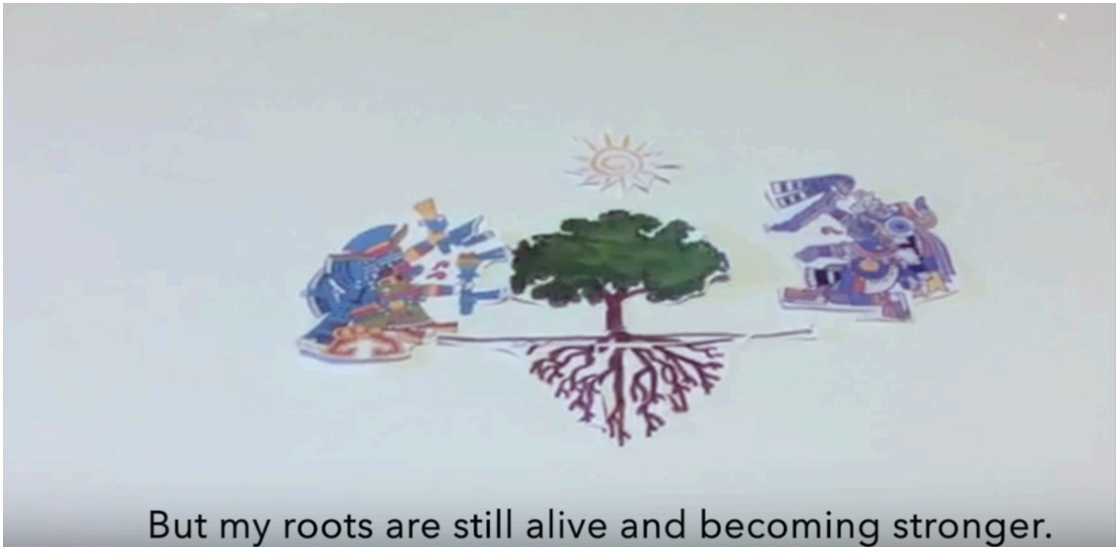
Me sofoqué con español, con catolicismo, con piel blanca y con muerte.

Quisó muerte mi cultura.



Con la cultivación de mis ancestros indígenas y la afixia de la colonización, salí yo.

El árbol mestizo.



Pero mis raíces aún siguen vivas y hacen mucho más fuertes.

Debe ser cuando brotan de la tierra.

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