

Hybrid Practices in the Alternative Learning Spaces of Community-Based Heritage Language Programs

Tierney Hinman
Ye He

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Abstract

Community-based heritage language (HL) programs can empower culturally and linguistically diverse students and families to construct hybrid practices linking home and school knowledges to promote learning. This study focused on the analysis of critical incidents in one Spanish HL program involving both youths and adults. Findings revealed the ways participants challenged the privileging of commodified knowledges by leveraging community cultural wealth and negotiating their roles in the alternative learning space. Discussions regarding the transformation of individual knowledge into shared knowledge are provided for educators to further explore ways to create more equitable learning spaces for all learners.

Hybrid Practices in the Alternative Learning Spaces of Community-Based Heritage Language Programs

In the face of societal and institutional pressures to assimilate, including anti-immigration policies and English-only instructional mandates (Jeon, 2008), maintaining an intergenerational sense of cultural identity and pride remains a challenge for many in the United States. Heritage language (HL) programs have emerged, in part, as an effort to preserve the unique languages and cultures of the country's diverse families (Fishman, 2001; Rumbaut, 2009). Community-based HL programs have played a significant role in this effort (Valdés, 2001). These programs provide supplementary language and cultural heritage education that fosters learners' bilingual and bicultural identity development (Carreira & Rodriguez, 2011; Leeman, Rabin, & Roman-Mendoza, 2011).

Participation in HL programs has been shown to increase both individual and collective agency for developing proficiency, competence, and pride in the HL (Lee & Wright, 2014). By involving children, families, and other members of the community, HL programs are uniquely positioned to recognize and consider community strengths when designing more meaningful instruction. Yosso's (2005) theory on community cultural wealth (CCW), then, provides a particularly useful lens for examining the kinds of knowledge that HL participants leverage in their work to preserve their heritage language and culture.

However, despite the significant work being done by community-based HL programs, much of it is unrecognized by mainstream society (Fishman, 2001). This often makes it difficult to examine and disseminate the benefits of such programs and gain the kinds of resources needed to sustain them over time (Lee & Wright, 2014). Lee and Wright (2014), in a review of the history and current trends of community-based HL programs in the United States, called for more research to validate HL programs "as an alternative but legitimate education space, where critical discourses about and practices supportive of multilingualism and multiculturalism can flourish" (p. 138). Through this kind of research, which centralizes community-based work, deficit perspectives of multilingual and multicultural education can be challenged.

In this study of a Spanish HL program designed collaboratively by the community, school district, and a local university, we sought to explore the ways in which learning spaces were jointly constructed through the unique knowledges of the participants. We examined the community cultural wealth (CCW) parents, students, and teachers brought to the HL program. In addition, we explored the ways in which features of the program empowered participants to leverage that CCW and negotiate roles for teaching and learning. Consideration of how spaces can be jointly constructed by participants in alternative learning settings can further inform educators of the ways in which students and their families can leverage their linguistic and cultural knowledge to capitalize on shared learning opportunities.

Building upon the literature on community-based HL programs and CCW, we describe the research context and the critical incident technique adapted for data collection and analysis in this study. Findings are organized by critical incident and each explores participants' CCW, program features empowering participants to leverage that CCW, and participants' negotiation of roles for teaching and learning. Discussion and implications examine how the HL program spaces engaged participants in knowledge production and learning processes that drew upon families' cultural strengths. Suggestions for teaching and future research are offered.

Literature Review

Community-Based Heritage Language Programs

Researchers have defined HLLs in a variety of ways (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Lee & Wright, 2014). Valdés (2001), for example, defined an HLL in the United States as an individual “raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language” (p. 38). In addition to language practices, Hornberger and Wang (2008) defined HLLs as those “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 (heritage language) and HC (heritage community)” (p. 27). This definition emphasizes the ways in which the term heritage language learner works to emphasize learning identity by empowering individuals or groups to decide for themselves if and to what degree they might identify with an HL or HC. Unlike related terms, such as *English language learner (ELL)* or *native language speaker*, that suggest some level of proficiency in a language, *heritage language learner* encompasses an array of individuals with varying proficiency levels in the heritage language and various affiliations with the heritage culture (Lee & Wright, 2014). For example, He (2012) defined HLLs as those “who have ethnolinguistic affiliation to the heritage but may have a broad range of proficiency in oral or literacy skills” (p. 588). However, it is important to note that HLLs of any particular language are never a homogeneous group. Different family backgrounds, learning experiences, language proficiency levels, and academic readiness directly impact their learning and maintenance of the heritage language and culture (Potowski & Carreira, 2004; Valdés, 2006).

Based on the 2017 report from the Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA), Spanish was the language spoken by the largest number of English learners. This data, collected in 2013–14, indicated that there were 3,770,816 English learners who reported Spanish as their home language. In North Carolina, where this study took place, over 80% of English learners were Spanish speakers (OELA, 2017). The district where the Spanish HL program was housed reported that 94.3% of the English learners who were enrolled in 2013–14 identified as Hispanic (Civil Rights Data Collection [CRDC], 2017).

In working to meet the needs of these language learners, Spanish HL classes have emerged in both formal school settings and in various community-based HL programs. As of 2016, the database established by the Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages had profiles of 847 HL programs (Heritage Languages of America). Among these programs, 110 were reported as school-based, 517 as community-based, 84 as sponsored by various organizations, 53 as led by higher education departments, and 56 as summer programs. Most of these programs tend to involve children and youth as target participants. Even though all HL programs aim to enhance learners' HL proficiency and celebrate heritage culture, the instructional approaches vary greatly. Some use a more monoglossic approach in which the HL is developed as a separate learning experience occurring at different times and often in different spaces than instruction in English (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012). Others promote a hybrid discourse where translanguaging (García, 2007) and hybridization (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007) practices are encouraged. These types of approaches facilitate the strategic use of multiple languages in the same spaces through complex semiotic processes that construct and communicate unique ways of thinking about the world and one's own experiences. In this way, languages become complementary tools for meaning-making, each language supporting proficiency in the other.

Regardless of the instructional approach used by the HL program, many educators and educational researchers have begun to acknowledge that the teaching of HLLs must be comprised of more than just good teaching; it must also be intentional (Kelly, 2015). In light of the underachievement of Hispanic students in comparison with their White peers (Pérez Huber, Huidor, Malagón, Sánchez, & Solórzano, 2006; Rodriguez & Arellano, 2016), it has become imperative to examine the ways in which instruction can intentionally draw upon the cultural strengths of the Hispanic community. CCW (Yosso, 2005) has arisen as one such tool.

