UN RETRATO DE COMUNIDAD: A PORTRAIT OF A COMMUNITY-BASED SPANISH HERITAGE LANGUAGE PROGRAM IN THE NEW LATINX SOUTH

Alexandra J. Reyes

A dissertation submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Education (Culture, Curriculum, and Change)

Chapel Hill

2018

Approved by:

Juan Carrillo

Claudia Cervantes-Soon

Harriet Able

Jim Trier

Sherick Hughes

© 2018

Alexandra J. Reyes

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

Alexandra J. Reyes: Un Retrato de Comunidad:
A Portrait of a Community-Based Spanish Heritage Language Program in the New Latinx South
(Under the direction of Juan F. Carrillo)

Over the past 30 years, the United States has experienced rapid Latinization. At the same time, bilingual education rights that often benefited Latinx students in schools have been rolled back. These two concurrent phenomena have only served to widen the opportunity gap between Latinx students and their White peers. To complicate matters, many Latinxs are settling in new arrival areas (such as the Midwest and the Southeast), which do not have a long-standing history of Latinx residents. The newly emerging and rapidly growing Latinx populations in the New Latinx Diaspora are presenting new challenges for both Latinx individuals and local institutions (Darder & Torres, 2015; Irizarry, 2011; Wortham et al., 2002). Across the nation, teachers are underprepared to work with culturally and linguistically diverse students, but this is more pronounced in new arrival areas (Cadiero-Kaplan & Rodríguez, 2008; Face the Facts USA, 2013; García, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Orosco, 2010). This research study employed portraiture methodology to investigate how a non-profit, community-based Spanish heritage language program (SALT) operates in the New Latinx South. This study also sought to discover how Latinx families leverage their Community Cultural Wealth to provide extracurricular supports for students. Portraits of the SALT community and its members were created and analyzed, in conjunction with other data, to illuminate how families and supporters experience

the program. This study revealed that SALT community members see the Spanish heritage language program as (a) a means to increase linguistic capital, thereby granting access to other forms of Community Cultural Wealth, and (b) a physical space of community for its participants. This study, using Critical Race Theory (CRT) of education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso, Villalpando, Delgado Bernal, & Solórzano, 2001) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) lenses, brings into focus the ways that neoliberal language ideologies inform elements of the program's functioning and perceived value, reinforcing hegemonic linguistic practices. Findings from this research study may have implications for the implementation and development of similar programs, including the incorporation of critical pedagogies to transform the program into a radical third space (Bhabha, 1994; Fitts, 2009; Hinman & He, 2017; Moje et al., 2004). This research will contribute to the body of literature about Latinx education (particularly in the New Latinx South), bilingualism, Spanish heritage language development, and community-based programs targeted to Latinx students and families.

When he came to my house, Dante would place his shoes on the front porch before he came inside. "The Japanese do that," he said. "They don't bring the dirt of the world into another person's house."

"Yeah," I said, "but we're not Japanese. We're Mexican."

"We're not really Mexicans. Do we live in Mexico?"

"But that's where our grandparents came from."

"Okay, okay. But do we actually know anything about Mexico?"

"We speak Spanish."

"Not that good."

"Speak for yourself, Dante. You're such a pocho."

"What's a pocho?"

"A half-assed Mexican."

"Okay, so maybe I'm a pocho. But the point I'm making here is that we can adopt other cultures."

(*Aristotle and Dante Discover the Secrets of the Universe*,
Benjamin Alire Sáenz, 2012, p. 44-45)

This dissertation is dedicated to my family and to all the other bilingual/bicultural straddlers who are creating space for their rainbow glitter identities in a black and white world.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge all the love and support I received throughout my Ph.D. process. Some of this came in the form of service: edits, sound boards, concept maps, and organization. Others provided friendship and cared for me when I was struggling to find the words, confidence, or motivation to continue.

Thank you to my dear friends who helped me survive the last leg of this journey—Danny Gibboney, Emily Freeman, Jamie Schissel, and Lizzy Blake—I truly appreciate your friendship and your assistance; 186 pages later and I am not yet proficient enough a writer to adequately express my gratitude. Thank you to my family, who still don’t really know what I study, but support me in doing it anyway.

Thank you to my friends and colleagues who provided encouragement along the way—too many to list, but I will try: Betsy Barrow, Cortland Gilliam, Dalila Dragnic-Cindric, Eldrin Deas, Eleni Zgourou, Jen Painter, Jennifer Strachan, Jess Benton, Joseph Hooper, Josh Corbat, Leigh Bordley, Mariah Smith, Meghan Jones Degler, Meredith Jones, Nathan Rivera, Sarah Boyd, SooJin Lee, Stephanie Konle, Sunny Lee, Tommy Ender, Wenyang Sun, Xiaohua Liu, and my office friends in Dey 213. Thank you for your long distance support: Crecia Cipriano, D’arcy Arnold, Jess Kilham, Katie Johansen, Kristin Mills Meah, and my Westwood colleagues. Thank you to my committee members and to the faculty at UNC Chapel Hill.

Finally, I would like to thank the SALT Spanish heritage language community for welcoming me into their space, sharing their experiences with me, and treating me like familia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures……………………………………………………………………….……………...xi

PART I: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY…………………………………….………….……1

Chapter 1: Introduction………………………………………………………….………..…1

Purpose of the Study………………………………………………….…………..…..4

Overview of the Study Design…………………………………….……………4

Significance of the Study………………………………………….……………5

Potential Limitations of the Study………………………………….…………..6

Researcher as Portraitist………………………………………………………...7

Organization of the Dissertation …………………………………………………7

Summary…………………………………………………………………………..9

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature…………………………………………………...…11

Conceptual Framework…………………………………………………………..11

Critical Race Theory (CRT) of Education……………………………..12

Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit)……………………………………13

Community Cultural Wealth…………………………………………...13

Review of the Literature……………………………………………………………14

Latinx Education in the United States……………………………………16

Educational Attainment………………………………………..17

Family Engagement……………………………………………18

Community-Based Programs (CBPs)……………………………20

Language…………………………………………………………...….22

Language Orientations…………………………………………23

Bilingualism……………………………………………………24

Biliteracy……………………………………………………....24
Dynamic Bilingualism………………………………….....26
Language Acquisition and Language Learning………………...…28
Language Education Policies for Bilingual Students……...………29
Heritage Language (HL) Users…………………………….…..…31
Heritage Language Programming……………………….…..33
Spanish Heritage Language Programming………...…..….…34
Identity and Heritage Language Education………….………36
Summary of the Literature Review……………………………….……36
Chapter 3: Research Methodology……………………………………….……38
Portraiture…………………………………………………………...…39
Researcher's Role: Perch & Perspective……………………………41
Portrait of the Portraitist…………………………...…......42
Positionality of the Portraitist……………………………….…47
Research Questions……………………………………………….…49
Study Context……………………………………………………….50
Selecting Key Informants……………………………………...….…51
Gathering Data………………………………………………………52
Observations……………………………………...………53
Field Notes……………………………………………………..54
Interviews…..………………………………………………54
Demographic Questionnaires……………………………...….56
Other Data Sources…………………………………………….57
Documents………..…………………………………57
Artifacts…………………………………………...…57
Reflective Journal……………………………………...…58
Analyzing and Interpreting the Data…………..………………………58
Coding the Data……………………………………………..59

Study Limitations……61
PART II: PORTRAITS OF THE SALT COMMUNITY……62
Representing the Subject of Study through Portraiture……62
Framing the Portraits……65
Chapter 4: A Portrait of Spanish as Language and Tradition……66
Chapter 5: Constance……79
Chapter 6: Sandra……89
Chapter 7: Charlie……97
Chapter 8: Anita……103
PART III: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION……110
Chapter 9: Linguistic Capital as a Means to Access Community Cultural Wealth……113
Literacy……114
Academic Success……119
Academic Content……120
Career Options and Social Mobility……123
Latinx Cultural Knowledge……124
Chapter 10: SALT Spanish Heritage Language Program as a Site of Community……129
(Lack of) Centers of Community in the New Latinx South……130
Carving out Community……132
SALT as a Place of Community……134
SALT Affirms Latinx Identity……135
SALT Encourages Cultural Pride and Heritage……137
SALT Supports Familismo……138
SALT Facilitates Resource Sharing……142
Chapter 11: Issues of Power and Possibility……145
Implications for SALT……147
Implications for Heritage Language Programs……150
Future Research Directions……153

Concluding Thoughts………………………………………...………………154
APPENDIX A: Participant Data …………………...………………………………………..156
APPENDIX B: Classroom Observation Protocol…………………………………………….157
APPENDIX C: Interview Protocol……………………………………………………...…158
APPENDIX D: Demographic Questionnaire……………………………………..…….160
APPENDIX E: Example of Coding Scheme……………………………………..……..161
REFERENCES…………………………………………………………………….…...162

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Situated Literature Review……………………………………………………………16

Figure 2: Data Sources……………………………………………………………………..53

Figure 3: How to Draw a Portrait………………………………………………………….…64

PART I: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Chapter 1: Introduction

Nationally, a reported 60.6 million people over the age of five speak a home language other than English. Students labeled English learners (ELs)[1] represent the fastest growing population of school-aged children in the United States. Nationally, teachers are underprepared to work with culturally and linguistically diverse students; less than 1% of teachers are trained and certified in bilingual education or English as a second language, even though 10% of students are identified as ELs (Cadiero-Kaplan & Rodríguez, 2008; Face the Facts USA, 2013; García, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Orosco, 2010). With rapidly increasing numbers of bilingual students[2] enrolling in schools across the country, schools are struggling to provide students with teachers adequately prepared to support them, particularly in new growth areas such as the Southeast and Midwest. Because of this shortage, bilingual students are not receiving appropriate education support in many schools. The largest proportion of bilingual students in U.S. schools are Latinx[3], and claim Spanish as their home language.

---

[1] English learners (ELs) is the term used by the Department of Education to refer to those students who are identified as having a primary home language other than English, who are not yet English proficient, and who are receiving targeted language support—most often in the form of English as a Second Language (ESL) or English Language Development (ELD) classes.

[2] Many students labeled bilingual are, in fact, proficient in multiple languages, but for the purpose of cohesion, I will refer to all non-monolinguals as bilingual.

[3] I use *Latinx* to describe persons with Latin American (including Spanish-speaking Caribbean nations and territories) ancestry. The use of *Latinx* subverts patriarchal norms reflected in the generic masculine form, *Latino,* and resists traditional male/female binaries.

An estimated 37 million people speak Spanish, representing approximately three-quarters of the 55.4 million Hispanics[4] living in the U.S. (López & González-Barrera, 2013). According to the 2010 census, 16 percent of the United States population identified as Latino or Hispanic (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). Latinxs accounted for more than half of the total population growth in the US from 2000 to 2010, and Latinx children represented 22 percent of all US residents under age 18 (United States Census Bureau, 2010). Despite the size and rapid growth of the Latinx population in recent decades, Latinx students and families are often marginalized in the United States. In addition to geographic segregation, many Latinxs face racialization and discrimination based on cultural practices, language, ethnic origin, residency status, or social class (Flores, 2005; Irizarry, 2011; Osterling, 2001; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

Recent upsurges in immigration has prompted a backlash of anti-immigrant sentiment, evidenced in the implementation of policies that target and marginalize those born outside the U.S. and their families. Among these policies are those that promote English-only agendas, both inside and beyond schools (DaSilva-Iddings, Combs, & Moll, 2012; Flores & Rosa, 2015; García & Kleifgen, 2010; May, 2014b; Proctor, August, Carlo, & Barr, 2010). Although public discourses recognizes the value of bilingualism in an increasingly globalized society (Fishman, 2001; Gándara, 2014; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Leeman, 2015; May, 2014a), not all bilingual speakers are afforded the same opportunities to benefit from their bilingualism. Intersections of race, ethnicity, class, accent, and other markers preclude certain bilingual speakers from reaping the advantages of bilingualism (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Crump, 2014; Flores, 2016; Flores

[4] *Hispanic* refers to people with heritage from Spanish-speaking regions of the world. This may include Latinxs as well as people with Spanish ethnic and cultural backgrounds. *Hispanic* generally has implications for language, whereas *Latinx* has implications for geographical origin. The terms are not mutually exclusive. I use *Hispanic* and *Latino* when referring to other scholarship to maintain the original author's language and intent.

& Rosa, 2015; Gándara, 2014; May, 2014b). Moreover, education policies increasingly hold students to a monolingual English standard (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Lee & Wright, 2014; Lee & Oxelson, 2006). In classrooms, teachers may struggle to balance English-only education mandates with more culturally and linguistically responsive education practices. One assets-based response to this linguistic neglect in schools has been for communities and other organizations to establish Heritage Language[5] (HL) schools and classes.

Nationally, schools and classes have been established to prevent Heritage Language loss and encourage ethnic and linguistic pride, as well as to deepen community ties (Carreira, 2004; Fishman, 2001; Guardado & Becker, 2014; Hinman & He, 2017; Lee & Wright, 2014; Leeman, 2015). According to Fishman (2001), Spanish Heritage Language community schools reached their peak in the 1980s, with approximately 250 schools[6], predominantly in California and the Southwest. Since then, the numbers have declined, possibly due to the availability of Spanish as a foreign/world language in schools (Fishman, 2001).

In traditionally non-Latinx communities and new arrival areas (Villenas, 2001) in the New Latino Diaspora (Wortham, Murillo & Hamann, 2002), Spanish heritage language community schools are scarce. Spanish as Language and Tradition, or SALT,[7] is one such community-based Spanish heritage language program located in Treesdale, North Carolina - established in 2012 to serve the state's rapidly growing Latinx population. SALT is a non-profit

[5] Although varied definitions abound, here I use *Heritage Language (HL)* to refer to a non-majority language that is connected to an individual's ethnic and familial background. Generally, *HL* is used to describe a language that is used in the home, although *HL* speakers may have varying levels of proficiency in listening, speaking, reading, and writing in the home language (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; He, 2010).

[6] The number of Heritage Language schools is an approximation. Because there are no regulations for such schools, nor national governing body, it is impossible to know how many HL schools are in existence at a given moment. Actual numbers are likely higher than those reported (Fishman, 2001).

[7] In order to protect the identities of study participants and maintain anonymity, all individual and place names are pseudonyms.

organization that provides tuition-free Spanish heritage language classes to Latinx students attending P-12 schools. The program meets for three hours every Saturday morning during the school year. SALT's Saturday classes embed Spanish language acquisition in a curriculum that incorporates lessons on science, art, and Latinx heritage. For some families, SALT is the only interaction they have with other Latinxs and Spanish speakers during the week.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore how Latinx families leverage their Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) to supplement students' education. Specifically, I examine SALT, a highly-regarded community-based Spanish heritage language program in the New Latinx South, in hopes of gaining insight into the way the program functions and how its participating families experience the program. Additionally, I sought to understand how the program's staff and supporters view the program, and whether their views align with the participants' experiences. Understanding that community-based programming -- particularly for minoritized groups – often operates from deficit-based perspectives and "benevolent racisms" (Villenas, 2002), I hoped to analyze the program and illuminate the ideological orientations that guide the program's offerings. I employ Critical Race Theory (CRT) of education (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso, et al., 2001) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) in order to frame my analysis. In critically examining the perspectives of the program and program participants, I am attempting to interpret the SALT program's role and potential as a transformative space.

Overview of the Study Design

In order to examine the SALT program and the space it occupies in the life of its families, staff, and supporters, this qualitative study utilizes portraiture methodology (Lawrence-Lightfoot,

1983; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). I employed portraiture methodology because it is uniquely suited to aesthetically portray the complex nature of the SALT organization, with a focus on seeking out the good rather than pathologizing the members of the SALT community or their practices. To that end, I developed the following research questions: (1) How does Spanish as Language and Tradition (SALT) inform the education of Latinx students attending P-12 schools in the New Latinx South? (2) What role does SALT play in the lives of participating students and families? (3) How do staff and other supporters view the SALT program? I collected data from a variety of sources over a ten-month period, including semi-structured interviews, observation field notes, program-developed materials, and other artifacts. The methodology, participant selection, data collection, analysis, and interpretation are explained in detail in Chapter 3.

Significance of the Study

This study has the potential to present the perspectives that Latinx families and community members, as well as other non-Latinx supporters, hold toward a non-profit, community-based Spanish heritage language program. I was particularly interested in learning how SALT community members understand the intersection of Spanish language and Latinx identity, and the heritage language program's role in the development of each. Although this knowledge is not widely generalizable due to its highly specific context, it may, perhaps, inform others' understanding of heritage language, identity, and language ideologies. It may also shed light on the myriad and complicated "heritage language learner" identities. The study may inspire bicultural and transnational families to seek out heritage language resources in their own communities, or to examine their own language practices.

This study is significant not only for individuals, but for heritage language programs as well. Heritage language programs can look to the experiences presented in this study to help them analyze their own assumptions and practices. Having knowledge of others' perceptions may affect implementation of current programs, and development of future organizations. Organizations may identify successful practices presented in this study and adopt them. Conversely, programs may articulate elements that they wish to avoid or eliminate from their own programming. In addition to influencing heritage language programming, this study has the potential to inform the instructional practices of teachers in traditional school settings, particularly in the way they view their bilingual and bicultural students. The findings from this study may lead to larger-scale examinations of attitudes and beliefs about language and toward language minoritized communities.

Finally, this study will contribute to a larger body of research about Latinx education, bilingualism, heritage language development, Spanish heritage language development, and community-based programs. While there is ample research available in each of these fields individually, the newly emerging Latinx community of the New Latinx South provides a new context in which to explore these topics. The ever growing body of literature about Latinx education, bilingualism, (Spanish) heritage language, and community-based programming may benefit from the perspectives presented in this study. Although this study is situated within a very specific context, I believe it may have applications and implications for research and practice that reach far beyond the New Latinx South.

Potential Limitations of the Study

Like all research, this study has limitations due to the interactions of context, methodology, and researcher subjectivity. Due to the highly specific context in which this study

is embedded, claims of generalizability are inappropriate. The purpose of this study is not to make broad claims, but rather to observe, capture, and interpret the particular practices and perceptions specific to SALT community members. It is my hope, however, that the reader may draw connections and see relevance in the findings presented here.

Researcher as Portraitist

As a Latina educator with an interest in equitable learning for minoritized student populations, I approached this research study with an initial assumption of an insider/outsider perspective. I expected to be granted some degree of insider status due to my Latina identity and Spanish speaking ability. I also imagined that since I am relatively new to the South and in search of a community with which to identify, this might be a point of commonality. I anticipated an element of outsider status due to my identity as an American graduate student/researcher. These facets of my identity are not "either/or," but instead "both/and;" I am *both* Latina *and* a graduate student, just as I am bicultural and bilingual. This blurred identity in many ways mirrored the heritage language learner identities of the SALT students. Having positioned myself (and been positioned) as a combination of these different identities, I was eager to learn about how the SALT program worked to service bilingual students and families in their search for educational support. Moreover, I was interested to see how these Latinxs leveraged their own Community Cultural Wealth to seek out these services.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into three parts: Introduction, Portraits, and Analysis & Discussion. Each of the three parts is then further divided into individual chapters. Part I contains the introduction, literature review, and methodology. Part II is the presentation of the five portraits. Part III contains the analysis and discussion of the salient themes, as well as the

implications and conclusions of the findings. The following is an overview of the dissertation's organization.

Part I. In the first chapter, I introduced the research study, explained the purpose and significance of the study, and provided definitions of important terms. In chapter two, I present the study's conceptual framework. Chapter two also includes a survey of the relevant literature about Latinx education in the United States, community-based programming for Latinxs, bilingual development, and heritage language development and programming. Chapter three discusses in detail the research methodology used in this study and articulates the research questions. Chapter three also describes the researcher's positionality and potential limitations of the research.

Part II. Chapters four through eight share the portraits of the SALT program and four of its participating community members. Each portrait—of SALT, Sandra, Constance, Charlie, and Anita--is presented in a separate chapter. The individual portraits are framed by a brief initial summary and concluding analysis. A detailed analysis and discussion of the themes that emerged from the portraits, along with the other data collected, can be found in the third part of the dissertation.

Part III. Chapters nine through eleven present the salient themes that emerged from the data. These themes are broadly categorized as (a) Linguistic Capital as a Means to Access all other Community Cultural Wealth, and (b) SALT as a Physical Site of Community. Part three of the dissertation devotes one chapter each to the elaboration and discussion of these themes. The final chapter provides a summary of the research study and findings, offers a discussion of the implications, poses suggestions for future research directions, and ends with concluding thoughts on the research study.

Summary

This research study employed portraiture methodology to investigate how a non-profit, community-based Spanish heritage language program operates in the New Latinx South. This study also sought to discover how Latinx families leverage their Community Cultural Wealth to provide extracurricular supports for students. Portraits of the SALT community and its members were created and analyzed, in conjunction with other data, to illuminate how families and supporters experience the program. This study revealed that SALT community members see the Spanish heritage language program as a means to increase linguistic capital, thereby granting access to other forms of Community Cultural Wealth. The findings from this study also indicate that SALT represented a physical space of community for its participants.

This study, using Critical Race Theory (CRT) of education (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso, Villalpando, Delgado Bernal, & Solórzano, 2001) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) lenses, brings into focus the ways that neoliberal attitudes[8] and language ideologies[9] inform elements of the program's functioning and perceived value. These attitudes and ideologies may serve to reproduce traditional schooling practices and reinforce hegemonic linguistic

[8] Neoliberalism refers to the market-driven approaches to the economy, policy, and more recently, education (Gee, 2015). Neoliberalism promotes competition, which results in the commodification of products and services. Neoliberal attitudes toward language treat bilingualism as a commodity to be traded for social mobility.

[9] Language ideology refers to the body of beliefs, assertions, values, and concepts that (consciously or unconsciously) guide thinking and practices pertaining to language. Ideologies are treated as factual, neutral, and commonsense, even though they may be inaccurate, politically affiliated, and are tied to issues of power (Althusser, 1971; Gee, 2015; Giroux, 1997; Gramsci, 1971). Language ideologies may influence the treatment of language, language variety, and accent. Standard language ideology privileges "an abstracted, idealized, non-varying *spoken* language that is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions" (Lippi-Green, 2004, p. 293). Monoglossic language ideologies place monolingualism as the norm (Flores & Schissel, 2014; García, 2009). Language ideologies are often used as tools for constructing national and ethnic identities, and serve to either privilege or stigmatize speakers of different languages/varieties (Bourdieu, 1991; Flores & Schissel, 2014; García, 2009).

practices.[10] Findings from this research study may also have implications for the implementation and development of similar programs. This research will contribute to the body of literature about Latinx education (particularly in the New Latinx South), bilingualism, Spanish heritage language development, and community-based programs targeted to Latinx students and families.

[10] Linguistic hegemony refers to the influence (e.g., social, cultural, ideological, economic) that dominant languages (and speakers of dominant languages/varieties) have in a society. Ideological and cultural hegemony allow the dominant class to reproduce their power through social processes (Giroux, 1997; Gramsci, 1971). Linguistic dominance is exerted by normalizing a prestige language's dominant position through reinforcement of the dominant values and beliefs of the elite (Flores, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015). Institutions (such as schools and the media) reinforce and reproduce linguistic power by positioning certain languages/varieties/accents as "normal" and "correct."

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

In order to give the reader a better understanding of how I frame my study of how Latinx students and families experience a community-based Spanish heritage language program in the New Latinx South, I offer a review of the relevant literature. First, I articulate my conceptual framework for this research study, combining Critical Race Theory (CRT) of education, Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), and Community Cultural Wealth. Next, I provide a brief overview of key historical events and educational trends that serve as context for the story of Latinxs in US schools and within the New Latinx South, including the development of community-based programming targeted toward Latinx students and families. Then, I will present a survey of literature about contemporary language theory, with a focus on bilingualism and heritage development.

Conceptual Framework

The elaboration of my research study is framed by a combination of theoretical foundations. Given that I am concerned with how bilingual Latinx students and their families experience a community-based Spanish heritage language program, I draw on a combination of theories to guide my analysis. I use elements of Critical Race Theory (CRT) of education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso et al., 2001) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) to frame my examination of how intersectional aspects of latinidad affect students' and families' educational experiences within and beyond the SALT setting, as well as how these very same participating

families leverage their cultural community wealth (Yosso, 2005) to increase opportunity.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Bell, 1980; Crenshaw, 1995; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) evolved out of Critical Legal Studies (CLS) a means of describing the ways in which institutions and legislation serve to preserve the rights and privileges of certain groups, while simultaneously perpetuating barriers that oppress racialized members of society. CLS emerged in the 1970s as a means to analyze how law is structured and applied to uphold the status quo and frequently serves to codify the subordination of marginalized groups. CRT was articulated in order to extend the critical lens of CLS to address the effects of race and racism in the legal process. CRT asserts five tenets: a) counter-storytelling, b) salience of racism, c) Whiteness as property, d) interest convergence, and e) critique of liberalism. Furthermore, CRT has a social justice goal and takes intersectionality into account in its analyses (Crenshaw, 1995; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004).

Critical Race Theory (CRT) of Education

Like its legal cousin, Critical Race Theory of education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso et al., 2001) acknowledges the centrality of race and racism in institutions and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination. CRT of education affirms a commitment to social justice by critiquing inequitable structures and pushing for change. CRT of education also asserts the value of the individual experiential knowledge of marginalized people. An important feature of CRT of education is its emphasis on the importance of transdisciplinary approaches. CRT of education provides a challenge to dominant ideologies, and actively works to acknowledge and dismantle them (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). CRT of education recognizes that although traditional schooling contexts frequently reinforce the

oppression of racialized minority students, these same institutions have the potential to "emancipate and empower" individuals (Delgado Bernal, 2002, p. 109).

Latino Critical Race (LatCrit) Theory

Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) draws from CRT, but focuses on the multiple facets of Latinx identity. The complexities of Latinx identity may feature intersections of language, accent, immigration history, race, ethnicity, culture, phenotype, gender, and sexuality. These dimensions of Latinx identity interact in various ways to either privilege or disadvantage people claiming or ascribed this identity. Like CRT and CRT of education, LatCrit also emphasizes the value of individual experience, while critiquing eurocentrism.

Together CRT of education and LatCrit lenses help draw into focus the experiences of Latinx students and families in learning contexts. Such critical lenses champion the assets-based orientations and transformational potential of education. The employment of CRT of education and LatCrit lenses provide a critical analytic dimension that unmasks the ways in which schools use language to position bilingual students at the margins. Using CRT and LatCrit to frame alternative perspectives to dominant schooling narratives--such as those suggested by Community Cultural Wealth—opens up space for educators to reevaluate how they serve students and communities of color. In combination, these theoretical elements provide a critical lens through which educators and researchers can interpret, analyze, understand, and transform education for bilingual and language minoritized students.

Community Cultural Wealth

Whereas both CRT of education and LatCrit provide critical lenses with which to examine the realities of communities of color, Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) offers

a complimentary perspective for understanding the rich sources of knowledge communities of color and other marginalized groups already possess. Community Cultural Wealth resists traditional, Eurocentric conceptualizations of cultural capital by articulating the various forms of capital shared by communities of color by articulating their own notions of capital. Those forms of capital include aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistant capital. The educational value of these resources (especially for racialized and non-majority students) is often overlooked in traditional school settings.

Current conceptions of education in the United States draw heavily from the belief in the education's ability to provide social and economic mobility. Pierre Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital (1977) frames much of the discussion around academic, social, and economic mobility for non-majority groups. Bourdieu (1977) theorized that social and cultural capital could be gained through education, providing an opportunity for those not born into the middle and upper classes thereby providing them access to realms previously denied to them. This view fails, however, to take into account the inequities inherent in educational institutions that prevent many non-majority students from accessing the upward social and economic mobility promised (Freire & Macedo, 1987; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso, 2005).

The social and cultural capital to which Bourdieu refers is heavily Eurocentric, affording dominant and prestige languages (such as English in the United States) symbolic capital, which then can be used to access material capital (Bourdieu, 1991). This view of capital does not account for the impact institutionalized asymmetries have on minoritized communities; linguistic capital is not valued equally across racial, class, and other lines (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Crump, 2014; Flores, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015; May, 2014b; Norton, 1997). While institutional realities demand certain forms of social capital, other forms of capital, such as those

articulated by Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005), are equally important to the development and implementation of culturally responsive education for bilingual Latinx students (Hinman & He, 2017; Martínez, Iterreiner, Aragon, & Kellerman, 2014).

Review of the Literature

I am interested in how bilingual Latinx students and their families describe and experience a P-12 community-based Spanish heritage language program in the New Latinx South. There are many facets of this topic that warrant exploration. However, I limited my literature review to the following topics: Latinx education in the United States, community-based programming for Latinx families, bilingualism, and heritage language development (*See Figure 1 for a visual representation of the overlapping themes*). These four themes provide the necessary background for understanding the context of the SALT program and the histories that have brought numerous families there.

I did not specifically exclude any research terms from my search of the literature. I did, however, focus my attention on research conducted in the United States, as language issues are very different in other parts of the world. For example, in many countries, official plurilingual policies dictate language use and instruction (May, 2014a). Although I included research pertaining to students in higher education settings, I purposely sought out research that was conducted in P-12 student settings. I further attempted to restrict the research to community-based programs. This literature review is not exhaustive, but serves as an overview of the research that informs my study.

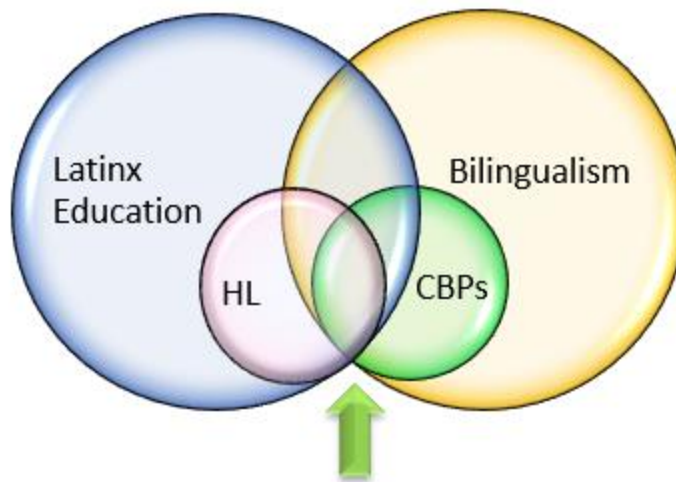


Figure 1: Situated Literature Review—
Community-Based Spanish Heritage Language Programs

Latinx Education in the United States

Latinxs currently represent the largest minoritized group in the United States, and Latinx children in schools are among the most rapidly growing populations. Shifting migration and immigration patterns are bringing Latinxs to new areas, such as the Northwest, the Midwest, and the Southeast in record numbers. The Latinx population is growing at a much faster rate in new arrival areas than in traditional gateway regions, such as California, New York, and Florida (Lowenhaupt, 2014). All across the United States, newcomers are often met with hostility. Nationally, anti-immigration and English-only policies have been proposed in overt and covert attacks against the Latinization "threat" (DaSilva Iddings et al., 2012; Irizarry & Raible, 2011; May, 2014a; Santa Ana, 2004). In schools, anti-Latinx sentiments are often reproduced through subpar schooling experiences based on subtractive policies and deficit orientations (Alemán, Delgado Bernal, & Cortez, 2015; Bartlett & García, 2011; Beckett, Glass, & Moreno, 2013; Flores, 2005; Lowenhaupt, 2014; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999).

Educational attainment. Despite growing numbers, Latinxs are not achieving equal academic success as their non-Latinx peers[11]. These statistics are misleading and do not accurately reflect Latinx student learning. Many of the high-stakes assessments upon which determinations of "success" are based are culturally biased (Irizarry, 2011). Moreover, many Latinxs are non-English dominant bilinguals measured against a monolingual English standard. High-stakes standardized tests often only measure English proficiency, and do not accurately capture students' knowledge (Bartlett & García, 2011; Callahan, 2005; Escamilla, 2006; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Irizarry & Raible, 2011). Students are frequently labeled and tracked into less rigorous courses of study based on the results of these tests. Latinx students are underrepresented in honors, advanced, and gifted classes, and overrepresented in non-college track and remedial classes (Darder, 2012; González, 2012; Oakes, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). Furthermore, bilingual Latinx students are often relegated to the "ESL ghetto," where they are segregated from English-speaking peers and denied access to mainstream and advanced coursework (Faltis & Arias, 2007; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Valdés, 1998).

