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A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE PRACTICES OF
ETHNOLINGUISTIC MINORITY PRESERVICE TEACHERS

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A Study of the Language Practices of Ethnolinguistic Minority Preservice Teachers

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I share findings generated from a year-long ethnographic and sociolinguistic study of the discursive practices of Black and Latina female preservice teachers, all nonstandard language and dialect speakers, across three settings: the university classroom, the practicum teaching classroom, and a social setting. The aim of the study was to examine how teacher education as a discursive space shapes the linguistic decisions of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers—individuals who speak varieties of languages and dialects that are deemed "less than" and "inferior to" dominant language varieties (e.g., African American Language (see Baugh, 1999; Smitherman, 1999); Spanish language varieties (e.g., Anzaldúa, 1987/1999; Zentella, 2004)), and accordingly, are granted lower status in American society (Lippi-Green, 2004). Guiding this inquiry was the understanding that through the study of language, it is possible to reveal the tacit theories and ideologies that persist within dominant spaces and the ways in which such ideologies affect the language choices that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers must make in order to acculturate a dominant teacher identity. I captured and examined transcripts of discursive practices evidenced through videotaped and audiotaped speech events, observations, interviews, and archival data (e.g., journal reflections, classroom assignments) using ethnographic research methods and critical discourse analysis (see Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Rogers, 2004c). My

analysis of the data prompted implications for the field of teacher education and for the role of qualitative research methodologies in the study of language, discourse, and identity.

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Table of Contents

Chapter Four 105

Becoming Teachers: Dominant Discourses in Teacher Education.......................... 105

Chapter Five 140

Hybrid Discourses: The Situated Identities of Teachers "In Practice" 140

Chapter Six 178

Talkin in the Company of my Sisters: Co-constructing Voices 178

Table of Figures

Chapter One

"How Can I Teach Reading When I Can't Even Pronounce the Words Right?": Minority

Perspectives and Experiences in Teacher Education

Introduction

Currently, within the relatively large body of research literature on preservice

teachers and teacher education, little is known about preservice teachers who bring multiple

cultural and linguistic identities to bear on the processes of teaching and learning to teach in

the traditional teacher education program context. I am concerned with how the context of

multicultural teacher education—a context which aims to prepare all teachers for

addressing the educational needs of an increasingly heterogeneous student population yet

almost exclusively focuses on the cultural and linguistic knowledge building of

predominantly, White, monolingual, female preservice teachers—impacts ethnolinguistic

minority preservice teachers. Guiding this inquiry is the understanding that through the

study of language, it is possible to reveal the tacit theories and ideologies that persist within

dominant spaces, such as within a traditional teacher education program, and the ways in

which such ideologies affect the language choices that culturally and linguistically diverse

preservice teachers must make in order to acculturate into a teacher identity.

The aim of this dissertation study was to use a critical discourse analysis framework

to examine the language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. The

dissertation study relied on a critical discourse analysis framework to interrogate ideologies

that are perpetuated within teacher education (as an extension of larger societal constructs),

ideologies that may be internalized by culturally and linguistically diverse preservice

teachers, and accordingly mediate their language practice for various audiences, for various purposes, and within and across various contexts. I wanted to understand the role of language use, specifically language variation, in defining one's identity. To accomplish these ends, I used ethnographic methods to capture the myriad ways in which language functions, adjusts, and alternates, defining socially situated identities within multiple contexts.

In this chapter, I first summarize current issues in educational research on preservice teacher education and the implications for policy and practice that frame the research focus. Specifically, I consider the following areas of research in relation to the proposed dissertation topic: the educational research community's research agenda for addressing the cultural and linguistic mismatch between teachers and students; multicultural teacher education and the promulgation of ideologies of optional ethnicities and standard language superiority; and the limited presence of ethnolinguistic minority students in teacher education. I provide justification for the study and address why, within the current context of educational research, policy, and practice, it is important to study the language practices of culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers, and I briefly outline how a critical discourse analysis framework can assist in these aims. I then detail the research questions that guided the research study, reveal underlying assumptions, and define relevant terminology. The chapter concludes with an overview of the entire dissertation.

Framing the Research Study

Cultural and Linguistic Mismatch

Central to current reform initiatives in teacher education and preparation is the fact that an increasingly homogeneous population of teachers is instructing an increasingly heterogeneous population of students (see Zumwalt & Craig); there is an undisputed mismatch in racial, cultural, social-class, and linguistic background between many teachers and their students in the United States (see Gomez, 1996; Sleeter, 2001a). Sleeter (2001a) points out that current research studies of preservice teacher education often begin with statistical data that documents the growing cultural mismatch between today's students and teachers—research that reports that 1) the majority of incoming teachers are White, monolingual, and female, 2) today's classroom is increasingly multilingual and multi-ethnic, and 3) teacher education programs are unprepared to address this cultural and linguistic disconnect (see also Zumwalt & Craig, 2005). In order to make a case for privileging culturally responsive or culturally relevant pedagogies (see Irvine & Armento, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1995) in preservice teacher preparation, researchers will often highlight data from the National Census that reports the number of languages other than English spoken in the homes of today's students (NCES, 2001). Further, most research will also cite the fact that these teachers have little to no training in working with culturally and linguistically diverse students, specifically those with limited English proficiency (Beykont, 2002).

The reality of this mismatch is not a new revelation; however, the effects of this mismatch on the educational outcomes of the heterogeneous student population are of grave concern. In educational research, there are numerous examples that highlight both the cultural and linguistic discontinuities between the home and schooling experiences of

students and what can occur when a teacher's discursive style is in conflict with that of the home community of his or her students (for example, Gilmore, 1991; Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1981). Heath's (1983) study examines how academic development is tied to social and cultural experiences in home and school settings and pinpoints how varied paths to language socialization affect the literacy development of children from three different racial and socioeconomic communities. Her research has contributed significantly to our understanding of how functional differences in language use may disable certain groups of students, hindering their ability to participate as full members of the classroom, resulting in negative assessment from teachers, and ultimately interfering with their overall academic progress.

In the classroom setting, when there is a mismatch between the discursive style of the child and the teacher, language collaboration is often unsuccessful and may, over time, affect the school performance of the student (Gilmore, 1991; Michaels, 1981). In an ethnographic study of the literacy event "sharing time," Michaels (1981) contends that this type of discourse activity has the potential to bridge the gap between the child's home-based discourse practices and those of the school setting. She notices that when the child's narrative style matches that of the teacher, there is more time for more informal practice and instruction in literacy. However, when language background is different, there is a barrier that hinders the child's ability to succeed in the learning task. Gilmore's (1991) research on African American communicative styles and African American culture also reports how language differences between teachers and students operate as barriers to literacy access. In her study of student-teacher confrontations, she

describes how an African American, dialect-speaking female student resists a teacher in a position of authority by using silence and body language. She reports that African American female students, generally in grades four through six, are labeled as having "bad attitudes" and are, subsequently tracked into lower level classes. In contrast, there are research studies that suggest that students are less likely to resist teachers when pedagogies are congruent with the understandings and identities embraced by the members of the communities within which they belong (see Benson, 2003; Lee, 1993).

The reality of this growing gap between teachers and students, and the negative consequences for ethnolinguistic minority students, suggests that *all* preservice teachers must be trained to employ culturally responsive pedagogies that can address the needs of a linguistically and culturally diverse classroom. So, teacher education programs are faced with figuring out what must be done to best prepare preservice teachers for this reality they face. This imperative requires determining first, who is the teacher that enters this linguistically and culturally diverse classroom, and what does he or she need in order to best serve the needs of all students? The dominant perspective in educational research, theory, and practice on how to address the cultural and linguistic gap between teachers and students suggests that the gap can be remedied within preservice teacher education by developing the attitudes and multicultural knowledge of preservice teachers, who are predominately White, monolingual, and female (see Sleeter, 2001b).

The Presence of Whiteness in Multicultural Teacher Education

In a recent review of literature on multicultural teacher education, Cochran-Smith, Davis, and Fries (2003) observe that "there are local pockets of change and a number of

individual teacher educators strongly committed to interrogating their own practice and preparing teachers for a diverse society. But the new multicultural teacher education paradigm envisioned by the theorists and conceptual works is not in place" (p. 964). Instead, research on multicultural teacher education suggests that many teacher education programs have added courses and fieldwork experiences that focus on teaching the diverse student—English language learners, racial minorities, and urban children (Cochran-Smith et al., 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Zeichner, 1996). Though education reform efforts, such as adding multicultural content or field experiences, aimed at bridging the cultural and linguistic mismatch between teachers and students are viewed as progressive, these efforts by teacher educators often fail to address issues of racism, power, and Whiteness (Cross, 2005).

Some educational researchers argue that grounding teacher education reform in multiculturalism, diversity, and urban education has led to only moderate advances in preparing teachers for racially and linguistically diverse classrooms since "program rhetoric about diversity and multiculturalism is often couched in how we are alike or how White teacher educators and students can explore others as cultural exotics, the racial other, or the object of study for their academic and professional benefit" (Cross, 2005, p. 265). Further, this approach to multicultural teacher education may produce a teaching force that is unaware of how they can use their work to dismantle power, Whiteness, and racism. Cross (2005) argues that underlying these efforts in teacher education may be an unintended whiteness ideology. A Whiteness ideology, as defined by McLaren (quoted in T. Richardson & Villenas, 2000), is a "sociohistorical form of consciousness, given

birth at the nexus of capitalism, colonial rule, and the emergent relationships among dominant and subordinate groups. Whiteness operates…as a universalizing authority by which the hegemonic white bourgeois subject appropriates the right to speak on behalf of everyone who is non-white while denying voice and agency to these others in the name of the civilized humankind" (p. 257). Cross (2005) argues that "the language of [teacher education] programs includes social justice and multiculturalism and diversity while the ideology, values, and practices are assuredly reinscribing white privilege, power, and racism" (p. 266). This paradox she terms a "new racism" ideology "locks teacher education into maintaining the same ole' oppression that objectifies, dehumanizes, and marginalizes others while ignoring whiteness, power, privilege, and racism" (p. 266).

Reviews of research literature on multicultural teacher preparation also reveal an almost exclusive preoccupation with the education of White teachers (Montecinos, 2004; Sleeter, 2001b). For example, Sleeter (2001b) reviews several studies on preservice teacher education for preparing teachers for schools that serve historically underserved populations. Within the large quantity of research she reviews, she notes that very little of the research actually examines the strategies which prepare effective teachers. Instead, most of the research focuses on addressing the attitudes and lack of knowledge of White preservice teachers. This research also suggests that teacher educators do their own work in maintaining the overwhelming presence of Whiteness. Ladson-Billings (2005) points out that much of the cultural mismatch and multicultural teacher education literature is silent about the cultural homogeneity of the teacher education faculty, a factor that contributes to the pervasive Whiteness that exists within teacher education. She points

out that though the rhetoric of teacher education promulgates diversity as a "value-added factor," much of the rhetoric reinforces the cultural deficit discourse of the 1960's and 1970's. Ladson-Billings (2005) asserts that while we insist that prospective teachers demonstrate that they can be successful with a diverse of students, teacher educators do not demonstrate such success in their own professional lives. She writes, "We, for the most part, are teaching students whose backgrounds are similar to our own, and we work with colleagues who also have similar backgrounds." According to Cross (2005), White preservice teachers accept the "power" handed to them by their White professors and instructors to place people of color, "othered" based on race, culture, and language, under their untrained surveillance for their own learning. Further, the common cultural and linguistic norms shared by White preservice teachers and teacher educators undermine the incorporation of opportunities for dissonance and explicit interrogation of how these individuals are implicated by their own Whiteness and White privilege.

The persistence of Whiteness and White privilege within the context of preservice teacher education is compelling in light of the demographic statistics that suggest that the teaching force is and will continue to be White, monolingual, and female. Whiteness is rarely viewed as a racial category but is instead normalized within dominant institutions like schools of education. This normalization is significant in that preservice teachers will view categories such as race, ethnicity, culture, and language as "foreign" and are accordingly positioned as cultural tourists (Lewis & Ketter, 2004).

Optional Ethnicities

In order to understand one's ideologies about multiculturalism and multilingualism, and initiate an interrogation of Whiteness and White privilege, one must first reflect on their own cultural and social background—their linguistic and cultural location. Nieto (2000) writes:

> One reason for insisting on the significance of culture is that some people, primarily those from dominated and disenfranchised groups within society, have been taught that they have no culture…Although everyone has a culture, many times members of the culturally dominant group of a society may not even think of themselves as cultural beings. For them, culture is something that other people have, especially people who differ from the mainstream in race or ethnicity. (p. 140)

However, members of the dominant language and racial group often view diversity and cultural and linguistic difference as "other people's" phenomena. Historically, Americans have claimed one dominant language and national identity, one relatively homogeneous one. As a result, issues of multiculturalism or multilingualism belong to the immigrant or minority populations inhabiting society.

Several research studies on teacher education illustrate how teacher educators are at times met with silence by majority students when incorporating activities that challenge White privilege and racism and the notion that diversity issues are located outside of majority students' realm of experience (for examples, see Cochran-Smith, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1996; Lewis, Ketter, & Fabos, 2001; McIntosh, 1989; Tatum, 1992). Acknowledging majority preservice teachers' resistance to challenging their own beliefs and values does not address the problem of teacher education programs that are grounded

in traditionally oppressive assumptions and ideologies (Cross, 2005). Further, it does not interrogate White preservice teachers' status of optional ethnicities—their decision to claim or not claim ethnic affiliation at their convenience. Waters (1996) argues that "the option of being able to not claim any ethnic identity exists for Whites of European background in the United States because they are the majority group" (p. 643), specifically in terms of holding political and social power. In other words, White Americans do not have to admit to being ethnic unless they choose to. Waters defines the status of "optional ethnicities" as a symbolic ethnicity, that is, "ethnicity that is individualistic in nature and without real social cost for the individual" (p. 643). An example of this is when an Irish American identifies as Irish on special occasions or holidays, such as St. Patrick's Day. Water asserts that there is a difference between an individualistic, symbolic ethnicity and a socially enforced and imposed racial identity. Individuals who are racially and linguistically "marked"—physically and linguistically—by identities ascribed lower status within the larger society do not have the "option" to reveal or not reveal such identities.

When asked, "What is your culture?", several studies document that White preservice teachers respond that they do not have a culture (Allen & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2004; Willis, 2003). In multicultural teacher education classes, teacher educators aim to help these students first see their culture through activities and exercises that ask them to write a cultural memoir or an autobiographical assignment to "bring front and center" their cultural and linguistic background. Such activities occur in what Allen and Hermann-Wilmarth (2004) call a "cultural construction zone." In my study of preservice teachers' evolving understanding of the issues surrounding language and ethnicity in

America, and their ideas about how this understanding might impact their teaching and the learning of future students, I found that the White, monolingual preservice teachers who participated in the study did not "see" their own language and ethnicity (Haddix, 2008, forthcoming). In a course on language and ethnicity, students were encouraged to engage in the interrogation of their own language and ethnic identities and how it affects their relationship to those who may be culturally or linguistically different. Two of the research participants were White females, who identified as monolingual, native English speakers from suburban middle class backgrounds. When asked to offer defining characteristics of their cultural and linguistic backgrounds, analysis and interpretation of their respective responses suggested that they were implicated by being members of the dominant language and ethnicity group, where the status of optional ethnicities and assumptions of Whiteness prevailed and the idea that the dominant social group has *no culture* was perpetuated. One preservice teacher described herself as having no identifying culture, stating that she was "a mutt."

In a similar study, Willis (2003), a teacher educator, examined students' narrative and autobiographical writings on culture, race, and ethnicity in her preservice teacher education class on teaching multicultural literature. At the start of each course, she introduced an assignment that asked students to respond in writing to the question: "How does your cultural perspective affect the students you teach?" (p. 54). Willis described her students as majority White, female, upper to middle class, monolingual English speakers; their life and school experiences reflected their homogeneous home and school lives; and their belief in meritocracy—that they have worked hard for everything that

they have achieved—was reflected in their resistance to engaging in discussions about how white privilege has shaped their thinking. From past semesters, she observed that the students' responses to the question were typical. Most of the White students did not identify themselves by using cultural, ethnic or linguistic terms. Most of the White students in Willis' (2003) study located themselves and issues of diversity outside of their realm of experience. In contrast to the experiences of the White students in her teacher education class, Willis observed that the students of color in her class responded to the question by identifying themselves as members of cultural and linguistic groups and articulated how their cultural and linguistic identity were likely to affect their teaching. Willis highlighted the narrative of the Latino student, Samuel, who began his autobiography with a description of his Puerto Rican heritage. Of being Puerto Rican, Samuel wrote, "my Spanish is of the street, my skin is pale, which transforms my features into what many believe to be that of a Caucasian, and I have lived in the United States all of my life" (p. 55). He asserted that his Latino background might be a source of comfort to his future Latino students.

The educational research community's lack of attention to teacher ethnicity reflects a "technocratic, instrumental-rational view" (Montecinos, 2004, p. 174) of teacher preparation; in other words, this lack of attention might be due to the possibility that the logic of teacher education is to standardize teachers' practices to the point that one's ethnic identity does not influence practice. The paradoxical nature of multicultural teacher education allows White, monolingual preservice teachers to claim an ethnic-less, race-less, culture-less, and language-less identity while working, in part, through dominant language

ideologies to oppositionally position culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers.

Standard Language Ideology

Another purported goal of multicultural teacher education is to uncover the tacit ideologies about language and language status within society and to address how preservice teachers' preconceived notions about language status affect teaching and learning. A language ideology is defined as subconscious, deeply rooted set of beliefs about the way language is and is supposed to be (Lippi-Green, 2004). "Ideologies of language have the power not only to shape the way people talk and interact generally, but also to naturalize relations of power and privilege" (Winford, 2003, p. 30). In critical language studies, linguists refer to "standard language ideology" as the notion that languages and dialects deemed non-standard, defined by arbitrary notions of language superiority, hold lesser social status to Standard English (Lippi-Green, 2004). Accordingly to Lippi-Green (2004), this standard language ideology represents a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, non-varying spoken language that is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions. This ideology rejects the notion that everyone speaks a dialect and suggests that a uniform language is a possibility. Lippi-Green (2004) argues that,

> People use false assumptions about language to justify judgments that have more to do with race, national origin, regional affiliation, ethnicity, and religion than with human language and communication. In public situations it has become unacceptable to reject individuals on the basis of the color of their skin, but some

can and do reject individuals because of the variety of English they speak or the accent they speak with…many have come to believe that some types of English are "more English" than others; that there is one perfect and appropriate kind of English everyone should speak; that failure to speak it is an indication of stupidity, willfulness, or misguided social allegiance. (p. 293)

Though attitudes toward language diversity are socially constructed and notions of language superiority are arbitrarily determined (Wolfram & Christian, 1989), language prejudice pervades the schooling process and impacts learning outcomes for school-aged children. Deficit thinking about language variety was evident in the work of educational psychologists in the 1960's who posited that African American students experienced difficulty in becoming literate as a result of cognitive and linguistic deficits (see Bereiter & Engelmann, 1966) and other research inquiries that view the role of schooling as a means of assimilation for non-native speakers (Nieto, 1998). An extreme view of linguistic research influenced by deficit theories was that children who used African American languages and dialects were "culturally deprived" (see Bereiter & Engelmann, 1966). Deficit theorists' claim of African American Language (AAL) as evidence of cultural deprivation served as an agitation for scholarly debate in the educational research community, with scholars positioning themselves in favor of or against the claim. Unfortunately, this claim continued to justify decisions made about K-12 curriculum and instruction, as in the 1979 King "Black English" Case and the Ebonics debate of the 1990s (see Labov, 1972; Smitherman & Baugh, 2002).

In debates about bilingualism in schools, Cummins (1998) asserts that curriculum initiatives are still bound by standard language ideologies that "bilingualism shuts doors" and "monolingual education opens doors to the wider world" (p. 447). Educational theories and pedagogies within bilingual education are tied to an American history of xenophobia and anti-bilingualism. There is a deeply internalized belief that posits that to be "American" means using one language and accepting the dominant culture's norms and values. Still today, "education = assimilation" research, policy, and practice defines the schooling process as a medium for enculturation of a homogeneous American identity. In current curriculum reforms and initiatives, there exists an underlying ideology that all students need to appropriate the norms of an American identity in order to succeed in this society (Nieto, 1998).

Deficit treatment of differences in students' language backgrounds in the classroom show that negative and uninformed attitudes toward these differences by teachers can be counterproductive and even harm student performance (Schleppegrell, 2004). Social attitudes toward language difference can blockade marginalized students' access to literacy, and teachers are the "gatekeepers" to this access. One of the most serious implications of the cultural and linguistic divide among prospective teachers and today's K-12 student population is that many White, middle class preservice teachers understand diversity as a deficit and view cultural and linguistic differences as other people's issue. There is a body of research that adopts the underlying premise that preservice teachers' societal attitudes toward different languages and dialects can impact curricular initiatives and school policy that have proven to support these students

(Gomez, 1993; Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Zeichner, 1996). Thus, an aim of multicultural teacher education is to encourage preservice teachers' interrogation of attitudes and beliefs about language variability in the United States, specifically issues that affect how to provide optimal learning opportunities for English language learners and children who are speakers of non-standard dialects of English (see Godley, Sweetland, Wheeler, Minnici, and Carpenter, 2006).

In a study of preservice teachers' opinions about Ebonics and Standard English, Wynne (2002) found that preservice teachers' responses to questions such as "How would you describe 'Standard English'?" or "How would you describe 'Ebonics'?" revealed their unconscious expression of one of the basic tenets of linguistics: "that languages are defined politically, not scientifically—and that a 'language is a dialect with an army and a navy'" (Wynne, 2002, p. 211). Wynne (2002) found that preservice teachers neglected to address the political nature of language when defining academic excellence in urban education; participants seemed to agree that all students needed to know "proper" or "correct" English. One student in the study responded, "Ebonics should not be allowed in the classroom. Our education system should not cater to lower standards of language" (as quoted in Wynne, 2002, p. 211). In this study, Wynne (2002) argued that these negative attitudes and perceptions toward language diversity permeate classroom practice and affect student learning outcomes.

In contrast, in the study I conducted (Haddix, 2008, forthcoming), another finding was that once given the linguistic knowledge tools, preservice teachers were able to debunk socially arbitrated decisions about language status. The study focused on preservice

teachers taking an undergraduate course on Language and Ethnicity, a course that examines how people within different cultures and different social groups define their identities through use of language and how people use language to regulate power relations. In this course, students underwent a process of confronting social attitudes and prejudices toward language varieties and dialects. The course provided them with linguistic knowledge, and a basic ability to analyze linguistic data, which revealed their preconceptions about language dialects such as African American Language (AAL) and Ozark-Appalachian English (OAE).   By gaining the ability to articulate a formal linguistic definition of language, students in this course were better able to interrogate socially imposed dichotomies of good language use versus bad language usage or standard versus non-standard.

Studies that only focus on the attitudes and perceptions of White, female, monolingual preservice teachers about teaching urban children, minority children, bilingual children—versus explicitly addressing the necessary strategies or tools needed to really tackle these issues—potentially position them opposite those children. Such studies provide a framework for considering the effects of teacher attitudes and perceptions about language and ethnicity on teaching and student learning by looking at preservice teacher learning and aim to explore how one becomes a culturally competent teacher, aware of cultural ways of student learning (see Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003). Such studies also consider what role teacher education programs play in the cultural knowledge development of preservice teachers. But, again, the preservice teacher central to such educational aims is the White, female, monolingual teacher.

While there exists a substantive number of studies that have focused on issues surrounding the preparation of White teachers for diversity, fewer studies have considered what preservice teachers of color think and how they respond to issues of diversity, particularly in terms of language and ethnicity. What we currently understand about the preparation of teachers for diversity is based on the needs and concerns of White preservice teachers. This reinscribes the notion that a particular type of teacher identity leads the agenda for multicultural teacher education and insinuates that what may or may not work for White, monolingual, female preservice teachers is universal. I question, what are the implications of the large body of educational research aimed at preparing the predominantly White, female teaching force on how to become culturally responsive teachers in a classroom of "other people's children" (Delpit, 1995)? By facing the research mirror on the experiences of the predominantly White, female, monolingual class of preservice teachers, preservice teachers positioned oppositionally to this norm as "other" are not in view. White, monolingual female preservice teachers are positioned as the normative indicators of what a teacher should be. As a result, homogeneous notions of language and culture are reproduced. Montecinos (2004) writes that, "by excluding, silencing and ignoring the presence of preservice teachers of color, multicultural teacher education is, paradoxically, securing the norm of whiteness in teacher preparation and undermining the principles of multicultural teacher education" (p. 168). Multicultural teacher education, cultural responsive and culturally relevant pedagogy, and other teacher education efforts that purport emphasizing diversity issues and tackling hegemonic structures, when misappropriated, maintain the status quo.

Diversifying Teacher Education

The focus on bridging the cultural mismatch inversely negates the fact that some preservice teachers share linguistic and cultural norms with this culturally and linguistically diverse student population. Another kind of mismatch occurs once preservice teachers from non-dominant linguistic and cultural groups find themselves in the midst of teacher education programs that position them, and members of their primary discourse groups, as "other." While current discussions in educational research literature are replete with examples that highlight a widening distance between the cultural and linguistic experiences of incoming teachers and that of their students and the harmful consequences of this distance, there is little emphasis on the low minority student participation in teacher education, those preservice teachers who often share linguistic and cultural norms with today's students.

Educational researchers, like Ladson-Billings (2005), Su (1997), among others (Guyton, Saxton, & Wesche, 1996; S. H. King, 1993; Shaw, 1996), offer several plausible reasons for why fewer people of color choose to teach, including increased opportunities and accessibility to more lucrative professions or the stringent licensure and certification requirements for teaching. In a study of minority teachers' attitudes toward their teacher preparation experiences, Delpit (1995) reports that teachers point to many challenges faced as marginalized learners in teacher education programs. Few studies, Ladson Billings (2005) points out, address the fact that the low k-12 academic performance of students of color limits their post-secondary education opportunities. Ladson-Billings writes "if high school completion continues to be a barrier for students

of color, it is unlikely that we should expect to see more students of color in college or university preparing for teacher certification" (p. 230). Further, "schools, departments, and colleges of education lack a diverse group of teacher education students because they are located on campuses that have to contend with a small number of students of color because of the pipeline issue" (p. 230).

Though research suggests that minority preservice teachers tend to bring richer experiences and perspectives to teaching in culturally diverse contexts, the overwhelming presence of Whiteness within teacher education programs can be silencing for culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers (Sleeter, 2001b). Chinese American participants in Sheets and Chew's (2002) study reported that in their experiences in teacher education program, White students dominated the courses, and any reference to the cultural knowledge they embodied was suggested for implementation in bilingual classes, but not the mainstream classes (Sheets & Chew, 2002). As a result, Chinese American teachers internalized expectations to teach in linguistically segregated classrooms as a part of their construction of the teacher identity despite feelings that they possessed neither a deep knowledge of Chinese culture or Cantonese language "nor a conceptualization of Chinese American pedagogical cultural knowledge" (Sheets & Chew, 2002, p. 139).

In response to the predominance of White students in teacher education, Sleeter (2001b) points out that a number of institutions have created alternative programs, such as cohort groups for students of colors to receive academic and emotional support they lack in mainstream programs (see Root, Rudawski, Taylor, & Rochon, 2003;

Waldschmidt, 2002). In the report of the AERA panel on research and teacher education, Hollins and Guzman (2005) conclude from their synthesis of the research on the experiences of preservice teachers of color that experiences and retention of candidates of color can be increased by placement in cohorts or programs where they might feel that their cultural and experiential knowledge are valued. However, this type of solution is viewed as preparing preservice teachers of color "on the side" and is problematic for programs that purport to prepare teachers to work with all students (Montecinos, 2004). For example, in a study of attrition of Hmong students in teacher education programs, Root, Rudawski, Taylor, and Rochon (2003) describe two Title VII Bilingual Education Career Ladder Programs, funded by the U.S. Department of Education, for Hmong paraprofessionals and traditional-age college students working toward teacher certification in Wisconsin. One of the major barriers they note for students in these programs, which impacts attrition efforts, is "language and cultural comfort factors" (p. 147). Since Hmong children represent a sizable percentage of the school-age population in central Wisconsin, the initiative of this alternative, cohort program is to increase the number of Hmong teachers, teachers who may share cultural and linguistic norms with the student population and understand their experiences. But, the cohort or alternative program model again positions students of color on the periphery of majority preservice teacher education efforts.

However, studies that examine classrooms taught by teachers whose cultural and language background is similar to that of their students describe how when teachers have an insider's understanding of cultural meanings, they do not have to figure out the verbal

and nonverbal messages their students may be sending (Nieto, 2000); shared cultural background or shared norms about how to use language can positively influence classroom interactions between teachers and students (for examples, see Bohn, 2003; Grace, 2004; Rymes & Anderson, 2004). Nieto (1999) posits that "students and teachers from the same background are often on the same wave-length simply because they have an insider's understanding of cultural meanings and therefore they do not have to figure out the verbal and nonverbal messages they are sending" (p. 145).

Integral to teacher education reform efforts is that a more racial, linguistic, cultural, and ethnic diversity is needed and that the presence of such diversity has positive effects on the school performance of both minority and mainstream students (Gay, 2005). In Au and Blake's (2003) collective case study of Japanese American ad Hawaiian preservice teachers, they aimed to address the underrepresentation of teachers of diverse backgrounds and the importance of recruitment efforts of these teachers as a means for improving the achievement of culturally and linguistically diverse students by considering the influence of cultural identity—including ethnicity, social class, and community membership—on the perspectives and learning of preservice teachers. They purposively selected participants from diverse backgrounds because they "believe[d] that research should be directed at understanding the perspectives and experiences of teacher candidates of diverse backgrounds, as a basis for designing teacher education programs" (p. 54).

Though the recruitment and retention of individuals of color should be important to reform in teacher education, current initiatives are having opposite effects, specifically

reform measures that equate quality in teacher preparation and proficiency with standardized test scores (Gay, 2005). Further, Ladson-Billings (2005) argues that the solution to providing optimal teaching and learning opportunities for today's teachers and students is not simply about a "culture match." Instead, she contends that the point of creating a more diverse teaching force and a more diverse set of teacher educators should be to ensure that all students, including White students, experience a more accurate picture of what it means to live and work in a multicultural and democratic society.

The diminishing presence of minority student participation in teacher education programs remains an important issue (see Dillard, 1994; King, 1993; Su, 1993). Delpit (1995) argues that in seeking viable solutions, the educational research community must consult minority teachers as a major source of guidance. There is a pressing need to illuminate the experiences of language minority preservice teachers, specifically how they "become" teachers while battling both socially-imposed and self-internalized conceptions of being marginalized learners. The problem for preservice teacher education research and practice, then, is how to counter the reasons why the cultural and linguistic diversity of the teaching force continually decreases versus narrowly focusing on how to prepare a homogeneous teaching force for teaching a culturally and linguistic diverse student population.

Significance of Current Study

Angela's Question

As I have pointed out in the previous sections, teacher education literature is replete with examples that highlight that teacher education programs are filled with

White, middle-class, monolingual female students. In the recent report of the American

Educational Research Association (AERA) panel on research and teacher education,

Zumwalt and Craig (2005) synthesize research on the demographic profiles of today's

teacher education report and report that the majority of prospective teachers are different

from the K-12 student population in significant ways, specifically on the basis of race and

ethnicity, language, and socioeconomic background. Gomez (1996) suggests that efforts

to bridge the racial and linguistic mismatch between a largely White teacher force and an

increasingly diverse student population is important because the typical teacher

> Is white and from a suburban or rural home town; monolingual in English; she
>
> selected her college for its proximity to home, its affordability and its
>
> accessibility. She has traveled little beyond her college's 100-mile radius. She
>
> prefers to teach in a community like the one she grew up in. She hopes to teach
>
> middle-income, average (not handicapped or gifted) children in traditional
>
> classroom settings. (p. 460)

As an instructor in a teacher education program, I have had classes where the composite

make-up of the class reflects what I have read in the research literature—the majority of

my students have been White, females who identify as monolingual speakers of a

standard variety of English. Far and few between, I have had one or two culturally and

linguistically diverse students in my classes. In the fall of 2004, I taught an

undergraduate teacher education methods course, Teaching Reading, where of my 31

students, all but three fit this demographic profile. After a class session on phonics

instruction, a preservice teacher in my class, Angela[1], posed the following question to me: "How can I teach reading when I can't even pronounce the words right?" Embarrassed to ask her question in front of the rest of her classmates, Angela was concerned with how she, as a Spanish and English-speaking bilingual, bicultural individual, could teach reading, specifically phonological awareness, when she herself was not fully confident in her own use and pronunciation of English language. Out of all of the other students in the class, Angela was the only student to express feeling as though she was not capable of accurately articulating the phonetic properties of the English language.

In that moment, I could not answer her question. I interpreted Angela's anxiety to be a result of her internalizing the belief that her accent was a hindrance to her ability to effectively teach literacy. Her question resonated for me, conjuring up many of the insecurities that I experienced as a preservice teacher in a predominantly White teacher education program. As a speaker of African American Language, I was often plagued with how I could even attempt to teach English language arts to students when I myself was "non-native" to its standard. Coupling my memories with the anguish expressed by this student, I wondered about the experiences of the ethnolinguistic minority students in my predominantly White, monolingual, and female reading methods class as they prepared to become teachers. Instead of viewing her bilingual and bicultural identity "as the ability to use language in highly sophisticated and in a contextual manner" (Rogers, p.

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[1] All names are pseudonyms.

4) as an asset, Angela's question pointed to an internalized deficit view of language variability.

Academic and social perceptions are integrally connected to linguistic sensibilities associated with non-standard dialects and languages, those not akin to Standard English (Ball & Farr, 2003; Cummins, 1998), and dialect and language status in the United States can affect students' attitudes toward their own language use (Walters, 2005). In many cases, linguistic minorities internalize lesser social status of their native tongue as they negotiate identities. Lippi-Green (2004) points out,

> When persons who speak languages that are devalued and stigmatized consent to the standard language ideology, they themselves become complicit in its propagation against themselves, their own interests and identities. Many are caught in a vacuum: when an individual cannot find any social acceptance for her language outside her own speech communities, she may come to denigrate her own language, even while she continues to use it. (p. 296)

As I reflect on my interactions with Angela and the other students of color in teacher education classes I have instructed, I question how being an ethnolinguistic minority affects their experiences in my class as well as in the teacher education program. What impact does being a linguistically, racialized "other" have on one's construction of a teacher identity and visions of what a teacher should be? Did Angela encounter instances in her teacher training, in methods courses or in practicum experiences, where her bilingual, bicultural identity became of consequence? For example, while in the practicum classroom, did she work with students who shared cultural and linguistic

norms? Where there points in the program when she experienced "tensions" between her cultural and linguistic identity and the identity of "being a teacher"?