Community Cultural Wealth in Alternative Learning Spaces

Situated in the work of Critical Race Theory (CRT), CCW challenges the ways in which Bourdieu's (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) cultural capital theory has been used in education to explain racial inequity. Consisting of cultural, social, and economic capital, Bourdieu's theory asserts that dominant cultural groups maintain their power through limited access to the kinds of capital that promote social mobility. Yosso (2005) critiqued this interpretation of Bourdieu's work for its assertion "that some communities are culturally wealthy while others are culturally poor" (p. 76), thereby establishing White, middle class culture as the norm. She claimed that traditional cultural capital theory does not recognize or value forms of cultural capital possessed by those who are not White and middle class.

Drawing from the concept of wealth (Oliver & Shapiro, 1995) and applying the concept of "funds of knowledge" (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) to CRT, Yosso (2005) challenged the deficit-based perspective by shifting the focus to the types of cultural wealth that communities of color embrace. She defined CCW as "an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (p. 77). It is comprised of at least six different types of capital that families bring to learning spaces: aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistant capitals. Aspirational capital is the ability to maintain hope, even in the face of inequality or when the means to bring about change are unavailable. It can be captured in the resiliency of families. Linguistic capital includes knowledge of multiple languages and communicative skills and styles. While familial capital refers to community values, such as moral and emotional values, social capital is comprised of networks of people and resources that can be found within the community.

Navigational capital encompasses the knowledge and skills necessary for navigating social institutions, particularly because those institutions have been historically created without Communities of Color in mind. Finally, resistant capital refers to the knowledge and skills needed to challenge inequities, as well as the ability to pass on all CCW from generation to generation.

Despite its potential as a tool for enhancing learning opportunities for nonmainstream students, there is little research being done with a CCW framework in K–12 heritage language programs. There has been only limited research conducted in other learning spaces, such as in dual-immersion and bilingual classrooms in traditional school settings (DeNicolo, González, Morales, & Romani, 2015; Straubhaar, 2013). On a broader scale, however, a CCW framework has been more frequently used to examine the ways in which Hispanic students experience schooling in the United States (Locke, Tabron, & Venzant Chambers, 2017; Larrotta & Yamamura, 2011; Peralta, 2013). These studies have most commonly focused on two aspects of CCW: (a) what kinds of capital students bring to school and the costs to students when that capital goes unrecognized (Locke et al., 2017) and (b) what kinds of instruction best utilize capital to expand learning opportunities (DeNicolo et al., 2015; Larrotta & Yamamura, 2011; Peralta, 2013). Across the literature, research conducted through a CCW lens has indicated that student and family capital has not been sufficiently recognized at a structural level (Straubhaar, 2013). Research conducted in alternative spaces, including heritage language programs, are needed as an important source of information regarding how these structural changes might be made. Situated at the periphery of what might be considered a learning space, these alternative learning spaces are best positioned to recognize the different forms of expertise students and families bring to the learning process.

CCW can be considered a form of horizontal expertise (Gutiérrez, 2008). Traditionally, school learning has been more vertically-oriented, defined, for instance, as moving from immaturity and incompetence to maturity and competence (Engeström, 1996; Gutiérrez & Larson, 2007). Vertical forms of learning often dismiss historical and cultural aspects of learning. Increasing demands on schools for more accountability and standardization have furthered the exclusion of social and cultural context-embedded knowledge production from the learning process (Cobb, 2000; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Although HLLs can benefit greatly from the various types of CCW, they may nevertheless be disadvantaged by the peripheral positioning of their funds of knowledge in traditional learning spaces where knowledge can be considered to be commodified (Fitts, 2009; Tan & Faircloth, 2013). Gutiérrez & Larson, (2007), on the other hand, defined horizontal forms of learning as encompassing the kinds of knowledge developed within and across practices. For example, learning does not only occur in formal school settings. Students learn across spaces, including the spaces in which they participate outside of school. Learning spaces that incorporate both vertical and horizontal forms of learning provide unique opportunities for knowledge production (Gutiérrez & Larson, 2007).

Although all spaces incorporate, to different degrees, both vertical and horizontal forms of learning, those that both acknowledge and utilize horizontal expertise particularly provide opportunities for expansive learning (Gutiérrez & Larson, 2007). In the *zone of conflict* (Bakhtin, 1981) created through the integration of vertical and horizontal learning, diverse ideas, experiences, and knowledge collide. When teachers and students engage in dialogue and work to hybridize learning, Third Spaces can be constructed (Engeström, 2016; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejada, 1999; Gutiérrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995).

Learning in Third Spaces recognizes that spaces can be “contested, reimagined, and remade” (Mills & Comber, 2013, p. 12). In such spaces, learners who are typically marginalized in vertically-oriented learning spaces can become producers of social practices that challenge, resist,

or reject the power structures and ideologies that peripherally position them (Handsfield, Crumpler, & Dean, 2010; Fitts, 2009). Translanguaging provides a key example of a possible Third Space for language learners (Gutiérrez, 2008). Velasco and García (2014, p. 7) described translanguaging as a “linguistic repertoire” in which two or more languages are “used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organize and mediate mental processes in understanding, speaking, literacy, and...learning” (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012, p. 641). Translanguaging is enacted as a social, cultural, and political practice. It requires a kind of border thinking (Mignolo, 2000) as knowledge is constructed *between* two languages and their associated cultural histories. This space then situates the learner in ways that empower the construction of alternative knowledges, potentially transforming spaces by challenging the traditional hierarchy of languages and the cultural positioning of language learners in the United States (García & Leiva, 2014).

Thus, in contrast to the monetized knowledge and skills valued in vertically-oriented learning spaces, Third Spaces can leverage learners’ noncommodified knowledges (Tan & Faircloth, 2013). Grounded in community and culture to more equitably position students to draw upon their unique strengths, the noncommodified knowledge framework (Tan & Faircloth, 2013) considers what the learner brings, what the learner does, and what counts as learning in an attempt to maximize the learning potential of *all* students. Ultimately, by legitimating the voices, experiences, and CCW of students and their families, the norms and practices of spaces can be transformed to support multilingual, multicultural, and culturally-responsive practices (Fitts, 2009; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejada, 1999). Alternative learning spaces that engage both vertical and horizontal forms of learning, such as an HL program, are particularly rich sources of data for exploring the kinds of horizontal expertise (e.g., CCW) that families might bring and leverage for learning as they engage in more vertical forms of learning.

Methods

Research Questions

In the present study, we examined the spaces constructed for knowledge production and learning in a Spanish HL program. Three questions guided data collection and analysis:

1. What CCW do participants bring into the HL learning space?
2. How do the curriculum, instructional practices, and learning outcomes of the HL space afford participants opportunities to leverage their CCW?
3. How do HL participants negotiate their roles while participating in the HL program?

Program Context and Participants

The present study was conducted in the southeastern part of the United States with relatively recent growth in the Hispanic immigrant population. The school district is situated in a rural setting with five elementary schools, two middle schools, and one high school. Among the total student population, approximately 19% were identified as English learners. The majority of the English learners (94%) reported as being Hispanic. Over half (52%) of the students in the school where the HL program took place reported being Hispanic.