The opportunity gap has been linked to Latinx students' decisions to leave school before meeting graduation requirements (Behnke, González, & Cox, 2010; Carter, 2005; González, 2012; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011; Valenzuela, 1999). In the U.S., more than a quarter of Latinxs have not achieved a ninth grade education (Gándara, 2005). Nationally, Latinxs have a higher pushout[12] rate than any other ethnic group – standing at nearly 50 percent (Behnke et al., 2010; González, 2012; United States Census Bureau, 2010; US Bureau of Labor Statistics,

[11] According to the National Center for Education Statistics, nationally "the reading achievement gap between Hispanic and White students in 2009 was 25 points at grade 4 and 24 points at grade 8" on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) (Hemphill & Vanneman, 2011).

[12] I use the term *pushout* to resist the deficit discourse that faults students (rather than schools) for students' decisions to leave before graduating.

2014). Latinx students who do graduate from high school have significantly lower postsecondary institution graduation rates than non-Latinxs (Gándara, 2005; González, 2012; US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). Such educational pipeline "leakage" (Gándara, 2005) has tangible results as low educational attainment impacts job opportunities and limits economic prospects.

Although numerous social, political, historical, and economic factors are responsible for the educational and economic outcomes of Latinx students – Latinx parents and communities are blamed for students' attainment. Latinxs in the United States have a unique position among minoritized groups; having a history that is a combination of indigenous, early colonial, and immigrant experiences. For the greater part of US history, Latinxs have been legally excluded from social and economic advancement. Citizenship exclusions, segregation, and other institutionalized barriers based on race, ethnicity, and language have impacted educational opportunities (Alemán et al., 2015; Flores, 2005; Haney López, 2006; Santa Ana, 2004; Valencia & Black, 2002; Valenzuela, 1999). New immigrants face such challenges in addition to the obstacles of navigating life in a new country and learning new customs.

Deficit discourses around language, race, culture, and ethnicity have shaped much of the current ideology about Latinx students and families. Deep-seeded cultural deficit models paint minoritized families as having "dysfunctional" cultural values that are passed down through generations (Beckett, et al., 2012; Cordasco, 1973; Gómez & Rodríguez, 2011; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Valencia & Black, 2002). In schools, deficit orientations not only dictate curriculum and access to learning, but frequently also shape the discourse around parental engagement as well (Beckett et al., 2013; Gerena, 2011; Lowenhaupt, 2014; Villenas, 2001).

Family engagement. Latinx parental engagement often looks different from traditional mainstream conceptualizations of involvement, and is consequently either undervalued,

unrecognized, or disregarded in schools (Andrews, 2013; Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Oberg De La Garza & Moreno Kuri, 2014; Valenzuela, 1999; Zarate, 2007). Even though current research acknowledges different types of family involvement (Epstein, 2011; Zarate, 2007), many educators still measure parental engagement by participation in/within-school activities. Latinx family engagement, by contrast, is marked by involvement at home (Andrews, 2013; Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; Lowenhaupt, 2014; Mitra, 2006; O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2014; Osterling, 2001; Villenas, 2001, 2002; Zarate, 2007). At the turn of the twentieth century schools sought to separate immigrant children from their home culture and language; schools in the twenty-first century place blame for the educational outcomes of non-majority students on the lack of parental involvement (Beckett et al., 2013; Cordasco, 1973; Villenas, 2001).

Many schools use the fallacious observation of parents' disinterest to justify their lackadaisical approach to the engagement of Latinx families in their children's schooling. In addition to fallacies around parent (dis)interest in Latinx children's education, language barriers often preclude meaningful school-home connections (Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Lee & Oxelson, 2006). Teachers are less likely to reach out to families of students of color, especially if English is not the home language (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). In addition to language barriers, many Latinx families feel unwelcome in their children's schools (Andrews, 2013; Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; Bartlett & García, 2011; Fishman, 2001; O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2014). Schools' failure to connect with homes especially disadvantages non-majority students—parental engagement influences academic achievement at every education level (Beckett et al., 2013; Hayes, Blake, Darensbourg, & Castillo, 2015; Lowenhaupt, 2014; O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2014).

Community-Based Programs (CBPs). Latinx students and families possess rich cultural knowledges and practices, which ought to be acknowledged and promoted within school settings. Unfortunately, this is not the case, prompting some families to seek support outside of the school. Many of these programs, however, take an interventionist approach, which take as their starting point the assumption that parents "don't know" what they "should know." Working from a deficit perspective, these approaches attempt to "fix" Latinx students and families by subtracting their perceived negative practices and replacing them with more "mainstream" cultural practices (Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; Fitts & Gross, 2012; Lowenhaupt, 2014). Villenas (2002) described the *benevolent racisms* of many educational, health, and social services as "simultaneously constructed within discourses of 'lacking,' 'needy,' and 'we know what's best'" (p. 18).

Conversely, an assets-based orientation toward Latinx students and their families recognize home cultural knowledges. In broad terms, the most successful of these approaches employ an additive approach and draw from Latinx students' and families' funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) and affirm their Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005). Key elements of these approaches include affirming students' culture, integrating their families into programming, and encouraging leadership. Interwoven with these overarching themes, Educación[13] (Villenas, 2001, 2002) serves as a unifying value among Latinx parents' conceptions of positive parental involvement. Studies indicate that Latinx families attribute the

[13] *Educación* roughly translates to "moral education." It embodies the intertwined values of *respeto* (respect--particularly for parents, elders, and authority figures) and *buen comportamiento* (good behavior, including obedience and cooperation). Latinxs often believe that *educación* is the responsibility of the family, and education is the role of the school (Andrews, 2013; Bartlett & García, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999; Villenas, 2002).

strong value placed on educación, as well as the presence of familia,[14] seguridad,[15] cariño,[16] and confianza[17] to the overall efficacy of community-based programming (e.g., Bartlett & García, 2011; Valenzuela, 1999; Villenas, 2002).

Valorizing Latinx parental involvement practices, which represent an important form of familial capital (Yosso, 2005) that sustains culture, improves home-school engagement (Alemán et al., 2015; Bartlett & García, 2011; Beckett et al., 2012; Lowenhaupt, 2014; Oberg De La Garza & Moreno Kuri, 2014; O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2014). Building on familial capital, schools and home-school connections improve through family education, including explicit explanations of school expectations and processes (Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008). Furthermore, schools and programs can look for ways to draw on Latinx parents' aspirational and navigational capital (Yosso, 2005) by promoting and facilitating a college-going culture (Alemán et al., 2015; González, 2012).

Many CBPs that take an additive approach to working with Latinx students and their families have a transformative core (Alemán et al., 2015; Beckett et al., 2012). For example, action-oriented programs work toward social change and long-term solutions to educational inequities. In this transformative view of education, parents access resistant capital (Yosso, 2005) to become teachers, mentors, partners, and leaders. Critical reflection, personal engagement, and advocacy may all play into a CBP designed for transformation and action (Alemán et al., 2015; Arias & Morillo-Campbell, 2008; Beckett et al., 2012; Oberg De La Garza

[14] Family (The warm and inviting atmosphere of the school makes parents feel at home.)

[15] Security/safety (The school's additive approach and community orientation deterred violence that was prevalent in the neighborhood.)

[16] Caring (Noddings, 2013; Bartlett & García, 2011; Valenzuela, 1999; Villenas, 2002)

[17] Mutual trust

& Moreno Kuri, 2014; O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2014). Within a transformative framework, parents do not just work to learn the system, but actively work to change it.

Research indicates that Latinx families respect education and take advantage of enrichment opportunities when they see value in them. In addition to affirming Community Cultural Wealth and providing a variety of services, successful CBPs connect families to schools (Epstein, 2011). Furthermore, drawing on linguistic capital (Hinman & He, 2017; Lowenhaupt, 2014; Yosso, 2005) along with students' and families' community knowledge can create more meaningful educative experiences. A rigorous curriculum that incorporates participants' language and cultural background is key to affirming Latinx students' and families' experiences (Bartlett & García, 2011; García, 2011; Hinman & He, 2017; Lee & Wright, 2014; Lowenhaupt, 2014; Moll et. al, 1992; Valenzuela, 1999).

Language

Perhaps Rosina Lippi-Green (2004) described it best: "There is a great deal of evidence to indicate that what people believe they know about language is very different from the way language actually works" (p. 292). Lippi-Green's observation reflects what other language researchers have found: commonly held beliefs about language and bilingualism do not necessarily align with current research findings and theory (Crawford, 2004; Escamilla, 2006; García, 2013; García & Kleifgen, 2010; García & Wei, 2013; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Proctor et al., 2010; Ruíz, 1984; Salazar, 2008; Soltero-González, Escamilla, & Hopewell, 2012; Suárez, 2002; Valdés, 2001). This misalignment is evident in the fact that even though the cognitive benefits of bilingualism are widely recognized, bilingual education receives little support in the US (Crawford, 2004; Gándara, 2014; García & Kleifgen, 2010; García & Wei, 2013; Lee & Wright, 2014; Lippi-

Green, 2004; May, 2014b; Proctor et al., 2010; Said-Mohand, 2011; Valdés, 2001, 2005).

Rather than reflect best practices or empirical evidence, many language policies and practices are guided by language ideologies (Flores & Rosa, 2015; García, 2009, 2013; Lippi-Green, 2004; May, 2014a; Wiley & Lukes, 1996). Language ideologies, as well as theories about language education and acquisition, shift over time. The effects of these shifts can be seen in the research, policies, and practices they inspire. In the section(s) that follow I highlight some of the most influential of current scholarship on language acquisition and learning, bilingualism, and heritage language development. These represent only a small fraction of the available scholarship on language, bilingualism and heritage language.

Language orientations. Richard Ruíz (1984) articulated how orientations--dispositions toward language, languages, their respective roles—shape the way people talk, think, interpret, and legitimize different languages and linguistic practices. Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s, two major orientations that dominated the conversation about language (language-as-problem and language-as-right), in 1984 Ruíz identified an assets-based orientation: language-as-resource. This orientation treated language as an asset, and Ruíz asserted that adopting this orientation toward language could provide a consistent view of non-English languages in the US, thereby drawing communities together and minimizing conflicts between majority and minority communities. Ruíz argued that if language were treated as a resource to be managed, developed, and conserved, then linguistically minoritized communities could become sources of knowledge, potentially increasing social cohesion and cooperative language planning. This community resource was promoted in service of foreign affairs, international trade, education, and social development. The neoliberal ideologies that underpin much of the world language and dual language advocacy today echo Ruíz's language-as-resource orientation.

Bilingualism. Jim Cummins's work (1979, 1981, 1991, 2001) has been largely influential in bilingual education. Cummins proposed that bilingualism was not simply a result of two separate language functions, but that languages were interrelated. Cummins (1981) hypothesized that,

> to the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly (p. 29).

Cummins's hypothesis contradicted folk wisdom about language acquisition and instruction, emphasizing the potential for transference of linguistic and literacy skills across languages. The language interdependence hypothesis provided the argument that student knowledge in their home language (L1) had implications for second language (L2) learning, and vice versa. Furthermore, Cummins posited that bilinguals possessed a common underlying proficiency (CUP), upon which they might draw, in either language (1979). Cummins (1979) also developed a theory that bilingual individuals use two differing language skill sets: basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). BICS are language practices that are acquired naturally and fairly quickly in contextualized situations. CALP is decontextualized language that takes several additional years to develop.

Many proponents of bilingual education (as opposed to English-only instruction) base their arguments on Cummins's (1979, 1981, 1991) hypotheses, which contradicted previous notions of bilingualism as a linear process or as dual monolingualism by arguing that L1 development is beneficial to the development of L2. Cummins's interdependence hypothesis and threshold hypothesis suggested that students who have limited proficiency or knowledge in their first language might be similarly limited in their second language. Many have critiqued this point, arguing that linguistic interdependence is not necessarily limiting to bilingual students

(Escamilla, 2006; García, 2013; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Valenzuela, 1999). Recent scholarship has also challenged Cummins's dual-iceberg conceptualization of CUP, indicating that both languages remain active and accessible in the bilingual brain, even while only one language is in use (García & Wei, 2013). Additional criticism of Cummins's early work on BICS, CALP, and the threshold hypothesis challenges the positioning of certain bilinguals as deficient or semilingual. Although this framing has been used to justify additive bilingual education, it operates from a deficit perspective by assuming that students need extensive home language instruction because they lack the literacy skills needed to transfer their learning into English (Flores, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015; García & Wei, 2013; Palmer & Martínez, 2013).

Biliteracy. Building on the notion of bilingualism as a fluid set of interrelated competencies and practices, Nancy Hornberger's (1989) research focused on the process of biliteracy development. Hornberger expanded existing conceptions of bilingualism with her Continua of biliteracy (1989). Working from the interdependence theory of bilingual development (Cummins, 1981), she identified nine interrelated continua of bilingual literacies, or *biliteracy*[18]. The continua illuminated the complexity and interconnectedness of different language and cognitive processes. This model of biliteracy illustrated how development could be interpreted outside of continuous, directional, or constant trajectories. Hornberger's (1989) continua of biliteracy challenged Cummins's (1981) interdependence hypothesis by observing that first language proficiency not only transfers to second language ability, but that the two languages can build upon one another in a variety of ways. Hornberger (1989) posited that

[18] The continua addressed contextual, individual development, and media elements of biliteracy. Hornberger identified theoretical points representing opposite ends of the continua: macro/micro, oral/literate, monolingual/bilingual, reception/production, oral/written language, first/second language transfer, successive/simultaneous exposure, similar/dissimilar structures, and convergent/divergent scripts. Hornberger and Link (2012) added an additional continuum: content. The endpoints of the content continuum were: minority/majority, vernacular/literary, contextualized/decontextualized.

interlanguage—the practice of combining grammatical elements from multiple languages-- did not represent interference, but rather resulted from the application of knowledge across languages. This framework provided a strong argument for the teaching of each (L1 and L2) language in order to maximize learning in both, while acknowledging that the interrelated and nested nature of the continua are influenced by additional contexts that may promote or hinder positive language and literacy transference.

Dynamic bilingualism. Recent scholarship has attempted to move beyond the focus on the process of language transfer and bilingual development. This scholarship concerns itself less with the process of becoming bilingual, and more with the language practices of bilinguals. Current scholarship recognizes the complexity of bilingualism, but extends previous theories by focusing on bilingual practices as dynamic social and linguistic practices. Dynamic bilingualism (García, 2009), transglossia (García, 2013), and translanguaging (García, 2013; García & Kleifgen, 2010; García & Wei, 2013) are important theories for understanding the complexity of bilingualism, as well as the immense potential to use bilingual and biliteracy practices to enrich learning experiences for bilingual students.

Much of the scholarship of the 20th century treated bilingualism as a linear process in which languages are either subtracted or added. In subtractive bilingualism, the first language of non-majority students is stripped away, and the second (majority) language is added (Crawford, 2004; Darder, 2012; García, 2013; Valenzuela, 1999). In the case of additive bilingualism, the home language is maintained as another language is added. In the case of language minoritized speakers, the dominant language is added, whereas speakers of the majority language add a second language as a means of enrichment (Flores, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015; García, 2013; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Palmer & Martínez, 2013). Such conceptions of bilingualism rely

heavily on outdated notions of bilingualism as a linear process of parallel monolingual development (also called dual monoglossic development). Many language fallacies are based on a dual monoglossic framing, in which individual languages are treated as completely separate (García, 2013; García & Kleifgen, 2010; García & Wei, 2013; Palmer & Martínez, 2013). Cummins (2008) described this view of dual monolingualism, “the two solitudes.” García (2013) observed that “by normalizing the ‘dual’ through a monolingual perspective, the language education field uses terms and concepts that have had the effect of negating the fluidity of bilingual language practices and furthering inequalities in the education of language minorities” (p. 100-101).

In contrast to subtractive and additive bilingual models, dynamic bilingualism places bilingualism at the center, and moves away from English monolingualism-centered ideas about language practices. A dynamic view of bilingualism recognizes that language development is not linear, and that bilinguals are not simply two monolinguals in one body (García, 2013). Dynamic bilingualism rejects the separation of individual (socially constructed) language systems within a bilingual individual. Instead, dynamic bilingualism treats individual language features (which are associated with specific languages) as parts of a whole linguistic repertoire unique to each linguistic being. Additionally, dynamic bilingualism recognizes that cognitive processes are wrapped up in experience (García, 2009, 2013; García & Wei, 2013). Dynamic bilingualism reflects multicompetence, as well as the interaction of linguistic practices and the individual’s environment (Bartlett & García, 2011; García, 2013; García & Kleifgen, 2010; García & Wei, 2013; Palmer & Martínez, 2013). Recursive dynamic bilingualism (García, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2010; García & Wei, 2013) and translanguaging (García, 2009) further highlight the dynamic, non-linear, intermeshed nature of bilingual language practices.

Language acquisition and language learning. Stephen Krashen (1982) differentiates between "acquisition" and "learning." Acquisition is the informal, or natural process of developing language skills through practice and exposure in contextualized settings. Learning, by contrast, is the development that occurs through intentional study. Acquisition can take place in the home or community, whereas learning generally occurs in schools or other formalized instructional settings. Acquisition of two or more languages may be simultaneous (as in bilingual development), or sequential (as in L1-L2 development). The differing processes of language acquisition and language learning are illustrated by Cummins' (1979) theory of BICS and CALP; whereas basic interpersonal skills are acquired without study, cognitive academic language must be intentionally learned.

Fallacies about bilingualism abound, including beliefs that young children learn new languages effortlessly, that prolonged exposure to an individual's first language decreases motivation to learn a second language, and that bilingualism confuses children and inhibits academic achievement (Crawford, 2004). Inaccurate beliefs about codeswitching paint the practice as a sign of linguistic weakness (García & Kleifgen, 2010; García & Wei, 2013; Escamilla, 2006; Martínez, 2010; Ruíz, 1984), while other misleading and subtractive beliefs describe bilingual students as semilingual, bi-illiterate, or languageless (Escamilla, 2006; Flores, 2005; Flores & Rosa, 2015). These misconceptions, along with general ignorance of language acquisition, language learning, and bilingual development, are inevitably enacted in classrooms (Escamilla, 2006; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Olivos & Quintana de Valladolid, 2005; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Soltero-González et al., 2012).

Treatment of bilingualism varies according to the language user's positioning as either an "elite" or "folk" bilingual (Fishman, 1977) or "elective" or "circumstantial" bilingual (Valdés &

Figueroa, 1994) (in García, 2009). Elite or elective bilinguals are those who voluntarily learn an additional language, as in the case of a language user who chooses to study a second world language in school for enrichment. Folk or circumstantial bilinguals develop a second language out of necessity, as in the case of a minoritized language user who must adopt the dominant language in order to participate in society. In language contact zones, individuals may develop bilingually, meaning that they acquire two languages at once, generally a community language and the dominant language. Language minoritized bilinguals fall under the category of folk bilinguals; these are students who come to school with a home language other than English. Language minoritized bilinguals must learn English in order to participate in formalized education in traditional school contexts.

Language education policies for bilingual students. Policies regarding the education of bilingual students depend largely on political climate and shifting language ideologies (Bartlett & García, 2011; Crawford, 2004; Darder, 2012; May, 2014a; Olivos & Quintana de Valladolid, 2005; Santa Ana, 2004). Although bilingual schooling was commonplace in the early part of US history, in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth, nativist legislation was passed across the nation (Lee & Wright, 2014). Most of the legislation maintained segregated schools by restricting citizenship rights[19] (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998; Santa Ana, 2004). Any gains in bilingual education rights for racialized and minoritized students have typically been won under the equal protections provisions granted in the fourteenth amendment (1868) of the US Constitution, or by extension, the Civil Rights Act (1964). It was not until 1968 that the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) was passed, advocating specialized instruction for language minoritized students.

[19] i.e., California Constitution, Article 2, Section1 (1849); New Mexico Organic Law Act, Section 6 (1850); Organic Act of Arizona Constitution (1863).

In 1974, the US Supreme Court decided, in Lau v. Nichols, that forcing students with minimal English proficiency to attend classes conducted in English only constituted a civil rights violation. The strides made in language education rights during the 1960s and 1970s were heavily influenced by the Civil Rights, American Indian Movement, and Chicano Rights movements of the era (García, 2009; Lee & Wright, 2014; Leeman, 2015), as well as language-as-right orientations that coincided with these movements (Ruíz, 1984). By law, students identified as English language learners are entitled to receive targeted English support in addition to their regular classes (US Department of Education, 2015).

Although the language-as-right orientation (Ruíz, 1984) guided much of the initial development of bilingual education in the latter half of the 20th century, the language-as-resource has been more recently adopted by many proponents of bilingual education. Language education policies targeted at linguistic minorities, however, often reflect neither the right nor resource orientations (Ruiz, 1984), and instead continue to frame bilingual students as problematic (Bartlett & García, 2011; Crawford, 2004; Escamilla, 2006; García & Kleifgen, 2010; May, 2014a; Olivos & Quintana de Valladolid, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). Programs designed to support language minoritized bilingual students vary widely, from English-only support to dynamic bilingual education[20] (Crawford, 2004; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Hornberger, 1989; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Bilingual approaches (as in transitional bilingual education, developmental bilingual education, and two-way immersion/dual language) alternate instruction in the student's first language with English instruction in specific ratios (Crawford, 2004; García & Kleifgen, 2010). Dynamic bilingual education flexibly incorporates

[20] This support most commonly is provided through English-only programming. These include full English immersion, pullout English as a second language (ESL), push-in ESL, and structured English immersion (SEI).

all students' linguistic practices to provide hybrid language learning opportunities throughout the school day (García & Kleifgen, 2010).

Unfortunately, building off this negative framing of bilingual students and amidst anti-immigration movements, several states in recent years have put forth propositions, amendments, and resolutions that effectively eliminate home language instruction for language minoritized bilingual students[21]. In response to the elimination of transitional bilingual programs, many have proposed two-way immersion (TWI) or dual-language (DL) programs as an alternative form of bilingual education (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Crawford, 2004; García & Kleifgen, 2010). These education models frequently rely on an additive bilingualism framework to subvert anti-bilingual education policies. While these programs frequently have real benefit for language minority students[22], it is often English speakers who dominate the direction of TWI and DL programming and who also benefit most from the experience (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Gerena, 2011; Lee & Wright, 2014; Palmer & Martínez, 2013). In some schools and communities, heritage language development classes have emerged in response to the elimination or unavailability of bilingual, TWI, or DL education.

Heritage language (HL) users. The term "heritage language (HL) development" describes a distinct subcategory of bilingual development. Within the category of heritage language users, there exist a range of definitions, bilingual practices, and language experiences.

[21] For example, California passed proposition 227 in 1998 that eliminated transitional bilingual education and set a limit on SEI instruction, allowing bilingual students one year of sheltered instruction before being mainstreamed into English only classes. In 2000, Arizona passed proposition 203 and banned bilingual education for language minoritized bilingual students. In 2002, Massachusetts approved Question 2, voting to replace transitional bilingual education with SEI programs.

[22] Language minoritized bilingual students who receive instruction in two languages may have higher reclassification rates, English proficiency, and academic achievement, and educational attainment than peers in English-only programs (Bartlett & García; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Marian, Shook, & Schroeder, 2013; Thomas & Collier, 2002; Umansky & Reardon, 2014).

Heritage languages refer to non-majority languages that have ethnolinguistic ties to a particular community. Additionally, "community language" has been suggested as an alternative to the "heritage language" label, as some believe the term "heritage" is associated with the past thereby denying the active and vibrant nature of non-majority language communities (Leeman, 2015). In this way, inconsistent definitions of heritage language hinders research on the topic (Hornberger & Wang, 2008)

While these definitions may vary, they, nonetheless, generally center the "cultural connections" and/or "linguistic proficiency" of the language user within determinations of who qualifies as a heritage language learner (HLL) (Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Lee & Wright, 2014; Leeman, 2015; Lo-Philip, 2010; Valdés, 2001, 2005). Heritage language learners broadly defined include anyone studying a language with which they share cultural heritage (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; He, 2010). More narrowly (and commonly) defined, heritage language learners are those who have not only a historical/ethno-cultural connection to the language of study, but also some level of experience and proficiency in the language (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Fishman, 2001; Valdés, 2001). In the past, terms like "*native speaker*," "*quasi-native speaker*," "*residual speaker*," "*bilingual speaker*," and "*home-background speaker"* have been used to describe such learners (He, 2010; Valdés, 2005). Researchers have proposed the adoption of *multi-competent* (Said-Mohand, 2010) and *L1/L2 user* (Valdés, 2005) to more accurately reflect the nature of heritage language speakers' linguistic competencies and practices. Hornberger and Wang (2008) define heritage language learners in the US context as "individuals who have familial or ancestral ties to a particular language that is not English and who exert their agency in determining whether or not they are HLLs of that HL and [heritage culture]" (p. 27).

Labels can be problematic not only due to their variation, but also for their implications. Language proficiency labels are rarely self-applied; students are more likely to identify with ethnic/country-of-origin group labels (such as *Hispanic, Mexican-American,* and *Latina/o*), particularly in 3rd and 4th generations.[23] *Native speaker* often carries connotations of prestige language, and can serve to position other language varieties as deficient or corrupt (Said-Mohand, 2010; Valdés, 2005). Linguistic hegemony creates divisions within language groups and stigmatizes non-standard varieties of prestige languages (Fishman, 2001; Suárez, 2002; Valdés, 2005). Further complicating matters, *learning* and *acquisition* are different processes (Krashen, 1982), and whether a HL program explicitly teaches the grammar of the HL, or uses the HL for the delivery of other content, affects language development accordingly.

In this research study, I use the terms heritage language (HL) development and heritage language learner (HLL) in keeping with the SALT program's participation requirements. SALT specifically serves students that are Latinx with a familial tie to Spanish, and also have some level of proficiency in Spanish. This definition mirrors definitions put forth by Carreira and Kagan (2011), Fishman (2001), and Valdés (2001). I am hesitant to use Hornberger and Wang's (2008) definition because it is unclear whether the SALT students themselves identify as HLLs.

Heritage language programming. Even though TWI and DL programs are gaining popularity, a majority of bilingual students in the US do not have access to instruction in their home language during the regular school day. In recent years, K-12 and higher education have begun to increase course offerings for heritage language students, generally housed in foreign

[23] By contrast, recent Latin American migrants are more likely to identify with specific national identities than pan-ethnic labels such as *Hispanic, Latino/a, etc.* (Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman, 2017).

language[24] departments. Even still, heritage language classes are not the norm, and often treat heritage language users as L2 learners studying a foreign language, rather than a language which which they may have extensive experience (García, 2009; Valdés, 2001, 2005). Despite the expansion of heritage language course offerings in schools, they are limited in their scope, languages, and availability. This has prompted the establishment of community schools and programs, or "complementary schools" (Leeman, 2015) devoted to the sole purpose of addressing heritage language development. In the early 1980s, Fishman conducted a study in which he catalogued more than 6,500 HL schools in the US representing 145 languages, estimating that there were likely another 1,000 he hadn't counted (Fishman, 2001). The specific objectives, organization, and teaching methodologies vary from program to program (Austin, 2015; Fishman, 2001; Kelleher, 2010; Said-Mohand, 2010; Valdés, 2001). There is no single national body that dictates teaching standards, nor collects data on HL programs, making it difficult to accurately assess their numbers or impact (Fishman, 2001; Hornberger & Wang, 2008). In an attempt to centralize data about heritage language programming, several organizations[25] have created subdivisions devoted to heritage language issues.

Spanish heritage language programming. As Fishman detailed in his 1985 report on heritage language schools, Spanish HL schools represented only a small fraction of the total number of HL schools. The Heritage Language Alliance created a database of HL schools in the US (Kelleher, 2010). Although the database is incomplete due to the self-reporting nature of data

[24] The term "foreign" to describe non-English languages is problematic, as it others speakers of non-English languages. Some departments have adopted the term "world languages" to refer to languages other than English to avoid the deficit framing associated with "foreign."
[25] The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages has a heritage language special interest group (SIG) and the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP) offers a symposium on Spanish as a heritage language. The National Heritage Language Resource Center (NHLRC) at UCLA and the Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages (an initiative of the Center for Applied Linguistics) publish research and policy briefs, as well as offering professional development pertaining to HL issues.

collection, it is telling that of the 847 listed programs, only 77 are Spanish language programs. Of the Spanish programs documented there, only 12 are community- or organization-based; the rest are P-12 school-based or at the higher education level. Of the community/organization-based Spanish HL schools, three are located in the Southeast. Based on the database (which I acknowledge is not comprehensive), programs like SALT represent less than 1% of HL schools.

Fishman (2001) articulated the ways in which Spanish differs from other HLs. There are many language varieties of Spanish, many of which are stigmatized and associated with the lower-classes (Fishman, 2001; Said-Mohand, 2010). When offered, Spanish heritage language classes are generally housed in foreign language departments in schools (Austin, 2015; Said-Mohand, 2010; Valdés, 2005). This is problematic in that for heritage speakers, Spanish is not foreign. Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theories dominate Spanish instruction in school contexts, which does not align with the linguistic flexibility and competencies of students who already have inherent knowledge of Spanish (with or without metalinguistic awareness) (Austin, 2015; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Said-Mohand, 2010; Valdés, 2001, 2005).

The SLA/foreign language orientation often includes a deficit perspective of Spanish HL students, as teachers aim to "undo the damage" incurred by years of informal language acquisition (Valdés, 2005). Preoccupations with availability and access to appropriate materials, curriculum, assessment, and professional development (Austin, 2015; Said-Mohand, 2010; Valdés, 2005) are valid concerns for providing adequate instruction to HL students. Other preoccupations such as how to address language varieties and gaps in proficiency or knowledge position HL students' Spanish as flawed, and place "native-like" proficiency in the prestige language variety as the gold standard (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Said-Mohand, 2010; Valdés, 2005). There is also frequently a disconnect between Spanish teachers' experiences and those of

HL Spanish students. The teachers instructing Spanish HL classes (like most teachers in the U.S.) are often not heritage learners themselves, nor are they trained to work with the unique learners. International or immigrant teachers who are native Spanish speakers do not understand the unique challenge posed by growing up as a Spanish-English bilingual in the United States (Valdés, 2005).

Identity and heritage language education. Research indicates that identity affirmation and ethnic pride have been shown to positively influence the education of non-majority students (Bartlett & García, 2011; Cammarota, 2007; He, 2010; Hinman & He, 2017; Lo-Philip, 2010; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011; Valdés, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). In fact, identity is often as an assumed motivation for maintaining or developing HL that the empirical study of whether this identity orientation toward HL study is founded has only emerged in recent years (Leeman, 2015). Although cultural identity is often reinforced in community-based programs, the development of cultural identity through HL education is an important element that is too often neglected in foreign language classrooms (Austin, 2015; He, 2010; Hinman & He, 2017; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Said-Mohand, 2010; Valdés, 2005).

Summary of the Literature Review

Amongst all the contradictions, uncertainties, and perspectives around Latinx education, bilingualism, and heritage language education in the US, there is also resistance. Applying CRT of education and LatCrit analyses to examine schooling contexts and language policies may help uncover the ideologies and power dynamics that shape Latinx students' experiences. Whereas surrendering one’s heritage language to English monolingualism is an act of submission to the English hegemony, maintaining and developing a bilingual/bicultural identity can be an act of resistance (Bartlett & García, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2013; Lo-Philip, 2010; Suárez, 2002).

Utilizing Community Cultural Wealth to reframe how Latinx students and families are viewed may provide insight into alternative forms of social currency. Continuing customs and traditions through heritage language maintenance can be an effective means of building community, reinforcing ethnic identity, and strengthening family ties (Guardado & Becker, 2014; Hinman & He, 2017; Hornberger & Wang, 2208; Lee & Wright, 2014; Lo-Philip, 2010).