At the time, I felt that I inadequately addressed Angela's concerns, and my inability to do so has spurred my interest in the current dissertation. I knew that I related to the anxiety expressed by Angela. Even now as I enter a new Discourse community of "being an academic" (see Chapter Three for a discussion of Gee's (1996) D/discourse distinction), I am continually engaged in a process of understanding what it means to maintain membership in my racial and linguistic culture while gaining membership into the more mainstream culture. However, the preservice teachers in my Teaching Reading course were barely burgeoning into an awareness of this process; for these undergraduate students, they were searching for their place in the teacher education community and within the larger society while attempting to realize their purpose as teachers. My initial research question—what can we learn from the study of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers as they become teachers still "in process" of understanding the world from the social location of "other"— germinates from my observations and interactions with ethnolinguistic minority students like Angela. I want to better understand how preservice teachers, like Angela, negotiate multiple discourses as they acculturate into a teacher role identity.

Critical Discourse Analysis in Education

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a theoretical and methodological framework that addresses questions about the relationship between language and social and political issues. Gee (1999/2005) states that "language-in-use is everywhere and always political"

(p. 1). In critical discourse analysis (CDA), the goal is not simply to describe the intricacies of language. It is not simply a linguistic analysis. Researchers who use CDA as a theory and a method are interested in 1) "gaining evidence…for a theory that helps to explain how and why language works the way it does when it is put into action," and 2) "contributing, in terms of understanding and intervention, to important issues and problems in some 'applied' area (e.g., education)" (Gee, 2004, p. 2). Beyond relating form and function in language, CDA is interested in "how function-form correlations themselves correlate with specific social practices that help constitute the very nature of such practices" (Gee, 2004, p. 19).

In a recent review of critical discourse analysis in the field of education, Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, and Joseph (2005) recommend that critical discourse analysis holds great promise for describing, interpreting, and explaining the relationships among language and important educational issues. In the context of educational research, CDA, as a theoretical and methodological framework, focuses on how social relations, identity, knowledge, and power construct and are constructed by language, oral, written, and performed, in communities, schools, and classrooms. For example, as Rogers (2004a) points out, CDA can handle contradictions and paradoxes in educational research, such as policies that reflect a "back to basics" curriculum model versus the purported aims of multiculturalism, social justice, and "teaching for diversity" rhetoric.

In this dissertation study, a CDA framework offers a lens through which we can envision the teacher education context as a discourse community, one ethnolinguistic

minority preservice teachers encounter and interact with as they learn to teach. It also helps explicate the paradoxes of multicultural teacher education—the maintenance of dominant ideologies within an agenda that purports liberatory aims. Despite proficiency and competency in multiple contexts, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers may view themselves as inadequate and internalize negative conceptions of self, as shaped by their own "history of participation" (Rogers, 2003) in processes of schooling. This history of participation represents their acceptance of certain ideologies, or what Gee (1996) terms "cultural models." A CDA framework also offers the tools to draw connections between the function and form of language and the performance of multiple selves, or identities. This is important for the present dissertation study because through the study of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers' negotiation and performance of linguistic identities within the context of teacher education, CDA holds great potential for illuminating issues relevant to the recruitment and retention of a diverse teaching force.

Angela's question positioned her opposite the other students in the class. By voicing that she did not feel proficient enough in her own English skills, and that her accent hindered her ability to enunciate phonetic sounds correctly, Angela held a certain belief about what was "correct" in this situation. Did she feel that the other predominantly White, monolingual English speakers in the class were better equipped for teaching phonics? Through the use of a critical discourse analysis framework, I hope to reveal the complexities of language, not only as a sociocultural tool, but as a marker of social identity.

Statement of Research Questions

The language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers cannot be separated from the sociopolitical context in which they live (Nieto, 2000). In the current dissertation study, I want to understand how culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers use language to enact particular identities as mediated by their participation in a traditional teacher education context. By language practices, or discursive practices, I am referring to the ways of interacting, representing, and being through language (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Rogers, 2003, 2004a, 2004b). Through a macro- and micro-analyses of their language practices, I examine what constitutes ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers' "ways with words" within different groups and settings and for different purposes. Using ethnographic methods, I collected communicative data that represents their language practices in the university classroom, the practicum classroom, and outside of the university and school settings. Using critical discourse analysis as a theoretical and methodology framework, this communicative data was analyzed for qualitative patterns to reveal the issues that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers face as they construct a teacher identity within the culture and discourse of teacher education. Ultimately, through the study of language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, this dissertation addresses issues related to language, identity, and power. The following research questions guided this research study:

- What linguistic resources, or "codes," do ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers utilize across multiple contexts, for example, the university classroom, the practicum classroom, and in a setting outside the university or school context?

- Additionally, what "orders of discourse" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) are enacted as a result of their participation in these contexts?

- What socially situated identities (Bakhtin, 1981; Gee, 1996) construct and are constructed by their language practices?

Underlying these questions are the assumptions that language variability is linked to identity construction and politics and that decisions made about linguistic resources are implications of one's identity.

In this dissertation, I reveal linguistic decisions that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers face as they construct a teacher identity within the culture of teacher education. My goal was to understand how the relationship between language and identity construction for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers is enacted within a particular context, and that is, teacher education. Through the use of ethnographic methods to investigate in detail language practices and critical discourse analytic tools to understand the function of language for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers within the context of teacher education, I explored how teacher education, as a discourse community, impacts the language practices of culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers and what "tensions" ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers might encounter as they acculturate into teacher discourse.

In this dissertation proposal, terms *ethnolinguistic minority* and *culturally and linguistically diverse* are used interchangeably to denote preservice teachers whose backgrounds deviate from that of the mainstream population based on language use and cultural and ethnic identity. Ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers speak varieties

of languages and dialects that are deemed "less than" and "inferior to" dominant language varieties, and accordingly, are granted lower status on the basis of their linguistic identity in American society. The term *ethnolinguistic minority* was a point of struggle and contention for me as I entered into this research project. Terms such as bilingual or bi-dialectal—the ability to speak two languages or two dialects—were inadequate for this study because they instantly set up a dichotomous relationship between the two languages or dialects that the individual speaks. Further, such terms do not necessitate the acknowledgment of an individual's ability to speak multiple languages and dialects or the understanding that these languages and dialects alter, shift, and converge to accommodate context and identity construction. In this dissertation, I take up theories of interdiscursivity (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999), or hybrid language practices, which contend that often times, the boundaries between two languages or dialects are blurred. The notion of linguistic hybridity informs my understanding of border crossing within, across, and between the language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. I also looked to the research participants to name themselves.

Overview of Entire Dissertation

In this chapter, I set out to establish a rationale for this dissertation inquiry. The research questions stem from current discussions in research on preservice teacher education, or lack of discussions, involving ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. By focusing on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, it is not my intention to essentialize all ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers into one monolithic category

nor to invoke a binary between them and native speakers of standard English. However, by examining closely the language practices of a small cohort of preservice teachers, relying on ethnographic and critical discourse analysis methods, our understandings of the role of language on identity construction, as mediated by larger power relations, are heightened. Further, focusing on a small cohort of preservice teachers allowed for an in-depth exploration of each participant's unique, individual experiences.

In Chapter Two, I analyze existing literature on culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers. The review of the research literature focuses intently on both the theoretical and methodological modes of inquiry prevalent in research that places ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers in the center of analyses.

In Chapter Three, I discuss methodological decisions made that supported the research questions. Building on what has been done in the field of educational research in terms of critical language study and applied sociolinguistics, I establish how ethnographic methods and critical discourse analysis are appropriate choices for addressing the posed research questions. I then detail the research design, including participant selection, collection and organization of data sources, and data analysis.

In Chapters Four through Six, I share findings from my year-long ethnographic and sociolinguistic examination of the language practices of three ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. The chapters are organized according to the stages of analysis, and they highlight the most salient findings in analysis of the research data. In Chapter Four, I share findings from analysis of the ethnographic data which elucidates dominant Discourses in teacher education and the participants' interactions with these

Discourses. In Chapter Five, using critical discourse analysis, I take a closer look at the intersections between the multiple discourses these ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers negotiate and the hybrid discourses that emerge as a result of their participation within teacher education. In Chapter Six, I focus on the kinds of conversations had among these ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers within and beyond the context of teacher education.

In Chapter Seven, I conclude with a summative discussion of the research findings and offer conclusions and implications revealed by the study of the language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers across multiple contexts.

Chapter Two

Representations of Ethnolinguistic Minority Preservice Teachers in Educational Research

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter One, the aim of the dissertation study was to understand the myriad ways in which culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers use language for various audiences, for various purposes, and in various contexts. In this dissertation study, I explored the following research questions: 1) What linguistic resources, or "codes," do ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers utilize across multiple contexts, for example, the university classroom, the practicum classroom, and in a setting outside the university or school context; 2) Additionally, what "orders of discourse" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) are enacted as a result of their participation in these contexts; and 3) What socially situated identities (Bakhtin, 1981; Gee, 1996) construct and are constructed by their language practices? Through an examination of their language practices, the study aimed to reveal the socially situated identities that construct and are constructed by culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers' language practices within the context of teacher education.

In the previous chapter, I explored how ideologies within multicultural teacher education dominate the terrain in which culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers must travel on their educational journey toward becoming teachers. Also, I highlighted current discussions in educational research about the cultural and linguistic mismatch between teachers and students and how the aims of multicultural teacher education places White, monolingual, female preservice teachers as the norm, inversely

situating preservice teachers who have multiple linguistic identities on the periphery of teacher education efforts. In this chapter, I review existing educational research that places ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers in the center of analyses to illuminate the modes of theoretical and methodological inquiry that shape our current understandings of their experiences within teacher education and to demonstrate how the current dissertation study contributes to this work.

Review of the Literature

In my search for research studies on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, strategies included using several broad category key words and descriptors, including 'preservice teacher education' or 'minority preservice teachers' or 'preservice teachers' *and* 'bilingualism' or 'dialects' or 'language' or 'culture.' The research literature included in this chapter focuses on the experiences of culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers in the United States preparing for teaching careers in K-12 institutions. Though my preliminary searches illustrated that there exists a significant body of research that focuses on the ways teachers can foster greater learning opportunities for ethnolinguistic minority K-12 students by embracing their primary discourses and making space for their linguistic and cultural backgrounds in classroom instruction (e.g., Delpit & Dowdy, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Nieto & Rolon, 1997; Terrill & Mark, 2000; Valenzuela, 1999), there are relatively few research studies that focus on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers and nearly none that explore how their linguistic practices operate within, between, and alongside learning to teach processes. Because of the limited number of research studies that place ethnolinguistic

minority preservice teachers in the center of analyses, I broadened my search parameters to include studies of culturally and linguistically diverse adult learners, in-service teachers, and university professors. Though these are differing populations, expanding my search criteria provided additional documentation of the experiences of individuals from non-dominant cultural and linguistic populations in academe and schooling in general. However, it is understood that adult learners, in-service teachers, and university professors are not implicated with the same types of issues facing ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers and that research on these populations does not contend with some of the particular paradoxes in teacher education.

In this chapter, I review empirical research studies on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, considering the following questions: what theoretical constructs guide inquiries of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, and what methods of inquiry are used in research studies of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers? The review is organized according to the dominant themes that emanate from the research literature, particularly the theoretical orientations that guide research inquiries of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. I also include a section that highlights a small cohort of research studies on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers that utilize discourse analysis as a research methodology. I will end the chapter with a general overview of the themes and research methods prominent within the research literature and a discussion of the implications for the current dissertation study.

I draw on Anzaldúa's (1987/1999) theory for language in the borderlands, specifically the notions of linguistic terrorism and language hybridity, for an analytical

framework. Research literature on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers examines how they interact within dominant social spaces, such as teacher preparation programs, that perpetuate linguistic and cultural hegemony. The following review of empirical research studies on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers considers the decisions they must make once encountering such spaces—whether they suppress, or even worse, "kill" their cultural and linguistic knowledge and background, whether they straddle the margins, performing language differently in one space and yet differently in another, or whether they forge a new space—moving toward the road to cultural and linguistic hybridity.

Linguistic Terrorism

Many scholars of color, in and outside the field of education, have written about their experiences within dominant discourse communities, such as schooling and entering academe, and the impact of these dominant spaces on their cultural and linguistic identities (e.g., Gilyard, 1991; hooks, 1994; E. Richardson, 2003b; Villanueva, 1993). Anzaldúa (1987/1999) uses the image of "linguistic terrorism" to describe what can happen when linguistic minorities internalize negative conceptions of their native tongue. One response to hegemonic spaces may be to suppress or deny one's affiliation to non-standard varieties of language. Speakers of non-standard languages and dialects may view their speech as "illegitimate," or they view their language as "a bastard language" (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999, p. 80). Of speakers of Chicana Spanish, Anzaldúa writes that, "because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified," and further "we internalize how our language has been used against us by the dominant culture [and] use

language differences against each other" (p. 80). Internalized negative conceptions of self and the acceptance of ideological claims that one's cultural and linguistic identity is wrong have consequences, as is reported in some of the literature on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers.

Most discerning in research literature on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers is the existence of studies that confirm their negative experiences within the university context, specifically the detrimental consequences of having a strong accent (E. R. Clark & Flores, 2001), speaking in dialect (Paley, 2001), or simply being quiet (Pailliotet, 1997). Themes of voicelessness and miscommunication resonate in the literature on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers (Pailliotet, 1997; Paley, 2001; Zitlow & DeCoker, 1994). Being a ethnolinguistic minority within the teacher education context reveals a conflict—"a language problem, a communication problem, a connection problem" (Pailliotet, 1997, p. 675). Language, then, contributes to a dichotomous existence for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers (Kornfeld, 1999). For many ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, they feel "they must be essentially bilingual, speaking one dialect of the English language in class and another among friends" (Kornfeld, 1999, p. 29). Kornfeld (1999) captured the feelings of exclusion experienced by an African American preservice teacher because of her use of non-standard dialect: "When I have to work with other students in a group, they sometimes won't even let me be the recorder. Maybe I need help with grammar, but that doesn't mean I can't write" (Kornfeld, 1999, p. 29). The student's way of talking further silenced her among her White peers (Kornfeld, 1999). Isolation from both academic and social peers intensifies

the deficit self-conceptions of language use of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers.

Unfortunately, miscommunication, more specifically the linguistic mismatch that exists between the preservice teacher and teacher education courses and practicum experiences, has resulted in failure of academic and teacher licensure requirements for the student, as reported in the research literature (Pailliotet, 1997; Paley, 2001). In Pailliotet's (1997) case study of an Asian, language minority preservice teacher, the research participant, Vivian, failed her student teaching requirement as a result of her cultural and linguistic differences. Pailliotet (1997) pointed out that "her problems show cultural and linguistic differences may…prevent meaningful communication during teacher education and lead to qualified individuals losing confidence or giving up teaching entirely" (p. 675). In Vivian's case, it took her multiple attempts to pass a writing competency exam, she experienced difficulty completing forms required for teacher education, and she needed extra time on the state teaching certification exam to read English (Pailliotet, 1997). Her self-identified language "problems" were reinforced when she flunked student teaching. Similarly, Paley's (2001) content analysis of an African American preservice teacher's written composition for a college writing course documents another instance where a student's use of a non-standard dialect resulted in negative consequences for the student. The African American preservice teacher learned that she failed her pre-practicum requirement because the practicum supervisor felt she needed to "work on the verbal communication to [her] students" (p. 6).

The research literature also points out that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers struggle with the need to embrace their own cultural and linguistic heritage while negotiating the expectations of teacher education programs. In Meacham's (2000) ethnographic study of the cultural denial and limbo experienced by two ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, he drew from the social commentary of literary author James Baldwin to understand the social stratification of languages, and in particular, the subordination of African American Language (AAL). In a 1979 New York Times editorial about the "Black English" trial (see Smitherman & Baugh, 2002 for a historical synthesis of public policy and legislation relating to African American Vernacular English)Language), James Baldwin described the "limbo" that African American children experience when they enter into dominant spaces, such as American schools:

> The brutal truth is that the bulk of the white people in America never had any interest in educating black people except as this could serve white purposes. It is not the black child's language that is in question, it is not his language that is despised: It is his experience. A child cannot be taught by anyone who despises him, and a child cannot afford to be fooled. A child cannot be taught by anyone whose demand, essentially, is that the child repudiate his experience, and all that gives him sustenance, and enter a limbo in which he will no longer be black, and in which he knows that he can never become white. Black people have lost too many black children that way (Baldwin, 1979).

In Meacham's (2000) study, he observed that the two African American preservice teachers were in this cultural limbo, in limbo about how to (or whether to)

bridge their identification with African American Language and their academic identity.

Tanya, an African American preservice teacher, was conscious of her use of language

and its implications for her identity. Expected to speak Standard English by her family in

an effort to protect her from mainstream linguistic bias, Tanya experienced "an

ambivalent relationship between herself and her conceptions of African American

cultural integrity" (Meacham, 2000, p. 583). Unlike Tanya, Linda alluded to her

linguistic allegiance to African American Language being supported by her perception

that academic competence and Standard English use represented a sense of conformity to

mainstream institutional value and a lack of cultural integrity.

Ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers face a crossroads, a contemplation of

whether to demonstrate their cultural knowledge in lesson planning and implementation

or to suppress characteristics of their ethnic identities in efforts to become acculturated

into teacher culture (E. R. Clark & Flores, 2001; Sheets & Chew, 2002; Tellez, 1999).

Though some express pride in their embodiment of cultural knowledge, still some have

feelings of inadequacy and lack of preparedness for teaching (E. R. Clark & Flores,

2001). In some instances, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers reveal paradoxes

in their beliefs about their culture and how it impacts their teaching. In Tellez'(1999)

study of Mexican-American preservice teachers, one respondent expressed that she

refused to learn Spanish and had no interest in teaching bilingual education. One

comment she made reflected her ambivalence toward Spanish: "I am Mexican-American

and proud of it. I don't know Spanish and don't care to learn it. If you don't like that,

then you have a problem" (p. 562). She felt that the ethnolinguistic minority students

"needed to understand what was 'wrong' with their cultural upbringing" (p. 565). These feelings of cultural denial were prevalent because of the shame she often felt for some of the cultural values that prevented many of her Mexican-American friends and family members from pursuing success in mainstream America (Tellez, 1999).

The research literature demonstrates that conceptions about language status also contribute to intra-cultural tensions around language variation and use. For example, Riegelhaupt and Carrasco (2000) described the attitudes of a middle class Mexican family toward the Spanish of a Chicano bilingual teacher from Arizona. The teacher's use of a variation of Spanish that is stigmatized—associated with those who are uneducated and of a lower social status—resulted in the family's negative reactions toward her. Riegelhaupt and Carrasco's study demonstrated that "one dialect of Spanish, especially one that is characterized by certain non-standard forms, may not be acceptable in another social and regional context" (p. 333). The study revealed that intra-cultural tensions around language variation and use exist—if Spanish was acquired in a home setting, for example, teachers (and students) needed to be aware that issues related to dialect differences may arise in other contexts or settings. Thus, from their findings, Riegelhaupt and Carrasco suggest that Spanish heritage language learners become aware of sociolinguistic features in dialect and become proficient in "code switching," making linguistic features in both contact languages explicit and demonstrating metalinguistic awareness.

The research literature suggests that these tensions experienced by ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers are mediated by the context of teacher education. Speakers

of non-standard language varieties are viewed as a threat, or a "linguistic nightmare" (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999, p. 80), within dominant linguistic communities. Being positioned as a threat can encourage ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers to suppress cultural or linguistic knowledge. Research on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers also examines the various political and economic factors that influence their linguistic development. For example, in a study of the barriers bilingual preservice teachers on the road to becoming teachers, Waldschmidt (2002) set out to gather personal narratives to uncover experiential knowledge of bilingual and bicultural preservice teachers. Initially, Waldschmidt (2002) advocated the use of narrative and autobiographical writing to bridge the gaps between a student's home culture, student culture, and teacher culture. In preliminary analyses of interview transcripts, however, she noticed "particular themes related to discursive practices reflective of dominant ideology that accepts unequal power relationships as the norm" (p. 542). She theorized that the lived experiences of the three bilingual preservice teachers—Norma, Gina, and Patricia—were mediated by the hegemonic context of the teacher education program.

> The "hegemonic field" in which Norma, Gina, and Patricia live states overtly that, yes, their presence is desired in the teaching force because they are bilingual and individuals of color but, no, these attributes cannot take the place of the "standards" that everyone must meet to become teachers. The fact that these "standards" favor monolingual, white, middle-class individuals goes unquestioned. (Waldschmidt, 2002, p. 542)

To attain a better understanding of the barriers these preservice teachers faced, Waldschmidt (2002) employed critical ethnographic methods, a methodology that attempts to represent the culture, consciousness, and lived experiences of participants, utilizes critical discourse, and has conscious political intentions. The preservice teachers' narratives became "reflections of the interaction between their individual histories and the societal limitations that defined their lived experiences" (Waldschmidt, 2002, p. 543). By using critical ethnographic methods, Waldschmidt (2002) was better equipped to make claims about how the factors within the context of teacher education affected the experiences of the preservice teachers.

For example, in the practicum school setting, Waldschmidt's (2002) observed that monolingual teachers and administrators felt threatened by the ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers who shared linguistic and cultural norms with students. One of the study's participants, Patricia, shared her frustrations with being placed in a school that had an English immersion model that conflicted with her beliefs about bilingual education, specifically her beliefs about the need to develop literacy in a child's first language in order to anchor their learning in a second language. Patricia often interacted with Spanish-speaking parents about their children's progress. Her Spanish affiliation also encouraged greater interactions between Patricia and her kindergarten students. However, she shared that she was told by her administrator and her mentor teacher that "she used too much Spanish" (p. 552), prompting her to make a decision about whether or not to suppress her use of Spanish. Similarly, in Guerrero's (2003) study of the narratives of four Latina preservice teachers in bilingual education , he found that

political and economic factors influenced the prestige of non-standard languages,

relegating them to lower status. He concluded that there was little initiative in

educational policy and practice to support academic Spanish language proficiency for

these teachers. Instead, educational policy and practice regarding bilingualism and

biliteracy perpetuated a continuum that represents power (e.g., English-speaking) on one

end and powerlessness (e.g., Spanish-speaking) on the other (Guerrero, 2003). The

teachers' ability to master a standard language represented power and status.

The research literature reviewed in this section examines what happens when

language is viewed as a fixed entity, bound to certain social and political norms and

expectations, and interrogates the notion that in order to become a teacher, one must

assimilate certain language behaviors while suppressing, or killing, others. A

ethnolinguistic minority preservice teacher's decision to suppress his or her linguistic or

cultural identity is often a result of the acceptance of socially and politically-ascribed

values toward particular ways of interacting, representing, and being.

Bridging Marginalized Identities

Research on teacher identity has shown that teachers bring their unique

experiences to their pedagogy and that fully understanding practice requires

understanding these histories (Britzman, 2003). Britzman writes that

> the student teacher's delicate position in the classroom allows insight into the
>
> struggle for voice in both teaching and learning. Marginally situated in two
>
> worlds, the student teacher as part teacher and part teacher has the dual struggle of
>
> educating others while being educated. (p. 36)

Through the retelling of their stories, Britzman attempts to represent the polyphony of voices of preservice teachers in an effort to "mediate, persuade, and produce particular forms of practice and the concurrent discourses that legitimate or challenge them" (p. 36). For ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, these personal histories move beyond the dual worlds of being part student and part teacher and are directly related to how they position themselves and are positioned by their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity (Au & Blake, 2003). Research on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers considers their personal histories in efforts to take into account those informal influences that significantly shape the construction of the teacher identity (Agee, 2004; Zitlow & DeCoker, 1994). The research literature reviewed in this section examines how ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers experience marginality and what it means when one is positioned on the border between two cultures and multiple languages.

Research studies of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers suggest that they experience feelings of a divided self and must negotiate a bicultural identity. These research studies also examine the relationship between a bicultural identity and a teacher role identity. In general, the research literature suggests that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers encounter "tensions" while attempting to maintain linguistic and cultural allegiance with their primary discourse community and simultaneously taking on a new teacher role. In Agee's (2004) three year case study examining the experiences of Tina, an African American teacher negotiating a teaching identity in the context of high stakes testing and standardization, identity is defined as a discursive space where an imagined role is negotiated among possible roles. Agee questioned how Tina's identity

was impacted by teacher education program and questioned whether teacher education programs unintentionally maintain a White, Euro-American hegemony with discourse that makes teachers of color and their perspectives on teaching invisible. From the case study of Tina, Agee found that,

> Unquestioned assumptions about the identity and role of the teacher left her with no voice and little guidance in the realization of her goals. Much of the theory and research on teaching multicultural literature assumes that a White teacher is the one dealing with diversity in literature and in classrooms. Although the majority of teachers are White, directing every discussion of diversity in literature toward them serves to make invisible the problems of teachers of color in White classrooms. There is little discussion about how a teacher of color might be positioned in these situations. (p. 772)

Bias toward preparing White preservice teachers for teaching for diversity positions teachers of color as outsiders, or "other," within teacher education programs. Like Tina, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers learn to teach in a context that positions them as marginalized learners.

On the other hand, having a firsthand experience as marginalized within a dominant space provides ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers with a deeper understanding and appreciation for the school-age students in their classrooms. Sharing cultural and linguistic heritage with their students, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers can enact a "bridging identity" (R. Galindo, 1996), to serve as role models, or "bridges," for the ethnolinguistic minority students in their future classrooms. Galindo

(1996) analyzed the teacher role identity of three Chicana teachers to show the specific ways that they link past biographical experiences as minorities with their present occupational role as teachers. Galindo asserted that viewing the teacher identity as a bridging identity may help address frustrations faced by minority teacher candidates (as cited in the research literature, e.g., Delpit, 1995) and support them in their goal of becoming teachers. This research study highlighted the solidarity and connectedness that minority teachers have to the communities of their students and their parents; such studies stress tapping into the cultural knowledge that minority teacher candidates bring as a resource. Galindo (1996) found that the three teachers saw their own upbringing as bicultural, bilingual individuals as resources for working with culturally and linguistically student populations. When working with her students, one teacher presented herself as someone who was similar to her students by giving examples from her own speech to show that English was a second language for her. The teachers recognized the "value in developing literacy in the native language while they learn English as their second language" (p. 97). One significant finding was the teachers' recollections of how their parents and grandparents stressed that they be literate in Spanish: "An example of a consejos was, 'It's important for you to keep your language [Spanish] because some day you're going to need it'" (p. 93). The value of the Spanish language and a bilingual, bicultural identity was directly connected to the teachers' past biographical experiences.

In contrast, this "bridging identity" can be met with challenges and tensions, as exhibited in the research literature. For example, Jones, Young, and Rodríguez (1999) explored the relationship between the ethnic identity and career choice of Mexican

American and Euro-American Spanish bilingual teacher candidates. Similar to Galindo (1996), Jones, Young, and Rodríguez (1999) found that unlike Euro-American preservice teachers, the Mexican American preservice teachers indicated a strong reference group orientation and affiliation with Mexican culture. They also viewed themselves as role models for Latino children because of their own bicultural background. One preservice teacher self-identified as mixed heritage shared how "codeswitching" was commonplace for her and her family—she and her siblings spoke both Spanish and English and mixed the two languages together. She remarked that "if speaking English can happen to someone like me, they'll be more comfortable in wanting to learn the language" (p. 438). In contrast to the teachers in Galindo's (1996) study, however, some of the Mexican American students expressed having to keep their Mexican side separate from the American side—one is appropriate for inside the home while the other is for outside the home. One student shared an example of how her father taught them that Spanish was to be spoken at home, being told that in reference to languages other than Spanish, to "keep them separate" (p. 436). Some of the students mentioned "feelings of shame toward the home culture that had been generated through school experiences or anger toward the American mainstream culture" (p. 438). A similar study, Weisman (2001), used Dubois'(1903/2003) concept of "double consciousness" to understand how the cultural identities of bilingual preservice teachers relates to their attitudes about Spanish and English. "When one considers the different status of English and Spanish in the wider society, the attitudes and beliefs that Latino teachers have about these languages becomes a critical issue" (p. 204). Findings suggested that Latino teachers who teach in bilingual

classrooms may not necessarily have language attitudes that validate the cultural identity of their Latino students and/or support their academic success.

The research literature suggests that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers' identities are mediated by their participation in teacher education as a new discourse community. The ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers studied expressed a desire to preserve the value of the home languages and cultures in the lives of their students. Taking on a new teacher role identity is not without cost; ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers' envision their new role as a "bridge" for academic and social success for the students who come behind them. Yet, as the literature suggests, at the same time ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers are acquiring a new teacher role identity, they simultaneously battle internalizations of being marginalized learners and non-dominant speakers in a dominant space, such as in teacher education programs.

Linguistic Hybridity

In *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, Anzaldúa (1987/1999) discusses the merging of two worlds that form a third country. She defines this concept as a "border culture":

> The U.S. Mexican border *es una herida abierta* where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds. And before the scab forms, it hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country—a border culture. Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them*…A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the

emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition. (p. 25)

Borderland languages exemplify James Baldwin's (1979) assertion that, "a language comes into existence by means of brutal necessity, and the rules of the language are dictated by what the language must convey."

Language hybridity demonstrates the complexities of language practices. Beyond secondary discourses, "hybrid" discourses can reconfigure power relations and create new linguistic and social spaces (Rogers et al., 2005). Theoretical work from culturally and linguistically diverse educators and researchers describes the ways in which individuals forge new languages to embrace multiple cultural and linguistic identities within dominant spaces. For example, hooks (1994) writes that acculturating an academic discourse threatened her identification with African American Language and required a movement toward a borderland, or hybrid discourse.

> To heal the splitting of mind and body, we marginalized and oppressed people attempt to recover ourselves and our experiences in language. We seek to make a place for intimacy. Unable to find such a place in standard English, we create the ruptured, broken, unruly speech of the vernacular. When I need to say words that do more than simply mirror or address dominant reality, I speak black vernacular. There, in that location, we make English do what we want it to do. We take the oppressor's language and turn it against itself. We make our words a counter-hegemonic speech, liberating ourselves in language. (p. 175)

In contrast to linguistic terrorism—the suppression or denial of one's cultural and linguistic heritage—research literature that explores language hybridity demonstrates the ways in which ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers "fashion their own gods," "chisel their own faces," and claim space, "making a new culture—una cultura mestiza— with [their] own lumber, [their] own bricks and mortar" (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999, p. 81).

Research studies of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers that are informed by the concept of language hybridity focus on the linguistic strategy of codeswitching— and in what ways, what contexts, with whom, and for what purposes codeswitching is employed by ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. In a dialogic study of the role of ethnolinguistic factors in classroom instruction, four African-Ancestry teachers, Casimir, Mattox, Hays, and Vasquez (2000), argued that "culturally, it's [codeswitching] the best way to communicate in that moment. I let students know that it's important for them to have both varieties of English, and to have the facility to know when to use them" (p. 254). In this study, the authors discussed issues of language and cultural identity construction that affect them as teachers and that affect their ethnolinguistic minority student population. The authors articulated similar concerns that they feel may be attributed to their common experiences as black bilinguals; they are all Spanish-English bilingual, African-ancestry teachers. Their views of culture and language challenged the common assumption that "'true' or 'balanced' bilinguals function as 'two native speakers in one'" (p. 249) ignoring the varied social contexts in which individuals gain linguistic competence. They felt that this "two in one" model of bilingualism impedes their students' ability to see them as whole people. In their discussion of

teachers' educational response to this challenged assumption, they advocated for *code-switching* as an instructional tool.

Studies of linguistic hybridity also consider the role that language attitudes and one's linguistic identity have on the function of language (D. L. Galindo, 1996). In a study of ten English and Spanish bilingual preservice teachers' attitudes toward border women's Spanish in Laredo, Texas, Galindo (1996) found that standard Spanish is generally considered correct and prestigious while border Spanish is judged to be unpleasant, in part as a result of the use of codeswitching and caló (Chicano Spanish-English slang). Galindo observed that "the uniqueness of the language contact situation on the border produces a linguistic situation referred to as 'stable bilingualism' by Lewis (1972)" (p. 7). The teachers' responses to a survey illustrated how negative attitudes toward Spanish inadvertently affect its maintenance and suggest a high correlation between language attitudes and social behavior; "one either mistreats people or not on the basis of how one evaluates their speech" (p. 92). Galindo argued that based on a sociolinguistic view of language variation and use in a borderland community, "we must reject a simplistic view of Spanish-English bilingualism in favor of one that reflects the complexity and heterogeneity of speakers whose linguistic repertoire may include standard Mexican Spanish, popular Spanish, caló, standard English, Tejano English, in addition to codeswitching—a linguistic reality even on the border" (p. 6).

Teacher educators who maintain multiple cultural and linguistic identities with the academic context serve as models for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. As a teacher educator, Cárdenas (2004) reflects on her own experiences as a ethnolinguistic

minority student and uses her bilingual, bicultural identity as a resource for helping

Latino/a students in the university setting. She recalls how growing up as a marginalized

bilingual Spanish/English language speaker, she internalized negative conceptions of her

English proficiency and self-imposed silence in school settings because she believed her

use of English to be inferior to other mainstream speakers. Within the academic context,

Cárdenas negotiated a space that allows her to be a "whole" bilingual, bicultural person:

"If assimilation means that a person loses a part of him or herself in the process of

becoming an American, I have not assimilated. I am a hybrid. I operate within two

environments, and I look out from two perspectives" (p. 124).

The research literature in this section explores how ethnolinguistic minority

preservice teachers gain an awareness of language difference in multiple contexts for

academic and professional survival while maintaining a sense of pride in their native or

home languages and dialects. In order to do this, the literature alludes to their need to

forge hybrid linguistic and cultural identities, moving beyond dual or divided selves.

Methods of Inquiry

As illustrated in the previous sections, existing research on ethnolinguistic

minority preservice teachers utilizes various research methodology that illuminate issues

affecting this population, including ethnographic methods (e.g., Meacham, 2000;

Waldschmidt, 2002), the case study approach (Burant, 1999; Pailliotet, 1997), and

narrative and life history research (e.g., Zitlow & DeCoker, 1994). The majority of the

research studies on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers are single or collective

case studies, "exploration[s] of a 'bounded system' or a case (or multiple cases) over time

through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context" (Creswell, 1998, p. 61). The goal of the case studies of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teacher is to investigate the issues surrounding their collective experience in teacher education programs. The examination of a singular case allows the researcher to deeply consider the nuances of the ethnolinguistic minority preservice teacher's experience within teacher preparation programs. When using the case study approach to contribute to larger issues within the context of educational research on preservice teacher education, researchers can make inferences toward improving K-12 student learning outcomes by tapping into the cultural resources of teachers who are have a linguistic and cultural minority background and challenge teacher education programs to examine existing practices that might pose difficulties for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers appropriating a teacher role identity.