Fourteen parents and 14 middle school students regularly participated in the program. Twelve of the parents originated from Mexico, one from El Salvador, and one from Colombia. Rather than expecting HL program participants to develop double monolingualism in English and in Spanish separately, we intended to create an HL environment where language was taught as a situated cultural practice to enhance learners’ multilingual and multicultural growth (García, Zakharia, &

Octu, 2013). In addition to cultivating youths' literacy skills in both Spanish and English, the HL program also included a component for developing parents' computer literacy skills using Spanish as the instructional language (He & Prater, 2011). As a part of the program curriculum, all participants completed projects on an issue relevant to their local Hispanic community. Once topics were selected, participants engaged, individually or in small groups, in in-depth research on the issue using both scholarly work and informal conversations with others in their community. They then used this information to generate a potential solution to the issue for their particular community. Topics ranged from issues regarding limited transportation options and a lack of bilingual resources to building understanding of the college application process. Computer literacy instruction was integrated in parent classes. Parents learned to use software such as Microsoft Word and PowerPoint to create their final product and learned to use emails and social media to communicate with one another and the teachers.

The HL program was offered on Saturdays at a local middle school during the spring of 2016. Participants met for three hours a day over the course of seven weeks. The final week was reserved for project presentations and a graduation celebration at the university campus. Three teachers from the middle school were recruited as instructors—two classroom teachers and one English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) teacher. One of the classroom teachers and the ESL teacher were native Spanish speakers. The two classroom teachers taught the middle school students in the HL program and the ESL teacher worked with parents. Although the daily structure of the program shifted for each session based on the kind of work being done that day, most sessions included both shared activities between the parents and students and individual classroom time. Childcare was provided for siblings who were too young to attend the program.

Data Collection and Analysis

Critical incident technique (CIT) was adapted for data collection and analysis. Flanagan (1954) defined a critical incident as an observation “having special significance and meeting systematically defined criteria” (p. 327). There are five steps in a typical CIT process: (1) identify the aims of the study; (2) determine plans and specifications; (3) intentionally collect data; (4) conduct data analysis; and (5) interpret and report (Flanagan, 1954). The aims and relevance used to identify critical incidents in this study were established through the research questions and theoretical framework. The researchers observed all HL sessions and recorded detailed observations describing interactions among students, parents, and teachers. In addition, sharings from participants that were relevant to the research aims were noted. Participants also had the opportunity to share their reflections on HL experiences. This discussion was video-recorded and included for analysis. Finally, 21 projects were included as artifact data to explore how participants leveraged CCW within the HL program.

Researchers discussed the data throughout the study and kept detailed memos. After initial inductive and thematic exploration of all qualitative data (Johnson & Christensen, 2004; Yin, 2008), critical incidents were identified. Data were then analyzed in NVivo to highlight themes in response to the first two research questions. These themes included an increasing confidence in navigating society, an increase in opportunities for parent involvement in education, and an increasing desire to leverage tools for learning. Yosso's (2005) CCW framework provided deductive guidance as researchers categorized the findings (Yin, 2008). Examples of capitals were then identified and coding categories were added to capture how participants' CCW was leveraged in the HL context. Finally, all critical incidents were explored inductively for patterns in participant interaction and negotiation of roles in the HL space.

Crucial to data collection and analysis is a discussion of the positionality of the researchers. The first author is a monolingual literacy educator. She has been engaged in spatial research across numerous educational contexts, including in both traditional and alternative settings serving diverse students at the middle and secondary level. The second author is a bilingual ESL teacher educator. She has worked with the HL programs in various settings and has worked with administrators and teachers in the middle school since 2007. By merging these experiences, we were able to approach data collection and analysis in ways that addressed learning at the juncture of spatial theory and multilingual and multicultural education in alternative settings. Our subsequent discussion of findings demonstrates the ways in which we were able to use our collective knowledge to address our research questions.

Findings

We highlight three critical incidents to address the research questions in our study: gaining confidence in navigating society, increasing opportunities for parent involvement in education, and developing the desire to leverage tools for learning. Consistent with the definition of a critical incident (Flanagan, 1954), these three incidents were selected for discussion based on their particular significance to HL program participants. Factors indicating significance included their frequent inclusion in classroom discussions and final projects and participants' heightened emotional responses (e.g., murmurs of agreement, tears, sharing of personal stories) when these issues arose. These incidents defined the learning spaces constructed by the HL program participants, determining who could learn what and in what ways. In the following sections, we explore each critical incident in depth and discuss (a) the CCW participants brought to the HL learning space; (b) the ways in which the HL curriculum, instructional practices, and learning outcomes afforded participants with opportunities to leverage their CCW; and (c) the ways in which participants negotiated their roles while participating in the HL program.


Critical Incident #1: Gaining Confidence in Navigating Society

The peripheral positioning (Fitts, 2009) of the Hispanic community presented challenges that undermined the confidence of many of the HL participants to participate fully in a social life outside of the home. (See Figure 1 for an example project.) Central to this issue was the difficulty of obtaining a legitimate form of identification, such as a driver's license, that permitted such participation. Many HL participants described their struggle to understand a foreign application process, find support to navigate the process in their native language, and access the documentation needed to apply for it. Without legitimate identification, participants were unable to perform such routines as picking their children up from school or safely driving their families to and from extracurricular activities. Although this restriction of physical movement and social interaction was taxing on participants, significantly more consequential was the impact of the lack of official identification on emotional stability as they consistently faced fear and anxiety of sanctioned consequences, including that of deportation (Ellie, final project). Participants' engagement with this issue created a space that empowered learning by uncovering participants' relevant CCW, leveraging that knowledge in the work of the HL program, and uniquely positioning them with a sense of agency to perform and share that work.

Immigrants Access to Driver License


Steps to Getting a Driver's License:

- *First you need to get your permit and take the test.
- *You must be 16 years or older to get your licence.
- *You must complete at least 50 hours of driving practice including at night.
- *You must have insurance and a car.




Topic Overview

Some immigrants don't have the paperwork and other documents they need to get a driver's license. They are scared to drive because they either don't have the paperwork or they don't have a driver's licence. Or the case may be that they don't have a car.



Details:


In order to get a permit or license you need a birth certificate, proof of residency, and social security card. Then you have to take the written test. You also must complete 50 hrs. of test driving even at night. You must also have some sort of insurance and you must be at least 16 years old.



The green represents the states that let people get a license with less paperwork.

How does it affect us:

- It creates fear for the Hispanic community.
- It doesn't allow access for medicines, or for basic necessities.
- Lack of a driver's license can cause people to be deported or choose not to come to [redacted]. Our state will lose \$14.5 billion and close to 101,414 jobs if all of the immigrants were to be removed.