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The primary purpose of this qualitative study is to examine a community-based non-profit extracurricular Spanish heritage language program for P-8 students in the New Latinx South, and to describe the space that it occupies in the lives of those involved. The program's staff and participating families are at the heart of the Spanish as Language and Tradition (SALT) organization, and therefore their experiences, perspectives, and insights are integral to this research study. I used qualitative research methods to assist me in obtaining, analyzing, interpreting, and presenting this description. Using a qualitative approach supported my aim to portray the complexity of experiences and voices that comprise SALT by allowing me to co-construct meaning with the study participants

I am interested in creating an illustration of an organization and those it engages (either students, families, staff or board members), I used qualitative approaches to data collection and analysis. According to Creswell (2009), qualitative approaches are a "means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (p. 4). Glesne (2011) asserts that "qualitative researchers often seek to make sense of actions, narratives, and the ways in which they intersect" (p. 1). Although I would replace Creswell's "problem" in the above statement with "phenomenon," both Creswell and Glesne allude to the interpretive nature of qualitative research. Specifically, I used portraiture methodology

(Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983, 2005; Lawrence-Lightfoot, and Davis, 1997) to explore, interpret, and describe the SALT program.

Portraiture

I originally became interested in portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997) because of its aesthetic nature. Moreover, the method's relative newness provided an exciting opportunity, as well as a challenge. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) caution against the use of new methodologies for the sake of newness, warning, "there is no merit in a mindless pursuit of the avant-garde any more than there is in the unthinking adoption of tried-and-tested approaches" (p. 109). Instead, Coffey & Atkinson issue the reminder that "how we write, is, effectively, an analytic issue," and that choices should be reflective and strategic (p. 117). Bearing these points in mind, I began to read deeply about portraiture and its application to education research (e.g., Chapman, 2007; Dixson, Chapman, & Hill, 2005; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Matthias & Petchauer, 2012; Quigley, Trauth-Nare, & Beeman-Cadwaller, 2015) as well as other fields of study (e.g., Cope, Jones, & Hendricks, 2015; Hampsten, 2015).

As Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) explain, "portraiture is a method of qualitative research that blurs the boundaries of aesthetics and empiricism in an effort to capture the complexity, dynamics, and subtlety of human experience and organizational life" (p. xv). There is often overlap between different qualitative approaches, and distinguishing among them can prove challenging (Glesne, 2011). Portraiture incorporates elements of narrative, case study, ethnography, and phenomenology to create a holistic representation of the study subject (Cope et al., 2015). Portraits --narrative-based, occurring within bound contexts-- are conducted through

immersion in a community over a sustained period of time, and seek to illuminate the subjects' experiences.

Unlike other qualitative approaches to research, however, portraiture endeavors to "combine science and art," is "concerned with composition and design as well as description," and has the ability to "depict motion and stopped time, history and anticipated future (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983, p. 6). Through attention to the aesthetic process of creation, portraiture "intends to address wider, more eclectic audiences" than more traditional forms of academic writing (p. 10). Portraiture is an artistic "process of interpretive description" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p. 30) that relies on combinations of thin and thick description (Geertz, 1973) to develop a rich illustration of the experiences of the subjects of the portrait. Portraiture depends greatly on the ways in which context, voice, relationship, emergent themes, and aesthetic whole work together in forming a portrait which captures "from an outsider's purview—an insider's understanding of the scene" (p. 25). This method not only acknowledges the researcher's role in the creation of the portrait, but relies on the portraitist to "use their own educational and life experiences as starting points for narrating participants' stories" (Cope et al., 2015).

I grew more excited as I researched the method and read about the portraiture process, because it simply made sense to me. In quality research, there is a "connection between the phenomena under study and the chosen methodology—substance and technique are intentionally intertwined, one informing the other" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p. 16). Portraiture is appealing in its capacity to provide a frame in which I balance data with interpretation to create a dynamic and multi-dimensional representation of the SALT program and its participating members. Portraiture also resonates with me in its resistance to the tendency in education research to document failure and pathologize students, schools, and programs. Lawrence-

Lightfoot and Davis (1997) term this assets-driven resistance the "search for goodness." However, in the search for what is good about the study subject, it is essential that the portraitist does not sacrifice criticality.

In addition to portraiture's apprehension to "focus on the negative attributes of personal and organizational experience" (Cope et al., 2015), the method allows for creative flexibility and aligns with critical perspectives such as Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latinx Critical Race Theory (LatCrit). Portraiture can be used to center non-dominant narratives and place people of color as knowledge-holders, central tenets of both CRT and LatCrit. Portraiture has been used by qualitative researchers interested in exploring the contexts surrounding and voices found within spaces often occupied by marginalized populations (e.g., Chapman, 2007; Dixson et al., 2005). Employing this method, "researchers can demonstrate a commitment to the research participants and contextualize the depictions of individuals and events" (Dixson et al., 2005, p. 17). Portraiture provides me a methodological frame to privilege participant voices and knowledge through all phases of the study.

Researcher's Role: Perch & Perspective

First and foremost, the researcher's positionality must be addressed before discussions of data collection, analysis, and interpretation can take place. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) refer to the researcher's positionality as "perch and perspective," asserting that, "with portraiture, the person of the researcher—even when vigorously controlled—is more evident and more visible than in any other research form" (p. 13). It is imperative that researchers acknowledge their own orientation to the study and participants, as claims of objectivity in research are necessarily problematic. The study one designs, the participants one selects, and even the questions one asks are laden with external associations and implications. These research

choices emerge from the researcher's own experience, interests, and knowledge. How the researcher attends to their research "preoccupations" hints at their expertise, epistemological groundings, and ontological beliefs. Part of the portraiture process is to acknowledge and assess these preoccupations, and then to use them to the advantage of the study. The portraitist aims to capture the essence of the subject, but can only do so successfully by imprinting their own perspective on the work.

Portrait of the Portraitist. I have already revealed many of my own research preoccupations through my choice of topic, literature selection, conceptual framing, and methodological approach. In order to acknowledge my interpretive subjectivities, I provide my personal context. First and foremost, I identify as a cis-hetero woman. I am a light-skinned/ White-passing Latina educator-scholar. I am English-Spanish bilingual and a bicultural Bolivian-American. Each element of my identity has been formed over a lifetime of experience, and this identity is continually evolving as I reflect, refine, and reorient my position in the world.

My father was a Bolivian immigrant and my mother is a third generation North American of Swedish and Eastern European ancestry. They met in San Francisco, California in the late 1960s. My parents moved to Connecticut to be close to my mother's family when she learned she was pregnant with my brother. Six years later my sister was born, and the family lived in Bolivia for several years in the late 1970s. The family moved back to the United States and I was born in San Francisco. I have moved several times throughout my life and traveled quite a bit, but have only ever lived abroad for two or three months at a time.

We lived as a nuclear family in an extremely diverse neighborhood in suburban Miami, Florida from the age of two until I was seven years old. I remember walking to school with friends from every imaginable racial and ethnic background. On the weekends there was always

a party at some friend of my father's house. Every time I hear salsa music I am transported back to those parties. Spanish was spoken liberally in these settings, but at home the dominant language was English, even though my parents were both bilingual. There were, of course, those phrases that were only ever uttered *en español.* Many of those are phrases that to this day my brother and sister and I still only utter *en español;* small reminders of the time we shared together as children.

During this time, my sister and I were sent to stay with our grandmother in La Paz, Bolivia, for summer vacations. My brother is ten years older than me, and was already attending summer school and working by the time I was in second grade, excluding him from these trips. My father worked for the Bolivian airline, so the standby tickets facilitated the travel as an affordable and convenient alternative to spending the summer as unsupervised latchkey kids. Mama Lola did not speak any English, so my sister and I had to speak Spanish. My grandfather (Papa Celso) died when I was a baby, so I never got to know him. From all accounts, he was a lovely man who worked for the government in agrarian reform. Mama Lola had been a concert pianist in her youth, and taught us to play simple tunes; I still remember being forced to play '*Los pollitos dicen'* and *'Nieve, viento, y sol'* whenever familia visited us at her apartment.

Our time with Mama Lola was spent playing cards: we alternated between canasta and telefunke. I remember going to the Plaza San Francisco to attend mass at la Basílica or to buy produce from el mercado. Sometimes would have lunch with some of the older tíos (Mama Lola had been one of fifteen children). Waira and I looked forward to visiting our tíos because it provided a change of scenery, as well as a 3-5 course lunch, minimum. Unlike my own family, all of our Bolivian cousins were very wealthy. They lived in huge houses with live-in servants and attended either American, French, or German schools —their parents understood that

speaking a second language was a prerequisite for membership in the elite society. We enjoyed spending time with our cousins, as it gave us the rare opportunity to be around people our own age and speak English in La Paz. Although my time in Bolivia probably would not add up to more than a year in total, I believe those visits were crucial to my Spanish language development, my Bolivian-American identity, and my orientation toward social justice.

When my parents divorced, my mother, sister, and I moved to Connecticut. From then on my family was a monolingual English one. I saw my father a few times after the divorce, but he moved back to Bolivia in the early 1990s and has since passed away. I studied Spanish (as a foreign language) in school from seventh grade on. I eventually completed a Bachelor's of Science in Spanish (with a minor in studio art). Perhaps I sought out the language as a surrogate for my missing cultural heritage and family, because Spanish has always felt familiar and a little bit like home.

Over the past 15 years I have shared my love of language, culture, and teaching with thousands of students and educators. I taught Spanish at the middle school, high school, and undergraduate levels in Connecticut, Arizona, and North Carolina. In each of these positions I grappled with balancing the required curriculum and expectations with what I believed to be best for my students. Student access to meaningful instruction has been at the core of struggles and debates with administrators, counselors, and colleagues.

As a brand new middle school teacher in Connecticut I tried to convince the administration and counseling department that Spanish speaking students should be offered a heritage speaker class. I explained that the present Spanish offerings were not sufficiently challenging to native speakers, and that they should be placed in classes where they could expend their knowledge and understanding of the language and culture. I also advocated for

language minoritized bilingual students to be permitted to take Spanish, as most were prohibited from the classes. Instead of taking Spanish or French, students with low reading scores were enrolled in remedial reading classes because "they need to learn English first." My impassioned speeches about the positive impact of L1 on L2 acquisition fell on deaf ears. Finally, when I had countered all other excuses, they told me, "it would be too hard to schedule."

In Arizona, I was fortunate to work at a high school with a strong world language department. We created our own system for evaluating and placing students in the appropriate Spanish class. After years of petitioning the district board of education, we succeeded in gaining a "weighted" status for the Spanish for Spanish speaker II course. College-bound students were encouraged to study a world language, as it was a requirement for the Scholastic and Arizona University diplomas. The Standard diploma had no language requirement, and students on the standard track who expressed interest in Spanish were questioned about their choice and discouraged from enrolling. The failure of the state and district to appreciate the value of language for all students resulted in stratification and segregation, disproportionately impacting students from ethnically and linguistically minoritized backgrounds.

I also taught a college preparation course for four of the six years I taught in Arizona. The majority of my students were Latinx students and spoke Spanish at home. The state passed a law banning bilingual education and mandating English language learners to four hours of English per day. During this time the legislature also banned ethnic studies classes, while advocating SB1070, which made it legal for police to racially profile anyone who "looked like an immigrant" and demand proof of legal residence. These policies were inequitable and rooted in xenophobic ideologies, but I had learned that vocal resistance to unfair and pedagogically unsound policies would only result in my dismissal. So I integrated arts and translanguaging into

my teaching (although I didn't know the name for it at the time) and subverted the state's policies from inside the walls of my portable classroom.

My search for a way to better serve my bilingual students inspired me to pursue my Master's degree in bilingual and multicultural education. I learned new ways to support my bilingual students and added an ESL endorsement to my teaching certificate. After nine years, two schools, and too many administrators to count, I left Arizona to pursue my PhD in education. I was tired of the English-only mandates, the blatantly racist policies, the segregation and tracking systems, and the general refusal to view Spanish as anything more than a college entrance requirement or a "global competency for an ever-expanding world." I thought that if I obtained the right credentials, decision makers would finally listen to what I had to say about equitable language education.

After having always lived in places with deeply-rooted and long-established Latinx populations, I found myself wondering where the Latinx communities were hiding in the New Latinx South. I missed working with students and feeling like I was part of a community. I was excited to find a job as the coordinator for a non-profit tutoring program that serves Latinx students attending urban schools. For the three years I worked with wonderful students and families who were invested in their academic success. The group of tutoring families formed a small community, and became a source of information, news, and resource-sharing.

I saw a disconnect between the stated goals of the program (which were focused on increased English reading achievement) and the interests and needs of the tutoring families. The families wanted academic assistance for their children, but also needed a place to commune with other families, help understand the school application process, and obtain legal representation. Although many involved with the tutoring program truly wanted to work with families to

improve education outcomes, others were operating from a place of benevolent racism (Villenas, 2001) and deficit orientations. Every time a new initiative was suggested, board members would ask, “How do we get the parents involved?” I would respond, “Is that something the parents asked for?” because these proposals were often based on presumed needs. I became interested in how programs that claim to work *with* marginalized populations can sometimes be so far out of alignment with what their participants need and want.

In my six years of doctoral study, I have found that my experiences and frustrations with the hypocrisies and inequities of education have not subsided, but instead have changed focus. I have also learned that all over the United States, there are people and organizations resisting policies and practices that minoritized languages and marginalize students and families of color. There are a variety of ways in which this resistance takes shape. One such resistance is in the form of heritage language programs that foster cultural and linguistic pride, offering alternatives to the English-only ideologies prevalent in traditional school settings. I have been honored to have the opportunity to study spaces and work alongside people as they (we) actively work to counter such negative experiences and position the minoritized Spanish language and Latinx culture as assets.

Positionality of the Portraitist. When reflexively thinking back one’s own positionality, invariably one must consider the various ways in which positionality is operative. On the one hand, positionality refers to the object mapping of one’s self onto numerous, heterogenous, asymmetrical socio-cultural registers of class, race, gender, sexual orientation, language, etc. However, positionality must also be considered as relative – more specifically, one must think about their own standing in relation to the population that one is studying. I consider the multiple

characteristics that the SALT community members I share, as well as the numerous ways in which we differ.

While I occupied the role of both insider and outsider at SALT, it is more useful to discuss my positionality in terms of credibility and approachability (Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman, 2017). My standing as a doctoral student at a prestigious university granted me access to the program, but it was my own insider-ness that afforded me access to the SALT community members. Whereas I established professional credibility with the SALT executive board members by leveraging my university credentials, I established cultural credibility with the SALT community by establishing myself as a Spanish speaking Latina within that space. I both performed approachability and allowed others to perceive my approachability. At times it was difficult to navigate the demands of credibility and approachability, as different actors within the SALT community related to me differently---where highly educated White board members may have welcomed me, others with more precarious identities may have found me threatening, as they may have "made assumptions" about my perceived Whiteness/Americanness (Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman, 2017, p. 385).

In addition to the ways in which my own identities overlap and separate from those of the SALT participants, I had to examine my posturing and relationship to Spanish acquisition and learning. My experience as a heritage language, differs from those who I am studying. The majority of my own Spanish development differs, perhaps fundamentally, from acquiring Spanish with Latinx peers in a school-like setting -- while I acquired conversational Spanish as a young child in Bolivia, the initial acquisition was followed by rigorous study from middle school through college. In this way, the heritage language learners at SALT, the majority at least, do not have as sharp or neatly discernable of a difference between acquisition and learning as I do—

their acquisition and learning are rolled into their Saturday mornings. In this sense, I was at once similar to and different from the students.

I was mindful of my position as both colonizer/colonized (Villenas, 1996) as I moved through the SALT hallways, and allowed the SALT community members—students, teachers, staff, and families—to demonstrate their expertise. I attempted to only offer my opinions about instruction when asked, a difficult task for a fifteen year veteran educator. My position as researcher and professional educator was occasionally called upon, even as I attempted to maintain strict boundaries. I did not want my empathetic regard (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis, 1997) to jeopardize the validity of my study. I struggled at times to balance clinical distance with over-familiarity. Through ongoing reflection, I was able to negotiate the research process and engage in authentic interactions.

Research Questions

My original phenomenon of interest was how Latinx families leverage their Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) to seek out additional education opportunities to supplement their children's weekday learning. My focus has since shifted to include an exploration of how these extracurricular spaces may act as communal cultural spaces in New Latinx Diaspora areas that do not have identifiable geographic centers of Latinx community. To that end, I studied a community-based Spanish heritage language program, Spanish as Language and Tradition (SALT), to learn why and how its participating families, staff members, and supporters spend their Saturdays there. Specifically I sought to answer the following questions:

1. *How does Spanish as Language and Tradition (SALT) inform the education of Latinx students attending P-12 schools in the New Latinx South?*
2. *What role does SALT play in the lives of participating students and families?*

3. *How do staff and other supporters view the SALT program?*

Study Context

I first learned about the SALT program while I was coordinating another organization's tutoring program. One of the mothers, Anita, told me her children had started attending a Spanish heritage language school on Saturday mornings. Ana spoke highly of the program, explaining that classes were taught in Spanish and that parents were invited to share aspects of their culture each week. She told me about the field trips and workshops offered to SALT parents, and I set up a meeting with the director of SALT to learn more about the program (and to see if I could borrow any of their strategies to implement in my tutoring program). After meeting with the director, Alicia, I visited SALT to see how it worked. The first visit convinced me that SALT was where I needed to set my study. Portraiture was a perfect fit methodologically; in addition to resonating with me on an intellectual and aesthetic level, it seeks to describe the good, rather than perpetuating negative narratives about education or Latinx communities.

The Spanish as Language and Tradition (SALT) heritage language program is located in a semi-urban area in North Carolina, within a half-hour's drive of multiple prestigious universities. As is often the case with such community-based programs, SALT is housed inside a school building. Specifically, the school is affiliated with a local Catholic church, St. Ann's. The SALT Spanish heritage language program meets for three hours each Saturday morning during the school year, and has a stated mission of "empowering Latino youth and families to become bilingual, global citizens through innovative heritage language and cultural immersion programs" (SALT website).

The SALT heritage language program consists of seven classes: one class each for students in pre-kindergarten through second grade, a third/fourth grade class, a fifth/sixth grade

class, and one class for secundaria students in grades seven and up. Classes are generally capped at twenty students, and each class has a lead teacher, a paid assistant, and one or two volunteer assistants (usually local college students). SALT draws participants from across the state; many of the 130 students live in the neighboring urban, suburban, and rural counties, while others travel more than two hours to attend the program each Saturday. Participating families are a mixture of configurations; immigrant, first-generation, second-generation, mixed-generation, adoptive, and bicultural Latinx families attend SALT. The SALT families represent a range of cultural, ethnic, racial, linguistic, social, educational, and economic backgrounds. The common factor that unites SALT families is a heritage connection to the Spanish language through a Latin American family member.

Selecting Key Informants

Because the students' families are also often involved with SALT, the approximate total number of possible participants is well over 200. After spending some time at SALT as a volunteer, I was invited by the executive director to present my study to the parent group at their monthly meeting. I made my presentation in Spanish, told parents about myself, my research, and invited them (and their children) to participate. I answered questions posed, and provided English recaps for the non-Spanish speaking parents. I also made presentations to the teachers and the volunteer/assistant group at their end-of-day reflection meetings. Everyone involved with the program was invited to participate in the study, with the understanding that the actual number of consenting participants would be much smaller than the pool of possible participants.

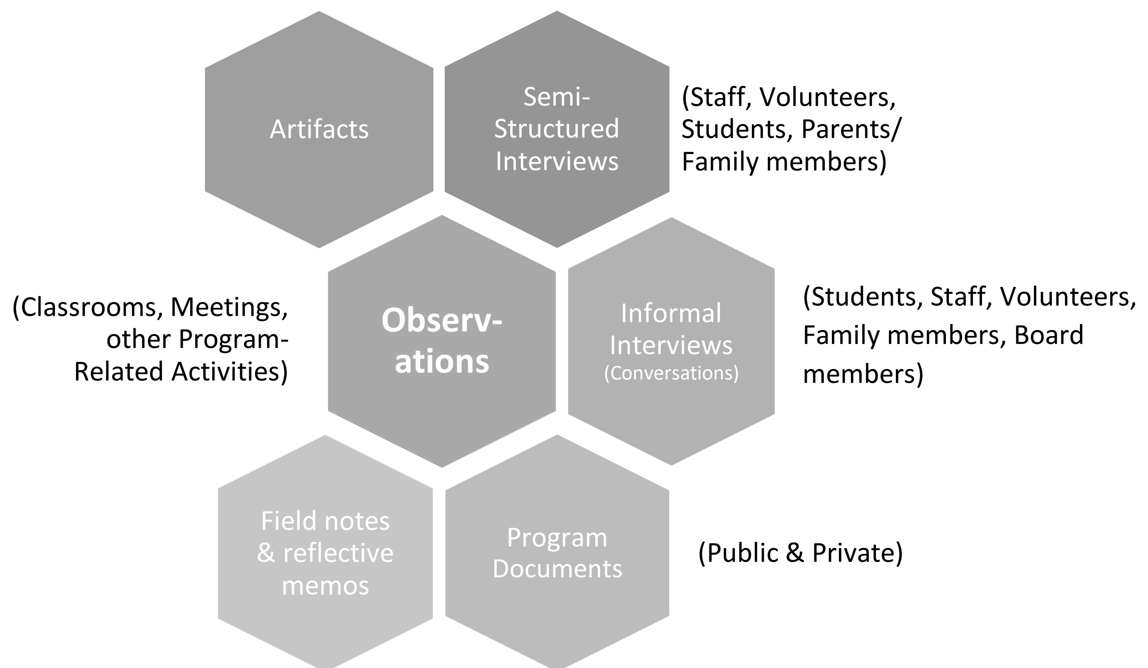
All invitations to participate, as well as subsequent study materials (including study information, consent forms, demographic questionnaires, and semi-structured interview protocols) were provided in both English and Spanish in order to both encourage and maximize

participation. I employed purposeful sampling strategies (Glesne, 2011; Patton, 2002), hoping to talk with people from a range of backgrounds who held varied experiences. I initially selected participants who had expressed interest in sharing their perspectives with me. I then asked these interested individuals if they could recommend other informants. After getting to know the SALT community better, I approached specific individuals to see if they would be interested in participating in the study. Although I held numerous informal conversations with SALT students, families, teachers, staff, and board members, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with six key informants. Four of their portraits are included in this manuscript, selected for their unique identities within the SALT community *(See Appendix A)*.

Gathering Data

One of the strengths of the portraiture method is its requirement that the researcher be "open to input from all sources of potential contextual material" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). This openness demands that the portraitist gather data from a variety of sources in order to construct their narrative. I collected data from multiple sources in order to inform my portrait of the SALT program *(See figure 2)*. These sources included semi-structured interviews, audio recordings, transcriptions, short demographic questionnaires, observations, field notes, and documents, artifacts, and reflective journal entries collected over the course of ten months. Although data collection and analysis was ongoing and iterative, I will present it here in discrete sections for ease of explanation.

Figure 2: Data Sources



Observations. Qualitative research relies on studying participants in their natural context. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) argue that "the portraitist insists that the only way to interpret people's actions, perspectives, and talk is to see them in context" (p. 11). The best method for gaining a sense of the general goings on and relationships within the SALT program was to observe the participants at their weekly SALT activities. Context is a vital component in portraiture, and the setting is generally studied from the macro to the micro environment (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis, 1997). Working from the "outside in" (p. 61) allows the portraitist to experience the initial approach to the study site as the reader would, taking in every detail as they near the research location and enter the site.

I observed the SALT program at its various levels. Not only did I observe the physical space where the program meets, but I also observed students, teachers, and volunteer assistants in their classrooms, and the parents in their parent group meetings. I utilized two different observation protocols during initial classroom observations; one provided to me by the SALT

program, and one of my own design (*see Appendix B)*. I designed my initial observation protocol to facilitate the capturing of general classroom activities and impressions. By noting who does most of the speaking in a given classroom, I was able to gain a sense of the class structure and interplay between the students and teachers (including volunteers and assistants). Observations were both descriptive and reflective and I paid particular attention to the interpersonal interactions that took place within each classroom. I noted which language (Spanish or English) was spoken, as well as how social languages (Gee, 2015) and non-verbal cues were used in the classrooms.

Field Notes. After recording the initial classroom observations with the observation protocol tools, I captured my observations and thoughts in my field notes. My movements at SALT were not only limited to the classroom spaces; I also spent time in the lobby, with the parents, in meetings, and even at off-site events. All of these experiences were reflected in my field notes (Glesne, 2011). I kept a notebook for jotted and written notes, while I generally used the voice-to-text feature on my phone to relay mental notes. I found that dictating my thoughts into the notes app on my phone was particularly useful for capturing data in moments where writing in my notebook was unfeasible. I often took notes on program documents as well. The jotted notes, written notes, and voice-to-text mental notes were all typed up and expanded.

Interviews. Interviews permit researchers to move beyond the distance of observation, and into the more intimate realm of interaction. Whereas observations provide researchers a platform from which to infer meaning in what they see and hear, interviews allow study participants to explain and describe their own experiences (Glesne, 2011). This sustained, interactive relationship is a key component of portraiture. As Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis

(1997) explain, relationship building is paramount as the "portraitist tries to develop an understanding of their perspective" (p. 146).

Over the course of my data collection period, I spoke with numerous SALT participants and supporters. The conversations I had and questions I developed as I deepened my presence at SALT and developed closer relationships with the program's participants. The majority of these exchanges were in casual conversation, or informal interviews. Conversations took place in Spanish, English, and bilingually. Additionally, I conducted in-depth, formal interviews with six participants in order to further my understanding of their perspectives on its role in their lives. These formal interviews were semi-structured and generally lasted between one and two hours each. Individual participants were invited to talk at the place and time that they deemed most convenient. I interviewed participants at the SALT site, at their homes, and at a public library. One follow-up interview took place over the phone to accommodate a mother's busy schedule.

The semi-structured interview protocol began from a life history orientation and questions about the participants' personal histories and their own experiences with language and schooling *(See Appendix C)*. Questions then transitioned to a more topical focus on their involvement and experiences with the SALT program. I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews because I wanted to be sure to address specific questions, but desired the flexibility to deviate from the script according to the flow of conversation. The questions were deliberately open-ended in order to encourage the interviewees to share their perspectives on language and its place in their lives. Each interview took different detours, as I augmented questions to suit the trajectory of the conversation, elicit more detailed responses, or address new questions raised. I attempted to create questions which did not lead the interviewee toward any particular answer, but instead encouraged honest dialogue. The semi-structured interviews were recorded on a

digital recording device and uploaded to my computer. I used Express Scribe transcription software to transcribe all formal interviews. I have not translated the Spanish transcriptions into English except where presented here.

The formal interviews and informal conversations were woven throughout the data collection time frame. My focused questions were designed to demonstrate interest while simultaneously engaging the actors' participation in the gathering of data. Developing mutuality in all phases of the process is key to placing the participants at the center of the portraiture process. In portraiture it is especially important to remain open to all possible sources of input, including the participants themselves (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). The combination of interview approaches allowed me to refine my own line of inquiry and pursue deeper investigation to topics of interest that emerged. The varied interviewing strategies provided me multiple opportunities to learn about SALT participants' life stories, schooling experiences, attitudes toward language and perspectives of the program.

Demographic questionnaires. I asked each of the interviewees to complete a brief demographic questionnaire so that I could have a better sense of their individual contexts before talking in more depth *(See Appendix D)*. In addition to basic demographic information, the questionnaire requested information about their participation in SALT (e.g., role, number of years attending). The questionnaire also asked for the participants' language preference in a variety of contexts: at home; at work/school; with friends; reading; writing; and media (TV/movies/radio). Finally, the questionnaire included a place for personal self-identification. The identities listed were: American; Hispanic; Latino/a; Latin American; Latin@; Latinx. A space was provided for participants to list other preferred terms of self-identification. I felt it was important to provide space for participants to describe their preferred adjectives in order to best

preserve and represent their voices. As with all other materials, Spanish and English versions were available.

Other data sources. In addition to observations, field notes, interviews, and demographic questionnaires, audio recordings and transcriptions were included in the data. I also collected an assortment of additional data from diverse sources to supplement and enrich my understanding of the SALT program and its role it plays in the lives of its community members. These sources included documents and artifacts that added "historical and contextual dimensions" (Glesne, 2011) to the study. Documents (both publicly available and private to the SALT program) and artifacts (such as student work and photos), were collected on an ongoing basis, and illuminated additional aspects of the planning, programming, and products associated with the heritage language program.

Documents. Public documents (e.g., website, newsletters, promotional materials) reveal the visible face of the SALT program, while private documents (e.g., curriculum guides, lesson plans, internal correspondence) exposed another facet which might otherwise have remained obscured. I collected calendars, flyers, and handouts from SALT meetings and events. I attended teacher professional developments, assessment trainings, curriculum planning meetings, ESL classes for the parent group, and many other events. I collected materials from every one. I also used the program's website (in Spanish and English) to supplement the data.

Artifacts. Sample student work provided tangible evidence of the program's activities, as it acts as the end product of the SALT curriculum, lesson planning, and teaching. I did collect some artifacts, but most of the student work samples included in the data sources were created by me, alongside students in SALT classrooms. I also took note of student work and photographed

some of the student-created projects. Sample student work demonstrates what the students are doing in their classes, which in turn discloses information about the program's functioning.

Reflective journal. The final source of data was a reflective journal. According to Ortlipp (2008), the use of reflective journals

> "can make the messiness of the research process visible to the researcher who can then make it visible for those who read the research and thus avoid producing, reproducing, and circulating the discourse of research as a neat and linear process" (p. 704).

Including this reflective element in the data sources "aims to make visible to the reader the constructed nature of research outcomes" (Ortlipp, 2008, p. 695). I used the reflective journal throughout the research process to draw connections between concepts, create initial sketches, and reflect on the direction of the study. My notes, observations, and questions became more focused as themes and patterns emerged. This journal became the destination for my thoughts and feelings about the research process and data, particularly as I struggled to balance my position as insider/outsider, participant/observer, and educator/learner. I will discuss these tensions in further detail in the Data Analysis section.

Analyzing and Interpreting the Data

Data collection, as well as its analysis and interpretation was an ongoing process and occurred over the span of ten months in 2017. Portraiture is, necessarily, both process and product. The line of inquiry informs what data the portraitist collects, and the input in turn informs the direction of inquiry. The data gathering process and the shaping of the final portrait are "mutually informative aspects" of the method (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1997, p. 60). That is to say throughout the research process, I was mindful of the ways in which the creation of the portrait would clarify my understanding of the SALT program as experienced by its participating

families and supporters. Although the entire data collection process and portraiture progression were iterative and often circular in places, I will attempt to disentangle the threads of interpretation and analysis from the whole process.

The ultimate goal of portraiture is to create a product that represents data in an aesthetic narrative interpretation. Data gathering and analysis was an iterative and inductive process. Analysis was ongoing throughout the various phases of the study, as emerging themes and patterns recommended additional data sources and shifted lines of inquiry. The quantity and diversity of units of analysis collected over the course of the study allowed me to connect conversations, participant thoughts, and observations to specific contexts, bearing in mind the original research questions.

The process of analysis involved several applications of careful scrutiny. In total, I spent more than 1000 hours with the SALT community, developing a sense of program and its participants. The first step in my analysis procedure was to reread my notes and listen to the interview recordings. I then transcribed the audio data. Analysis was conducted on all data in its original language (English, Spanish, and a mixture of the two). I translated Spanish passages into English only for presentation here. The SALT classes are conducted in Spanish and several of the participants spoke with me in Spanish at various points. My notes reflected this language hybridity. As each data source were collected and transcribed and, I performed a preliminary scan, looking for any patterns or anomalies that surfaced.

Coding the data. I conducted several rounds of analysis to the data to generate codes which in turn revealed larger themes that explain how the SALT program is experienced by participating students, families, and supporters. I drew from grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to guide me as I constructed themes multi-level coding of the data. The process was both

systematic and flexible, which complements the portraiture method. Using this method of analysis and interpretation “attempts to identify [a phenomenon’s] dimensions, its consequences, and its relationships with other phenomena” (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The codes that emerged during the analysis wee malleable, allowing for adjustments to the data collection and interpretation as new insights and themes emerged.

After listening to the audio recorded interviews and rereading my hand-written notes, I printed out the transcriptions and typed notes. I read through each data source again, highlighting any portions of interest. These included any data that related to the elements of Community Cultural Wealth, my guiding research questions, the SALT program’s mission statement, and other pieces of data I found interesting. I used Microsoft Word to create a chart in which I first applied open coding, identifying broad concepts until achieving saturation. As I added more data units, I re-categorized the data, adding sub-codes to clarify their significance. These concepts and categories were rearranged as I added more data, reflected on their meaning, and read related literature. Finally, I reanalyzed and organized the data into core themes that represented the major elements of the data. These core themes represented the salient themes that emerged from the data *(See Appendix E for an example of the coding scheme)*.