Within the relatively small body of educational research that focuses on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, however, there are even fewer studies that employ discourse analysis as a research methodology. Some researchers use the case study approach, along with theories of discourse, to examine closely the discursive practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. In the examination of identity construction as a social process and the role of teacher education programs, research that uses discourse analysis within a case study approach explore questions surrounding the nature of one preservice teacher's discourse and identity within the context of teacher education. For example, Clark (2003), relying on Bakhtin's (1981) theoretical framework for the understanding of discourse, explores the role of authoritative

discourse in the "learning disabled" labeling of a Latina preservice teacher, Sandra. In the author's literacy methods course, Sandra encountered a process of "unlabeling" herself; "reading a range of literacy narratives written by authors who are positioned differently in terms of ethnicity, race, class, and gender" (Clark, 2003, p. 134) allowed Sandra to see herself—her Spanish-speaking, working class background—in contrast to a larger, more diverse social group, and not just within the confines of a predominantly, white, monolingual, middle class teacher education community.

In another case study of how one preservice teacher's learning to teach process in a reading specialization program, Assaf (2005) also used Bakhtin's (1981) theories of language and learning to explore how one preservice teacher, Adriana, who immigrated from Eastern Europe, negotiates multiple discourses within the learning community of a teacher education preparation program. To understand the role of context in the process of learning to become a teacher, Assaf used Gee's (1999/2005) method for discourse analysis to uncover the social, cultural, and situated meanings communicated through Adriana's online reading responses. Of Adriana's responses, Assaf (2005) asked the following questions: "'What social languages are relevant?' 'What cultural models seem to be at play in this response?' 'What connections are and are not being made in this response?'" (p. 211). She focused on the textual (online responses) and contextual (interaction in the program) factors that shaped Adriana's identities. In response to her primary research questions—what is the nature of one preservice teacher's discourse in a reading specialization program? How does identity influence the instructional choices one makes as a teacher?—Assaf was able to draw connections between Adriana's

experience as a multilingual speaker and immigrant within the program, and what this reveals about the relationship between discourse, identity, and learning to teach processes, through Gee's (1999/2005) method for discourse analysis.

Through discourse analysis and a case study approach, these studies take a close, in-depth look at how individuals acculturate into a secondary discourse community. For both Assaf (2005) and Clark (2003), their immersion in the context of the teacher education program was critical to their understanding of these individual cases. In Ball's (2000) study of how three African American female teachers use language to raise students' level of consciousness and promote a wide range of language practices, she used a finer level of discourse analysis and micro-ethnography "to investigate particular recurring communicative situations that occurred within these learning environments" (pp. 1014-1015). Her method of discourse analysis involved recording class sessions, transcribing the recordings, breaking the transcriptions into four-minute segments, and coding the discourse for theme, type of verbal interaction, and language use to examine the ways in which the teachers strategically used classroom talk that reflected a critical pedagogy. She found that each teacher used a wide range of communicative styles, including standard academic English, AAL, and technical language. However, the vignettes presented do not reveal the complexity of the language variation. While all of the studies employ discourse analysis as a means for macro-level and micro-level analyses of language, these studies do not move beyond a sentence level analysis of language use.

As the review of the literature illustrates, there are few studies in educational research that focus intently on the relationship between language and social relationships involving ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers (Assaf, 2005; Ball, 2000; C. T. Clark, 2003). Further, of these studies, only one study (Assaf, 2005) employs a critical discourse analysis framework, theoretically and methodological, to interrogate issues surrounding the relationship between language practice and identity construction for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. However, in this case study account, the model of CDA adapted for an analytic framework (Gee, 1999/2005) does not allow for linguistic analysis of language variation within each utterance; this level of critical discourse analysis is used to make larger, macro- claims about the relationship between one's language use and identity formation as mediated by their social world. Further, these studies are informed by a definition of discourse as "social life as practice" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 37) and do not combine this understanding with conceptualizations of language as a "social semiotic" (p. 50), the conceptualization of the grammar of language as a network of systems corresponding to the major social functions of language.

Conclusions

In general, prominent themes within the review of current empirical research on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers reveal that within the context of teacher education, their cultural and linguistic background and knowledge affects how they experience the learning to teach process. Whether to suppress one's cultural and linguistic identity or to use it as a "bridge," or as a resource, defines how they experience

teacher education and who they become as teachers. Ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers contend with their own internalized notions of marginalization and linguistic inferiority within a context that positions them as culturally and linguistically "other." The studies reviewed support the need for a research inquiry that illuminates linguistic terrorism, marginality, and hybridity "in use" (Gee, 1999/2005). A study of the "language-in-use" practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers can examine the relationship of language and identity as mediated by a dominant Discourse community, in this case, the context of teacher education. The current study proposes to allow for the study of language and identity in terms of an understanding of the hybrid self, where multiple languages and identities merge together to forge new spaces. To do this, the current study adapts the definition of identity as a discursive space, mediated by various purposes, audiences, and contexts.

In terms of methodology, particular research methods are appropriate for addressing particular kinds of research questions about ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, and specifically their language practices. Though numerous research methods have been employed to explore various questions about ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, the research designs are not adequate for tackling them simultaneously or for interrogating the paradoxes inherit in the context of multicultural teacher education. Language as a unit of inquiry allows for an examination of how issues of language, identity, and power interact within the context of teacher education. Incorporating a systematic functional linguistics (SFL) approach to macro-level discourse analysis moves us closer to a model of critical discourse analysis that can handle

linguistic hybridity—the mixing together of different genres and discourses—and its relationship to identity formation (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999), as will be discussed in Chapter Three.

In Chapter Three, I will expand on the theoretical themes that stem from the existing research literature on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers as they relate to the current dissertation study and outline how the use of CDA within an ethnographic research design holds promise for an analysis of hybrid language practices.

Chapter Three

Methodology: Ethnography and Critical Discourse Analysis

Introduction

As the review of the literature in Chapter Two illustrated, there are few studies in educational research that focus intently on the relationship between language and social relationships involving ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. Further, fewer studies employ a critical discourse analysis framework, theoretically and methodologically, to interrogate issues surrounding the relationship between language practice and identity construction for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. In this dissertation study, I wanted to understand the ways ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers use and adapt language for multiple contexts. The aim of the dissertation study was to understand the myriad ways in which culturally and linguistically diverse preservice teachers use language for various audiences, for various purposes, and in various contexts, and by extension, enact particular identities. In this chapter, I discuss how the methodological approaches used—the partnering of critical discourse analysis and ethnographic methods. I then detail the research design, including participant selection, collection and organization of data sources, and data analysis. First, I begin with a brief discussion of the theoretical constructs that undergird and inform the lens through which I understand issues of language, identity, and discourse.

Theoretical Orientations for Current Study

I entered into this research project inquiring from a perspective informed by critical theories of language, discourse, and identity, especially in the areas of

sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis. The first two research questions—What

linguistic resources, or "codes," do ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers utilize

across multiple contexts, for example, the university classroom, the practicum classroom,

and in a setting outside the university or school context; and what "orders of discourse"

(Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) are enacted as a result of their participation in these

contexts—are informed by a sociolinguistic definition of language, one where it is

viewed as a complex linguistic system, socially constructed, politically charged, and

defined by the social relations in which it occurs (Gee, 1996; Rogers, 2004a). These

questions also assume the "interdiscursivity" or hybridity (Chouliaraki & Fairclough,

1999) of language variation. The third research question—What socially situated

identities construct and are constructed by their language practices—assumes that as

ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers cross multiple Discourses, they construct and

reconstruct what Gee (1996) refers to as situated identities. Informing Gee's definition of

situated identities is Bakhtin's (1981) theories for the polyphony of language; his

definition of heteroglossia proved useful for understanding the complexity of hybrid

identities of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers.

Theories of Language, Bilingualism, and Language Variation

Languages are not things that can be taught, but social possessions, defining who

counts as a real member of the group. Language, then, is always being spoken or written

out of a particular social identity (Gee, 1996). As Lippi-Green (2004) writes, "Language

is…a flexible and constantly flexing tool for the emblematic marking of social

allegiances. We use variation in language to construct ourselves as social beings, to

signal who we are, and who we are not—and cannot be" (p. 291). Sociologists view language primarily as a sociocultural construct (Wolfram, 2004). Sociolinguists aim to bridge the ideological gap between a view of language as a set of rules and a view of language as a way of behaving, a way of belonging, and a way of creating social identities and relationships. From this perspective, language is viewed as a set of culturally transmitted behavior patterns shared by a community of speakers. Opposite a view of language as a pure linguistic code, or a set of sentences generated by a set of grammatical rules, a sociolinguistic view of language sees language as a form of social behavior that is inextricable from cultural practice.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, language variation represents constructs of diversity of linguistic forms, strategies, and patterns that allow speakers to generate more and different utterances in a large number of contexts. Technically speaking, a dialect is any given variety of a language shared by a group of speakers (Wolfram, 2004; Wolfram & Christian, 1989). In this way, a person cannot speak a language without speaking a dialect of that language. Differences within a language are called dialect differences. Dialects can vary in any aspect of language: pronunciation, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and so on. However, generally speaking, dialect often refers to a variety of English that is not standard and the term is typically given a negative connotation. Accordingly, dialects and languages are sociocultural constructs, and the boundaries between them are not definable in purely linguistic terms.

In short, language variation is complex; it is not simply the use of one language in one context and yet another in a different context. Theories of bilingualism that view

bilingualism with a monolingual bias and as a dichotomy between two languages (see Walters, 2005 for discussion) run counter to an examination of the complex language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers across multiple contexts. In Walters (2005) review of theories of bilingualism, some theories dichotomize an individual's language use and assume that they are essentially monolingual in two separate languages. Further, they do not allow for an understanding of codeswitching or code-mixing that might more accurately describe the linguistic behaviors of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. Several language and literacy researchers in Latino/a studies have discussed how restrictive definitions of bilingualism fail to acknowledge and validate the complex and varied linguistic experiences of bilingual speakers (see, e.g., Kells, Balester, & Villanueva, 2004; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Torres-Guzmán, 1998; Zentella, 2004, 2005). This study is influenced by theories that view bilingualism as situated within the social world of the speaker, that is, socially situated, multidimensional, dynamic, and always changing (Auer, 1995, 1999; Grosjean, 1997; Walters, 2005).   Such theories of bilingualism are essential to understanding and illustrating a transition from two spaces toward a third space for language practice and identity—a move toward hybridity.

Theories of hybridity, or "interdiscursivity" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999), acknowledge that language use is constantly shifting, adapting, mixing, and so on. Interdiscursivity refers to the presence or trace of one discourse within another (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Lewis & Ketter, 2004). Chouliaraki & Fairclough's (1999) framework for critical discourse analysis—one that combines a theories of

discourse and language—theorizes the social structuring of semiotic hybridity—the mixing together of different genres and discourses.

> Given the instability and rapid shifts of late modernity, the horizon for the problems is a horizon of change which manifests itself discoursally as a pervasive hybridisation of types of discourse—the hybrid text (in general, SFL sense) is the norm in later modernity. (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 93)

Linguistic differences realize different genres, where "a genre is a type of language used in the performance of a particular social practice" (p. 56). While linguistic hybridity can be viewed as a strategy for resistance, it can equally be viewed as a strategy for dominance, particularly in struggles to establish new hegemonies in dominant domains, as exhibited in Anzaldúa's (1987/1999) work. However, in this study, I move beyond Anzaldúa's metaphorical theorizing of borderland discourses and language hybridity to the exploration of hybridity within a critical, sociolinguistic way. Crossing borders, in linguistic terms, is defined as having access to multiple linguistic codes and utilizing the linguistic strategy of code-mixing, or codeswitching, to create a "hybrid" code (Gee, 1996). Hybridity is also the interplay between multiple and sometimes competing discourses in the same context. When the hybrid text is viewed as the norm, linguistic differences also represent the multiple ways of being—multiple identities (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

Theories of Identity

In the context of teacher education, as preservice teachers answer and respond to experiences and interactions with others, they draw on the "intentions of others"

(Bakhtin, 1981) in shaping the way they think, act, and understand the world. Bakhtin

(1981) explained that who we become as individuals—our identities—depends on the

"process of selectively assimilating the words of others" (p. 341). He theorized that

individuals often struggle to assimilate two distinctive types of social discourse:

authoritative and internally persuasive. Authoritative discourse is a language hegemony

that is a socially accepted way of knowing and being that is rarely challenged. Whereas,

internally persuasive discourse is more flexible and responsive; it is what a person thinks

for him or herself. Yet, in internally persuasive discourse, as opposed to authoritative

discourse, "one's own words" are tightly interwoven with someone else's words. "In the

everyday rounds of our consciousness, the internally persuasive word is half-ours and

half-someone else's" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 345). This idea is useful in the study of the

language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers because it can explain

the "tensions" individuals might encounter when making decisions about how to, and

whether to, assimilate a teacher role identity (an authoritative discourse), one equipped

with a specialized way of talking, acting, and being, while maintaining allegiance to a

primary cultural and linguistic discourse (an internally persuasive discourse).

In what Bakhtin (1981) termed "dialogism," individuals struggle between these

two forms of discourse as they interact socially. Dialogism relates to identity by

explaining how we learn and how we see ourselves in relation to others. In Bakhtin's

theory of language, discourse is "polyphonic', 'double-voiced', 'double-languaged.'

Further, as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) frame their theory of critical discourse

analysis, Bakhtin's (1981) theory of language as dialogical focuses the notion of

interdiscursivity, or hybridity, in the study of language and identity. Bakhtin theorizes

the dialogic nature of language as "a language consciousness that has been profoundly

relativized by heteroglossia and polyphony" (p. 400). In other words, "languages are

dialogically implicated *in* each other and begin to exist *for* each other" (p. 400). Thus,

our identities are indicative of the heteroglossic nature of our language practices.

Language is a conduit through which identity travels. In Gee's (1996) framework

for social linguistics, identity is defined as the use of language and other semiotic tools to

participate in meaningful ways within a particular Discourse. Gee provides examples of

how one will use language to be a "kind of person," for example,

> there are ways of speaking like a (specific type of) doctor, street-gang member,
>
> postmodern literary critic, football fanatic, neoliberal economist, working-class
>
> male, adaptationist biologist, and so on through an endless array of identities…we
>
> often can recognize a particular socially situated "kind of person" through his or
>
> her use of a given social language without actually being able to enact that kind of
>
> person. (Rogers, 2004, p. 46)

According to this theory, there is a way of speaking like a specific type of teacher; one

can enact a particular teacher identity by speaking a particular social language. A social

language is a way of using language so as to enact a particular socially situated identity.

Gee's (1996) definition of situated identities assumes that any one individual has more

than one identity in various contexts. "Further, an individual may have more than one

identity that is in conflict or alignment with another part of their identity—this tension

between situated identities may be referred to as subjectivities" (Rogers, 2004, p. 52).

Gee's framework offers a foundation for understanding the role of socially situated, hybrid identities for speakers of nonstandard languages and dialects.

Within each utterance of interaction, individuals enact socially situated identities; this theory is also supported by the work on positioning by Davies and Harré (1990). According to Davies and Harré, identity is constructed by decisions (intentional and unintentional) about language and literacy use within different groups and for different purposes. The term discursive practice, then, is "all the ways in which people actively produce social and psychological realities" (p. 45). Davies and Harré write that "an individual emerges through the process of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate" (p. 46). By embracing this concept of idea of the multiplicities of self, it is understood that we are always speaking and acting from a particular position.

Identity construction within particular social contexts is part of a larger matrix of transactions between self and the world. Language serves many functions, including being the major vehicle for conveying information from one human being to another. Language is, in a sense, an "identification card." I draw from critical theories of language and identity where these categories are theorized as politically and culturally constructed (Bakhtin, 1981; Fairclough, 1989/2001), as I explore these questions about the language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers—individuals who are positioned oppositionally to White, monolingual preservice teachers. Some theories of language posit that essentially no one is monolingual; for example, Gee (1996) argues

that everyone has access to multiple social languages and learns to use them appropriately for given contexts, audiences, and purposes. Ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers do use language in complex, highly sophisticated ways, as exhibited in the research literature; however, interpretation of this phenomenon is not simply explained as the ability to negotiate multiple social languages. As Anzaldúa (1987/1999) writes, "ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity—I am my language" (p. 81). Language is often subsumed into categories of race, ethnicity, and culture. While I understand that the use of concepts of race, ethnicity, and language as identity markers is problematic and complex, the language decisions of ethnolinguistic minorities beckon the interrogation of other variables, including racial and ethnic identity, but within a framework that considers the dynamic, shifting, and contested nature of these constructs.

Theories of D/discourses

By discourse, I am referring to the use of language to enact a certain socially situated identity, following Gee (1996). A discourse is "a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network'" (Gee, 2001, p. 537). Within a particular context, individuals shape an understanding of knowledge, self, and community that is integrally connected to social, cultural, and historical structures already existing both within and outside of that context. Luke (1995) writes that "discourse events are themselves constrained by their institutional location, by their regularized procedures, rules, and constraints of particular social locations" (p. 13).

Language is a structure by which individuals learn a way of being in the world and a view of social reality.

According to Gee (1996), a discourse is "a sort of 'identity kit' which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write" (p. 526). Gee defines <u>D</u>iscourses as "ways of being in the world" (p. 526). He ascribes a capital D to emphasize that language choice, among other choices, is motivated by our need to play the right social role and convey the right values, beliefs, and attitudes in particular contexts. In Gee's (1996) framework, primary Discourses are our mother tongues, our native languages, and the language of our homes and communities. Secondary Discourses, then, are acquired fluently and to the extent that we have access to the secondary institutions and are allowed apprenticeship within them. Gee (1996) refers to this acquisition of new knowledge as the attainment of secondary Discourses, or "literacies" that are acquired as we interact with various social institutions beyond our home communities, institutions within the public sphere, in this case, teacher education programs. The notion of secondary Discourses as an "apprenticeship" into a particular social group suggests that literacy is used to solidify a social hierarchy and maintain social norms. Gee (1996) suggests that the choice in any academic program will always be influenced by what sort of social group the teacher intends to apprentice the learner.

In this way, we can view preservice teacher education as an apprenticeship into mainstream teacher culture, which suggests that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, like all preservice teachers, acculturate into teaching as a secondary Discourse,

adhering to particular linguistic and cultural norms. The issue arises when we consider how one's primary discourse interacts with this secondary Discourse.

Research Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis and Ethnography

The methodology for this dissertation inquiry is influenced by the qualitative traditions of ethnography and critical discourse analysis (CDA). I utilize a critical discourse analysis framework to look at how ethnolinguistic minority preserves teachers enact particular identities through language practice in multiple contexts. Researchers who employ critical discourse analyses are interested in how individuals use language to display identities, how language circulates power and perpetuates social relations, and how language is indicative of larger socio-political structures. CDA is a useful framework for understanding the language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers because it reveals hidden power relations mediated by larger social and political narratives (Rogers, 2004a). CDA moves inquiries about language practices toward understandings that illuminate places of agency, creativity, and resistance. This study aimed to reveal what happens when "less stable," hybrid discourses are given greater status in and across contexts, specifically for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers experiencing the mainstream culture of teacher education.

Most common critiques of CDA are researchers' tendency to read power and ideology onto the data instead of letting ideological relationships emerge from the data and the imbalance between linguistic analysis and context (Rogers et al., 2005). The balancing of ethnographic and discourse analytic contexts is challenging. In a recent

review of critical discourse analysis in educational research, Rogers et al. (2005) call for

the need to move back and forth between the three domains in the qualitative methods of

the interview and the ethnographic observations to validate (or not) patterns that may be

made visible with CDA.

> Ethnography requires the systematic presence of the researcher in the context of
>
> the practice under study, usually for an extended period of time (fieldwork), and
>
> can therefore establish precisely the sort of knowledge that CDA often
>
> extrapolates from text, that is, knowledge about different moments of a social
>
> practice. (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 62)

For this reason, as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) explain, "discourse analytical

research should be seen as only one aspect of research into social practices working

together with other social scientific methods, particularly ethnography" (p. 61). By using

ethnographic methods, I am concerned with understanding language and identity as it is

represented in the everyday lives of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers; by

pairing CDA with ethnographic methods, I am able to uncover how and why

ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers talk the way they do in various contexts. In

this way, different from other forms of discourse analysis, I move beyond a sentence

level analysis of language practices.

Balancing CDA and ethnographic methods has proven to be a useful framework

for literacy and language studies researchers. The recent synthesis of theoretical and

empirical work in CDA in education, edited by Rogers (2004c), provides examples of

this methodology in practice and serves a resource for developing the methodology for

this research inquiry. One such example is Rogers' (2003, 2004b) ethnographic case

study of an African American family's literacy practices inside and outside the school as

an institutional domain. In this study, Rogers used CDA to examine three sets of

analytical constructs—the family's literacy events/practices, discourse/Discourse (Gee,

1996), and orders of discourse (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). These constructs were

then analyzed across three contexts, the home, the school, and the community. Garnering

a solid understanding of these contexts required Rogers' immersion in the lives of the

Treaders for an extended period of time. A CDA model that examines the three,

intersecting domains of genre (ways of interacting), discourse (ways of representing), and

style (ways of being) across the three contexts helped illuminate how the family made

sense of their reality and understand their social positions. Further, each domain was

analyzed at the local, institutional, and societal order of discourse. Following Rogers

(2003; 2004b), I draw from this model to understand the intersecting domains of

language practices, or more specifically, the hybrid language practices, of ethnolinguistic

minority preservice teachers across multiple contexts.

Research Design

Research Setting

Through a multi-context, ethnographic account of the language practices of

ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, the purpose of this study was to illuminate

the interactions between the multiple Discourses that these preservice teachers encounter

while learning to teach. The study was ethnographic and sociolinguistic in nature in that

it examined the situated language practices—what we do with language—of

ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers across three different contexts. The three contexts included a teacher education methods course (the university classroom), a pre-K-12 classroom in the local area schools (the practicum classroom), and predetermined social settings. Social settings, or settings outside of the school context, included restaurant outings, church, gatherings at my home, and at times, at the family homes of my participants.

The study was conducted with preservice teachers who were enrolled in a traditional teacher education program at a northeastern, research institution. The university's overall student enrollment for the 2005-2006 academic school year was 9,773 undergraduate students and 4,755 graduate students. This is a predominantly White institution. The university's overall AHANA undergraduate student population in 2005-2006 was 26%. The university uses the acronym AHANA to describe persons of **A**frican-American, **H**ispanic, **A**sian, and **N**ative **A**merican descent. The 2005 breakdown of the 26% AHANA undergraduate student population was:

African-American	7%
Hispanic	8%
Asian	10%
Native American	< 1%
Overall	26%

The AHANA distinction primarily defines minority student representation on the basis of race and ethnicity, categories that subsume language identity. For example, the Office of AHANA Student Program's website defines "Hispanic" as "a Spanish-speaking person or

a U.S. citizen or resident of Latin-American or Spanish descent." In 2005, the 26% AHANA student representation granted this university the national distinction for being one of the leading U.S. universities offering educational opportunities to AHANA undergraduate students.

This university campus is representative of descriptions of predominantly White, traditional university settings, as documented in research literature. Despite statistics that suggest the growing minority student representation, the university administration issued a statement in a campus paper that they were more concerned with individuals being able to "see" diversity once they walk on campus. The University's Office of AHANA Student Programs sponsors a number of student organizations that represent the various cultural groups on campus, including Asian Caucus, Black Student Forum, Organization of Latin American Affairs, and South Asian Students Association. All of these organizations are present to provide a forum and space for culturally and linguistically diverse students to maintain a sense of community and solidarity within a predominantly white student culture.

While the university's overall percentage has steadily increased for AHANA undergraduate student population, the university's School of Education has not experienced such increase. In fact, the percentage of AHANA student representation has remained the same over a three-year period. By class, the percentages for overall AHANA undergraduate students in teacher education are as follows:

Class of 2006   AHANA students are 16 of 190 or 8%

Class of 2007   AHANA students are 27 of 207 or 13%

Class of 2008 AHANA students are 28 of 210 or 13%

Class of 2009 AHANA students are 21 of 161 or 13%

In essence, the overall university AHANA presence and growth statistically represented was not reflected within the student population in the School of Education. At the time of the study, the School of Education's administration was developing a plan to address the low AHANA student representation and to identify recruitment strategies for diversifying the teaching population. This plan is in line with the School of Education's mission statement, which promotes themes of teaching for social justice and accommodating diversity; an ongoing initiative in the teacher education is preparing teachers for teaching in urban settings. This teacher education program, especially through coursework and practicum experiences, aims to prepare preservice teachers to teach all learners in today's culturally and linguistically diverse population.

Participants

Individuals selected to participate in a study should have the kind of knowledge, experience, or information that the researcher wants to know about. My research questions targeted ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, individuals who speak languages or dialects that are considered non-standard (Lippi-Green, 2004). With this in mind, I initially prioritized three goals for a process of participant recruitment and selection: 1) to first identify minority or AHANA preservice teachers who will simultaneously be enrolled in a practicum and a teacher education course, 2) to then develop a pool of preservice teachers who identify as ethnolinguistic minorities, whose cultural and linguistic background denotes navigating multiple linguistic codes in

multiple contexts, and who exhibit a metalinguistic awareness of their linguistic behaviors, and 3) to narrow the participant pool to four ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers who will have numerous opportunities across three contexts to utilize these multiple linguistic codes.

Since this teacher education program offers three routes to teacher certification— a 4 year undergraduate program, a traditional Masters degree in teacher education, or a 1-year accelerated teacher licensure cohort program for students interested in teaching in urban settings— selected participants could be undergraduate or Masters level teacher education students working toward a degree or initial certification in teaching. To identify minority preservice teachers who were simultaneously enrolled in a practicum and a teacher education course, I requested an email distribution list of all matriculated minority or AHANA undergraduate and Masters level students from the Associate Dean's Office in the School of Education. I also contacted the Director of the Practicum Office to cross-reference lists with students that were scheduled to complete full practicum in either the fall or spring semester. I decided to have participants who were in full practicum because, ideally, a full practicum provides me with multiple opportunities to observe the preservice teacher using language in various ways and activities.

After creating a list of all of the minority preservice teachers scheduled to complete a full or pre-practicum placement in the 2006-2007 academic year, I sent an introductory email to each potential participant to 1) inquire about whether they will also be enrolled in a teacher education course (methods or core requirement), 2) provide a

brief overview of my study, and 3) ascertain whether they might be interested in participating in the study.

Identifying and selecting participants based on linguistic identity proved complex. Preservice teachers who are categorized as minority or AHANA students do not necessarily identify as ethnolinguistic minorities. This became very apparent when not one student responded affirmatively to my introductory email. I had reservations about using the label "ethnolinguistic minority" to define participants because the term was and still is a point of struggle and contention for me. Such terms imply a deficit treatment of one's linguistic identity. However, I needed a term to denote preservice teachers whose backgrounds deviate from that of the mainstream population based on language use and identity. But, by trying to name participants, I was at the same time silencing potential participants. The term ethnolinguistic minority automatically positions them as inferior to a center—the ethnolinguistic majority. One of the potential participants said that when I initially emailed him about being in the study, he did not respond because he did not think he qualified. He thought the term ethnolinguistic minority meant someone who spoke a different language and was learning to speak English. The term, he said, is "like 'at risk,' it lumps a lot of different people together" (memo, 10/5/2006). As the research progressed, I intended to drop this label all together and, as in the tradition of critical ethnography, privilege the categories, names, and labels that my participants themselves use.

However, I wanted to identify preservice teachers who have an awareness of using multiple languages and dialects across multiple contexts. My recruitment strategy evolved from email recruitment to networking. I asked teacher education faculty, colleagues, and minority students who I knew from classes that I myself taught for the School of Education for recommendations. Once I had a small cohort of potential participants, I conducted preliminary, informal meetings with each potential participant to learn more about how he or she self-identifies as a language user—their level of metalinguistic awareness. These meetings took place in coffee houses, in the campus library, and when face to face meetings were not a viable option, via email or phone calls. I asked potential participants to define their linguistic identity (e.g., do they identify as bilingual or as a speaker of a non-standard dialect). I asked them to describe their language use when they are among family or close friends and to then think about their language practices in academic and/or professional settings. From these informal exchanges, I was able to narrow my potential participant pool to those individuals who self-identified and exhibited a metalinguistic awareness about using multiple linguistic codes in multiple settings and, accordingly, identified a minority based on their linguistic affiliation in addition to racial or ethnic affiliations. A preferred characteristic of participants was that they have the ability to talk about their language practice across the multiple contexts. This was particularly useful for interviews and ongoing conversations with the participants. In sum, the second selection criterion was that preservice teachers first self-identified as ethnolinguistic minorities and then, from on our online

conversations, exhibited a metalinguistic awareness of their language practices across multiple contexts.

I decided to work with a small cohort of preservice teachers for a few reasons. One, I wanted to achieve an in-depth examination of the language practices of my participants. With ethnographic and critical discourse analytic research aims, alongside a timeline for data collection which spanned across a full academic year, this was most feasible with a cohort of no more than four participants. To decide on the four participants for the study, after narrowing the participant pool based on practicum/teacher education course enrollment and the preservice teacher's self-defined ethnolinguistic identity, I employed one last selection criterion to create a participant cohort that would allow me to explore the research questions most aptly: do the identified contexts of study—the practicum setting, the university classroom setting, and the social setting— offer ample opportunities for me to observe their utilization of multiple linguistic codes? More specifically, are they in contexts where they have several opportunities to exhibit varying linguistic behaviors? To determine this, I asked each potential participant in the narrowed pool to describe in greater detail the contexts in which I would potentially observe them and to describe how they envisioned their language use in these contexts. The aim of this third selection criterion was to identify the four ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers who would have the greatest opportunities to exhibit varying linguistic behaviors across the multiple contexts, in this way, providing me with ample opportunities to examine the proposed research questions.

Again, selecting preservice teachers on the basis of their cultural and linguistic affiliation was not to suggest that ethnolinguistic minorities represent a monolithic group. By focusing on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, it was not my intention to essentialize all ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers into one monolithic category or to invoke a binary between them and dominant language speakers. However, I hoped that by examining closely the language practices of a small cohort of preservice teachers, relying on ethnographic and critical discourse analysis methods, I would be able to provide an in-depth, close account of each participant's unique, individual experiences. To do this, I initially recruited four preservice teachers—two African American women who are speakers of African American Language, a Costa Rican woman who is a bilingual Spanish and English speaker, and a Chicano male who says he "speaks English with a Spanish ear".

Angela, a Costa Rican female, identified as a bilingual Spanish and English speaker. As I mentioned in Chapter One, I met Angela when she was a student in my Teaching Reading course her sophomore year. Angela was the oldest of her mother's three daughters. Angela was a commuter student, living with her mother and two younger sisters in an apartment. Her parents divorced when she was a young child. Angela's father was originally from Guatemala. Though she is also part Guatemalan, she only identifies with being Costa Rican among peers and in social settings. She shared that she is often hesitant to say she is Guatemalan since she knows little about the culture and because of the negative stigma the Guatemalan culture holds in her mother's family (conversation, transcript, 10/15/06). Angela also shared how important education was in

her life from an early age despite her parents' level of educational attainment. Both of her parents earned a high school diploma. Her father worked in the cafeteria at the college she attends. She explained that she was able to take advantage of her father's employee benefit for tuition remission, making it possible for her to afford to attend such a prestigious institution. At the time of study, Angela was an elementary and early childhood major planning to graduate in May. She completed her student teaching semester in a second grade classroom and planned to teach at the elementary level.

Natasha, an African American female, identified as an African American Language speaker. I also met Natasha when she was a student in my Teaching Reading course her sophomore year. From my earliest impressions, Natasha exhibited a strong sense of self. She exuded a high level of confidence and made it clear to me and others that her life was driven by purpose. Natasha was very involved in student organizations on campus and worked as a resident assistant. Natasha was from a middle class African American family. Both of her parents were college-educated, working professionals. Her mother worked as an elementary school teacher, and her father was the director of a non-profit youth organization. Natasha often talked about the importance of education in her family and in her community (conversation, transcript, 10/25/06). I stayed in touch with Natasha throughout her college experience, maintaining communication with her even while she completed a semester "abroad" at a historically black college (HBC) in the southern region of the United States. Natasha decided to participate in this academic exchange because she wanted to have a different experience from the one she was having at her home institution. At the time of the study, Natasha was a human development

major who was also scheduled to graduate in May. She completed her student teaching semester in a second grade classroom and planned to teach at the elementary level.

Latoya, an African American female, also identified as an African American Language speaker. Natasha introduced me to Latoya. They were both resident assistants at the university. Latoya, like Angela, was also able to attend the university through her parents' tuition remission benefit. Both of her parents were alumni of the university and now university employees. Latoya began her undergraduate career undecided on a major. Her mother told her to pursue a major that she would really enjoy. She shared that she liked working with kids and she also wanted to do some type of community and social activism. She eventually decided on education. At the time of the study, Latoya was a secondary education and history major who would also graduate in May. She completed her student teaching semester in both a 9th grade history class and in a 10th grade sheltered English immersion classroom. She planned to teach at the high school level.

Jaime self-identified as a sometimes Mexican American, sometimes Chicano, and sometimes Latino male, depending on the context. When I asked him about his language use, he said he spoke "English with a Spanish ear." He was a Masters level student in a special cohort program. At the time of the study, he was full-time teaching middle school English language arts and science.

After one full semester of working with all four participants, I realized that while Jaime fit the initial criteria for participant selection, he had a very different relationship to the institutional context than the other three participants. While the three female students were all graduating seniors, taking similar teacher education courses, Jaime was in a

special cohort Masters level program with a different set of curricular goals and initiatives. Further, his participation in this Masters level program situated him in a particular type of community, one insulated from the mainstream teacher education population.

Also, because Jaime was a Masters level student with some teaching experience (compared to the other participants who had only taught a student teaching practicum), I began to question his fit in the final dissertation report in relation to the research questions and the findings relative to teacher education. Based on his stage and focus in the teacher education program, his participation in the study offered a new set of research questions for me to consider. I decided to exclude findings from my work with Jaime in this dissertation report to allow me to more tightly analyze the data from the other three participants, who all enter into this research project from a similar stage and focus in the teacher education program. Being three young women of color, all burgeoning into a new teacher role identity, I was able to more succinctly look at key areas of subjectivity (e.g., race, ethnicity, institutional affiliation, class, gender, and so on) as performed through their discursive practices across these three cases. However, the work that I did with Jaime is significant, and I do intend to use the data to extend my study (at a later date) to include more Masters level students (in particular, other students in this cohort program). Thus, this dissertation report focuses on the language practices of Natasha, Latoya, and Angela.

Role of the Researcher

In ethnographic and sociolinguistic research, the central focus of the researcher is the study of culture and modes of communication, especially language, in specific social contexts. Such research entails long-term immersion, "researcher as participant" observations and intent focus on the face-to-face interactions of participants with others. In my appropriation of ethnographic and critical discourse analytic methods for the current dissertation, understanding my own location to the participants in the study was essential. How does my "colored epistemology" (Scheurich & Young, 1997) affect the way in which I participate in this research project and the ways in which my participants respond to me? I too am interrogating the ways in which my race, gender, class, linguistic allegiance, among other variables, all intersect to define my experience in the educational research community. I am conscious of entering as "other" or "non-native" in the field of educational research; consequently, I entered into the research process in dialogue with participants, privileging our experiences as knowledge, and caring about our collective yet individual experiences as ethnolinguistic minorities. As I discussed, even deciding on terminology, in particular the use of the label "ethnolinguistic minorities" to describe research participants proved problematic for me. I myself identify as a minority based on my race, culture, and linguistic identities, and I am aware that my interest in this inquiry was informed by my own memory of negotiating these identities within a traditional teacher education program, where my peers were majority White, female, and middle class—and where my use of a vernacular language was not welcome.