Possible Solutions:

In order to solve the problem we can:

- ★ write a letter to the representative of the state.
- ★ have more translators throughout the state to help Hispanics understand the driver's license process.
- ★ inform people about this issue.
- ★ work to unite the community to discuss the issue and find a way to solve the problem.

Figure 1. Example Family Project for Critical Incident #1.

Participants' CCW. All of Yosso's (2005) capitals were evident in the data addressing this critical incident. Aspirational capital encompassed participants' imagining of spaces in which they could be full participants in society and in which their identities could be legitimated through the provision of official identification. Linguistic capital enabled participants to utilize translanguaging to think, write, and talk about the issue from the diverse perspectives of two languages and cultural experiences. For example, Flora and Selena described the unique challenges of obtaining identification for those in their community, "No hay acceso a medicamentos a la hora de comprarlos (necesidad básica) (*It doesn't allow access for medicines, or for basic necessities*)" (final project). In terms of familial capital, parental figures played a central role in determining how significant having an official identification would be. For example, Elisa described her father's influence on her thinking about getting a driver's license, "no parecía importante manejar puesto que dependía de me papa (*it did not seem important to handle since it depended on my dad*)" (final project).

Participants' sharing regarding their experiences in obtaining identification was a source of social capital. Tips for negotiating requirements, like taking the driver's license exam (observation, 1/30/2016) or applying for a FaithAction ID as an alternative identification (observation, 3/5/2016), arose from navigational capital. Finally, resistant capital was evident in participants' frustration with institutions determining who can or cannot obtain identification despite requirements to have one to participate fully in society. These frustrations included being "partes de la comunidad que no tenemos derecho a una identificación pero se benefician de nosotros por ser inmigrantes (*part of the community that has no right to an identification but that benefits from us being immigrants*)" (Esmeralda, Isabella, & Estrella, final project).

Leveraging CCW. Drawing upon "issues that change life for the Hispanic community," the HL program's curriculum focus on policies and practices that perpetuate the disadvantaging of a community enabled participants to engage in traditionally taboo discussions involving being undocumented, fearing deportation, and obtaining citizenship (observation, 1/20/2016). Instructional practices that encouraged collaborative learning empowered discussions that drew upon individual knowledge to develop alternative solutions for the community. Finally, the learning outcomes, as demonstrated through participant projects and presentations, facilitated the transformation of individual knowledge regarding alternative forms of official identification into a shared knowledge. For example, Flora and Selena's knowledge that those who "que no poseen el número de seguro social pueden utilizar (ITIN) el número de identificación individual (*do not have the social security number may use (ITIN) the individual identification number*)" to renew a license became shared knowledge following their final project presentation (video recording, 3/12/2016).

Participants' Negotiation of Roles. Even though participants occupied traditional positions – those of teachers, parents, and students respectively – we observed shifts in these roles based on their positioning of one another in the process of conducting the work of the HL program. In terms of this critical incident, students and parents selected their own topics for their projects. Teachers then positioned students and parents as experts, centering (Fitts, 2009) their personal narratives and knowledge of obtaining identification as the foundation of potential solutions. Given the opportunity to engage in relevant learning, parents and students became active participants in generating and sharing knowledge within HL spaces. Personal experiences encouraged investigation into alternative options for identification that further influenced teachers' instructional decisions about the inclusion of community resources in the form of classroom discussion topics, guest speakers, and online sites (observation, 2/6/2016). In this way, parents and students became co-designers of the HL program.

Critical Incident #2: Increasing Opportunities for Parent Involvement in Education

For many of the participants in the program, the cultural and linguistic differences between the home world of the HL families and the school world of students created a gap that did not always easily permit, or even sanction, movement between the two. (See Figure 2 for an example project.) For students, this often meant the inability to draw upon their parents as a source of knowledge for learning in school settings. For parents, it meant being uninformed about what their children were doing in school and how they might learn about additional ways of supporting their children's school achievement. Both parents and students recognized how this gap between the home and school worlds sometimes served to distance students from their heritage and decrease the quality

of education they received, both in academic terms and in experiential terms. Increasing opportunities for parent involvement was thus centralized as part of the work of the HL program. This particularly involved helping them navigate school communication tools (e.g., PowerSchool), make contact with school personnel (e.g., guidance counselors), and access resources for understanding the college application process (e.g., College Foundation of North Carolina bilingual contacts).

College Readiness

facts & statistics.
How many students from [redacted] are prepared for college?

How many Hispanic student are in [redacted]?

[redacted] 37.1% of Hispanic kids go to [redacted] but only 25% are ready for college

How many Hispanic kids in [redacted] are ready for college?

Well, 37.1% of kids in [redacted] are Hispanic, but only 25% of those students are ready for college.

To help students with their education:

- They need routines at home
- They need to get plenty of physical movement at home
- They need to practice their skills at home after school, such as math drills, reading, vocabulary practice, etc.
- Kids need to study after school at home
- Parents need to help their kids after school

Possible Solutions:

We have to start getting prepared in 6th grade to go into college or get a better future.

- Parents need to encourage kids to do more than just watch TV or use their phone at home.
- Parents need to be made aware of just how important it is for their child to have good study habits now.
- Parents need to have conversations with each other and the school to learn more about how to help their child at home.




Figure 2. Example Family Project for Critical Incident #2.

Participants' CCW. All capitals were employed through participants' engagement with this critical incident. In terms of aspirational capital, many participants felt strongly that “la pobreza...surge como product de la imposibilidad de acceso de los recursos...tales como la educación (*poverty...arises as a result of the inability to access resources...such as education*)” (Fernando, final project). Parents, in particular, aspired to a better future for their children, one in which their children could represent “la comunidad Hispana en los Estados Unidos con grandes capacidades y ventajas (*the Hispanic community in the United States with large capacities and advantages*)” (final projects). Linguistic capital enabled participants to draw from a wider variety

of resources while seeking solutions, including discussing options with monolingual English members of the school community and monolingual Spanish or bilingual members of the Hispanic community (observation, 2/13/2016). Familial capital particularly emphasized the importance of family involvement in the educational success of both students and schools. Eva, a middle school HL participant, explained that “there are problems in schools when the parents don’t get involved in their child’s learning, for example bullying in the schools” (final projects). Furthermore, the participation of entire families in the HL program, including parents and older and younger siblings, demonstrated the ways in which these Hispanic families approached learning as a collaborative effort rather than an independent activity (observation, 2/6/2016).

Social and navigational capital were evident in the ways participants shared their knowledge of community resources that included school guidance counselors and Spanish-speaking employees at the College Foundation of North Carolina (final projects). Parents were also able to offer one another advice about locating their child’s information on the school district’s digital communication system (i.e., PowerSchool) and on negotiating institutional requirements for applying to colleges. Martin, for example, advised that students “habla con gente (amigos, familiares, miembros del clero, y tus docentes y consejero escolar), asiste a ferias universitarias, usa el internet, y pide que te envíen catalogos por correo (*talk to people [friends, family, clergy, and your teachers and school counselor], attend college fairs, use the internet, visit universities, and ask them to send catalogs by mail*)” (final projects). Finally, participants demonstrated resistant capital in their explicit defiance of cultural stereotypes limiting their educational aspirations to vocational-related work. Martin shared, “a veces, sus hija/os han recibido mensajes que ellos no llegaran a ser alguien en sus vidas, y ustedes como padres tienen que borrar esos mensajes (*sometimes your daughters/sons receive messages that they cannot become someone in their lives, and you as parents have to delete those messages*)” (final projects).

Leveraging CCW. The program’s explicit purpose of helping participants become “proud of where [they’re] from—[their] heritage, [their] culture” empowered participants to treat their own experiences and those of others in their community as authoritative and relevant to the work performed in HL spaces (observation, 1/30/2016). Instructional practices, including parent participation in student classrooms, encouraged students to draw upon their parents’ knowledge and experiences to complete their projects. Thus, parents were able to share their heritage with their children in ways that were legitimized within HL spaces, empowering them to participate in the education of their children in ways not typically recognized nor encouraged in traditional classroom settings. Final presentations, as part of the learning outcomes, created a space where students could begin to discover the ways in which their parents’ cultural knowledge and experiences were relevant, and even advantageous, to the learning process. For example, during presentations, Martin encouraged his listeners, particularly the parents, by saying, “El valor de luchar y triunfar ya es parte de su hogar...[porque] padres son modelos (*The courage to fight and succeed is already part of your home...[because] parents are models*)” (final projects).

Participants’ Negotiation of Roles. The HL program established boundaries, using time and physical space, for parent and student learning. For example, the program typically held parent sessions in the school’s computer lab while students met in a classroom (observation, 1/30/2016). However, teachers also created shared spaces for parents and students in the media center and occasionally, as mentioned above, in the student classroom (observation, 2/20/2016). In these shared spaces, teachers positioned parents as sources of knowledge students could draw upon in

completing their final projects. This empowered parents, through their daily work in the HL program, to discover and acknowledge the CCW they possessed and leverage it to help their children navigate educational institutions. Furthermore, this positioning also enabled parents to enhance and enrich their children's cultural and social education in ways that schools could not. In this way, parents became significant contributors to the HL program's instructional design, impacting learning outcomes.

Critical Incident #3: Developing the Desire to Leverage Tools for Learning

The third critical incident encompassed participants' concern regarding the ways in which language and learning were restricted by social structures that promoted the status quo. (See Figure 3 for an example project.) These concerns were grounded in the perception that most institutions, like schools, provided few resources for nurturing multilingual and multicultural identities. Participants considered this to have a negative impact on their mental and physical health, sense of satisfaction and success, and sense of belonging. For students, this sometimes resulted in a growing disassociation with their heritage language and culture in order to better fit into school social life. Parents, who typically spoke limited English, struggled to navigate instructional tools and materials provided by schools and to communicate with teachers about their children's progress in class.

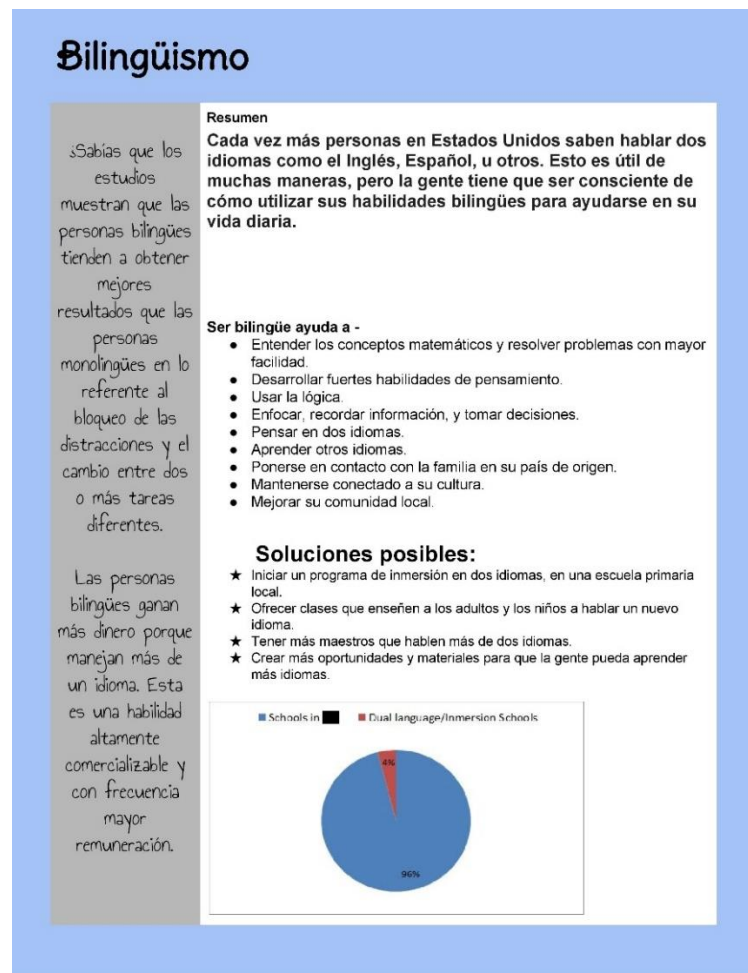


Figure 3. Example Family Project for Critical Incident #3.

The HL program employed three general tools—Spanish, English, and technology—that acted upon participants’ desire to develop and leverage aspirations for expanded learning opportunities. This space provided unique opportunities for participants to integrate their knowledge, creating a kind of hybrid tool that could be leveraged in the learning process. For students, this included developing an appreciation of their heritage language and culture beyond the home and a recognition of the value of constructing bicultural and bilingual identities. For many students, this experience was in direct conflict with earlier messages they had received from society pressuring them *not* to use their heritage language or, at least, to value it less in the scope of successfully navigating life beyond the home (observation, 1/30/2016). Many students spoke of this phenomenon in terms of the lack of services and resources for Spanish-speakers in schools and workplaces, the deficit discourses surrounding immigrants and immigration, and the fact that speaking Spanish made others see them as being different (observation, 1/30/2016, 2/20/2016, 3/5/2016). They shared that these experiences communicated to them that their heritage language, and, in fact their heritage, were considered as being of less value by society. For parents, technology instruction enabled them to construct a tool that connected the English-speaking world (e.g., teachers and the learning materials provided to students) to the home. Participants’ interest and passion for this issue contributed to the construction of a space that afforded multiple legitimized pathways for learning, taking into account the various needs of those who attended the HL program.

Participants’ CCW. All of Yosso’s (2005) capitals were also identified in this critical incident. Aspirational capital was evident in participants’ search for extended learning opportunities. These opportunities encompassed a wide range of ideas for supporting learning, including through afterschool “clubs or a mini-school to teach math, science, language arts, and social studies in Spanish” (Juanita, Lara, Lillian, final projects) or through components of the HL program itself, such as the technology class offered for parents (observation, 1/30/2016). Linguistic capital was demonstrated as participants adopted learning tools, or combinations of learning tools, that best fit each situation, enabling them to address obstacles they confronted while navigating learning and communication processes. This included flexibly using English, Spanish, or translanguaging based on the audience and the speaker’s needs and abilities (researcher memo, 2/20/2016). In terms of social and familial capital, participants approached problems from the perspective that they could rely upon the skills of others in their community to address gaps in their own abilities and that they could also offer their own skills to others. For example, students often looked to their parents and teachers for language support when speaking Spanish (observation, 1/30/2016) while some parents received help from their children in navigating technology to construct their final project presentations (observation, 3/5/2016).

Navigational capital was evident in participants’ discussions about their knowledge of resources that enabled communication across languages. These resources included dual immersion and bilingual programs, institutionally-based interpreters, and translation apps for technology devices (observation, 1/30/2016). Finally, resistant capital was demonstrated through discussions addressing the societal pressures to abandon the heritage language and the beneficial impacts a heritage language can have on the learning of a second language (observation, 1/30/2016). These ideas were reflected in students’ projects as they gathered evidence to make assertions regarding the advantages of being bilingual, including that “bilinguals tend to perform better than monolinguals on exercises that require blocking out distractions and switching between two or

more different tasks” and that “knowing more than one language is a highly marketable skill and often commands higher pay” (Juanita, Lara, Lillian, final projects).

Leveraging CCW. A third overarching goal of the HL program targeted “strengthen[ing] [students’] abilities in Spanish and English, especially in reading and writing” and supporting parents’ developing proficiency with technology (observation, 1/30/2016). By explicitly acknowledging the marginalization of Spanish and bilingualism in U.S. society (observation, 1/30/2016) and then designing a curriculum that problematized that, the HL program opened a space for participants to challenge normed practices valuing English as the primary medium for learning. Instructional practices enabled participants to both *do* the work of the HL program using native and bilingual skills and focus on language *as* the work of the program. For instance, Calvin could do his project on developing more bilingual speakers in the workplace, discuss his project with fluent others in both English and Spanish, and present his project using translanguaging. Many of the HL teachers’ knowledge of both languages offered participants multiple opportunities to learn in the language that best suited the demands of the task at hand, as well as extend their understanding of language usage itself, such as in students’ discussion of the proper words to use in both languages for addressing people of different ethnicities (observation, 2/13/2016). Finally, the learning outcomes emphasized how the boundaries among learning tools were blurred, working to bridge the gap between home and school learning and encouraging and equipping participants to fully participate in both cultures.

Participants’ Negotiation of Roles. In traditional school settings, those who speak English fluently are often privileged by the system (Fitts, 2009). This allows English speakers to be positioned more powerfully in the classroom than bilingual or native Spanish speakers and gives them access to more opportunities for academic, extracurricular, and social activities. In the HL program, the language spaces available for learning enabled participants to use their native and bilingual skills to participate in a project that actively resisted this positioning by general society. The program’s curriculum and instruction supported participants’ use of both languages and technology and positioned those who could participate across contexts more powerfully. Thus, students and parents were positioned as resources for one another, with teachers as the keepers of a professional knowledge that enabled them to bring resources, particularly guest speakers, to the HL program that contributed to their learning goals.

Summary

The HL program constructed extensive spaces (see Table 1) for parents, students, and teachers to engage in knowledge production and learning processes that drew upon families’ cultural strengths and aspirations (Tan & Faircloth, 2013). Parents brought to the HL spaces an intricate knowledge of their heritage, along with aspirations that their heritage could be integrated into curriculum and instruction as a legitimate component of the learning process. Students brought their day-to-day experiences navigating two culturally-diverse worlds and their understanding about how learning opportunities can be negotiated in ways that are, if not meaningful, than at least practical to them. Teachers brought their knowledge of school norms that they could than use to locate resources supporting the needs of parents and students attending the HL program.

Table 1. Summary of Critical Incidents

		Gaining Confidence in Navigating Society	Increasing Opportunities for Parent Involvement in Education	Developing the Desire to Leverage Tools for Learning
Participants’ CCW	Aspirational Capital	Recognized official identification	Better future for their children	Searching for extended learning opportunities
	Linguistic Capital	Using translanguaging	Discussion with monolingual and bilingual speakers	Adoption of various learning tools
	Familial Capital	Parental figures’ central role	Family involvement	Collaborative problem solving
	Social & Navigational Capital	Sharing identification-seeking process	Shared knowledge of community resources	Sharing knowledge of resources for communication across languages
	Resistant Capital	Frustration with institutions in the identification-seeking process	Defiance of cultural stereotypes	Discussion of barriers and benefits of learning HL
Leveraging CCW	Topic	Engaging in traditionally taboo discussions	Highlighting heritage and culture	Promoting bilingual and technology literacy
	Instruction	Collaborative learning	Parent participation in classrooms; inclusion of FoK in instruction	Languages as tools for learning and sharing
	Outcome	Seeking alternative forms of identification as shared knowledge	Final projects showcasing parents’ knowledge and experiences	Bridging home and school learning to cross boundaries
Negotiation of Roles	Teachers	Discussion facilitator Community resource identification	Facilitator to create shared learning space	Keeper of professional knowledge to bring resources
	Parents & Students	Topic selection Experts with knowledge Active participants in knowledge sharing	Shared learning space where students learned from their parents	Bilingual use is privileged and FoK highlighted

All participants engaged in community learning that emphasized the importance of constructing a shared knowledge that could be leveraged to create more equitable and meaningful learning opportunities for those who had been peripherally-positioned in schools. This process included the co-construction of the HL program, ensuring that learning opportunities were responsive to the changing needs of participants. It also engaged parents and students in imagining how culturally-responsive teaching and learning could look in alternative learning spaces. Learning, then, was not defined by some fixed set of standards that were assessed to gauge student growth and proficiency. Rather, learning became a natural part of the knowledge-sharing process and parents, students, and teachers could all be legitimate experts in that process. Learning became defined by, not only the pursuit of individual goals, but engagement in action for community betterment.

Discussion and Implications

Based on an analysis of critical incidents through the HL program we explored the CCW participants brought into the HL learning space, affordances of the learning space, and the ways participants negotiated their roles in the knowledge production and learning processes. Our findings offer insights for educators and researchers working with students and families from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds about culturally-responsive instructional strategies, meaningful familial and community engagement, and research on HLLs and CCW in general.

First, the design of the curriculum, instructional practices, and learning outcomes in the HL program challenged the commodified knowledge production in the traditional standardized learning process. Situated in a traditional middle school setting, with HL instructors who were also teachers at the middle school, this Saturday HL program illustrated how informal learning space can be created regardless of the physical space and the potential power differential between the instructors and learners. In this program, curriculum was not set based on traditionally defined learning outcomes such as HL proficiency level. Instead, learners were encouraged to engage in project-based learning centered on issues within the local community. With instructors willing to engage with learners in open-ended, community-based problem solving, learning took place in an authentic fashion and learners took charge of the curriculum, learning process, and learning outcomes. The use of multiple languages and technology tools served as a necessary means for achievement rather than becoming a learning outcome. While it would be challenging to replicate this authentic learning process in traditional classroom settings, teachers may consider offering spaces and opportunities to engage learners in defining additional learning outcomes based on their linguistic and cultural assets.

Second, the engagement of families in the HL program illustrated the potential of a two-generation approach (Ross, 2015). In school-based or community-based HL programs, the focus is typically on student learning. Their families may be involved in ways that support students' heritage language development. In this program, families' learning needs were met directly through the computer literacy class. In addition, families and students were engaged in the learning process simultaneously to create their final products. It is through this process that their CCW were shared and integrated for the purpose of new knowledge production. Children engaging in authentic interactions with their families to promote learning for both generations is an ideal learning process that is rare in traditional classroom settings. Therefore, in addition to potentially transferring instructional approaches from HL programs to traditional schooling, we believe that programs that are situated in the in-between spaces of community and school can be a perfect space to promote the two-generational approach for learning.

Finally, the exploration of CCW offers a strength-based tool when examining alternative space for learning. With the surfacing of participants' CCW through their interactions in the HL program, we also noted how their CCW were shared, developed, and augmented as they engaged in HL program practices. Through member checking, we had the opportunity to share the concept of CCW with HL instructors and family participants. To further our understanding of CCW, especially how CCW can be surfaced and leveraged in traditional school settings, we believe that there can be potential to introduce concepts such as CCW and funds of knowledge more explicitly in HL programs and engage HL instructors and participants as action researchers in exploring CCW and HLL development.

Limitations and Future Research

Even though the findings based on the examination of this HL program illustrated the potential instructional space and practices that can uncover and leverage students' and their families' CCW in learning, there are several limitations in this research. First, the HL program was initiated in a small school district where the majority of English learners' family backgrounds are Hispanic. This linguistic background set up the foundation for the establishment of the Spanish HL program and maximized student and family participation in this learning space. The Spanish-English bilingual context in the community also afforded the bilingual teaching and community resources for this program. These linguistic resources may not be readily available as other educators consider starting HL programs and creating such a space for learning. Second, due to the budget and resource constraints, the current HL program only lasted seven weeks. Longitudinal engagement in such learning practices can provide educators and researchers much more in-depth understanding of the long-term impact of such teaching and learning practices. Third, comparison of students' and parents' experiences and learning in traditional versus alternative learning spaces such as the HL program would further our understanding of effective instructional practices that may be transferrable into the traditional school settings. In addition to observations in HL programs, researchers can also observe weekday classroom instruction to further explore teachers', parents' and students' negotiation of roles in different learning spaces.

As a potential Third Space, HL programs surface and leverage CCW that more vertically-oriented learning spaces do not. This study highlights the specific ways in which this CCW, as a form of horizontal expertise, can be incorporated into spaces with vertical forms of learning to generate new kinds of knowledge and provide opportunities for more expansive learning. Our focus was on the CCW that participants leveraged in HL program spaces; however, data analysis revealed indications of times when conflict and tension arising from the blending of horizontal and vertical forms of learning became particularly pivotal. In these moments, participants' choices about accepting, resisting, or rejecting the identities available in HL program spaces determined what CCW emerged and how it was leveraged for learning. How did HL program participants respond to these moments in ways that privileged horizontal expertise? In what ways might the structure of the program or the actions of other participants restrain the production of new knowledge? An examination of particular moments of tension and contestation that may arise, as well as how participants might respond to these moments differently in more horizontally-oriented learning spaces, provide an intriguing avenue for future research on HL programs.

Conclusion

Our study highlights the ways in which one community-based HL program has engaged parents, students, and teachers in reimagining bilingual and bicultural education. It responds to

Lee and Wright's (2014) call to validate HL programs as legitimate educational spaces, in which community and cultural resources are valued and leveraged as tools for expanding opportunities for teaching and learning. It recognizes the potential power of the in-between spaces of community and school to mold a vision of learning that repositions Hispanic students and families as agents in the construction of learning spaces. In conjunction with other studies on HL program spaces, we hope this study continues to provide hope for our students, families, and teachers that learning opportunities can be created in ways that draw upon and sustain the unique cultural and community features that define their identities.

References

- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. M. Holquist (Ed.) Trans. C. Emerson & M. Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. London: Sage.
- 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), 40–64. doi: 10.1111/j.1944-9720.2010.01118.x
- Carreira, M. M., & Rodriguez, R. M. (2011). Filling the void: Community Spanish language programs in Los Angeles serving to preserve the language. *Heritage Language Journal*, 8(2), 1–16.
- Civil Rights Data Collection. (2017). *LEA Summary of Selected Facts*. Retrieved from <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Home>
- Cobb, P. (2000). The importance of a situated view of learning to the design of research and instruction. In J. Boaler (Ed.), *Multiple perspectives on mathematics teaching and learning* (pp. 45–82). Westport, CT: Ablex.
- DeNicolò, C. P., González, M., Morales, S., & Romaní, L. (2015). Teaching through *testimonio*: Accessing community cultural wealth in school. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 14, 228–243. doi: 10.1080/15348431.2014.1000541
- Engeström, Y. (1996). Development as breaking away and opening up: A challenge to Vygotsky and Piaget. *Swiss Journal of Psychology*, 55, 126–132.
- Engeström, Y. (2016). *Studies in expansive learning: Learning what is not yet there*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. (2001). 300-plus years of heritage language in the United States. In J. K. Peyton, D. A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 81–97). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Fitts, S. (2009). Exploring third space in a dual-language setting: Opportunities and challenges. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 8(2), 87–104. doi: 10.1080/15348430902750668
- Flanagan, J. C. (1954). The critical incident technique. *The Psychological Bulletin*, 51(4), 327–358.
- García, O. (2007). Foreword. In S. Makoni & A. Pennycook (Eds.), *Disinventing and reconstructing languages* (pp. xi–xv). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- 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). New York: Springer.
- García, O., Zakharia, Z., & Otcu, B. (Eds.). (2013). *Bilingual community education for American children: Beyond heritage languages in a global city*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Gutiérrez, K. D. (2008). Developing a sociocritical literacy in the Third Space. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 43(2), 148–164. doi: 10.1598/RRQ.43.2.3

- Gutiérrez, K. D., Baquedano-López, P., & Tejada, C. (1999). Rethinking diversity: Hybridity and hybrid language practices in the third space. *Mind, Culture and Activity*, 64(4), 286–303. doi: 10.1080/10749039909524733
- Gutiérrez, K. D., & Larson, J. (2007). Discussing expanded spaces for learning. *Language Arts*, 85(1), 69–77
- Gutiérrez, K.D., Rymes, B., & Larson, J. (1995). Script, counterscript, and underlife in the classroom: James Brown versus *Brown v. Board of Education*. *Harvard Educational Review*, 65, 445–471. doi: 10.17763/haer.65.3.r16146n25h4mh384
- Handsfield, L. J., Crumpler, T. P., & Dean, T. R. (2010). Tactical negotiations and creative adaptations: The discursive production of literacy curriculum and teacher identities across space-times. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 45(4), 405–431. doi: 10.1598/RRQ.45.4.3
- He, A. W. (2012). Heritage language socialization. In A. Duranti, E. Ochs, & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The handbook of language socialization* (pp. 587–609). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- He, Y., & Prater, K. (2011). Collaboration in professional development for ELL content achievement. In C. J. Casteel & K. G. Ballantyne (Eds.), *Professional development in action: Improving teaching for English language learners* (pp. 85–86). Washington, DC: NCELA.
- Heritage Languages of America. (2016). *Heritage Language Programs Database*. Retrieved from <http://www.cal.org/heritage>
- Hornberger, N. H., & Wang, S. C. (2008). Who are our heritage language learners? Identity and biliteracy in heritage language education in the United States. In D. M. Brinton, O. Kagan, & S. Bauckus (Eds.), *Heritage language education: A new field emerging* (pp. 3–35). New York: Routledge.
- Jeon, M. (2008). Korean heritage language maintenance and language ideology. *Heritage Language Journal*, 6, 54–70.
- Johnson, B., & Christensen, L. (2004). Educational research: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approaches (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Kelly, L. (2015). Language environment of dual language learners and the use of language support practices. *New Waves Educational Research & Development*, 18(2), 1–15.
- Larrotta, C., & Yamamura, E. K. (2011). A community cultural wealth approach to Latina/Latino parent involvement: The promise of family literacy. *Adult Basic Education and Literacy Journal*, 5(2), 74–83.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, J. S., & Wright, W. E. (2014). The Rediscovery of Heritage and Community Language Education in the United States. *Review of Research in Education*, 38(1), 137–165. doi: 10.3102/0091732X13507546
- Leeman, J., Rabin, L., & Roman-Mendoza, E. (2011). Critical pedagogy beyond the classroom walls: Community service-learning and Spanish heritage language education. *Heritage Language Journal*, 8(3), 1–22.

- Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: Origins and development from school to street and beyond. *Educational Research and Evaluation: An International Journal on Theory and Practice*, 18(7), 641–654. doi: 10.1080/13803611.2012.718488
- Locke, L. A., Tabron, L. A., & Venzant Chambers, T. T. (2017). “If you show who you are, then they are going to try to fix you”: The capitals and costs of schooling for high-achieving Latina students. *Educational Studies*, 53, 13–36. doi: 10.1080/00131946.2016.1261027
- Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (2007). *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Mignolo, W. (2000). *Local histories/Global designs. Coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mills, K. A., & Comber, B. (2013). Space, place, and power: The spatial turn in literacy research. In K. Hall, T. Cremin, B. Comber, & L. Moll (Eds.), *International Handbook of Research in Children’s Literacy, Learning and Culture* (pp. 412–423). London: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing Inc.
- Moll, L., 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, 132–141. doi: 10.1080/00405849209543534
- Office of English Language Acquisition. (2017). *Languages Spoken by English Learners (ELs)*. Retrieved from http://ncela.ed.gov/files/fast_facts/FastFactsAllLanguagesFebruary2017.pdf
- Oliver, M. L., & Shapiro, T. M. (1995). *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A new perspective on racial inequality*. New York: Routledge.
- Peralta, C. (2013). Fractured memories, mended lives: The schooling experiences of Latinas/os in rural areas. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 36, 228–243. doi: 10.1080/15235882.2013.818594
- Pérez Huber, L., Huidor, O., Malagón, M. C., Sánchez, G., & Solórzano, D. G. (2006). *Falling through the cracks: Critical transitions in the Latina/o educational pipeline* (CSRC Research Report No. 7). Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles Chicano Studies Research Center.
- Potowski, K., & Carreira, M. (2004). Teacher development and national standards for Spanish as a heritage language. *Foreign Language Annals*, 37(3), 427–437. doi: 10.1111/j.1944-9720.2004.tb02700.x
- Rodriguez, J. M., & Arellano, L. (2016). The impact of high-stakes testing on Latina/o students’ college aspirations. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 15(2), 113–135. doi: 10.1177/1538192715627192
- Ross, T. (2015). *The case for a two-generational approach for educating English language learners*. Center for American Progress. Retrieved from: <https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Ross-ELL-report.pdf>
- Rumbaut, R. G. (2009). A language graveyard? The evolution of language competencies, preferences and use among young adult children of immigrants. In T. G. Wiley, J. S. Lee, & R. Rumberger (Eds.), *The education of language minority immigrants in the United States* (pp. 35–71). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters.

- Straubhaar, R. (2013). Student use of aspirational and linguistic social capital in an urban immigrant-centered English immersion high school. *The High School Journal*, 97(2), 92–106. doi: 10.1353/hsj.2013.0026
- Tan, E., & Faircloth, B. S. (2013). *Further out on a sociocultural limb with noncommodified knowledge: What it is and why it matters in education*. Paper presented at the 2013 annual conference of the American Educational Research Association, at San Francisco, CA.
- Valdés, G. (2001). Heritage language students: Profiles and possibilities. In J. K. Peyton, D. A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 37–77). McHenry, IL: Delta Systems.
- Valdés, G. (2006). The foreign language teaching profession and the challenges of developing language resources. In G. Valdés, J. A. Fishman, R. Chávez, & W. Pérez (Eds.), *Developing minority language resources: The case of Spanish in California* (pp. 108–139). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Velasco, P., & García, O. (2014). Translanguaging and the writing of bilingual learners. *Bilingual Research Journal: The Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education*, 37, 6–23. doi: 10.1080/15235882.2014.893270
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Yin, R. K. (2008). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, 8, 69–91. doi: 10.1080/1361332052000341006