I searched the data and codes for connections that linked words, phrases, concepts, and meaning. In portraiture, emergent themes may be extracted through five modes of analysis. These include, a) visible and audible refrains repeated in multiple contexts, b) resonant metaphors that symbolize the organization’s values, c) assembling data from a variety of sources, d) underscoring points of convergence, and e) reflecting on dissonant strains (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1997, p. 214). The emergent themes provided the framework for interpreting how students, families, staff and board members think about and understand the SALT program.

Study Limitations

The small number of participant voices highlighted in this manuscript may be considered a limitation, although they embody diverse personal backgrounds and distinct perspectives about the SALT program. Although the four subjects of the following portraits are women, they represent the larger program well as the majority of active parents, staff, and board members are female. This number of participants is appropriate in qualitative research, (Glesne, 2011) particularly as each subject was purposefully included (Patton, 2002) due to her unique confluence of positionalities within the SALT program. I presented each of the portrait subjects with a draft of their portrait. The only response I received was from Alicia, whom I had presented with the Portrait of the SALT Community. She told me she loved it, and that it was *interesting how you picked up on some of these things* such as the general energy, and the anxiety around cleaning up.

My positionality may also provide some limitation, but the depth of confianza I developed with the participants confirms their trust in me to lend my unique voice to tell the story of the SALT community. This study does not claim generalizability, as that is not the goal of portraiture. As Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) explain "the portraitist seeks to document and illuminate the complexity and detail of a unique experience or place, hoping that the audience will see themselves reflected in it" (p.14). It is my hope that the findings from this study will provide insight into a newly emerging phenomenon—how individuals experience a community-based Spanish heritage language program in the New Latinx South.

PART II: PORTRAITS OF THE SALT COMMUNITY

The purpose of this study was to describe how Spanish as Language and Tradition (SALT), a community-based Spanish heritage language program in North Carolina, operates in the context of the New Latinx South. I was interested to know more about how Latinx parents use various forms of capital to seek out resources to supplement their children's Monday-Friday schooling. Specifically, I designed this study to learn what space SALT occupies in the lives of students, families, and supporters, as well as how they understand the program. In Part II, I present the portraits of four SALT community members. I share these women's stories and interject critique to highlight blind spots that I identify in their portraits. A more in-depth analysis of the two major themes that emerged from these portraits is provided in Part III.

Representing the Subject of Study through Portraiture

The last stage of the portraiture process is the creation of the portrait. Interpretation is the making of meaning, and representation is how meaning is conveyed. Meaning is not divorced from context, as Gee (2015) explains that "any word or structure in language has a certain 'meaning potential'—that is, a range of possible meanings that the word or structure can take on in different contexts of use" (p. 109). Further adding that, "meaning-making is not a 'look up' process. It is an active process" (p. 111). In everyday interactions, people guess at others' meanings based on what they already know about that person and/or topic of conversation. In

portraiture, the researcher draws from a wealth of evidence and peers through the lens of theory to make meaning.

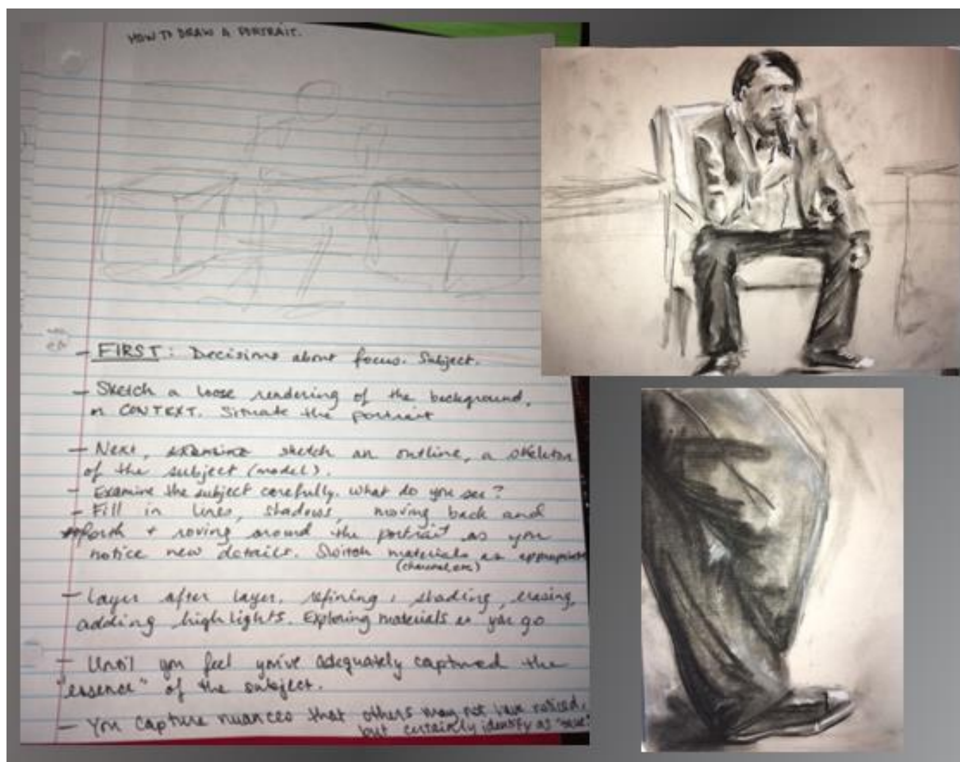
My goal was to create a representation that would ring true for the subjects, while revealing elements of themselves they may not have identified previously. In addition to portraying the SALT program and its participants, I apply the lenses of CRT of education (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso et al., 2001) and LatCrit (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) to illuminate how different power structures work to either resist or reinforce hegemonic language ideologies at the individual and programmatic levels. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) include a quotation from the artist Nicolaides (1941, p. 130) that captures this dialectic perfectly: "A thing is factually the same from whatever point of view you see it, but seeing it from different points of view will illuminate the meaning of the forms and lines you have been looking at" (p. 31). Including a critical analysis does not change what SALT means for its participants and supporters, but instead exposes elements of the program that may otherwise go unrecognized.

In this part of the dissertation, I have created five portraits--presented in five chapters--that capture the essence of the SALT program. The first depicts the Spanish heritage language program as a whole, as experienced from my perspective on a typical Saturday morning. After providing a detailed image of the program, I present individual portraits of four women who are part of the SALT community. These women represent diverse lived experiences and occupy various roles within the program. The five portraits are the result of extensive data collection based on observations, personal interviews, conversations, document study, and artifact collection. All of these elements combined to form a picture of the heritage language program, and of four (among the hundreds) people who dedicate their time and energy to SALT. My

personal interpretation and critical analysis are woven throughout the individual portraits in order to highlight how these narratives form part of a larger discussion about bilingualism, latinidad, and community membership.

It is important to note that I always offered participants the choice of speaking in English, Spanish, or a combination of the two. Language is an important element of identity and community, and is important in building rapport and trust (Martínez, 2010; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Paris, 2012). Because language is entwined with identity, maintaining as much of the participants' voices as possible allowed me to render more authentic portrayals. Direct quotes from SALT community members or SALT documents are presented in italics, in the language as originally spoken. Paraphrased excerpts (taken from observations, field notes, and reflections) will be represented as I wrote them—in Spanish, English, or a mixture of the two. Any Spanish that appears will be followed by the English translation in brackets as appropriate.

Figure 3: How to draw a portrait, Alex Reyes, 2016



Framing the Portraits

The warmth, dedication, and sense of community pride are the program's most outstanding features. Although I myself do not have children, I have been welcomed into the SALT community. I initially worried that my status as an outside researcher would cause tension or apprehension on the part of the teachers and families, but my fears were proven unnecessary. I spoke openly about my position as a non-parent graduate student and was met with acceptance. In fact, most of the SALT participants were excited to hear about my research and future career plans. I was frequently asked to help with various tasks, including assisting in classrooms, helping facilitate meetings, and even holding babies.

The findings and analysis presented in the following portraits are my impressions of the SALT Spanish heritage language program and four of the many participants, based on extended immersion, my own experience, and my cultural intuition (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Villenas, 1996). The individual portraits included only represent four members of a much wider community. I selected these four because of their unique orientations to the program, to the Spanish language, and to latinidad more broadly. Of the four portrait subjects, two are SALT personnel, and two are parent participants. Two are Latina/Hispanic, and two are White/non-Latina. Of those that identify as Latina/Hispanic, one is US-born and the other is Mexican. The two White subjects are American and learned Spanish in school, and both of the Latina/Hispanic women acquired Spanish as their first language.

While these women's stories do not reflect the extent of diverse characters at SALT, their histories represent distinct facets of the larger group, and suggest themes that can be applied across the program. In Part III, I discuss in detail the salient themes that emerged from this research project.

Chapter 4: A Portrait of Spanish as Language and Tradition

I had lived in the New Latinx South for more than three years before I learned of a community-based Spanish heritage language program not ten miles from where I live. I regularly drove past that tiny oasis of comunidad and latinidad, not realizing what was hidden behind that thick wall of maple, oak, elm, poplar, and pine trees. In spring and summer, the tall green barrier is reinforced by climbing wisteria and kudzu vines, obscuring the view completely. In winter, only the pine trees remain green, and the bare brown branches of the deciduous trees reveal hints of the buildings they shield.

In order to arrive at St. Ann's Church and School, where the SALT program is housed, one has to travel down a divided four-lane State Highway. Strips of grass with intermittent crape myrtles separate the northbound and southbound sides, although using 'north' or 'south' to describe any road in the area is virtually meaningless. The juxtaposition of the meandering highway with the centerline and border of foliage is very typical of the region. It's hard to know whether you are in the country, in the city, or in some in-between suburb. The traffic is relatively constant, even early on a Saturday morning. It is clear that this small highway is a major thoroughfare. Exit signs and ramps suggest a large highway, but the occasional stoplights and cross streets contradict this assumption.

The entrance sneaks up on me. I nearly miss my turn. Thankfully there's a stoplight that catches my attention. I wait for the green arrow so I can turn. Although I don't love sitting at red lights, this signal simplifies my travel. A small sign marks the entrance to St. Ann's, although

from the highway it is nearly invisible. Guarded behind the line of towering trees, the church and school are protected from the average motorist's notice. A long, curved driveway leads me behind the stand of trees past an access road, and onto the church's property. The sprawling parking lot is already filling up with cars. Not only is the St. Ann’s School the site of the SALT program, but the church often hosts many activities for its parishioners.

I pass a small garden on the left; parishioners rake and hoe and plant behind a tall chicken wire fence. I pass parish offices and then the church-- a large sandy-colored brick building topped with a dull brown metal roof and large cross. The understated brick and brown metal provide a stark contrast with the expansive windows. On Saturday mornings people are coming in and out, celebrating weddings, quinceañeras, funerals, baptisms, and other special events. As I continue through the parking lot, I pass three other bright orange brick of the school buildings before reaching the grade school.

I park my car in a space that faces a drainage pond and a newly added contemplation walk with posts representing the Stations of the Cross and a marble statue of the Virgin Mary. I find myself wondering how interest convergence (Bell, 1980) plays into this arrangement. Would St. Ann's be as willing to let a different heritage language (such as Arabic or Chinese) program use the facilities? I know that the recent increase in the Latinx population in North Carolina prompted the establishment of a Hispanic ministry in 2000. Is this partnership between the church and SALT actually a masked attempt to attract more Latinx parishioners and students to the church and school?

I cross the parking lot and walk toward the grade school, and notice a large banner across the side of the building announcing upcoming/ongoing events. The signboard in front is surrounded by a brick planter that is stocked with different colored pansies throughout the year.

Propped up against this signboard is a large white poster board with the SALT name and logo, directing families and visitors to the Spanish heritage language program. I cross the brick patio that leads from the parking lot into the school, and smile at the families seated on several benches dedicated to deceased congregants with 'in loving memory' messages. We exchange "Buenos días" and smiles. Tucked inside the orange brick school building, built in 1964, is a bustling community of more than 75 Latinx families.

Once inside, a folding table covered in blue cloths and draped with colorful woven otomi textiles displays notices, including special survey questions and other community resources. Another table holds a large calendar of events for SALT's activity initiative. As students enter, they pull popsicle sticks from a cup that dictate an activity and number of repetitions to be completed. Parents assist their children with translating the activities and correcting their form, *No, mi amor—así [No, love—like this.].* A third folding table holds the sign-in sheets for each classroom/grade level. Behind the sign-in table the faux pebble linoleum floor extends down the hallway toward the classrooms.

Alicia, a petite woman with dark sparkling eyes and smooth black hair stands by the open double doors that lead into the cafeteria. She welcomes students and parents in Spanish. With a perceptible Puerto Rican accent, she addresses each child by name and asks, *¿Cómo etán? [How are you?].* Occasional hugs and kisses accompany the friendly small talk as families file in. Her warmth sets the tone for the program community. The energetic executive director acts as the principal of SALT and oversees the Saturday morning proceedings. A former high school special education teacher, she has been with SALT for five years, and has granted me complete access to the program for my study.

Already arrived parents gather in the cafeteria, spilling into the lobby and chatting amongst themselves as the program assistant, Reina, directs parents to the sign-in table. The smell of coffee drifts out and mingles with the indescribable, but familiar smell of school. Every once in a while, the sports director offer skeptical folks samples of smoothies or other health-conscious snacks. He reminds parents of upcoming events and deadlines: Zumba next week, registration for the soccer league, yoga next month. The buzzing energy of the morning is amplified by the running and giggling of toddlers, not yet old enough to join their brothers and sisters at SALT.

These families come from eight different counties, some driving more than two hours each Saturday to participate in the Spanish heritage language classes. The majority of the students have Mexican backgrounds, but increasing numbers of families are claiming diverse Latin American heritage. On a recent survey issued by SALT, parents identified as Colombian, Puerto Rican, Honduran, Salvadoran, Venezuelan, Peruvian, Argentine, Ecuadorian, Costa Rican, Bolivian, Cuban, and Spanish. Many parents are also non-Latinx, identifying as (non-Hispanic) U.S. born, Russian, East Asian, and Brazilian, among others. Alicia explains that bicultural families are increasing at SALT, especially in the younger grades: *This year's pre-K class is ninety percent mixed-ethnicity families.* In addition to the increasing ethnic and national diversity of the participating families, linguistic diversity is present. In addition to Spanish and English, at least seven distinct indigenous languages are spoken by SALT families.

These diverse families wake up early and come together each week to take part in the program's promise of *an educational environment to explore the Spanish language and cultural heritage of Latino students.* According to the program's website, SALT's mission is *empowering Latino youth and families to become bilingual, global citizens through innovative heritage*

language and cultural immersion programs. Founded in 2012 by Colleen, the Anglo-American widow of a Latin American man, the SALT organization began with one group of pre-K and kindergarten students. As the students have grown, so too has the program, with seven individual classes in the 2017-18 school year.

The teachers reflect only a slice of the variety of backgrounds of the SALT families. Four of the teachers are Mexican, two are Colombian, and one is Peruvian. Alicia notes the importance of having Latinx teachers, because the students *don't see people who look like them in leadership roles in their Monday to Friday.* This is one of the few times I hear any of the SALT personnel explicitly acknowledge the racialized identities of the children and families that participate in the heritage language program, but there is no distinction between the Latin American immigrant identities and those of the SALT students—the majority of whom are US-born Latinxs. While the teachers may look like many of the SALT students, they have very different lived experiences (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Davis & Moore, 2014). This tendency to apply pan-Latinx identity and culture to the diverse SALT community is an undercurrent that flows throughout the program. While this common identity is unifying, it also papers over the nuances of Latinx intersectionality (Davis & Moore, 2014).

Moving past the sign-in table, the pre-K and kindergarten classrooms are at the end of the linoleum hallway, separating the youngest students from their older counterparts. The hallways are lined with the St. Ann's students' work and various reminders of Catholic values. A second wing branches off the first, the blue mottled indoor outdoor/carpeting indicating the break. In this wing, students in first grade and above attend their classes. There are separate classrooms for first and second grade. There are combined classes for third/fourth grade and fifth/sixth grade. Finally, the secundaria class holds students from seventh grade through early high school. The

classrooms are large and spacious. Large skylights and wall-length windows provide all the classrooms with natural light, and I marvel at the physical and technological resources present. Classrooms have cubbies to hang coats and store books, lunch bags, and backpacks, and individual desks in each room can be rearranged to suit classroom activities. Smartboards with projectors and speakers in each room reinforce the fact that this is not a public school. On Saturday mornings, chatter (mostly in Spanish) and laughter float down the halls. Some classrooms keep their doors closed to minimize distractions.

The Saturday Spanish heritage language program is just one branch of the SALT non-profit organization. The tuition-free heritage language classes housed at St. Ann's School are financially supported by grants and earnings collected from SALT's other programs. SALT teachers use a curriculum developed in-house. The programming includes *literacy, science, art, and outdoor education* and seeks to *lessen the academic achievement gap between Latino and non-Latino students through high-quality instruction in Spanish.* I am keenly aware of the neoliberal framing of the organization's mission, but reserve judgment until I have spent more time in the field. Many times this form of interest convergence (Alemán & Alemán, 2010; Bell, 1980; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004) is invoked in order to secure funding, housing, and other resources integral to programmatic implementation. I know from experience that many non-profits—particularly those that work with marginalized populations—often have to sing for their supper in this way.

The general flow of the day is similar in all classrooms: students have their choice of center-based activities as they arrive, followed by lessons that include hands-on activities as well as more traditional literacy instruction. All students spend time outside for recreo [recess], and a different child's parents provide the weekly merienda [snack]. Parents also take turns presenting

facets of their own cultures during Tiempo Cultural [Culture Time] each week. Students are grouped according to their age/grade level in school, not according to their Spanish proficiency.

Although the teachers adhere to the SALT curriculum, each is given the flexibility to design their own lesson. The inquiry based and cross-curricular lessons focus on four key concepts: *our culture, ourselves, our systems,* and *our natural world.* For the creation of the weekly lessons, the teachers take into account the needs of their students as well as their own personal teaching styles. Three of the teachers (Miguel, Guadalupe, and Gloria) have dual roles as SALT teachers and parents, having taken on the role of teacher after having their own children attend. The remaining teachers are Latin American members from the local community. This represents an important shift in the program's organization since its inception. The move toward having Latin American community members teach the students is part of the SALT's push to place Latinxs in positions of educational authority within the program.

Three of the seven teachers are professional educators and child caregivers during the week. Among these is Germán, a music teacher who incorporates his passion for music into his SALT teaching, Teresa, a preschool teacher who implements early literacy practices in her classes, and Amalia, a nanny who integrates play-based instruction in her lessons. Ofelia, in her last semester of school to earn a bachelor's degree in social work, features cooperative learning in her classroom. Alicia collects and reviews their lesson plans each week, providing feedback and guidance as needed. She hopes to include the teachers in future curriculum planning, and tells me, *professional development is a major goal of mine.*

When I inquire about the curriculum development process, I am shocked—even though I've been around enough to know I shouldn't be—to learn that there is no one on the committee that has any language teaching expertise. This mirrors what Latinx students encounter in their

weekday schools: well-meaning teachers provide content instruction, assuming that by virtue of conducting class in the target language will be enough to develop students' literacy (Escamilla, 2006). On the one hand, I am glad to see that students' heritage language is being supported and that community members are tapped to teach at SALT. On the other hand, however, I am appalled at what this suggests about the organization's beliefs: a lack of respect for teachers and for students. This demonstrates that providing the students with hiqhly trained teachers in not a priority, and indicates an absence of even a basic understanding of the nature of language education. As Lilia Bartolomé (2008) writes, teachers need to understand the difference between learning a language and just learning.

Once the children have all settled into their classrooms, the energy of the lobby area calms a bit. Parents still come and go, but the majority of them settle into the cafeteria around the long lunch tables. There are different areas designated for specific activities; at one table a board member teaches Spanish lessons to a few of the non-Spanish speaking parents, while one of the mothers works with a small group of parents at a set of laptop computers at another. A group of parents practice their English skills at a different table as and a group of women sit together at another table, chatting and working on bordados [embroidery]. Parents are also scattered around the cafeteria at undesignated tables and on foot. The parents chat amicably with one another, many chasing their toddlers around the room. Although the majority of the parents at SALT are women, a handful of men are in regular attendance. Some of these fathers carry their babies in harnesses strapped to their chests. Parents drift from group to group platicando [chatting]. I look around, and seeing that there is no special presentation for the parent group today, ask one mother from Guanajuato what everyone is doing. She smiles and says, *cada grupo en su chisme [every group in their gossip]*.

Parent meetings are held monthly, and a variety of community resources are accessible throughout the year. The resources are provided with some input from parents, but many of the presentations are geared toward arming parents with tool to “help” them navigate schools or other U.S. institutions. There never seem to be any question whether the parents should have to adjust their practices to suit the dominant culture. Visits from school representatives, lawyers, Mexican consulate, and other organizations punctuate the calendar. In the wake of the 2016 election, SALT brought in external organizations to provide information on immigrant rights and planning for the care of children in case of deportation. Such supplemental workshops and information sessions are always well attended.

In addition to the serious topics covered, SALT provides fitness related activities. Periodic Zumba lessons and yoga sessions are offered free of charge by local instructors. More recently, a local dance instructor has provided free lessons to teach basic salsa and merengue steps. Many families take advantage of these resources and the fitness related activities are especially popular. ESL classes have been offered on and off throughout SALT’s history, but finding qualified and consistent instructors has proven difficult. I find it ironic that “qualified” instructors are required to teach the parents English, but not to teach the children Spanish.

I wander down the hall and peek in the windows of the various classes to see if any of the teachers can use an extra set of adult eyes and hands. The teachers allow me in their classrooms when I ask them if they mind if I sit in. Some seem genuinely happy to have me there, while I get the sense from some others that they tolerate my presence out of obligation. Although I have talked to the teachers about my research, I do not know what the administrators have told them about it. Occasionally a teacher asks me for feedback on their instruction and I oblige, but most of the time I just try to be helpful in assisting with the day’s activities. I hand out materials, sit

with students who need help, or just act as an extra pair of eyes. I do not want to overstep my bounds or cause the teachers any anxiety; I am always mindful of my presence as an invited guest in their classrooms.

A student in the first grade classroom sees me looking in the classroom window, and comes to the door. He opens the door and says to me in English, *We don't have an assistant. Will you come and help us?* The lack of assistants and volunteers is a constant challenge for the SALT program. *No hay suficientes voluntarios en algunas clases [there are not enough volunteers in some classes].* I enter the classroom to help students as they are looking at a picture projected onto the Smartboard. They are creating lists in their notebooks of items that they see in the picture that are vivos o no vivos [living or not living]. Some students need help with the concept of living/not living while others need help with the Spanish language. A few students simply want help with their spelling. All students are engaged in the activity, once they've understood the objective. Students share out some of the things they've put on their lists. The teacher instructs the students to put their notebooks away in preparation for recess.

I continue on to the secundaria classroom, where the students are taking turns reading from an excerpt about different resources and materials produced across Mexico. The students each have a photocopied map of the country, and are tasked with labeling the different regions with their major agricultural and industrial products. There is a long list of vocabulary words written on the whiteboard, which the students have copied into their notebooks. Several students stumble over unfamiliar words as they read aloud, the teacher quick to correct them. Some boys are joking with each other at one table, mostly in English. The teacher reminds them to speak *en español.* This is a recurring theme that plays out not only in the classrooms, but in the hallways and on the playground as well.

Outside, students eat their merienda at the wooden picnic tables adjacent to the large playground behind the school. Colleen considers this "outdoor education" to be a feature that makes SALT unique. They run and laugh and scream on the swings, slides, monkey bars, and other equipment. A few boys from different classes join together to play fútbol on the soccer field. Spanish and English can both be heard in between the squeals and laughter. Recreo has been a source of contention among the staff and parents. At the first teacher reflection meeting Alicia told teachers that they needed to play more games with the kids during recess – *some kids don't know how to play appropriately*. I'm not sure whether this statement is a negative judgment on the children's (perceived lack of) social knowledge, or whether it simply represents a generational gap in conceptualizing play. Alicia further commented that teacher shouldn't be on their phones, or just talking to each other during recreo. Some of the mothers have also commented that they would like to see the children speaking more Spanish on the playground at SALT. This "Spanish only" philosophy is pervasive and serves to reify hegemonic language ideologies that treat bilingualism as a type of dual monolingualism (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Flores, 2016; García, 2013; May, 2014a; Palmer & Martínez, 2013). The children's hybrid language practices are treated as inferior, even though these practices reflect the nature of their hybrid identities and lived realities.

The first graders file back into the school and take a restroom break. Once back in the classroom, the teacher tells the students that they are about to have a parent visitor for Tiempo Cultural. While waiting for the parent to arrive for culture time, the teacher plays a few sing-along/active dancing videos on the Smartboard. Gatito Chocacinco [Kitty Highfive] is especially fun, and I enjoy high-fiving students with my hand, foot, or knee as directed by the song. A father from Puerto Rico brings a picture book, *Kiki Coquí*, to share with the class. He explains

that it was the story that his parents would tell him when he was a child living in Puerto Rico, and that it is a story he now reads to his own daughter. Students ask questions and posit guesses about what they think might happen in the story. The students engage in a thoughtful discussion afterward about the moral of the story and parallels they see with other stories they know. I am impressed with the students' engagement, and wonder how many have ever visited the Latin American countries/territories from which their families hail. While the weekly Tiempo Cultural presentations are aimed at providing students with a sense of Latinx diversity, it is not enough to counteract the pan-Latinx ethnic and cultural identity that SALT cultivates.

Just before noon, parents begin arriving at the classroom door. The dismissal procedure has been another stumbling block for SALT. Some parents have been sending older siblings to get their younger brothers and sisters at the end of the day. The hallways at dismissal are chaotic and noisy. Students excitedly run out to tell their parents about their day, and show them the various projects they created that morning. Hugs and kisses abound as parents bid each other farewell until the next week. As the parents are gathering up their children, the assistants, volunteers, and teachers work to return the classrooms to their original state. Although the school has been generous with the SALT program, there is an underlying sense of anxiety around cleaning up – there have been complaints by St. Ann teachers and principal about the tidiness of the school. These are generally aimed at SALT, although the school is often open and used by different groups. Having encountered similar complaints in my former role at a Latinx-serving non-profit, I can't help but wonder whether the basis of these complaints against SALT is a racialized assumption, an easy scapegoat/target, or maybe simply an overreaction that St. Ann's applies equally to outside/non-school groups.

As parents leave SALT, the volunteers and assistants gather in a classroom adjacent to the cafeteria. In addition to recruiting and training the program teachers, assistants, and volunteers, every Saturday Alicia facilitates reflection meetings with the SALT staff. The teachers meet with Alicia after the assistants and volunteers have finished their reflections. The volunteer and assistant reflections are conducted bilingually in Spanish and English, for the benefit of the volunteers, who are primarily English-dominant students from local universities. The teacher reflection sessions are conducted in Spanish, as that is the teachers' common language. I find the juxtaposition of these language practices interesting.

Common themes that emerge in the reflection meetings are around specific student issues, language use (*¡en español, niños! [In Spanish, children!]*), and attendance (*Diles 'hora americana' o 'hora de misa.' [Tell them 'American time' or 'church time.']*). The enforcement of Spanish-only at SALT points to underlying ideologies about language privilege and acquisition (Flores, 2016; García & Wei, 2013). Two families were asked to leave because of their poor attendance—*Hay una lista de espera larga [there is a long waiting list].* There is some allusion to the parents' lack of punctuality and lack of commitment to the program (one teacher comments, *a birthday party is not a reason to miss SALT*), revealing some deficit views of the parents. After the reflection meeting, the parent-teachers collect their children, who have been playing together in the cafeteria. The teachers say goodbye to one another and leave for the day. Before I go, I help Reina and Alicia load their cars with materials that need to be returned to the SALT office.

Chapter 5: Constance

It is a hot afternoon in early June when I drive to Constance's house to meet her. We scheduled the interview so that I could talk to her about her life and her experiences with SALT while her children take their daily afterschool naps. As I drive the twenty minutes to Milltown, I think about the first time I met Constance. I was sitting in on a parent group meeting at SALT, and everyone was introducing themselves and saying where they were from. She stood up, smiled widely and Said, *Me llamo Constance y soy chilanga.* Several parents laugh at this comment. From her accent it was immediately apparent to me that she was a native English speaker from the U.S. She continued her introduction explaining, *Soy Americana pero mi esposo es de la Ciudad de México [I'm American but my husband is from Mexico City].* Constance told the group that her daughter, Karina was in the first grade class, and her son, Bryan was in the pre-K.

At that meeting, as in subsequent meetings, she participated actively in the discussions and suggested information and resources to the other parents. She has volunteered her services as a Spanish-English translator, and offered to help any parent that might need assistance with navigating documentation processes. Although Constance is never frantic, her movements always convey an energetic sense of purpose. The only times she does not seem to be on a mission are when she is enjoying casual conversation with another parent at SALT. It is clear that she is very engaged in her children's education and her community. I once asked Alicia whether Constance (a White American) was well received by the other (predominantly Latinx)

parents, or whether they felt that her suggestions came from a place of condescension. Alicia assured me that there were no riffs in the community based on nationality or ethnicity.

I drive cautiously, eyeing the GPS to make sure I don't miss the house. As I turn the corner onto Constance's street, I see her getting out of a minivan. Apartment buildings line the opposite side of the road. I parked my car and wait momentarily, not wanting Constance to feel rushed. She is tall and her long brown hair cascades over her shoulder as leans into the van and calls to her children, *agarren todo [grab everything].* She turns to me and explains that their minivan has been broken into several times, so they keep it empty of any belongings. As I follow her up the walkway, I am heartened by a sign on the neatly manicured lawn in front of the row of townhouses. The sign welcomes everyone to the neighborhood in Spanish, English, and Arabic: *No importa de dónde eres, estamos contentos que seas nuestro vecino/ No matter where you're from, we're glad that you're our neighbor*.

We climb the stairs and Constance unlocks the door and disarms the security alarm as she explains that break-ins are commonplace in her neighborhood. She invites me to sit on the couch and instructs her children to put their things away. Bryan has been crying but obediently goes upstairs to take his afternoon nap. Karina opts to stay with us in the living room. I carefully set up my digital recorder on the ottoman and open my folder to find the appropriate papers. I take out the informed consent form, demographic questionnaire, and my interview protocol. I rifle through my bag to find a pen and a pencil as Constance sees to Bryan and Karina gets a snack from the kitchen.

No more do we settle down to begin the interview than the doorbell rings. *I do not know who that is,* Constance apologizes. She answers the door and I make small talk with Karina, who is seven. I explain to her why I am interviewing her mother, and ask her if she minds being

recorded. Karina assents, and Constance later confirms her permission. I look around to see family photos covering the walls. Constance finishes speaking with the woman at the door—she's from one of the utility companies, out checking meters—and sits down to talk with me.

We begin with the demographic questionnaire and some questions about Constance and her family's background. Born in North Carolina, Constance self-identifies as American. She attended Catholic grade school and then public secondary schools. She first took Spanish classes in high school. After high school Constance studied dental hygiene and then earned an associate's degree in community Spanish interpreting before meeting her husband, Javier. She tells me that they met while she was finishing up her degree and bonded over an interest in Latin dance. Dating a Mexican man gave her the opportunity to practice her spoken Spanish, which she admits was *not amazing*, even though she could *read it and write it very well.* Constance works two days a week at a dental office in Treesdale, and always sees the few Spanish speaking patients that come in (*Maybe there's one a month, that's how infrequently*). She tells me that she didn't pursue a career in community translating because working as a dental hygienist pays better. Javier works in Milltown as a mechanic and his father, Paquito, lives with the family. Constance has some family in North Carolina, but Paquito is the only family whom she sees regularly.

Constance and Javier committed to raising the children in Spanish, making the decision even before Karina and Bryan were born. *They only know me in Spanish.* Karina attends a charter school in Treesdale and Bryan is not yet enrolled in school. Constance expresses her disappointment in the limited access to Spanish language immersion education in Milltown, explaining, *We can't afford it*, but is grateful to be able to have her children at SALT. Even though her Monday-Friday school is in English, Karina tells me, *we still started talking since we*

were a baby. Constance cites *the affordability and the literacy potential* as major draws of the SALT program.