But, as Sullivan (1996) suggests, by asking the questions and initiating this inquiry, I instantly positioned myself apart from the research participants.

Are we studying an 'other' if the similarities between ourselves and the

communities we observe are more marked than our differences? If our goal is not

to demystify an other's experience and thereby make strange familiar, but to

disturb the familiar, to question the lenses through which we perceive our own

culture, our own communities, are we still doing ethnography?...The other,

otherness, arises from the questions guiding our inquiry, defined as other the

moment we articulate a concern with or express a puzzlement about the literate

practices of other selves…The moment we ask what it means to speak or write or

learn in a given setting, even if that setting is our own, we set ourselves apart from

those other selves who hold the possibility of understanding. We might ask

ourselves who, indeed, is the other in such a moment—but an absent other already

has rhetorical presence. (pp. 99-100)

In my case, I had to "disturb the familiar," to reconsider what it means to be an "outsider

within" (Collins, 1986; Naples, 2004), taking into account "the various and localized

meanings [my] academic status confers—the ways [I] (and by extension the academy)

[am] read by others differentially situated within the academy or who are situated outside

it" (Sullivan, 1996, p. 106). Ethnographic methods require this type of reflexivity, or

what Sullivan refers to as self-reflexivity. In my role as a researcher who identifies as a

ethnolinguistic minority within the academy, I had to forge a "hybrid" researcher identity,

similar to how Kaomea (2001) problematizes her role as an indigenous, native Hawaiian

researching within her community and Ladson-Billings (1995) relies on black feminist

thought (see Collins, 2000) to understand her role as a researcher "outside within" the

African American community; entering into this project, I understood that I would at times have to blur the lines between outsider and insider, drawing from both dominant (academic researcher) and non-dominant (ethnic, racialized "other") ways of knowing and being.

In my appropriation of ethnographic methods, I inquired from a starting point that placed what Sullivan terms the "onus of ethnographic authority" on me, the researcher. The interpretation and representation of data emanated from my lens, my voice. In ethnographic research, CDA requires that data material

> not be regarded as faithful descriptions of the external world but as themselves
> discursive formations that are assembled together to construct a particular
> perspective on the social world; neither do participants' accounts transparently
> reflect the social process in which they are embedded. In other words, there is a
> need to critically reflect upon and analyse both the ethnographer's and the
> informant's discursive practices. (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 62)

At all times, I acknowledged that I cannot be objective and that my own subjectivity was a variable in this ethnographic inquiry. Being "present" in the research process encouraged "research as praxis" (Lather, 1991), research which encourages self and social understandings and the need to critically examine one's theoretical frameworks for the tensions and contradictions they might entail. Research as praxis requires researchers "to reflect on how our value commitments insert themselves into our empirical work" (p. 80). I did not employ methods such as triangulation or cross-coding to "correct" my subjectivity; this was not the aim of my research. Through the use of

critical discourse analysis and other critical theories (e.g., post-colonial theories) as frameworks for understanding, my aim was to present a truth, a partial truth (Clifford, 1986), a particular narrative. As Sandra Harding suggests, I underwent a "context of discovery"—to "not disavow the subjectivity (emotions, politics, and standpoint) that we each bring to bear on our research, but rather own it, disclose it, and critically engage with it" (as quoted in Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, p. 34). Through the re-representation of the preservice teacher's language—oral, written, performed, and so on—and my own discursive participation, my aim was to achieve a multi-voiced, heterogeneous ethnographic account of the language practices of these ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers.

Data Sources

Ethnography requires the systematic presence of the researcher in the contexts under study, usually for an extended period of time. I immersed myself in the multiple discourse communities for each of my participants over the course of the 2006-2007 academic year. Forms of data collection included conducting observations, capturing audiotaped and videotaped language practices, conducting formal and informal interviews, gathering artifacts, and writing memos and journal entries about my own experiences of events and processes. I spent numerous hours with each participant while they student-taught, I attended their university classes, and I participated in various social outings. Together with each participant, we determined targeted speech events to audiotape or videotape.

Observations took place in the three contexts of the teacher education classroom, the practicum classroom, and social settings outside the university or school context. Each observation was arranged with the participant and occurred only with their consent. Since the primary aims of the observations were to capture the varying linguistic behaviors of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers and to observe and describe in detail the contexts in which these behaviors were practiced, it was appropriate to link the collection of data through observations to the typicality of language use for each individual participant. The number of hours of observations for each participant varied. I spent substantial time immersing myself in each context for each participant prior to attempting to capture linguistic data. In terms of the collection of linguistic data, capturing a representative sample of language practices occurred within 2-3 observations while for others, attaining this sample required longer immersion in each context.

During my initial observations, I took field notes, careful to provide "thick description" of the "going on"'s in each context. In this way, my field notes served as ethnographic data to frame the linguistic analysis. After a few weeks of ethnographic observations with each participant, I then moved toward observation of their language practices—the ways of representing, interacting, and being—as exhibited through orally and performed linguistic behavior. Whenever possible, I audiotaped or videotaped these observations. In each context, through observation, my aim was to capture and document the intricacies and richness of many linguistic "events" (Ball, 2000). Within each context, I identified events to further focus my analysis within each context. By events, I mean language situations that are representative of the context, for example, participating

in a group discussion in a methods class or facilitating the writer's workshop in the practicum context.

In terms of selecting language excerpts from the observational data, not all observations needed to be transcribed. Decisions about selecting language excerpts to transcribe and analyze were purposive in nature in that the selected excerpts met the following criteria: 1) the language use is representative of the typicality of the ethnolinguistic minority preservice teacher's language practices across the three contexts, 2) the language use is particularly insightful to the research questions, and 3) the language use differs from other typical instances, or exhibits what Rogers (2004b) refers to as the "tensions" within the data. I looked for salient examples of language practices that represented the multiple ways of interacting, representing, and being exhibited by the preservice teachers across multiple contexts.

In addition to the ongoing conversations, both in person and online, that I had with each of the participants, I conducted one "formal" interview with each of the participants. By formal, I mean we scheduled an interview to discuss themes about teacher education and cultural and linguistic diversity that surfaced in my preliminary analysis of data. This interview took place toward the end of the academic year. The primary aim of this interview was to gather information, from the participants' perspectives, about their linguistic identities, as enacted by particular language practices, across the multiple contexts. These interviews were conversational in nature. In her use of jazz as a metaphor to understanding qualitative research methodologies, Dixson (2005) describes the kinds of interviewing methods that were dominant in my study:

Traditional interview methods would have the researcher follow a predetermined

list of questions that allow for some conversational spontaneity but primarily limit

the type of "call and response" and the nonlinear manner that is sometimes found

in the narrative and speech styles of African Americans (Etter-Lewis, 1993;

Smitherman, 2000). Hence, in the jazz interview, transcripts are quite often

lengthy and colloquial because both the researcher and the participant may engage

in storytelling and testifyin' sessions during the course of the interview. Thus, the

jazz methodology is an interactive, synergistic process. It is much like that of

musicians on the bandstand who create and recreate music using the ideas and

energy of not only the other members of the band (the researcher and the

participant) but also the audience. Moreover, relationship and trust building are

essential elements within a jazz methodology. (pp. 132-133)

As the researcher, though, as Dixson discusses, I had to be careful that my comments and

"mmhmm"'s among other gesticulations did not become the focal point of the interviews.

I intently listened for their stories. Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each brought to the

research study unique and important knowledge about the social world that is

ascertainable through verbal communication. In observations, conversation, and informal

interviews, I focused on the following domains: 1) the role of one's cultural and

linguistic identity while learning to teach; 2) the cultural models of cultural and linguistic

diversity in education; and 3) moments of tension when interacting with dominant

Discourses on cultural and linguistic diversity. I aimed to prompt for the cultural model

(Gee, 1996) of teaching—the storylines that define what a teacher should be—and the

cultural model of language and ethnicity that defines what linguistic and cultural identity

is acceptable in these domains of experience.   During the interviews, for example, our

dialogues centered around their experiences and relationships within each context as well

as their perspectives about being a teacher and teaching.

After each data gathering event, including interviews and observations, I wrote

analytical memos about of my data and field experiences. At times, I sent these memos

via email to the participants to gain feedback and as a tool to mediate further discussion

(Stevens, 2004). These email interactions became a part of the archival data. Archival

data also included weekly journal reflections as assigned by their practicum supervisors

and selected coursework and assignments. Archival data was gathered when it provided

a deeper understanding of the teacher education context.

Data Analysis

In this dissertation, there were three stages of data analysis (See Figure 3.1).

First, the ethnographic—I coded the transcripts from interviews, field notes from

observations, and archival data for a contextual grounding of the three contexts and

uncovering of the dominant Discourses (Gee, 1996) in teacher education. Second, I used

critical discourse analysis (CDA) to help illuminate how these three preservice teachers

make sense of their reality and understand their social positions. I drew on Chouliaraki

and Fairclough's (1999) model for CDA to trace the orders of discourse that represent the

conceptual spaces in which language functions as social practice—genre, Discourse, and

style—and to illustrate hybrid discourses. Third, I relied on sociolinguistic approaches

for the analysis of conversation (Tannen, 1984/2005) and heteroglossic interactions

(Bakhtin, 1981).
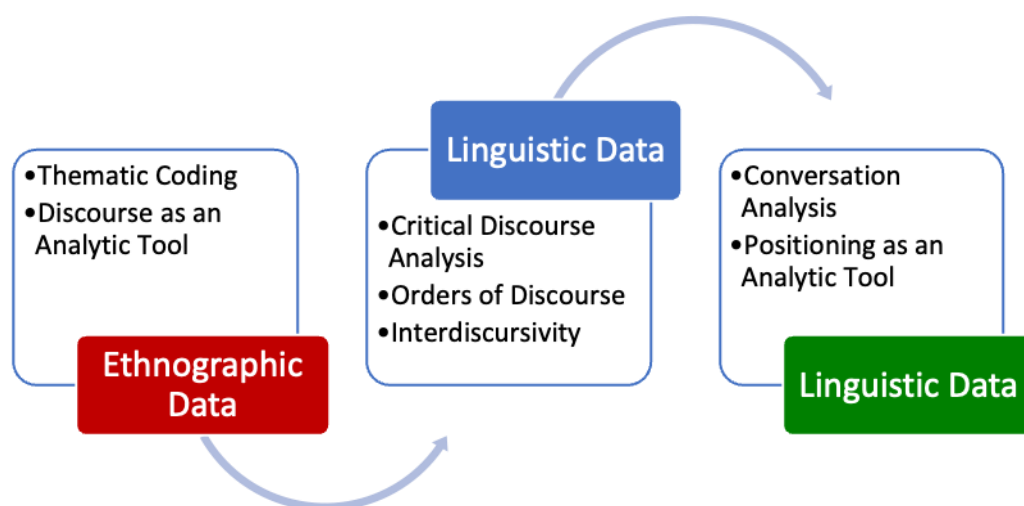
Figure 3.1 Three Stages of Data Analysis

As I collected data, I engaged in a recurrent process of analysis to gain a clearer

understanding of the research questions. To manage this ongoing, recursive process, I

stored and organized data from the multiple sources using qualitative research software,

NVIVO. In the first stages of analysis, I read through transcribed interview data, field

notes from observations, and archival data from sources, including email conversations,

and began to look for themes, focusing my attention on those related to identity, language

and language variation, and discourse. Using the identified themes as "codes," I used

NVIVO to organize data collected from all sources for each participant in each of the

three contexts.   I clustered all examples of each code under each context, aware that

there would be overlap across the contexts. This stage primarily focused on a thematic analysis of the ethnographic data. Within a thematic approach to analysis, this stage prompted additional questions for informal conversations and emails with my participants. It also prompted for a closer look at how these themes were enacted through the linguistic behaviors of the three participants.

For the second stage of analysis, I moved from an analysis of the ethnographic data toward linguistic analyses. The goal of this second stage of analysis was to examine orders of discourse alongside the ethnographically oriented data, the thematic codes from the analysis of field notes, interview transcripts, and archival data, to further understand the relationship between language practices, socially situated identities, and the context of teacher education. Critical discourse analysts believe that there is a relationship between the form and function of language and how that language is understood in context (Rogers, 2004c). CDA is not only an analysis of what is said, but it also considers what is left out, what is absent in any given text. Rogers (2004a) writes that within a CDA framework, analysts of discourse start with the assumption that language use is always social and that analysis of language must occur above the unit of a sentence or clause. In this view, "discourse both reflects and constructs the social world and is referred to as constitutive, dialectical, and dialogic. Discourse is never just a product, but a set of consumptive, productive, distributive, and reproductive processes that is in relation to the social world" (p. 5). My goal for the use of CDA was "to figure out all of the possible configurations between texts, ways of representing, and ways of being, and to look for and discover the relationships between texts and ways of being and why

certain people take up certain positions vis-à-vis situated uses of language" (Rogers, 2004a, p. 7). I used CDA to 1) make sense of the instances when these three women exhibited agentive actions in spaces that are traditionally and historically viewed as constraining and limiting for ethnolinguistic minorities and 2) illustrate points of tension and conflict in their participation within dominant Discourses.

To describe, interpret, and explain the discursive practices of Natasha, Latoya, and Angela, I used analytic procedures introduced by Fairclough (1995) and further developed by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999). This model of CDA looks at language within three domains—the local, the institutional, and the societal. The local domain is the particular text, for example, a class presentation, a mini-lesson to students, or a conversation with friends. The institutional domain includes the social institutions that enable and/or constrain the local domain, for example, the teacher education program, the practicum placement, or membership or affiliation to a social group. The societal domain includes the policies and larger, meta-narratives that shape and are shaped by the local and institutional domains. These domains are in constant dialogue with each other. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) further developed this model to incorporate principles of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (see Halliday, 1994). SFL emphasizes the relationship between form and function in language. In Halliday's (1994) model of SFL, each utterance of language has a social function that is textual, interpersonal, or ideational; accordingly, each utterance is analyzed for its mode (method of presentation), tenor (interpersonal relations), and field (connection to social world). As Rogers (2004b) points out, genre, Discourse, and style, theorized in CDA, are roughly equivalent to the

SFL counterparts of mode, tenor, and field. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) referred to genre, discourse, and style as three properties of language that are always operating alongside three domains—the local, institutional, and social.

Like Rogers (2004b; 2004c) and Lewis and Ketter (2004), I interpret Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) model as defining CDA as the systematic study of ways of interacting (genre), ways of representing (Discourse), and ways of being (style) (See Appendix A for Coding Categories for Orders of Discourse). Genre refers to the organizational properties of interactions. This can include: the thematic structure of language, wording, use of metaphors, turn-taking structures, conventions of politeness, and discursive patterns. Discourses are ways of representing; Discourses are enacted according to particular cultural models (Gee, 2004). Style is the domain closest to identity or "ways of being". The style domain includes aspects of grammar that signify how people are drawn into and compose social structures, which may include active or passive voice, modality (e.g., tense and affinity), transivity (e.g., action, affect), and pronoun use.

I focused my attention on areas in linguistic data that demonstrated the construct of linguistic hybridity, or "interdiscursivity" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Chouliaraki & Fairclough's (1999) framework for critical discourse analysis theorizes the social structuring of semiotic hybridity—the mixing together of different genres and discourses. I selected "excerpts" from the transcripts that provided examples of "mixing" or overlap of language practices from the three contexts and coded each for "orders of discourse"—the interplays of genre, Discourse, and style. Orders of discourse are the

socially ordered set of genres, discourses, styles, and their interconnections that are

associated with a particular social field; a theory of linguistic hybridity suggests that this

ordering of discourses "is not a simple positioning device but a resource in interaction

which can be drawn upon more or less creatively in ways which themselves depend on

positioning within that network" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 58). In Figure 3.2,

I adapt Rogers (2004b) heuristic which elucidates "potential shifts representing social

transformation and learning in genre, Discourse, and style within and across three

discursive contexts" (p. 66).   As the double-sided arrows illustrate, there may be overlap

across the domains, as a theory of linguistic hybridity suggests. The "orders of

discourse" framework allowed me to look at the complexities of shifting identities and to

consider how discourse configurations align or conflict with the Dominant discourse of

teacher education.

Context 1   Context 2   Context 3

Teacher Education Classroom	Practicum Classroom	Outside University or School Setting
Genre	Genre	Genre
Discourse	Discourse	Discourse
Style	Style	Style
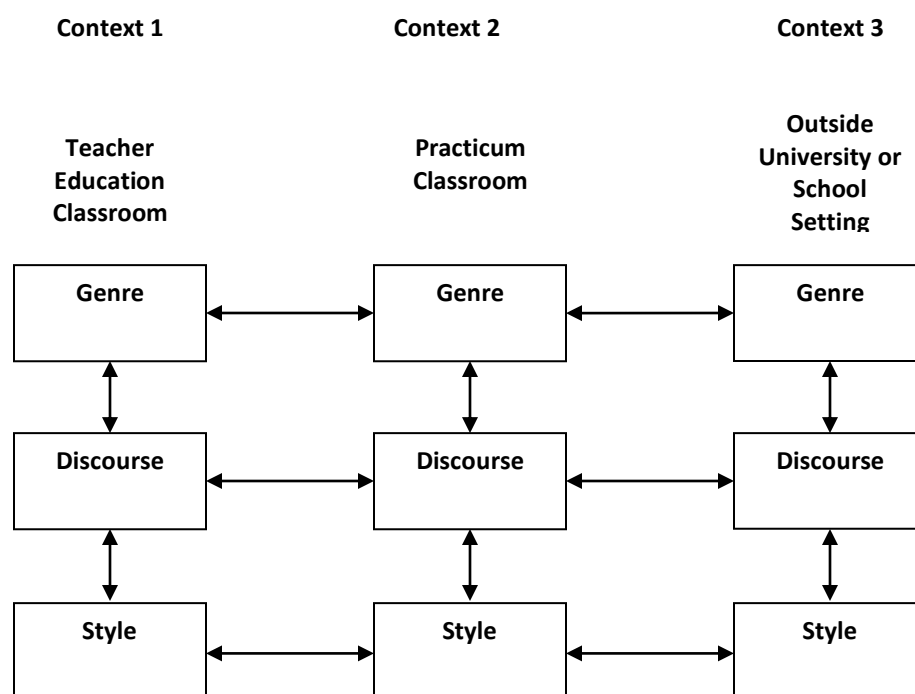
Figure 3.2 Orders of Discourse Heuristic

In the third stage of analysis, I examined the participants' language practices in a collective context. I relied on theories of positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990) and conversation analysis methods (Tannen, 1984/2005) to uncover the deliberate decisions that these preservice teachers made about social and personal engagement within and beyond the dominant context of teacher education. I used conversation analysis as a methodological approach to consider the linguistic devices and narrative strategies that these preservice teachers use in particular contexts to enact particular identities. This

final stage of analysis furthered my understanding of their roles as individual language

users by looking at instances where they co-constructed meaning and identities. This

stage also allowed for a consideration of their authentic identities.

Selection and Representation of Research Findings

In my earliest iteration of the research design, I created the following table to

project the number of observations, interviews, language excerpts, and kinds of archival

data I would collect per participant:

Data Source	Participants	Frequency per participant	Totals
Interviews	Three ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers	One 60 minute semi-structured individual interview	Three 60 minute semi-structured individual interviews
Observations		A range of 1-3, 60-90 minute observations in each of the three contexts	A maximum total of 27 observations
Language Excerpts		6 language excerpts	18 language excerpts
Emails; Informal Conversations		Ongoing	
Artifacts		Items to be collected from students: practicum journal responses, teacher education coursework	

However, as I began working with each participant, I soon learned that the systemic

quantification and cataloging of the interactions and engagement that I would have with

each preservice teacher throughout the academic year would yield a study that was

substantive in data but could easily elude the more substantive theoretical questions about

language, context, and hybridity. As the researcher, my aim was to gather data to

adequately address the posed research questions, with deep theoretical detail. As a participant, I entered into this project as a learner—I wanted to learn more about each woman and their discursive practices in various contexts. To gain an authentic understanding of these women, their language practices, and the various contexts, this learning required that I first be present, listen, and observe. Before I began aggressively taking field notes or videotaping teaching events, for example, I visited with each participant in various settings. We had informal conversations over coffee and tea. We talked about the day's events during car rides home. I recognize that as the researcher participant, an "outsider within" (Collins, 1986; Naples, 2004), I can only represent a partial truth (Clifford, 1986). But, I wanted my truth to be steeped in the various contexts and to emanate from the shared experiences of myself and these three women.

In this dissertation report, my aim is not to provide a comprehensive account of all of the data collected. In fact, my goal is the opposite; the quantity of data collected is not relevant for the kinds of research questions posed in this study. In the following findings chapters, I selected representative and salient examples from the data set to illuminate the issues posed by the three primary research questions. This is not to suggest that other significant findings and interpretations from the whole data set do not exist. Indeed, multiple truths emerged from the analysis, interpretation, and representation of the data collected, and I culled from these truths those that were particularly theoretically and conceptually significant. In this dissertation report, I present only partial truths from the possibility of many—particular perspectives from particular lenses in this moment and at this time.

Issues of Validity for Critical Discourse Analysis

In assessing validity, qualitative researchers must consider the primary question, how do we know that the qualitative study is believable, accurate, and right. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) point out that "making sense of one's findings is both artistic and political," "there is no single interpretive truth," and that within the qualitative tradition exists multiple interpretive communities, "each with its own criteria for evaluating an interpretation" (p. 37). In this way, the aim of qualitative inquiry should not be to locate the truth, draw a conclusion, or fill a gap; as Clifford (1986) points out, filling one gap will only lead to others. In this study, the use of critical discourse analysis and ethnography render a particular truth for a given situation in a given context. By providing rich detail of the language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers in three particular contexts, the analysis is meaningful in certain ways and not in others.

In thinking about validity for this dissertation study, I continually return to the idea that the practice of qualitative research considers the nexus of theory, method, and methodology—these are all interconnected (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Ensuring validity in this study stems from the conceptualization and application of this nexus—what theoretical underpinnings inform the research questions? What is the relationship between theory and the methodology in this study? What are the most appropriate research methods to explore the research questions?

In terms of theory, I bring theoretical underpinnings that guide this inquiry to the forefront of this dissertation. Further, the theoretical lenses through which I conduct data

analysis and interpretations of my findings are disclosed and continually interrogated. In
critical discourse analysis, all analysts bring theoretical preoccupations to bear on the
analysis. According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), these preoccupations affect
what data is sought, how it is selected and collected, and how it is perceived, including
how it is historically framed. They assert that critical discourse analysis cannot exclude
theoretical preoccupations, that all forms of formal analysis are theoretically informed.

However, this is not an argument that anything goes in CDA. With this in mind,
the systematic appropriation of the analytic tools used to approach the research questions
serves as another technique to ensure credibility and validity of the research findings.
This can occur through the recursive and ongoing process of data analysis. Employing
multiple stages of analysis allowed for an ongoing check of the usefulness and
appropriateness of the proposed methods for answering the research questions. Also,
securing various interpretations through the interactions and discussions with the
participants provided another opportunity for me to continually interrogate the research
design.

In terms of methodology, the combination of CDA and ethnographic methods
provided a framework for micro-analysis of language practices within the macro-analysis
of multiple contexts. It is important that interpretations about language practices are
directly related to a deeper understanding of the contexts in which they are enacted and
clearly articulated for readers of this dissertation. For the questions of this inquiry,
Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) model adequately address the level of linguistic
analysis necessary for addressing the relationship between linguistic hybridity and social

identity. The theoretical claim, according to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) is that hybridity "is an irreducible characteristic of complex modern discourse, and…the concepts of 'orders of discourse' and 'interdiscursvity' constitute a powerful resource" (p. 59) for inquiring into issues of language, identity, and power.

I reframed the role of validity in this study to think more importantly about presenting analyses that were trustworthy. To do this, I considered the following questions at all times:

- Do the data I present match the intended research questions?

- Has the research had some sort of catalytic impact on any of the participants?

- Have I provided enough evidence that the reader is able to make counter interpretations? (Rogers, 2004b)

In the following chapters, I present findings from each stage of analysis that represent these considerations. Chapter Four focuses on the thematic analysis of the ethnographic data. This ethnographic examination brings to the forefront dominant Discourses that persist within the context of teacher education and considers how the primary discourses of these preservice teachers interact with these Discourses. In Chapter Five, I move toward the linguistic analysis to take a closer look at the interactions between primary and dominant Discourses and to illustrate moves toward hybrid Discourses. In Chapter Six, I look at how the three preservice teachers enact particular hybrid and authentic identities through analysis of their positioning in conversations.

Chapter Four

Becoming Teachers: Dominant Discourses in Teacher Education

"I have always wanted to be a teacher, but after the first couple of weeks I was
beginning to doubt whether or not I would actually make a good teacher. I
questioned whether my love for children was enough." —Natasha (archival data,
9/26/06)

Introduction

Natasha, in many ways, was the prototypical teacher education major. Both of
her parents were educators, her mother an elementary school teacher and her dad the
director of afterschool programs. She credited her success in schooling to the way her
mother introduced literacy to her and her younger sister in the home environment as well
as the fact that her parents placed education at the forefront of their lives. Her parents
were very committed to teaching and learning, and from an early age, they instilled in
Natasha such principles. From these early childhood experiences grew Natasha's desire
to become an elementary school teacher. She entered the teacher education program with
clear goals of becoming a teacher, with a motivation to gain all of the necessary
knowledge and skills to be an effective teacher. Becoming a teacher for Natasha
represented giving back to her community and sustaining her family's legacy. Yet, upon
entering her senior year and semester of full-time student teaching, Natasha faced self-
doubt and questioned whether or not she was ready to become a teacher. Much of this
doubt stemmed from the constant negotiation of teacher education norms and practices.
As Natasha found herself in front of a classroom full of second graders, all eager to learn

from their new teacher, she was constantly deciding how to interweave all that she had learned and was expected to exhibit in her teaching, as a participant in a traditional teacher education program, alongside her own thoughts, ideas, and intuitions. As a young black woman who was a self-proclaimed speaker of African American Language (Rickford, 1999; Smitherman, 1999), Natasha's experiences in this predominantly White, monolingual, and female teacher education program consisted of a constant negotiation of issues of identity and power. She experienced ongoing tensions between the dominant institutional Discourses of teacher education and the primary Discourses of her home and community.

Expanding on existing scholarship on teaching and teacher education, my goal in this chapter is to explore how teacher education, as a discourse community, impacts the discursive practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. This research study takes a look at how ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers interact with dominant Discourses (Gee, 1996) about teaching and learning to teach. In this chapter, I draw from ethnographic data from the year-long ethnographic and sociolinguistic examination of the discursive practices of three preservice teachers—Natasha and Latoya, two Black women who are speakers of African American Language, and Angela, a Costa Rican woman who is a bilingual Spanish and English speaker. Each of these preservice teachers understood and defined their identities as ethnolinguistic minorities. These three preservice teachers were each students in a traditional teacher education program at Border University[2]. Each of these young women was learning how to become a teacher in a context

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[2] All names of participants and places are pseudonyms.

dominated by Whiteness and standard language ideologies. Whether intentional or not, the goals and expectations of the teacher education program catered to the needs of the majority. So, then, where did these three preservice teachers fit in?

In this chapter, I look at how teacher education is a kind of Discourse (Gee, 1996), full of its own set of rules, practices, and social norms, and I consider the following questions: what constitutes the Discourse of teacher education? How do ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers interact with this Discourse? Do they adapt, adjust, or simply resist social practices ascribed by this Discourse, and what are the consequences of their decisions? And, finally, what do these preservice teachers' various negotiations imply for teacher education and the needs for today's ethnically and linguistically diverse classrooms? Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each, in their individual ways, appropriated a dominant teacher Discourse (Gee, 1996). However, they each attempted to balance the appropriation of this Discourse alongside their own cultural and linguistic discourses. I examine the "tensions" they encountered as they interacted with dominant teacher education Discourses while maintaining allegiance to their ethnic and linguistic heritages. In this chapter, I share findings from an analysis of the interactions between dominant institutional Discourses and primary Discourses as well as an analysis of Natasha, Latoya, and Angela's participation across institutional Discourses, specifically the dominant Discourses in their teacher education classrooms and those practiced in their practicum classrooms.

Discourses of Whiteness in Teacher Education

These three preservice teachers were adapting a teacher identity within a context embedded with Whiteness and White privilege. The dominant perspective in educational research, theory, and practice on how to address the cultural and linguistic gap between teachers and students suggests that the gap can be remedied within preservice teacher education by developing the attitudes and multicultural knowledge of preservice teachers, who are predominately White, monolingual, and female (see Sleeter, 2001b). The current predominance of research that highlights the preparation of White, monolingual, female teachers in the field of teacher education reinscribes the notion that a particular type of teacher identity leads the agenda for multicultural teacher education and insinuates that what may or may not work for White, monolingual, female preservice teachers is universal. Adding multicultural content to the curriculum or field experiences in diverse settings may be viewed as progressive, yet these efforts often fail to uncover issues of racism, power, and Whiteness (Cross, 2005).

When teacher education efforts fail to systematically address issues of racism and power, an unintended Whiteness ideology ensues (Cross, 2005). A Whiteness ideology is a sociohistorical form of consciousness that promotes racially-based social hierarchies that privilege hegemonic White ways of knowing, knowledge production, and other cultural forms. As defined by McLaren (quoted in T. Richardson & Villenas, 2000), "Whiteness operates…as a universalizing authority by which the hegemonic white bourgeois subject appropriates the right to speak on behalf of everyone who is non-white while denying voice and agency to these others in the name of the civilized humankind" (p. 257). A Whiteness ideology persists within traditional teacher education programs

when the dominant Discourse includes values such as social justice, multiculturalism, and diversity and paradoxically inscribes Whiteness and White privilege through values, practices, and norms.

The overwhelming presence of Whiteness within teacher education programs can be silencing for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers (Sleeter, 2001b), but no empirical studies exist to give evidence to the various discursive positions taken up by ethnolinguistic minority students in teacher education programs. Homogeneous notions of race, language and culture are reproduced, and as Montecinos (2004) writes, "by excluding, silencing and ignoring the presence of preservice teachers of color, multicultural teacher education is, paradoxically, securing the norm of Whiteness in teacher preparation and undermining the principles of multicultural teacher education" (p. 168). I consider how notions of Whiteness are operationalized in the development and implementation of teacher education practice and how non-White, multilingual learners are positioned within and outside of this practice. Understandings of how Whiteness shapes the experiences of these ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers lie at the intersection of the meeting between primary and dominant Discourses.

Theorizing Discourse

By Discourse, I am referring to the use of language—spoken, written, behaved and performed— to enact certain socially situated identities. Within a particular context, individuals shape an understanding of knowledge, self, and community that is integrally connected to social, cultural, and historical structures already existing both within and outside of that context. According to Gee (1996), a Discourse is:

A socially accepted association among ways of using language, other symbolic

expressions, and 'artifacts', of thinking, believing, valuing, and acting that can be

used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social

network', or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful 'role'. (p. 131)

A Discourse, then, is "a sort of 'identity kit' which comes complete with the appropriate

costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write" (Gee, 1989, p. 526). Gee

defines Discourses as "ways of being in the world" (p. 526). He ascribes a capital D to

emphasize that language choice is motivated by our need to play the right social role and

convey the right values, beliefs, and attitudes in particular contexts. The D signifies the

communication of salient ways of being in certain contexts. Gee defines Discourses as

"saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 526). In Gee's

framework (1996), primary Discourses are not mastered through overt or explicit

instruction, but by acculturation or apprenticeship from people who have already

mastered the Discourse. Primary Discourses are our mother tongues, our native

languages, and the language of our homes and communities.

Conversely, Gee (1996) refers to this acquisition of new knowledge as the

attainment of secondary Discourses, or "literacies" that are acquired as we interact with

various social institutions beyond our home communities, institutions within the public

sphere such as schools, in this case, teacher education programs. Secondary Discourses

are acquired fluently and to the extent that we have access to the secondary institutions

and are allowed apprenticeship, or sponsorship (see Brandt, 1998), within them.

Therefore, if an individual does not have access to the social practice, and the opportunity

to learn the social practice, he or she cannot acquire the Discourse. Gee (1996) suggests that the choice in any academic program will always be influenced by what sort of social group, or culture, the teacher intends to apprentice the learner. When we consider the prevalence of Whiteness in teacher education and the preoccupation with the preparation of a predominantly White female teaching force, we can view preservice teacher education as an apprenticeship into a secondary Discourse for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers who are adhering to particular linguistic and cultural norms, counter to their primary Discourses. The issue arises when we consider how one's primary Discourse interacts with this secondary Discourse.

The process of acquiring a secondary Discourse does not require shedding of the primary Discourse. In teacher education, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers must engage in a continual process of negotiation, blending the new with the old. When the various Discourses share values, this negotiating activity often proceeds relatively smoothly, resulting in a useful and creative weaving of individual lives and experiences. However, when the values of different Discourses conflict, painful tensions can arise and initiate further negotiation. Traditional teacher education programs represent a particular kind of Discourse, complete with their own set of norms, principles, and social practices. In this study, the "becoming a teacher" identity kit or institutional Discourse included items such as: teaching in an urban setting, teaching for social justice, classroom and behavior management, and the overload of methods and strategies. To become a legitimate member of this community, one would have to be clear about how each of these elements defines what it means to be a "good" teacher. From my analysis of

ethnographic data, I will present four exemplars of the kinds of "tensions" Natasha,

Latoya, and Angela each encountered while acculturating into these four Discourses.

In the following sections, I explore how these four Discourses in teacher

education were prominent in the experiences of Natasha, Latoya, and Angela, as

evidenced through an analysis of observations, interviews, and archival data. This

analysis entailed comparing both their practicum and teacher education class experiences.

The analysis lies at the point in which their primary Discourses and the dominant

Discourses of teacher education meet.

The Discourse of Teaching in Urban Settings

"I feel like I can relate to them. They look like me, teachers that look like the

students. They don't see Black or Latino professionals."—Latoya (observation,

transcript, 11/20/06)

Teacher education literature report that the majority of prospective teachers are

different from the K-12 student population in significant ways, specifically on the basis

of race and ethnicity, language, and socioeconomic background (Zumwalt & Craig,

2005).   In the United States, the increasing culturally and linguistically diverse student

population is being taught by White, monolingual females, and this mismatch has serious

educational implications.   One of the ways teacher education programs combat this

demographic mismatch is by encouraging, and in some instances, requiring that

preservice teachers complete a practicum in an urban setting and by explicitly teaching

preservice teachers about issues relevant to the education of students of color. This is

important since, as Gomez (1996) points out, the typical teacher "prefers to teach in a

community like the one she grew up in" (p. 460). In general, predominantly White, middle class incoming teachers express wanting to teach in school settings similar to the ones from their own educational experiences.

Natasha, Latoya, and Angela were no different. Angela returned to her elementary school to complete her full practicum. Nearly fourteen years prior, she herself was a student in the second grade classroom where she is now a student teacher. Incidentally, her younger sister was also now a student in this second grade class. Angela had a history and legacy at this school, and she was very proud to now be a part of the teaching staff. If the opportunity were to present itself, Angela would very much like to hold a full time teaching position at this school. For Angela, the appeal of this school was not about teaching in an "urban" setting (conversation, transcript, 10/25/06). Angela and her sister walked to and from school each day because they lived less than a few blocks away. This was their community. Angela's desire to teach in an urban setting was quite different than the dominant Discourse on teaching in an urban setting in the teacher education program. One of the articulated expectations of the Practicum and Field Placement Office in the School of Education was that all students would complete at least one practicum experience in an urban setting (archival data, 10/31/06). Students in this program commonly referred to their placements as being either "suburban" or "urban". From discussions with Natasha and Latoya, I learned that these terms carried with them clear distinctions of the student populations, with "suburban" being treated as more the norm and "urban" as somehow aberrant or deficient (interview, transcript, 11/12/06).

Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each requested to have their full practicum placement in an urban setting for parallel reasons: to give back to their communities and to teach students whose experiences they can relate to. Latoya's full practicum placement was in a large urban high school where the student demographic was predominantly Black and Latino with a significant immigrant population. Her placement was split between a ninth grade history class and a mixed grade Sheltered English Immersion humanities class. Prior to her full practicum, Latoya's practicum were mostly in predominantly White settings where she felt she stood out so because of her race (interview, transcript, 10/15/06). In these settings, she expressed having difficulties with both teachers and students. She felt that because of her race, students identified her as "something like a student teacher" and accordingly undermined her role as an authority figure. She also felt that with the exception of her cooperating teachers in her full-practicum, she had not had many supportive or helpful cooperating teachers or supervisors. She reflected on an experience where one cooperating teacher, a White male, talked down to her and failed to acknowledge her in the classroom. She interpreted this disregard and lack of acknowledgment from the teacher as an issue related to their racial and gender differences. She also recalled a supervisor who despite stating that she did a good job, disagreed with her teaching style, a style Latoya described as "culturally responsive". The teacher felt her style was not adaptable for multiple settings, and specifically, she felt Latoya's style did not relate to a predominantly White suburban population. Latoya's experiences and the feedback she received in these settings served to perpetuate the notion of "urban" and the students and teachers associated with it as

somehow different than and less than the norm—suburban, predominantly White student and teacher populations.

Natasha and Latoya talked about how difficult it was to get an urban placement or to get assigned in a classroom with a black woman cooperating teacher. One of their peers was encountered roadblocks from the Practicum and Field Placement Office when she pressed for a placement with a black teacher. This student, like Natasha and Latoya, really wanted to work with a black woman cooperating teacher but the Office claimed that there were not any suitable placements available.

> Natasha: I don't understand why this is such a big deal if we want to teach in urban schools and with black teachers for our full pracs when all White students aren't requesting urban placements for the full prac—
>
> Latoya: —they only want to be in an urban setting for pre-pracs. They ain't tryin' to be in an urban school for a full semester. (interview, transcript, 11/12/06)

Natasha and Latoya did not understand why there existed what they perceived to be a lack of responsive from the Practicum Office when they each were able to identify and locate Black teachers to work with for the full practicum. However, they had to identify these teachers on their own. Natasha worked in a second grade classroom with a Cape Verdean female teacher and Latoya worked with a Cape Verdean male teacher and a Latina Spanish and English bilingual teacher. Their desire to work in urban settings with teachers of color represented their underlying beliefs that culturally responsive and relevant teaching (Irvine & Armento, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1995) and Afrocentric and

African-centered pedagogies (Asante, 1987; Murrell, 2002) do exist and that there are exemplars of such pedagogies in practice in urban schools. These were curriculum theories that they did not feel the teacher education program fully covered. Further, diversifying field placements so that such pedagogies and curriculum theories were prominent in the experiences of preservice teachers was not an articulated goal of the mission of the teacher education curriculum. In this way, the idea of teaching as a White, monocultural and monolingual Discourse was promulgated within this teacher education program.

<div align="center">The Discourse of Teaching for Social Justice</div>

"How can we teach our children about equality and social justice if there are still many schools that don't embrace it?"—Angela (archival data, 2/26/07)

The theme of "teaching for social justice" was a deeply ingrained principle in the teacher education program at Border University. It was an idea that was talked about and incorporated into each course in the curriculum. In the mission statement for the teacher education program, the theme of "promoting social justice" defined teaching as a political act and established the role of the teacher as one with the responsibility of challenging social inequities. It would be nearly impossible for a student to graduate from this teacher education program without having some thoughts about this idea. For example, each semester, the School of Education's Practicum and Supervision Office published a newsletter about various happenings. In a recent edition, the authors published student quotes from spring 2007 student teacher reflection portfolios about "What Teaching for Social Justice Means to Me." Some students wrote that the theory of social justice was

present in every course and that they put this theory into practice in their practicum experiences. One student wrote,

> Teaching for Social Justice requires great patience, flexibility, and the ability to
> change at a moment's notice. It requires conscious decision-making when it
> comes to creating lesson objectives, choosing culturally relevant materials,
> creating assessments, and setting the tone for the classroom environment. Most of
> all, it requires holding each student to the same high standards for academic
> success. (archival data, 5/19/07)

Other students related social justice to issues of diversity and the need to recognize differences among their students, while others connected social justice to the role of teachers as social activists working toward equity in schools.

However, while students in this teacher education program were able to articulate what "teaching for social justice" means and to write about it in course papers and in journal reflections, these articulations were often contradicted in practice. Latoya and Natasha were often frustrated by the ways their White peers would reference this term "social justice" in one utterance and say something overtly racist and classist in the next. Further, they felt that, in practice, "social justice" for her White peers was seen as "community service" or "missionary work". Latoya was taking an elective course on Social Justice and part of the course requirement was to complete a service learning practicum. Latoya shared with me and Natasha examples of the kinds of dialogues that took place in this class between her and White students:

Latoya: I was like, 'Excuse me, you're white, you're white…Your view point is very different from the people who actually live it. It's easy for you…it's easy for you to say that these things are happening, all these great things are happening, because it doesn't…it doesn't impact your life.' This is something…this is something that me, as a person of color, lives every day. So how can you say that things are great here. You need to be in the people's shoes that you're talking about.

Natasha: You go for a couple hours once a week and then you bounce back to your prissy little life—

Latoya: —and that's what I'm sayin. That's when I was like, 'you know, I'm very happy that you do all these things…I'm glad, I'm glad for you. I'm glad that you feel like you're doing a lot for the community'…

Natasha: And when you leave Border, are you gonna continue to do any of these things? Are you going to go back into your little bubble?

Latoya: And that's the other thing the class is about…once you go on these little service trips, what's the aftermath of it? What happens afterwards, are you still helping that community? (interview, transcript, 3/25/07)

In these kinds of exchanges, Latoya felt her peers viewed service as another bullet to just place on your resume (interview, transcript, 3/25/07). The Discourse of social justice in the teacher education program was, according to Latoya and Natasha, merely a theory disconnected from practice and only served to further perpetuate the notion of Whiteness as dominant and superior to non-White discourses.

One of the things that Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each commented on was the visible nature of Whiteness in the program. They were each keenly aware of the fact that the majority of students in their program were White females, and they wondered about this reality in the context of urban education. They also questioned this reality in terms of the school's mission for social justice. Angela mentioned that she was not sure what the issue was, but something bothered her about the overwhelming presence of White women in the program and in K-12 schools (conversation, transcript, 1/30/07). One of the questions that I asked each of the participants was: how does your cultural and linguistic identity affect how you teach? More specifically, does being a Latina or an African-American woman impact how you teach and the way your students respond to you and your teaching? When I asked Angela this question, she started to talk about the myth of "so-called social justice" in the teacher education program.

> I can't pinpoint it, but I just get an ill feeling in certain … contexts. This morning I was thinking about the fact that there are so many white women teaching at this school…Teachers don't know what these kids go through at home. They think the fact that a kid gets free lunch means something. I got free lunch because my mother worked the system. Parents don't read to their kids but that doesn't make them any less prepared or less literate or less intelligent…All of the documentation that Border requires doesn't really represent my teaching. They don't really see what actually goes on when I teach. Like one day, one of my kids was crying when we were lining up for recess. I asked him what was wrong and he was crying because he was hungry because his dad forgot to bring his lunch.

So, I pulled him out of line and went and got him a lunch. (interview, transcript, 2/5/07)

Angela questioned whether her White peers would do the same thing. While other preservice teachers in the teacher education cite "patience, flexibility, and the ability to change at a moment's notice" (archival data, 5/19/07) as characteristics of teaching for social justice, Angela did not feel that her White peers would have the intuitive ability to observe and act on the needs of all students. From her experiences in practicum, the White teachers did not engage with the students in the same way. Just as Latoya described her teaching style as "culturally responsive," Angela too felt that being Latina and a Spanish and English bilingual speaker allowed her to relate to the school and home experiences of her students in ways that her White female peers could not and did not. Being able to speak in the home language of many of her students created a connection between Angela and her students and their parents. She described her approach as being more comfortable and that students were at ease with her (conversation, transcript, 2/5/07).   Social justice was more than just a visit to an urban site one to two times a week for a semester. Angela's interactions with her students transcended beyond the school setting into the neighborhood. It was not uncommon for Angela to see students in the grocery store or at church on weekends. But, for her, these were the everyday materializations of social justice.

For these preservice teachers, social justice was more than just an idea or a principle in a mission statement. Further, it was not a choice or an option. To say "teaching for social justice" suggests that there is another way. Their experiences alluded

to the urgent need for the teacher education program to move away from social justice as an "add-on" commodity, similar to the tendency for teacher education programs to unintentionally present notions of multiculturalism and diversity as prepackaged curricula and strategies (King, 1991; Sleeter & Grant, 1987). These preservice teachers expressed the idea that effective teaching is social justice. In other words, teaching that acknowledges the academic, social, and political dimensions of the classroom on a continual basis is social justice (Duncan-Andrade, 2004).

The Discourse of Classroom and Behavior Management

Part of the curriculum requirements for the teacher education major was the completion of several classes in behavior management and classroom management. There was a huge focus on classroom management and behavior management in teacher education and this focus is exemplified in the school setting. Historically, the culture of school values a classroom that looks orderly and on task. In this way, the image of students sitting quietly and neatly at their desks represents order. In K-12 schools in the United States, we have a "silent" cultural tradition, one where silence and order are superior (Lortie, 1975). "Time on Task" is reflected by students silently sitting at their desk and working on an assignment. Angela and I often talked about how she felt her classroom management and style of discipline differed from that of her cooperating teacher. Yet, as a preservice teacher being observed and evaluated, Angela was in a situation where she had to adapt to the systems that were in place both by her cooperating teacher and the culture for classroom and behavior management historically and socially situated throughout the entire school.

While Angela respected and admired her cooperating teacher's high level of

organization and consistency, she felt at times that her approach to classroom and

behavior management was disconnected from the needs of the students. For example, the

cooperating teacher implemented a "green light, yellow light, red light" system of

behavior management (observation, transcript, 11/27/06). The second grade students all

began their day in the "green light" category. Any small infraction, such as talking out of

turn, not paying attention, or appearing restless, could result in the student's name being

placed in the "yellow light" zone. This signified a warning. Students with additional

infractions moved to the "red light" zone and suffered various consequences, such as "no

recess" or "time out". The system gave the students opportunities to make mistakes, and

the students understand that different actions were perceived with varying degrees of

seriousness. The cooperating teacher constantly reprimanded students and threatened

that their names would be moved toward the "red light". Classroom and behavior

management were at the core of her cooperating teacher's approach. This was no

surprise to Angela since her cooperating teacher was also a graduate of this teacher

education program where Angela felt there was a significant emphasis on classroom

management and discipline throughout their curriculum (interview, transcript, 1/30/07).

The cooperating teacher's system for behavior management, for example, was well

organized. Yet, covertly, it conveyed a message to the students that they had several

instances and opportunities to "mess up" or make mistakes.

Angela's practicum supervisor observed that when Angela was in charge of the

class, the students were remarkably quiet and engaged. Yet, Angela did not feel the need

to constantly reprimand or yell at the students to get them to settle down as she noticed

her cooperating teacher needing to do (interview, transcript, 1/30/07). For Angela and

Natasha, both teaching in second grade classrooms in urban school settings, classroom

and behavior management was not a big issue. They each seemed to naturally transition

into their role as teachers, maintaining high levels of student engagement. They each

exhibited discipline styles that were nurturing yet firm, mirroring the kinds of discipline

that the students might encounter at home. For example, Natasha often gave students

"the look" if they appeared to be getting out of line. During one of my observations of

Natasha while giving instructions to the students, I witnessed her delivery of "the look":

> Natasha: You may line up to get it. Do not bumrush my basket, please. You can
>
> take one—
>
> (She paused, gave students who moved prematurely "the look")
>
> Natasha: Did I tell anyone to move yet? (She shakes her head as she asks the
>
> question)
>
> Students (mumbling quietly to themselves): No.
>
> (observation, transcript, 11/27/06)

"The look" consisted of Natasha pausing in mid-sentence, placing a hand on her hip, and

giving the students a direct and firm stare. This look communicated "stop what you are

doing right now because you do not want to know what will happen if you don't." This

linguistic behavior is one common in African American female discourse (Foster, 1995;

Lanehart, 2002; Richardson, 2003a) and represents the kinds of "othermothering"

(Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2002; Case, 1997; Foster, 1993) that Black women teachers, like

Natasha, provide for their students. This form of discipline and behavior management is akin to the kinds of discipline many students of color experience at home. Natasha did not need to give the students multiple warnings; in one instance, "the look" brought an end to any further movement. This was an example of how Natasha found space, within the practicum setting, to enact an approach that differed from both the teacher education Discourse and that of the elementary school.

Latoya had a different experience with classroom and behavior management, partly because she was teaching at the secondary level. Latoya's classroom exhibited the contrast—a "noisy" cultural tradition. During the first fifteen minutes of each class session, Latoya yelled at students to sit down and be quiet so that she could get the lesson started. Before she could teach, she felt order needed to be in place. Latoya was bothered by the systems of discipline set up in urban schools that "coddle" students when she knew their parents would not stand for some of the behaviors that she witnessed students get away with at school (interview, transcript, 5/19/07). Latoya felt that social justice was about making sure your kids get a quality education; it was about enforcing classroom management and discipline that did not undermine the rules and norms that are a part of these "urban" kids' home settings.

On one of my school visits to observe Latoya teaching, Latoya was invited to be a guest speaker for a Secondary Curriculum and Instruction class, a Border School of Education course that met in Latoya's practicum high school. This class of pre-practicum students participated in a dialogue with Latoya about teaching in an urban school. The

most frequently asked questions were about challenges with setting boundaries and discipline.

Student: Did you have any challenges with boundaries and discipline?

Latoya: I feel like being firm. If you ever see my class, I'm a very firm teacher and I believe in, um, being…being a little bit hard core at first and then easing your way in because if you're too nice at first they won't take you seriously, especially the males. I feel like I was firm at first. It was like, 'Ms. Jenkins, no, unh unh, that's not gonna happen.' So…

Student: And, what about whole class management?

Latoya: Umm, I know that's like a stigma against urban settings, like the classes are so wild. But, I feel like, you have to, when you come to these schools, just like…it's different…you might come from a different culture so there's different traditions, rules…they're also different, uhh…what's the word I'm looking for…the way people act. So there are certain things that you might do in your culture that other people don't. So I feel like a lot of teachers come into schools like this and they don't understand that there is a cultural difference. These kids aren't just acting bad. That's just the way they are. For example, a lot of the Latino students, especially from the Caribbean, are very loud and active and that's just the way it is in their countries. That's the way it is. That's the culture. Very loud. Exciting. It's not that they're being disrespectful or bad. It's just, that's the way they are. So, I think that's something that you need to think of if you

consider teaching in an urban setting. You can't just say, 'oh, these kids are bad.'

It's just a cultural difference. (observation, transcript, 11/20/06)

In this exchange, Latoya wanted to diffuse the stereotypes about urban schools and the students that attend them, specifically the perceptions that these students are "wild" and misbehaved. She made direct connections between the students' social behaviors and their cultural and linguistic heritages, where, for example, the characteristic of being "loud" (see Fordham, 1993) might not be viewed as negative behavior. She also stressed the importance of these predominantly White teacher education students gaining a critical awareness about cultural and linguistic differences (Alim, 2005; Godley, Sweetland, Wheeler, Minnici, & Carpenter, 2006) and its impact on their experiences of urban students. Latoya's Discourse for classroom and behavior management, in this instance, offered different explanations than the dominant Discourse within teacher education.

One of the assessment outcomes for the practicum experience was the development of an inquiry-based project. The preservice teachers had to develop a research question to explore while in their practicum and provide an evidence-based analysis of a relevant issue in teaching. For her practicum inquiry project, Latoya did not want to explore the same question that her White peers often did when in teaching an urban setting—the question of classroom management with urban kids. She felt that such questions perpetuated a linear relationship between the need for control and urban kids. She felt that students in suburban placements did not take up the same kinds of questions about classroom and behavior management nearly as much, furthering the dichotomous treatment of "urban" and "suburban" in this teacher education Discourse. This focus on

discipline for students of color also connects with long-standing research that shows that with students who are traditionally marginalized in school settings, they receive steady diets of behavior and discipline that circumvents their engagement with rigorous intellectual activity (Oakes, 1985).

<center>*The Discourse of Teaching the Right Methods*</center>

Another prominent Discourse in this teacher education program was the use and naming of particular teaching methods, strategies, and pedagogy. Students in this teacher education program were well equipped in naming methods and strategies and completing various teacher education processes. For example, each of my participants talked about all the "busy work" they had to do in the teacher education program and the constant paperwork. They each noted that the teacher education program consisted of a lot of routine and process, including reflecting and journaling every day, activities they disdained. When I asked Natasha if she would share some of her practicum journal reflections with me as archival data, she initially said she did not think that I would find them useful because she felt that these reflections did not truthfully represent her thoughts and ideas. Instead, she completed them regularly to meet the expectations of the practicum supervisor. She told me, "I just write what they want to read" (interview, transcript, 10/18/06).

Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each learned to use the "lexicon" of the dominant Discourses in teacher education—buzz words and phrases that signified one's legitimate participation in this community. Latoya described an incident in one of her teacher education classes where she was describing to the class an activity that she engaged her

students in during a lesson. Another student in the class said, "oh, that's the

Think/Pair/Share strategy." Latoya later told me, "I don't know what strategy it is…it's

what I did with my students" (interview, transcript, 11/12/06). She was annoyed that her

peers threw around terms and labels to demonstrate a certain kind of competency and

knowledge. Many of the strategies and activities she did with her students were not

learned in teacher education classes; however, the teacher education program did not

validate the kinds of experiential knowledge that Latoya brought to her classroom and

practicum experiences (Connelly & Clandinin, 1995; Grimmet & MacKinnon, 1992;

Waldschmidt, 2002). Instead, she incorporated activities based on the needs of the

students on any given day, at any given moment. For example, I observed a lesson with

her students where she wanted them to review some political terms like "foreign policy,"

"isolationism," and "neutrality", but instead she transitioned the class into a debate style

discussion about whether or not students agreed with the United States' War on Iraq.

When Latoya posed the question, "Foreign policy in the US, do you believe we're

isolated or neutral or are they similar" (observation, transcript, 11/21/06) to her ninth

grade history class, none of the students answered. Knowing that the students had some

insights on this topic, she adjusted the format of the class in that instance.

> Latoya: Everybody get up out of your seat and to the back!
>
> (She had the students rearrange the class with desks on either side of the
>
> classroom to facilitate an "Agree or Disagree" activity.)
>
> Latoya: The war in Iraq is justified. We should be there. Agree or Disagree?

(Students began to offer their opinions along with evidence to support their ideas. The class was engaged in a discussion about the causes and reasons for the War in Iraq.)

Student: We're the Martha Stewart of America!

Latoya: Who knows the real reason we went to war?

Student: We didn't attack them cuz we need their oil; George Bush is friends with the President of Saudi Arabia.

Student: George Bush, he be cheatin' them off their money.

Latoya: Is it just economy based that we have problems. Or is it something else?

Student: Bush, he wanna be a little battle hero or whateva.

Latoya: Put out there, does anyone think the war is religion based? Do you think Americans have any biases or wrong ideas about other people's religions?

Student: America does not care about anybody else.

Student: Everybody that's Haitian or Hindu has to be a taxi driver. Or Spanish people has to own a laundromat.

Latoya: Let me ask another question about foreign policy.

Student: Make it be good. (observation, transcript, 11/21/06)

By changing the format of the class discussion, Latoya was able to engage the students in meaningful, critical analysis of a current and relevant event. Further, the "Agree or Disagree" format enlivened motivation and eagerness in the students. Latoya talked about the need for teachers to be flexible and to be able to adjust their lesson when they see that something is not working. This "Agree or Disagree" format was not a

strategy that Latoya listed on her lesson plan for the day. In that moment, she felt that format would be most accommodating of the needs of the students. As Bartolome (1994) points out, "although it is important to identify useful and promising instructional…strategies, it is erroneous to assume blind replication of instructional programs or teacher mastery of particular teaching methods, in and of themselves, will guarantee successful student learning"(p. 174). She notes that this emphasis on "methods as solutions" suggests that, especially when working with cultural and ethnolinguistic minority students, finding the right teaching methods, strategies, and prepackaged curricula implies that student achievement is "a technical issue" (p. 174). In other words, "one size fits all" instructional recipes reduce pedagogy and curriculum to a "bag of tricks" and negates the role of teacher attitudes, motivations, and self-efficacy (Bartolome, 1994). Latoya exhibited this awareness in her practice and she articulated this in our conversations.

Natasha, in contrast, ran her second grade classroom like a well-oiled machine. The students seemed to move seamlessly from one activity to the next. There was a strict routine and schedule, already implemented by Natasha's cooperating teacher, so Natasha did her best to ensure that the systems of structure and classroom control remained in place. As Natasha attempted to acculturate the dominant Discourse around methods and strategies in this practicum classroom, she experienced some trepidation. I observed her several times as she instructed and worked with students during their writing workshop. She did so with confidence, despite her expressed uncertainty about the effectiveness of her approach.

I find that I feel very unsure of myself during conferencing with the

students…during Writer's Workshop. I am never sure if I am asking pertinent

questions, assessing students' responses properly, or even gathering relevant

information. For instance, this week during Writer's Workshop I met with a group

to go over their writing. I spoke with them about the positive aspects of their

writing as well as some things to work on in their writing. However, how will one

meeting with the student benefit him or her? Will they really internalize my

suggestions? Besides minilessons, what should my next step be to make sure that

the student is indeed progressing? (archival data, 10/18/06)

In the writing workshop, Natasha focuses on teaching students how to employ effective

grammar and mechanics. Her unit objectives were formed around the state frameworks

for English language Arts. In the writing workshop, Natasha's teaching objectives were

to meet the English Language Arts standards, to help students become better writers, and

to maintain a well-managed classroom. While trying to effectively teach writing,

Natasha was also trying to maintain a level of classroom and behavior management. This

constant negotiation often resulted in her voicing contradictory messages to the students

about the nature of writing and composition.

Natasha facilitated the writing workshop in her practicum classroom two to three

times a week. During one particular writing workshop, Natasha was focusing on helping

the students to write a story about an important person, place, or event. To help the

students brainstorm story ideas, Natasha delivered a brief mini-lesson with clearly,

articulated expectations for their writing process:

What we're going to be doing now is today we're going to start a new list the same way that we always do it. If you would like to use the organizer that Ms. A uses, that's fine. If you would like to just go ahead and write it in your journal the way we do it, that's also fine. So what you're gonna do, the same way that we always do it. You're gonna pick a different special person or special place that you have not done yet, ok. So a friend, a cousin, if you want to talk about the grocery store…any place that is a special place or a special person to you. If you decide to do it in your journal, you'll put your date on the paper. You'll put either the special place or the special person. And then you'll give me 4 or 5 things that either happened at that place or happened with that person. And then you'll circle the one you want to talk about and draw your picture. The same way we always do it, ok. If you would like to use the organizer you'll do the same thing. In the box, you'll fill in the special person or the place. You'll fill in 4 either special things you've done with that person or special things that have happened at that place. You'll circle one and then you'll draw a picture in your journal. There, we're not doing anything different than we always do, ok? Does anyone have any questions about what you're gonna do wit your list? (observation, transcript, 11/27/06)

Natasha introduced the traditional writing process to the students to help move their writings toward publication—brainstorming ideas and recording them in seeds journals, drafting a story in prose, and then drawing a picture illustration. To get the students going in the writing workshop, Natasha gave the students very clear and direct

instructions about what their stories must include. Natasha did not explain the writing

process to the students; she directed them in the writing process. She was very explicit

and direct about what the students needed to do in order to write an effective story (see

Delpit, 1995). But, she also gave the students ideas about "what a good writer does":

> Natasha: Boys and girls, can I have your eyes up here…What does a good writer
>
> do? What's something a good writer does?
>
> Student: They write good sentences.
>
> Natasha: Go head, mama! And good sentences should be in order. Good
>
> sentences have capital letters at the beginning of the sentences. Good sentences
>
> have a period, a question mark, or an ex-cla-ma-tion mark at the end of our good
>
> sentences. Ok? So if everyone's is good…Go back and reread your writing.
>
> When I come around to read your paper, I want to be able to say, 'Oh my God, I
>
> know you took your time and I can tell you put a lot of energy and pride into your
>
> work.' I want to see people to reading their work and checking to make sure
>
> everything is perfect. Ok. When I come around, I should not see a paper that
>
> doesn't have a capital letter or an end mark. I should not see stories that don't
>
> have a beginning or an end. Ok? When I check your paper, you'll have
>
> everything I asked for. So everyone go back to your story and make sure you have
>
> those things. (observation, transcript, 11/27/06)

After she gave students directions, Natasha worked with students one on one, reading and

commenting on their stories. I observed her working with another female student who

says she doesn't have a story to write. Natasha encourages the student by telling her, "I

want you to write the story just like you told it to me. Don't worry about the beginning, middle, and end" (observation, transcript, 11/27/06). Natasha assessed that the student was having difficulty writing her story because she was trying to fit her story into the format that Natasha provided the students during the mini-lessson.

As she conferenced with students, there were low murmurs among students as they worked on their writing. Natasha attempted to keep students on task with direct expectations: "I shouldn't be hearing any talking" (observation, transcript, 11/27/06). Natasha was attempting to teach about writing yet manage her classroom at the same time. Her approach was just as much about classroom management as it was about writing instruction. Natasha asked the students:

> "Do good writers write and talk at the same time? If you're moving your lips, you're not thinking about your writing. We have 7 more minutes to work, so we need to close our mouths and get to working." (observation, transcript, 11/28/06)

Natasha's message to the students was contradicting. Unintentionally, Natasha told the students that being quiet demonstrated that they were diligently working on their writing. Yet, when she went around to each student one-on-one, she noticed that several students were having difficulties getting their ideas down on paper. So, to encourage their writing process, she would tell the students to "tell me your story." So, in essence, she encouraged talk so that they could write. In this case, talking meant that students were not writing. But, to move them along, she encouraged their talk in teacher-student conferences.

In an interview, I asked Natasha to articulate her beliefs about writing instruction. Natasha's desired practice for the writer's workshop alluded to idea that writing is socially mediated or influenced by others through social interaction (Vygotsky, 1986). Natasha did not have time to accommodate multi-voiced nature of writing processes and model peer collaboration as an effective means for the craft of writing. In one-on-one conferences with each student, Natasha encouraged students to simply tell their story. But, her broader message to the entire class was that "Good writers don't talk." In our conversations, Natasha and I talked about how she might structure writing workshop to encourage young children to talk with one another about their writing, not just with her, the teacher. We also talked about being OK with the murmurs and "noise" in the classroom, as Dyson (2005) suggests. Dyson (2005) aims to open up for reconsideration a central issue in language arts education: "how we as educators think about the relationship between oral and written language and why that matters for what, how, and who we teach" (pp. 149-150). Moving away from preceding views on the relationship between oral and written language, she proposes that "speech, or more accurately, situated voices are rich resources for composing and performing" (p. 153). In this new perspective, Dyson (2005) urges that there is a need for more "sharing time" in the literacy curriculum, pointing out that "it is listening to and responding to situated voices that seems central to child play, to children's entry into composing, and to the spoken word poetry of their (metaphoric) big brothers and sisters" (p. 161). Silence negates the notion of writing as "performance"—as sociocultural practice.

Natasha was so focused on meeting the expectations of the Writing Workshop process, and at the same time management the classroom and student behavior, that her desire to encourage student voice and interaction was challenged. When Natasha asked the students, "what do good writers do," she was covertly asking them, "what does a good student do?" Natasha was inadvertently teaching the student how to perform being good students in the official school context. This was an unintended consequence of Natasha's applying the methods, strategies, and pedagogies learned in the teacher education program. While she received stellar evaluations in the classroom and field experiences, her appropriation of the dominant Discourse on teaching, in this instance, contradicted her own primary Discourse about ways of becoming and being in the writing classroom.

Conclusions

Much of the research literature on teacher education focuses on the cultural and linguistic mismatch between teachers and their students, placing the experiences of ethnolinguistic minority teachers on the periphery to mainstream efforts in teacher education. The focus on bridging the cultural mismatch inversely negates the fact that some preservice teachers share linguistic and cultural norms with this culturally and linguistically diverse student population. However, another kind of mismatch exists when preservice teachers from non-dominant linguistic and cultural groups, like Natasha, Latoya, and Angela, find themselves in the midst of teacher education programs that position them, and members of their primary discourse groups, as "other." While current discussions in educational research literature are replete with examples that highlight a

widening distance between the cultural and linguistic experiences of incoming teachers and that of their students and the harmful consequences of this distance, there is little emphasis on the low minority student participation in teacher education, those preservice teachers who often share linguistic and cultural norms with today's students.

A central assumption behind recruiting efforts to bring more people of color into the teaching profession is that children will learn better from a teacher who shares their cultural background, or with whom they experience "cultural congruity." Shared cultural background or shared norms about how to use language can positively influence classroom interactions between teachers and students (Nieto, 2000). Studies that have examined classrooms taught by teachers whose background is similar to that of their students have described how when teachers have an insider's understanding of cultural meanings, they do not have to figure out the verbal and nonverbal messages their students may be sending (Nieto, 2000). However, it cannot be assumed that teachers of color are culturally affiliated with their students (Gay, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2005). Further, teachers sharing cultural and linguistic knowledge with their students do not necessarily know how to translate this knowledge into culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Without solutions lying in simple demographic changes, teacher education has a responsibility to not just engage an assumed White teacher professoriate but far more complicate how teachers and students interact within racialized, gendered, and classed identities.

In this chapter, my aim was not to prove that bringing in more teachers of color will promote positive learning outcomes for minority children or that that is the finite

solution to lessening the growing achievement gap among White children and children of color. I am not suggesting that Natasha, Latoya, and Angela are more effective as teachers than their White counterparts merely because of their cultural and linguistic insights. As Ladson-Billings (2005) argues, the solution to providing optimal teaching and learning opportunities for today's teachers and students is not simply about a "culture match." Instead, the goal of creating a more diverse teaching force and a more diverse set of teacher educators should be to ensure that all students, including White students, experience a more accurate picture of what it means to live and work in a multicultural and democratic society. The examination of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers' development of teacher identities in this context offers valuable insights about learning to teach and teaching processes. For example, teacher education programs might not be able to teach all teachers how to give "the look"; however, programs can teach about it. Teacher education programs can present a more representative picture of the various kinds of knowledge and skills that are necessary to educate *all* children.

The experiences of Natasha, Latoya, and Angela were mediated by the hegemonic context of the teacher education program.   Waldschmidt (2002) writes that "hegemonic field" in which ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers live "states overtly that, yes, their presence is desired in the teaching force because they are bilingual and individuals of color but, no, these attributes cannot take the place of the 'standards' that everyone must meet to become teachers. The fact that these standards "favor monolingual, white, middle-class individuals goes unquestioned" (p. 542). These preservice teachers' interactions with the dominant Discourses in teacher education reflect the interaction

between their own personal, cultural, and linguistic histories in and outside the institutional contexts, such as the university and practicum classrooms. Angela, Natasha, and Latoya each made deliberate decisions about their discursive practices across, between, and within multiple contexts and that these decisions represented both constrained and agentive actions. As shown above, at times, these choices were in alignment or conflict with the dominant Discourse in any given context. However, the dominant Discourse of teacher education failed to ever enter into a conversation with their various negotiations, securing their places as outsiders to this cultural space and burdening them with the need to make sense of the gap.

In the opening quote, Natasha expressed concern about whether she was ready to become a teacher and she questioned whether loving children was enough. Her love for children served as the driving force for her constant negotiation of all of the Discourses she would face while becoming a teacher. Each of the preservice teachers echoed the same sentiments: if they did not love the children they were working with and have a strong desire to give back to their communities, they wouldn't be doing this kind of work. Their challenges were instigated by their learning to teach in a context that placed their needs and insights at the periphery. I question whether such challenges are factors in why so few ethnolinguistic minorities pursue teaching as a profession. There is a pressing need to illuminate the experiences of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, specifically how they "become" teachers while navigating among primary and dominant Discourses.

Chapter Five

Hybrid Discourses: The Situated Identities of Teachers "In Practice"

Introduction

In Chapter Four, I discussed four dominant Discourses in teacher education that were recurrent themes in my analysis of the ethnographic data for each participant. Each Discourse—teaching for social justice, urban teaching, classroom management, and "one size fits all" teaching methods—was discussed and positioned in various ways in the experiences of Latoya, Angela, and Natasha. Their own histories as K-12 students, their experiences in the teacher education classes—including dialogues with professors and other students, written assignments, and other curricular activities—and their experiences teaching in the practicum classroom interacted with these dominant Discourses, shaping their identities as teachers. In the context of teacher education, Natasha, Angela, and Latoya each articulated differences between their own primary Discourses about teacher education and those that persisted in the teacher education program. More specifically, their understandings about classroom and student behavior management, pedagogy, teaching in urban settings, and teaching for social justice were informed by their racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As students in a traditional teacher education program and teachers "in practice", they were consistently challenged to decide how they would respond to the dominant Discourses—would they find ways to blur the lines between the primary and dominant Discourses? Would they suppress their own subjectivities and take on the dominant, more often accepted Discourse? Or, would they resist the dominant Discourse and assert their primary Discourse instead?

In this chapter, I look more closely at the discursive ways that Angela, Natasha, and Latoya created hybrid discourses, neither fully accepting nor completely rejecting the dominant Discourses in teacher education. In Chapter Four, analysis of ethnographic data allowed for a thick description and understanding of the contexts and their actions within it. While thick descriptions can help describe deeply contexts and actions, ethnographic data can only take the analysis so far. Beyond framing the context, the linguistic analysis of their discursive practices presented in this chapter provides a closer look into the ways of interacting, representing, and being exhibited by each participant and the ways in which these discursive practices constructed their identities in multiple contexts.

Beyond Marginalized Identities and Toward Theories of Hybridity

In any given time or space, we make decisions about who we want to be and those decisions are realized through language. Language encapsulates the discursive practices that we use to make meaning of ourselves and of others. It is not just what you say—the words that come out of your mouth—but it is what you perform, what you represent, what you interpret…*what and who you be*. I draw upon Lippi-Green's (2004) definition of language as "…a flexible and constantly flexing tool for the emblematic marking of social allegiances. We use variation in language to construct ourselves as social beings, to signal who we are, and who we are not—and cannot be" (p. 291). At any given moment or time, Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each made decisions about how they wanted to represent themselves within and beyond the boundaries and constraints of the dominant Discourses in their teacher education program. As ethnolinguistic minorities,

they participated in the teacher education program in ways that were at times competing with and at other times aligned with the multiple Discourses of their everyday lives.

Angela, Latoya, and Natasha made decisions about identity representation on a regular basis. In this way, their identities were discursive spaces constructed and influenced by culture, ideology, and social context. Gee (1999) defines socially situated identities as the different social positions that people enact or perform in particular social settings. Moving away from the notion of identity as a stable, internal state, this notion of socially situated identities assumes a fluid, constructed notion of identity. Much of the discussion of identity in recent years considers the concept of performing identity (Williams, 2006). Williams writes,

> The idea of performance emphasizes that, rather than having a single stable
>
> identity that I present to the rest of the world, my sense of identity is external and
>
> socially contingent. Depending on the social context I find myself in and the
>
> social script I believe I should follow, I negotiate and adjust my identity.
>
> Sometimes these constructions of identity are conscious and calculated, other
>
> times they are so deeply learned that they seem spontaneous and natural. (p. 5)

Williams further explains that tensions arise for us when we cannot make meaning of the cultural and social context or construct an identity that fits the expectations and demands of others. This is significant because often times, our decisions about constructions of identity are heavily influenced by dominant narratives. Cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1994) defines identities as "the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (p. 394). However,

narratives of the dominant culture are the ones most often reproduced and deemed relevant, legitimate, and appropriate (Fairclough, 1995; Williams, 2006). The question, then, is: how are these issues revealed and evidenced through the study of language, more specifically, language as a unit of identity? What impact did these preservice teachers' experiences as linguistically, racialized "others" have on their construction of a teacher identity and their visions of what a teacher should be?

At all times, Natasha, Latoya, and Angela were asked to show their "identity papers" (Minh-ha, 2006). Minh-ha proposes that "any mutation in identity, in essence, in regularity, and even in physical place poses a problem, if not a threat, in terms of classification and control. If you can't locate the other, how are you to locate yourself?" (p. 197). One of the prevailing themes in research literature that examines the experiences of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers is the idea that they are neither in the center nor on the margins (see Chapter Two). Living on the margins, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers are faced with dueling opposites, for example, the academic culture versus their home culture. Minh-ha argues that "marginality is a condition of the center" (p. 197).

> What side does she speak up for? Where does she belong (politically, economically)? Where does she place her loyalty (sexually, ethnically, professionally)?...Not foreigner, yet foreign. At times rejected by her own community, other times needfully retrieved, she is both useless and useful. (Minh-ha, 2006, p. 197)

From this perspective, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers encounter

marginalization from both the ruling center (e.g., teacher education, school placement)

and the established margin (e.g., home culture, social peers).

My analysis of the discursive practices of Natasha, Latoya, and Angela, however,

moved beyond notions of dividedness and marginality and toward the theoretical

construct of hybridity—multiple languages and identities merging together to forge new

spaces. Theories of hybridity (see Anzaldúa, 1987/1999; Chouliaraki & Fairclough,

1999; Rodríguez Connal, 2004), which contend that often times, the boundaries between

two languages or dialects are blurred, inform my understanding of border crossing within,

across, and between the language practices of these ethnolinguistic minority preservice

teachers. Hybrid discourses are not simply code-switching as the alternation between

two linguistic codes but rather a systematic, strategic, affiliative, and sense-making

process. Bakhtin (1981) defines linguistic hybridity as the encounter between "two

different linguistic consciousnesses" (p. 358) and states that hybrid utterances bring

together and promote dialogue between diverse worldviews.   While the concept of

hybridity has a long history within cultural and literary studies (e.g., see Bhabha, 1994;

Young, 1995), I am interested in its use as an analytic tool for conceptualizing the

blending of dominant and primary Discourses by Natasha, Latoya, and Angela within the

context of teacher education.

Data Analysis: Tracing Orders of Discourse

As ethnolinguistic minorities, Natasha, Angela, and Latoya each experienced

tensions when their primary discourses came up against the dominant Discourses of

teacher education, both in the practicum classroom and in the university classroom. However, they also demonstrated agentive actions. In this chapter, I present analyses of ethnographic and linguistic data guided by the following question: What orders of discourse are enacted as a result of their participation across multiple contexts? As discussed in Chapter Three, orders of discourse are the socially ordered set of genres, discourses, styles, and their interconnections are associated with a particular social field. According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), orders of discourse are not stable systems but rather an open system which is put at risk by what happens in actual interactions. I am using the orders of discourse framework as an analytic tool to consider micro-instances of language practices across three domains—genre (ways of interacting), Discourse (ways of representing), and style (ways of being) (See Appendix A, p. 224). Genre refers to the organizational properties of interactions. This can include the thematic structure of language, wording, use of metaphors, turn-taking structures, conventions of politeness, and other discursive patterns. Discourses are ways of representing. Styles, then, are ways of being which may include active or passive voice, modality (e.g., tense and affinity), transivity (e.g., action, affect), and pronoun use. The style domain also includes linguistic variations at the phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels. By tracing orders of discourse, I was able to illustrate "potential shifts representing social transformation and learning in genre, Discourse, and style within and across three discursive contexts" (Rogers, 2004b, p. 66). A theory of linguistic hybridity suggests that at times, there will be overlapping and co-existing of multiple and sometimes competing discourses. As Rogers illustrated in her use of this model, an

orders of discourse framework allowed me to reveal the "the boundary crossings and existence of discourse that cross at the domain of genre, Discourse, and/or style may be in conflict or alignment with the Dominant discourse" (Rogers, 2004b, p. 67).

In the following sections, I trace orders of discourse to illuminate moments in the data where multiple discourses coexisted for each participant's individual language practice—where genre, discourse, and style intersected. The three contexts I consider in this chapter include 1) early language and literacy experiences, 2) practicum placements, and 3) teacher education classes. I look at the preservice teachers' own early educative experiences as ethnolinguistic minority students in the K-12 context, their articulated beliefs about the role of cultural and linguistic diversity in education, and representations of these beliefs in their practice as teachers and teacher education students. I observed their language practices, looking for manifestations of their articulated beliefs about being a non-standard language or dialect speaker and being an ethnic minority. My selection of texts for this chapter was based on the following criteria: 1) they represented claims and positions that occurred many times in the text, and 2) they contained features of language, either grammatical choices or rhetorical ones, which pointed to the larger discursive themes discussed in Chapter Four. The findings represented in this chapter foreground linguistic data gathered through videotaped and audiotaped observations, interviews, and ongoing conversations with each participant.

I rely on the orders of discourse framework to illuminate the hybrid ways of being that are realized by Natasha, Angela, and Latoya in the context of teacher education. However, in order to adequately analyze how hybrid identities are enacted by these

women, at times, I needed to look more specifically across linguistic, phonetic, intonation and gestural properties of language, allowing for a more discursive, embodied and spatial representation of their socially situated identities.   While CDA traditionally focuses on talk and the linguistic properties of language, where relevant, I transcribe their language use phonetically and/or orthographically, coding phonetic variations, changes in tone, pitch, and stress, and the use of facial expressions and body movements (see Appendix B for Transcription Coding System, p. 225).   In this way, I needed to augment Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) framework for tracing orders of discourse, which does not explicitly take into account the physical properties of languages (for more discussion, see Fairclough, 2004). To do this, I employ additional sociolinguistic analytic tools to further my understanding of the discursive practices of these three preservice teachers.

In the following sections, I present each participant as a separate case, tracing orders of discourse to illustrate the meshing and comingling of their cultural and linguistic identity to the identity of Teacher—the forging of hybrid discourses.

A Hybrid Authority: The Confluence of Multiple Discourses

Latoya often talked about representing the "diversity" perspective in her classes in the School of Education. When students said things that she described as "crazy"—"One student in my inquiry class asked how do you get urban kids to learn" (conversation, transcript, 10/15/06)—Latoya spoke her mind, even when the professor did not address the issue. This was also evidenced when she was asked to talk to a group of preservice teachers who were preparing for their urban practicum placements. As discussed in Chapter Four, the majority of the questions asked by the audience represented a dominant

Discourse of 'urban teaching' means 'classroom and behavior management'. Latoya challenged the association of urban teaching with classroom and behavior management by pointing out the cultural difference between White teachers and the majority of the students they will encounter in an urban school. As she told her peers, "I think that's something that you need to think of if you consider teaching in an urban setting. You can't just say, 'oh, these kids are bad.' It's just a cultural difference" (observation, transcript, 11/20/06). Yet, when questioned by her peers about how she dealt with classroom management, Latoya described her approach as being firm: "I'm a very firm teacher and I believe in, um, being…being a little bit hard core at first and then easing your way in because if you're too nice at first they won't take you seriously, especially the males" (observation, transcript, 11/20/06).

However, Latoya did not feel her "firm," authoritative approach was only relevant in an urban setting. She questioned why the overemphasis on classroom and behavior management was only of focus when discussing "urban" students. In previous practicum placements, which were mostly in predominantly White and suburban settings, Latoya felt she stood out because of her race and that students automatically assumed that she could only be a student teacher or teacher's aide. In these settings, she felt it was just as important to establish herself as an authority figure. However, prior to her full practicum, she felt that she never had supportive or helpful cooperating teachers or supervisors. She described one experience where her cooperating teacher talked down to her and failed to acknowledge her, and she questioned whether this was attributable to her race and/or her gender. She also talked about a supervisor who despite stating that she did a good job

disagreed with her teaching style, which Latoya described as being "culturally responsive" (conversation, transcript, 10/15/06). In her full practicum placement, Latoya was assigned to work with Mr. Fernandes in his 9th grade history and humanities classes. During most of my observations of Latoya in the practicum classroom, Mr. Fernandes was present. Mr. Fernandes was a Cape Verdean man in his mid-30s who grew up in this metropolitan area. He was considered a veteran humanities teacher at the high school, having been there for more than 10 years. While Mr. Fernandes was not the center of my analysis, it was difficult for me not to notice his influence on the tone and culture of this 9th grade history class. He exhibited an authoritative tone with the students. During one of my observation sessions, he stressed to me the importance of gaining control and discipline in the classroom before learning can take place. He felt Latoya was particularly skilled at setting this tone.

However, Latoya had to figure out how to assert authority in her own body, with her own language—beyond the discourse on authority created by Mr. Fernandes, beyond the dominant discourse created by White, monolingual, middle class teachers. Physically, Latoya was a petite woman who easily blended in with the student population. I asked Latoya about looking so young and how students responded to her as the teacher. While she felt that it was important that she established herself as "the teacher," she did not attribute her emerging classroom management and discipline style to her teacher education courses. I observed numerous occasions where Latoya worked to settle the class down before she could begin instruction. In the following example, I

traced the orders of discourse in Latoya's attempt to quiet the class and direct students'

attention and energies toward taking class notes.

1	Latoya: **OK, CLASS IS SILENT.**	Volume (S)
2	**CLASS IS SILENT!**	
3	SILENT.	Repetition (G)
4	**SILENT!!**	
5	When a couple of people mess it up,	Strong Statement (S)
6	it affects the who:le class. (Room is quiet)	
7	One more minute to copy the notes	
8	(Students: WHAT!)	
9	You guys have had more than enough time.	Direct (G)
10	All you people are doing more talkin than writin	AAL Pronunciation (S)
11	We have a lot of material to cover.	Pronoun (S)
12	This is why *we* are behind.	Pronoun/Emphasis (S)
13	Cuz you guys talk *too much*	Direct (G)
14	**QUIET!!**	Volume (S)/Demand (G)
15	**NEXT PERSON WHO TALKS HAS A**	Volume (S)/Direct (G)
	DETENTION.	
16	Next person who talks has a detention…	Volume (S)/Repetition (G)
17	you know my policy. (it is quiet)	Teacher as Authority (D)

(observation, transcript, 11/29/06)

As discussed in Chapter Four, Latoya's classroom exhibited a "noisy" cultural tradition. Latoya yelled at students to quiet down and do their work (lines 1-4, 14). She also delivered strong statements about the consequences for not being disruptive in class (lines 5-6). The ordering of discourses here demonstrates Latoya's emergence as an authority figure in the classroom. In line 17, she reminded the students of her policy, indicating her establishment of rules and expectations in the classroom. She controlled her use of volume to state her policy, first yelling (line 15) and then lowering her voice to repeat her policy (line 16). Her assertion, "you know my policy," affirmed the fact that Latoya had warned students before about disruptive behavior in her classroom.

Latoya defined her authoritative teaching style as "culturally responsive" in that it embraced "Ebonics," or African American Language (AAL). Black styles of talking, or "black performativity" (Smitherman, 2006; Spears, 2007) were exhibited in the ways that she addressed the class and aimed to maintain classroom control. One principle of AAL that was clearly evidenced in her interactions in the classroom space was her directness (lines 9, 13, 15). Spears (2007) discusses the AAL principle of directness as "some combination of candor, aggressiveness, negative criticism, dysphemism, abuse, conflict, and obscenity, all often used consciously in the creation of personal drama" (p. 105). Directness can have a number of functions, ranging from positive (e.g., compliments) to negative (e.g., insults). For example, in line 9, she was upfront with the students about their progress and misuse of time. In line 13, her directness can be viewed as an insult ("you guys talk *too* much"). However, this was Latoya's way of relating to the students and at the same time effectively maintaining control of the classroom environment.

Thus, her classroom and behavior management style served to build connections between herself and her students; it was also a form of bonding and community building. Performances of directness were often seen when Latoya addressed the class, especially when she needed to reprimand individual students:

18	((to student)) STOP	Direct/AAL (S)
19	That's my first and last warning to you today	Teacher as Authority (D)
20	*First and last*	Repetition (G)/Emphasis (S)
21	((gives a student "the look"—rolls eyes, rolls head))	Gesture/Performance/AAL (S)

    (observation, transcript, 11/29/06)

Latoya felt that speaking "Ebonics" helped her to relate to her predominantly black students (conversation, transcript, 10/15/06). In the above example, she used the rhetorical strategy of directness (line 18) and repetition (line 20) to assert her role as an authority figure (line 19). In line 19, her use of the pronouns *my* and *you* established a boundary between herself as the teacher and the student. Latoya often referred to giving students "the look" (line 21) when they were getting out of line or having to "put them on blast" (conversation, transcript, 11/29/06) which means to be called out for something in an embarrassing manner. While she established boundaries, however, her use of AAL lexical items and slang terms also served to legitimize her membership in the cultural and linguistic communities of her students. She used AAL lexical items and slang terms to assert authority with the students, exhibiting a classroom and behavior management style

that was akin to the forms of discipline students might encounter in their home environments. For example, her use of the word "play" in the following example was, again, used to redirect a student's negative behavior:

22	*Don't play with me*	Direct (G) /AAL (S)/Teacher as Authority (D)
23	Jason∨	Affect (S)
24	*do not*	Emphasis (S)/Repetition (G)
25	play with me	AAL/Word Choice (S)

(observation, transcript, 11/29/06)

In African American Language, "play," like "game," is a powerful linguistic icon that conceptualizes reality and life as a game (Smitherman, 2006). In the saying, "Don't hate the playa, hate the game," there is a profound belief in the possibility of controlling your destiny on the world's stage. The "playa" can do anything. "To play" is also defined as "to manipulate or deceive" (Smitherman, 2006). In line 22, the intersection of genre, discourse, and style is illustrated in Latoya's use of the phrasing, "don't play with me." She directly remarks to the student, Jason, that one, she is the teacher—the authority figure—and that two, he should not attempt to deceive or manipulate her. This example illustrates the formation of a hybrid discourse—one that blends the dominant notion of teacher as authority with African American cultural and linguistic instantiations of this role.

As a "teacher in practice," Latoya was learning how to manage her classroom environment while maintaining allegiance toward her own cultural and linguistic premonitions for authority and discipline. She was constantly battling against the

dominant Discourses on teaching in an urban setting and the heavy emphasis on the need

for clear classroom and behavior management while at the same time attempting to assert

an authentic teacher identity that demonstrated effectiveness in working with a loud and

oftentimes obnoxious group of ninth graders. A theory of hybridity underscores the value

of movement between two or more discourses with amalgamated and newly created ideas

(Rodríguez Connal, 2004). Hybridity is the confluence of multiple discourses—a

constant "crossing over" boundaries that results in a richer being and not inferior one.

This internal negotiation of multiple discourses resulted in Latoya's performance of a

hybrid teacher identity. As Latoya progressed during her practicum semester, she

became much more confident in her ability to manage the classroom environment and

still engage the students in positive learning. Latoya was coming into her own as a

teacher. She brought her own voice, her own facial expressions, and her own movements

into this identity, all adding to her effectiveness a teacher. Her enactment of a teacher

identity could not mirror that of her black male cooperating or that of the predominantly

White female teachers in today's teaching force. Latoya used rhetorical strategies

throughout her instruction that she felt were more akin to the kinds of norms that are a

part of these "urban" kids' home settings. The styles that Latoya brought and privileged

in the schooling context helped to forge a hybrid interaction among her, her students, and

the context. As she developed her teacher identity, she formed a hybrid discourse that

acknowledged the need to assert authority and develop systems of classroom and

behavior management while privileging her identification as a black woman and speaker

of African American Language.

Hybridity as Resistance and Subversion

Pupils were made to scoff at the Negro dialect as some peculiar possession of the Negro which they should despise, rather than directed to study the background of this language as a broken down African tongue. (Woodson, 1933/1990)

For Natasha, identity was defined largely by her racial and linguistic background. When I asked her how she identified herself ethnically and linguistically, she made strong declarations about who she is and who she is becoming. Natasha proudly proclaimed her identity as a black woman. She asserted in one conversation, "I'm black, I'm black. There's no *African American*…I'm black. I have no problems sayin it" (interview, transcript, 4/26/07). I asked her why she did not relate to the term *African American*, and she felt that while she knows her origins are in Africa, she cannot personally trace her roots. For Natasha, "black is kinda like all encompassin' of all of us. It's like a shared culture, shared language, shared music…it's kinda what brings us all together" (interview, transcript, 4/26/07). She challenged the idea that blackness as a categorical term was defined by White people and instead reclaimed her blackness as a sign of pride.

When I asked Natasha whether she identified with the term *ethnolinguistic minority*, she was reluctant to take on this term as a label for her cultural and linguistic background as well. In short, she said if asked about her language, she would answer, "I speak English" (interview, transcript, 4/26/07). She viewed the term *ethnolinguistic minority* as merely a technical or scholarly term. She understood my need to identify terminology to describe my participants. However, I was more concerned with understanding how she identified herself and how this identification affected her ways of

interacting, representing, and being in the teacher education context. In the following example of a conversation between Natasha and myself, I traced the orders of discourse in her articulation of her understanding of her own ethnolinguistic identity.

1	Why should I have to be a *ethnolinguistic minority*?	Question (G/S)/Minority (D)/Pronoun (S)
2	I understand if you say like..African American vernacular language or Black American English	AAL (D)
3	You∨ know∧	Affirmation (G)
4	Like, that's what draws us together	Bonding/Pronoun (S/S)
5	You∨ know∧	Affirmation (G)
6	WHETHER YOU'RE FROM NEW YORK, CALI, MIDWEST	Rate of Speech (S)/Abbreviated (S)
7	It's something still there	
8	You∨ know∧	Affirmation (G)
9	That we all have in common	Pronoun (S)
10	Whether I'm in my..little RA meeting	
11	Whether I'm meeting with the RD	
12	This is me	Declaration (G) /Black Woman/AAL (D) /Strong Statement (S)
13	And this is how I speak	Strong Statement (S)

14 And I don't feel the need to turn it   Strong Statement (S)/Codeswitching (G)

on and off

(interview, transcript, 4/26/07)

In line 1, Natasha used the rhetorical strategy of questioning to assert that she was not an ethnolinguistic minority. She did not feel that being a speaker of African American Language (AAL) or being a black woman made her inferior to other cultural and linguistic groups. In this example, Natasha employed strong statements (lines 12-14) to declare her allegiance to AAL and her identity as a black woman. She also challenged the notion that she needed to change in order to fit into different situations (lines 10-11). For Natasha, being black or speaking AAL was not something that should be "turned on and off" (line 14). Regardless of the situation or the audience, Natasha declared, "this is me." She forged a hybrid identity, one that reconciled her need to be an authentic black woman within dominant institutional spaces. Yet, Natasha did acknowledge that she was able to use the "appropriate" language in any given context. For example, when needed, she shared, "I can still write a paper and it will be beautiful and use all that flowery language and blah, blah, blah" (interview, transcript, 4/26/07). She clearly understood that her use of AAL was viewed differently in various contexts and with different audiences and participants.

From her childhood experiences to her undergraduate experiences, Natasha understood that speaking AAL, depending on the context, had both positive and negative consequences. In her early educational experiences, Natasha attended several different school settings since her family moved a lot during her childhood. Natasha began

elementary school in Maryland where the students and teachers were predominantly black. In this school, the teachers integrated black culture and identity in the school to encourage a strong sense of cultural pride among the children. In the middle of her second grade year, Natasha's family moved to Chicago where she attended an elementary school where she was the only black student in the school. After a year, her family returned to Maryland, and she returned to her first elementary school. During her middle school years, Natasha's family lived in Atlanta. Her school in Atlanta was more racially mixed than her elementary school experiences. Although all of her friends were black, she interacted with the White students the most during the day because she was in all advanced level classes.

The same was also true in high school. Despite constant transitioning between school settings, Natasha was a high-achieving student, always being placed in the "high" reading groups and scoring high on standardized tests. From middle school, she began to struggle with being labeled as "talking white" or being an "Oreo" (Natasha defined this label as meaning "black on the outside, white on the inside") because of the way she spoke and the fact that she was always placed in the advanced classes. In high school, Natasha attempted to dispel such labels by being involved with the minority student group organizations as well as having social peers who were predominantly black and Latino. However, her academic interactions were mainly with White students, those students who were also in the advanced classes. When she was in high school, she recalled using "that white girl voice" with teachers and peers (interview, transcript, 4/26/07). For Natasha, "talking black" was a way for her to maintain membership in her

social community. In order to be a legitimate participant in the black student population, she sustained her allegiance to AAL. This was a tall feat, since her mother, an elementary schoolteacher, constantly corrected her use of double negatives or the word *ain't*. Natasha challenged her mother's expectation that she speak "standard" English: "Even with my mother, she will always correct me and be like and I'm like, NO! This is how I talk now. I don't feel the need to be conscientious of why I'm using double negatives. Who cares!" (interview, transcript, 4/26/07).

While Natasha sees and gains certain membership status from her use of AAL, she also alludes to the idea that the consequences of speaking AAL are heavily linked to the larger societal domain. Throughout history, there have been major misconceptions about African American Language, from its origin to its linguistic merit, and these misconceptions were often fueled by media attention as well as major events in educational history, from the 1977 "Black English" case to the Oakland Ebonics debates in the mid-1990's (Rickford & Rickford, 2000; Smitherman & Baugh, 2002). When celebrities and leaders in the black community express disdain about AAL in the public sphere, beliefs that AAL is illegitimate and linguistically inferior to "standard" forms of English are further perpetuated. For example, in 2004, comedian and actor, Bill Cosby, publicly lamented about the disproportionate drop-out rates for black children, stating,

> I can't even talk the way these people talk, 'Why you ain't,' 'Where you is'…and
> I blamed the kid until I heard the mother talk. And then I heard the father
> talk…Everybody knows it's important to speak English except these

knuckleheads. You can't be a doctor with that kind of crap coming out of your

mouth ("Bill Cosby has more harsh words for black community," 2004, July 2).

Bill Cosby's position suggested that the disproportionate educational failure for African

Americans was directly related to the prevalence of "black talk," suggesting that

"elevating black English to the status of a language is not the way to raise standards of

achievement in our schools and for our students" (for discussion on this issue, see

Rickford & Rickford, 2000, p. 6). The acceptance of a standard language accompanied

by negative attitudes toward other language varieties is an unavoidable product of the

interaction of language and society; thus, there is no reason to assume that using a

particular dialect can be associated with deficit or advantage (Wolfram & Christian,

1989). Natasha assumed this ideological stance, challenging the notion of linguistic

superiority or inferiority:

15 ∨this standard form of English…   Standardization (D)

16 JUST BECAUSE WHITE PEOPLE SPEAK IT   Whiteness (D)/Strong Statement (S)

   DOESN'T MAKE IT RIGHT∧!

(conversation, 4/26/07)

Natasha made strong assertions challenging the dominant Discourse of whiteness (line

16) and its role in societal attitudes about standard English.

For Natasha, her ethnolinguistic identity was enacted and performed differently

yet the same as she assumed multiple roles in various contexts. But, as Natasha stressed,

she felt she was the same in each context. She was always a black woman and as she put

it, "this is how I talk" (interview, transcript, 4/26/07). In multiple contexts, I observed

Natasha "doing her"—ways of interacting, representing, and being that privileged her

blackness and allegiance to AAL. It was not uncommon for Natasha to rely on AAL

rhetorical strategies and phrasings to connect with her second graders in the practicum

classroom. The following example illustrates how she often facilitated mini-lessons with

her students:

17 N: Boys and girls, can I have your Questioning (G)

   eyes up here…What does a good

   writer do? What's something a good

   writer does?

18 ST: They write good sentences.

19 N: Go 'head, mama!   AAL (S)/Affirmation (G)

 (observation, transcript, 11/27/06)

In line 19, Natasha's use of AAL—the abbreviated phrase of "go 'head" instead of "go

ahead" and the slang term "mama"—worked to affirm the student's correct answer in a

way that strengthened the bond between Natasha and the student. The use of AAL

blurred the lines between home and school for both Natasha and the student. This is an

example of an instantiation of a hybrid language practice in that Natasha opened using a

style and genre that were a typical school formation (line 17) then she moved toward a

more AAL style and genre with her exclamation, "go 'head, mama" (line 19). Her

discourse here represented a comingling of rhetorical strategies learned in the teacher

education program and those more authentic to who she is as a black woman and AAL

speaker. Natasha also used AAL in the practicum classroom context to reprimand

students and for classroom management. For example, while teaching writing, I

observed that her approach was just as much about classroom management as it was

about writing instruction. She would often remind students:

   20 I shouldn't be hearing any talking   Authority (D)/ Reprimand (G)/ AAL (S)

       (observation, transcript, 11/27/06)

Here, her use of habitual BE served to remind the students that they should not "be

talking"—not only in that moment but at all times. She forged a hybrid discourse that

allowed for classroom instruction, classroom management, and acknowledgement of their

shared cultural and linguistic norms.

     Natasha did make a distinction between what she felt she was able to do and

represent, culturally and linguistically, in an urban school setting versus in a suburban

setting. When referring to experiences in a practicum in a predominantly White,

suburban school, she observed

   21 I didn't talk the same way.   Codeswitching (G)/Standardization

                                       (D)/Strong Statement (S)

   22 But I felt like sometimes I had t'…not   Personal Story (G)

       check it but tone it down a lil' bit

   23 I feel like those kids woulda been   Modality (S)

       scared

   24 Like some of the things I say to my   Pronoun (S)/Bonding (S)

       kids

   25 They woulda BIN like, *Mommy she*   Modality (S)/ Marking (G)

said blah, blah, blah…

26	You know what I mean	Affirmation (G)
27	Whereas my students, they're like	Pronoun/Bonding (S)
28	Even when I talk to their parents, I can be like	AAL (S)
29	*Look. This is what's goin on*	Marking (G)
30	And so…I don't know	Hedging (G)
31	It's just a comfort	Affect (S)
32	Like I feel right at home with them	Affect (S)
33	I feel like I can just be myself	Affect (S)/Strong Statement (S)
34	Talk the way I talk	Pronoun (S)
35	Do things the way I do	Pronoun (S)

(interview, transcript, 4/26/07)

Natasha's ability to enact a hybrid identity was constantly shifting and adjusting based on the context. From her experiences in previous practicum settings, Natasha did not feel that the predominantly White and suburban context supported her hybrid teacher identity. Whereas, in the urban setting, she felt she could just be herself (lines 33-35). Through the AAL rhetorical strategy of marking, or mocking (Smitherman, 2006), she provided personal examples about ways of interacting with parents in the two different settings (lines 25, 29). She felt that White students would not respond positively to her direct teaching style, that her teaching style would not be as effective in a different environment. With her students (line 27), she felt a sense of comfort and belongingness

that she did not feel in a White, suburban setting. I asked Natasha if she would teach in

that kind of setting in the future and she responded: "No, not at all. Never, ever. If I end

up there…uhhhh, I must be desperate for some money. I'd be miserable if I had to teach

in a school like that. Miserable" (interview, transcript, 4/26/07).

Natasha's move toward a hybrid discourse can be viewed as a form of resistance

and subversion of dominant Discourses. She disrupted dominant Discourses on

Whiteness and standard language ideology. Her declaration to "talk the way I talk" and

"do things the way I do" represented her decision to transcend any oppressive essentialist

notions that were perpetuated within and beyond the teacher education context. She did

acknowledge that claiming her blackness and allegiance to AAL had consequences, both

positive and negative, depending on the context. However, she asserted, "this is me" and

she was not going to turn her identity on and off.

<p align="center">*Hybridity: Toward A "Third Eye" View*</p>

> *Born two times, but still one of a kind*
> *Learn your past, find your path…*
> *…When we see our way with the third eye*
> *Rise with the sun and think with a bird's eye*
> (Kool Moe Dee, 1991, "Rise 'n' Shine")

In hip hop culture, the "third eye"[3] is a metaphor, adapted from certain Western

and Eastern spiritual traditions, to represent the idea of "transcending" spiritually and

having a higher power speak through rhymes, lyrics, and freestyles. Many scholars in

education have employed the construct of the "third space" to conceptualize new cultural

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[3] In certain Western and Eastern spiritual traditions, the third eye often refers to a higher consciousness and symbolizes enlightenment.

forms, practices, spaces, and identities created from a synthesis of diverse elements in formal institutions (see, e.g., Barton, Tan, & Rivet, 2008; Gutierrez, Baquedano-Löpez, & Turner, 1997; Hull & Schultz, 2001; Moje et al., 2004). Similarly, I use the metaphor of the third eye to represent a move beyond stagnant binaries, such as dominant/inferior, black/white, student/teacher, standard/nonstandard, and Spanish/English, toward a hybrid whole.

This was the case for Angela, as her metalinguistic awareness about her identity as a bilingual speaker evolved from a marginalized stance toward a hybrid whole. Angela exhibited linguistic reflexivity—"an awareness about language which is self-consciously applied in interventions to change social life (including one's own identity)" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 83). Angela, a bilingual Spanish and English speaker of Costa Rican and Guatemalan heritage, was proud of her ethnolinguistic background, but she felt a burden to be a positive representation of what it means to be Latina, both in the context of teacher education and the university as well as to her family and community. She felt that she owed it to her culture to work harder and to excel in the academic and professional world (email, 11/26/06). When defining her own ethnolinguistic background, Angela expressed confidently, "My cultural background has become my identity" (autobiography, archival data, 1/30/07). For Angela, her language was directly related to her culture. Angela's perceptions of herself as a bilingual speaker were evolving as she took on this new teacher identity.

When we began this research project, I reminded Angela of the question she asked in our Teaching Reading course: "How can I teach reading when I can't even

pronounce the words right?" When I first met Angela, she expressed concern that her accent would interfere with her ability to effectively teach reading. I asked Angela if she remembered what she felt when she posed that question, and I wondered how her metalinguistic awareness—her thinking about her linguistic abilities—in the education context had evolved in the two years since that class. During one of our many conversations, she shared that she still felt uncomfortable in her practicum when she had to do phonics instruction. She shared an example of teaching the long /a/ sound with the students. She said that the students were able to come up with several word examples with the long /a/ sound, but she had difficulty thinking of words (conversation, transcript, 10/4/06). When her student teaching supervisor observed her teaching lessons, she audiotaped her. When they listened to the tapes, Angela noticed how strong her accent was when she was taught. Angela was still grappling with the notion that one's accent could interfere with their ability for reading fluency and comprehension. This was further evidenced in her selection of a topic for her senior practicum inquiry project. Angela's research question was: how does explicit, direct fluency instruction impact reading comprehension? (archival data, 10/24/06). Her aim was to better understand how one's ability to pronounce words and read with fluency, and in this case, confidence, impacts their ability to read for comprehension.

From many conversations, I learned that, for her, Angela's ideas about "speaking correctly" carried a steep history. The idea that there is a "correct" way to speak a language stemmed from her early language and literacy experiences growing up in a bilingual home. Angela reflected on these experiences in a language and culture

autobiography that she wrote for her Language and Ethnicity class, a sociolinguistics

class that examined language and ethnicity diversity in the United States.   In her

autobiography, Angela wrote:

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

 (autobiography, archival data, 1/30/07)

Angela's awareness of standard language ideologies developed from her earliest

interactions with her mother as she acquired her mother tongue. She also gathered a

negative connotation toward Guatemalan Spanish, her father tongue. Even though her

earliest memories of speaking Spanish emphasized language as being "correct" and "appropriate" (lines 1-3) in certain contexts, she still asserted an epistemological stance that challenged these notions (line 8). In her autobiography, Angela shared personal examples of how her mother stressed particular forms and pronunciations of Spanish:

> I was trained from a very young age to say the "usted" form (the formal second person) of verbs, to "soften" my /r/ so that my tongue hits somewhere in the middle of the roof of my mouth as opposed to the very front or very back as in English, to use vocabulary that is exclusive to Costa Rica or universal never to use vocabulary exclusively from Guatemala (such as "chucho" for dog as opposed to "perro") and to clearly pronounce every phoneme in a word as opposed to melodically blending them all together.
>
> (autobiography, archival data, 1/30/07)

Her description of her use of the Spanish Language showed that she picked up on the social expectations that there is a legitimate use of Spanish across contexts. In my analysis of autobiographical writings from Angela, she exhibited an internalized belief that there is a correct way to speak a language. Analysis of Angela's autobiography illuminates the strong connections that she makes between "speaking correctly" and identity. Her feelings about pronouncing English phonemes correctly paralleled her experiences with speaking Spanish—speaking English correctly meant speaking English in a way that one's accent was not evident, heard, or detected (Lippi-Green, 1997). Angela developed beliefs about what it meant to speak English correctly, that paralleled the use of Spanish, and her mother's accented English was viewed in a deficit manner.

As a child, she recalled that her mother rarely read books written in English to her and her sister at home as a result of her own low English proficiency skills. While her mother valued print literacy in the home, Angela remembered not wanting her mother to read to her because she would often mispronounce the words with her accented English. Angela's mother tongue was viewed as inferior to standard forms, and in this case, pronunciations of the English language.

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

> access to education itself is controlled and disciplined, in part on the basis of language variety and accent; the educational system may not be the beginning, but it is the heart of the standardization process. Asking children who speak non-mainstream languages to come to schools in order to find validation for themselves, in order to be able to speak their own stories in their own voices, is an unlikely scenario. (p. 294)

When children internalize negative conceptions of self and accept ideological claims that their cultural and linguistic identity is wrong, there are consequences. Anzaldúa (1987/1999) uses the image of "linguistic terrorism" to describe what can happen when ethnolinguistic minorities internalize negative conceptions of their native tongue. She writes, "…because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified…we internalize how our language has been used against us by the dominant culture [and] use language differences against each other" (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999, p. 80). One response to

dominant Discourses may be to suppress or deny one's affiliation to primary discourses

or non-standard varieties of language. Speakers of non-standard languages and dialects

may view their speech as "illegitimate," or they view their language as "a bastard

language" (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999, p. 80).

The challenge for Angela remained how to reconcile speaking an "accented"

English (Lippi-Green, 1997) with the norms and expectations for being an effective

teacher. At times, Angela's own internalized conceptions about speaking "correctly"

surfaced in the practicum context. During one particular observation, Angela's students

returned from the school book fair, excited about their purchases of new books. An

African American student showed his book to Angela and explained that he did not pay

for it. Angela was confused, wondering whether or not they were giving out free books

at the book fair or whether this student just forgot to pay. Angela and the student

inspected the book, looking for a price tag, and the student asked, "How much it cost?"

Angela corrected the student, "how much does it cost?" (observation, transcript, 11/9/06)

While she understood what the student was communicating, and while the objective in

that moment was to determine whether the student needed to return to the book fair to

pay for the book, Angela made a point to correct his use of African American Language

and the use of an "incorrect" verb form. This was not to devalue the student's

identification with a nonstandard language variety but to foster the student's awareness of

"the language of wider communication" (Smitherman, 2002).

Her focus on correct grammar and pronunciation was not only directed toward her

students. One of Angela's major concerns about her own language use in the classroom

was her ability to pronounce words correctly. During one observation, Angela was
administering a spelling test to her second grade classroom. In this instance, she paid
close attention to her enunciation and articulation of phonemes as she presented each
spelling word. After the students completed the test, she went over words with students
that they felt were difficult on the test.

9   Give me a word that ∨you didn't

   know how t' spell

10 Jo:ry which was one of yours?

11 /Bin/   Enunciation (S)

12 Have you /bin/ there before?   Question (G)

13 /Bin/   Enunciation (S)

14 EE usually says eeeee   Enunciation (S)

15 But we pronounce this (uuuuu)   Pronoun (S)

16 /Bin/, /Bin/, /ba::n/   Codeswitching (D/S)

17 It just depends on the way you talk   Standard Language Ideology (D)/

   I guess   Hedging (G)

   (observation, transcript, 11/30/06)

During the review of the spelling items, Angela attempted to offer the students multiple
pronunciations for each word and to isolate particular phonemes in doing do (lines 14-
15).   While she hedges on this observation (line 17), Angela's acknowledgement that
one's pronunciation depends on the individual and "the way you talk" represented a
move away from one homogeneous pronunciation. Here, she challenged standard

language ideologies about "correctness". The styles she used in the above excerpt, specifically the emphasis on enunciation of sounds, reflect her understandings and worries about the importance and capital of standard English and at the same time, show how she wanted to instill in her students a sense of acceptance of multiple ways of expression and communication.

In the teaching context, Angela felt that being a bilingual speaker of both Spanish and English gave her an edge with many of her students. In several conversations, Angela and I discussed the role her "Latina-ness" played in her taking on the teacher identity. She asserted her identity as a Spanish and English bilingual woman who lives in the community with the student population she serves. As I observed Angela in her practicum setting, she began to view her affiliation to the Spanish language in this context as linguistic "capital" rather than a linguistic "deficit".

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

27 I mean, just saying one or two words in   Codeswitching (G)

Spanish

28 Do you know what I mean   Affirmation (G)

(interview, transcript, 2/5/07)

In line 20, Angela demonstrated a move toward a hybrid teacher discourse—one that

embraced her Latina-ness and ability to relate to her students. While her interaction here

is not direct, she declares that she, as the teacher, knows more about where her students

are coming from, culturally and linguistically. Her ability to understand them in both

worlds (line 27) was viewed as a favoritism (line 24). Codeswitching for Angela,

however, was more complex than the use of one language in one context and yet another

in a different context: "I speak both English and Spanish fluently. Merely stating the

languages that I speak is insufficient in order to understand me and my relationship with

language" (autobiography, archival data, 1/30/07). She told me in conversation: "I mix

Spanish, English, whatever…all in the same sentence" (conversation, transcript, 4/22/07).

She felt that the term bilingual did not adequately portray her ability to constantly shift,

adapt, and mix her language in any given situation. In this way, a theory of hybridity, or

"interdiscursivity" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999), acknowledges more accurately

what Angela expressed—that in any given context, multiple discourses are at play.

While Angela also made clear delineations between her use of Spanish and English—she

associated her use of Spanish with home and family and English was reserved for

academic functions—she was careful about making sure that her language choices were

appropriate for different situations. Angela's decision to "mix" her languages was

strongly dependent upon the context. This "third eye" view was one that she aimed to instill in her students with whom she shared similar cultural and linguistic experiences.

Conclusions

The role of the preservice teacher is a hybrid one in that it forms a relationship between both teacher and student identities. This is a complex role in that preservice teachers must forge a professional identity, one that exhibits competence, proficiency, and authority, while at the same time remaining and acknowledging being a novice and learning from the practicum experience. Preservice teachers have to acquire a teacher Discourse in a space that is already defined and shaped, both linguistically and culturally, by their cooperating teachers. Further, they are acquiring a teacher Discourse defined and shaped by the larger, meta-narratives produced by the social world. While within the teacher education program, there was an emphasis on teaching methods, pedagogy, and classroom and behavior management as well as on the kind of social and political stance one must take in order to "teach for social justice," little attention was paid to the role one's cultural and linguistic background played in the role of teacher. Further, the teacher "toolkit" (Gee, 1996) was tailor made for the predominantly White, monolingual, middle class, female preservice teacher population.

Nonetheless, the three preservice teachers in this study were not unlike any other preservice teacher in terms of self-doubt and fears about becoming effective teachers. Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each acknowledged their fears and anxieties about becoming teachers and they looked to the teacher education program to provide them with the necessary skills and knowledge to assume this role: teacher. Natasha, Latoya,

and Angela all entered into the teacher education program with expectations for the kinds of knowledge and skills they would gain in preparation for being teachers. They constructed what Gee (1996) refers to as "situated identities"—the use of language and other semiotic tools to participate within a particular Discourse. The identities constructed in each context were constructed by each context. I found that in most cases, they created hybrid discourses—discourses that blurred the boundaries between the primary and dominant Discourses. As teachers "in practice", they were developing new identities, acquiring new toolkits (Gee, 1996). In this way, they acknowledged that they were learning to teach and that the role of the teacher education program was to provide them with necessary knowledge and skills. For example, the role of their cooperating teacher was important for each preservice teacher. They each viewed their cooperating teachers as knowledgeable, experienced mentors.

However, unlike many of their White counterparts, Natasha, Latoya, and Angela could not claim a race-less, culture-less, or language-less identity; they existed in the teacher education program as "marked" individuals (Waters, 1996). Much of the research on cultural and linguistic minorities or "non-dominant" students in teacher education emphasizes themes of being silenced, ignored, and invisible. Further, research literature suggests that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers experience being in "cultural limbo" (Meacham, 2000), a place where showing one's affiliation to a racial, cultural, and linguistic community duels with the decision to "fit in" with the majority. The culture and context of Whiteness found within teacher education provided another instance in which these participants performed linguistic strategies that their White

counterparts need not. However, Natasha, Latoya, and Angela did not see these strategies as an additional 'burden'. My analysis suggests that it is possible that, as ethnolinguistic minorities, they have a more nuanced view of language and culture than a monolingual or mono-dialectical person might.

As preservice teachers, Natasha, Latoya, and Angela had reduced institutional power, but they also had social capital in contexts with students with whom they shared cultural and linguistic norms. Accordingly, there exist many variations of hybridity that they each individually assumed when navigating multiple codes across multiple settings, especially with such distinct power differentials at play. At times, their responses were more agentive and interruptive of dominant Discourses. For example, Natasha's assertion of her blackness and linguistic diversity where indicative of her move to resist and subvert dominant Discourses. At other times, however, their responses were less agentive and yet evolving. Angela's discursive practices in the practicum classroom, at times, demonstrated a complex mix of her need to make sure her own and her students' cultural and linguistic diversity was validated while at the same time making sure they had access to necessary codes for academic success and social mobility in the United States, a context that promulgates an "appropriate" and "accepted" way of speaking. These variations in hybrid language practices, however, are the assumed product of a complicated mix of participants, identities, and contexts.

Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each "fashioned their own gods," "chiseled their own faces," and claimed space, "making a new culture—una cultura mestiza—with [their] own lumber, [their] own bricks and mortar" (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999, p. 81).

Further, they exhibited an ability to reflect on their own histories as racial, cultural and linguistic beings. Their cultural, racial, and linguistic histories were "front and center" in their everyday realities. As bell hooks (1994) writes, they "make English do what we want it to do. We take the oppressor's language and turn it against itself. We make our words a counter-hegemonic speech, liberating ourselves in language" (p. 175). For them, linguistic hybridity meant negotiating spaces that allowed them to be "whole"—hybrid, operating within multiple environments and looking out from multiple perspectives.

Chapter Six

Talkin in the Company of my Sisters: Co-constructing Voices

Introduction

Natasha, Latoya, Angela and I were connected to one another through a web of various relationships. Natasha and Latoya were friends, both resident assistants who travelled in the same social circles. Natasha introduced me to Latoya and encouraged her participation in the study. Natasha and Angela were both students in my Teaching Reading class their sophomore year. They took various teacher education classes together. Latoya and Angela were introduced through participation in my study. They all knew that each other was participating in the study. Throughout the year of their participation in the study, the social aspects of their relationships strengthened. At times, I was able to get together with both Natasha and Latoya. On one occasion, Natasha, Latoya, and Angela were all together. In these moments, I had the opportunity to document their language practices with one another and to consider these questions: what do they talk about when they are among other ethnolinguistic minorities? How do they position themselves in conversation among friends?

One of the initial research questions for this dissertation study was: what are the language practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers across multiple contexts? It is understood that they use multiple codes and their decisions about language use are dependent upon context. In this regard, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers are no different than any other preservice teacher. We all use multiple codes, regardless of race, class, gender, or linguistic background. Further, there is complexity

and variance across the individual experiences of ethnolinguistic minority preservice

teachers. As illustrated in Chapter Five, "hybridity is inherent in all social uses of

language" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 13), but it manifests itself based on the

individual, her experiences, her history, and the context. In this chapter, I reframe this

research question to focus more intently on *context*. What kinds of language practices are

invited, encouraged, and welcomed in dominant contexts such as teacher education?

What are the kinds that are left out? As I analyzed conversations between Natasha,

Latoya, and Angela, I observed the kinds of topics that were explored and the level of

engagement in conversations in social contexts that did not take place in dominant

contexts for various reasons. However, different from the previous chapters where I

examine their language practices as individuals, in this chapter, I now move to a focus on

their language practices in a collective context. Theories of positioning alongside

conversation analysis methods proved useful for revealing the deliberate decisions that

these preservice teachers made about social and personal engagement within and beyond

the dominant context of teacher education.

Positioning in Conversation

A conversation "unfolds through joint action of all participants as they make (or

attempt to make) their own and each other's actions socially determinate" (Davies and

Harré, 1990, p. 45). Davies and Harré write that "an individual emerges through the

process of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is

constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they

participate" (p. 46). Davies and Harré (1990) pointed out that "positions are identified in

part by extracting the autobiographical aspects of a conversation in which it becomes possible to find out how each conversant conceives of themselves and of the other participants by seeing what position they take up and in what story, and how they are positioned" (p. 48). Within a conversation, its participants play multiple roles at any given time, roles they term "animator," "author," and "principal." The animator speaks, the author reads or interprets what is being said, and the principal is defined or positioned by what is being said. At any point in a conversation, all three roles can be identified in one person. In their conversations, Natasha, Angela, and Latoya each defined herself, taking on myriad roles, and at some point in the conversation, they were each in what I called "the hot seat".

Davies and Harré argue, however, that positioning in conversation is not necessarily intentional. Contrary to what Davies and Harré observe, positioning is often intentional for these three women. I posit that as they continue to develop an understanding of their racial, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, they also develop a greater awareness about being in the world with others, how those interactions impact who they are and who they become. These women made decisions about how to position themselves according to the other participants in the situation or conversation and dependent upon the context. To be "believed" by others and to represent an authentic self in any given context, they decided whether or not to acculturate the "appropriate" codes, language, and behavior. More aptly, they resisted the notion of "appropriateness" and manipulated multiple codes. Natasha, Angela, and Latoya were constantly interrogating how their discursive practices were implicated by and within different contexts and with

various interlocutors—their peers, their students, their professors, and with each other. What I focus on in this chapter is how these intentional moves played out in the context "among friends" and what these intentions suggest about their positioning within the context of teacher education.

Data Analysis: Conversation Analysis and CDA

The relationship between context and discourse is central to critical discourse analysis (CDA) in that it starts with the assumption that "language use is always inevitably constructing and constructed by social, cultural, political, and economic contexts" (Rogers, 2004a, p. 10). CDA insists on an analysis of the context in order to understand the language in use. At times, using CDA to analyze the way in which discourses are linked together is the context. While CDA cannot attend to all contexts at all times, "there is attention paid to the ways in which the local, institutional, and societal domains construct and are constructed by discourses and how these contexts change over time" (Rogers, 2004a, p. 11).

In conversation analysis, context is defined in terms of the immediate physical location of the participants. An understanding of the immediate location of the conversation is critical to the reconstruction of utterances. However, traditionally in conversation analysis, different than CDA, little attention is paid to larger sociocultural constructs. The larger social and political contexts in which everyday conversations take place are generally ignored. Yet, conversation analytical tools and methods are useful in CDA. This methodological approach encourages an explicit marrying of discourse analytic tools with critical theories of language and identity. In this chapter, I use

conversation analysis tools from Tannen (1984/2005) to highlight the linguistic devices and narrative strategies that Natasha, Latoya, and Angela employ when in social conversations.

"The Bridge to Nowhere": Toward Authentic Representations for Self

> *The bridge I must be*
> *Is the bridge to my own power*
> *I must translate*
> *My own fears*
> *Mediate*
> *My own weaknesses*
>
> *I must be the bridge to nowhere*
> *But my true self*
> *And then*
> *I will be useful*
>   -from "The Bridge Poem," Donna Kate Rushin (1981/1983)

From my analysis of transcripts and memos about our conversations, it was evident that Angela, Natasha, and Latoya were deliberate about what they talked about, when, and with whom. Our conversations circled around several topics. At times, we talked about school, teaching, and graduation. At other times, we talked about our social lives, shopping, "club hopping," and dating. We even talked about tattoos and body adornment.

1   Natasha: For me, it was a point where I was going through some thangs…

2   Angela: What are your, what are your other ones?

3   Natasha: The butterfly. Me and my best friend got together. It was basically like we were both transitioning in life. I was gettin ready to graduate from college so was she. Ok, the heart. That was rebellion

against Brenda [her mother]. She told me not to do it and I did it anyway.
((laughs))

4 Angela: Do your parents know about the other ones?

5 Natasha: They do now

6 Marcelle: So where is your heart one at?

7 Natasha: My heart one is the one that's kinda like on my hip. Like right
here ((pointing to hip))

8 Marcelle: Ok, and then you have the one in the back…that's an ankh,
right?

9 Natasha: mmhm, yep.

10 Natasha: the butterfly is my lower back…

11 Natasha: Cuz the other thing with me. I want to be able to hide it when I
want to and show it when I want to.

(conversation, transcript, 5/17/07)

In the above example, Natasha was in the "hot seat". We were questioning her about her many tattoos. For me, I was surprised to learn that she had three tattoos. Angela wondered about the response that Natasha received from her parents regarding her tattoos and the selection of the placement of her tattoos. Applying the multiple roles in conversation defined by Davies and Harré's (1990), Angela and I were the *authors* in this example, reading and interpreting Natasha's, the *animator*, responses and encouraging the sharing of more information through questioning. We all were *principals* in this conversation. Natasha's identity as a symbolically and physically marked individual was

defined and positioned by our questions and by her responses just as my apprehension toward and Angela's curiosity about tattoos were represented and positioned in conversation with Natasha. As Davies and Harré point out, we played multiple roles while in conversation with one another.

In the above example, Natasha's explanation of her selection and placement of tattoos is also representative of the ways that these women decided on whether or not to fully engage in discussions inside the teacher education context. I learned that their participation and engagement in dominant contexts varied from silence to superficial engagement to one that was more authentic. Revealing one's authentic self was full of risk while remaining silent allowed them to safeguard their most personal beliefs and ideologies. Being silent also allowed for their cultural and linguistic selves to emerge from this dominant context unharmed and unscathed. Whatever their choice, like Natasha and her tattoos, they exercised control over when to fully engage and when not to.

Outside of the teacher education context, Natasha, Angela, and Latoya often shared with me their thoughts on topics ranging from race relations on campus to affirmative action and institutional racism. There were many topics that the women would not fully engage in the university context or with their academic peers, especially those politically charged. For example, on one occasion, Angela shared with me how she was bothered by a class conversation on affirmative action, but she did not want to participate in the discussion because she did not feel that it was worth it (field notes, 3/29/07). During a restaurant outing with Natasha and Latoya, we talked about the

racially charged incidents of violence that had been happening on campus that academic year (field notes, 11/12/06). Natasha and Latoya were outraged about a campus newspaper headline that "a black male student was assaulted on campus" (archival data, 11/11/06), questioning why the student's race had to be identified. They felt that if the victim had been White, race would not have been mentioned. They observed that by naming the victim's race, an association of violence with blackness was further perpetuated and maintained.

On another occasion, during a car ride to campus, Natasha shared with me her experiences in one of her classes where the professor presented a definition of racism that linked individual prejudice to larger societal constructs of power and privilege. According to the professor, under this definition, people of color cannot be racist. Natasha lamented about the level of resistance from White students in the class who denied this conceptualization of racism. One female student, she shared, was upset and asserted that she did not feel that she needed to pay reparations for the legacy of American slavery because she did not feel responsible for her ancestors' actions (field notes, 2/06/07). In these kinds of situations, Natasha did not want to be responsible for taking on the prevailing attitudes among her university peers.

> I think it's also just the environment that I'm in. I feel like our views on life are just so different. So I feel like, like the way I frame things… I have to make sure it comes out right. Cuz, it's the same way. They'll attack every lil' thing that you say too. (interview, transcript, 4/26/07)

While she disagreed with the viewpoints being expressed in the class on racism, Natasha

tired of being the only student to represent a different viewpoint, which often resulted in

her deliberate silence. During Natasha's junior year, she completed a semester away at a

historically black college, where she noted differences in the kinds of interactions she had

with students who she felt shared cultural and linguistic norms with her.

> I feel that way sometimes, when I have to like, explain myself. I think that was
>
> one of the things that I liked about Julia Cooper College. I didn't have to explain.
>
> It was just understood. But then being here…it's constantly questioned. And I
>
> feel like…I don't know how to vocalize. I be like, "It just is." Like, why do I
>
> like to be called black? Because I'm black! I don't know. It's like when I have
>
> to put it into words, it's very difficult for me. And I hate havin' to do that. You
>
> know. (interview, transcript, 4/26/07)

In this conversation, Natasha alluded to a common language that existed among her and

her peers at the historically black college. There existed an understanding—a shared

knowledge and experience—in what was left unsaid.

Natasha, like Angela and Latoya, was tired of having to explain herself in her

predominantly White classes. She was tired of always being "the only one" or "the

minority" or "the diversity" perspective. As Rushin (1981/1983) expressed in

"The Bridge Poem," these women were "sick of filling in your gaps" and demanded that

their predominantly White, monolingual peers and professors "find another connection to

the rest of the world" (p. xxi). In their conversations with one another, they forged

spaces that allowed for the enactment of authentic identities that were not at the expense of a Discourse of Whiteness.

"You Nameen" When I'm Talkin and Testifyin

Affirmation of ideas and the presence of shared knowledge, understanding, and cultural and linguistic norms was evidenced in the many conversations I observed (and often participated in) between Natasha and Latoya. Beyond shared knowledge and common understanding, Natasha and Latoya also enacted an African American female discourse with one another (see Fordham, 1993; Gilmore, 1991; Lanehart, 2002; Richardson, 2003a). Richardson (2003a) defines the concept of African American female literacies as "ways of knowing and acting and the development of skills, vernacular expressive arts and crafts that help females to advance and protect themselves and their loved ones in society" (p. 77). African American females' language practices "reflect their socialization in a racialized, genderized, sexualized, and classed world in which they employ their language [and literacy] practices to advance and protect themselves" (p. 77). These African American literacies then are communicated through an African American female Discourse, ways of representing a black female identity through the genres of storytellin', steppin'/rhymin', singin', dancin', preachin', and stylin' (Smitherman, 2006). Topics of conversation, from men to hair to popular culture, are all understood from their social location as black women. Genres, ways of interacting, of this African American female Discourse also include performative silence (conscious manipulation of silence and speech), strategic use of polite and assertive language, and indirection among other verbal and non-verbal practices. Styles of African

American female language practices include code and/or style shifting, the use of African American Language (AAL), affect, and givin' "attitude" with neck rollin', hand gesturin', and "talkin' loud. As black women, we style our stories, and we have fun with it. As Toni Morrison wrote,

> The language, only the language…It's the thing that Black people love so much—the saying of words, holding them on the tongue, experimenting with them, playing with them. It's a love, a passion. Its function is like a preacher's: to make you stand up out of your seat, make you lose yourself and hear yourself. The worst possible things that could happen would be to lose that language. There are certain things I cannot say without recourse to my language. (quoted in Smitherman, 2006, p. 64)

During many get togethers, Natasha, Latoya, and I made language do what we wanted it and needed it to do. As I discussed in Chapter Five, these women *performed* language (Spears, 2007). In African American verbal arts and rhetorical traditions, there is as much meaning communicated in the way the story is told than in the actually content of the story. Smitherman (2006) writes, "black folks are masters of linguistic improvisation and manipulators of the Word" (p. 64). Further, "AAL is a vehicle for achieving recognition and affirmation. Black folks applaud skillful linguistic inventiveness and verbal creativity. We likes folk who can play with and on the Word, who can talk and testify, preach and prophesy, lie and signify" (p. 65).

On one occasion, I captured a conversation between Natasha and Latoya where they were going back and forth about their experiences in their respective teacher

education classes. While the message in their conversation is significant, their usage of

AAL rhetorical strategies signified their shared understandings and affirmation of one

another's realities. In the following example, Natasha shared with Latoya her

experiences in one of her classes.

1   Natasha: In a class on race, that's one of the things we talk about a lot

2   It's like

3   All this information that yall learnt

4   The white students

5   That you're learnin here

6   Are you takin this back to your friends?

7   Are you talkin about this?

8   Or is just somethin that happened in this class?

9   (Oh my gosh, wow, I didn't know this) [mocking]

10 And then you go about yo peachy white life

11 And so

12 We're, we read this article by Tim Wise, W-E-I-S (spelling)

13 /Ways/ /Wise/ sum'in ((hand gesturing))

14 And he was talkin bout the whole

15 Oh (we can't judge them basing them on our time) [mocking]

16 So we'se talkin bout, now, um

17 Abraham Lincoln and um Thomas Jefferson

18 And basing them off of, you know, our morals of today

19 And his argument was that, no,

20 Killin was wrong back then

21 Killin BIN wrong since God came down to Moses and said

22 Thou shall not kill

23 It's wrong to, umm, steal, kill

24 He was like

25 The people who was victims of this knew it was wrong

26 It was other white people who knew this was wrong

27 So how can we say, it's, we're basing it by today's morals?"

(conversation, transcript, 3/25/07)

In the above text, Natasha lamented about what she perceived to be her White peers'
ambivalence towards issues of race and racism in the United States today.   She felt that
her peers were not personally invested to issues of race, questioning whether they applied
their learning from the class to their everyday lives (lines 3-8). Natasha opened by
mocking the White students in her class, and while in conversation with Latoya, she
posed comments and questions to her White peers. She also imitated the ways she
thought her peers might answer her questions (line 9).   She exaggerated what she would
say to the White students. In this example, what Natasha did not say in the context of the
class, she was able to express in the context of her conversation with Latoya. She defined
the lives of her White peers as "peachy white," an honest perspective she was able to
express in this context.

Natasha also talked to me about having to be careful about the way she presented her ideas in class (interview, transcript, 4/26/07). In our final interview together, she reflected on her oral participation in classes in the beginning of her undergraduate study:

> I can remember, like, being in the classroom and like, thinking through everything I was going to say before I said it. I can remember doing things like that and just making sure like, Did I use the word correctly? Am I, you know, nervous to say anything. But I would still say it if I felt like it. (interview, transcript, 4/26/07)

In conversation with Latoya, this kind of hesitancy did not persist. For example, in lines 12-13, Natasha referred to Tim Wise, an anti-racist writer, educator, and activist in the United States, but she was not sure about the pronunciation of his last name. In this instance, she offered multiple pronunciations and manipulations of his last name and alternatively spelled it out. The pronunciation of Wise's name was not the important part of her narrative, in this instance, nor did she allow her lack of *the* "definitive" pronunciation of his name to interrupt her flow of ideas. However, in the context of teacher education, where she felt being able to name, identify, and "accurately" pronounce certain people and ideas carried great capital, her peers might have focused in on her pronunciation of Wise's name, missing the depth of her point.

Natasha used African American Language, emotional language, and hand gesturing to remark on the lack of understanding about institutional racism in her class. She referred to a class reading where she agreed with the author's argument while the majority of her classmates felt that racism was a "thing of the past" (line 15). In the above example, Natasha referred to the reading of Tim Wise's work on anti-racism,

which challenges modern-day conceptions of slavery and racism being an issue of the past. She laid out Wise's argument, which points out that the moral beliefs about enslavement and killing transverse historical time and location. Natasha stressed, "killin BIN wrong" (line 21). She agreed with Wise's point that the fundamental principles and ideologies that made slavery permissible in the United States are applicable to modern times. These ideologies, in Natasha's estimation, underscore institutional racism.

With Latoya, Natasha was able to express her agreement with the text. However, she did so using a restricted code. Bernstein (1979) offered a theory of language codes to explain the different types of language use in society. In what he referred to as a restricted code, speakers draw on background knowledge and shared understanding. Restricted codes, usually found among family and friends, signify a sense of belonging to a certain group. A restricted code is also generally characterized as grammatically shallow by the use of unfinished sentences, few conjunctions, little subordination, and the infrequent use of impersonal pronouns. In contrast, an elaborated code spells everything out, making use of mainstream grammar and syntax and complex sentence structures. The elaborated code works well in situations where there is no prior or shared understanding and knowledge, where more thorough explanation is required. The code is elaborated because the context does not allow the speaker to condense thoughts and ideas.

Bernstein's (1979) framework is useful for understanding the exchanges between Natasha and Latoya, not because their language use was grammatically shallow; in fact, they used subordination, adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and impersonal pronouns. In

this way, their linguistic practices challenged widely understood notions of a restricted code. However, I draw from this framework to interpret how they drew on shared background knowledge and understanding (see Williams, 2001 for similar application). Morgan (1991) discusses this phenomenon, defining it as a *counterlanguage*, a system of communication that allows for multiple levels of meaning, only some of which are available to outsiders. Morgan writes that this counterlanguage, which finds parallel in African American discourse, emerged from African Americans' need to communicate with one another in hostile, White dominated environments from the time of slavery onward (Bucholtz, 2004). Natasha and Latoya's conversation allowed for the dominant presence of their perspectives on institutional racism. This conversation would be altered by participation or presence from others who are might be considered outsiders.

The restricted code is also marked by the frequent use of pragmatic markers that make frequent appeals to "sympathetic circularity" (Wardhaugh, 2006), for example, *you know what I mean* or in this case, *you nameen*. In the next example, Latoya latched on to Natasha's story round[4] by sharing her similar points about experiences in her classes.

28   Latoya: =but, you know what, that's what they teach in our classes.

29   Like in my history methods class, um, with, um, what's his name?

30   Which is sumthin' I kind of disagreed with—

31   Marcelle: –Oh, you had him?

32   Yea, I kinda disagreed with…..

---

[4] A story round is a particular kind of story cluster, in which speakers exchange stories of personal experiences that share similar points. They require little or no orientation, such as: "Did I tell you what happened…" The very juxtaposition of the stories gives the thematic cohesion (Tannen, 1984/2005).

33   But, he was talkin' bout presenta, presentation…

34   Not presentation, but sumthin' that had to do with,

35   Like what you said,

36   Teaching history, like when you teach history to your students,

37   Teach it as it happened in the past,

38   But don't teach it as it's still happening

39   ((hand gesturing)) YOU NAMEEN

40   Like, if you're teachin' slavery,

41   Teach it as in, dese where things that were goin' on in the past

42   But they're not

43   I don't know if I'm articulating it right

44   But the way you said

45   And I'm just like

46   How can you, how can you justify that slavery was wrong in the past

47   And make it seem like it was a past issue,

48   But if slavery was t' happen today, it's like=

49   Natasha: =But it's still impacts from slavery today!

(conversation, transcript, 3/25/07)

Natasha and Latoya were tired of having to explain themselves to their White peers, which often times would result in their deliberate silence in classes. The cohesiveness of their story rounds was demonstrated by their sharing of similar points and ideas. The shared understanding in these exchanges was marked by the lack of explanation about

institutional racism. Latoya and Natasha exhibited a shared understanding about this topic, and as a result, they did not have to use an elaborated code. When Latoya said "You nameen" (line 39), she was not asking Natasha a question. Further, her use of this pragmatic marker was not what some sociolinguists might define as a filler in conversation or a form of hedging. Here, she affirmed her shared understanding of these situations with Natasha. "You nameen" communicated the disagreement with the professor's presentation of a theoretical stance on how to teach about slavery in the United States. Her use of the phrase, "you nameen," also represented morphological processes of word formation to form a slang term (Reyes, 2005). "You nameen" is not the same as "you know what I mean" here. While "you nameen" like "you know what I mean" is viewed as a discourse marker that signifies agreement and shared understanding, it is also a slang term that emerges out of the African American Language experience (see Reyes, 2005). As Reyes argues, potential racial marking of this slang expression relies less on its pragmatic function and more on its phonetic contour and contextual placement in the conversation.

In line 43, Latoya questioned whether she was articulating her point accurately but she continued to bond with Natasha's position by linking to what Natasha previously said. Natasha affirmed their common understanding by completing Latoya's thought in line 49, expounding on the ways that the legacy of slavery still impacts society today. Natasha and Latoya were talkin and testifyin (Smitherman, 1977) about their experiences in their classes. While much was left unsaid in the context of their conversation with one another (because it did not *have* to be said), much was understood and affirmed.

Co-constructing Voices

Natasha, Latoya, and Angela all participated in the 2007 commencement ceremonies, completing their four years of undergraduate study. To congratulate them on their upcoming graduation and to thank them for their participation in my study, on May 17, 2007, I hosted a mini "spa" day for them, filled with manicures, pedicures, and a lot of "girl talk."   On this occasion, this was the first time that I convened all three women together.   In their conversation together, high involvement strategies, including overlapping and the use of affirmative language, were used (Tannen, 1984/2005). Throughout the conversation, the three women were all highly involved participants, preferring personal topics, shifting topics abruptly, and speaking and changing turns rapidly (Tannen, 1984/2005). Rapid rate of speech, overlap, and latching of utterances were devices by which Natasha, Latoya, and Angela showed solidarity, enthusiasm, and interest in each other's talk. These linguistic devices suggested that they were on the same wave length. A "co-construction of dialogue" was evidenced several times throughout conversations among Angela, Natasha, and Latoya. At times, I also participated in the conversation.

During our time together, a great deal of our conversation was devoted to talk about men and dating. The three women opened up with one another about their respective situations. Natasha was the only one who was not dating anyone at the moment. She had often expressed the difficulty she experienced trying to find eligible black men on a predominantly White campus in a predominantly White community. She and I talked about a discussion that took place in her Interpersonal Relations about

interracial dating. The instructor convened a panel of students to talk about their experiences with interracial dating, and immediately after the class, Natasha called me, heated. She shared that there was a black woman on the panel who said she only dated White men and the only thing that made her black was the fact that her skin had more melanin in it. Natasha said that in the class, many students gave "politically correct" responses and said that they would be alright with dating someone outside their race. Natasha said that she posed the question: how would your parents or family feel about you dating someone outside your race? While she said that most of her classmates said that their families would be OK with their dating outside of their race, she let the class know that if a White boy "stepped" to her, she would probably laugh. She would not take him seriously (field notes, 2/15/07). In conversation with Latoya and Angela, she was able to more fully express her feelings about this topic:

1 Natasha: I was tellin Latoya,

2 I went to the club two nights in a row

3 It was just, **UGHH!**

4 Ma::ad!

5 It was like, black dudes with white chicks

6 and of course like all the black dudes was talkin to the white chicks.

7 It was ho::rrible.

8 And like, I went with my friend, Carla, who's mixed but she kinda looks white.

9 Light with the curly hair.

10 And it's just, I was tellin Latoya, it's just hard to go out like that.

11 All these dudes are steady talkin to her

12 and you're just kinda like doin your own thing,

13 try to make the most of it by yourself.

14 Not a great look.

15 I'm like, I can't wait to get out of Boston.

16 I can't wait to go somewhere where they appreciate black women.

(conversation, transcript, 5/17/07)

By sharing this personal statement about dating, Natasha showed a sign of rapport and

camaraderie with both Latoya and Angela. This is a sign of a high involvement

conversation, one with personal and authentic engagement (Tannen, 1984/2005). Here,

she did not have to justify or provide a "politically correct" response. She was able to

express her disdain with the predominance of White women dating black men in a space

that did not challenge this perspective or situate it on the periphery. Here, the ease with

which she shared her feelings demonstrated that she did not feel like "the only one." In

her story round, Natasha again employed a restricted code of shared understanding and

background knowledge. She did not spell or explain explicitly her disdain with

interracial dating. She presented a highly stylized statement, one laden with features of

African American Language.

Natasha was also able to have an open conversation with Angela about her desire

to date a man who shares cultural and linguistic norms with her and her family. Here is

an example where Angela was in the "hot seat" in a conversation about interracial dating:

17 Natasha : So, in terms of relationships, do you feel like it's important for

you to date, like future wise, like a Latino man[

18 Angela: [yes!

19 Natasha: Or do you not care?

20 Angela: Yes, yes. Ummm, because, it's just. **I mean**, I don't know. I

mean, I could fall in love with, I don't know, whateva

21 Latoya: A white guy ((laughing))

22 Angela: Anyone could. It's like my goal in life ((joking)). NO!

23 Everyone: ((laughs))

24 Angela: Umm, but, ummm, it's just so much easier, culturally, I think. I

mean, you were with my family ((looking at me))

25 Marcelle: mmmhhm

26 Angela: Get somebody else to understand that!!

27 Marcelle: I felt like an outsider in your family. I mean, the culture is so

steep

28 Angela: Yea!

(conversation, transcript, 5/17/07)

In the example above, Natasha directly asked Angela if she felt it was important to date

inside her race. Without completing her utterance, Angela interjects with an emotion-

filled "yes." This was not an interruption of Natasha's thought, who went on to ask "or

do you not care" (line 19), but a completion of it. Angela immediately knew where

Natasha was going with the conversation. Latoya also co-constructed an utterance with

Angela (line 21) who joked about the possibility of falling in love with a White guy. Angela eventually looked to me for affirmation to explain to Natasha and Latoya the importance of culture in her family (lines 24-28).

In this example, we were all co-constructing a perspective on interracial dating that ran counter to the ideas expressed in Natasha's Interpersonal Relations class. Angela went on to explain how she could not imagine a White man in her family environment.

29 Angela: They're LOUD an::nd…I don't, I don't. It's not that they're exclusive[

30 Marcelle:[It wouldn't be exclusive…

31 Natasha: Girl, I completely support that so don't feel like you have to explain…

32 Angela: But, no, no, you know what I mean. It's just so much easier.

33 Natasha: mmhmm

34 Angela: The language. I want my[

35 Natasha: [The children

36 Angela: I want my kids to be fully submersed in the Hispanic culture, or whateva

(conversation, transcript, 5/17/07)

Angela attempted to explain why interracial dating would not work in her family situation. Natasha let her know that she did not need to explain and that, indeed, she did know what Angela meant when she said, "you know what I mean" (line 32). Angela expressed the importance of the language in her culture and together, she and Natasha co-

constructed the importance of wanting the children to be immersed in one's cultural traditions (lines 34-35).

The above example illustrated numerous instances when Natasha, Latoya, Angela, and I co-constructed a discourse around interracial dating. The overlapped and latched utterances in this example demonstrated the way Bakhtin (1981) loosely defined the utterance as "the changing of speaking subjects" which is analogous to the turn-taking described by conversation analysts. At several points of the conversation, there is overlap by speakers and places where multiple speakers construct one utterance. Bakhtin wrote that multiple voices always co-exist within one speaker's utterance, the heteroglossic text. This is not necessarily a co-constructed utterance. I borrow from Rowe (2004) who defines co-constructed utterances as those that "take account of utterances that might involve more than one speaking agent, but only one voice" (p. 88). They are points when multiple participants "complete each other's sentences, speak simultaneously, or immediately latch one speaker's words onto another's without salient break" (p. 87). Through positioning one self and one another in these conversations, Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each presented an authentic identity—a true self.

Conclusions

When we complete each other's thoughts and utterances, *you nameen*. When I do not have to explain myself and use an elaborated code, *you nameen*. In the above examples, Natasha, Latoya, and Angela co-constructed utterances, at times, moving beyond heteroglossia. In the heteroglossic text, multiple voices co-exist. Natasha, Latoya, and Angela created one voice. One unit of understanding was communicated in

their conversation as a result of their collective engagement.   The ability to achieve a singular voice was possible because of their shared experiences, common histories, and understood background knowledge. Narratives on race to narratives on interracial dating were told in unison, together.

In Chapter Four, I discussed how Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each experienced and interacted with dominant Discourses in the teacher education context, and in Chapter Five, I took a close look at the similar yet varied ways that Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each forged hybrid discourses within this context. Within the context of teacher education, they each relied on linguistic devices and rhetorical strategies, such as deliberate silence, to protect their authentic voices and identities. Silence was not a state imposed upon them by the dominant culture; at least, they resisted and subverted such power and dominance. In fact, not intimately engaging in conversations about race, for example, in a classroom full of the White counterparts was a deliberate choice. When they chose to participate, they did so in hybrid ways that one, privileged their capital as culturally and linguistically diverse individuals, and two, allowed for an authentic representation of themselves as teachers, as students, and as individuals, again, showing hybridity as a spectra of the whole and not just a merging of binaries or dueling opposites.

In the above conversation analyses, the co-construction of their voices, the high involvement rhetorical strategies, such as overlapping and latching, and the use of *you nameen* as a pragmatic marker of affirmation and belonging, all worked to create a markedly different context than the teacher education context among others.   Further,

their use of affirmative language and the telling of personal stories positioned themselves

and each other as "insiders", members of the group. In conversation among friends, in

the company of sisters, Natasha, Latoya, and Angela created a context that allowed for a

more authentic, *whole* performance of themselves.

Chapter Seven

Beyond Narratives of Deficit and Difference: Reframing Conversations about the

Cultural and Linguistic Mismatch in Teaching and Teacher Education

Introduction

The primary aim of this dissertation study was to expand upon current

understandings about the experiences of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers in

mainstream teacher education programs through an ethnographic examination and critical

discourse analysis of their language practices across multiple contexts. As I discussed in

Chapter One, current discussions about preservice and inservice teacher education are

primarily framed with the problem of how to prepare predominantly White, monolingual

women to address the needs of an increasingly heterogeneous K-12 student population.

The review of the literature in Chapter Two illustrated what little we know about

preservice teachers who bring multiple cultural and linguistic identities to bear on the

process of teaching and learning to teach in traditional teacher education programs in the

United States. In this dissertation, my goal was to make room for the experiences and

perspectives of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers, challenging an overemphasis

on the cultural and linguistic mismatch dilemma. While it is crucial that teacher

education efforts address the growing mismatch, these efforts do not have to negate or

ignore the experiences of those teachers who share cultural and linguistic norms with

today's student population. I aimed to do this without further essentializing the

experiences of ethnolinguistic minorities and demonstrating the complexities and

variance in their unique, individual cultural and linguistic identities.

In the Chapters Four through Six, I shared findings generated from a year-long ethnographic and sociolinguistic study of the discursive practices of Natasha, Latoya, and Angela, all nonstandard language and dialect speakers, across multiple contexts.   To do this, as outlined in Chapter Three, I captured and examined transcripts of their language practices evidenced through videotaped and audiotaped speech events, observations, interviews, and archival data using ethnographic research methods. The kinds of data collected guided the kinds of analytical tools used to answer three primary research questions:

- What linguistic resources, or "codes," do ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers utilize across multiple contexts, for example, the university classroom, the practicum classroom, and in a setting outside the university or school context?

- Additionally, what "orders of discourse" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) are enacted as a result of their participation in these contexts?

- What socially situated identities (Bakhtin, 1981; Gee, 1996) construct and are constructed by their language practices?

To examine each question, I moved from an initial thematic analysis of ethnographic data (Chapter Four) to a linguistic analysis of their hybrid language practices using Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) "orders of discourse" framework (Chapter Five) to conversational analysis of their language practices in a collective context (Chapter Six).

The first question was explored through a thematic analysis of the ethnographic data. I entered into this research project with the understanding that all language users draw upon multiple linguistic codes depending on the context, the audience, and the

purpose. These women were no exception. As bilingual and nonstandard dialect speakers, they all code-switch and code-mix. However, beyond utilizing what Gee (1996) calls social languages, I understood that they were drawing upon rich linguistic and cultural resources, especially in their roles as teachers. With that said, I expanded upon the first research question to focus more directly on how the context of teacher education as a dominant Discourse affected the kinds of linguistic decisions these teachers made. In Chapter Four, I looked at how teacher education in the United States is a kind of Discourse (Gee, 1996), full of its own set of rules, practices, and social norms, and I considered the following questions: what constitutes the Discourse of teacher education? How do ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers interact with this Discourse? Do they adapt, adjust, or simply resist social practices ascribed by this Discourse, and what are the consequences of their decisions? And, finally, what do these preservice teachers' various negotiations imply for teacher education and the needs for today's ethnically and linguistically diverse classrooms?

I examined how Natasha, Angela, and Latoya each articulated differences between their own primary Discourses about teacher education and those that persisted in the teacher education program. Their understandings about the discourses about classroom and student behavior management, pedagogy, teaching in urban settings, and teaching for social justice were informed by their own K-12 experiences as well as their racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As students in a traditional teacher education program and teachers "in practice", they were consistently challenged to decide how they would respond to the dominant Discourses—would they find ways to blur the lines

between the primary and dominant Discourses? Would they suppress their own subjectivities and take on the dominant, more often accepted Discourse? Or, would they resist the dominant Discourse and assert their primary Discourse instead?

As I discussed in Chapter Five, I found that in most cases, they created hybrid discourses—discourses that blurred the boundaries between the primary and dominant Discourses. As teachers "in practice", they were developing new hybrid socially situated identities. In this way, they acknowledged that they were learning to teach and that the role of the teacher education program—the classes as well as the practicum placements— was to provide them with necessary knowledge and skills. For example, the role of their cooperating teacher was important for each preservice teacher. Natasha and Latoya expressed frustrations with the difficulty in securing practicum placements with teachers of color. For them, it was important to have models of teaching that represented their cultural and linguistic diversity. Angela also desired a placement with a teacher who demonstrated effective teaching with a significant immigrant and bilingual student population. But, in each placement, they all viewed their cooperating teachers as knowledgeable, experienced mentors.

By using Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) framework for "orders of discourse" as an analytic tool, I traced moments of hybridity, where multiple and sometimes competing discourses were at play in the same context. These women took into account the Discourses perpetuated by the teacher education program but alongside their own primary discourses. For example, Latoya understood that she needed to establish herself as an authoritative role; however, she needed to do so in a way that

acknowledged her cultural and linguistic heritage—staying authentic to the skills and knowledge that she brought to the role of teacher. These preservice teachers forged identities that allowed for the interplay of multiple discourses at any given time, in any given context.

In Chapter Six, using conversation analysis as a tool alongside critical discourse analysis, I explored how Natasha, Latoya, and Angela enacted authentic identities when in conversation with friends. I moved from an analysis of their individual linguistic identities to an analysis of co-constructed identities. In this chapter, I addressed each of the research questions, focusing more intently on the role of context. I considered how individuals position themselves and are positioned in conversations and how this activity results in particular enactments of identity. For Natasha, Latoya, and Angela, when in conversations with individuals who they perceived as having shared cultural and linguistic understandings, they performed in ways that allowed for an authentic representation of self. My analysis of their conversations also allowed for a closer look into their use of linguistic devices and rhetorical strategies in social settings versus in dominant, institutional contexts, such as the teacher education program. I explored how they used a counterlanguage (Morgan, 1991) and deliberate silence. In this chapter, I provided a new methodological dynamic by looking at the contextual interplay among many participants and not just mapping what participants do individually across contexts.

In this final chapter, I offer implications for research and practice in the field of teaching and teacher education. I draw connections to larger conversations about minority student participation in teacher education and the problem with how we frame

the cultural and linguistic mismatch among today's teachers and students in educational research. I also discuss the role of qualitative research methodologies in the study of language, discourse, and identity by looking at strengths and weaknesses of the methodological approaches used in this study. I conclude with implications for the use of critical discourse analysis in educational research and for the field of teaching and teacher education.

Implications for Research and Practice

Representations of Ethnolinguistic Minority Preservice Teachers

In Chapter Two, my review of research literature on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers revealed overarching themes of marginalization and exclusion. A common thread among these studies (for examples, see Arce, 2004; Burant, 1999; Clark & Flores, 2001; Galindo, 1996; Guerrero, 2003; Jones et al., 1999; Kornfeld, 1999; Meacham, 2000; Pailliotet, 1997; Sheets & Chew, 2002; Tellez, 1999; Zitlow & DeCoker, 1994) was the apparent mismatch between the preservice teacher's own culture and that of the academic institution. Being an ethnolinguistic minority within the teacher education context revealed a conflict—"a language problem, a communication problem, a connection problem" (Pailliotet, 1997, p. 675). In this way, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers constantly faced dueling opposites—a dichotomous relationship between their home discourse and that of the institution (Kornfeld, 1999). The research literature suggested that many ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers feel "they must be essentially bilingual, speaking one dialect of the English language in class and another among friends" (Kornfeld, 1999, p. 29). Some studies confirmed ethnolinguistic

minority preservice teachers' negative experiences within the university context, specifically the detrimental consequences of having a strong accent (Clark & Flores, 2001), speaking in dialect (Paley, 2001), or simply being quiet (Pailliotet, 1997).

My review of the research literature also pointed to the "cultural limbo" (Meacham, 2000) that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers experience when faced with how to embrace their own cultural and linguistic heritage and at the same time appropriate the expectations of their teacher education programs. This suggested that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers are constantly questioning whether to or how to bridge multiple worlds, multiple identities, and, presumably, at a cost to their cohesive senses of selves. Further, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers contend with internalized notions of marginalization and linguistic inferiority, especially within a context that positions them as culturally and linguistically "other" to the predominant White, monolingual student. Much of this research speaks to what Dubois (1903/2003) referred to as double consciousness within the African American experience—having to be fully aware and have an understand of two worlds at all times. The research literature also reports that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers exist within a metaphorical borderlands (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999), stuck between the academic culture and the culture of their families and communities. However, both Dubois (1903/2003) and Anzaldúa (1987/1999) advocated for the joining of opposites, a transition toward a higher level of consciousness.

In the current dissertation, my ethnographic and linguistic examination of the language practices of Natasha, Latoya, and Angela elucidated this move beyond

marginalization and linguistic inferiority toward agency and linguistic hybridity. For example, Natasha exuded pride and strength in being a black woman and in being a speaker of African American Language. From her interactions with students in her practicum classroom to her assertiveness in the university classes, Natasha viewed her identification as a strong black woman to her affiliation to African American Language as an asset. With her students, she viewed it as a signification of bonding, comfort, and community. In my observations of Natasha, specifically in the writing workshop, I noted moments where there seemed to be "tension" between Natasha's primary discourse and the dominant Discourse on teaching (see Chapter Four). As she negotiated these competing discourses, she progressed toward a hybrid teacher identity, one that took into account her rich cultural and linguistic resources yet acknowledged the additional skills and tools necessary for being an effective teacher. In the end, Natasha was satisfied with being Natasha. She asserted loudly, "this is how I talk," "this is me."

Latoya also relied on her affiliation to African American Language (AAL) to enact an effective teacher identity. Due to her legitimated use of AAL, she was able to, in part, strengthen her bond with her students and at the same time, establish an authoritative identity. Latoya had to figure out how to be an effective teacher in her own body, with her own language, and with her own history. She could not be the predominantly White female teacher who identified as a "standard" English speaker nor could she be Mr. Fernandes, a Cape Verdean man. My analysis of Latoya illuminated the ways in which ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers enact authentic, hybrid identities within and beyond the context of teacher education. No longer on the margins,

no longer needing to see both sides of things, Latoya carved and sketched a teacher identity that worked for Latoya, one that brought to the forefront her unique, individual cultural and linguistic history.

Like Natasha and Latoya, Angela too drew strength from her identification with Latino culture and language. She felt that she better understood her students in her practicum because she knew what it was like to be in a school environment that was starkly different from your home environment. As a bilingual Spanish and English speaker, Angela lived in two worlds. Her experiences with marginalization were deeply rooted in her everyday life. Angela clearly articulated demarcations between her use of Spanish and her use of English. She also articulated an understanding of language "appropriateness" in context, and she held deeply ingrained notions about what it meant to speak English with an accent (see Chapter Five). As the research literature on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers suggested, Angela faced a "crossroads" of how to appropriate a teacher identity, one that was valued and legitimized within the dominant context of teacher education while at the same time maintaining allegiance to her cultural and linguistic heritage. She also was still challenging her own internalization of standard language ideologies and societal attitudes that positioned her cultural and linguistic identity as a deficit. This was Angela's struggle. However, as discussed in Chapter Five, I observed Angela's move toward agency and linguistic hybridity in her evolution as a teacher. In essence, as all three of these women became more confident in using their multiple discourses, they experienced a progression and transformation of their cultural and linguistic knowledge and understanding.

Natasha, Latoya, and Angela each made deliberate linguistic decisions at all times. However, it was important to draw out the distinctions among their individual experiences. While they each forged hybrid language practices, this hybridization occurred differently across and within each of their experiences. The intricacies and complexities within their individual experiences were mediated by context and their unique histories. As I discussed in Chapter Five, there were variations in their language practices—some were more agentive and interruptive of the dominant Discourses than others. The complexities of these hybrid discourses were contingent upon the participants, their identities, and the contexts. The data showed that their linguistic choices were deliberate performances of identity, and as such, these performances varied with their alignment and interaction with other participants, the context, and the purpose of the task at hand.

In Chapter Six, I discussed their manipulation of silence, a conscious and deliberate silence, in discussions in their university classes, especially those that were politically charged. Their participation and engagement, or lack of, in various contexts signified their agency as language users. Silence was not a result of their being silenced, as often represented in the research literature on ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. At times, it was a result of their decision that they no longer wanted to represent the minority voice or perspective. They were tired of being "the only one." They no longer wanted to be responsible for the consciousness or humanness of their fellow White peers and professors. Their decisions to represent authentic identities were at times when they wanted to connect or bond with particular individuals or groups in

particular settings. And, on the other hand, lack of full, authentic engagement was a means of protecting and safeguarding their interests as individuals with rich cultural and linguistic capital.

Much of the research on cultural and linguistic minorities or "non-dominant" students in teacher education emphasizes themes of being silenced, ignored, and invisible. Minority preservice teachers feel silenced and overlooked in teacher education programs where curriculum and practice are designed and shaped to meet the needs of a majority White, monolingual, middle class, and female teacher population.   How we "frame the problem" for ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers—and how we examine the concerns and issues they face—is of great importance. One, by placing ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers in the center of analyses, one runs the risk of perpetuating a homogeneous representation of this population, furthering ideologies of "one kind" of bilingualism or "one kind" of blackness and negating the multidimensionally faceted experiences of blacks and Latinos. Second, there is a danger in framing, representing, and describing the experiences of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers as counter to that of their White, monolingual counterparts. By reinforcing a narrative of difference, opportunities to view the experiences of ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers in a deficit way abound. Significantly, the 'challenge' for mainstream teachers is not their own cultural backgrounds but rather those of the 'diverse' students in their classrooms (Gutierrez & Orellana, 2006).

At all times, however, Natasha, Angela, and Latoya challenged deficit notions of what it means to be bilingual or a dialect speaker and what it means to be a racial

minority in a dominant White, monolingual context. By constantly experiencing and

seeing Discourses of Whiteness in the teacher education program (see Chapter Four),

these preservice teachers became clearer about who they are not and more importantly,

who they are. The situated nature of their identity formation, in this instance, is best

described as their ability to define themselves within a context that, in some ways, denies

their existence. Further, they exhibited an ability to reflect on their own histories as

racial, cultural and linguistic beings. Their cultural, racial, and linguistic histories were

"front and center" in their everyday realities.

Methodological Strengths

My goal in this dissertation was to explore how teacher education, as a discourse

community, impacts the discursive practices of ethnolinguistic minority preservice

teachers. I aimed to unearth the kinds of "tensions" they might encounter as they acquire

a teacher discourse while maintaining allegiance to their ethnic and linguistic heritages.

I also wanted to better understand how they constructed teacher identities when the

prevailing ideology of "what a teacher should be" privileges the experiences of

Whiteness and monolingualism.

I relied on the traditions of ethnography and critical discourse analysis for several

reasons. First, my understandings of language and identity are informed by critical

discourse analysis (see Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Rogers, 2004c), sociolinguistics

(e.g., Gee, 1996; Wolfram, 2004), and critical language studies (Alim, 2005; Lippi-

Green, 2004) in that I define language as a complex linguistic system, socially

constructed, politically charged, and defined by the social relations in which it occurs. I

decided to use critical discourse analysis because it is a theoretical and methodological framework that views language as a form of social practice, and it attempts to unpack the "taken for granted" and neutralized ideological underpinnings of discourse (see also Fairclough, 1989/2001; Wodak, 2006). A critical discourse analysis framework assumes that it is possible to uncover the ways in which tacit ideologies affect the language choices that ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers must make in order to take on a new teacher identity. Further, the theoretical connection between language, identity, and context, which is central to a critical discourse analysis framework, was crucial to this study so that the findings could adequately address why ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers are drawn to, stay within, and/or leave teacher education programs (and by extension, the field of teaching).

I also draw on the tradition of ethnography because this dissertation was very much about the study of language in context. CDA has also been criticized for an imbalance between linguistic analysis and context. The combination of CDA and ethnographic methods provided a framework for both macro- and micro-analysis of language practices across multiple contexts. Further, it allowed for analytic movement between observations, interviews, and linguistic data to explain patterns that were made visible with CDA. In this way, different from other forms of discourse analysis, I moved beyond a sentence level analysis of language practices toward situated understanding of the hybrid language practices of Natasha, Latoya, and Angela.

Another strength of this methodological approach, the use of CDA and ethnographic methods, was the potential for transformation. This research project

provided a time and space for these three women to talk about issues they might otherwise not. As I worked through analysis of ethnographic, linguistic, and conversational data, I regularly consulted with Natasha, Latoya, and Angela about my understandings of their words and their experiences. For example, when I noticed the contradictions in Natasha's teaching practices in the writing workshop (refer to Chapter Four), I was able to talk with her about what I was observing in ways that illuminated a new awareness for her. In this way, her heightened level of consciousness prompted change in her practice.

My methodological decisions were also heavily influenced by theories of linguistic hybridity (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). I realized early on that theories of bilingualism (e.g., Auer, 1999; Walters, 2005) or bidialectalism (see Baugh, 1999), while they heavily influenced the research study, would prove inadequate for understanding the language practices of Angela, Natasha, and Latoya because they self-described their language practices as being more than just switching codes. As Angela pointed out, "I mix Spanish, English, whatever…all in the same sentence" (observation, transcript, 4/22/07). In this way, these preservice teachers were forging "hybrid" spaces to foreground their unique cultural and linguistic identities. Chouliaraki & Fairclough's (1999) model for tracing "orders of discourse" allowed me to trace and illustrate the presence of genre, Discourse, and style within their utterances as a unit of analysis. By doing so, I was able to show instances where multiple and sometimes competing discourses existed and then draw on theories of identity and hybridity to reveal their constructions of identities in context.

Methodological Weaknesses

The problems with labels. In their discussion of how literacy research has in many ways reinforced normative ways of framing, representing, and describing English language learners, Gutierrez and Orellana (2006) conclude that "the challenge for researchers is to think carefully about every step of the research process, from selection of populations and topics to the ways we represent participants and their practices in our work" (p. 507). This was particularly evident in the ways that I entered into this research project. When I sought School of Education students to participate in my study, my recruitment call *labeled* them ethnolinguistic minorities. Many did not respond to my initial recruitment call because they did not see themselves as minorities culturally, racially, or linguistically. As I began the research, I struggled to determine what terminology I would use to identify Natasha, Latoya, and Angela. Since the goal of this research project was not to further essentialize or homogenize ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers but to acknowledge the complex and varied lives of individuals, I needed to examine normative ways of framing, representing, and describing "non-dominant" students in educational research to avoid reinforcing deficit views of ethnolinguistic minorities. It was important for me to allow them to define themselves and to adopt their definitions into my research.

As I considered issues of self-representation and constructions of difference for these preservice teachers, for whom the term *ethnolinguistic minority* was "ok" but did not adequately capture the ways in which they identified themselves, I realized how reductive the term *minority* can be. My use of this terminology inadvertently displaces

the complexity of their cultural and linguistic identities. I needed a label, a category, in order to enter into larger dialogues about this phenomenon. But, by doing so, I simplified complex language practices and identities. And, there is a danger in doing this. Thus, early on, I asked Natasha, Angela, and Latoya to define their ethnolinguistic identities. How do you label or describe your ethnic and linguistic background? Whenever and wherever possible, I aimed to insert their self-identifications, beyond this collective, reductionist labeling of *minority*. I became more concerned with how they described themselves and the decisions for those distinctions. Yet, in still, needing to have "a label" posed challenges for recruitment and representation of participants. More broadly, the various ways of representations and categorizing of dominant versus non-dominant populations have a historicized context within research. Without in-depth interrogation and heightened consideration of how we label certain groups when conducting research, researchers further perpetuate an epistemology that is often the ideology(s) they seek to challenge or eradicate.

How to do CDA. What are often missing in critical discourse analysis (CDA) are specific analytical procedures (see Rogers, 2004b). With its fairly new emergence and application within the field of educational research (Rogers, 2004c; Rogers et al., 2005), clearly articulated guidelines about how to do CDA do not exist. There is no one way or one formula for doing CDA. I would contend that this is not necessarily a bad thing. I would warn against the standardization of any research methodology or the tendency to create a "how to" manual. Though, it is important to layout the underlying assumptions and ideologies guiding any methodological approach, as critical discourse analysts in

education are doing (see Rogers, 2004c). That said, I needed to determine the most appropriate analytical tools to answer each of the research questions. My analysis evolved into a blending of CDA, other sociolinguistic tools such as conversation analysis, and ethnographic methods. While the use of "orders of discourse" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) as an analytic tool allowed for a tracing of multiple and sometimes competing discourses in one context, revealing hybrid language practices, I needed to augment my use of CDA to include other methodological approaches to really address the questions at hand.

However, the evolution of my research methodology could not have been predetermined. As a qualitative researcher, I learned to be comfortable with a constant reflection and interrogation of my methodological decisions, including shifts in direction. I only describe these considerations as a "weakness" because critical discourse analysis has been criticized for not having easily followed guidelines for replication and other issues of generalizability (Rogers, 2004b), which in this case, were not goals of this study. My goal in using CDA as a methodological approach was to provide a transparent rendering of my choices and to clearly link my research questions to the analytical tools employed. The analysis helped heighten the goals for transparency and reflexivity to the questions, not replication.

Representing the visual. When I initially proposed the use of CDA and ethnography as a methodological approach, I decided that I would only document my observations of the language practices of my participants via the use of field notes and audiotapes. However, as I began my observations of Natasha, Latoya, and Angela across

multiple contexts, it was instantly apparent to me the importance of capturing the physical properties of their language use. I understood that language is not just about what is said, that it is performed and behaved as well. However, I did not take these assumptions and understandings into consideration when deciding upon my research methodology initially. I immediately amended my research design to include the use of videotaped data. I needed to collect instances of Natasha's use of "the look" when commanding attention in her second grade classroom, Angela's proximity to her students, and Latoya's head and eye rolls. The use of digital video allowed for that. The use of visual data provides a means to capture or see what cannot be seen from other data sources. It can also become a means to triangulate across mediums of data or a means to differentiate among data sources (Pink, 2001; Stanczak, 2007).

However, the use of the visual as data in this study had huge implications for the forms of data analysis. CDA primarily entails an analysis of how meaning is communicated through grammatical choices and is based mainly on syntax and structure. This methodology has a written language bias, and because of this bias, CDA does not always get at the full meaning of a linguistic event. By only analyzing linear texts with words, CDA negates the notion that language is not solely verbal but also visual. It also fails to acknowledge the multilayered characteristics of our language practices. Fairclough (2004) criticized his own models for CDA for not adequately addressing the role of semiotics, the study of signs and symbols as elements of communicative behaviors. While this framework contends with one type of semiotics, since semiotics

includes visual, graphic, logographic, and auditory signs and symbols, it at the same time renders the others silent.

There is an increasing use of visual research methods across the social sciences and humanities, including in the field of education. Pink (2006) proposes that the visual can be both a methodology and an object of analysis. But, when we use visual research methodologies, there exists a crisis of representation—how to best represent physical and gestural properties of language in forms that demand linear representation. As more and more language and literacy researchers began to rely on methodological approaches that bring attention to issues of spatiality and embodiment (Hagood, 2004; Leander & Rowe, 2006), more attention is brought to this broader methodological and representational concern.

Teaching and Teacher Education for Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

I began this dissertation report by building a rationale for why the study of ethnolinguistic teacher diversity in a context that emphasizes the fact that teacher education programs are filled with White, middle-class, monolingual female students is important. According to the recent report of the AERA panel on research on teacher education, the demographic profiles of prospective teachers are different from the K-12 student population in significant ways, specifically on the basis of ethnicity, language, and socioeconomic background (Zumwalt & Craig, 2005). The majority of research on teaching in culturally diverse schools examines how to help White female preservice teachers develop awareness and skills for effective teaching (Sleeter, 2001b). But, I contend that as current trends in educational research foreground the cultural and

linguistic mismatch between today's teachers and students, another kind of mismatch is often neglected: the cultural and linguistic gaps that exist between some preservice teachers and the context of traditional teacher education.

Reviews of research literature on multicultural teacher preparation reveal an almost exclusive preoccupation with the education of White teachers (Montecinos, 2004). Current knowledge about the preparation of teachers for diversity is based on the needs and concerns of White preservice teachers, reinscribing the notion that a particular type of teacher identity leads the agenda for multicultural teacher education and insinuates that what may or may not work for White, monolingual, female preservice teachers is universal. I question, what are the implications of prevailing educational research and practice aimed at preparing the predominantly White, female teaching force on how to become culturally responsive teachers in a classroom of "other people's children" (Delpit, 1995)? Further, how are assumptions of Whiteness and monolingualism operationalized in the development and implementation of teacher education practice, and how are non-White, multilingual learners positioned within (or outside of) this practice?

The focus on bridging the cultural and linguistic mismatch between today's teachers and students inversely negates the fact that some preservice teachers share linguistic and cultural norms with this diverse student population. Yet, there is little emphasis on diversifying the teaching force as a way to address this cultural and linguistic mismatch (Ladson-Billings, 2005; Sleeter, 2001b). This is an important issue to consider in lieu of research studies that document the positive educational outcomes

that are produced in classrooms taught by teachers whose cultural and language background is similar to that of their students (for examples, see Bohn, 2003; Grace, 2004; Lee, 1993; Rymes & Anderson, 2004). As this dissertation study also suggests, ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers tend to bring richer experiences and perspectives to teaching in culturally diverse contexts (Irvine, 2003; Nieto, 2000; Sleeter, 2001b).

I understand that an immediate concern for preservice teacher education research and practice should be how to prepare the current homogeneous teaching force for teaching a culturally and linguistically diverse student population. As Boyd et al. (2006) write, "while recruiting teacher candidates of diverse backgrounds might seem like a viable solution to closing gaps of diversity between teachers and their students, along with recruitment comes the responsibility of preparing all teacher candidates to be effective teachers of all students" (p. 334). However, this does not mean that efforts to counter the reasons why the cultural and linguistic diversity of the teaching force continually decreases should be excluded or "sidetracked". To ensure educational attainment and opportunity for underrepresented ethnolinguistic groups in teacher education, the educational research community must continue to consult minority preservice teachers as a major source of guidance.

Findings from this study point to the paucity of cultural and linguistic diversity in the current teaching force and ways to maximize positive teaching and learning outcomes for today's K-12 student population. Through this dissertation inquiry, my goal was to contribute to research and practice in teaching and teacher education by:

- building on existing knowledge about the experiences of this population within traditional teacher education programs;

- offering insight into how teacher education programs might better serve and ensure educational attainment for this population (e.g., validating and privileging the cultural and linguistic resources of *all* preservice teachers across curricular, pedagogical, and practical teacher education experiences);

- re-envisioning the ways discussions about cultural and linguistic diversity are currently positioned within educational research;

- consulting with ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers about effective teaching practices for cultural and linguistic diversity within the K-12 student population;

- and expanding on current understandings about the relationships of language, ethnicity, and power and the ways in which these relationships shape individuals' social interactions and learning within and beyond teacher education programs.

Ultimately, the goal of this dissertation was to encourage the educational research community to begin to "see with the third eye" (Irvine, 2003). By looking through a third eye, we can begin to see a different picture and examine alternative explanations for student achievement offered by ethnolinguistic minority preservice teachers. Angela, Natasha, and Latoya remind us that there exist multiple experiences and perspectives in our teacher education programs and that this multiplicity lends itself to diverse forms of effective teaching and practice.

This multi-voiced account of the language practices of Angela, Natasha, and Latoya, represents their varied language practices—oral, written, and performed—alongside my own discursive participation. I initiated this research study in dialogue with Natasha, Latoya, and Angela, reflexive about my own experiences as a nonstandard dialect speaker navigating inside and outside the academic community. I too am continually engaged in a process of understanding what it means to maintain membership in my racial and linguistic culture while gaining membership into more mainstream culture. Natasha, Latoya, and Angela, as they completed their undergraduate education, were each realizing new teacher identities and at the same time, coming into their own as cultural and linguistic beings. Together, we garnered greater appreciation for our unique and varied yet similar experiences navigating within and beyond dominant institutions. Through language, we are able to perform multiple identities, exhibiting a highly complex and agentive hybridization of multiple codes.

However, this research study was not about placing Natasha, Latoya, and Angela underneath a microscope. I strongly warn against the treatment of ethnolinguistic minorities as a monolith in educational research. This study was about placing teacher education as a discourse community under that microscope. Teacher education programs have historically replicated an ethos of linguistic and cultural exclusion (Meacham, 2001). However, if indeed teacher educators and researchers want to address the social realities facing our schools, it is imperative that they trouble the dominant rhetoric of "teaching for social justice" and "teaching for diversity." This will require that teacher educators and researchers interrupt the normative center of the White, monolingual

teacher in research and practice. To really "be about" a culture of inclusion, teacher

education programs must "become" the kinds of culturally and linguistically diverse

communities for which they claim to be preparing *all* preservice teachers.

Appendix A

Orders of Discourse Coding Categories

(adapted from Lewis & Ketter, 2004; Rogers, 2003)

GENRE: ways of interacting; organizational properties of interactions; use of linguistic devices in conversation

Humor	Cohesion
Personal Stories	Use of Metaphors
Topic Control and Topic Maintenance	Rhetorical Strategies (AAL)
Participant Structures (turn-taking; overlapping; interruption)	Codeswitching (Spanish/English)
Affirmation and Disagreement	
Directness and Indirectness; Hedging	

DISCOURSE: systematic clusters of themes, statements, ideas, and ideologies; ways of representing

Teacher Identity	Latina
Authority	Minority
Whiteness	Bilingualism
Racism	Monolingualism
Social Justice	Standardization
Black Woman	Class and Status
African American Language (AAL)	

STYLE: Language that is used for a particular cause to enact a particular identity; ways of being; Idealization

Pronouns	Register; Word Choice; Slang Use
Strong Statement	Inarticulateness/Enunciation
Affect	Stress/Intonation/Rising and Falling Pitch
Cognition	Volume
Bonding	Rate of Speech
Emphasis	

Appendix B

Transcription Coding System

(adapted from Tannen, 1984/2005)

Italics	Emphasis
…	Pause for seconds
BOLD CAPITAL LETTERS	Loud Volume; Yelling
((double parentheses))	Gestures (e.g., nods, smiles, laughs, points, claps, etc.)
(parentheses)	Different pronunciation
∧	Rising Pitch
∨	Falling Pitch
SMALL CAPS	Rapid Rate of Speech
[brackets]	Overlapped Speech
__	Interruption
"quotations"	Quoting; Marking
= =	Latching
:::	Lengthened sound
/ /	Phonetic spelling (IPA)

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