When talking about SALT, Constance generally speaks with great enthusiasm. Her family has been participating since Karina was in PreK; Bryan is only this year old enough to attend the classes. Constance talks about the role of language for her family:

> *Our family's centered around language, we believe in it so much. What role does it have? We're just striving for the preservation of the Spanish. We see it disappearing in so many other families. We're passionate about it. If we don't know word, we'd look it up.*

As if to demonstrate, she continues, *if the kids don't know how to say blister*-- she turns and asks Karina— *¿Cómo se dice blister en español?* Karina looks up from her drawing and replies matter-of-factly, *ampolla*. Contance elaborates,

> *If we ever discover a word we don't know, we look it up and we practice it several times, ongoing just because-- English is so strong. I feel like one has to work so hard with the Spanish because-- We hadn't taught them English and their English is already better. Then, there's Spanish. We just feel like we need to put that extra effort in with the Spanish always.*

Constance is very aware of the threat of heritage language loss. Once younger children enter school in the US, they often transition to English (Fillmore, 2000).

Throughout our conversation, Constance and I slide in and out of Spanish. When asked about her favorite parts of the SALT program, Constance pulls out a book report slip and hands it me. I look it over as she tells me,

> *A mi me gustó mucho este año lo de los resúmenes. Porque eso le ayudó a Karina. Entonces me doy cuenta de que los que crecen aquí, si no hablan, no lo saben deletrear.*

Y para el niño, le sirvió para practicar sus letras. Y él solo hacía la parte de su nombre, de pre-K. Aprendió a copiar los títulos, el autor, y nosotros hicimos el resumen, pero él tenía que decirnos de que se trataban. Eso le ayudaba a él a comenzar a sacar datos importantes y eso le sirvió mucho. Yo sé que muchos no lo hicieron. Pero, eso sí, nos ayudó mucho.

[I really liked the book reports this year. Because it helped Karina. It made me realize that for those who grow up here, if they don't speak, they don't know how to spell it. And for the boy, it served to practice his letters. And he only would do the part of his name, of pre-K. He learned to copy the titles, the author, and we did the summary, but he would have to tell us what it was about. That helped him to start to pull out important facts and that served him well. I know that many didn't do it. But that, yeah, helped us a lot.]

In addition to liking the book reports, Constance tells me she also enjoyed the professional days (*just to give these kids a vision of where they could go*). She also lists the science activities (*there were so many great little things that they would come home where I would find out what they did with science*) among her favorite aspects.

In addition to the literacy instruction and science content, Constance lists the cultural activities as a favorite. She follows by saying,

I love the Tiempo Cultural -- like the Day of the Dead stuff. I like it when it's really talked about different holidays. I would love to see how Christmas is celebrated in different countries. Wouldn't it be fun to have each classroom celebrate one country? I love anything cultural to give them the sense of being a part of a Spanish speaking community that we come from so many different countries. I would love to see more food cooked

there. ... Sometimes you've got a really great cultural presentation but I wish the whole school could see it.

This cultural appreciation is a recurrent theme at SALT, however uncritically community members may view it. This topical treatment of culture does not interrogate issues of power or the colonial histories that often created them.

For Constance, it is the combination of the language practice, science curriculum, and cultural component that set SALT apart. When I pose the same question to Karina, she thinks for a moment and then shrugs. She replies, *Todo [Everything].* She then describes how she enjoys Tiempo Cultural because they learn about different countries. Karina quickly amends her reply by telling me, *pues, no sé… toda la clase, porque me gusta la actividad y la merienda y jugar [I don't know…the whole class, because I like the activity and snack and playing].*

Constance describes her role as *really just a parent participant.* This is an understatement of her devotion to the program. She was more involved in the past, but has been *kindly told* that the program *really wants to develop the Latino community* and that she has to *be careful*. She confesses,

They didn't tell me this but I know based on the program design that I have to be careful to not do everything because if I do everything, then no one ever steps up, and does things in the community. Now, I have to remember that part of this design or dream is to develop leadership within the Latino parents.

I am not sure how much of SALT's desire to have the Latinx parents "step up" is based on giving families a sense of ownership, and how much it has to do with deficit views of Latinx parental engagement. Is this an opportunity for parents to choose the program's direction, or an example of benevolently racist (Villenas, 2001) lesson on parenting?

Disappointed in the declining activity of the parent resource group over the past year, Constance is reluctant to express this view after being asked to step back. Her tone changes and her brown eyes darken slightly as she cautiously describes her critiques of the program. I reassure her of confidentiality, and at one point she admits, *I just want to walk a fine line there.* She tells me, *I'm being more open here with you than I would ever be with another person.* I listen empathetically as she shares two negative experiences.

After two SALT teachers indicated that they wanted more variety in the Tiempo Cultural presentations, Constance was asked to call the parents with the request.

> *So they asked me to call our parents and ask them. I went through all the families and just tried to identify which family was a blended family that had parents from two different countries. If it was a country other than Mexico, I just left a message and said – I'm not anti-Mexican, my family is Mexican-- 'Can you maybe consider doing the cultural presentation of this parent so we can have a representation of other countries other than Mexico?' You will not believe, the parents that called back and complained.*

I ask her if she thinks the negative response may have been because she is American, and Constance tells me that she doesn't think so. Although Constance is not very critically culturally aware, she does acknowledge at times that her White privilege allows her to move through public spaces differently than if she were marked as Latinx.

Constance is now *afraid to do things for SALT because of the parents' reaction sometimes.* The second incident involved fundraising in the community, when Constance encountered strong rejection from many of the local Latinx businesses. *I went to a lot of Latino business owners in this area. Some of them told me that people do not grow from getting*

handouts; that people grow from some type of an ownership and investment in their education. When I ask Constance why she believes that the business owners responded that way, she says,

> *I've sensed it coming from a Latino perspective that, 'We're the successful ones, but we made it here because we fought for what we wanted.' I felt a lot of that from them. Also, I think a lot of businesses are barely surviving. It's hard for them to sometimes get money.*

Constance doesn't connect this attitude with the privilege some upper-class Latinxs experience. While she is still open to serving on committees, she asserts that she doesn't want to be on the fundraiser committee again this year. *I want to see other parents step up and be on that. I don't want to go through that, it was emotionally frustrating for me*.

Despite decreasing her involvement recently, Constance is still one of the most visibly involved (non-staff) parents at SALT. Even though she now focuses most of her activity on helping individual parents, Constance would love to see these services extended to larger parent community. *If anything, my activities reduced to some degree but I'm still obviously involved. I'm going to do my part.* She describes the issues that she sees, particularly with obtaining legal documents:

> *Their kids can have dual citizenship. There are so many parents -- their actas de nacimiento [birth ceritficates], they're spelled wrong. They cannot even go get their kids Mexican citizenship or citizenship in another country because they are American actas. I can sit there and help them make appointments in the consulate. I would love to sit down and be like, 'Let's review every family.' 'Do we have our papers in order?' What if we had a little table like, 'Do you need help scheduling a passport appointment for your children, an American passport?' 'Do you need help scheduling?' Because you got to*

know how to do it online too. That was so hard for me. I know how to maneuver a webpage and do something challenging but it was really hard for me to do that.

Constance proudly declares that she *was personally responsible for many families getting dual citizenship this year. I'm so happy to be a part of that because I sat down, I did their appointments for them, and watched them do the process.* She tells me the she would be willing to teach a Spanish class to the non-Spanish speaking parents. *I'm not a perfect Spanish teacher but I learned it; I would love to do something like that.* I cannot decide whether this desire to help comes from a place of genuine generosity, or whether it is tinged with a little bit of White saviorism and paternalism.

We talk more about the program, and she shares more about the direction she would like to see the parent group take. When I ask her whether she plans to continue with SALT, she does not hesitate. *Yes. We will do it as long as we don't have a sport conflicting.* She thinks a moment and adds, *we're definitely committed for another year more, but if we see that there's not a lot of Spanish being spoken…That's a big deal.* This sentiment echoes the dual monoglossic (García, 2009; May, 2014a) language philosophy of the program. Unlike some of the other SALT families, Constance and Javier have a large network of Spanish-speaking friends outside of the program. Their family is *more connected to the Spanish-speaking community,* attending church, faith formation, and other activities in Spanish. The children even take piano lessons (in Spanish) from Germán at St. Ann's.

After more than two hours, I thank Constance and Karina for their time. As I pack up my bag we chat about the upcoming SALT camping trip in the mountains. *You'll love it,* she assures me. I tell her that I've been tasked with handing out the rental tents upon check in. We hug our goodbyes and I leave Constance to her children. The following Saturday when I arrive in the

mountains, she welcomes me to join her campsite and offers me a sandwich. At the fogata that evening, she and Javier lead the dancing as Germán and his wife lead the impromptu band. This warmth and eagerness to be helpful are Constance's most defining qualities.

Chapter 6: Sandra

It is a humid afternoon in June as I drive the forty minutes to meet Sandra. Although she lives in Farmburg, Sandra suggests meeting Milltown North Branch Public Library. The drive gives plenty of time to think about the previous conversations we've had. I am excited to sit down with her and learn more about Sandra's experiences at SALT. Like me, Sandra is Bolivian-American.

One Saturday I noticed some children leaving their SALT class with coloring sheets depicting a mustached man wearing a chullo hat and bearing money, food, musical instruments, building supplies, and other necessities. I immediately recognized the figure as the Ekeko, a Tiwanakan god associated with the feria de Alacitas in the altiplano of Bolivia and Perú. I immediately set off to discover where the coloring pages had come from. When I stopped in Teresa's room, she told me that Carlitos's mom brought the coloring pages as part of her Tiempo Cultural presentation. Teresa confessed that seeing that familiar character had actually made her feel a little homesick for her native Perú. The following Saturday, I approached Carlitos's mom, Sandra about the coloring page. I wanted to know where she'd found it, and whether she could send it to me. She gave me her email address, and as we chatted I learned that her mother is from Bolivia. We talked about our experiences visiting the remote Andean country; her family is based in Cochabamba whereas mine lived mostly in La Paz.

At this point I have met Sandra's twin sister and mother as well. On the day of the SALT open house, Sandra made a point to introduce me to her twin sister, whose son hoped to join

SALT in the fall. The following week, Sandra excitedly told me that her mother, Patricia, was visiting. Sandra explained that she'd told Patricia that there was another Bolivian at SALT, and she was eager to meet me. I spent the majority of the morning talking to Sandra's mother, learning about the culture and arts center she founded in the outskirts of La Paz. Patricia invited me to explore her website and to plan a trip to stay at the center at a reduced cost. Somehow the tenuous thread to my father's home was enough to tie me to this new Bolivian family.

I turn my attention back to my drive. I am well beyond the urban portion of Milltown, and wonder whether I've misheard the directions. I pass fields, houses, and patches of dense foliage. Dark clouds threaten rain and I hope that the storm will hold off until after I've arrived. Finally I turn into the library parking lot and park. I tell a woman at the information desk that I've reserved a study room and she directs me toward it.

After setting my things in the room, I wait in the main room of the library so that Sandra doesn't have to come looking for me. The library is inviting and looks well used; short shelves lined with colorful books are organized in the center and tall shelves line the walls. From a distance I see a woman approach, her medium brown hair fastened into a ponytail. I recognize her as Sandra once she's close enough for me to see the bright blue-green of her eyes. I wave her over and we give each other the standard hug/kiss greeting. Sandra apologizes for being late, and I thank her for coming to talk to me.

We sit down at the large table, and take care of the formalities: signing the consent form, filling out the demographic questionnaire, and testing the digital recorder. I begin the interview by clarifying Sandra's role at SALT. She has three children, but the youngest is not yet old enough to take the Saturday classes. We then move into talking about her background. She tells me that her father was a marine form Maryland and met Patricia while he was stationed at the

U.S. embassy in Bolivia. She laughs as she remembers her father's Spanish abilities, *he was a wonderful Spanish speaker. He never lost his accent, it was very strong, like 'Gringo.' But his vocabulary would still surpass mine, even now.*

Although Sandra and her siblings grew up in the United States, she tells me that her parents decided to speak only Spanish at home. In her words,

> *'Okay, we're raising them in the US, but they will always be connected to their Hispanic background.' Their thought process was, 'You'll learn to speak English eventually.' They committed to only speaking in Spanish at home. Pretty much Spanish was my first language. Then, of course, as soon as we went into school, little sponges just picked up English right away, and then went bilingual from there. That's it.*

She tells me that according to her parents, she and her siblings were so excited about learning English that they *went on a Spanish boycott* for a time.

Sandra's parents placed such a strong emphasis on this connection that they enrolled the children in a Saturday Spanish school sponsored by the Argentinian embassy. Sandra attended the classes through eighth grade, until high school sports took priority. She elaborates that making friends at the language school helped her enjoy it,

> *but other than that, I felt like the teachers were strict, I didn't like all the rules. I also didn't feel like I belonged. That was a big part of it, I think too, because I don't look at all Hispanic. I had a period where … I wouldn't conjugate words exactly, or I'd flub on a longer word, trip over my syllables and stuff. Every time something like that would happen, it would be a notch in my confidence, when other kids had no problem with it. So, I just let that convince me, "I don't quite belong here. I'm a poseur."*

Sandra thinks about her self-consciousness with respect to her Spanish school admits, *I think a lot came just from within.*

Sandra expresses her disappointment that her first grader, Carlitos, didn't get into the local Spanish immersion magnet. She shrugs and says, *lottery just didn't work out.* This is her family's first year at SALT. She applied for the program as soon as her sister told her she'd learned about it from a woman at a Milltown park. She expresses how she doesn't want her own children to feel insecure about their language or heritage. She tells me,

> *it took me becoming an adult to be filling out a survey, being like, 'Latina, Hispanic.' Yes, that's me, because half of my blood is that, and which one do I associate with more? Yes, I'm very American, and I'm proud of being American, but also, 'This is my background, and I don't look it, but I want you to know this is who I am too.' It took me being an adult to feel that way, and also being an adult to confidently speak the language, actually speak it well, and when I mess up, not feel bad about it, and be like, 'It happens.' I don't want that for my children. I don't want them to have to wait to be 30 and finally feel like they're part of that.*

Sandra's hybrid identity as a bicultural and bilingual Latina was difficult for her to come to terms with, and likely mirrors what many of the SALT students experience.

Sandra's younger children are not enrolled in school, so she spends her days with them in Spanish. Sandra reflects on this:

> *at the end of the day, I can say, 'I was a good teacher today.' That's the role that the language plays right now in my life. I know that I'm helping them learn something very valuable for the future.*

This neoliberal notion of “global citizenship” drives many bilingual education initiatives, beyond heritage language programs (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Flores, 2016).

In addition to exposure to the language, Sandra values the cultural component of the SALT heritage language classes. She shakes her head as she admits,

> *I don't know why it took me so long to figure out that it was mostly cultural stuff and just speaking the language, and less formal teaching so to speak. When I discovered that, I was actually really happy to hear that.*

She recalls specific Tiempo Cultural activities that impressed her. *Carlitos made a little corn husk doll one time and that's all he could talk about for a week. He has it displayed on a shelf and he can tell everyone.*

Sandra continues,

> *The children haven't expressed it to me but the Tiempo Cultural-- the times were they're like, ‘We did this in SALT today’-- It's them sharing the activity that the parent brought in because Eva made a little worry doll. Little muñecas and you whisper to them and put them under your pillow, and that way, you don't have nightmares. Eva loved it so much. She kept it. Carlitos thought it was so cool. We came home and I made one for him. We made an activity out of it, too.*

Sandra sees the importance of the Tiempo Cultural, telling me, *they take a lot from that, even though it's ten or fifteen minutes at the end of the day.* Although SALT’s curriculum expressly incorporates culture into daily lessons, the cultural component is sometimes superficial and tokenizes cultural practices, rather than using them to create deeper connections.

When asked to describe the SALT program, Sandra says *it's a way for Hispanic families to keep a connection to their heritage and culture in the community. For themselves and their*

families, but also within the community, to build a community. She cites *the interaction with the other students and families* as her favorite aspect of the program. Sandra says *that sense of community is the best part of it.* She sees the socialization in SALT's imagined community (Leeman, 2015) as key, explaining that *everyone's there for the same purpose. That already is a uniting thing too. It isn't just because we all speak Spanish. It's because we all want this for our children and for our community and for our family.*

Sandra notes the difference between the sense of community and family involvement at SALT and the Spanish school she attended as a child.

> *I had a Spanish school experience but we never made attempts to get together as a family. Here, it's not just the school, there's also activities that we're doing. We're going to the mountains and she had the second and third-grade groups go to nature parks. We did the River Day. It's getting out there too and it's a collaborative event to get out there. It involves the parent and that inherently gets the parents, the other students, and the teachers all talking even more. I loved that.*

Beyond the SALT-organized family activities, Sandra comments on the value the diversity of the community brings to the program. *Everyone has their little bit of different experience that can add to that. I guess that's also the other thing.*

We chat for a while about the SALT camping trip and Sandra's upcoming trip to Bolivia. She and her family will be there for a month. We briefly discuss the turmoil around recent land reforms in the region, which I find particularly interesting because my grandfather worked for the government in agrarian reform, returning land to the indigenous groups that have been historically displaced, exploited, and abused by the largely apartheid Bolivian government. Sandra reminds me that any invitations her mother extended were genuine. I thank her for that

Bolivian connection, since my own familial connections have for the most part been lost. We hugs our goodbyes and I drive the forty minutes back to Treesdale, reflecting on our conversation.

I follow up with Sandra in late November to talk to her about her new role. I conduct the interview via telephone because I am in New Jersey with my family for Thanksgiving. In addition to having Carlitos and Eva in the program, Sandra is now a classroom assistant at SALT. When I ask her what inspired her to respond to the call for assistants, she replied,

> *I was like 'Wow.' I love SALT and everything that SALT does, and if I can help out, if I'm not doing anything else with my time, might as well be an assistant and help out and yes, and try it out. I figured I would apply, see if it was good for both of us, which it wound up being.*

Sandra was initially nervous about working with older children, but has grown comfortable working with this new age group. She attributes this to knowing *where my roles are and where I can be of help. I have a connection with the students now, at this point, and with (the teacher). I … have a better idea how everyone operates.*

I ask Sandra whether assisting in the upper grades has changed how she thinks about SALT. She tells me hasn't changed her thoughts about Carlitos's and Eva's classes. Sandra says, *it's made me think differently about my involvement though. I want them to be prepared. When they're in fifth and sixth grade, I want them to get the most they can out of a Saturday.* Sandra likes the way the focus shifts from play and socialization to more academic work as students progress at SALT.

The phone call is dropped before we have a chance to finish our conversation, but Sandra has answered my major questions. I am not surprised because she has mentioned Farmburg's

spotty cell reception in previous conversations. I try to call Sandra again, but I am sent straight to voicemail. I am a little disappointed, but not worried—I am comforted to know I will see Sandra next week at SALT.

Chapter 7: Charlie

I ring the doorbell to the SALT office, wait, and then repeat. After two more attempts I decide no one is in the office today and cross the sidewalk to stand under a scraggly tree. The sparse shade offers little relief from the August sun and the ice in my drink has long since melted, leaving me with a cup of watered down cool coffee. I think about the direction this interview might take; I have spent less time with Charlie than any of the other portrait subjects. Charlie arrives and realizes she doesn't have the office key with her. She asks if I mind following her in my car and conducting the interview at her home. As I pull into her driveway, I realize Charlie is neighbors with a good friend of mine. I am reminded how small the world is.

Once inside, Charlie offers me a glass of water which I gratefully accept. We prepare for the interview at her dining room table, but then move to her music room after interruptions from Charlie's cat and her roommate. I set my audio recorder on the piano stool, and admire the concert posters hung on the walls. In addition to being on the executive board at SALT, Charlie is a private Spanish tutor and music teacher. She sets an alarm because she has a student coming for a lesson later. I ask for demographic and background information. On the questionnaire, Charlie circles every SALT role except *student* and *parent.* She then circles the *American/americana* identity, and then writes on the blank line, *White.*

Charlie tells me that she has lived in North Carolina her whole life and that she spoke English at home. She started learning Spanish in high school and then studied linguistics and environmental studies in college. A study abroad semester in Argentina inspired Charlie to

seriously study Spanish. She later earned a certificate in interpreting and translating at the local community college.

She tells me that she started working at SALT as a teacher. It was *just stressful and being a SALT teacher is a lot of work. You have to get there at 7:45 every single Saturday… you're planning three-hour lessons, interactive lessons. It was a really intense thing.* She adds that in addition to the time commitment and stress, she decided to *not be a teacher anymore was that I'm not a Latina person*. She elaborates on why her identity matters in her role:

> *I think part of SALT's mission is to support the Latina community and being proud of who they are. Sharing plenty of knowledge and resources from parents and people in that community. I don't think that it sends the right message. I don't think it's helpful to have a white person teaching and I'm not a native speaker.*

Even though most of the first SALT teachers were non-Latinx, white, and non-native Spanish speakers, the focus has shifted. *I think that SALT agrees as organization, now agrees to this-- that teachers need to be native speakers and need to identify as Latino.* This points to some reflexivity on the part of the SALT leadership, but still does not do anything to challenge pan-Latinx essentialism.

I am curious to know why Charlie remained involved with the organization after she stopped teaching at the Saturday program. She explains,

> *I think it's such a special and unique organization and community. It's really unique and meaningful thing to a lot of people. I've formed relationships with a lot of the kids and their parents. For me, I stay in touch with it, because it gives me a place for me to keep my Spanish sharp and I can go every Saturday and be totally immersed for hours and that as a factor.*

Charlie continues on to say that SALT *is really is beginning to do really sustainable, long-term oriented work.* She pauses for a moment, then adds,

> *Obviously, we have a lot of work to do, and making sure that we're keeping in mind all different factors that affect the Latina community, that kind of stuff. But I like the mission, where it's coming from and it's cool to see so many people so passionate about it.*

Charlie sums up by commenting, *It really starts to feel like a family.*

After leaving her role as a SALT teacher, Charlie worked as administrative staff and now sits on the board. I ask Charlie about the composition of the executive board and its role in the SALT organization's functioning. Her blue eyes narrow as she considers the question. *Great question. Still figuring that out.* She tells me that the board has historically inactive, and that most decisions have been guided by one or two individuals.

> *We as a board are starting to critically look at that and start to spread responsibility around and become more actively involved and knowledgeable about what SALT does. Our individual roles and roles as a whole started taking shape right now, which is cool.*

To complicate matters, several of the board members live out of state or overseas, making it difficult to create connections. In spite of these challenges, Charlie sees the board becoming a more formalized body, including the addition of monthly meetings.

I am curious to know how Charlie's insider knowledge affects how she views the program. When I ask her how she describes what the SALT heritage language program does, she does not hesitate.

> *Our flagship main program is the Spanish heritage language school program on Saturdays. That happens from 9-12. It is a place for Latino students to celebrate who they are, the language of their parents, and become confident and fully literate and bilingual*

> *in Spanish and in English in a place that supports that process, and their families can be a part of it.*

She later mentions that *a big part of the curriculum is having a cultural component to everything.* She also says that the SALT teachers *are super encouraged to bring their personal experiences into everything.*

It is clear that Charlie is passionate about the SALT program. When I ask her what her favorite aspect is, she immediately responds, *I really love the camaraderie that forms between families and parents.* She then says that it can be *challenging sometimes because there's a wide diversity of people.* Charlie finds it *interesting to see how people navigate that,* but that *it's really cool that there's a space where people can come together and have those experiences in those conversations.*

Along the same vein of camaraderie, Charlie tells me about another of her favorite things about the program:

> *watching the kids who go to totally different schools or from totally different towns to make friends with each together. There are some kids in SALT who were the only Latino student in their class or in their school. They go to SALT and they have all these Latino friends and they can speak to each other. It's not a big deal. That's really cool.*

Charlie notes that SALT has *definitely more of a community feel than any kind of educational experience that I have had.*

When I ask about the program's challenges, Charlie indicates that accountability to families has been an issue. I press her for more details and she reiterates, *accountability. It's their community. It's about the kids. It should be for them, and it should be for and by the families.* She continues, *in terms of the decisions the board makes. Over half the board has not*

many any SALT families, so how can they possibly be accountable to them? Charlie laughs, clarifying, *I don't think that damaging decisions are being made.* She says that the perception that some board members have doesn't align with the reality of what takes place at SALT. This disconnect between the decision making body and the families served by the program leads me to question why the board members would choose to serve a group with whom they have never interacted.

A second challenge Charlie articulates is the mismatch between the decision-making board's and the SALT families' identities. She plainly says,

> *I'm an upper-middle-class white person on the board and I'm not the only upper-middle-class white lady on the board. We are the people who are supposed to be making decisions for this community. As a collective, we have not examined that dynamic. I think that needs to be done. That's challenging to be on the board in that state of not having to totally come to terms what that means.*

Charlie believes that the board will eventually address this issue. *I'm optimistic that that's something that we will embark upon-- It's obviously very long journey, but I think that's absolutely necessary.* She emphasizes this point, declaring it *of utmost importance that anyone, especially people who are not Latino, are really digging in and analyzing the role that their race plays and the role that they play.*

Beyond accountability and a lack of reflexivity with respect to race, the other challenges Charlie names are typical to any non-profit organization. These challenges include issues around funding, personnel, and training. I look at the time and realize we have only one minute. I ask Charlie a final question about how SALT compares to other schooling contexts she's experienced. She is quick to say, t*here's no tests and no quizzes. That is radically different.*

Charlie also points to the emphasis on outdoor education and community feel as differentiating SALT from traditional schools. She also sees the relationships between students and teachers as special and observes,

> *I think the kids are pretty close to their teachers, I think they really have a friendship or an actual personal relationship with a lot of the teachers, which is pretty impressive because they only see them two or three hours a week. There are definitely some teachers, it is particularly clear, that have really made a bond with their students and it is for reasons that are not just about the subject matter. Because it is really valuable that a lot of these little kids' teachers have had experiences similar to their parents or similar to them. They can really relate to them or imagine what they might be going through as a young Latino growing up in the U.S.*

Although the SALT teachers are Spanish speakers living in the U.S., their experiences growing up monolingual Spanish speakers in Latin America are significantly different from those of the children they teach, and do not guarantee that they can relate to the issues that face the bicultural and bilingual students (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Valdés, 2002). Charlie contrasts this close relationship to her own schooling, explaining, *I was a smart kid and a high achieving kid so my teachers were nice to me and that was it.*

The timer goes off and I thank Charlie for her time and for her hospitality. She agrees to talk to me again if I think of more questions for her. We hug briefly and I head out into the muggy afternoon. As I drive home, I think about all Charlie has told me and wonder how many of the other board members or SALT parents share her concerns, or even think about the racial identities of the actors involved.

Chapter 8: Anita

It is a warm winter morning when I finally sit down to formally interview Anita. I am excited to get the opportunity to schedule time to sit and talk, after so many informal conversations. It has been difficult to find time in her busy schedule. In addition to chauffeuring her three children to their separate schools and various extracurricular activities, Anita works as an independent massage therapist. Anita canceled our first scheduled interview because of a work conflict. I had to cancel another time due to a migraine. We have been talking about doing this interview since last spring.

I have not seen much of Anita recently because her youngest child is no longer attending SALT; he has become very involved with his music program and frequently has Saturday rehearsals and concerts. It occurs to me that I should have interviewed Anita when I saw her two weeks ago. We talked outside for an hour about the kids' progress in school, and how everyone was doing overall. I learned that José has joined a mountain bike team at school, and that Briana has been having trouble eating healthy foods. Anita excitedly reported that she and her family have just bought a new home. She described the neighborhood in detail and used her phone to pull up pictures from google maps to show me. She told me I would need to come see the new house after they'd settled in. Although Anita is the last of my SALT interviewees, she is also the person I've known the longest.

I see Anita speaking to another SALT parent and she holds up an index finger to indicate, *un momento*. I ask her to text me when she's ready to meet. I sit down and reflect on our

relationship. I have known Anita for five years at this point. We first met when I was coordinating a tutoring program for a non-profit that serves Latinx students in Milltown. When I first met her, her oldest son was receiving tutoring to help him with reading. José was in second grade at the time. His younger sister, Briana, attended the preschool that comprised the other half of the non-profit's programming. Anita's youngest, Luis was still in diapers then. I was often busy making adjustments to the student-tutor pairings due to student absences or tutor shortages. However, on a smooth evening, I could make sure all the students and their tutors were settled into their routines -of homework help and reading- and then sit in the lobby and chat with the moms and their various children who were either too young or too old to receive tutoring from our program. Anita always struck me as serious and dedicated to her children's education.

Throughout our three years together in the tutoring program, Anita was always running from place to place. As Briana got older, she no longer needed tutoring services, and instead joined an afterschool enrichment program. The three children took swimming lessons, joined soccer teams, and took part in an extracurricular music program. Anita sacrificed her own time and energy to provide the most experiences possible to her children. One spring, Anita taught a group of our students a traditional Mexican dance and rehearsed with them before and after tutoring. At the tutoring program's end-of-year celebration, the children performed the dance wonderfully. Anita always volunteered to speak at fundraising events to tell donors what the program had meant to her family.

I remember being shocked when she first told me about SALT--How was it possible that I had never heard of it? I had lived in the area for three years, teaching Spanish to undergraduate students, and was immersed in the small Latinx community of the tutoring program. I asked her to tell me about the program and she emphasized that culture was incorporated into every class

meeting. I made contact with the executive director, Alicia, and set up a meeting to learn more. I'd been searching for a way to broaden the tutoring program's enrichment efforts, and to provide meaningful programming for our tutoring parents.

After leaving the tutoring job to focus on my research, I would see Anita only occasionally at SALT- her schedule was still extremely busy. After presenting my research plan to the parent group, several parents expressed interest. Anita had missed the meeting. I approached her the following week with a huge favor: would she be willing to participate in my study? I told her that I would love to hear her perspective, particularly given that she'd introduced me to the program and had participated in so many other activities with her children. I was interested to know what it was about the SALT program that kept her family involved, when they already had so many other obligations and activities. I was delighted when she agreed to talk with me about her experience.

I find Anita and we look for a quiet place to sit and talk. We settle at a row of student desks lined up in the hallway outside the 5/6 classroom. Student work lines the walls on either side. She has Luis with her and I give him a pencil and paper so he can draw while his mom and I talk. I ask her to fill out the demographic questionnaire, even though I already know most of her responses. I ask her how everyone is settling into the new house, and ask Luis how he's doing. I am happy to hear that everyone is well.

Mindful of Anita's time, I begin with the following:

Quería hablar contigo específicamente porque de ti aprendí del programa SALT. Como ya nos conocemos muy bien, no tendré que preguntarte tantas preguntas.

[I wanted to talk to you specifically because I learned about the SALT program from you. Since we already know each other well, I won't have to ask you so many questions].

Her dark brown eyes are framed by long black eyelashes and crinkle at the corners as she smiles in agreement.

I begin with the basics, confirming what I know about Anita's background. Born in Mexico City, she moved to North Carolina from fourteen years ago with her husband. She spoke Spanish in her childhood home and worked as a certified massage therapist before coming to the United States. Anita speaks slowly and answers each question thoughtfully and succinctly. She tells me that when she first joined SALT, only José and Briana were attending classes. She originally learned about the Spanish heritage language classes from an announcement at church, and a friend (Constance) then gave her a pamphlet about the program.

When I ask her why she wanted to get involved with SALT, Anita explains that she was motivated by

> *viendo en muchas familias que sus niños pierdan su lengua materna. En la escuela es pura inglés. Van perdiendo interés de hablar y leer en español. [seeing that in many families their children are losing their mother tongue. In school it's pure English. They lose interest in speaking and reading in Spanish].*

She continues to say that although the younger children's school is very diverse, there are few Latino students. In terms of speaking Spanish at school, *es que no se hace, pero no está prohibido. [it's just that it's not done, but it's not prohibited].* Briana and Luis attend the local neighborhood school, but José, who is in middle school, attends a well-regarded charter. She notes the stark contrast in the student populations. In José's school, she tells me *no hay casi nadie latino. Los anglosajones predominan. [there is hardly anyone Latino. It's predominantly Anglosaxons].*

When I ask her what role she sees language playing in her culture and community, Anita pauses. After a moment she tells me,

> *Es la manera que aprendí a expresarme y comunicarme. Mi lengua, la única lengua que tengo, quiero hablar lo más correcto posible. Es tan importante expresarse y comunicarse bien.*
>
> *[It's the way I learned to express myself and communicate. My language, the only language I have, I want to speak as correctly as possible. It is so important to express yourself and communicate well].*

Anita views the SALT language program as *un apoyo [a support].* She tells me it is important because *es la manera en que se mantienen contacto con el idioma. [it is the manner in which they maintain contact with the language].*

Whereas *José prefiere inglés,* Briana and Luis prefer Spanish, and don't question why they have to come to SALT every Saturday. Her youngest has told her that

> *le encanta el receso, la merienda, y la oportunidad de hablar español con sus amigos, de jugar y comunicarse en español.*
>
> *[he loves recess, snack, and the opportunity to speak Spanish his friends, to play and communicate with them in Spanish].*

As for José, *se le da cuenta de la importancia, pero es flojo [he understands the importance, but he's lazy].* Although Anita supports her children learning Spanish, she does not seem to reject her children's language practices. She comments,

> *Si a mis niños alguien les habla en español, contestan en español. Si hablen inglés, respondan en inglés.*

[If someone talks to my children in Spanish, they answer in Spanish. If they speak to them in English, they respond in English].

In addition to the language aspect, Anita appreciates that at SALT her children are exposed to *una mezcla de familias Latinas, no solo de México. [a mix of Latina families, not just from Mexico].* She comments that there is a diversity of language and culture in their classes. Anita explains that while nationalism is part of the traditional US school curriculum, at SALT there is more value placed on *historias y cosas de Latinoamérica [histories and things from Latin America].* Again, Anita emphasizes the value of culture and diversity:

> *Conocer más de su propia cultura fortaleza su identidad. Les da la idea que todas tienen sus propias costumbres. Es importante ver que no es malo de ser de otro país.*
> *[Knowing more about one's culture strengthens their identity. It gives them the idea that everyone has their own customs. It's important to see that it's not bad to be from another country].*

She feels that it is important that her bicultural children receive a bicultural education. She tells me that between their weekday schooling and Saturday classes at SALT, *Mis hijos están aprendiendo de dos culturas-- americana y latina.*

I ask Anita how she would describe the SALT Spanish heritage language program if someone were to ask her what it is. She thinks for a moment before saying,

> *un conjunto de experiencias basadas en un plan educativo general, pero todo en otro lenguaje. Incluye ciencia, cultura, estudios sociales, y deportes*
> *[a combination of experiences based in a general education plan, but all in another language. It includes science, culture, social studies, and sports.].*

Anita's dark eyebrows knit together when I ask her about her favorite aspect. *Súper, super difícil… la convivencia en general. [So so difficult… the conviviality in general].* She says that she and her children have gained many friendships through SALT.

Knowing how many different activities her children have participated in, I ask how SALT compares. Anita opens her hands and then interlocks her fingers to illustrate,

> *Son complementos. Todas las actividades son parte de su desarrollo. Es como una rompecabezas; si falta una pieza, todo no está bien.*
>
> *[They are complements. All of the activities are part of their development. It's like a puzzle; if one piece is missing, everything is not okay].*

I think about Anita's statement. Her responses to my questions have been short and to the point, but profound. I ask if there's anything else she would like to share, or whether she feels that I've missed any important questions about the program. She takes a moment before replying, *siempre está buscando renovarse, tratando de mejorar o a veces corregir algo. Así es la dinámica. [they're always trying to renew themselves, trying to improve or sometimes correct something. That's the dynamic].* Smiling, Anita tells me, *es una comunidad.*

It is nearly twelve o'clock, and parents are starting to fill the hallway, waiting outside classroom doors to collect their children. I thank Anita for her time, and excuse myself from the typical hug/kiss goodbye because I am getting over a cold. The indecisive North Carolina winter has taken its toll. She tells me she is immune to everything, and wraps me in a great big hug and a gives me kiss on the cheek. Luis gives me back my pencil and takes his mother's hand as they turn to pick up José and Briana from their classes. As I jot down my thoughts in my field notes journal, I notice I have begun using first person pronouns and possessive adjectives (*we, our*) to describe the SALT community.

PART III: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

I designed this research project in order to explore a specific phenomenon: why Latinx families, as well as other supporters, are voluntarily giving up their Saturday mornings in order to participate in the Spanish as Language and Tradition (SALT) Spanish heritage language program. The students who attend SALT classes also attend traditional schools Monday through Friday. Many of these students' parents, as well as the SALT teachers, assistants, and volunteers, work and have numerous obligations during the week. First, I wanted to gain an understanding of what the program is, and secondly I was interested to learn about the people who take part in it and why they choose to do so. Through detailed study I hoped to ascertain the answers to the following: (a) Why do the members of this community all invest their time to be a part of SALT? (b) What space does the program occupy in their lives? (c) How do SALT's participants leverage their Community Cultural Wealth to seek out additional educational supports for Latinx students in the New Latinx Diaspora?

I approached my research questions from a CRT of education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso et al., 2001) and LatCrit (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) perspective, and use these theoretical frameworks in tandem with a conception of Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) to interpret my findings. Filtering the data through these lenses allows me to place the experiences of racialized and minoritized members of the SALT community at the center of my inquiry. Centering the

experiences of racially and/or linguistically minoritized individuals thereby challenges the notion of bilingualism as the property solely of middle class whites. I also use the CRT of education and LatCrit to uncover how issues of power and privilege intersect with the various facets of latinidad to inform the experiences of Spanish speaking Latinx students and their families in the New Latinx South.

In Part III of this dissertation, I identify and describe salient themes that emerged from the data analysis. Two salient themes emerged from my analysis of the data collected from participant interviews, observations, field notes, and other materials. These themes are: (1) the use of linguistic capital as a means to access all other forms of Community Cultural Wealth, and, (2) the SALT program as a physical site of community. Chapter 9 provides an in-depth analysis and discussion of the first emergent theme, while Chapter 10 provides an in-depth analysis and discussion of the second. Chapter 11 provides a summary of the study and findings, as well as a discussion of the implications, suggestions for future research directions, and concluding thoughts and reflections.

The two major themes reflect how Latinx families use their Community Cultural Wealth within and beyond the SALT community to accrue more Community Cultural Wealth. In addition to linguistic capital, community cultural wealth assets include social capital, navigational capital, aspirational capital, familial capital, resistant capital (Yosso, 2005). SALT families and supporters also see the Community Cultural Wealth as a pathway to more traditional forms of social capital that allow them to obtain and expand opportunities (Bourdieu, 1991). At SALT, these opportunities are often discussed in terms of literacy, traditional curricular knowledge, cultural knowledge, and external resources.

In chapters nine and ten, I expand on each of the salient themes in detail and examine the concepts that comprise each theme. I provide excerpts gleaned from the data as illustrative examples. Direct quotes are italicized and presented in the original language of their recording (either English or Spanish). Bracketed English translations follow the original Spanish when applicable.

Chapter 9: Linguistic Capital as a Means to Access Community Cultural Wealth

For non-Latinx White English speakers in the United States who acquire a second world language, bilingualism is considered an asset. This type of bilingualism confers prestige and an air of cosmopolitanism. For minoritized speakers of languages other than English, however, the continued practice of these non-English languages is commonly perceived as a refusal to assimilate to American cultural and linguistic norms (Cordasco, 1973; Crump, 2014; Flores, 2005; Flores & Rosa, 2015; García, 2013; Hill, 1999; May, 2014a). This double standard places White Anglo bilinguals in a privileged position, while relegating bilingual speakers of color to the margins of society (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Flores, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015). In this context, the act of maintaining one's (racialized and minoritized) heritage language can either adhere to mainstream conceptions of additive bilingualism (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Flores, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015), or instead become an act of resistance (Anzaldúa, 1987; Davis & Moore, 2014; Flores & Rosa, 2015; García & Wei, 2013; Suárez, 2002).

In the SALT context, this conscious resistance to linguistic hegemony is not explicitly articulated by the staff nor the families. Instead, SALT family members, teachers, staff, and board members vaguely refer to the importance of Spanish to Latinx maintaining culture and identity, or else cite neoliberal constructions of the value of bilingualism for its social and economic advancement potential (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Flores, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015; May, 2014a). The findings of this study indicate that within the broad theme of the utility

of linguistic capital, the major concerns of the SALT community are literacy, academic success, and Latinx cultural knowledge.

Literacy

The SALT Spanish heritage language classes are valued by families and staff alike for their attention to literacy development. Literacy is often cited by SALT community members as a goal in and of itself. Literacy in this context refers to the ability to read and write, with an emphasis on spelling. Although there are various definitions of literacy, as well as types of literacy, the meaning that most closely aligns with the understandings of the SALT members is that of Walter Ong (1982, as cited in Razfar & Rumenapp, 2014). In Ong's view, there was a distinct difference between orality (spoken language) and literacy (visually represented language), with literacy having the potential bring about individual cognitive change as well as cultural change. Viewed from this perspective, literacy occupies a privileged status and "is viewed as a technology or tool of modernization, advancement, and progress" (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2014).

From this perspective of literacy as a tool for advancement, one can explain how reading and writing have come to represent an assumed requirement for knowledge acquisition more broadly. Following this logic, one can understand why literacy is frequently cited as a goal in and of itself. Mariela describes the importance of SALT as one of literacy instruction and practice. She explains,

> *Como latina y como hablamos el idioma español, claro que estoy interesada en que mis hijos lo practiquen, lo sepan leer y escribir.*
>
> *[As a Latina, and since we speak the Spanish language, of course I'm interested in that my children practice it, that they know how to read and write it.]*

Sandra says that she wants her son *to feel confident in writing in the language and reading in the language.* Constance places importance on *literacy potential.* One boy entering the secundaria class at the beginning of the school year, when asked what he would like to learn at SALT replied, *Pues, sólo es que me gustaría aprender más español [Well, I would just like to learn more Spanish]* (field notes).

These examples demonstrate an understanding of literacy development as its own means and ends. According to Henry Giroux (1987),

> "in the United States, the language and literacy is almost exclusively linked to popular forms of liberal and right wing discourse that reduce it to either a functional perspective tied to narrowly conceived economic interests or to an ideology designed to initiate the poor, the underprivileged, and minorities into the logic of a unitary, dominant cultural tradition." (in Freire & Macedo, pp. 2-3).

This view of literacy as the vehicle by which social mobility is obtained fails to acknowledge the various ways that minoritized populations are prevented from operationalizing traditional forms of social capital.

Whereas some see Spanish literacy may be a goal unto itself, others at SALT see literacy as a skill for communication. This view of literacy as a social practice aligns with Shirley Brice Heath's (1982) conceptualization of literacy as an interaction between individuals, texts, and the world. Paul Gee (2015) reinforces the social nature of literacy practices:

> "traditionally, literacy is treated as a mental phenomenon. It is treated as the ability to read and write. This places literacy in the individual person rather than in society. In turn, this viewpoint obscures the multiple ways in which literacy relates to the workings of power in society" (p. 30).

Iliana shares this view of literacy as a social practice. She says that SALT gives students the space to learn by *practicing their language, learning it holistically. That's learning how to write, how to read, how to speak, how to communicate in different ways.* Anita also describes the importance of the communication element of literacy. She says that her youngest son has told her that he loves *la oportunidad de hablar español con sus amigos, de jugar y comunicarse en español [the opportunity to speak Spanish with his friends, to play and communicate in Spanish].*

Mariela notes that she sees a difference in her children's Spanish since attending SALT classes. She comments, *Se ve la diferencia, porque ellos hablan con más fluidez el idioma [You can see the difference, because they speak the language with more fluency].* Constance sees an improvement in her children's writing through their participation in SALT. She observes,

> *Entonces me doy cuenta de que los que crecen aquí, si no lo hablan, no lo saben deletrear.*
>
> *[So I realize that for those who grow up here, if they don't speak it, they don't know how to write it].*

Alicia says of the SALT students, *They grow. Not all of them grow two or three reading levels, but 90% of them grow at least one reading level.* This comment reflects the focus on literacy outcomes, rather than practices (Escamilla, 2006).

SALT parents and supporters perceive the importance of literacy as a discrete skill, as well as a tool for communication. Literacy is necessarily juxtaposed with illiteracy, a condition the SALT community members strive to avoid. As a marginalized group, this preoccupation with literacy—particularly the right kind of literacy—makes sense. As Giroux (1987) explains,

> "within this dominant discourse, illiteracy is not merely the inability to read and write, it is also a cultural marker for naming forms of difference within the logic of cultural deprivation theory. What is important here is that the notion of cultural deprivation serves to designate in the negative sense forms of cultural currency that appear disturbingly unfamiliar and threatening when measured against the dominant cultures ideological standard regarding what is to be valorized as history, linguistic proficiency, lived experience, and standards of community life" (in Freire & Macedo, p. 3).

Because many of the SALT participants experience marginalization due to their intersecting Latinx identities (e.g., race, nationality, language, accent, phenotype, Spanish surname), they feel that removing this additional barrier to cultural capital is paramount.

For some SALT community members, explicit Spanish literacy instruction is viewed as a preemptive defense against the perceived threat of "Spanglish" or "semilingualism" (Escamilla, 2006; Flores, 2005; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Irizarry, 2011; Martínez, 2010; Palmer & Martínez, 2013). Colleen, the SALT president expresses concerns about what she views as underdeveloped Spanish literacy she has observed in some Latinx communities. Colleen says, *They can't read. They can't write. Their parents only gave them a little gift of some speaking* (field notes). Iliana expresses anxiety around her daughter's language mixing, noting,

> *I just don't want it to be Spanglish. If we were in Miami, Spanglish you can get through. Spanglish is part of life over there. Daniel, my husband, often is like, 'Oh, gosh. Please, let's not have her be Spanglish.'*

Although Iliana recognizes that Spanglish is an accepted language practice in some regions with a high degree of language contact, she wants her daughter to be fully literate in English and Spanish, and adds, *There's a difference.*

In addition to noting that regional variations accommodate Spanglish differently, Iliana draws a sharp distinction between what she sees as appropriate and inappropriate Spanglish use:

> *Spanglish in the home with grandma or with whoever, then it's more informal and fun. What we don't want is our daughter who is now leaning more towards mastery in English to then have this lazy Spanish which is just inserting the words she knows*.

Colleen's and Iliana's comments about biliteracy reflect attitudes toward hybrid language practices that reinforce monoglossic language ideologies and place standardized language practices as the norm. Strict language separation not only stigmatizes non-standard language varieties, but denies the agency of bilingual individuals to engage in authentic communication practices (Flores & Rosa, 2015; García & Wei, 2013; Hill, 1999; Irizarry, 2011; Leeman, 2015; May, 2014b). In order to make literacy more meaningful to students, "educators must develop radical pedagogical structures that provide students with the opportunity to use their own reality as a basis of literacy. This includes, obviously, the language to bring the classroom" (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 151). A shift in perspective to viewing students as emerging biliterate individuals would help to foster an even more additive educational experience (Escamilla, 2006; García & Wei, 2013).

Although SALT has begun consulting with a local university professor to develop bilingual assessments for the students, the program's focus on teaching and speaking in Spanish-only contradicts the way most bilinguals interact in language contact zones. Ofelia García (2009) asserts that "translanguaging characterizes most encounters among bilinguals" (p. 79). Integrating Translanguaging pedagogies in SALT classrooms would allow students to use their full linguistic repertoires to attain biliteracy while simultaneously affirming their identities and

bicultural and bilingual learners (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; García, 2013; García & Leiva, 2014; García & Wei, 2013; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Leeman, 2015).

Academic Success

Along with viewing Spanish literacy as a tool for communication within the Latinx community, SALT community members also view Spanish literacy as a means to access additional knowledge beyond reading, writing, and oral communication. Mariela sees literacy as a necessity for acquiring more knowledge, explaining that it is important *para entender y para aprender [to understand and to learn].* SALT families not only value literacy qua literacy, but also other traditional types of school knowledge (in the form of reading, writing, and subject matter content) to which the program grants access. While literacy is generally considered the foundation of learning in schools, learning to read and learning to learn are not synonymous (Freire, 2009; Heath, 1982).

Members of the SALT community see Spanish literacy as an academic skill that students can transfer to English and then utilize in their regular weekday schools. SALT's education philosophy webpage notes that

> *Studies have shown that literacy skills gained in Spanish are actually transferable to English and any other language a child speaks. This is the crux of SALT's unique mission – not only are our students becoming bilingual and discovering the value of their native language and culture, but each week they gain crucial literacy and science skills that can carry over to English and help them reach their full potential.*

It is interesting to note that this webpage is only available in English, whereas the rest of the SALT webpages are available in English and Spanish. The reason for the Spanish omission may simply reflect an assumption that Spanish Latinxs would instinctively understand the benefits of

maintaining the heritage language. On the other hand, this may indicate an awareness (even if subconsciously) of the need to appeal to the dominant English speakers' interests as they converge with those of the SALT program. This interest convergence (Alemán & Alemán, 2010; Bell, 1980; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004) is a common tactic among minoritized populations in framing or justifying their needs/rights, but points to a neoliberal ideology when utilized by majoritized groups (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017).

Sandra believes that bilingualism provides more than just communication abilities. She observes, *There's just too much information out there proving multilingualism and the benefits of it.* Iliana sees the academic development as an important aspect of the heritage language classes. She explains SALT as

> *a program intended for Latino families to encourage their children to speak Spanish and to learn how to read and write, and communicate better in Spanish in order for them to excel outside of in regular schools, in their environment, and it encourages cultural pride.*

Colleen sees the SALT heritage language classes as contributing to students' overall academic success. She notes, *We have anecdotal evidence that it's helping in regular schools.* The emphasis on the transferability of skills and knowledge gained at SALT seems almost at odds with the program's insistence that it is *not like regular schools* (Colleen, field notes).

Academic content. Much like more traditional bilingual education models, there is a strong belief that providing SALT students with content in the heritage language will benefit them academically. Many proponents of bilingual education and heritage language education cite the importance of receiving instruction in the home language for overall academic development (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Thomas & Collier,

2002). While receiving instruction in the home language may be helpful to some heritage language learners at SALT, it can be a source of frustration for others who do not have high levels of Spanish proficiency, less academic knowledge to build on, or less interest in school (field notes).

The SALT Saturday classes aim to not only provide Spanish literacy education and exposure to Latinx culture, but also to supplement students' weekday schooling by providing additional content instruction. Alicia says she develops the curriculum with the question in mind: *How do we do what the public schools aren't doing?* (field notes). Colleen explains, *What we're doing on Saturday is supplement. Our content is so thick and rich* (field notes). Constance comments,

> *I really like the science they do--a lot of things in SALT that teachers don't have time to do during the week. They were so many great little things that they would come home where I would find out they did with science. That was one of my favorite things.*

For many SALT students, the Spanish heritage language classes provide "missing" curricular elements, particularly those tied to science.

Lesson plans are created around four major concepts: our culture, ourselves, our systems, and our world. Daily lesson themes vary from class to class and change frequently. Often a daily lesson theme is tied to the calendar. For example, during the fall it is common to see students across the program learning about the seasons, colors, foliage, and autumn holidays such as el Día de los muertos and Thanksgiving. Teachers incorporate their own strengths and interests into class instruction. Germán frequently includes music in his teaching, while Teresa, Miguel, and Amalia do a lot of arts and crafts in their classes. Ofelia often conducts science experiments and

Gloria teaches literature and poetry. The degree of cultural relevance embedded in the instruction varies between lessons and classrooms.

Anita sees the SALT classes as a comprehensive education plan based in the Spanish language. She describes the program as

> *un conjunto de experiencias basadas en un plan educativo general, pero todo en otro lenguaje. Incluye ciencia, cultura, estudios sociales, y deportes.*
>
> *[a combination of experiences based on a general education plan, but all in another language. It includes science, culture, social studies, and sports.]*

She explains that SALT, along with all of the other activities in which her children participate, constitute *parte de su desarrollo [part of their development]*. This notion of SALT as a comprehensive education affirms SALT's self-perception as a supplement to students' traditional schooling.

When I asked questions about explicit technology instruction for students working on research projects, Colleen dismisses the need, saying, *they already get that in their Monday to Friday* (field notes). Some of Colleen's and Alicia's comments about what takes place in students' schools reflect negative attitudes toward public schools and teachers. Blanket statements about what teachers and schools do or don't do also call into question how much knowledge SALT board members and teachers have about their students' weekday schooling experiences. There seems to be a disconnect between the assumptions and the reality. For example, many schools are technologically impoverished, and schools have technology for their students may not utilize them effectively. Determining that students should not use technology at SALT because they already do that elsewhere does not foster technological literacy, and reproduces inequitable schooling practices.

Career options and social mobility. The advice, "Get all the education you can; with an education you can do anything" (Rodríguez, 1982, p. 7) is not an uncommon one. The largely unspoken belief at SALT is that investing in literacy skills and academic content will translate into school success for students, thereby providing expanded career options and social mobility. This belief is often framed as global competency, or the neoliberal belief that students "need bilingualism for instrumental reasons" such as job competition and global competition (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017). Bilingualism is often promoted for its translation to job skills, particularly in the areas of national security and defense (Ruíz, 1984; Leeman, 2015).

Colleen emphasizes the importance of creating *global citizens that will be bilingual and get good jobs* (field notes). Alicia attributes SALT's diverse curriculum design to this goal as well. After describing how she *looked at various curricula: Ecuadorian, Mexican, Colombian… s*he explains, *If we're trying to create global citizens, we have to have a global perspective.* Sandra believes that bilingualism is key to her children's development as citizens of the world. She comments,

> *Our world is such a global society now, and for us to think that everyone in the world speaks English is very naive and very self-centered. We need to try to speak other languages and understand other cultures. That was a big part of it, I grew up with those ideas being reinforced for me. 'Be a child of the world,' was a phrase spoken frequently in our house.*

When I ask Iliana whether she believes that *global marketability* is a driving force for SALT participation, she replies,

> *That's not what I have experiences in being immersed in the families here. I think if the population were different, if it wasn't geared toward Latino families then, perhaps… I*

think that a Spanish immersion school probably has much more of that type of influence, of English speakers-- That's my guess.

Attitudes toward globalism are not consistent across the program community, as demonstrated by Sandra and Iliana.

Although both are bicultural, they hold different views toward the importance of bilingualism and global competency. Sandra's views seem to be more aligned with the program leadership's rhetorical emphasis on global citizenship. The intersections of Latinx identity may contribute to this variation; Sandra and her children are phenotypically White and have English last names, whereas Iliana and her family have Spanish surnames and darker features. The divergent attitudes toward bilingualism and globalism may reflect the way racialized and otherwise marginalized individuals do not have access to mainstream cultural capital in the same way (Carrillo, 2013; Lo-Philip, 2010; Yosso, 2005).

Latinx Cultural Knowledge

Spanish literacy and access to mainstream academic content are important features of the SALT Spanish heritage language program, according to the organization and participating families. The acquisition of Latinx cultural knowledge is an additional component that is highly valued at SALT. There is much research that focuses on the importance of cultural relevance for Latinx and/or bilingual students' education (Andrews, 2013; Carrillo, 2016; Fránquiz, 2012; Hinman & He, 2017; Irizarry & Raible, 2011; Leeman, 2015; Moll et al., 1992; O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2014). Culturally relevant (Ladson-Billings, 1995), culturally responsive (Ladson-Billings, 1999; Villegas & Lucas, 2002), and culturally sustaining (Paris, 2012) pedagogies have been proposed and implemented in order to better address the needs of minoritized students.

According to one SALT publication, *SALT counters the notion that our families (as people of color) come to the classroom with cultural or social deficiencies.* Part of SALT's attempts to combat these deficit notions is a curricular focus on Latinx cultural knowledge. This curricular response takes the form of creating all lessons within a larger context of Latin American countries, people, products, or practices. Charlie, a board member and former SALT teacher, explains this in the following way:

> *A big part of their curriculum is having a cultural component to everything… We've described it before as, if we're talking about volcanoes, we're talking about the ones in Chile and how they are part of Chileans' lives. If we're talking about any kind of art thing, we're relating it back to folk art and Mexico or wherever that is happening. Teachers are super encouraged to bring their personal experiences into everything*.

While the SALT teachers are encouraged to embed their instruction in culturally relevant themes, the extent to which this occurs is not consistent across the grades.

In the classroom, this cultural context is often expressed through explicit focus on individual countries or as broader cultural themes. For example, in Ofelia's class, students watched a video about the history and symbolism of the Mexican flag and national anthem. Students then read about the ancient pyramids of Mexico. This provided the context for several reading and writing activities, which were then followed by a craft project. The students worked in pairs, using sugar cubes to build their own pyramids. In Teresa's class, students watched videos and listened to stories about how Carnaval is celebrated in different Latinx countries. The students then made their own Carnaval masks (field notes).

In other classes, however, the content is not explicitly linked to any specific Latin American country or cultural theme. In Miguel's class children are often engaging in literacy

activities (such as writing and identifying letter sounds) and hands-on art projects (such as desert dioramas) or science experiments (such as making "snow" from baking soda and ice water) (field notes). While these activities engage the SALT kindergartners in active learning, deliberate links to Latinx culture are not always identifiable. This may stem from a belief that being immersed in the Spanish language alongside other Latinx children is inherently a culturally relevant learning experience.

Members of the SALT community appreciate the emphasis placed on Latinx cultural knowledge. Iliana says, *Within the classrooms, the students learn every Saturday about something interesting of various Hispanic cultures.* Constance likes the cultural variety, stating that she would like to see *a more universal view of being a Spanish speaker. Maybe not an identification with one country, but with a world of Spanish speakers. I like it when she learns things from other countries.* Mariela notes the difference between the curricular focus of traditional school and that of SALT. She remarks,

> *Ahí también aprenden cosas de otros países. Como cuando estaba con el profesor Germán, que les enseñó cosas, como del Cóndor. ...Y también acá con los niños como que aprendieron las banderas de todos los países, o sea aprenden de Latinoamérica. [There they also learn about things from other countries. Like when I was in Professor Germán's class, he taught them things, like about the condor… And also there the students learned the flags from all the countries, or they at least the learn about Latin America].*

Sandra comments on the culturally embedded nature of the lessons at SALT, *actually it was mostly cultural stuff. I don't know why it took me so long to figure that out. When I discovered that, I was actually really happy to hear that.*

In addition to the teacher-planned lessons, each week students engage in Tiempo Cultural. Tiempo cultural is an integral component of the weekly SALT classes and provides students opportunities to learn about and engage in specific cultural practices from SALT parents. Mariela describes the weekly Culture Time:

> *Les enseñan de sus países y de una cosita y otra, ya van aprendiendo. Y también va enseñando de nuestra cultura, van aprendiendo de diferentes culturas de Latinoamérica. En la clase donde estamos ahorita, hay una que les enseñaron a hacer-- les dieron unos panecitos de Uruguay creo. Una de Venezuela, que les enseñó sus bailes típicos de Venezuela.*
>
> *[They teach them about their countries and a little something or other, that's how they learn. And also you teach about our culture, everyone learning about different Latin American cultures. In the class we're in now, there was a mom who taught the students to make—she gave them some pastries from Uruguay I think. One from Venezuela taught them some typical Venezuelan dances.]*

Some of the teachers may consider the inclusion of weekly Tiempo Cultural presentations as evidence of culturally relevant practices, perhaps negating the perceived need for explicitly embedded cultural content during the rest of the SALT day.

Many SALT parents enjoy the fact that their children are exposed to a variety of Latinx cultures each Saturday. Anita explains that at SALT

> *hay una mezcla de familias latinas. No sólo de México. Hay valor en la diversidad de lenguaje y de cultura aquí.*
>
> *[there is a mix of Latino families. Not just from Mexico. There is value in the diversity of language and culture here.]*

Anita comments on how the exposure to multiple Latinx cultures benefits the children: *Van creciendo con las diversidades. [They grow with the diversity].* Mariela offers, *tal vez que saben un poco más de la cultura latina [Perhaps they know a little bit more about Latino culture].*

The SALT Spanish heritage language program--through its publications and the testimony of its personnel and executive board—heavily emphasizes the intentional integration of culture and language in its programming. While Latinx culture is implemented in classroom teaching in different ways and to varying degrees, much of the embedded cultural content is superficial in nature. Teaching culture as "food, fiestas, and fun" (Salazar, 2008) diminishes the rich and complex nature of cultural heritage and reduces it to stereotypes and caricatures of latinidad. This watered-down version of culture suggests that liberal multiculturalism (Flores, 2016) guides much of the instructional planning. In order to truly empower Latinx students and families and promote cultural pride, SALT will need to move beyond the color-blind and pan-ethnic ideas of culture. Interrogations of race, class, ethnicity, language, and other facets of identity and culture are crucial to creating truly culturally sustaining education (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Giroux, 1997; Paris, 2012).

Chapter 10: SALT Spanish Heritage Language Program as a Site of Community

Latinxs in the United States have historically encountered discrimination (both de facto and de jure) based on multiple facets of Latinx identity (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Villenas, 2001; Yosso, 2005). In spite of this, many groups have been able to establish strong communities. Because many Latinxs live in highly segregated communities, schools are often the first place that children encounter racial, ethnic, or linguistic discrimination (Irizarry, 2011).

In new arrival areas, such as the Midwest and the Southeast, Latinxs are often met with suspicion, hostility, and exclusion (Wortham, Murillo, & Hamann, 2002; Lowenhaupt, 2014; Villenas, 2001). Wortham et al. (2002) explain that unlike Latinxs arriving in more established communities,

> "those in the New Latino Diaspora arrive in unfamiliar places where long-term residents have little experience with Latinos…[and]…face more insistent questions about who they are, who they seek to be, and what accommodations they merit—questions that are asked both by themselves and by others" (p. 1).

In the South, particularly, the arrival of Latinxs represent a disruption to the traditional Black/White binary. In many communities this disruption to the defined social order is treated as a threat.

The SALT Spanish heritage language program provides a safe space in the often hostile New Latinx South. This site is one in which Latinx students and their families can collectively resist marginalization by operationalizing the linguistic wealth they already possess – thereby

converting their wealth into capital. This resistance is leveraged at SALT to develop Spanish literacy capacities, other academic skills, and cultural knowledge. Latinx families also use their Community Cultural Wealth to create a physical location where community bonds can be forged and nurtured. This sense of community reaffirms students' and families' identity development, promotes familismo, and provides access to external resources.

(Lack of) Centers of Community in the New Latinx South

Due to the relatively recent establishment of the Latinx community in many new arrival areas of the South, many Latinxs live in communities without significant cultural and commercial centers of latinidad. In regions with longer-standing and previously established Latinx populations, the economic, cultural, and social influence of these groups are more apparent (Wortham et al., 2002). Mariela, an assistant teacher and mother of three SALT students, comments on the youth of the Latinx population in North Carolina as compared to more entrenched areas,

> *Mucha gente joven. Como dice mi papá-- porque él ha estado mucho tiempo aquí y ha radicado en Chicago, él. Entonces, un tiempo que estuvo aquí conmigo, a veces iba conmigo a la clínica o así, decía, 'Aquí hay mucha gente joven. Allá no; allá hay gente de todas las edades'. Y es por lo mismo porque como miraba que ahí en la clínica, o así en misa, o tal vez en lugares así, personas más jóvenes.*
>
> *[Lots of young people. Like my dad said-- because he has spent a lot of time here and had settled in Chicago. So, one time that he was here with me, he would sometimes go with me to the clinic or something, and would say, 'Here there are a lot of young people. Over there, no; there are people of all ages.' And it's the same thing he would see at the clinic, or at mass, or in other places like that, younger people.]*

While the youth of the Latinx people mirrors the newness of the population in the Southeast, it also means that there is a lack of intergenerational community.

While there are smaller neighborhoods with high concentrations of Latinx families, for the most part, Latinx families in the area surrounding the SALT program are not living in ethnically homogenous communities. Mariela lives in a small mobile home community at the edge of Treesdale which she describes as *mayoría hispano [majority Hispanic]*, but such communities are often small and scattered. Constance explains,

> *My husband knows a lot about this area because he's a mechanic and goes to people's homes to fix their cars, but people are really mixed in. I think it's spread out. I don't think you're going to find one neighborhood personally. You'll find apartment complexes here and there that have lots of Latinos but they're blended.*

Iliana also expresses that there is no identifiable center of Latinx community, saying,

> *I haven't found it here. At least, not in Milltown. I've seen many apartments or area housing… but they're little pockets. I think that that would discourage families from pushing their children to learn Spanish because if there is no core center. Then I would see that getting them Anglofied or encouraging them to speak in the home, Spanish but then, outside of the home, English. I think that would be much more encouraged than in places that I've been where there are lots of centers.*

Latinx students and recent immigrants in urban areas tend to be concentrated in schools that are highly segregated and largely non-White (Proctor et al., 2010). Those living in suburban and rural areas of the New Latino Diaspora, by contrast, often attend schools with few Latinxs or Spanish speakers (Wortham et al., 2002).

Several parents express that their child is the only Latinx in their class or school. Constance says that her daughter Karina is *the only Spanish speaker in all of first grade. There are some other Spanish speakers in the school but there's not a lot of diversity.* Charlie confirms this is true for many SALT students, saying,

> *There are some kids in SALT who were the only Latino student in their class or in their school, and they go to SALT and they have all these Latino friends and they can speak to each other and it's not a big deal.*

Iliana adds that the lack of the local community's familiarity with Latinx people and culture often results in *exoticizing, micro-racism without intention.* Iliana gives an example from her daughter's school:

> *Other parents may know one word in Spanish and so then, they say that word and they say it in this tone. Or they know that one sentence and they say it. But it sounds so comical and demeaning, but without intending to be.*

Many of the SALT parents feel that speaking Spanish in public is perceived by others as a marker of latinidad and otherness. Iliana explains, *When we speak Spanish in our community of friends here in Milltown specifically, we are clearly outside of our community*. The false dichotomy between perceived acceptable private speech (Spanish) and public speech (English) is neither a new phenomenon, nor is it unique to the New Latinx South (Baez, 2002; Hill, 1999; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Hornberger & Wang, 2008; May, 2014a; 2014b).

Carving out community. The lack of a concentrated physical center of Latinx community forces people to seek out Latinx resources and social connections elsewhere. Mariela explains how she interacts with other Spanish speaking Latinxs by supporting Latinx-owned businesses:

Nos dirigimos a las tiendas hispanas… a veces cuando queremos comer también o así, también vamos a mexicano a comernos nuestros tacos o cosas así. A veces vamos a las pulgas.

[We go to the Hispanic stores… sometimes when we want to eat or something, we also go to a Mexican restaurant to eat tacos or things like that. Sometimes we go to the flea markets.]

Constance echoes Mariela's view of the pulga [flea market] as a meeting point for Latinx people in the area. Mariela talks about going to the pulga in Milltown or in Plainfield once in a while, explaining that there she finds *puros hispanos. Y negocios hispanos, mucha comida, frutas, cosas [just Hispanics. And Hispanic businesses, lots of food, fruit, things].* Mariela's travel time to either pulga is at least 30 minutes. She comments that the Latinx businesses she patronizes are also far away, *Más allá. Aquí solamente están como unas tres tiendas. [Farther away. Here there are only about three stores.]*

In addition to sometimes travelling great distances to shop at Latinx stores, many families look to their churches for interactions with other Latinxs. Constance explains that her family attends Spanish mass and faith formation classes. Mariela talks about how Latinx families gather after church to partake in food that vendors sell out of their vehicles, explaining how they are accustomed to doing so "over there." Mariela elaborates,

nosotros allá estamos acostumbrados a eso. Cuando salimos de misa, que vamos por la nieve o que vamos por unos cacahuates, una fruta. Entonces así, aquí también ya saliendo de misa, ahí están los puestos, pues ya vamos y compramos tal vez algo.

[When we leave mass, we go for ice cream or some peanuts, some fruit. By the time mass ends, there are the stands and we sometimes go and buy something.]

Iliana explains that although her family does not go to church, she understands that for many families the church provides some element of community. She clarifies, *When I say the church, I mean whatever churches they go to become the center for whatever that community goes to that.*

In addition to shopping at Latinx stores and attending Spanish church services, some Latinx people are carving out virtual community. Sandra tells me about an Argentine acquaintance who is part of an Instagram group. She says,

> *It's like '#CostumbresArgentinos'. They get together all the time, and there's like 40 of them, and they're all within Milltown, Treesdale, and Oakland. I'm like, 'How did you find each other?' There's this group of Argentinos that they all know each other, they all get together.*

Sandra asks, *Like, 'Where's the group of Bolivians?'* expressing her frustration with the lack of identifiable centers of Latinx community in the area.

SALT as a Place of Community

For many language minoritized populations, heritage language community schools provide a sense of belonging and community (Guardado & Becker, 2014; Hinman & He, 2017; Lee & Wright, 2014; Leeman, 2015; Lowenhaupt, 2014; Potowski, 2012). SALT participants and supporters frequently point to the community aspect of heritage language program when talking about the program's value. Iliana refers to SALT as uniquely a place of Latinx community, observing, *Other than the church, I don't know. I think SALT really is the only thing and that's tiny compared to the population.* Anita simply describes the space as a community: *Es una comunidad.* Sandra describes SALT as *a way for Hispanic families to keep a connection to their heritage and culture in the community. For themselves and their families, but also within the community, to build a community.* Iliana explains that her second favorite thing about the

SALT program is *that sense of place in the community, of cultural pride in the community by having a center. Being the center of something for families just in general.*

Many SALT community members describe a sense of belonging. Constance explains, *We've gained a sense of community, we've gained wonderful friends. We've been able to celebrate being able to speak Spanish and belong. To be exposed to things that she would have otherwise not been exposed to.* Iliana, who is an Ecuadorian-American mestiza married to a Cuban-Puerto Rican man, expresses the difficulty she feels in straddling the Latinx and Anglo-American cultures:

> *I guess I never fully relax when I'm out in the Anglo community because I'm not the same. But I do that so much that I never get to really relax the other part of me that is Latina. Here, I get to relax that part. ...that half of me is able to relax even though, I'm still not the same as everybody here either.*

The safety and security of the SALT program allows families to find comfort in community, even though there is a great diversity within that community.

The community space that SALT provides is important for more than just the linguistic, literacy, or academic skills gained therein. In addition to the space it gives family to interact with other Latinx families, the community feel allows SALT participants to affirm their identities by embracing their culture and heritage, encouraging familismo, and providing a space for families to acquire and share external resources. The feeling of seguridad that SALT families express provides a stark contrast to the isolation many experience as members of minoritized and marginalized communities.

SALT affirms Latinx identity. Heritage language and identity formation have long been linked in research (Carreira, 2004; Fillmore, 2000; He, 2010; Hinman & He, 2017; Hornberger &

Wang, 2008; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Lee & Wright, 2014; Lo-Philip, 2010; Potowski, 2012; Said-Mohand, 2011). The Spanish language, in particular, is linked with Latinx identity in the United States (Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2012). Only recently, however, has the assumed relationship between heritage language and identity been empirically evaluated (Leeman, 2015). Even though studies have found that individuals may choose to study their heritage languages for a variety of reasons, identity claims/reclamation is a motivating factor for many (Leeman, 2015). Due to the perceived connection between HL and identity, many HL programs organize themselves around this premise (Guardado & Becker, 2014; Hinman & He, 2017; Lee & Wright, 2014).

For many SALT families, their Latinx identity and the Spanish language are intimately linked. Iliana expresses it this way: *I think language is like acceptance into a community*. SALT community members emphasize the importance of cultivating pride in the Latinx identity. Constance cites the importance of SALT in her children's identity development. She says that for her husband and her, SALT represents

> *a hope that our children will continue speaking, reading, writing, and feel a sense of identity in a culture that's Latino that they have in their blood. They can have hopefully, some type of an identity because my child gets no exposure to the Latino culture in her school during the week. It is our hope that we have a contact in a circle of friends.*

Sandra also articulates the importance of community and language in the identity development process, saying,

> *It took me becoming an adult to be filling out a survey, being like, 'Latina, Hispanic. Yes, that's me… I'm very American, and I'm proud of being American, but also, 'This is my background, and I don't look it, but I want you to know this is who I am too.' It took me*

being an adult to feel that way, and also being an adult to confidently speak the language, actually speak it well, and when I mess up, not feel bad about it, and be like, 'It happens.' I don't want that for my children. I don't want them to have to wait to be 30 and finally feel like they're part of that.

Sandra's concerns are explicitly addressed in the program's mission. Alicia states that one of the SALT heritage language program's goals is to help students *become prideful* of their identities as Latinxs and Spanish speakers.

SALT encourages cultural pride and heritage. Many heritage language and other community-based programs stress the importance of ethnic and linguistic pride, particularly for minoritized and racialized groups such as Latinxs in the US (Hinman & He, 2017; Osterling, 2001; Said-Mohand, 2011). For Iliana, the sense of community at SALT *means relaxing into our heritage*. She adds,

I love that it's focused on pride of being Latino or Hispanic whatever you identify as. That is the driving force and the unification of that. The nurturing of that difference or uniqueness is what makes it very different from anything that I've ever experienced before.

The focus on cultural pride and identity is a defining characteristic of the SALT program, which Sandra finds comforting. She says, *I know for certain that that whole cultural theme, that sense of connection to your background will always be present in whatever grade.*

The space for diverse Latinx families to embrace their cultural pride is important to many of the SALT community members. Anita recognizes the importance of teaching children about diverse cultures, stating that there is a value on the diversity of language and culture at SALT. She links diversity to appreciation for one's own heritage:

Es Importante ver que no es malo de ser de otro país, de otra cultura. Conocer más de su propia cultura fortaleza a su identidad. Les da la idea que todas tienen sus propias costumbres.

[It's important to see that it's not bad to be from a different country, from another culture. Knowing more about your own culture strengthens your identity. It gives them the idea that everyone has their own customs.]

Iliana says of the SALT program, *I just love the cultural piece. The cultural pride, I always put at the top for my child and for my children.*

SALT supports familismo. Familismo, or familism, is "the fundamental values that foster feelings of identification with an attachment to the nuclear and extended family as a unit, strongly emphasizing loyalty and mutual support from among members" (Guardado & Becker, 2014). For Latinxs, familism is highly valued, even compared to other groups (Calzada et al., 2012; Guardado & Becker, 2014; Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez-Stable, 1987; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011). Familial capital (Yosso, 2005) is especially important in the development and maintenance of heritage languages, as intergenerational communication is often key to HL use (Fillmore, 2000; Guardado & Becker, 2014; Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Lo-Philip, 2010).

The SALT program not only promotes familismo by facilitating intergenerational interactions. This comes in the form of welcoming families into the community space, placing parents in positions of authority within the classroom, and strengthening linguistic ties between family members. Charlie explains the role of familismo at SALT:

It is important to us having parents involved in the teaching process and giving kids opportunities to have experiences with their parents within an academic setting.

Oftentimes, for language reasons or race relations reasons or transportation reasons, there are a lot of barriers to parents being a part of their kids' lives. I see that Tiempo Cultural as that time to put parents in a position of authority in an academic setting and also given the time to tell a story about where they came from.

The weekly Tiempo Cultural gives students the opportunity to learn about diverse cultural practices throughout the Latinx worldwide community. More importantly, however, this time gives parents the opportunity to be educational leaders and centers their unique experiences and knowledge. Parents frequently share stories, books, songs, dances, and games from their own childhoods.

Many of the parents are immigrants, while most of the students are U.S.-born. These weekly presentations allow children and adults to connect in spite of their (often radically) different upbringing. One kindergarten mother showed her son's kindergarten class the shawl she crocheted for him when he was a baby. She demonstrated how many mothers in Mexico use the shawls to bundle and carry their babies. Another mother from El Salvador wore a traditional Salvadoran blouse and brought a book to show her son's first grade class. She explained how this was the book she learned to read from. The book introduced different reading skills and at the end of the book there were stories. She read the class her favorite childhood story, about a giant (field notes).

In addition to promoting familismo through concrete parental involvement initiatives like Tiempo Cultural, the act of teaching the Spanish language may foster family ties. SALT parents understand that language can become either a barrier or a bridge between generations. Anita describes her motivation for enrolling her children in the SALT program. She was concerned that

en muchas familias sus niños pierdan su lenga materna [in many families the kids are losing their mother tongue].

There is a sense that younger generations are giving up Spanish in favor of English. Constance observes that when she meets Latinxs,

> *My experience is that if they were born here, a lot of times, they don't want to be identified. When I meet them, they're almost offended that I talk to them in Spanish. I have to break the ground first and like 'Hey, I know you speak English but I need to practice my Spanish.' Once I clear that ground, they seem to be fine. The young people that were born here and they're probably in their teens, 20s, 30s, or maybe came here really young, they almost insist on making sure that I know that they speak English.*

Constance is concerned that the generational language difference is separating families, observing, *The adults still mainly only speak Spanish. The kids only speak English. It's really sad.* She worries that the language gap between parents and children is detrimental, saying,

> *I feel like a lot of the parents desperately want their kids to be successful. I think that they think if they teach their kids English, they're going to be successful. They may be but I feel worried for them. How are they going to communicate when parents don't speak English and kids don't speak Spanish, how are they going to communicate through huge emotional or just developmental experiences?*

Mariela sees the divide in her own family, noting that her children speak *Spanish, English—pero más inglés entre ellos. [Spanish, English—but more English among themselves].* She suggests, *A lo mejor piensan que ese es el idioma de sus papás [Perhaps they think of it as their parents' language].*

Although Mariela also sees the generational language split in Latinx families, she offers a hopeful view of Spanish acquisition:

> *Bueno como los niños y los jóvenes ya ahorita, ellos su idioma principal es el inglés, entonces ellos ya lo están hablando, lo hablan por donde quiera. Se puede decir que son nuevas generaciones y nuevas comunidades en la que nos estamos uniendo; se están uniendo a nosotros.*
>
> *[Well since the children and young people now, their principle language is English, so they're already speaking it, they speak it wherever they want. One can say there are new generations and new communities, and in that we are uniting; (the Spanish language) is uniting us.]*

Mariela explains that intergenerational communication is crucial. Because of this, when people tell her that she should speak English with her children so that she can learn, she responds, *Para mí es más importunate que ellos aprendan y practiquen español que yo inglés [For me it's more important that they learn and practice Spanish than that I learn English].*

Placing parents in positions of authority—whether as teachers, assistants, or Tiempo Cultural presenters—is an important element of the SALT educational philosophy. In addition to drawing on students' funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992), SALT demonstrates that the program community values familial capital (Yosso, 2005). By facilitating Spanish acquisition on the part of the students, SALT further encourages intergenerational communication. Research consistently demonstrates that by the third generation, immigrant families in the US all but lose the heritage language in favor of English (Calzada et al., 2012; Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Fillmore, 2000; Lee & Wright, 2014; Proctor et al., 2010; Valdés, 2001). Although Spanish

heritage language classes may not be able to prevent this language shift/loss, they may be able to delay the process.

SALT facilitates resource sharing. Successful community-based programs not only offer specific services, but also provide and encourage the sharing of resources within and beyond the program (Hinman & He, 2017; Lee & Wright, 2014; Lowenhaupt, 2014; Osterling, 2001). These resources may range from navigational (such as information about schools and other institutions) to social (such as networking opportunities).

There is a great deal of resource sharing amongst us, Constance comments. In addition to the informal resources sharing that occurs at SALT, special programming provides students and parents with additional educational and community resources. According to the SALT website, the Parent Community Resource Program is an important asset. The website states:

> *At monthly meetings throughout the year, a guest speaker shares information on a topic of interest identified by parents. The PCRG has hosted Spanish-speaking dentists, school psychologists, social workers, school counselors, and an immigration attorney. The program provides parents a safe place to ask questions and offers access to key resources essential to Latino families successfully navigating the school system, workplace and family life in the United States.*

Charlie says that *part of SALT's mission is sharing plenty of knowledge and resources from parents and people in that community.*

Mariela views the sharing of resources at SALT a significant difference between her children's Monday-Friday schooling. Mariela observes,

> *Eso también me gusta de SALT porque hace cosas diferentes, viajes-- en la escuela también a veces hacen viajes, pero como aquí participamos-- cuando van a los viajes,*

participamos así más los papás. A veces brindan información, cosas así que le ayudan a uno, para saber, cómo de la escuela saber de los grados de la escuela de los niños, ayudar algo así. Que yo no sabía qué era AP.

[That's also something I like about SALT because they do things differently, trips—in school they sometimes have trips, but here we participate—when they go on trips, we parents participate more. Sometimes they provide information, things that assist one, like with school, to know about the children's grade, help with things like that. Like, I didn't know what AP was.]

As Mariela notes, many of SALT's resources are geared toward assisting families with navigation their children's schooling.

Iliana lists the resource sharing among her favorite aspect of the SALT program, saying, *the community aspect of helping families, getting in touch with community resources by bringing in speakers, or having the newsletter, or talking about resources--that is very valuable.* Resources are provided by SALT community members as well as by outsiders. Representatives from local Latino-serving organizations have presented at SALT, as well as guest speakers from the Mexican consulate. Presenters have talked to parents about their legal rights, how to apply for dual citizenship, and how to create plans for their children's care in case of detainment or deportation.

In addition to school navigation resources and legal support, SALT provides resources for personal growth. English classes for the Spanish-speaking parents have been offered, as well as fitness and dance lessons. For a time Iliana was running a small English conversation group for the parents. She said that the group *turned into therapy sessions,* which was due to her professional training as an art therapist. Constance comments on the resources,

I really did like the exercise that they did for a while. That was nice. That was really great, but I like it more when they bring in people from the community as opposed to us having to do it.

Constance notes that in the past the added responsibility for providing these resources caused some parents to *feel a drain on themselves to have to come and* facilitate workshops and classes.

Alicia wants to increase the number of resources offered by SALT. She envisions creating more internal trainings at SALT, saying,

We are also trying to figure how to help parents and kids with reading at home. Train the teachers, have teachers train the parents… We have social workers, a sociology professor, higher ed professors on the board, nannies, Headstart recruitment officers. If we had a literacy specialist, we would know. 100% they would've come up and said something by now.

It is a challenge to balance encouraging parents to take on more leadership roles with bringing in experts from the community, although there is an appreciation for these additional resources.

SALT provides a variety of resources for its families, reaching well beyond Spanish language instruction. Acting as a center of community for the participating families, SALT promotes familismo and facilitates resource sharing. The SALT Spanish heritage language program not only draws on families' funds of knowledge and Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005), but also provides a physical space where members of the imagined language community (Leeman, 2015) can capitalize upon this wealth.

Chapter 11: Issues of Power and Possibility

Over the past 30 years, the United States has experienced rapid Latinization (Darder & Torres, 2015; Irizarry, 2011, Wortham et al., 2002). At the same time, we have seen the rolling back of bilingual education rights that often benefited Latinx students in schools (Davis & Moore, 2014; García, 2009). These two concurrent phenomena have only served to widen the opportunity gap between Latinx students and their White peers. To complicate matters, many Latinxs are settling in new arrival areas (such as the Midwest and the Southeast), which do not have a long-standing history of Latinx residents. The newly emerging and rapidly growing Latinx populations in the New Latinx Diaspora (Villenas, 2001; Wortham et al., 2002) are revealing new challenges for both Latinx individuals and local institutions. Across the nation, teachers are underprepared to work with culturally and linguistically diverse students, but this is more pronounced in new arrival areas (Wortham et al., 2002).

In pockets of the new Latinx South, Spanish speaking Latinxs from all different backgrounds are coming together to make space for their language and their culture. Although the terms 'Latinx' and the Spanish language are often identity markers imposed on these individuals (rather than being self-claimed), they represent unifying attributes for many in the US. Latinx families, perhaps recognizing the significant barriers to equitable and high-quality schooling, are drawing on Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) to seek out additional supports to supplement their children's education. Many of the available support services are geared toward improving academic achievement through traditional means, such as tutoring

programs, study skills groups, and preschool classes. These programs generally follow typical school strategies to facilitate academic "success" in largely monolingual school settings. These strategies include learning to mimic hegemonic Whitestream (Flores, 2016; Urrieta, 2010) schooling and cultural practices.

Spanish as Language and Tradition (SALT) is a Spanish heritage language program in central North Carolina that takes a different approach to promoting academic success. SALT seeks to provide P-12 Latinx students with a curriculum of academic content and Latinx culture, delivered in the students' heritage language, Spanish. Families travel up to two hours each Saturday to attend the SALT heritage language classes. After spending extensive time in the field at SALT and conducting semi-structured interviews with several parents and staff members to discover how and why people participate in the program, I found that in spite of the wide diversity, participants often expressed similar views about language and identity.

While the specific reasons for SALT involvement vary, they generally fall into two major categories: (a) to build/build on existing linguistic capital, and, (b) to take part in the social community. Although I have identified two overarching themes and multiple sub-themes within each, it is important to understand that the two themes are intimately entwined, in part due to the social nature of language practices (Heath, 1982; Freire & Macedo, 1987; García, 2009; Gee, 2015). These themes also overlap due to the nature of the SALT program, which is explicitly a community-based Spanish heritage language program that relies on social language interactions within and beyond classroom walls.

SALT families and supporters view the program as a means to expand on their existing linguistic assets through Spanish immersion and instruction. This increased linguistic wealth—in the form of Spanish literacy—becomes the vehicle by which students and families develop their

social, aspirational, navigational, familial, and resistant resources. More specifically, SALT families and supporters view increased literacy as a pathway to academic success (via academic content and perceived social mobility) and Latinx cultural knowledge. On top of the Community Cultural Wealth and traditional forms of social capital that the Spanish language development creates, the common identity as Spanish speakers brings families together. Participating families and staff also point to the importance of SALT as a physical site of community. The role of SALT as a community space is especially significant in the New Latinx South, where Latinx centers are neither abundant nor particularly visible. Within the SALT community, families are able to affirm Latinx identity, foster a sense of cultural pride and heritage, strengthen family ties, and share resources.

The SALT Spanish heritage language program is valued by participating families and its personnel and supporters for the linguistic enrichment potential, as well as its significance as a place of community. While these are important to the Latinx families the program serves, there are elements of liberal multiculturalism (Flores & Rosa, 2016) and neoliberal ideologies (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Gee, 2015; Macedo & Bartolomé, 2014) that reinforce the hegemonic Whiteness of traditional notions of bilingualism (Flores & Rosa, 2016) within the SALT community. The implications of these ideological influences are detailed in the following section. Next, suggestions for future research directions are offered. Finally, I close this dissertation with my reflections and concluding thoughts on the research study.

Implications

Implications for SALT

The SALT Spanish heritage language program occupies a unique space in the lives of its participating students and families. Whereas some families have greater exposure to the Spanish

language and Latinx culture, others rely on SALT as their only local source for both linguistic and cultural/community ties. This, in and of itself, is significant in understanding the multiple ways in which Latinx families in the New Latinx South forge identity and community. Perhaps because of the dearth of comparable programming in the region, SALT personnel and board members consider the heritage language program a radical one. SALT leaders attribute the heritage language program's radical nature to its insistence on Spanish use, employment of Latin American teachers, and curricular affirmation of Latinx culture.

A critical examination of the SALT Spanish heritage language program reveals that it is not, in fact, as radical or empowering as it could be. The classes at SALT largely reproduce neoliberal schooling practices and reinscribe the hegemony of standardized language ideologies. Issues of language privileging, monoglossic views of bilingualism, superficial understandings of culture, and a reliance on pan-Latinx ethnic identity (Davis & Moore, 2014) undermine the program's potential to become a transformative third space (Bhabha, 1994; Fitts, 2009; Hinman & He, 2017; Moje et al., 2004) for students and families.

Insistence on the strict separation of English and Spanish at SALT, as enacted through Spanish-only policies in the heritage language classes, reinforces notions of language privilege (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Flores, 2016, García, 2013; García & Wei, 2013; Palmer & Martínez, 2013). While the enforcement of Spanish for instructional use in SALT classrooms does create a language immersion experience for the students, it simultaneously reproduces monoglossic and hegemonic language ideologies that denigrate hybrid language practices and other non-standard language varieties, repositioning standardized Spanish practices as the norm (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Hill, 1999; García, 2013; May, 2014a). This represents a form of "bilingual hegemonic Whiteness" in which "students are expected to

become bilingual in Standardized American English and another standardized national language" (Flores, 2016, p. 14). This is in direct conflict with the lived realities of bilinguals in the US, who frequently use translanguaging and other language varieties as forms of communication, and continuing the marginalization of bilingual students (Flores, 2016; García & Wei, 2013). Furthermore, monoglossic language ideologies may foster language or identity policing, wherein latinidad is measured by Spanish proficiency.

The treatment of culture in the SALT curriculum, while generally considered affirming by its participants, can be somewhat superficial at times. Celebrating the heterogeneity of Latinx cultures can contribute to positive identity development, but the tokenization of cultural practices and perspectives (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Salazar, 2008) can result in "fixity and fetishism" (Bhabha, 1994). This view of Latinx culture also negates the various ways in which culture is produced and practiced in the New Latinx South, locating "real" culture in the Latin American countries/territories of origin. This renders invisible the ways in which Latinx cultural practices are embodied in the US.

The program's focus on the common student identity of 'Spanish-speaking Latinx' both acts as a unifying principle and as an erasure of some of the individual cultural differences found within and among different ethnic groups. Whereas Latinxs in the United States adopt (or are inscribed) a pan-ethnic identity, this is not an accurate representation of the way latinidad is experienced in other places. Rather, this pan-Latinx ethnicity is the result of racialization by the dominant White Anglo culture of the US (Davis & Moore, 2014). Lumping all Latinxs together under one label actually serves to reinforce hegemonic Whiteness (Flores, 2016) by "flattening and obscuring the nuances of ethnicity" (Davis & Moore, 2014). Further, operating under assumptions of a pan-ethnic identity obscures the various ways that heterogenous facets of

Latinx identity (such as race, class, ethnicity, phenotype, accent, surname, etc.) intersect to create differing experiences (Davis & Moore, 2014; Flores & Rosa, 2015)

In its current form, SALT is reproducing monoglossic bilingual ideologies and liberal multicultural (Flores, 2016) schooling practices, rather than creating a transformative third space for Latinx families (Bhabha, 1994; Moje et al., 2004). It is equally important to note, however, that although SALT is not necessarily a radical program, personnel and families have not indicated that they are looking for that type of programmatic experience. Because there has not, to my knowledge, been any call for a more race radical (Flores, 2016) curriculum, there is no way to predict how SALT leadership or community members would respond to the suggestion, nor how that might look in its implementation. In the following section I envision possibilities for the development and implementation of a more critically engaged Spanish heritage language program that builds on the resistant capital (Yosso, 2005) of its participating students and families to create a transformative third space that honors hybrid language practices, employs critical pedagogies, and adopts a more nuanced view of latinidad.

Implications for Spanish Heritage Language Programs

In order to move away from Spanish heritage language programming that is anchored in liberal multiculturalism (Flores, 2016) or neoliberal ideologies, programs must begin to interrogate their own understandings of language, race, and culture and articulate a firm commitment to providing students with a liberatory education (Freire, 1970/2000). Issues of Whiteness, as well as hegemonic language ideologies and schooling practices must be examined in order to be challenged. This level of self-reflection requires the active engagement of program leaders, teachers, students and families. To provide transformative programming, the leadership must have a nuanced understanding of the heterogeneity of the populations they serve, and

recognize the diversity of forces that may work to privilege, minoritized, or racialize individuals accordingly.

Freire and Macedo (1987) critique the standard language ideologies (often promoted in heritage language programs) by observing that

> “in essence, progressive educators sometimes not only fail to recognize the positive promise of the students’ language, but they systematically undermine the principles of an emancipatory literacy by conducting literacy programs in the standard language of the dominant class” (p. 158).

One way to work toward radical and emancipatory language learning spaces would be to integrate flexible language practices, including translanguaging pedagogies, into the program’s curriculum (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; García, 2009, 2013; García & Wei, 2013; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Palmer & Martínez, 2013). The adoption of flexible language practices in classrooms would more naturally reflect the ways in which bilinguals communicate in language contact zones (García, 2009; Hill, 1999). Encouraging students to draw from their full linguistic repertoires would not only bolster learning, but would “enable us to break traditional boundaries” as translanguaging

> “has the capacity to liberate bilingualism, multilingualism and plurilingualism from the societal constraints in which it has been held by monolingual and monoglossic ideologies. Translanguaging enables us to imagine new ways of being and languaging so that we can begin to act differently upon the world” (García & Wei, 2013, p. 138).

Creating space for translanguaging practices in Spanish heritage learners would recenter bilingualism as the norm, thereby rupturing ideologies around tightly structured dual monolingualism.

In order to embrace a more race radical (Flores, 2016) orientation toward heritage language development, teachers must be versed in critical pedagogies that decenter colonial narratives. This race radicalism would harken back to the social justice orientation that originally

propelled Chicano and Puerto Rican activists to fight for bilingual education rights (Flores, 2016; Leeman, 2015). Moving beyond superficial displays of Latinx culture and heritage affirmation would require that heritage language programs incorporate critical pedagogies that map Latinx cultures onto the larger sociohistorical contexts of colonialism and resistance (Cammarota, 2007; Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016; Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Freire, 1970/2000; Parker & Stovall, 2004). An ethnic studies perspective would also benefit teachers and students by helping them be “better able to develop a language of critique and possibility” (de los Ríos, López, & Morrell, 2015, p. 87). This would provide opportunity for heritage language learners to gain greater knowledge about the diversity of Latinx cultures and experiences, and move away from pan-ethnic notions of latinidad that ignore issues of race, language, phenotype, and other facets that complicate a monolithic identity label. Students and teachers would be able to work collaboratively to deconstruct these false ideas about latinidad that serve to further marginalize and racialize Latinx individuals in the United States (Davis & Moore, 2014; Flores, 2016).

Current and prospective Spanish heritage language program leaders can move toward creating transformative third spaces (Bhabha, 1994; Moje et al., 2004) of race radical language education by developing critical consciousness. One potential way for program leaders and teachers to begin to address the gaps in their understanding around language and culture would be to engage in critically reflexive action research (CRAR) (Hughes & Pennington, 2017) to investigate the complex nature of their work, as well as their own ideologies about language use and intersections of latinidad. By engaging in this reflexive practice, program actors can gain “an understanding of what it means to build collective capacity for learning” (Hughes & Pennington, 2017, p. 155), and translate that knowledge into improvements for students and teachers through

“collective action, communicative competence, and communicative praxis (Hughes & Pennington, 2017, p. 165).

Future Research Directions

The findings from this study indicate that Latinx families in North Carolina are using a variety of forms of Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) to seek out supplements to their children’s schooling. This is significant because of the recent rapid growth of the Latinx population in the New Latinx South. Due to the context of shifting migration and settlement patterns, the growth is projected to continue. Schools of education, teacher education programs, and P-12 schools are not adequately training teachers to work with this new student demographic. Nationally, the majority of pre-service and in-service teachers have no coursework or professional development to help them develop competencies for teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students (Escamilla, 2006; Face the Facts USA, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Orosco, 2010; Soltero-Gonzez, et al., 2012). This gap is even more pronounced in the New Latinx Diaspora (Lowenhaupt, 2014; Wortham et. al, 2002). Given that there is no systemic commitment to language education nor to Latinx education in these new settlement areas, it is important to identify and analyze how Latinx families are navigating educational institutions and creating third spaces to provide educational opportunities for students who are marginalized in schools.

Despite finding that SALT serves an important role for participating families in the form of access to linguistic capital and other forms of Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) and a site of community, further research should include more voices. Specifically, future research should focus on the students’ and teachers’ experiences and perspectives of the SALT program. This research would provide an added dimension of insight into how the SALT community

operates and informs students' education. Additionally, future research could take a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach (Cammarota, 2010) to push SALT toward self-examination and potentially becoming a transformative third space (Bhabha, 1994; Moje et al., 2004). This approach would not only include the voices of the SALT participants, but actually include them in the process as researchers. This would allow for the co-construction of deeply reflective analysis that could then be translated into action and practice (Glesne, 2011). This path may create space for a bottom-up transformation of the program.

Concluding Thoughts

It can be uncomfortable to live in the linguistic, cultural, and geographic interstices of the New Latinx South. It is exhausting to constantly straddle worlds—to fit into neither, but belong to both. This is made all the more difficult when the universe is constructed in binary terms. Navigating these binaries and blurring the lines that maintain the separation of identities is difficult work, but I am aware that my light skin privilege, "accentless" English, and education background facilitate my movement between worlds. I think about how Latinx students in this new southern borderland (Anzaldúa, 1987) are embodying their hybridity, and how their parents are negotiating the margins.

I have always found comfort in schools, probably because it provided stability in my otherwise unstable young life. I think in schools there are always enough different types of different to keep you rooted in solidarity; *you can be other, together*. I know this is not how many other Latinxs experience school—I have read the research and the personal accounts, as well as taught students that fit each of the different models of resistance theory (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). I know that for too many children, school is not a place of comfort and stability, but a Monday through Friday reminder of their marginalization.

And then, on Saturdays, there's SALT. These families and teachers have created a third space (Bhabha, 1994) where the Spanish language is not prohibited or treated with disdain. In this space Latinx culture is celebrated. SALT is not necessarily a radical space, in that it reproduces many of the same hegemonic language, literacy, and cultural ideologies as traditional Whitestream schools. But simply having a space where people are allowed to be Latinx or Latina or Hispanic is, in some ways, a small act of rebellion.

My hope for SALT is that it can move beyond its liberal multiculturalism (Flores, 2016) and role as navigational bridge, to a truly transformative third space (Moje et al., 2004) that actively challenges linguistic and schooling norms. The SALT Spanish heritage language program has enormous potential for promoting a model of languaging and cultural way of being that transgresses standard Spanish/English binaries or American/Latinx distinctions. The families of the SALT community deserve to be able to extend the feelings of comunidad and orgullo [pride] to spaces outside of St. Ann's School. Latinx students deserve to be able to freely engage in flexible languaging practices that reflect their hybrid identities. I want to see this program reach its full potential for the development of critical consciousness, cultural pride, and social justice work.

APPENDIX A: Participant Data

Name	Age	Family Origin	Preferred Identity	Kids	Years at SALT	Role(s)	Inter-view	Portrait	Preferred Language Use*
Iliana	41	US/ Ecuadorian mom, Puerto Rican/ Cuban husband	Latina, Mestiza	1	2.5	parent	X		2.83
Mariela	38	México	Hispana	3	3	parent (3) assistant (2)	X		1.00
Sandra	35	US/ Bolivian mom	Hispanic/ hispana	2	1	parent	X	Ch. 6	2.83
Constance	36	US, Mexican husband, Mexican-American kids	American/ americana, Mexican-American kids, Mexican husband	2	2.5	parent	X	Ch. 5	2.00
(Karina)	7	Mexican-American		N/A	2.5	student			
Anita	45	México	latina/ mexicana	3	3	Parent	X	Ch. 8	1.83
Charlie	28	US	American/ White	0	3.5	teacher/ staff/ assistant / board member	X	Ch. 7	3.00
Reina	22	Colombian/ Mexican	Hispanic/ Latina	0	6	staff/ family			2.17

*Language preference scores as self reported on Demographic Questionnaire *(See Appendix D)*:
1 = Mostly Spanish 2 = Spanish & English 3 = Mostly English

APPENDIX B: Classroom Observation Protocol

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Date:</td><td>Classroom:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Classroom Context (Physical Description & Demographics)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Time</td><td>Who is talking?</td><td>Descriptive Notes</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>☐ Mostly Teacher
☐ Mostly Students
☐ Teacher & Students
☐ No one</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>☐ Mostly Teacher
☐ Mostly Students
☐ Teacher & Students
☐ No one</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>☐ Mostly Teacher
☐ Mostly Students
☐ Teacher & Students
☐ No one</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>☐ Mostly Teacher
☐ Mostly Students
☐ Teacher & Students
☐ No one</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>☐ Mostly Teacher
☐ Mostly Students
☐ Teacher & Students
☐ No one</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

APPENDIX C: Interview Protocol

In trying to learn more about SALT, I feel it is important to get to know the participants. I'd like to you tell me a little bit about yourself. Please feel free to respond with as much or as little information as you feel comfortable. Your responses will remain confidential and anonymous. You don't have to answer every question and we can stop this interview at any time.

1. When and where were you born?
2. What languages were spoken in your home as a child?
3. Can you describe your own schooling experience?
4. How long have you lived in the United States (if born elsewhere)?
5. What guided your decision to come here (to the Southeastern U.S.)?
6. What is your occupation?
7. What is your role here in SALT (parent, teacher, volunteer, etc.)?
8. How long have you participated in the program?
9. How did you hear about it?
10. Why did you want to get involved with this program?
11. Do you prefer English, Spanish, or some other language?
12. What role do you think language plays in your everyday life?
13. What role do you think language plays in your culture and/or in your community?
14. What role does you see the Spanish language playing in SALT?
15. How does this program compare with your other schooling experiences? In what ways is it similar and different?
16. In what ways are you currently involved with SALT?
17. How would you describe what SALT does?
18. How do you feel about the curriculum, the lessons, and the general organization?

19. What is one of your favorite aspects of the program?

20. What do you find challenging?

21. What does this School mean to you and your family?

22. What do you think you (or your child) have gained anything from participating?

23. Are you (or your children) involved in any other programs or organizations?

24. How would you compare those other programs/organizations to SALT?

25. Would you like to tell me anything else about SALT?

APPENDIX D: Demographic Questionnaire

[Demographic Questionnaire – ADULT]

In trying to learn more about the School, I feel it is important to get to know more about the participants. I'd like you to tell me some basic information about yourself. Please respond to as many of the questions as you feel comfortable. Your responses will remain confidential.

Name: ____ Sex: ______ Age: _______

Origin (yours or your family members): ____

Number of Years Participating in the School: _______ Number of children participating: ______

Role (Circle all that apply): Parent/ Teacher/ Volunteer/ Assistant/ Staff/ Donor/ Board Member

Please indicate which language you prefer to use in each of the following contexts:

At home:	Mostly Spanish	Spanish and English	Mostly English
At work/school:	Mostly Spanish	Spanish and English	Mostly English
With friends:	Mostly Spanish	Spanish and English	Mostly English
Reading:	Mostly Spanish	Spanish and English	Mostly English
Writing:	Mostly Spanish	Spanish and English	Mostly English
TV/Movies/Radio:	Mostly Spanish	Spanish and English	Mostly English

How do you prefer to identify yourself? (Martk all terms that apply.)

American/americana Hispanic/hispano/hispana Latino/Latina

Latin American/latinoamericano/latinoamericana Latin@ Latinx

Other term(s): ____

APPENDIX E: Example of Coding Scheme

Raw Data: *"I would say it's a way for Hispanic families to keep a connection to their heritage and culture in the community. For themselves and their families, but also within the community, to build a community." (Sandra)*

Level 1: Open Coding, Initial Coding

Large quantities of raw qualitative data are focused into codes

Example: *"a way for Hispanic families to keep a connection to their heritage and culture in the community. For themselves and their families, but also within the community, to build a community"*

Level 2: Axial Coding

Open coding is collapsed to develop more focused coding

Code**: community, cultural pride and heritage, familismo**

Level 3: Thematic Coding

Themes emerge from collapsing Axial codes

Theme: **SALT as a Place of Community**

Definition: SALT participants and supporters frequently point to the community aspect of heritage language program when talking about the program's value.

REFERENCES

Alemán, E., & Alemán, S. M. (2010). 'Do Latin@ interests always have to "converge" with White interests?': (Re)claiming racial realism and interest-convergence in critical race theory praxis. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *13*(1), 1-21.

Alemán, E., Delgado Bernal, D., & Cortez, E. (2015). A Chican@ pathways model of acción: Affirming the racial, cultural and academic assets of students, families and communities. *Association of Mexican-American Educators (AMAE) Special Invited Issue, 9*(1), 13-26.

Althusser, L. (1971). *On ideology.* New York: Verso.

Andrews, M. (2013). Capitalizing on Mexican parents' cultural models of parental involvement from their children's perspectives. *Linguistics and Education*, *24*(4), 497-510.

Anzaldúa, G. (1987). How to tame a wild tongue. In *Borderlands/La Frontera* (pp. 75-86). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

Arias, M, B., & Morillo- Campbell, M. (2008) Promoting ell parental involvement: challenges in contested times. http://epsl.asu.edu/documents/EPSL-0801-250-EPRU.pdf

Austin, T. (2015). Defining "Highly Qualified Teachers" in heritage language education. *American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages special interest group on heritage languages newsletter*, (4), 1-3.

Baez, B. (2002). Learning to forget: Reflections on identity and language. *Journal of Latinos and Education, 1*(2), 123-132.

Bartlett, L., & García, O. (2011). *Additive schooling in subtractive times: Bilingual education and Dominican immigrant youth in the Heights.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Bartolomé, L. I. (2008). Authentic cariño and respect in minority education: The political and ideological dimensions of love. *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy, 1*(1), 1-17.

Beckett, L., Glass, R. D., & Moreno, A. P. (2013). A pedagogy of community building: Re-imagining parent involvement and community organizing in popular education efforts. *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal, 6*(1), 5-14.

Behnke, A. O., González, L. M., & Cox, R. B. (2010). Latino students in new arrival states: Factors and services to prevent youth from dropping out. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *32*(3), 385-409.

Bell, D. A. (1980). Brown v. Board of Education and the interest-convergence dilemma. *Harvard Law Review*, *93*, 518-533.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). Introduction. In *The location of culture* (pp.1-18). New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social science information*, *16*(6), 645-668.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). Language and symbolic power. In (J. B. Thompson, Ed.) *Language and symbolic power* (pp. 502-513). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cadiero-Kaplan, K., & Rodríguez, J. L. (2008). The preparation of highly qualified teachers for English language learners: Educational responsiveness for unmet needs. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *41*(3), 372-387.

Callahan, R. (2005). Tracking and high school English learners: Limiting opportunity to learn. *American Educational Research Journal*, *42*(2), 305-328.

Calzada, E.J., Tamis-LeMonda, C.S., & Yoshikawa, H. (2012). *Familisimo* in Mexican and Dominican families from low-income, urban communities. *Journal of Family Issues, 34*(12), 1696-1724.

Cammarota, J. (2007). A social justice approach to achievement: Guiding Latina/o students toward educational attainment with a challenging, socially relevant curriculum. *Equity and Excellence in Education, 40*(1), 87-96.

Cammarota, J. (2010). The cultural organizing of formal praxis-based pedagogies: A socio-historical approach to participatory action research. *Social Justice, 36*(4), 6-13.

Carreira, M. (2004). Seeking explanatory adequacy: A dual approach to understanding the term “heritage language learner.” *Heritage Language Journal, 2*(1), 1-25.

Carreira, M., & Kagan, O. (2011). The results of the national heritage language survey: Implications for teaching, curriculum design, and professional development. *Foreign Language Annals 44*(1), 40-63.

Carrillo, J. F. (2013). I Always Knew I Was Gifted: Latino Males and the Mestiz@ Theory of Intelligences (MTI). *Berkeley Review of Education*, *4*(1), 69-95.

Carrillo, J. F. (2016). *Barrio nerds: Latino males, schooling, and the beautiful struggle.* Boston: Sense Publishers.

Carter, P. L. (2005). *Keepin' it real: School success beyond Black and White*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cervantes-Soon, C. G. (2014). A critical look at dual language immersion in the New Latin@ Diaspora. *Bilingual Research Journal, 37*(1), 64-82.

Cervantes-Soon, C.G. & Carrillo, J.F. (2016). Toward a pedagogy of border thinking: Building a Latin@ students' subaltern knowledge. *The High School Journal,* 282-301.

Cervantes-Soon, C. G., Dorner, L., Palmer, D., Heiman, D., Schwerdtfeger, R., & Choi, J. (2017). Combating inequalities in two-way language immersion programs: Towards critical consciousness in bilingual education spaces. *Review of Research in Education, 41*(1), 403-427.

Chapman, T, K. (2007). Interrogating classroom relationships and events: Using portraiture and critical race theory in education research. *Educational Researcher 36*(3), 156-162.

Cochran-Smith, M. (1995). Color blindness and basket making are not the answers: Confronting the dilemmas of race, culture, and language diversity in teacher education. *American Educational Research Journal, 32*(3), 493-522.

Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making sense of qualitative data: Complementary research strategies*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.

Cope, V., Jones, B., & Hendricks, J. (2015). Portraiture: A methodology through which success and positivity can be explored and reflected. *Nurse Researcher, 22*(3), 6-12.

Cordasco, F. (1973). The children of immigrants in the schools: Historical analogues of educational deprivation. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *42*(1), 44-53.

Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners: Language diversity in the classroom (5th ed.).* Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services, Inc.

Crenshaw, K. W. (1995). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, & K. Thomas (Eds.), *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement* (pp. 357-383). New York: The New Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches.* Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Crump, A. (2014). Introducing LangCrit: Critical language and race theory. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, *11*(3), 207-224.

Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research*, 49, 225-251.

Cummins, J. (1981). Empirical and theoretical underpinnings of bilingual education. *Journal of Education*, *163*(1), 16-29.

Cummins, J. (1991). Interdependence of first-and second-language proficiency in bilingual children. *Language Processing in Bilingual Children*, 70-89.

Cummins, J. (2001). *Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society.* Los Angeles, CA: California Association for Bilingual Education.

Cummins, J. (2008). Teaching for transfer: Challenging the two solitudes assumption in bilingual education. In *Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 1528-1538). Springer US.

Darder, A. (2012). *Culture and power in the classroom: Educational foundations for the schooling of bicultural students.* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Darder, A., & Torres, R. D. (2015). Latina/o formations in the United States: Laboring classes, migration, and identities. *Ethnicities, 15*(2), 157-164.

DaSilva Iddings, A. C., Combs, M. C., & Moll, L. (2012). In the arid-zone: Drying out educational resources for English language learners through policy and practice. *Urban Education, 47*(2), 495-514.

Davis, T. Y., & Moore, W. L. (2014). 'Spanish not spoken here': Latinos, race, and the racialization of the Spanish language in the United States. *Ethnicities,* 14(5), 676-97.

de los Rios, C.V., Lopez, J., & Morrell, E. (2015). Toward a critical pedagogy of race: Ethnic studies and literacies of power in high school classrooms. *Race and Social Problems, 7*(1), 84-96.

DeCuir, J. T., & Dixson, A. D. (2004). "So when It comes out, they aren't that surprised that it is there": Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher, (33)*5, 26-31.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York: NYU Press.

Delgado Bernal, D. (1998). Using a Chicana feminist epistemology in educational research. *Harvard Educational Review, 68*(4), 555-582.

Delgado Bernal, D. (2002) Critical race theory, Latino critical theory, and critical raced-gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry, 8*(1), 105-126.

Dixson, A. D., Chapman, T. K., and Hill, D. A. (2005). Research as an aesthetic process: Extending the portraiture methodology. *Qualitative Inquiry, 11* (1), 16-26.

US Department of Education (2015). *EL Fact Sheet: Ensuring English Learner Students Can Participate Meaningfully and Equally in Educational Programs.* Retrieved from https://prepparents.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/04/EL_Webinar_April_19_2016_PPT.OCR-English.pdf

Ennis, S. R., Ríos-Vargas, M., & Albert, N. G. (2011). *The Hispanic population: 2010.* (US Census Bureau 2010 Census Brief). Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf

Epstein, J. L. (2011). *School, family, and community partnerships: Preparing educators and improving schools (2nd ed.).* Boulder: Westview Press.

Escamilla, K. (2006). Semilingualism applied to the literacy behaviors of Spanish-speaking emerging bilinguals: Bi-illiteracy or emerging biliteracy? *The Teachers College Record*, *108*(11), 2329-2353.

Face the Facts USA. (2013). *Limited English students test public schools* [Infographic]. Retrieved from http://www.facethefactsusa.org/facts/limited-english-students-test-public-schools

Faltis, C., & Arias, B. (2007). Coming out of the ESL ghetto: Promising practices for Latino immigrant students and English learners in hypersegregated secondary schools. *Journal of Border Educational Research*, *6*(2), 19-35.

Fillmore, L. W. (2000). Loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned? *Theory into Practice, 39*(4), 203-210

Fishman, J. (2001). 300-Plus years of heritage language education. In J. K. Peyton, D. A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.) *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 87-97). Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics. Retrieved from http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED458809.pdf

Fitts, S. (2009). Exploring third space in a dual-language setting: opportunities and challenges. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *8*(2), 87–104.

Fitts, S., & Gross, L. A. (2012). Teacher candidates learning from English learners: Constructing concepts of language and culture in Tuesday's Tutors after-school program. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, *39*(4), 75-95.

Flores, B. M. (2005). The intellectual presence of the deficit view of Spanish-speaking children in the educational literature during the 20th century. In P. Pedraza & M. Rivera (Eds.) *Latino education: An agenda for community action research* (pp. 75-97). Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Flores, N. (2016). A tale of two visions: Hegemonic Whiteness and bilingual education. *Educational Policy, 30*(1), 13-38.

Flores, N. & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review, 85*(2), 149-171.

Flores, N. & Schissel, J. L. (2014). Dynamic bilingualism as the norm: Envisioning a heteroglossic approach to standards-based reform. *TESOL Quarterly, 48*(3), 454-479.

Fránquiz, M. E. (2012). Key concepts in bilingual education: Identity texts, cultural citizenship, and humanizing pedagogy. *New England Reading Association Journal, 48*(1), 32-42.

Freire, P. (2009). Reading the world/Reading the word. In *Teachers as cultural workers: Letters to those who dare teach,* (pp.31-47). Boulder: Westview Press.

Freire, P. (1970/2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York, NY: Continuum.

Freire, P. & Macedo, D. (1987). *Literacy: Reading the word and the world.* South Hadley: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc.

Gándara, P. (2005). Addressing educational inequities for Latino students: The politics of "forgetting". *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education 4*(3), 295-313.

Gándara, P. (2014). I s there really a labor market advantage to bilingualism in the U.S.? (Policy Information Report, Research Report No. RR-15-07). Princeton: Educational Testing Service.

Gándara, P. C., & Contreras, F. (2009). *The Latino education crisis: The consequences of failed social policies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

García, O. (2013). Countering the dual: Transglossia, dynamic bilingualism, and translingualism in education. In L. R. Rubdy & L. Alsagoff (Eds.) *The global-local interface and hybridity* (pp.100-118). Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan.

García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective.* Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

Garcia, O., & Bartlett, L. (2007). A speech community model of bilingual education: Educating Latino newcomers in the USA. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *10*(1), 1-25.

García, O., & Kleifgen, J. A. (2010). *Educating emergent bilinguals: Policies, programs, and practices for English language learners*. New York: Teachers College Press.

García, O., & Leiva, C. (2014). Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In A. Blackledge & A. Creese (eds.), *Heteroglossia as Practice and Pedagogy* (pp. 199-216). Netherlands: Springer.

García, O., & Wei, L. (2013). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gee, J. P. (2015). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses* (5th ed.). New York: Routledge.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays.* New York: Basic Books.

Gerena, L. (2011). Parental voice and involvement in cultural context: Understanding rationales, values, and motivational constructs in a dual immersion setting. *Urban Education*, *46*(3), 342-370.

Giroux, H. A. (1997). *Pedagogy and the politics of hope.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Glesne, C. (2011). *Becoming qualitative researchers* (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson.

Gómez, M. L., & Rodríguez, T. L. (2011). Imagining the knowledge, strengths, and skills of a Latina prospective teacher. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 127-146.

González, J. J. (2012). Understanding the role of social capital and school structure on Latino academic success. *A Journal of Transdisciplinary Writing and Research from Claremont Graduate University, 2*(1), 1-16.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks.* New York: International Publishers.

Guardado, M., & Becker, A. (2014). 'Glued to the family': The role of familism in heritage language development strategies. *Language, Culture and Curriculum, 27*(2), 163-181.

Hampsten, K. (2015). Challenges in working with portraiture. *Journal of Applied Communication Resesarch, 43*(4), 468-471.

Haney López, I. (2006). *White by law: The legal construction of race.* New York: New York University Press.

Hayes, D., Blake, J. J., Darensbourg, A., & Castillo, L. G. (2015). Examining the academic achievement of Latino adolescents: The role of the parent and peer beliefs and behaviors. *Journal of Early Adolescence 35*(2), 141-161.

He, A. W. (2010). The heart of heritage: Sociocultural dimensions of heritage language learning. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics 30,* 66-82.

Heath, S. B. (1982). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. *Language in Society, 11*(1), 49-76.

Hill, J. E. (1999). Language, race, and white public space. *American Anthropologist, 100*(3), 680-689.

Hinman, T., & He, Y. (2017) Hybrid practices in the alternative living spaces of community-based heritage language program. *New Waves Educational Research & Development 20(1),* 1-22.

Hornberger, N. H. (1989). Continua of biliteracy. *Review of Educational Research, 59*(3), 271-296.

Hornberger, N. H., & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging in today's classrooms: A biliteracy lens. *Theory into Practice, 51,* 239-247.

Hornberger, N. H., & Wang, S. C. (2008). Who are our heritage language learners? In D. M. Brinton, O. Kagan, & S. Bauckus (Eds.) *Heritage language education* (pp. 3-35). New York: Routledge.

Hughes, S. A., & Pennington, J. L. (2017). *Autoethnography: Process, product, and possibility for critical social research.* Washington, D.C.: Sage Publications, Inc.

Irizarry, J. G. (2011). *The Latinization of U.S. schools: Successful teaching and learning in shifting cultural contexts.* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Irizarry, J. G., & Raible, J. (2011). Beginning with El Barrio: Learning from exemplary teachers of Latino students. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *10*(3), 186-203.

Kelleher, A. (2010). What is a heritage language program? *Heritage briefs*, 1-4. Center for Applied Linguistics. Retrieved from http://www.cal.org/heritage/index.html

Krashen, S. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. New York: Pergamon.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal, 32,* 465-491.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1999). Preparing teachers for diverse student populations: A critical race theory perspective. *Review of Research in Education, 24*(1), 211-247.

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *The Teachers College Record*, *97*(1), 47-68.

Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. (1983). *The good high school*. New York: Basic Books.

Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. (2005). Reflections on portraiture: A dialogue between art and science. *Qualitative Inquiry, 11*(1), 3-15.

Lawrence-Lightfoot, S., & Davis, J. H. (1997). *The art and science of portraiture*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lee, J. S., Oxelson, E. (2006). "It's not my job": K-12 teacher attitudes toward students' heritage language maintenance. *Bilingual Research Journal, 30*(2), 453-477.

Lee, J. S., & Wright, W. E. (2014). The rediscovery of heritage and community language education in the United States. *Review of Research Education, 38*(1), 137-165.

Leeman, J. (2015). Heritage language education and identity in the United States. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 35,* 100-119.

Lippi-Green, R. (2004). Language ideology and language prejudice. *Language in the USA: Themes for the twenty-first century*, 289-304.

Lo-Philip, S. W. (2010). Towards a theoretical framework of heritage language literacy and identity processes. *Linguistics and Education, 21*(1), 282-297.

López, M. H., & González-Barrera, A. (2013). What is the future of Spanish in the United States? *Washington DC: Pew Research Center*.

Lowenhaupt, R. (2014). School access and participation: Family engagement practices in the New Latino Diaspora. *Education and Urban Society, 46*(5), 522-547.

Macedo, D. & Bartolomé, L. (2014). Multiculturalism permitted in English only. *International Multilingual Research Journal, 8,* 24-37.

Marian, V., Shook, A., & Schroeder, S. R. (2013). Bilingual two-way immersion programs benefit academic achievement. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *36*(2), 167-186.

Marin, G., Sabogal, F., Marin, B. V., Otero-Sabogal, R., & Perez-Stable, E. J. (1987). Development of a short acculturation scale for Hispanics. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *9*(2), 183-205.

Martínez, R. A. (2010). "Spanglish" as literacy tool: Toward an understanding of the potential role of Spanish-English code-switching in the development of academic literacy. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 124-149.

Martínez, J., Iterreiner, A., Aragon, A., & Kellerman, P. (2014). Immigration reform and education: Demystifying mythologies about Latina/o students. *Multicultural Learning and Teaching*, 1-23.

Matthias, L, R., & Petchauer, E. (2012) Through thick and thin: how views of identity affect listening for a story in portraiture. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods 11(4), 399*-415.

May, S. (2014a). Contesting public monolingualism and Diglossia: Rethinking political theory and language policy for a multilingual world. *Language Policy, 13*(4), 371-393.

May, S. (2014b). Justifying educational language rights. *Review of Research in Education, 38*(1), 215-241.

Mayorga-Gallo, S. & Hordge-Freeman, E. (2017). Between marginality and privilege: Gaining access and navigating the field in multiethnic settings. *Qualitative Research, 17*(4): 377-94.

Mitra, D. L. (2006). Youth as a bridge between home and school: Comparing student voice and parent involvement as strategies for change. *Education and Urban Society, 38*(4), 455-480.

Moje, E. B., Ciechanowski, K. M., Kramer, K., Ellis, L., Carrillo, R., & Collazo, T. (2004). Working toward third space in content area literacy: An examination of everyday funds of knowledge and discourse. *Reading Research Quarterly, 39*(1), 38-70.

Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory Into Practice, 31*(2), 132-141.

Moll, L. C., & Arnot-Hopffer, E. (2005). Sociocultural competence in teacher education. *Journal of teacher education*, *56*(3), 242.

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 409-429.

Oakes, J. (2005). *Keeping track: How schools structure inequality.* (2nd Edition). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Oberg De La Garza, T. & Moreno Kuri, L. (2014). Building strong community partnerships: Equal voice and mutual benefits. *Journal of Latinos and Education, 13*(2), 120-133.

O'Donnell, J., & Kirkner, S. L. (2014). The Impact of a Collaborative Family Involvement Program on Latino Families and Children's Educational Performance. *School Community Journal*, *24*(1), 211-234.

Olivos, E. M., & Quintana de Valladolid, C. E. (2005). Entre la espada y la pared: Critical educators, bilingual education, and education reform. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *4*(4), 283-293.

Orosco, M. J. (2010). A sociocultural examination of response to intervention with Latino English language learners. *Theory Into Practice*, *49*(4), 265-272.

Ortlipp, M. (2008). Keeping and using reflective journals in the qualitative research process. *The Qualitative Report*, *13*(4), 695-705.

Osterling, J. P. (2001). Waking the sleeping giant: Engaging and capitalizing on the sociocultural strengths of the Latino community. *Bilingual Research Journal, 25*(1), 59-88.

Palmer, D., & Martínez, R. A. (2013). Teacher agency in bilingual spaces: A fresh look at preparing teachers to educate Latina/o bilingual children. *Review of Research in Education*, *37*(1), 269-297.

Paris, D. (2012). Culturally sustaining pedagogy: A needed change in stance, terminology, and practice. *Educational Researcher, 41*(3), 97-97.

Parker, L. & Stovall, D. O. (2004). Actions following words: Critical race theory connects to critical pedagogy. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 36*(2), 167-182.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). Two decades of developments in qualitative inquiry: A personal, experiential perspective. *Qualitative Social Work*, *1*(3), 261-283.

Potowski, K. (2012). Identity and heritage learners. In S. M. Beaudrie & M. Fairclough (Eds.) *Spanish as a heritage language in the United States* (pp. 179-199). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Proctor, C, P., August, D., Carlo, M., & Barr, C. (2010). Language maintenance versus language of instruction: Spanish reading development among Latino and Latina Bilingual learners. *Journal of Social Issues 66*(1), 79-94.

Quigley, C., Trauth-Nare, A., & Beeman-Cadwallader, N. (2015). The viability of portraiture for science education research: Learning from portraits of two science classrooms. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 28*(1), 21-49.

Razfar, A., & Rumenapp, J. C. (2014). *Applying linguistics in the classroom: A sociocultural approach.* New York: Routledge.

Rodríguez, R. (1982). *Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez*. New York: Bantam Dell.

Ruíz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal*, *8*(2), 15-34.

Sáenz, B. A. (2012). *Aristotle and Dante discover the secrets of the universe.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Said-Mohand, A. (2011). The teaching of Spanish as a heritage language: Overview of what we need to know as educators. *Porta Lingarum, 16*(1), 89-104.

Salazar, M. (2008). English or nothing: The impact of rigid language policies on the inclusion of humanizing practices in a high school ESL program. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *41*(3), 341-356.

San Miguel, G., & Valencia, R. R. (1998). From the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to Hopwood: The educational plight and struggle of Mexican Americans in the Southwest. *Harvard Educational Review, 68*(3), 353-413.

Santa Ana, O. (2004). Chronology of events, court decisions, and legislation affecting language minority children in American public schools. In *Tongue Tied: The Lives of Multilingual Children in Public Education.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Smokowski, P. R., & Bacallao, M. (2011). *Becoming bicultural: Risk, resilience, and Latino youth*. New York: NYU Press.

Solórzano, D. G., & Delgado Bernal, D. (2001). Examining transformational resistance through a critical race theory and LatCrit theory framework: Chicana and Chicano students in an urban context. *Urban Education, 36*(3), 308-342.

Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2001). Critical race and LatCrit theory and method: Counter-storytelling. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 14*(4), 471-495.

Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2001). From racial stereotyping and deficit discourse toward a critical race theory in teacher education. *Multicultural Education 9*(1), 2-8.

Soltero-González, L., Escamilla, K., & Hopewell, S. (2012). Changing teachers' perceptions about the writing abilities of emerging bilingual students: Towards a holistic bilingual perspective on writing assessment. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *15*(1), 71-94.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.

Suárez, D. (2002). The paradox of linguistic hegemony and the maintenance of Spanish as a heritage language in the United States. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 23*(6), 512-530.

Thomas, W., & Collier, V. P. (2002). A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long term academic achievement: Final report. https://escholarship.org/content/qt65j213pt/qt65j213pt.pdf

Umansky, I. M., & Reardon, S. F. (2014). Reclassification patterns among Latino English learner students in bilingual, dual immersion, and English immersion classrooms. *American Educational Research Journal*, *51*(5), 879-912.

United States Census Bureau. (2010). *Facts for features: Hispanic Heritage Month 2010: Sept. 15 – Oct. 15.* Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/facts_for_features_special_editions/cb10

Urrieta, L. (2010). Whitestreaming: Why some Latinas/os fear bilingual education. *Counterpoints, 371*(1), 47-55.

US Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2014). *Labor Force Characteristics by Race and Ethnicity 2013.* BLS Reports: Report 1050. Retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsrace2013.pdf

Valdés, G. (1998). *The world outside and inside schools: Language and immigrant children*. *Educational Researcher*, 27(6), 4-18.

Valdés, G. (2001). Heritage language students: Profiles and possibilities. In Peyton, Ranard, McGinnis (Eds.) *Heritage Languages in America: Preserving a National Resource. Language in Education: Theory and Practice.* McHenry: Delta Systems Company Inc.

Valdés, G. (2005). Bilingualism, heritage language learners, and SLA research: Opportunities lost or seized? *The Modern Language Journal, 89*(3), 410-426.

Valencia, R. R., & Black, M. S. (2002). "Mexican-Americans don't value education!"—On the basis of the myth, mythmaking, and debunking. *Journal of Latinos and Education, 1*(2), 81-103.

Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: US-Mexican youth and the politics of caring.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Villegas, A, M., & Lucas, T. (2002). Preparing culturally responsive teachers: Rethinking the curriculum. *Journal of Teacher Education, 53*(1), 20-32.

Villenas, S. (1996). The colonizer/colonized Chicana ethnographer: Identity, marginalization, and co-optation in the field. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(4), 711-731.

Villenas, S. (2001). Latina mothers and small-town racisms: Creating narratives of dignity and moral education in North Carolina. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *32*(1), 3-28.

Villenas, S. (2002). Reinventing *educación* in new Latino communities: Pedagogies of change and continuity in North Carolina. In S. Wortham, E. G. Murillo, & E. T. Hamann (Eds.) *Education in the new Latino diaspora* (pp. 17-35). Westport: Ablex Publishing.

Wiley , T. G. & Lukes, M. (1996). English-Only and standard English ideologies in the U.S. *TESOL Quarterly, 30*(3), 511-535.

Willis, A. I., & Harris, V. J. (2000). Political acts: Literacy learning and teaching. *Reading Research Quarterly, 35*(1), 72-88.

Wortham, S. E. F., Murillo, E. G., & Hamann, E. T. (2002). *Education in the new Latino diaspora: Policy and the politics of identity*. Westport: Ablex Publishing.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *8*(1), 69-91.

Yosso, T., Villalpando, O., Delgado Bernal, D., & Solórzano, D. G. (2001). Critical race theory in Chicana/o education. *SJSU Scholarworks, Paper 9,* 89-104.

Zarate, M. E. (2007). *Understanding Latino parental involvement in education: Perceptions, expectations, and recommendations.* Los Angeles: The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute.