NEGOTIATING IDENTITY IN A LANGUAGE-FOCUSED

SERVICE-LEARNING PROJECT

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Negotiating Identity in a Language-Focused Service-Learning Project

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As migration to and within the U.S. has increased, and with it a desire for access

to English, a significant portion of service-learning has involved university students in

programs for English in diasporic and/or historically marginalized communities (DuBord

& Kimball, 2016; Lear & Abbott, 2008; Leeman, 2011; Leeman, Rabin, & Román-

Mendoza, 2011; Rabin, 2009). Tracking this trend, service-learning in applied linguistics

has become a generative area for research (Hellebrandt & Varona, 1999; Perren & Wurr,

2015; Wurr & Hellebrandt, 2007; Wurr, 2013). The resulting literature is extensive, and

while there is general agreement on positive academic outcomes for service-learning,

scholars in service-learning and applied linguistics whose critical agendas converge on

equity have found mixed results when it comes to developing university students' critical

consciousness (Abbott & Lear, 2010; De Leon, 2014; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Flower, 2002;

Green, 2003; Kozma, 2015; Larsen, 2014). Some critical researchers have approached

this challenge from a conceptual standpoint, reframing "service" as "engagement" for instance, while others propose a synthesis of democratic and critical multicultural education, and/or advocate for critical intercultural inquiry. However, ways in which service-learning may be experienced differently by diverse students have been overlooked in the literature, suggesting normative assumptions of students' social identities (Butin, 2006; DuBord & Kimball, 2016; Flower, 2002; Green, 2003; Meens, 2014; Mitchell, Donahue, & Young-Law, 2012). Fundamental to critical service-learning, which prioritizes relationships, processes of "re-imagining" roles, and re-distributions of power, is an understanding of participants' social positions and identities (Donahue & Mitchell, 2010, p. 50). These are the issues taken up in this dissertation research study. The study asks: 1) What repertoires of identity are co-constructed through service-learning activity? 2) What broad discourses of identity become salient to university students? 3) How are these identities negotiated? What interactional moves contribute?

This dissertation represents a four-year qualitative research study that explores university students' descriptions of their activity in a service-learning project for English conversation in a linguistically diverse community. Data contributed by university students and community members include surveys, reflective journals, interviews, and recorded conversations. Taking a narrative inquiry approach (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012), the study finds that university students of varied backgrounds grappled with symbolic valences of English and hegemonic categories of membership in

the U.S. polity, applied to themselves and to others. This dissertation study extends

sociocultural theories of learning and identity to service-learning in applied linguistics,

foregrounding the central role of language in constructing social relations; and the study

demonstrates the potential of a *community of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991) model to

advance justice-oriented community partnerships for language education.

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At the GSE at Rutgers University, I learned about the workings of language from Wallis Reid and Nydia Flores. I was fortunate to join Nydia and the GSE on a journey to Argentina, where incredible elementary school teachers demonstrated teaching as a practice of care. Thea Abu El-Haj guided me to literature that I would rely on and explore deeply in writing this dissertation. My experiences at the GSE have been further enriched by opportunities for collaboration. These opportunities took shape early on, when Mary Curran introduced me to the GSE's new partnership for English conversation that was created with The Collaborative Center for Community-Based Research, opening the avenue for this study. This collaboration led to publication of a book chapter, "Who's Helping?": Conceptualizing Citizenship in a Service-Learning ELT Program (Curtis & Curran, 2015, in *Learning the Language of Global Citizenship: Strengthening Service-Learning in TESOL*). Subsequently, collaborations with Christelle Palpacuer Lee have led to publication of our co-authored research articles in the *International Journal of Multicultural Education* (Palpacuer Lee & Curtis, 2017), *Language Teaching Research* (Palpacuer Lee, Curtis, & Curran, 2018), and a review essay published in *Foreign Language Annals* (Palpacuer Lee, Curtis, & Curran, 2018). Through professional collaborations as a guest lecturer, as an editor, and as an article reviewer, Maryam Borjian, Ariana Mangual Figueroa, and Beth Rubin offered not only opportunities to learn from them, but more importantly, kindness and encouragement.

My deep gratitude extends to yet another community, my friends in writers' group: Shelley Wu, Deirdre Dougherty, Rosemary Carolan, Meredith McConnochie, Eliot Graham, Luis Leyva, Jason Murphy, and Paulette del Rosso. Thank you for

Chapter 1: Introduction

Community organizations in a small city called Riverport[1], citing long waiting

lists for their English classes[2] for adults, sought support from the nearby university.

Following a needs assessment by the university's Community-Based Research Initiative

(CBRI), a partnership was formed in 2011 with the Graduate School of Education (GSE)

to support these English classes, in which university students would be involved as

partners for English conversation. A small grant supported a preliminary impact study,

and in January 2012, my involvement with service-learning began. My role was to

document the workings of the new partnership for English conversation, and to learn

about the program's impact on participants – the community members and university

students.

This preliminary impact study showed that opportunities for English conversation

were welcomed by community members such as Rosario, who said, "Para mí, ha sido en

primer lugar, interesante. En segundo lugar, es necesario, yo necesito algo así para hablar.

Necesito practicar. y (…) totalmente interesante [For me it has been first of all,

interesting. And secondly it is necessary because I need to do something like this in order

to speak. I need to practice. And, it is totally interesting]" (RI[3], May 11, 2012). Findings

such as these affirmed the potential for informal conversation to engage community

members' agendas for using English. As Rosario explained, "Que yo pueda instalar una

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[1] All proper nouns are pseudonyms.
[2] Waiting lists were cited in Office of Community Affairs grant proposal, October 2011.
[3] Abbreviations in this paper include RI=Recorded Interview, J=Journal, PI=Phone Interview.

conversación y más amplia [So that I can initiate a conversation and elaborate]." For their

part, university students spoke of a desire to be part of a team, and to have support for

their roles as conversation partners. Tom, mirroring Rosario's agenda, wrote "I want to

work on my methods of asking questions and prolonging conversations," adding, "I

should be more cognizant … that what may seem appropriate to me may not appear

appropriate to someone else," (J7, March 2012). Henry, also a university student,

emphasized community *desire* versus *need*, "I think that students should be told that

we're doing this because community members want it [English], not because they need

it" (RI, April 27, 2012). These findings formed the basis for the design of a language-

focused service-learning course. The course design leveraged service-learning's capacity

to effectively bring different groups together: in this case, university students, who were

fluent English speakers, and community members, who were investing in it. The design

integrated an academic component, Community-Based Learning (CBL), and a

community-based component, a weekly series of informal conversations in English,

called *Conversation Cafés*. Employing sociocultural learning theory and research, the

CBL course prepared the university students for their participation in these English-

focused conversations. The conversations would provide a context for 1) CBL students to

put into practice what they learned in class; and 2) for emergent bilingual adults to

practice their new language, English, as they desired. This research study began with the

first semester of the CBL course, in fall 2012.

  The four years of this study were framed by extraordinary national-level debates

about language, identity, immigration, and citizenship. In June 2012, as I began to

prepare the course syllabus, President Barack Obama announced plans for Deferred

Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA, *White House Press Release*, June 15, 2012) – it

appeared that pathways to education, work, and U.S. citizenship for undocumented youth

were bending toward equity. To further frame the sociopolitical context, and to illustrate

the ways that these national debates entered the project, I will begin this chapter with a

story from an endpoint in the study. It was November 2016, immediately following the

presidential election that year; the story is told by Tracy, a Latin@ university student in

the CBL course.

A Tale of Two Views of Language Learning

"It was their first experience with any kind of English class," Tracy wrote of her

conversation with two Latin@ women. Events unfolded quickly at the Conversation Café

that evening:

> At the start, they were both pretty reluctant to speak in English. I translated our
> activity for them, they took notes, and only answered our questions in Spanish.
> One of the women had brought her children with her, and she was the first to
> speak in English. The other woman commented that she [the first woman] knew
> more English because she had her children to practice with.... Elizabeth joined the
> conversation and started practicing her Spanish with the two women. They
> laughed at her expense, and then talked about "how cute" it was that she was
> learning Spanish. They commented on "how nice" it was that we were learning
> Spanish to help them. I said that we were all learning together.... They then
> quickly pointed out the differences between our learning Spanish and their
> learning English. They said that we don't "need" to learn Spanish in the way that
> they "need" to learn English. They continued to say that no one looks at us and
> questions why "we haven't learned this yet" (Tracy, J4, November 2016).

The conversation with the two women had an impact, "replaying through my

brain," she wrote in her journal. In a subsequent interview, I asked Tracy what happened

next. "The room went quiet," Tracy said, pausing, "because they were right." Regina, another student who was present at the Conversation Café that evening, recalled, "None of us knew what to say. These women were really teaching *us*" (emphasis by the speaker).

Earlier in the semester, Tracy, a bilingual university student, had written about her discomfort with speaking "my broken Spanish" beyond familial settings, and her preference for speaking English at school. Citing Blommaert (2016), which we read for class, Tracy described the conflicts she experienced in relation to language, culture, and citizenship:

> Immigrants are blamed for not being fully integrated or more specifically, "'remaining stuck in their own culture' and 'refusing' to integrate in their host society'" (Blommaert, 2016, 1). I found this idea unsettling for multiple reasons, one of which being that even I as a natural-born citizen do not feel fully integrated. I have always felt as if I were straddling two different communities and yet not completely integrated into either one of them. To many I am considered either "too Hispanic" for my American culture, or "too white" for my Latina culture. However, this doesn't seem to be true in the program. I don't feel a need to confine myself to one label during the cafés. Not only do I not feel a need to choose one side, but I feel a growing connection to my Latino culture (Tracy, J3, October 2016).

Tracy described her identity as a "natural-born citizen" as a site of conflict in which she experienced pressure to choose from "American" and "Latin@" identities, experienced as mutually exclusive social categories. By contrast, in the conversation program, Tracy described a sense of self that was not confined "to one label," and a growing affiliation with her Latin@ culture. In her semester-end journal, Tracy emphasized what she had learned from community members:

It was a surreal experience participating in these cafés at the same time of this past election. The campaign had brought xenophobia to constant attention in the media, but when that was paired with first-hand experiences of our participants it was particularly haunting. When I heard stories from participants like Luz, who recounted a moment in which a customer of her restaurant berated her for not speaking English it both saddened and infuriated me. I signed petitions and marched in protests, but it still didn't feel like enough (Tracy, J5, December 2016).

Tracy's story introduces themes in the study findings: struggles with constructions of U.S. citizenship linked with language and ethnicity; unfolding and layered social positions made visible through interactions with peers and community members; and the impact of opportunities to reflect deeply on these interactions. In her journals, Tracy described pressure to "choose" from racialized social categories: an "American / white" identity linked to speaking English, in contrast with a Latin@ identity linked to Spanish (but not linked to "American"), despite her *jus soli* citizenship status. Furthermore, the unfolding and layered social positions that she chronicled at the Conversation Café formed a strong impression. Her claims to equity, positioning learning Spanish on an equal plane with the women's learning English, were trivialized when the women in turn (re)positioned her learning Spanish as "cute." The two women did not hesitate to point out to their English-speaking conversation partners that Spanish and English are valued differently in the U.S., as are the speakers of these languages. Having joined forces to articulate their analysis of the situation, the two women demonstrated their expertise about language as symbolic capital in the linguistic marketplace.

Tracy continued in her journal, "I started thinking about how unfair it is that I could be considered 'affiliated' with Spanish culture, whereas they are expected to

'assimilate' to ours." Tracy described her growing consciousness of inequitable distributions of power for self-identity, and a process of (re)negotiating the meaning of an American identity. As Tracy put it, "I don't feel a need to confine myself to one label during the cafés. Not only do I not feel a need to choose one side, but I feel a growing connection to my Latino culture." Tracy's strong emotional responses to inequity—sadness and fury—and a growing "connection to my Latino culture" were channeled into the political activism that she described in her journal. While we do not know that every student in CBL took such action, this study finds that for many students, the project for English conversation, intentionally designed as a bilingual space for language learning and language use, afforded new possibilities for self-identity. The study addresses a void in the research literature by informing service-learning and language educators about complex negotiations of language and identity that occurred for diverse university students who participated in the project. In so doing, the study takes up *pedagogy of possibility* (Peirce Norton, 1989; Norton, 2000/2013; Simon, 1987) as a vision for empowering language education in partnership with linguistically diverse communities.

Rationale for the Study

Given rapid migration to and within the United States in recent years, a significant portion of service-learning has involved university students in programs for English in diasporic and/or historically marginalized communities (DuBord & Kimball, 2016; Lear & Abbott, 2008; Leeman, 2011; Leeman, Rabin, & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Rabin, 2009; Tilley-Lubbs, 2009, 2011). As a result, service-learning in applied linguistics has become a distinct field of research (Hellebrandt & Varona, 1999; Hellebrandt & Wurr, 2007;

Perren & Wurr, 2015; Wurr, 2013), and forms the body of literature in which the current study is situated. In this extensive literature, there is a great deal of interest in standardized assessments of academic, civic, and cultural outcomes for individual university students (e.g., De Leon, 2014). However important, these standardized assessments, often framed in terms of intercultural competence, overlook the ways in which learning is embedded in social experience, and consequently, the ways in which service-learning may be experienced differently by diverse students. Theories of service-learning have "typically failed to take into the account the actual social positions of students in U.S. institutions of higher education" (Meens, 2014, p. 48), affording little clarity on ways in which "students within relevant educational contexts are both privileged and oppressed in relation to different social phenomena" (p. 51). This silence suggests normative assumptions of students' socioeconomic class, ethnicity and/or ancestry, age, experience with language, education, migration, (dis)ability, sexual or gender orientation, and other socially and historically constructed relationships (Butin, 2006; DuBord & Kimball, 2016; Green, 2003; Harper, 2009; Stevens, 2003; Leeman, 2013; Leeman, Rabin, & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Wesely, Glynn, & Wassell, 2016). These are the questions taken up in this study. Highlighting diverse social positions of the university student participants, this dissertation study extends sociocultural theories of learning and identity to service-learning in applied linguistics; and foregrounds the central role of language in constructing social relations. The study has been guided by these questions:

1) What repertoires of identity are co-constructed through service-learning activity?
2) What broad discourses of identity become salient to university students?
3) How are these identities negotiated? What interactional moves contribute?

Before turning to an overview of the research in which the study is situated, it is first necessary to examine and define two closely related concepts used in this study, *bilingualism* and *interculturality*.

Key Terms

In service-learning in applied linguistics, outcomes for student learning have been increasingly framed in terms of intercultural competence. In the literature, such competence has been linked to the increasing linguistic complexity of everyday life, as I will outline in the literature review. In this paper, bilingualism, and intercultural competence, or interculturality, represent language ideologies and practices. It is necessary to explain these terms and why they are important to this study.

Bilingualism. This paper draws from three models of bilingualism: a *continuum* extending from monolingual to bilingual (Hornberger, 2003); *dynamic bilingualism* as non-linear discursive practice (García, 2009); and *linguistic repertoire* (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), emphasizing biographic dimensions of language use. For Hornberger, bilingualism is a multi-dimensional construct that considers fluidity of social contexts for speaking, a continuum of individual development, the relative power attributed to certain contexts over others, and certain linguistic developments that are privileged over others. Certain contexts (such as school) or developments (such as reading) may be privileged, but need not be, Hornberger (2006)

has argued. For García (2009), dynamic bilingualism represents the simultaneous, multiple, and hybrid practices that are accessed by a speaker in various social domains and groups of speakers. Dynamic bilingualism as an ideology of language is similar to *plurilingualism*, defined by European language scholars both as a complex capacity to "take part in intercultural action" (Beacco, 2007, p. 10) at the interpersonal level, and at the policy level, as a necessary response to monolingual ideology in the sociopolitical context of the European Union (Flores, 2013). Flores warns, however, that plurilingualism as a policy can be manipulated to "mold multilingualism into a commodity that serves the interests of transnational corporations" (p. 504). For Blommaert and colleagues (2013), linguistic repertoire refers to language(s) and language varieties used in various spheres of social activity over a lifetime and can involve both transitory and enduring language use. This research paper employs bilingualism to refer to dynamic repertoire(s) of *languages in use*, while taking seriously the impact of neoliberal agendas for the commodification of plurilingualism and multilingualism that Flores has described for us.

These models for bilingualism—as a continuum, as dynamic, and as linguistic repertoire—are convergent in three ways. First, they view language as dynamic, responsive to, and interwoven with context and practice (i.e., space, time, and social relations). Second, they emphasize an ecology of language(s) in which social contexts for using language are layered and interdependent. Third, they agree that bilingualism is a generalized phenomenon, in which linguistic heterogeneity is the norm rather than the exception. These features are also emphasized in notions of *languaging* (Phipps &

Gonzalez, 2004) and *translanguaging* (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, Ibarra, & Johnson, 2016). However, languaging and translanguaging represent the perspective of the speaker while using language, rather than a description of language itself. These three views of bilingualism oppose the legacies of colonialism, such as a linguistic hierarchy that privileges certain languages and their speakers over others (see Phillipson, 1997, 2006), a legacy that has been perpetuated in the U.S. through national- and state-level language policies.

Bilingualism as a dynamic continuum and repertoire of languages in use forms an ideological framework for the bilingual and intercultural community of practice that I call for in this paper. Many others (e.g., Bale, 2011; Flores & Bale, 2016; Flores & Schissel, 2014; García & Bartlett, 2007; Hornberger, 2005, 2006; Hornberger & Link, 2012) have argued that spaces for bilingualism in schools and communities are needed and necessary to achieve a just society; and that education has an obligation to ensure that communities have access to desired language(s) education. The service-learning project in this study has been conceptualized as such a bilingual space, affording access to desired community languages while honoring family language practices and social networks.

Interculturality. In service-learning in applied linguistics, interculturality, also called intercultural competence and global competence (among many other terms), is a frequently stated program goal yet is subject to many definitions and implementations (Deardorff, 2006, 2009, 2012; De Leon, 2014; Smolcic & Katunich, 2017; see also James, 2007). In education policy documents (for instance the U.S. Department of Education international education agenda, articulated by Kanter, 2012) intercultural or

"global" competence is a projection of U.S. economic and national interests, as Flores (2013) forewarned. However, UNESCO (2006), in its guidelines for intercultural education, defines interculturality as "the evolving relations between cultural groups" (p. 17); in other words, interculturality is negotiated. It is necessary to clarify its meaning.

Applied linguists and interculturalists (Byram, 1997, 2008; Francheschini, 2011; Kramsch, 1998, 2014a, 2014b; Kramsch & Nolden, 1994; Risager, 2009; Scarino, 2014) have theorized and operationalized interculturality on the interpersonal level as an adaptive capacity for relativizing (decentering) self, for inquiry (suspending one's beliefs), for discovery (through real time interaction or another time scale), for awareness (of *le regard croisé*, how each is seen by others). Interculturality has been approached in critical intercultural education and critical language education as an ideology, a practice, *a way to resist and transform oppressive constructions of culture and difference* (emphasis added). It has thus been approached both as an individual's process of awareness and as an ideology.

Critical intercultural education. Gorski (2008) joins theorists Giroux (2004), Simon (1987, 1995), and Young (1990/2011) in their agendas for deconstructing the multiple ways that "culture" is entangled with power. Young (1990/2011) has described culture as a site of oppression that has material distributional consequences (p. 39). The "universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture" (p. 59), she explained, erases non-dominant group experiences, resulting in a normalization of inequities in powers for decision-making, for voice, for self-identity. Gorski (2008) has written of a "decolonizing" intercultural education that opens "culture" to interrogation. Decolonizing

recognizes "difference" as inscribed through power, opening what is understood as culture to scrutiny (Pratt, 1992/2008). In other words, interculturality can be defined as a conscious effort to resist and transform oppressive constructions of difference (described also as cultural imperialism, see Young 1990/2011). Given this definition of interculturality, involving resistance and change, interculturality must also be understood as social action. Guilherme (2002, 2011) contributed a vocabulary of what she called "operations" (e.g., *wondering, speculating, questioning, exploring, comparing, analyzing, reflecting, commenting*) for critical intercultural practice. This vocabulary emphasizes negotiations of meaning and inquiry as social action, which potentially change our relationships.

Interculturality and language education. Language education increasingly forms a context for developing intercultural communication skills. For critical scholars (e.g., Byram, 1997; Flores, 2013; Flores & Bale, 2016; Kramsch, 2014; Phipps & Levine, 2012; Scollon, 2004; Rampton & Charamboulos, 2016) a critical perspective entails recognition of the sociopolitical arc of applied linguistics, and English-teaching in particular, as having served oppressive national and global capital agendas (Phillipson, 1997). Phipps and Levine (2012) have argued that language education must consciously unmoor itself from its claim of political neutrality through what they call "teaching conflict and compassion." Rampton and Charamboulos (2016) have called our attention to the potential for linguistic ethnography to inform such teaching. They have argued that analysis of interactional data contributes to "breaking classroom silences" about taken-for-granted social divisions, categories, and differences.

One example of such taken-for-granted difference articulated in interpersonal discourse is a tendency for Americans to be characterized, and to characterize themselves, as monolingual, a discourse that has the political consequence of reinforcing English monolingualism as integral to a U.S. American identity (Matsuda & Duran, 2013). Such discourse, even at the interpersonal level, serves to erase the historical presence of bilingual and bivarietal Americans from the national imaginary. At the classroom level, *monolingual habitus* (Gogolin, 2002) describes the ways in which monolingualism has been institutionalized through ordinary routines and practices that perpetuate an unreachable ideal of racial, cultural, and linguistic uniformity. At the state and national level, restrictive national and state education policies (e.g., NCLB, 2000; Proposition 203, 2000) have been entwined with histories of "Americanization" and "social reform" for uniformity through English instruction (Pavlenko, 2005; Rabin, 2009), in turn linked to maintaining colonial relationships (Bale, 2011; Flores & Bale, 2016). The multilayered ideological dominance of monolingualism at the interpersonal, classroom, and policy levels serves to obscure "the actual multilingualism of individuals and societies" (Byram, 1988, p. 19), a conclusion reached by other multilingual educators and theorists as well (e.g., Cummins, 2005; Hornberger, 2005). Interculturality in language education resists this ideological dominance, and brings oppressive processes, structures, and constructs into view.

In sum, in this study, interculturality, also called intercultural competence, stems from a social justice agenda for equitable human relations. As an ideology, it is complementary to bilingualism, challenging inequitable distributions of power for voice

and for self-identity. Ultimately, relationship-building is at its core (Alred, Byram & Fleming, 2006; Byram, 1997). I have drawn from research that defines interculturality as a conscious effort to resist and transform oppressive constructions of difference; thus, interculturality is a stance, a practice, and a tool for locating critical awareness. The study makes use of the vocabulary developed by Guilherme (2002, 2011) to locate critical interculturality as a linguistic action that potentially leads to changes in relationships, an aim of both critical inquiry and critical service-learning, and of the community of practice model that I advocate for in this paper.

Overview of the Chapters

In Chapter 2, I define service-learning and describe communal struggles for education, language, culture, and civil rights that have contributed to its evolution in higher education. I then outline three main theoretical strands in service-learning in higher education. The chapter concludes with sociocultural learning concepts— community of practice, identity, and language socialization—used in constructing this study. I provide examples of applications of each concept in recent educational research, and an explanation of why these concepts are relevant to the current study. Chapter Three describes the action research design and ethnographic methodology employed in this study. The chapter includes a description of four nested contexts for the study—the community context, the academic context, the Conversation Café environment, and the Conversation Café Routine (CCR)—and provides demographics of university student participants, describing the processes for recruiting the participants, data collection and analysis, and measures for validity. Chapter 3 concludes with a statement of researcher

positionality. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 afford different windows into the study findings.

Chapter 4 presents university students' narrations of their participation in the project,

focusing on themes of language, identity, and renegotiations of relationships with family

and community. Chapter 5 highlights changes in students' perceptions of their

community activity and roles that were perceived as available to them as the project

evolved. The chapter also outlines changes that were made to the CBL course and

Conversation Café through cycles of action research. In Chapter 6, I present an

exploratory analysis of conversational exchanges between community members and

university students; and in so doing, attempt to illustrate the collaborative community of

practice model for intercultural conversation. The concluding Chapter 7 offers

implications for language education and future directions for research. In Chapter 7, I call

for a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) model to advance

justice-oriented community partnerships for language education.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I introduce complementary sociocultural learning concepts—situated learning, specifically *community of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), *identity*, and *language socialization*—invoked for understanding university students' experiences during one semester of a service-learning project for English. Drawing from these interwoven concepts, the study assumes that social activity, which is fundamental to service-learning in applied linguistics as an outcome, a curriculum, and a process, is a locus for identity construction; and that language is a mediating symbol and tool for identity construction (Bakhtin, 1935/1981; Bourdieu, 1977; Vygotsky, 1978). Language, however, is inscribed with social division, "freighted with the valences of power, position, and privilege" (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, p. 191). This dissertation research unpacks the identities that were invoked by language in this social activity, a service-learning project for English conversation with interaction at its heart.

Service-learning programs in applied linguistics have increasingly involved university students and pre-service teachers in language or literacy programs for English in diasporic and/or historically marginalized communities (DuBord & Kimball, 2016; Lear & Abbott, 2008; Leeman, 2011; Rabin, 2009; Tilley-Lubbs, 2009, 2011). In the extensive literature, there is a great deal of interest in standardized assessment of academic, cultural, and civic outcomes for these students. Although important to service-learning's alignment with university standards, a focus on standardized assessment generally overlooks the social identities of participants, the interactions in which social identities are co-constructed, and the valences of language, power, position, and privilege

in these interactions. These absences are evident both in the research literature and in a broad service-learning narrative that generally fails to mention communities of color—colonized, formerly enslaved, indigenous, and historically marginalized people—as shapers of service-learning's democratic vision. Ultimately, there is space in the literature to examine and unravel the complexity of identity and power relations in service-learning activity in diasporic and/or marginalized communities.

In what follows, I first define service-learning. Then, I draw from historiographies and current scholarship to ground service-learning in community activism for education, language, and cultural rights. I then describe traditional, critical, and critical intercultural inquiry agendas for service-learning in higher education. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the concepts used to construct the study, and applications of these sociocultural concepts—*community of practice*, *identity*, and *language socialization*—in education research.

Service-Learning Definition

Service-learning, also called community-based learning[4], is broadly defined as a "form of experiential education in which students engage in activities that address human and community needs together with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development. Reflection and reciprocity are key concepts of service-learning" (Jacoby, 1996, p. 5). Jacoby clarified that "community" in service-

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[4] In this paper, I generally employ the term "service-learning" that is widely used and cited in the literature. I prefer community-based learning, which emphasizes community over "service," and use it where possible in this paper.

learning "refers to local neighborhoods, the state, the nation, and the global community," (ibid.). Across the United States, service-learning has become widely recognized as a high-impact educational practice that connects university students to community activity in these various settings (Butin, 2006, 2015; Harper, 2009; Kuh, 2008; Meens, 2014; Mitchell, Donahue, & Young-Law, 2012). High-impact educational practices—such as study abroad, internships, independent study, service-learning, and the emerging fields of international and intercultural service-learning—afford "deeply reflective opportunities" for students to understand themselves in relation to others (Harper, 2009, pp. 39-40).

Given rapid migration to and within the U.S. in recent years, a significant portion of service-learning, or community-based learning, involves university students and pre-service teachers in roles such as "tutors," "teachers," or "mentors" in programs for English as a Second Language (ESL) in diasporic and/or historically marginalized communities (DuBord & Kimball, 2016; Lear & Abbott, 2008; Leeman, 2011; Rabin, 2009; Tilley-Lubbs, 2009, 2011). Tracking this development, service-learning in applied linguistics has become a distinct field of research (Hellebrandt & Varona, 1999; Hellebrandt & Wurr, 2007; Perren & Wurr, 2015; Wurr, 2013), and forms the body of research in which the current study is situated. Before reviewing this body of literature, I first turn to literature that is generally omitted from the service-learning narrative. This literature grounds service-learning's democratic vision in community-led activism for expanded citizenship rights that include education, language, and culture rights.

Community Activism for Education, Language, and Culture Rights

The service-learning narrative generally attributes service-learning's development to movements for social reform and progressive education in the 19th century. In the literature, Jane Addams (1899) and John Dewey (1916) are frequently cited as foundational to social reform and experiential education; and, Paolo Freire's vision for emancipatory education and Jack Mezirow's model for transformational learning are widely acknowledged as influential. These important contributions are extensively reviewed and widely disseminated (e.g., Deans, 1999; Rocheleau, 2004; Stanton, Giles, & Cruz, 1999). However, historical accounts of service-learning either diminish or do not name non-dominant communities, educators, and activists—representing colonized, formerly enslaved, indigenous, or historically marginalized people—involved in community-based education (see Bocci, 2015, and Stevens, 2003, for historiographies). These absences serve to reproduce a historical narrative of "whiteness" and privilege through service-learning pedagogy (Butin, 2006; Mitchell, Donahue, & Young-Law, 2012; Mitchell, 2016) that ultimately attenuates community-based learning's imaginative power. Absent from both the pedagogy and narrative are community models that embrace education and social action (see Bocci, 2015; Morton, 2011; Stevens, 2003); emphasize reciprocal social relationships, or *confianza*, (see DuBord & Kimball, 2016; Hellebrandt & Varona, 1999), and advocate for community language and culture rights (see Bale, 2011; Flores & Bale, 2016; Grinberg & Saavedra, 2000; Leeman, Rabin, & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Mangual Figueroa, 2014; McCarty, 2009; Rabin, 2011). In solidarity

with the clear historical record of community-led activism for education, language, and culture rights, and to contextualize this inquiry, I briefly describe these models now.

Education and social action. African-American social thought, led by 19th – century educators and writers such as Anna Julia Cooper and W.E.B. DuBois, has long been concerned with merging education theory and collective social action. These concerns and collective initiatives generated models for education outside of formal classrooms in African-American communities. Pioneering leaders of 19th – century black women's clubs such as Janie Porter Barrett[5] organized educational activities premised on shared community knowledge (Stevens, 2003, p. 29). As a result, early templates for service-learning were developed at U.S. black colleges. For example, as Stevens (2003) explained, in the early 1900s at Fisk University, social work students attended an experiential learning course that contained service internship and reflection components. This course, developed by George Haynes at Fisk in 1911, formed an early model for service-learning in higher education (pp. 29-30). Later, the U.S. Civil Rights movement again advanced popular education through community models such as the Highlander Folk School, where Rosa Parks prepared for her courageous role in the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955. Highlander in turn generated community-based Citizenship Schools, founded in the 1950s and 1960s by African-American educators and activists who aimed for social change through democratic participation by African Americans in the

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[5] Reconstruction (1865-1877) and the period of intensified racism that followed it formed the context for these developments in African American communities in the late 19th century.

segregated South (Bocci, 2015). The legacy of this work by African Americans was a strengthened participatory democracy in the United States. Additionally, this activism was grounded in valued community knowledge.

   Reciprocal relationships. Community models include the exchange networks of families in the Spanish-speaking southwest (described by Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992). A key characteristic of these exchanges is *reciprocity*, which according to Vélez-Ibáñez (1988), reflects an "attempt to establish a social relationship on an enduring basis. Whether symmetrical or asymmetrical, the exchange expresses and symbolizes human social interdependence" (p. 142, cited in Moll et. al., 1992, p. 134). Reciprocal practice and deep trust, or *confianza*, entail sustained obligations among social groups. Such reciprocity formed a blueprint for pioneering collaborative projects for Spanish language education (Hellebrandt & Varona, 1999), community partnerships for Spanish and Portuguese (Hellebrandt, Arries, Varona, & Klein, 2003), and community partnerships for English (Auerbach, 2002). Recently, DuBord & Kimball (2016) developed a community-based model that brought together immigrant adults learning English with heritage Spanish and Portuguese language university students. The authors developed a dialogic framework for assessment in which *confianza*, or developing relationships, was key (p. 311). In addition to drawing from community models of reciprocity, critical approaches to community-based language education have drawn from community activism for language and culture rights, to which I turn next.

   Language and culture rights. Service-learning in applied linguistics owes a debt to activism by immigrant, indigenous, and heritage language communities. Early

examples in immigrant communities can be found in Rabin's (2009, 2011) accounts of

resistance to social reformers advocating for English-only education in the early 20th

century. Rabin (2011) described the work of Leonard Covello, a New York City

educator, who promoted Italian and Spanish language programs in the city's high schools

and encouraged students to use their languages for activism in their neighborhoods.

Rabin (2011) wrote, "Covello articulated a significant role for multilingualism. This was

strikingly rare even among pluralists, who … frequently saw multilingualism as an

obstacle to English literacy and assimilation to Anglo American norms" (p. 340). A

strong public voice for education in which language could realize group identities and

communal goals for the city's Puerto Rican and Italian students, Covello envisioned

service that would "respond with immediacy to local issues whose clarification, if not

resolution, was vital to a democracy" (p. 345).

Indigenous, heritage language, and cultural rights movements infused the U.S.

Civil Rights movement with expanded notions of citizenship and "forced a radical shift in

the education of emergent bilingual students" (Bale, 2011, p. 14). These movements

resulted in material changes to policy, seen in the passage of the Bilingual Education Act

(1968), platforms for higher education (Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher

Education, 1969), expansions of K-12 bilingual schools (Bale, 2011; Flores & Bale,

2016; Grinberg & Saavedra, 2000), and community-run schools in indigenous

communities (McCarty, 2009). University service-learning initiatives (e.g., DuBord &

Kimball, 2016; Guillén, 2010; Leeman, Rabin & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Pascual y

Cabo, Prada, & Lowther Pereira, 2017) have joined community-led advocacy for

bilingualism and biculturalism illustrated in language socialization research (e.g., Mangual Figueroa, Baquedano-López, & Levya-Cutler, 2014); and in indigenous community-based language education (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; McCarty & Watahomigie, 1998). McCarty and Watahomigie (1998) have written, "[i]ndigenous community-based language education is more than an academic enterprise; it is both an act of self-determination and of resistance — a contestation of oppression and language restrictionism," (p. 311). These studies have emphasized bilingual education as a vehicle for empowerment in the wake of deculturalization policies, legislation, and practices that restricted access to bilingual education and served to diminish indigenous/heritage speakers' sense of self (Garcia, 2008; Leeman et al., 2011; McCarty, 2009). Leeman and colleagues found that a service-learning program for bilingual and heritage Spanish speakers in an elementary school provided a context for participants to "resist the subordinating ideologies that devalue their language and language experience" (p. 482) by valuing local varieties of Spanish (as well as "standard" Spanish taught as a world language). Pascual y Cabo et al. (2017) illustrated how a university heritage language course in Spanish, through its involvement in a bilingual after-school program, created a much-needed social space in which Spanish-English bilingualism could be practiced and bilingual identities could be valued and encouraged. "I am proud of my language and culture because I got to share it with the young kids through service-learning," (p. 79), one bilingual participant commented. Such a response (i.e., "because I got to share it") emphasizes bilingualism as an empowering *practice* in social spaces beyond language classrooms. However, the service-learning narrative is intertwined with monolingual

ideology and English-only movements, as well as with democratic movements for language and culture rights.

Ideology of English in Service-Learning

Rabin (2009) examined how English language ideology, a set of beliefs through which bilingualism has been viewed as an obstacle to an American identity, was incorporated into the education system in part through the efforts of influential social reformers who shaped "curricula for public schooling and adult education" (p. 49). For instance, Rabin described how social reformer Jane Addams and Hull House waged a campaign of state surveillance of neighborhood bilingual schools to ensure that they would prioritize English in their curricula. In response to immigration, although opposing immigration quotas, Addams and other reformers demanded English-only instruction, promoting the idea that children born in the U.S. would no longer desire the languages and cultures of their immigrant parents (p. 50). Rabin concludes that ideologies of English as a form of "social uplift" and entry into "American civilization" (p. 51) have often gained traction in community partnerships that may reproduce a "narrative on English that also has its source in this movement" (p. 52). Rabin (2009) has called for service-learning practitioners to build programs in which English learners have agency to use family languages as resources; and to collaborate with grassroots activism to preserve and maintain heritage languages. Such calls draw our attention to English instruction formed not only in response to immigration but also interwoven with a long history of colonization of the Americas in which deculturalization processes, beginning with stripping away of language and culture, led to "Americanizing" and/or "civilizing" those

who were considered "redeemable" as potential citizens through education in English (Spring, 1994/1997).

      Comment. The literature shows that collective activity for education, language, and culture rights advances democratic participation in society. Collective activity is commensurate with a notion of democratic citizenship that prioritizes equitable relations among people. Community-based activism has historically opened pathways for advancing community well-being, equitable relationships, access to education, and for language and culture rights, resisting processes of colonization, hierarchization, and deculturalization (described by Grinberg & Saavedra, 2000; Spring, 1994/1997). That said, service-learning's history, briefly and incompletely recounted here, is threaded with contradictory ideologies, i.e., a monolingual ideology that promotes a narrow national identity based on English, vis-à-vis solidarity with community-led movements for expanded citizenship that includes language and culture rights (Bale, 2011; Flores & Bale, 2016; Rabin, 2011).

      Standing in the intersection of service-learning and language education, critical language educators have an opportunity to build from community-led movements to create social spaces for bilingualism and to educate for interculturality as an ideology and practice that resists and transforms oppressive constructions of culture and difference. An activist social justice agenda for bilingual education calls for expanding implementational spaces for bilingualism (Bale, 2011; Pascual y Cabo et al., 2017; Hornberger, 2005, 2006; Leeman et al., 2011; Mangual Figueroa et al., 2014; Pratt, 2003), advancing equity in education, and reflecting the reality and fabric of American social life. Next, I describe

three service-learning perspectives implemented in higher education; and situate the

current project in relation to these perspectives.

Service-Learning in Higher Education

In higher education, service-learning aims for reciprocity, combines education

and community activity, and may act in solidarity with grassroots movements. These

features may overlap, but service-learning is differentiated in practice by the emphasis

placed on each. Several reviews of the literature usefully illustrate how reciprocity, a

central tenet that distinguishes service-learning from volunteerism (Jacoby, 1996), has

been interpreted from "traditional" and "critical" perspectives. Programs that emphasize

academic content and knowledge are generally viewed as "traditional," while those that

emphasize community engagement and social change generally align with a "critical"

perspective (Meens, 2014; Mitchell, 2008). A third approach, "critical intercultural

inquiry" (Flower, 2002), foregrounds community expertise and advances students'

solidarity with community agendas. In what follows, I outline how community activity

and reciprocity have been conceptualized in each, keeping in mind that these strands form

a continuum in practice.

Traditional. A neutral stance toward civic engagement "without a political

agenda" was articulated in the Campus Compacts, the early statements of university aims

for service-learning articulated in the 1990s (e.g., Ehrlich & Hollander, 1999, n.p.). This

stance responded to pressure to demonstrate the academic value of civic engagement, and

consequently has tended to conceptualize community activity as one-way "charity" that

maintains the status quo (Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). In

this traditional framework, students are encouraged to explore their personal values and individual civic responsibilities. This "apolitical" stance has been perpetuated in part through federal funding schemes that require participants refrain from "political" action.

Critical. A critical stance embraces education's political nature and emphasizes a "social change" orientation to service that interprets reciprocity as redistribution of power and development of authentic relationships (Mitchell, 2008). Such a stance assumes diversity and takes up issues of social identity (Donahue & Mitchell, 2010; Green, 2003; Hurtado, 2007; Meens, 2014). Donahue and Mitchell (2010) have argued that students' ability to interrogate dominant social hierarchies and to understand their relationship to power is "related to identity" (p.16). Green (2003) wrote, "We must begin theorizing how service-learning is experienced differently by those from different groups and look closely at the gaps between our theories of service-learning and our theories of subject position(s)" (p. 276), a call taken up by Meens (2014), who has proposed a theoretical synthesis with critical multicultural education, arguing that neither traditional nor critical perspectives sufficiently take into account the actual social positions of different groups of students – a view shared by critical interculturalists.

Critical intercultural inquiry. Flower (2002) has argued that university agendas, whether traditional or critical, tend to leave university students standing alone, isolated from community expertise and cultural agendas. Employing Freire's dialogic model, Flower defines critical intercultural inquiry as "a literate action defined by the open-eyed, against-the-odds, self-conscious attempts to engage in collaborative acts of meaning making that are mutually transformative" (p. 186). For Freire (1970), the purpose of

education for transformation is to bring the structures of society into conscious awareness through language, ultimately by naming them (p. 82). Naming and giving voice to contradictions and conflicts is itself an act of critical consciousness, *conscientização*, a stance adopted by critical language educators as well (e.g., Phipps & Levine, 2012). Flower's (2002) agenda for community-based partnerships calls for "an intercultural inquiry that not only seeks diverse rival readings, but constructs multivoiced negotiated meanings in practice" (p. 182), adding that intercultural inquiry "not only transforms what we know, it alters our relationships with others. It asks us to acknowledge the expertise and agency of people whom service has traditionally cast as the served, the patient, the client, or the ones in need" (p. 197), advancing solidarity with community agendas, and prompting students' reconsideration of their (often uncomfortably) ascribed or claimed roles as tutors, teachers, or mentors.

In my surveys of the research literature in service-learning in applied linguistics over the past two years, I have found that a great deal of attention has been paid to university students in terms of learning outcomes, often framed in terms of intercultural competence (e.g. De Leon, 2014) or a variant of it, such as critical global citizenship (e.g., Larsen, 2014). Indeed, less attention has been paid to community agendas (Butin, 2015; Chang, 2015; Dadurka, 2014). This critique is valid, and one that I join, yet I also found in the literature that identities of service-learning participants are mostly flat, portrayed in one-dimensional terms along a primary axis that generally juxtaposes students as "teachers" vis-à-vis community members, cast as those in "need." As much as the undifferentiated teacher-student axis obscures community agendas and agency, it

equally flattens students' socioeconomic status, ethnicity and/or ancestry, experience with language and language education, migration, (dis)ability, sexual and gender orientation, religious practice, and other socially and historically constructed relationships (Butin, 2006; Harper, 2009; Green, 2003; Stevens, 2003; DuBord & Kimball, 2016; Leeman, Rabin, & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Meens, 2014; Wesely, Glynn, & Wassell, 2016). In addition to normative assumptions, university students face other issues. Language ideology is rarely problematized in the service-learning literature (Lear & Abbott, 2008; Leeman, 2011; Leeman, Rabin, & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Rabin, 2009), yet shapes the linguistic *habitus* that students may be navigating or resisting. Rabin (2009) discovered that many justice-oriented programs that focus on English "pay very little attention to language rights issues, such as monolingual English ideologies, the history of multilingualism, and heritage language activism in the U.S." (p. 48), leaving uninterrogated the historical role of English in constructing a U.S. national identity (p. 50). Leeman and colleagues have emphasized that while education policy makers prioritize developing university students' "intercultural" or "global" competence, these students may have experienced subtractive English-only K-12 schooling that subordinated certain languages and language varieties (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Wright, 2007), and by extension, certain students' intercultural competence (Souto-Manning, 2013). This contradiction is a significant one for language-focused service-learning programs that rely on standard measures of intercultural competence to assess outcomes: whose intercultural competence is valued? How can intercultural competence

be achieved through service-learning, a structured dichotomy that creates social distance? The following section outlines critical approaches and reconsiderations of the issues.

Issues in Service-Learning in Applied Linguistics Outcomes

Scholars in service-learning and applied linguistics whose critical agendas converge on issues of equity have found that outcomes are difficult to capture and assess (Abbott & Lear, 2010; De Leon, 2014; Green, 2003; Larsen, 2014; Smolcic & Katunich, 2017). Qualitative studies have found that while some university students recognized and connected with community expertise and personal resilience, others perceived and reproduced discourses of community disempowerment and individual failure, while others did not connect at all. Abbott and Lear (2010) found in their case study research that "students have been trained to excel in an academic context" (p. 242), adding that they may perfect the "role of student" (e.g., complete the assignments) without making transformative connections. The authors also found misalignments in the stated goals of service-learning courses and advocated for an explicit pedagogical emphasis on civic engagement and social action (p. 243). Some critical researchers have approached the issue from a conceptual standpoint. For instance, "border pedagogy" (Hayes & Cuban, 1997), "border-crossing narratives" (Curran & Stelluto, 2005), "community engagement" (Haddix, 2015), and "community partnerships" (Auerbach, 2002) are examples of conceptual alternatives that de-emphasize "service" and instead emphasize inquiry and collaboration. Others proposed a synthesis of education for democratic citizenship (i.e., Gutmann's (1999) theoretical framework for democratic identity, cited in Meens, 2014, p. 50) with critical multicultural education, which "takes seriously the complex ways

within relevant educational contexts students are both privileged and oppressed" (2014, p. 51). There is more attention paid to standardization than to nuanced interpretations.

In the service-learning in applied linguistics literature, intercultural competence, also called interculturality (and other terms such as global competence, explained in Chapter 1) has become a frequently stated goal and assessing such competence has been of great interest. Quantitative researchers have available to them more than 100 standardized assessment tools. While a definition for intercultural competence differs with various theoretical and disciplinary perspectives, as do the assessment tools (Smolcic & Katunich, 2017), the perspectives of diverse language users are missing from assessments (Elder, McNamara, Kim, Pill, & Sato, 2017; Souto-Manning, 2013). Referencing the varied outcomes that standard assessments produce, some service-learning researchers posited that pre- and post-results may be clouded by students' realizations of their own limitations. De Leon (2014) observed, regarding her mixed-methods study of university students' language and culture exchanges with refugee families, "the service-learning students' interactions with refugee families may have made their limitations more visible to them [the students], negatively affecting the way they scored themselves in the post-assessments across all measures of intercultural competence" (p.26). A statement such as, "I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures," (statement #1 on the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale, see Van Dyne, Koh, & Ang, 2008) may be useful in certain contexts but also tends to reinforce normative assumptions about cultures, including those of the respondents; and, fails to acknowledge the two-way interactional work that potentially produces "enjoyment" or another

affective stance. A limitation of these studies is that they generally ignore what constitutes "culture" or the nature of the "exchange" in the first place.

Researchers in the field are engaged in seeking sociocultural approaches for capturing interculturality in community-based programs (e.g., Cooks & Scharer, 2006; DuBord & Kimball, 2016; Larsen, 2014; Larsen & Searle, 2017; Palpacuer Lee & Curtis, 2017; Palpacuer Lee, Curtis, & Curran, 2018; Rauschert & Byram, 2017). For instance, Cooks and Scharer (2006) argued that standardized assessment that focuses on students' individual intercultural skills "limits the possibilities of the other in interaction to contribute to what those skills mean in and to the interaction, their usefulness in coordinating meaning, and the moral outcome of the conversation" (p. 45). Adopting a focus on interaction, defined as "expressed action and interaction between and among individuals" (ibid.), the authors created a dialogic framework that considers negotiations of identities and roles. Also taking an interactional approach, DuBord and Kimball (2016) created a "dialogic communication and problem-solving" framework that considers actions such as listening, adapting ideas and messages based on and in response to others' perspectives, and relationship-building, or *confianza* (p. 326). The authors defined problem-solving not only as an individual achievement but as an outcome of collaboration (pp. 309-311), challenging the one-way discourse of "service." Taking a narrative approach, Palpacuer Lee and Curtis (2017) examined shifts in power in an English class for parents. One student reflected on language as action, noting, "By sticking to neutral parts of culture such as food and festivals, we had perhaps denied them [the emergent bilingual participants] the ability to express the parts of their culture that

contradicted with American culture.…The conversation that encompassed deeper issues of culture took place almost while we watched" (p. 173). These sociocultural approaches place relationships at the heart of learning, significantly emphasizing multiple perspectives, prioritizing emic perspectives of participants. Taking a narrative inquiry approach, the current study aims to capture learning through participation. The study considers the social context, perceptions of the activity in which participants were involved, the roles that were perceived as available to them, and interactional exchanges between diverse university students and their interlocutors in the community. The current study locates learning from the perspectives of the participants, the university students.

Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I invoke complementary sociocultural learning concepts—situated learning, specifically *community of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), *identity*, and *language socialization*—for understanding university students' experiences during one semester of a service-learning project for English. Drawing from these related concepts, the study assumes that social activity, fundamental to service-learning as an outcome, a curriculum, and a process, is a locus for identity construction, and that language is a symbol and a tool for such construction (Bakhtin, 1935/1981; Bourdieu, 1977; Vygotsky, 1978). Language, however, is inscribed with social division, as Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain (1998) wrote, "freighted with the valences of power, position, and privilege" (p. 191).

By applying a sociocultural lens to a service-learning project for English, this study extends the use of these sociocultural concepts in educational research. Community

of practice affords the conceptual advantage of understanding the service-learning project

and its participants as a social group formed by neither geography nor a common

language, but instead by their desired engagement *with* language. Community of practice

and language socialization are complementary concepts in that they posit that it is

through (ex)changes of language that people learn how to competently participate in

social activity. They each propose that social identity is constructed interactionally,

through language, within social activity. Activity is understood in its sociohistorical sense

as "any conventionalized social endeavor, such as work" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 177). In

what follows, I describe the deeply interwoven concepts used to construct the study:

community of practice, identity, and language socialization.

      Situated learning and community of practice. Sociocultural theory as a broad

vision of learning proposes that learning is what people do. Sociocultural theory draws

from Vygotsky's theory of the mind (1978), which proposes that human interaction is

fundamental to learning. Learning is mediated by language and other culturally

constructed tools within a given activity. A situated perspective (Holland et al., 1998) and

community of practice research (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) clarify for us that

what is learned is shaped by the activity in which learning occurs (such as work, or

participating in a language class), and by the *possibilities* for learning that the activity

affords. These possibilities are understood as participation at the intersections of various

knowledge communities, *legitimate peripheral participation* (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.

36). Learning in a community of practice is an "encompassing process of being active

participants in the practices of social communities and constructing *identities* in relation

to these communities" (Wenger, 1998, p. 4, emphasis in the original). In this definition, the identity of an individual is a process linked to collective activity. It is not static, and not inherently divergent from collective activity.

Lave and Wenger (1991) have taken the view that Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development, the zone in which learning is mediated, involves time-space dimensions, that is, the difference between accumulated experience and new social forms of activity (1991, p. 49). As such, applied to individual learning, the zone holds a biographical dimension, to which I will again refer in the discussion of social identity. Given this biographical dimension, a community of practice lens accounts for social change as well as social reproduction. Negotiations of continuity and change are captured in legitimate peripheral participation, conceptualized as participation at the nexus of various knowledge communities, such as when newcomers to the activity interact with seasoned participants. Legitimate peripheral participation is understood to be a positive construct that accounts for possibilities for learning, and in the process of learning, *becoming* members of communities that are themselves situated within accumulated social structures and sociohistorical processes. Community of practice theory, applied to language learning, has been critiqued for its failure to sufficiently address power relations through its focus on expert-novice roles (e.g., Bronson & Watson-Gegeo, 2008). However, because a community of practice exists within and in relation to societal structures and processes, a community of practice lens does not rule out an examination of power relations: as much as there is the possibility for empowerment there is a possibility for disempowerment (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 36). Identity construction

itself calls attention to "broader processes of identification, to social structures" (Wenger, 1998, p. 145), and correspondingly, to power relations. Through these broad processes of identification and within social structures, people find themselves ascribed to membership in one group or another, what Young (1990/2011) has described as a quality of *thrownness* (p. 46), a feature of the service-learning project under study as well, as the findings will demonstrate. Given that the project in this study is conceptualized as a community of practice in which participation in bilingual and intercultural conversation is structured as the core activity, let us consider how community of practice research has been applied to service-learning and language education.

        Community of practice research and language education. Although conceptualizing service-learning as a sociocultural activity is not new (see Flower, 2002; Heath, 2001), only a few studies of service-learning in applied linguistics have employed a community of practice lens (Miller & Kostka, 2015; Smolcic & Katunich, 2017). Two recent studies employed community of practice to consider cultures and knowledges in service-learning settings. Avineri (2015), focusing on the development of interculturality as an ideology and practice, found that graduate students in a language education program navigated "nested interculturalities" or overlapping communities of practice in a service-learning project as students interacted "within the institutional culture, with others in their groups, with representatives of the community partner organizations, and among the populations those organizations seek to serve" (p. 207). Miller and Kostka (2015) focused on novice and expert roles, finding that access to "diversity of community members" and diverse knowledges across generations created cohesion in an oral history

project for university students learning English (p. 92). In education, community of practice research has been applied to K-12 bilingual schools (e.g., Freeman, 1998; García & Bartlett, 2007; Granados, 2015; Newcomer & Puzio, 2016), second language classrooms (e.g., Duff, 2002, 2003; Levine, 2013), and teacher communities (e.g., Gleeson & Tait, 2012; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005; Zygmunt-Fillwalk, Clausen, & Mucherah, 2014). I will focus on bilingual communities of practice that were formed in response to narrowing opportunities for bilingualism in U.S. K-12 schools in the years prior to and following NCLB. These studies relate closely to the current project's quest to expand bilingual social spaces through communities of practice.

A bilingual K-12 school. Freeman (1998) conceptualized the "Oyster Bilingual School" as a community of practice situated within larger social, political, and historical processes that were reducing opportunities for bilingualism. Freeman (1998) argued that schools and classrooms have the potential to become sites of social change by restructuring the values, in terms of cultural capital, placed on languages and language varieties. I find this to be an exciting argument, supported by Freeman's analysis of texts and practices in Oyster Bilingual School. Freeman's analysis included texts such as the school's mission statement, and practices such as organization of classroom space and organization of interactions. Freeman found that attention to these practices facilitated classroom participation of minoritized students "whose first language is not Standard English or who do not come from Standard English-speaking middle-class backgrounds" (p. 1). Following the subsequent enactment of No Child Left Behind (NCLB, 2000), a national education policy that restricted access to bilingual education, new research

confirmed the necessity for (re)structuring school spaces, as Freeman predicted. NCLB's emphasis on high-stakes testing in English in fact led to a drop in bilingual programs (Granados, 2015; García & Bartlett, 2007; Newcomer & Puzio, 2016). Even school districts that valued bilingual education intensified their focus on English, and this narrowing of district agendas led educators to develop models for maintaining their bilingual programs. I will describe three models, selected because they suggest different space and time possibilities for bilingual communities of practice.

A bilingual community partnership. Newcomer and Puzio (2016) analyzed the workings of a Spanish-English bilingual community of practice formed by a partnership of an elementary school with a local community center, expanding the time-space possibilities for bilingualism as social practice. This model relied upon several key participants (such as the school principal) to initiate the project. This community of practice for bilingualism formed a positive intervention when school-based opportunities for bilingualism were narrowed by the legal restrictions on teaching that were imposed in the state of Arizona by Proposition 203 (2000) and the subsequent House Bill 2064 (2006). The year-long qualitative case study analyzed events, practices, and identity formation through the lenses of mutual engagement and alignment in a shared enterprise (Wenger, 1998), key features of a community of practice. Spanish was valued by the school and the community, and a source of mutual engagement in the shared enterprise of practicing bilingualism. Alignment, defined as the coordination of perspective and actions, requires a brokering role. In this instance, the school principal acted as a broker to do the work of alignment, bridging the school and community through a bilingual

policy. The study found that participation in the brokering role varied; for instance, from the principal who initiated the relationship with the community center, to the families who maintained the school-community alignment when there was a change in public school leadership. Ultimately, the study found that students and families positively affirmed their bilingual identities through mutual engagement in and care of the extracurricular bilingual spaces, such as the community center. Although the analysis focused on the community of practice (focusing on mutual engagement and alignment in the shared enterprise), the study findings underscored the elementary school students' positive development of bilingual identities through their participation in the bilingual community of practice.

A bilingual social network. Granados (2017) mapped opportunities for bilingual/biliterate Spanish-English adults to meaningfully engage in bilingualism. The participants came from English-speaking households and graduated from a bilingual elementary school. The analysis focused on a community of practice as a language-based activity system that engaged bilingual identities over time and space. Granados's study expands on the time-space dimension of communities of practice to understand "overlapping and multiple memberships within bilingual communities" through the participants' middle school, high school, and adult years (p. 48). The concept of multiple memberships through various timescales (Lemke, 2000) in turn employs the concept of "chronotope" developed by Bakhtin (1935/1981), an "intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (p. 84). Although originating from Bakhtin's literary analysis, the time-space construct has been used in

research to theorize how temporal and spatial relations intersect to create the possibility of mobilizing past and present knowledge to construct identities. In Granados' study, the two focal case study participants used the internet to continue practicing bilingualism that was established in their elementary school years. The study found that their participation in language and culture events engaged their bilingual "identities in multiple and complex ways" (p. 61) into adulthood.

   A bilingual speech community. García & Bartlett (2007) described a successful speech community model for bilingual education. The researchers used the term *social second language acquisition* (Brutt-Griffler, 2004, p. 138, cited in 2007, p. 6) to capture a language learning process for an entire speech community of Dominican high school students in New York City. The authors drew from community of practice research (Lave & Wenger, 1991), the ways language engages identity (Norton, 2000) and power relations (Bourdieu, 1991), to understand the possibilities for the Dominican students' English development and their development of U.S. Spanish. Students were understood to be engaging in multiple communities of practice, reflected in "social identities as Spanish-speaking immigrant newcomers who are learning English, and the power relations between the poorer Dominican community in which they reside and the larger, middle-class English-speaking New York City" (García & Bartlett, 2007, p. 6). The bilingual speech community model took advantage of the high status of Spanish within the school (there were many Latin@ teachers), and lack of competition from fluent English speakers (all the students were Spanish speakers and English learners) to create a valued bilingual social identity. "Through this process, English is adopted as the Latino

students' own, no longer solely belonging to the Anglo monolingual community, while their U.S. Spanish emerges" (p. 6). The analysis focused on the collective emergence of bilingual social identities in the bilingual community of practice that existed within the monolingually English-dominant culture.

Comment. These studies illustrate how community of practice research has been applied to bilingual education by examining communities across space (in the school and the bilingual community center), across space and time (in bilingual social networks), or in spatially fixed speech communities (in a large high school). Community of practice research tends to focus on the bilingual education activity as the unit of analysis. Yet the studies cited also shed light on possibilities for (re)negotiating social identity when there was a community within which to practice bilingualism. As Wenger (1998) explained, identity itself is best understood as a social practice.

Social identity. Aligned with sociocultural theories of learning, this study defines social identity in the poststructuralist sense, as a dynamic and relational state of being a person-in-the-world (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998; Holland & Lave, 2001; Lave & Wenger, 1991). The notion of identity as relational, constituted within an activity system, begins with the premise "that identities are lived in and through activity and so must be conceptualized as they develop in social practice" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 5). Identity as a lived *process* draws from theoretical work by Vygotsky, Bakhtin, and Bourdieu. Bakhtin was concerned with the valences of existing cultural resources, including language in all its forms, for constructing self in what he called a process of "authoring." Vygotsky emphasized the ways that cultural symbols could be used, through

interaction, as a means of emancipation, a (re)formation of self. Vygotsky's "zone of proximal development" holds biographical dimensions, mentioned earlier. Holland and colleagues (1998) synthesized the work of Vygotsky and Bakhtin, describing the Bakhtinian "space of authoring" as a "particular zone of proximal development" (p. 183). Holland and colleagues (1998) also drew from Bourdieu (1977) to explain *habitus* as a person's past brought into the present – not only the person's experiences, but also fears and desires that are interwoven into accustomed ways of being (1998, p. 251). In this way, *habitus* is conceptually linked to the biographical time-space dimensions of Vygotsky's zone of proximal development, and Bakhtin's concept of chronotope in the process of authoring, or identity construction.

Learning and identity construction as interconnected processes have been highlighted in education studies in U.S. K-12 schools (e.g., Hatt, 2007, 2012; Rubin, 2007; Wortham, 2004), and have become increasingly relevant to theorizing the learning (and relearning) of languages, varieties, and registers (Block, 2007; Menard-Warwick, 2005; Norton, 2000/2013). Such research has included studies of language practices in U.S. high schools (e.g., García & Bartlett, 2007; Mendoza-Denton, 2008), adult second language classrooms in Spain (e.g., Martín-Rojo, 2013), study abroad (e.g., Kinginger, 2013), adult learners in natural settings (e.g., Norton, 2000/2013), and heritage learners in U.S. service-learning environments (e.g., Leeman et al., 2011). In this section I focus on what can be learned from three studies that employ an identity framework: two employ community of practice theory, and one is situated in service-learning.

Norton's diary studies (2000/2013). Norton (2000/2013) drew from poststructuralist theories of identity and community of practice research to "conceptualize language learning as a complex social practice" (2013, p. 166). As articulated by Lave and Wenger (1991), this conceptualization of language learning links identity, language, and social context. "In contrast with learning as internalization, learning as increasing participation in communities of practice concerns the whole person acting in the world" (p. 49, cited in Norton, 2013). In community of practice research, learning conceptualized as participation affords the possibility for (re)constructing identity. In line with this perspective, Norton (2013) conceptualized identity as a way to "reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 4). Drawing from Bourdieu (1977, 2000), Norton addressed the sociopolitical dimensions of such possibilities for language learners in the context of migration.

Norton's (2000) year-long study of experiences of five women who immigrated to Anglophone Canada made use of autobiographical narrative. The women's powerful diaries described their quotidian encounters with dominant-language employers, co-workers, landlords, and teachers. The participant-researchers were guided by Norton's instructions to write about events that created a strong memory or emotional response[6]. By revisiting their chronicled experiences, Norton explored the interrelationships between social identity and the possibilities for access to English. An identity approach

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[6]Personal communication, March 2015.

allows us to see, for instance, that for someone who is learning a dominant language, choosing silence over speech while engaged with the dominant language is complex. Norton asked her readers to consider, in a fictional example, whether an immigrant woman in Francophone Canada would be viewed as communicatively competent when she resisted responding to her employer "in longer sentences" (2013, p. 41). Would it be better to be silent, or to risk speaking? In order to consider this question, I discuss notions of motivation and communicative competence, and how Bourdieu's (1977) theory of language as symbolic capital clarified that these notions, so central to language learning theory, have been situated in power relations.

What is communicative competence? Communicative competence draws from a pursuit of social justice that was envisioned by Hymes (1972, 1996) when he described linguistic competence as the capacity for *voice*, such that a person's intentions, ambitions, and desires would be understood by others. Given that it requires the attention of others, communicative competence recognizes situations in which language, power, prestige and speaking rights are unevenly distributed. Seeking to clarify these relational aspects, Bourdieu (1977) wrote of linguistic competence not as language mastery but instead as the symbolic power of language (i.e., the language that is valued in a given context) that allows a person the right to speak and be listened to, "the power to impose reception" (p. 75). Drawing from Bourdieu, Norton interpreted communicative competence as situated in relations of power, illustrated in the employee/employer vignette. Similarly, Norton reinterpreted motivation as *investment*, a notion that places a person in a relational

context to a given community and considers a person's desires and agency to either engage with or become a member of a community.

What is investment? Bourdieu's (2000) notion of *investment*, which he conceptualized as the agency of a person to activate *habitus*, problematizes the notion of "motivation." Motivation, itself a socially constructed factor that is created within inequitable power relations, serves to decontextualize language learning and to essentialize a person's affect or desire to learn a new language in dichotomous terms (motivated or unmotivated, shy, or outgoing, etc.). Motivation inadequately accounts for the impact of power relations on access to the desired language community (Norton, 2013, p. 45). Norton employed the notion of investment to foreground the relationship of the language learner to the social world.

While the habitus represents accumulated historical experience in a classed social structure, Bourdieu explained that habitus must be activated through the agency of "someone who sees in it enough of themselves to take it up and make it their own" (p. 151-153). The notion of agency allows us to view habitus as not only an accumulation of experience, but a potential "way of being" that may come into view, be recognized, or intentionally fashioned when conditions are no longer taken for granted (p. 157). Norton (2013) used Bourdieu's metaphor of *investment* in *habitus* to understand learner *agency* and *desire* to become a member of a community, holistically foregrounding the person in the social world. Thus, investment represents a view of language learning that considers the impact of power relations, a view which I take up and illustrate in this paper.

Norton illustrated investment as it was experienced by participants in her study. This excerpt is from a restaurant employee, who Norton identified as Martina:

> In restaurant I was working a lot of children, but the children always thought I am—I don't know—maybe some broom or something. They always said, "Go and clean" and I was washing the dishes and they didn't do nothing. They talked to each other and they thought that I had to do everything. And I said "No." The girl [the restaurant worker] … is younger than my son. I said, "No, you are doing nothing. You can go and clear the tables or something (pp. 163-164).

Norton pointed out that Martina's access to English was framed and limited by her socially constructed position as an immigrant worker in the restaurant. Martina eventually reframed her relationship with her younger co-workers by invoking her durable and accustomed *habitus*, her identity as a mother, to assert her authority. Martina's "whole person acting in the world" was invoked in the language that was valued as symbolic capital, English, allowing her authority as a mother to take charge of the "children" in the restaurant. Bourdieu's notion of *investment* clarifies how a person's history, or *habitus*, enters a language-learner's perspective and can be invoked in a new context, using symbolic capital as a resource for (re)constructing social identity.

Mendoza-Denton's "homegirls" study (2008). Mendoza-Denton (2008) described the complex linguistic communities of practice of Latina youth in a California high school (pp. 210-211). Mendoza-Denton analyzed how identities of young people from the U.S. and Mexico were constructed through language choices, linguistic variables, literacy practices, and sociopolitical forces, across space and time. Their identities as *Norteñas* or *Sureñas* captured ideological categories that referenced both the students' local neighborhoods and hemispheric affiliations. For instance, choices of

affiliation with California groups that identified as *norte* or *sur*, the U.S. or Mexico,

differed across ethnicity and socioeconomic status, and were indexed in language choices

(such as how much English versus Spanish to speak, how/when to speak these

languages). Suggesting another frame for space and time, the author highlighted the

group practice of circulating objects, such as poetry notebooks or images. Poetry

notebooks that can be added to or modified by each anonymous contributor privileges

collective speech and texts that might be read aloud or memorized (p. 190). The

circulating poetry notebooks served as localized space-time intermediaries for language

that was considered illegitimate in the official school space, and as a result, silenced. The

poetry notebooks, employing silence, became the students' voices. Although the bi-

literate voices of these transnational students in California were muted in the official

school space, Mendoza-Denton turned up the volume so that this reader imagines coded

talk in the hallways, the riffling of the notebook pages, invoking *aleluyas* from 17th-

century Spain, to which the poetry notebooks were structurally and functionally related,

as Mendoza-Denton explained (pp. 190-192). The high school youths' *communities of*

practice liberated language and social identities from the constraints of the school, using

symbolic resources that transcended space and time, as Vygotsky (1978) imagined.

    Leeman et al. heritage language activism and service-learning (2011). Leeman,

Rabin, and Román-Mendoza (2011) noted that the field of second language learning has

seen a growing interest in the relationship between language and identity, in which

language learning involves "development of new identities linked to the new languages,

language varieties, and registers that learners acquire" (p. 482). Leeman and colleagues

argued that because most public education implements NCLB's restrictive language policy in some form, and schools deny bilingual students opportunities to build from their languages and identities, identity has long been central to heritage language learning. An identity framework recognizes policy as practice, "when educational practices reinforce language hierarchies and subordinate students' existing identities and language practices, schools can become sites of institutional denigration of the learner's sense of self" (Leeman et al., 2011, p. 482).

Leeman and colleagues' (2011) three-year study examined a critical service-learning project involving pre-service teachers, heritage Spanish speakers, in an after-school Spanish-language program. The researchers' analysis of pre-service teachers' writings located a sense of responsibility for preserving Spanish in the community. For instance:

> I still feel more comfortable reading and writing in English. I really didn't begin taking Spanish for Spanish speakers classes until I was in high school and perhaps it wasn't enough. Before high school they only offered classes in Spanish where you learned the ABC's and I already knew them. I think it would be an excellent idea if they offered classes in Spanish for Spanish speakers from kindergarten onward . . . The advancement of the Spanish language is in our hands and it is our responsibility to keep it alive always (p. 489).

While findings such as the excerpt above indicate a sense of loss ("perhaps it wasn't enough"), there is also an orientation to action, ("the Spanish language is in our hands and it is our responsibility to keep it alive always"). The pre-service teachers' roles as cultural "elders" (p. 490), preservers of language practices exchanged between generations, suggests a service-learning model for education that is based "principles of

enfranchisement, inclusion, and membership rather than individuation and stratification"
(Luke, 2004, p. 82, cited in Leeman et al., 2011, p. 490). The authors also found
challenges. For instance, because Spanish is often taught as a standardized "global"
language, local varieties are less valued. This devaluing is evidenced in a strong
orientation to an ideology of "correctness" when pre-service teachers focused on
orthography and the standardized language of an idealized "native speaker" (p. 491).
Leeman et al. (2011) argued for opportunities for Spanish language "maintenance and
preservation in communities and public discourse" (p. 492), a counter-measure to K-12
experiences of English-only schooling for Spanish-speaking bilingual students. Such
monolingually-oriented education subordinated certain languages and language varieties
(Wright, 2007), systematically devaluing the speakers' sense of self.

    Comment. The university students in the current study experienced U.S. K-12
education while NCLB, a policy that restricted language use was in effect, from 2000-
2015[7]. Under NCLB, bilingualism was obscured, devalued, or erased; and linguistic
competence was constructed as monolingual alignment with Mainstream American
English, disadvantaging bilingual, heritage speakers and those speaking non-mainstream
variations of English (Souto-Manning, 2013). However, as we have seen in the preceding
studies, possibilities for a bilingual social identity became available despite being nested
within policies, discourses, school structures and practices that limited bilingual
education. The studies cited in this section form a strong argument for educators to

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[7] Although ESSA was signed into law in 2015, it took effect in 2017.

intentionally expand social spaces where bilingualism can be practiced, potentially altering the trajectories of students whose language(s) and intercultural competence(s) may otherwise be subordinated. Next, I explore how language socialization contributes to conceptualizing the project under study as an *explicit socialization* for interculturality in a community-based educational context.

Language socialization. The indisputably social process through which languages are learned is best described by language socialization. Language socialization refers to a process through which newcomers or novices to a community or culture gain membership, competence, and legitimacy. This process is mediated by language, the primary medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated. Learners are socialized through language, how to competently use language (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). As an approach to research, it draws primarily from linguistic anthropology (e.g., Hymes, 1964, 1972), sociology (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977), and sociocultural learning theory (e.g., Vygotsky, 1978), as well as other disciplines (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002).

Hymes' (1964) ethnography of communication, which takes at its starting point "the organizing power of a socially defined context," (p. 4), "the community as a whole" (p. 25), its "communicative economy" (p. 27), locates competence in localized, routine activity. Hymes, like Bourdieu, metaphorically implicated diversity of linguistic resources, rather than universality, in a linguistic economy of multiple social flows and exchanges. Language socialization is focused on the local, the particularity of interaction, such that the messages communicated may be understood differently depending on the

context and the interlocutors. Language socialization employs Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus*, understood to integrate the dispositions that constitute competence (1977, p. 655) with a person's given or customary social space. Habitus can be defined as historically accumulated "perception, thought, and action" (1989, p. 14). Employing habitus, Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) explained that language socialization research has been concerned with *primary language socialization* to community norms in childhood. Yet, what is socially expected or desired in practice is not uniform over time and space, and *habitus* is not static. When "agreement of dispositions ceases to be assured" in relation to social structures (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 51), habitus can adapt to new contexts and new social positions, including those occurring through migration, education, and social mobility. *Secondary habitus* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 2000), or adaptation, may be generated by educational contexts or by circumstances of change. Habitus emphasizes the historical and cultural nature of a given practice, yet, as Bourdieu (2000) explained, is subject to agency and desire; and makes adaptation possible.

Language socialization research has drawn from Bourdieu's notion of secondary habitus to examine *secondary language socialization* in a first or second language. Noting that a linear view of language learning (and of habitus) may obscure multiple socializations, language socialization research extends to diverse socializations *within* a given language as people move into and out of social spheres and activities (Duff, 2014, p. 568). Ochs & Schieffelin (2014) have noted that "contemporary scholarship considers language socialization to be a lifespan process that transpires across households, schools, scientific laboratories, religious institutions, sports, play, artistic endeavors, political

efforts, and workplaces" (p. 2), invoking multiple socializations. For instance, a recent study conceptualized *socialization to empowerment* in a heritage-language community setting (Mangual Figueroa, Baquedano-López, & Levya-Cutler, 2014), merging "the language socialization focus on language learning and community membership with the cultural citizenship approach to the study of identity" (p. 48).

Emergent multilingual contexts, generated by recent large-scale migrations, form new contexts for research (Baquedano-López & Mangual Figueroa, 2014; Duff, 2014; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Hua, 2014). Such research has long recognized that notions of "community" include dynamic, heterogeneous, and ephemeral communities of practice within broad social and historical processes, what Pratt (1991) has named "contact zones." The possibilities for socializations in a first, second, or third second language in a heterogeneous group turn our attention to the social activity at hand, participation in intercultural conversation in a linguistically diverse community.

The current study draws from language socialization and community of practice research to conceptualize the service-learning project as an *explicit socialization* (described by Duff, 2007; Garrett, 2008) into interculturality as a practice. Taking these understandings as a starting point, the academic component, the CBL course, has been intentional about preparing fluent English speakers, the university students, for intercultural conversation with adults learning English. This preparation formed an explicit socialization into shared practices that were implemented in conversation routines. In the project under study, the university students were asked to become conscious of their accustomed ways of interacting with linguistically diverse interlocutors

(who may be unintelligible to them, and to whom they may be unintelligible), by providing context, slowing their rate of speech, waiting for interlocutors to respond, employing follow-up and clarification formulae, and inviting co-participants' perspectives. These actions invoke the fluent English speakers' capacity for adaptation, empathy, and patience, while they are learning new ways of speaking. While the current study is not a language socialization study, it understands social interactions as forming mutually socializing contexts in first *and* second or third languages. Following a description of the study methodology, I present the study findings, making use of the concepts outlined here.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This study explores university students' narrations of their experiences in a service-learning project for English conversation, called *Conversation Café*. The setting is a linguistically diverse community, the participants in conversations are undergraduate university students of diverse backgrounds, who are fluent English speakers, and adult community members, also of diverse backgrounds, who are investing in English. This study, which is part of a larger action research study, employs ethnographic methods and a narrative mode of inquiry to explore the meanings university students made of their participation in the service-learning project. The project comprised an academic course component, integrated with a community-based series of conversations with community members. The analysis centers on students' experiences, told in their voices, and presented in the findings chapters. Although this study focuses on the voices of university students, I have attempted to include community members' perspectives in a way that reflects the project's equity aims. I ask the readers to journey with me as I describe the contours of the action research, the layered contexts for the study, the groups of participants, and the methods for data collection and analysis.

The four-year study draws from traditions of action research and ethnography. In this chapter, I first explain the complementarity of action research and ethnographic methodology, and the choice of narrative as both primary data and method of inquiry to address the research questions. I then share a holistic overview of the development of the study. I introduce university student participants, the structure of the academic course, Community-Based Learning (CBL), and the routine for community-based English

conversation that was developed (the Conversation Café Routine, or CCR). Then, I describe the nested contexts for the study: Riverport, a small, east coast city; the community-based organizations that offer English as a second language (ESL) in Riverport, and the community members who attended these ESL classes and the Conversation Cafés. Following a description of data collection procedures, I describe data analysis and validity measures. The chapter concludes with a statement of my positionality as a researcher.

Action Research

Action research generally represents an orientation and stance toward the research process and participants (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009). According to Herr and Anderson (2015), action research is inquiry done with or by insiders to an organization or community; involves a commitment to reflective practice; and leads to changes within the setting, participants, and researchers. Its theoretical roots include *action anthropology* (described by Tax, 1975), which requires that research benefit the communities under study. As an approach to cultural research, action anthropology seeks an understanding of the alternatives available to communities in the face of changing situations and asymmetrical relations of power. As a qualitative approach to education research, the action research tradition aligns closely with critical feminism (Hatch, 2002), an ontological view that understands social constructs and structures as having a material effect on people's well-being. As such, it pursues critical consciousness (Creswell, 2013) that may in turn lead to changes in relationships and practice. An orientation to critical

action research, represented by the scholarship of Shor & Freire (1987), informed the current study.

Action research shares several features with ethnographic methodology. Both require the researcher's immersion in the setting – such methodology forms both an experience and a process (Agar, 1980) resulting in a written product. The written product provides contextual detail while emphasizing the (emic) views of the participants (Creswell, 2013; Duranti, 1997). To shed light on these perspectives, action research and ethnography encourage multiple sources for data. Multiple sources include work that is generated in the ordinary course of events (students' pre-course surveys and journals, for instance), and work that is undertaken specifically to elicit data for the study (the author's field notes and follow-up interviews with students, for example). Although ethnographic methodology is appropriate to action research (Herr & Anderson, 2015), action research is cyclical, rather than longitudinal—each phase of data collection is followed by reflection and implementation in practice, as the name *action research* suggests. Herr & Anderson (2015) observed that for the researcher, action research can feel like a moving train. That observation was indeed true for me – selecting and presenting representative data given the changes that were made each semester posed a challenge. For instance, we added or subtracted community partnerships, and made changes to the course structure. In addition, I made changes to the course content. These changes in environments, structure, and content had an impact on university students' experiences, and I will elaborate these in the findings. This study is, at its heart, concerned with depth of understanding the perceptions of the participants. The study shares the lived experiences

of the university students with the reader by focusing on themes that were consistently identified in the students' narrations over the four years of this study.

Narrative as Data and Method

I employ narrative as both primary data and method of inquiry (Creswell, 2013; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012; Hatch, 2002) to access students' interpretations of their one-semester service-learning experience. An advantage of a narrative mode of inquiry is that micro-level analysis in autobiographical constructions of self can be connected to broad discourses of identity. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) explained (citing Bruner, 2001) that individual stories are shaped by the discursive environment (2012, p. 149), thus constitute sites of struggle over social identity, meanings, and conditions for constructing identity (2012, p. 150). In what follows, three action research studies, each in a different context, illustrate approaches and methods for analysis; and their relevance to the current study will be discussed.

Study Abroad. Menard-Warwick and Palmer (2012) documented the perspectives of eight U.S. pre-service teachers of diverse ethnicities who participated in a month-long study-abroad program in Mexico. A home visit, referred to as *The Visit to La Barranca*, had been pre-arranged with a single mother who struggled to pay the cost of education for her four children. The researchers analyzed the pre-service teachers' diary responses to the mother's *testimonio*, a first-person "witnessing" narrative that draws attention to a compelling issue. The visit evoked strong emotional responses, and by employing critical discourse analysis (CDA), the researchers sought to understand the impact of this encounter on the participants' sociocultural consciousness. The analysis

demonstrated that six of the eight pre-service teachers reproduced a core narrative of individual agency overcoming obstacles in a U.S./Mexico binary of privilege and poverty. These participants generally focused on their own emotional responses and "evaluated the visit as inspiring and/or heartbreaking" (p. 130). One participant, distrustful of a "fake epiphany" that would soon be forgotten, refused to write about the experience at all. One pre-service teacher alone linked this experience to macro structures of inequity in schools. The researchers concluded that "such encounters are not sufficient to make prospective teachers see connections between schools and social structures" and "we cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of in-depth preparation beforehand and ample time for structured reflection afterwards" (pp. 133-5).

On-Line Collaboration. Porto's (2014) semester-long on-line collaboration involved university students from the UK and Argentina, exploring the extent to which students developed international identifications. Their linguistic aim was to practice Spanish and English, respectively, through their investigation of media representations of the 1982 Malvinas/Falklands war, a conflict that endures in national debates in each country. Small groups comprised of both British and Argentinian students investigated each nation's media, specifically media impact on generating stereotypes, and participated in pre-arranged interviews with one British and one Argentinian veteran of the 1982 war. Porto employed comparative methodology to determine the extent to which the students developed international identifications. The researcher located micro-linguistic evidence of de-centering ("I was *surprised*"), criticality ("I *wonder* why"), and comparison (through juxtaposition of texts) in students' journals and on-line

conversations. A developing international identification was demonstrated in the students' subsequent actions, such as cross-national collaborations (evident in "Nowadays *we* can," for example) to create advertisements for peace.

Service-Learning. Palpacuer Lee and Curtis (2017) employed a "dimensions of narrative" framework (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012) to analyze the experiences of pre-service language teachers as they met with immigrant parents in an eight-week service-learning project for English conversation. The researchers identified stories that were re-told in the pre-service teachers' journals – moments of disruption, breaches of the expected norms, when the immigrant parents dislodged the English-speaking pre-service teachers from center stage as culture and language experts. In these moments, the pre-service teachers became spectators to the parents' pursuit of cultural meaning. By examining these re-told stories, the researchers found that uncertainty (demonstrated by epistemic modalizations such as *maybe*, *perhaps*), led to de-centering, illustrated by Yasmin, a pre-service teacher:

> By sticking to neutral parts of culture such as food and festivals, we had perhaps denied them the ability to express the parts of their culture that contradicted with American culture. We ourselves could have grown more if we had been open to conversations that would challenge our own cultural beliefs.…The conversation that encompassed deeper issues of culture took place almost while we watched" (2017, p. 173).

Yasmin recognized that a stance of "neutrality" that focused on "food and festivals" also formed an action that "denied" participants the ability to express their perspectives. Even as a spectator ("while we watched"), Yasmin realized that emergent

possibilities ("we could have grown") were available in "conversations that would challenge our own cultural beliefs."

      Comment. Although narrative texts necessarily involve the narrator's evaluation of what is important, and thus afford an incomplete and even unfinished view of events, narrative analysis nonetheless reveals how participants make sense of self within life events (Ochs & Capps, 2001), and how participation roles, social positions, and social identities may unfold (Wortham, 2001) within discursive environments. Narratives often contain moments of disruption, tension, or silence. The narrative researcher probes these moments, contextualized by details of historical and personal experience (Creswell, 2013). By taking this approach, the current study contributes to service-learning research. Research in service-learning has been critiqued for its depictions of participants, generally described from the etic perspectives of teachers and researchers (see Chapter 2). Although there are exceptions (such as the studies cited here), there is space in the literature to explore university students' social positions, contested representations, trajectories, and how they may themselves be responding to a discursive environment in a sociohistorical moment. The current study illuminates the struggles that took place for university students during one semester of their involvement in the project, using various analytical approaches.

The Dissertation Research Study

      I joined the action research project in January 2012. A small grant from the university's Office of Community Affairs, obtained by the Program Director at the Graduate School of Education (GSE), gave me an opportunity to coordinate a preliminary

study and pilot a new course. At that time, as we outlined in our 2013 report to the Office

of Community Affairs, the study addressed broad questions of impact: 1) What was the

impact of the service-learning project on community members? 2) On university

students? 3) What lessons could be applied to future programs? Subsequently, following

the launch of the new course, CBL, in September 2012, I listened to community members

and studied their survey responses. The survey question "What did you learn?" elicited

responses such as "Perder el miedo de hablar" [I lost the fear of speaking] (CMS10 Fall

2012). In addition to this response and similar ones that indicated affective gains, i.e., "I

feel confident," (CMS05 Fall 2012), I was struck by the ways that membership and

identity emerged as themes for university students and community participants. When I

asked Leo, a community member, about his experiences he said, "I feel that in the

program, they, that we, can be part of something ... part of the community, part of the

society" (RI February 10, 2013). Negotiations of membership and social identity were

mirrored in university students' accounts (e.g., "I have begun to see myself as part of a

larger global community," James, J10, December 2012. This study pursues these themes

in the narrations of diverse university students:

1) What repertoires of identity are co-constructed through the service-learning activity?
2) What broad discourses of identity become salient to university students?
3) How are these identities negotiated? What interactional moves contribute?

Chapters 4 and 5 address the first two research questions through narrative

analysis of university students' journals and interview transcripts. I selected several of the

eleven students in the first cohort in fall 2012 whose journals and interviews established

themes of social identity that were identified across the findings. In this paper, I explore these themes as they were articulated by different students representing transnational, second-generation, and third-generation perspectives. In Chapter 5, I also illustrate the impact of changes that were made in the program by comparing university students' perceptions of their activity and the roles available to them in fall 2012 and fall 2015. Chapter 6 addresses the third research question through analysis of recorded exchanges between community members and university students. In what follows, I present for reference the four-year project timeline (Table 1). Focal data are shaded in green. A written account of each phase then follows the table. Then, I introduce university student demographics, followed by features of the academic course that prepared students for their conversations with community members, and a description of the community-based component, the Conversation Café Routine (CCR). This is followed by a description of the nested contexts of the study: the small city where the study took place, the focal community-based organizations, The Community Link 1 (TCL1) and The Community Link 2 (TCL2) and why they were chosen. The section that describes the community organizations includes a demographic overview of the community members who participated in CCRs at each organization. Table 1 outlines phases of the project.

Table 1: Project Timeline and Key Events

	Key Events	Date(s)	Purpose
Phase I Preliminary Study	• Planning meeting with community organization director at The Community Link (TCL1)	Jan 04, 2012	Five months of preliminary work informed content of academic course, CBL. Data collection included (10) pre-course surveys, (65) university student journals, (7) community member post-program surveys, (5) student exit interviews, (5) community member interviews.
Preliminary Data Collection	• Three-hour orientation for university students • Two meetings with ESL instructor at TCL1 • TCL1 Visits (14) • Interviews with community members, university students, and ESL instructor • Data collection completed	Jan 27, 2012 Feb 03 and Feb 10 Feb 11 – May 12 Apr 27 and May 11 May 12, 2012	
Findings Meetings and Reports	• Community partner meeting • TCL1 director meeting • CBL curriculum draft presented to GSE director	May 08, 2012 Jun 18, 2012 Jul 26, 2012	
Phase II Pilot Course Primary Data Collection	• CBL course begins • Community partner meeting • Visits to community organizations (16) • University student exit interviews (by the GSE director) • University student journal data collection completed • Community interviews • Community member checks	Sep 05, 2012 Sep 19, 2012 Sep – Dec 2012 Nov – Dec 2012 Dec 12, 2012 Feb 10, 2013 May 11, 2013	**RQ1-2 Data** (11) pre-course student surveys, (110) student journals, (6) student focus group exit interviews, (16) community member surveys, (5) community interviews.
Findings Meetings and Reports	• Presentation meeting with GSE/CBRI/TCL1 Director • Presentation to other community partners • Written report to Office of Community Affairs	Dec 03, 2012 Jan 09, 2013 Jan 31, 2013	

Phase III Cycles of Data Collection	• Yearly IRB continuation review (CCR) • Visits to community organizations (6 visits each semester) • University student exit interviews (by the GSE director) • Community member-check	Feb 11, 2013 Oct – Dec Feb – Apr Nov – Dec Apr – May May – Jun 2014	Iterations of the course 2013-2014. **Change to CBL**, Conversation Café is embedded into class time beginning fall 2013.
Phase IV Preparation for Community Member Involvement	• Test community member self-recordings • University student member checks • Yearly IRB continuation review (CCR)	Apr 2015 Aug 2015 Nov 04, 2015	**RQ 1-2 Data** Iterations of the course 2015-2016. **Change to CBL**, on-campus **student preparation expanded** to 4 from 2 weeks. **Change to Project**, only 1 teacher-fronted ESL class is supported, the project mostly comprises student-run Conversation Café.
Community Member Involvement in Data Collection	• Visits to community organizations (18) • Community members self-record conversations • Community focus group interview • University student member checks continue into 2017	Sep – Dec 2015 Nov – Dec 2015 Feb 06, 2016	**RQ 3 Data** (13) university student pre-course surveys, (65) university student journals, (3) university student focus group exit interviews, (26) community member surveys, (4) audio-recorded conversations, (1) community focus group interview.

Project Timeline Description

      Phase I: Preliminary Study (Spring, 2012). Following receipt of a small grant

by the GSE from the university's office of community affairs in December 2011, we

began the research. Phase I data collection began in January and represents 5 months at

The Community Link One (TCL1). Data from my observations of the teacher-fronted

ESL classroom and attending meetings included field notes, artifacts such as the ESL

class activities, registration forms, recorded conversations, and recorded interviews. Ten

university students were enrolled in various one-credit recitation courses held at different

times. The Program Director and myself introduced the students to their community

activity through a three-hour orientation on January 27, 2012. Thus, the ten students in

the preliminary study met weekly as a group at the community-based site but did not

meet in their academic courses. By reading the students' journals, and by interviewing

the students at the end of the semester, we learned that they would have liked to receive

support for their involvement as English conversation partners in two ways: 1) academic

preparation, and 2) team collaboration. By interviewing five community members, we

learned that they enjoyed their extended conversations in English and would have liked

additional opportunities for conversation. The community members also commented that

university students were "learning how to listen, how to explain" (Rosario, RI, May 11,

2012). One community member commented that university students "were learning how

to teach" and could be better prepared (CM4, Interview, May 11, 2012). Field notes (14

weeks), recordings of conversations at TCL1 (3 hours), readings of the university

students' journals (65 journals) and reading the TCL1 staff's evaluations (10) of the

university students contributed to considerations of what could be explicitly taught to

undergraduate students in a service-learning course in one semester. Employing

sociocultural theories of learning, it was important to consider 1) languages are learned

through interaction, 2) the interactional demands of conversation across linguistic

difference, and 3) the impact of power differentials between the dominant-language speaker and the learner, given the sociopolitical context. While this preliminary research is not the focus of this study, these findings informed development of CBL, and the subsequent research.

Phase II: Pilot Course (Fall, 2012). With the first iteration of the CBL course, a new cycle of data collection began. Eleven university students enrolled in the course (see Table 3, University Student Demographics). Data included pre-course surveys (11), on-site observations (14 weeks, a total of 16 visits), student journals (110), and university student exit interviews (2.5 hours of audio recordings). Findings from Phase II were discussed with stakeholders at a meeting in December 2012. Then, findings from Phases I and II were consolidated into a written report to the Office of Community Affairs (Curran & Curtis, 2013). Findings from Phase II form a baseline for understanding development of the project and establish themes that were consistently identified in university students' narrations. Findings from this phase of the research are presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Phase III: Iterations of the Course (2013-2014). During this phase, findings from Phase II were implemented, and the scope of the program was broadened. For instance, English was one of many community languages available in Riverport, and it seemed possible to reorganize the CCRs to reflect this linguistic diversity by including community members who might lead segments in Spanish or another language. However, given community investment in English, and the demands of work and family life, this approach proved to be unrealistic. Instead, with the GSE/CBRI taking the initiative, we

piloted new Conversation Café groups in Spanish and Mandarin. This way, community members would take the role of language and culture experts if they wished to participate as leaders in the Spanish and Mandarin Cafés. In addition, university students would have opportunities to experience the interactional demands of conversation in an unfamiliar language. It was during this phase that Conversation Café became integrated into CBL class time, generating additional opportunities for university students' off-campus conversations with community members.

Phase IV: Community Involvement in Data Collection (2015). By Phase IV, changes to the course had consolidated and stabilized. 1) A Conversation Café was embedded into CBL instructional time; 2) most Conversation Cafés were led by students who had graduated from CBL, and CBL students supported only 1 teacher-fronted ESL class (instead of 4); 3) Conversation Cafés in Spanish and Mandarin afforded students opportunities to experience the interactional demands of conversations in which community members took the role of language and culture expert; and 4) university students' on-campus preparation for their roles as conversation partners was expanded to 4 weeks (see Mitchell, 2005; and Menard-Warwick & Palmer, 2012, among others, regarding the important role of preparation of students for community-based involvement). To learn what happens in conversations, i.e., what conversational strategies the university students and community members were implementing and what roles and social identities were invoked, I invited community members at TCL2 to record their conversations with university students. These findings comprise Chapter 6. The self-recording technique for data collection was tested in spring 2015 (a detailed description

of this advance preparation, the ethical issues that arose, and how they were addressed, are described in the data collection section of this chapter). The following semester, four community members contributed six audio recordings from their cell phones. Then, in February 2016, I met with the four community members as a group. Having described the broad contours of the current study, I turn now to the university student participants.

University Student Participants

The CBL course was advertised to university departments by email, through flyers, a Facebook page, and information sessions that were organized by a CBRI program coordinator. To register for the CBL course, students were required to either attend an information session or be interviewed so that they were aware of the scope of their semester commitment (20 hours at community-based Conversation Cafés in addition to weekly class meetings). To meet their commitment, the students themselves chose the community organization where they would be involved. Thus, the students' selections of locations were based on their schedules and availability, and in that sense, were random. University students were not required to participate in the research. The research project was announced in the course syllabus, then outlined to university students on the first day of class. Following the university institutional review board procedure to request student participation, university student consent was obtained by signing the IRB-approved form.

Demographics. CBL students represented greater diversity than at the Riverport campus overall. Table 2 provides a summary of students' self-reports of gender and ethnicity through 2016. This is followed by Table 3, a summary of the self-reports of

gender and ethnicity in 2012 and 2015, from which focal data were primarily drawn,

comparing these data with campus enrollments.

Table 2: University Students' Self-Reports of Gender and Ethnicity 2012-2016

	Semesters	Gender Identification	White	African American	Latin@ or Hispanic	Asian or Pacific Islander
CBL N=110	2012-2016	F=81.8%	36.4%	17.3%	19.1%	27.3%

Table 3: University Students' Self-Reports of Gender and Ethnicity 2012 and 2015

	Semester	Gender Identification	White	African American	Latin@ or Hispanic	Asian or Pacific Islander
CAMPUS	Fall 2012	F=50.2%	44.4%	10.3%	13.5%	22.9%
CBL N=11	Fall 2012	F=91%	36.4%	27.3%*	18.2%	18.2%
CAMPUS	Fall 2015	F=50.5%	41.5%	7.5%	12.8%	25.6%
CBL N=13	Fall 2015	F=77%	30.8%	23.1%*	15.4%	30.8%

Of course, these data are not directly comparable, as the CBL cohorts were small

in comparison to the thousands included in campus enrollment each semester. In addition,

when compiling this data, I struggled with representing university students in static

categories that captured neither students' lived experiences nor their affiliations. For

instance, all the categories of ethnicity include students with different experiences of

migration (transnational, second- and third-generation or more). In the end, for the sake

of making comparisons, and in the interest of conveniently drawing a broad picture of

CBL enrollment, I decided to make use of categories of gender and ethnicity employed

by the U.S. Census and the university campus.

Students' reports of age and migration 2012-2016. CBL students ranged in age from 18 to 56 (five non-traditional students, age 28-56 enrolled). The average age was 21.5, and the median 21.

Table 4: **University Students' Self-Reports Age & Migration (Pre-Course Surveys 2012-2016)**

Number of Students	Age Range	Transnational University Students (Immigrated to U.S. or Lived Overseas)	Second Generation University Students	Third Generation University Students
110	18 - 56	29.1%	32.7%	38.2%

As we can see, students who self-identified as transnational, second generation, and third generation (defined in this paper to include third generation and more than three generations) were represented in roughly even proportions. The transnational group comprised about 29% overall, 32 of 110 students. Of this group, a number had experienced life in Canada, Ghana, Jamaica, Korea, Mexico, Taiwan, or the UK; many of these students reported becoming U.S. citizens at age eighteen; a few were born in the U.S., then lived overseas for a period of time, later returning to the United States. Three international students held visas to attend university in the U.S. Thirty-six second generation, 32.7%, and 42 third generation, 38.2%, formed the remainder of the 110 students who joined CBL from 2012-2016.

Students' reports of bilingualism 2012-2016. More than sixty per-cent (61.8%) of 110 students described speaking two or more languages at home. Transnational and second-generation university students reported speaking English and one or two

additional languages (2 of these students, having emigrated from the UK, were English

speakers at home).

Table 5: Transnational Students' Self-Reports of English + Bilingualism

Transnational Students (Immigrated to U.S.)	English is first home language*	English is second or third home language	English is language for school and social life
N=32	6	18	8

*Two university students from this group emigrated from the United Kingdom, spoke only English at home. For four students in this group, English was a primary family language, while other languages were also spoken with parents and family members.

Table 6: Second Generation Students' Self-Reports of English + Bilingualism

Second Generation Students (Parent(s) Immigrated to U.S.)	English is first home language	English is second or third home language	English is language for school and social life
N=36	14	19	3

What about third-generation students? Most (32 of 42) reported that they had

invested in learning languages (such as Farsi or French) to communicate with new or

extended families (a fiancé from Iran, new family members from France); or to pursue a

language learned during study abroad (in China, Korea, or Spain, for example). Six said

they were bilingual at home, speaking with family members in Hebrew, Italian, or

Spanish, in addition to English.

Table 7: Third Generation Students' Self-Reports of English + Bilingualism

Third Generation Students	English is only home language	English is second or third home language	Reported second or third language learning for family life or study abroad
N=42	36	6	32 of 36

This demographic overview underscores CBL students' diverse experiences of

ethnicity, migration, and language. The service-learning narrative (described in Chapter

2) obscures the participation of students of varied socioeconomic class, ancestry, experience with language, migration, (dis)ability, sexual and gender orientation, and other socially and historically constructed relations (Bocci, 2015; Harper, 2009; Mitchell, Donahue, & Young-Law, 2012; Stevens, 2003). Although the sample is small, employing the definition of bilingualism outlined in Chapter 1, nearly all the students in this study were bivarietal or bilingual speakers (4 of 110 said they had not attempted to learn a language in addition to English). These data align with studies that find bilingualism is under-reported in the U.S. (e.g., Bale, 2011; Leeman, 2011).

These details about ancestry, migration, and language were culled from students' self-reports in their pre-course surveys (Appendix A), supplemented by what I learned from students through our class activities and discussions, and university students' self-reports in their written journals. I would like to note that many, but not all students who participated in this study held jobs (for instance at restaurants or with university facilities); a future study could provide more information on students' socioeconomic status. In the findings chapters, I will provide details about the focal university student participants. The students I selected to represent the findings are not outliers, however, I note here that non-traditional students in terms of age (five university students between 28-56) and (dis)ability (three requests for accommodation) participated. In addition, international students (three who held visas to study in the U.S.) participated. The experiences of these participants are important and deserve their own research, however out of concerns for confidentiality, I have not included these participant details here. With their collaboration, I hope they may share their experiences in a future paper.

Academic Context: Community-Based Learning(CBL)

The first four weeks of Community-Based Learning(CBL) were dedicated to preparing university students for their roles as English conversation partners, or sympathetic interlocutors. Sympathetic interlocutors understand the interactional demands of conversation and are prepared to take responsibility for building understanding (Garretón & Medley, 1986). Sociocultural research on intercultural conversation (e.g., Bremer et al., 1996) finds that this necessary understanding and capacity for adaptation, also called intercultural competence, needs to be explicitly taught to speakers of dominant languages. Such preparation emphasizes language learning as a complex social practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Ochs, 1993), and takes into consideration sociopolitical contexts for language learning (Bremer et al., 1996; Norton, 2000/2013). Table 8 outlines the course structure.

Table 8: Structure of CBL Course (Plus 20 Hours at Community Organizations)

Component	Duration	Course Content
On-campus preparation	4 weeks	• What does it mean to know and learn a language? • Introduction to sociocultural learning, community of practice, funds of knowledge; meanings of "assimilation" and "integration"; student-led discussions. • Intercultural communication strategies (using wait time, slowing rate of speech, asking follow-up questions, providing context, and so on) • Community organizations, demographics of city, county. • Conversation activity design.
Off-campus conversation programs at community organizations	9 weeks	• 60 minutes of preparation and discussion • 60-75 minutes of Conversation Café Routine (CCR) with community members • 20 minutes debrief and discussion

Component	Duration	Course Content
On campus reflection and debrief	2 weeks	• Citizenship: What concepts are relevant? • Debrief and reflection.

To illustrate the concepts presented, I drew from the research literature to design activities that were completed in class, using myself as an example. For instance, to investigate languages, varieties, and registers used in daily life, I designed an activity entitled "Language Journeys" that asked students to reflect on their language repertoires (described by Blommaert & Backus, 2013), including English, and how/where they are learned or un-learned. To design "How to Say "No" in English" I drew from sociolinguistics, i.e. selecting refusal strategies in situations of varying social distance and/or power differentials; and I designed "Asking Questions & Clarifying" to ask university students to consider the empowering potential of question-asking in various contexts, including institutional contexts, where the fluent English speaker is usually speaking 80-90% of the time (Agar, 1980; Bremer et al., 1996; Dooley, 2009). In my class, I emphasized power differentials and self-monitoring participation in intercultural conversation (Dooley, 2009; Norton, 2013). A series of guided reflections to examine language repertoire, to recognize contributions of community members; and to reflect on learning and change, were developed collaboratively at the graduate school of education. In addition, during class time, we introduced university students to language learning and teaching concepts such as comprehensible input (Krashen, 1982); interaction hypothesis (Long, 1983); and collaborative dialogue (Swain, 2000).

The Conversation Café Routine (CCR) will be described next. Although a number of CBL students supported or led teacher-fronted ESL classes in their community placements, particularly at the start of the project in fall 2012, all the university students had opportunities to lead a small group conversation using the CCR model either when the ESL teacher could not be there, or as part of their regular community placement. The CCR model aims to redistribute power among asymmetrically resourced English speakers—those who are fluent, and those who are learning it. Redistributions of power are attempted in the ways available to a conversation group, for instance through the organization of the physical space for conversation and the structure of the routine, in which English learners have opportunities to direct the conversation in small, autonomous groups.

Conversation Café Routine (CCR)

Each week, university students met with adult community members at community-based organizations that offered ESL. The routine began with the 15-minute "Open Chat" as participants arrived. Over time, we formalized the conversation routine to include two to three activities, illustrated in Table 9.

Table 9: Structure of Conversation Café Routine (CCR)

Component	Approximate Duration	Conversation Café Activity (CCA)
Open conversation as people arrive and sign in (Open Chat)	15-20 minutes	• What's new? How was your week? o Sharing news of interest (personal, community, current events). • Community members initiate topics if they wish to.
Warm-up Activity	15-20 minutes	• May employ structured turn-taking to support novice speakers.

Component	Approximate Duration	Conversation Café Activity (CCA)
		• May focus on pronunciation or a language structure. • Allows for expansion to other topics.
Focal Activity	30-40 minutes	• Focus on one or two language features. ○ Pragmatic, lexical, or grammatical. ○ Include opportunities for "4 domains". • Conversation partners are prepared to make adaptations for novice and fluent speakers. • Example topics: Preparing for a Parent/Teacher Conference; Strategies for Saying "No".
Close	10-15 minutes	• Small groups summarize shared learning or opt to continue talking and say good-bye. • Option for community members to share with whole group.

Figure 1 illustrates a Conversation Café environment, in which small groups of community members and university students were seated together at tables.

Figure 1: Groups at Tables in a Conversation Café

As we can see in the photo, taken with permission, tables are arranged with intentional randomness, as in a café. In my visits to Conversation Cafés over the years I observed that many participants, whether long-term residents or newcomers, novice, or accomplished speakers, arrived with spouses, cousins, friends, and neighbors. In practice, informality and seeming randomness created opportunities for community members to access their social networks and family languages, leading to mutual support; such support, for instance collaborative dialogue (Swain, 2000), is encouraged. The ability of community members to choose where they would like to sit and to access language knowledge from each other as well as the fluent English speaker (the university student) at the table destabilizes the language hierarchy of a conventional teacher-fronted ESL class. Employing the metaphor of a theater stage, the privileged "front-stage" (Goffman, 1956) role of English and the English speaker are disrupted, and languages that might otherwise be whispered in the "back-stage" behind the scenes, or in interstitial classroom spaces (documented in dominant-language classrooms e.g., Heath, 1983; Martín-Rojo, 2013; Mendoza-Denton, 2008) are up front, at the table.

As they arrive and find places to sit, community members are invited by university students to share their weekly news. *What's new? How was your day?* Participants are proactively invited to introduce topics for discussion, and/or features of English that they would like to practice; these invitations form opportunities to direct the unscripted conversation. Next, I provide details of the broader social context for these conversations, introducing the diverse community and the organizations that offered ESL

and/or hosted Conversation Cafés. This section also includes a demographic overview of community members to further contextualize university students' narratives of their experiences.

Community Context: 21st-Century Economy and "Globalized" Workforce

The study was conducted in Riverport, a small city in New Jersey, with a diverse population of approximately 59,000 (U.S. Census, 2016). A hub for immigration, as in many cities in New Jersey, most immigrants arrived from Eastern Europe fleeing political, religious, and economic oppression in the early part of the 20th century. Subsequently, following the failed attempt to establish a Hungarian People's Republic in the late 1950s, refugees from this conflict arrived. At one point, one third of Riverport residents were from Hungary. In the 1960s and 1970s, U.S. citizens from Puerto Rico seeking economic opportunity were soon followed to the mainland by families fleeing violent political and economic oppression in the Dominican Republic (well described in the novel *Feast of the Goat*, Mario Vargas Llosa, 2000.) In recent decades, the Spanish-speaking population has further diversified as families from Central and South America have settled in Riverport.

In this small city, English is more often a second language than a first one. In 2016, 57.4% spoke a language other than English at home, although the proportion of city residents born outside the United States was smaller, 38.3%. The data suggest that second-generation residents continue to use family languages. While nearly half of Riverport residents speak Spanish, community languages include Mandarin, Gujarati, and Eastern European languages. These languages, which can be heard in the city's public

spaces, represent both continuity and change, as does immigration. Immigration is defined in this research paper as "the processes and practices of an individual or a group when they enter and settle in another region, country, or nation" (Baquedano-López & Mangual Figueroa, 2014, p. 537).

Places of worship in the downtown area attest to the continuance of an African-American community established as free citizenry prior to the Civil War. And, synagogues and orthodox churches reflect emigration from Eastern and Central Europe in the 20th century, followed by 21st-century emigration from South and Central America. On a sunny afternoon, children wearing backpacks stamped with Disney characters, speaking Spanish as they play in front of a downtown church, embody the city's intersecting cultures, languages, and time scales. Community residents' contributions to local and global economies can be seen in The Spanish Deli, formerly a Hungarian food shop; the barbershops from which *envios de dinero* may be sent; and vendors of *quinceañera* supplies that also satisfy *mitzvah* and *mehndi*[8] ceremonial needs. A large university that attracts international scholars dominates the cityscape.

Beneath these prominent signs of cultural and commercial hybridity, Spanish-English bilingual flyers, taped onto bus kiosks and street posts at eye level, recruit laborers for domestic and warehouse jobs. Tacked onto these same kiosks are calls for

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[8]Italicized terms: money orders and money-grams; fifteenth birthday party for a girl; Jewish coming-of-age ceremony at age 13; and Hindu wedding decoration, respectively.

employers to institute basic worker benefits such as paid sick days, and to end wage

theft—all evidence of the local impact of globalized capital (Gonos, 1998).

The service-learning project to support local English classes, generally referred to

by community organizations as English as a second language (ESL), was initiated in

2012, just after President Barack Obama announced plans for Deferred Action for

Childhood Arrivals (DACA) in mid-June (obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-

office/2012/06/15/). Changes to the U.S. legal framework for immigration bookend this

research study. In 2012, debates about immigration, pathways to citizenship, and access

to higher education for undocumented youth appeared to turn toward equity (if not

justice), and adult ESL classes were in demand.

Adult ESL has been defined as non-credit English education programs generally

oriented to four areas: basic or general ESL, functional and family literacy, English for

the workplace, and civics education for naturalization (Eyring, 2014). According to the

largest and most recent survey available, 71% of adult ESL in the U.S. is offered through

public school districts and community colleges, 24% through community-based

organizations, 3% through institutions such as libraries, and 2% through correctional

institutions (p. 134). In Riverport, ESL providers included the school district, a

community college, a public library, and community-based organizations, in addition to a

private language school. Citing long waiting lists[9], these institutions and organizations

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[9] Office of Community Affairs Grant Proposal, October 2011, and personal communications. An
organization in this study reported a waiting list of 200 in September 2012. When the English conversation

requested support from the university's GSE and CBRI. The GSE and CBRI program directors joined together to place university students as English conversation partners in the community-based ESL classes beginning in February 2012.

The English classes were generally located downtown. Over the course of this study, eight different community-based organizations have been involved at various times, and as a result, community-based organizational contexts changed each semester. In what follows, I describe two focal organizations, The Community Link 1 (TCL1) and The Community Link 2 (TCL2), that were involved since the project's inception, and subsequently agreed to participate in the research. These two organizations are currently involved, and their pseudonyms foreground their important place in linking the university project staff to community activity. Nearly every university student in this study had experience as an English conversation partner at one of these organizations, or at an affiliated organization. Descriptions of affiliated organizations parallel the two focal organizations. Describing these two focal organizations and the community members who attended will provide significant detail for contextualizing university students' descriptions of their activities, while at the same time, preserving the confidentiality of community members who attended English classes. To preserve confidentiality, I omit the names and locations of the affiliated programs beyond Riverport.

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group began, one participant reported he had waited 9 months to begin the class. Author's field notes, September 26, 2012.

The Community Link 1 (TCL1). TCL1 participated in the preliminary study in spring 2012 and throughout the period of this study. Its location was within walking distance for families in a long-established Puerto Rican and Dominican community. A demographic overview of community members participating in the CCRs was constructed by the author through information that was voluntarily provided by them. Details for core groups of community members at TCL1 who attended at least 60% of the CCRs in fall 2012 and fall 2013 are shown in Table 5. I included data from fall 2013 to make it possible to compare participant data from the second focal organization, TCL2 during fall 2013, the first semester that data were available from TCL2.

Table 10: TCL1 Statistics Fall 2012 and Fall 2013

Conversation Café	Fall 2012	Fall 2013
Time Frame	October 04 – December 06	September 24 – December 03
Number of Sessions	8	10
Average Number Community Members Attending	14	16
Number Attending 60% - 100% of Sessions	13	15
Reports of Age	18 – 72	22 – 72
Average	40	44.5
Median	42	42
Reports of Origin		
Latin America	(1) Ecuador, (2) Guatemala, (5) México, (1) Nicaragua, (4) Perú, (3) Republica Dominicana	(2) Honduras, (4) México, (4) Perú, (2) Republica Dominicana
Asia	N/A	(2) China (Visitors to the U.S.)
Middle East	N/A	N/A
Europe	N/A	(3) Hungary

To provide background on the workings of enrollment in community-based ESL classes, I have included a few comments about the pattern that I documented over the

past four years. In fall 2012, for instance, 27 people registered at TCL1, 17 attended on the first day, and attendance averaged 14 per week, as shown in Table 10. Many more people registered than attended. I searched the literature for attendance benchmarks and found that few benchmarks for recognizing participation and retention in adult ESL (see also Eyring, 2014; Lukes, 2011). Existing benchmarks vary widely, depending on the program criteria, such as funding and reporting requirements. Studies (e.g., Comings, 2007) have shown, and I have learned by analyzing attendance records and from speaking with participants, that "short-term" participants leave a program when they feel they have achieved a goal (e.g., "To be chosen to work at the day labor agency, I have to say something in English", my translation from Spanish, of a young male participant's stated goal); some "try out" a program by attending one or two times (e.g., "I want to lose my accent" has been given as a reason to try a program; such participants may be fluent speakers seeking a more "American" accent); and others "stop out" (a term coined by Comings, 2007), meaning that adults with work and family responsibilities may attend sporadically. "Stop out" is illustrated by conversations with community members who explained to me, "I have a 'part-time' now" (my translation of what several community members said to me in Spanish, in which 'part-time' was incorporated into the U.S. Spanish lexicon to mean part-time or temporary employment). I have also found over the years that some community members spend significant amounts of time in another country, for instance to take care of family obligations.

University students have asked why community members stop coming, sometimes taking non-attendance personally, or blaming the participant (e.g., "I don't

understand why they don't come. It's free," as one university student said to me). I have

learned to explain to students ahead of time that investing in English may not be a

priority for everyone. For instance, some participants at TCL1, speakers of indigenous

languages such as Mixteco and Zapotec (also called Zapoteco), communicated to me that

English was their third or fourth language. A priority may have been integrating with a

Spanish-speaking social network in Riverport (see also Han, 2012, regarding language

demands on immigrants from China settling in Canada). Thus, practicing Spanish may

have more value than practicing English.

The Community Link 2 (TCL2). TCL2 aims to engage the largely Spanish-

speaking neighborhood that is contiguous with that of TCL1 and to attract diverse

families. Many arrive by car from nearby towns. TCL2 organized programs such as

volunteer-led ESL/Citizenship and ESL classes. In Phase II, fall 2012, CBL students

supported either its teacher-fronted ESL or ESL/Citizenship classes. A year later, in fall

2013, CBL students led Conversation Cafés on Friday mornings. Responsibility for

registrations then shifted to the Conversation Café staff, which meant that we were able

to collect data from those who volunteered it. Table 11 shows data from fall 2013, the

first semester that data were available from TCL2, and fall 2015, the semester when

community members recorded their conversations. Table 11 represents the core groups of

participants attending TCL2 at least 60% of the time.

Table 11: TCL2 Statistics Fall 2013 and Fall 2015

Conversation Café	Fall 2013	Fall 2015
Time Frame	September 27 – December 06	October 09 – December 04
Number of Sessions	10	8

Conversation Café	Fall 2013	Fall 2015
Average Number Community Members Attending	15	13
Number Attending 60% - 100% of Sessions	13	11
Reports of Age	18 – 60	22 - 61
Average Age	38	37.2
Median Age	38	36.5
Reports of Origin		
Latin America	(9) Brasil, Chile, Colombia, México, Nicaragua.	(6) Brasil, Colombia, México, Perú
Asia	(1) South Korea	(4) China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam
Middle East	(3) Egypt	(2) Iran
Europe	(2) Russia, Turkey	(1) Czech Republic

TCL1 and TCL2 Reports of Formal Education. Comparing the fall 2013 data

that was provided by participants at TCL1 and TCL2 (the first semester that we had

access to comparable data) two distinct groups of participants emerged at each of these

community partner organizations, although they were located within a few blocks of each

other. For instance, at TCL1, most (68%) participants lived in Riverport, and the nearby,

long-established Dominican neighborhood was represented; some participants from the

neighborhood had resided in New Jersey for 25 years or more. At TCL2, the majority

(52%) of participants lived in nearby towns, and many traveled by car. I use self-reports

of formal education to further illustrate the differences between these groups. By

combining the data from TCL1 and TCL2, the resulting graph illustrates the differences

between the groups of attendees at each, while making it possible to understand the

socioeconomic make-up of community members who attended Conversation Cafés at

both. For instance, 100% of those who reported that they had a master's degree registered

at TCL2; and 100% of those who reported that they had an elementary school education

registered at TCL1. Understanding these two different yet sometimes overlapping groups attending Conversation Cafés is important to understanding students' experiences.

A comparison of data from fall 2013 (Figure 2) shows that at TCL1, 60% reported having completed high school, while 33% reported earning a professional credential or attending college. At TCL2, these proportions were reversed: 62% reported either a professional credential, a BA or MA degree, while 31% reported completing high school.

Figure 2: Self-Reports of Formal Education
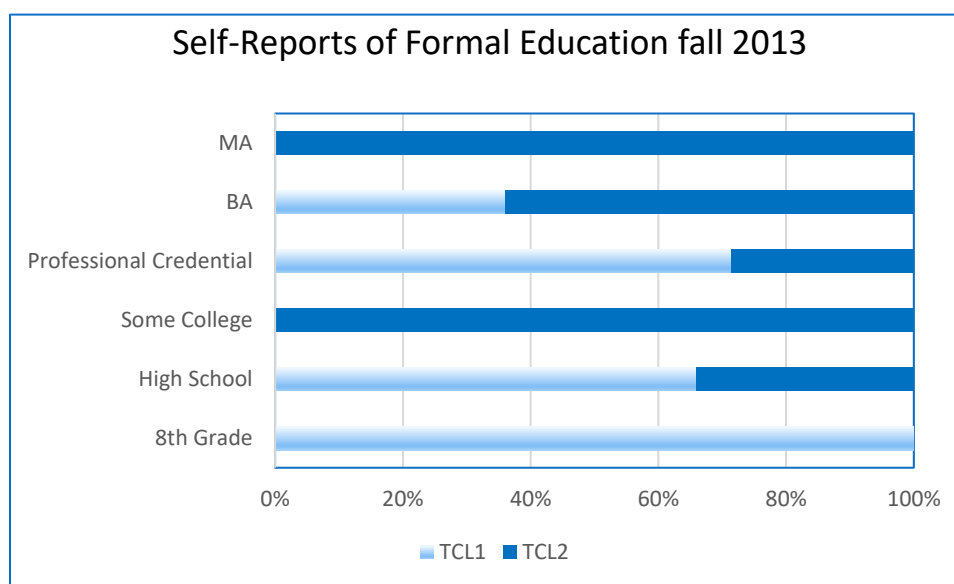
Although community members did not always report their formal education (and many did not), they were asked in post-program surveys about their experiences with English instruction. I learned from these surveys that for most (75%) at TCL1 in 2013, Conversation Café was their first experience with an English class. For those attending

TCL2, the reverse was reported: most (75%) had attended English classes in their countries of origin or at a language school in the United States.

Correlating these data illustrate that adult community members attending Conversation Café at TCL1 and TCL2 represented distinct groups in terms of resources and access to English. The two groups are differentiated by residence, reports of formal education, and previous experience at an English class, as well as their linguistic diversity, illustrated in Tables 10 and 11. Yet these groups were neither static, nor homogeneous, and participation of these groups at the Conversation Cafés overlapped when community members attended multiple sessions. The core groups attending at least 60% of the weekly series of Conversation Cafés were generally people in their 30s and 40s. At both locations, several people in their 50s and 60s, some of whom were retired, also attended. Although many spoke Spanish, community languages such as Gujarati, Hungarian, Mandarin, and Russian were represented.

To conclude this description of the focal community organizations, I extend my thanks to the community partner organizations, directors, and coordinators, the community members, and the CBL university students who welcomed this experiment. My deep gratitude to TCL1 and TCL2 for their generosity, first for joining the research project, and second, for their willingness to afford the project space and time, cannot be overstated.

Data Collection Procedures

The study adheres to the data collection procedures for both action research and ethnographic work. For instance, with the understanding that there would be new groups

of participants with each action research cycle, procedures were put into place early on to capture program data during each cycle (Herr & Anderson, 2015; Stringer, 2013). I developed a university student pre-course survey and invited the students to contribute questions to this survey. University students' written journals formed part of their required coursework. Applicable to community members, I developed a new program registration form (to replace existing forms that I viewed as unnecessarily personal), a registration and attendance spreadsheet in Excel (developed during Phase I, when I learned there was no system for attendance tracking at the partner organization), and a post-course survey. We now routinely implement these documents in each research cycle, with the help of program staff and CBL students. In addition, I collected artifacts such as flyers and pamphlets that represented community organizations' outreach to community members. Next, I describe the surveys and protocols for recorded interviews.

Surveys.

Pre-course survey (University Student Survey). The pre-course survey of university students (Appendix A) is a program document that helps me, as the course instructor, to learn about students' interests in joining the CBL course. Questions are open-ended, and university students respond as they wish. For example, Question 10, "What do you expect to learn from this course? What brought you here?" elicits a range of responses, such as "I want to be a teacher, but I would also like to keep helping my community" (Fall 2015 USS02). Analysis of this response combined with other data demonstrates this student's community-insider positionality through the choice of pronoun (*my* community), while other student responses and pronoun choices

demonstrate outsider positionalities, such as, "I plan to learn more about other communities and have a better understanding of how *they* function" (Fall 2015 USS12).

Post-program survey (Community Member Survey). Partner organizations had opportunities to contribute to questions asked in the community post-program surveys (Appendix D). In Phase I, I drafted the survey and we asked the TCL1 director if there was information he would like to be able to receive from it. For example, Question C was suggested by TCL1's director: "Before this project, have you taken an English class?" This question became important to completing a picture of community members' access to English, as illustrated. Incorporating this input, I translated the survey into Spanish. Over time, each of the partner organizations either contributed to or commented on the survey, and they received a copy of the survey results at the close of each semester.

Surveys were completed anonymously by community members. If community members wrote in their names, names were not shared or published. I offered community members the option of taking surveys home, for instance, if they needed more time to complete them. However, not everyone returned a survey after taking it home. Weighing the risks to validity, I distributed surveys during the last two weeks of the Conversation Café to ensure that as many community members as possible could contribute. I was not always present when community surveys were completed, and I benefited from the assistance of university students and program coordinators to collect this data. If present, I generally stood at a distance from the table groups when surveys were being completed. If help was needed, community members helped each other, and if requested, additional help was given. For instance, over the years a few community members asked me to read

the survey to them in Spanish. They circled responses, wrote short responses, or made suggestions for program improvement. I wrote the suggestions for them, in English or Spanish, if asked to do so.

Recorded interview protocol.

The interview protocol (Appendix B and C) is based on Patton's (1990) *Interview Guide Approach* and combines with Patton's *Conversational Approach* so that follow-up questions may expand on topics introduced in the guide. This open-ended approach is appropriate for understanding the meaning of a program to its participants, in keeping with the focus of the research. Interviews with university students and community members were based on the same protocol, with modifications. Participants were made aware that not all questions needed to be answered, and the interview could be stopped at any time.

University student exit interviews. Exit interviews (Appendix B) took place at the end of the semester, in an on-campus conference room. These interviews, generally in small groups, were conducted by a member of the research team (other than the teacher-researcher, in order to mitigate influence on the students by the instructor). On three occasions, the interviewer was a graduate student member of the research team, and on all other occasions, the interviewer was the GSE Program Director. I did not conduct the exit interviews with university students, but transcribed audio recordings after semester grades were submitted, as noted earlier.

Community member interviews. The interview protocol (Appendix C) is available in English and Spanish. Community members were offered a copy of the

interview questions, and time to read them before the interview began. When conducting

interviews with Spanish-speaking community members, I asked about language

preference, and on most occasions, community members opted for a bilingual

conversation. We referred to a bilingual dictionary and negotiated meanings as we went

along if we needed to.

Recorded conversations.

The IRB protocol allows for audio and video recordings. To anticipate problems

that might arise in recording interactions within a CCR, I tested the plan at TCL2 in the

spring of 2015. I wondered, for instance, whether ambient noise in the Conversation Café

would prohibit audio recordings. And, I wondered whether community members would

want to participate in the recordings, and if so, how small groups could be organized to

avoid recording those who did not wish to be. I mention these issues now so that

researchers in the future have a baseline for making recordings in community-based

settings. Duranti (1997) explained that while technology for recording sounds and images

expands the range of ethnographic data and modes of analysis, it also multiplies technical

issues and importantly, magnifies ethical issues for research in community settings. One

of these is the participant-observer paradox (p. 118), which I will illustrate with this

example. In spring 2015, when I first suggested to community members that free-flowing

interactions in the group conversations could be recorded, many were ready to contribute.

Then, some began to rehearse because "I want to sound good!" as one person said to me.

To observe or record interactions, it is necessary to be present, and as a result, the person

doing the fieldwork becomes the audience. Recording audio or video may be influenced

by the participants' anticipation of the audience, that is, a preconception of what the ethnographer is looking for. Duranti pointed out that although neutrality is an illusion, it is necessary to prepare for ethnographic work by "understanding the different ways that different social actors … and artifacts play a role in the activity" (ibid.). Ultimately, I received two recordings from this advance preparation, one of which was clear enough to transcribe. I decided to go forward with the plan.

Reflecting on and implementing what I had learned, I invited community members to join the research project during the second week of Conversation Café in fall of 2015 (the series ran from October 09 to December 04). I created an *Invitation to Participate* handout with a brief description of the project that included the IRB-approved consent form in English and Spanish, and my contact information. Then, in two subsequent visits, I repeated the invitation to participate, and invited community members to ask questions about the research. I made it clear that if they wanted to participate, they could record their conversations on their cell phones or on another device and email the audio files to me. I specified that while they could stop or start recording at any point when they were comfortable, it would be useful if the first 15 minutes of a CCR, the unscripted open conversation, could be recorded. Fourteen community members and six university students agreed to participate by signing consent forms, and I received six audio files from community members.

As mentioned, community members were encouraged to record the first 15 minutes of a CCR, which comprises unscripted conversation. Four community members emailed a total of six audio files to me, four of which were recorded on the same day. I

decided to transcribe these four because taken as a whole, they provided a sequence of events that offered a view into the CCR. In exchange, I gave each of these community members a $25.00 gift certificate. In summary, enlisting community members' participation in recording conversations in the community setting was in every way exploratory. In future studies, with enough planning and time, independent recordings made by community members might compensate for the researcher's inability to be at every research site, or to observe every conversation in the room.

As people arrived, I sketched each of the small groups sitting together, made notes about who was present, and later corroborated my notes with attendance sign-ins and consent forms. University students were recorded if they were sitting at a table with a community member who was recording. I did not select these students for the recordings, nor give them instructions about where to sit; as a result, they were randomly recorded. I neither video-recorded nor took photographs for two reasons. First, a few community members had previously signaled that they did not wish to be photographed. By organizing separate groups of participants who did not want to be photographed, I could have negotiated this request. However, determining reason for my choice was, because some community members were attending Conversation Café for the first time, videography or photography could possibly make these first-timers uncomfortable, given the sociopolitical climate (described in Chapter 1). This decision again highlights ethics involved in using technology (see Duranti, 1997). I decided to use Figure 1 to depict the organization of the room and how participants were seated in small groups. The photo was not taken during the recorded conversations, but at a semester-end celebration of a

Conversation Café, with permission. I have not included the sketches I made at the time because I wrote participants' names on them. Demographic details that participants shared will be included in Chapter 6.

Data Analysis

Data elicited specifically for the research, such as field notes, recorded conversations, and interviews; and data from the ordinary course of activity, such as journals, pre- and post-surveys, flyers, schedules, and attendance records (Creswell, 2013; Hatch, 2002) are included in the analysis. Rich descriptions of the contexts, participants and their recruitment, data collection procedures, and activities meet the action research criteria of transferability to other settings (Creswell, 2013; Herr & Anderson, 2015).

Coding. Iterations of reading and coding (Agar, 1980; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996) generated the coding scheme. This iterative process allowed me to identify common themes in the university students' journals and interviews, across semesters. Iterations of coding are described as they occurred.

First phase: Open coding. The process of coding detects repetitive and consistent patterns of action that are documented in the data. A first phase of open coding helped me to understand students' perceptions of the activity in which they were involved, an important category of information (Creswell, 2013, p. 86). I used a grounded approach (Charmaz, 2014) to identify the students' mentions of their activity in their journals (e.g., teach, interact, volunteer); and metapragmatic descriptors that conveyed an epistemic stance (for instance, related to "teach," *design, guide, evaluate*) in relation to mentions of

their activity. With the understanding that characterizations of activity are an organizing

locus that orders characterizations of participants in the activity (Schegloff, 2007, p. 472),

I then coded for roles in the activity (e.g., students, learners, participants, partners). These

approaches are consistent with a sociocultural framework for analysis. In the analysis, I

make use of a broad definition of social identity (Ochs, 1986) that includes "social

statuses, roles, positions, relationships, and institutional and other relevant community

identities that one may attempt to claim or assign in the course of social life" (p. 288).

Systematic analysis of social roles (Davies & Harré, 1990; Wortham, 2001) makes use of

Bakhtin's (1935/1981) theory of language use, i.e., language is always associated with

contexts, social locations, and "intentions" expressed in "voice" (p. 283). Voicings of

students' social identities vis-à-vis community members, framed by characterizations of

their activity, formed a baseline to investigate students' narrations more deeply, and to

identify changes that took place. Thus, in this study, social identity is used in two ways,

based on Ochs's (1986) broad definition: 1) a role within a given activity; and 2) an

ascribed, claimed, or imagined community identity.

     Second phase: Narrative analysis. As the project evolved, I looked for additional

patterns across iterations of the project. I found categories of ascribed, claimed, or

imagined identity that were explicitly linked to linguistic and cultural resources (e.g.,

"not American 'enough'" and "my broken Spanish"). I first highlighted named categories

by hand, on paper. Then, using Dedoose, an on-line application for analyzing qualitative

and quantitative data, I coded for these categories and linked them through "memos" in

Dedoose. Dedoose allows for connecting excerpts that link a specific code. I re-read

excerpts, now linked in Dedoose, then used the memos to "ask questions of the data" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 46). For instance, S01 wrote in fall 2015, "<u>I felt</u> that I <u>was not allowed</u> to call myself <u>American</u> because of my accented speech," adding later, "By knowing two languages, <u>I do not feel</u> constricted to one identity and I <u>am able to be</u> a <u>multicultural citizen</u>." The data documented time dimensions (e.g., past to present tense). Across time, available social identities expanded (from "American" to "multicultural citizen"). A change from an understanding of the "American" cultural identity as the only option, and an option that was not available to S01, to an understanding of "American" as a "constricted" identity. Third, another option became available (multicultural citizen). Fourth, empowerment (from "I was not allowed" to "I am able to be"). I wrote my questions of the data in a memo linking these excerpts. After linking these and other excerpts, I re-read the students' journals to contextualize this change, and think about the data in a new way. Thinking in a new way is possible "if we move beyond the codes, categories, and data bits back to what the "whole" picture is or may be" (Coffee & Atkinson, 1996, p. 46). Re-reading the data from the perspective of autobiographical narrative, through which a person makes sense of events over time (Ochs & Capps, 2001), allowed me to reinterpret students' descriptions of their actions and roles as occurring within larger discursive processes and patterns of (de)constructing and (re)constructing a sense of self, across time and space.

Third phase: Conversation analysis. This analysis considered critical discourse analysis (CDA) and conversation analysis (CA) (Schegloff, 2007) approaches. In the linguistically diverse context for conversation, it is necessary to consider whether and the

extent to which understanding was achieved, and the resources invoked for mediating such achievement. Scollon and Scollon (2003) wrote, drawing from Bakhtin (1935/1981) and Vygotsky (1978), that fundamental to communication is interdiscursivity, "different voices engaged in if not implied in actual dialog with each other" (2003, p. 540), making all communication, in this view, intercultural. It is then possible to approach the problem of "what actually happens" in intercultural conversation from the perspective of mediation. This perspective shifts focus from individual relationships to language as social action (p. 544), and what categories or social identities become relevant given the co-participants' multiple and even contradictory habitus. Taking a language as social action perspective, CA is a complementary approach to CDA. Schegloff (2007) found that one of the most fundamental units for conversation is turn-taking, focusing analytical attention on sequences of talk, rather than isolated utterances. Sequences, or turn-taking as the focus allows for understanding the degree to which there is cooperation in the conversation (e.g., the linguistic *actions* that take place within the conversation, such as requests or refusals, interruptions, overlaps, or repetition). Audience or recipient design, "a multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 272) was of interest to me as I was looking for signs of university students' attention to co-participants who were learning English. Sacks and colleagues (1974) highlighted word selection, topic selection, and the start and end of conversation. Requests for information, or questions, form an interesting category. A question may be designed to convey or solicit

information, embody presuppositions, set agendas, or foreground certain topics, and is not necessarily marked by linguistic structure. In this linguistically diverse setting, the analysis has been attentive to displays of understanding and an orientation to what Sacks et al. (1974) call a "moral commitment" to reciprocity in the conversation. Such reciprocity entails attention to and recognition of co-participant(s) identities. To illustrate if and how reciprocity could be achieved across linguistic difference, I decided to focus on three small group interactions recorded on the same day, in which participants were randomly thrown together for about 90 minutes.

Research Validity

Creswell (2013) has recommended using at least two of eight validation strategies in qualitative research. This study employs four strategies: 1) the researcher's prolonged immersion in the project; and 2) the rich, thick description of the contexts and participants, provided earlier in this chapter. In what follows, I focus on 3) triangulation (i.e., external audits and member checks); then 4) a reflection on researcher positionality.

Triangulation through external audits. External audits allow someone that has no connection to the study (Creswell, 2013, p. 252) to examine both the process and the product of the ethnographic account. Regularly-held meetings of a graduate seminar and a supportive group of peers, as well as feedback from committee members, formed opportunities for external audits. For instance, after presenting draft interpretations of the data at a graduate seminar, I received feedback and suggestions from committee members who were present for further reading about critical service-learning, language ideology, and language socialization. This feedback led me to reconsider tensions in students'

social positioning and encouraged me to pursue investigation of students' identities as

sites of struggle. I also presented findings about community members' reports of

affective gains, captured in *es como familia* [it's like family], a phrase that frequently

appeared in community member surveys and interviews. I was advised to learn what

como familia meant to the participants, and by asking, I learned about meanings related to

confianza that are not available to English speakers. I was asked by a committee member,

"Do the university students say the same thing?" This question prompted me to examine

the ways that "family" was salient to university students' accounts (students such as

Mira, who described recognition of her parents in her interactions with community

members, "[Like the community members] My mom will still say that she doesn't know

how to speak English because she feels that she's being judged," PI, April 13, 2017).

Regularly-held meetings of a writer's group in which peers asked me questions about my

research, critiqued my analysis, and generously shared their research with me,

encouraged me to pursue social identity as a line of inquiry.

    Member checks. Member checking establishes interpretive credibility (Creswell,

2013, p. 252). This technique involves taking descriptions, interpretations, and analyses

back to participants and stakeholders (Lather, 1994; Paris, 2011). Research findings were

presented, on invitation, at meetings of stakeholders that were initiated by the GSE and/or

CBRI program directors at each project phase (outlined in Table 1). In addition,

community organization directors attended the conversation sessions from time to time,

providing informal opportunities for member checks.

University students. I invited university students to review transcripts of interviews and conversations, early drafts of presentations, and excerpts of dissertation chapters. I reached out to all the students included in this paper. Of the students mentioned or excerpted in the findings chapters, I had at least one conversation with, in alphabetical order, Anne, Brie, Brooklyn, Elizabeth, James, Maia, Michaela, Mira, Regina, Tara, and Tracy; and many conversations with several of them in person, by phone, or by email. In part, these iterations of member-checking were the result of my ability to reach students after they completed the CBL course, and in part the result of my relationships with them. I wish I could have spoken with them all. To begin, I asked a question suggested by my advisor, "Is this a fair account of events?" I then focused on themes in the data. For instance, regarding "culture," I asked Mira, referencing her Pre-Course Survey and her final journal, "Was there a specific conversation that led you to think about your family, language, or culture?" I learned that for Mira, an accumulation of interactions in the program led to reconsideration of her family languages and cultures. On the other hand, Tracy, who we met in Chapter 1, reported a conversation that she couldn't forget. In addition, I asked whether students were comfortable with the categories that I employed to describe their social positions, i.e., transnational, second-generation, and third-generation students. They said they were.

Community members. Member checks were based in part on my relationships and community members' availability at key points in the study (i.e., at the close of each phase of the study). To reciprocate for their time, I exchanged two private English lessons for each interview. Following Phase IV, the four community members who recorded their

conversations received gift certificates, as mentioned earlier. Next, I describe member checks at key points in the study.

Following Phase I in spring 2012, I met with 5 community members during the last week of the program; and following Phase II in spring 2013, I met with 4 community members. These interviews focused on community members' experiences and suggestions for program improvement. Although the focus was program improvement, social identity, membership, and the roles of participants in the CCRs emerged as themes in these conversations. For instance, I learned that a term that I considered to be neutral, "immigrant" was not neutral to community members. As Isabella put it, "I don't like that term specifically, unless you need it…because some people see that you're excluding that person" (RI, May 11, 2013). I thus became aware that "immigrant" had become a permanent social category "in the folk sense" (Han, 2012). I learned that representation mattered to community members in ways that I had not anticipated. For instance, Rosario read my transcription of the parts of our interview that were in Spanish. She told me that the transcription was accurate (meaning it represented what she had said) but, seeing the written transcription, she would like her response to conforme más, to be more grammatically and elegantly stated than the enthusiastic response she had given in our interview. The more elegantly-phrased response did not change Rosario's meaning, and I changed the transcription accordingly. Although some researchers (e.g., Creswell, 2013) recommend not sharing transcriptions with participants, but instead sharing interpretations and analyses, I found that representation matters, and sharing the transcription is necessary and beneficial to building trust as well as research validity. I am

grateful to Rosario, Isabella, Leo, Gina, and Eva for taking the time to read transcriptions and for their thoughtful comments.

Following Phase III, in May-June of 2014, I met with four community members to get clarification on suggestions for program improvement that had been collected from surveys the previous semester. To get clarification, I first shared the anonymous survey responses. In exchange, I provided four weeks of English lessons for the group, generally meeting at my home. Because we met in the afternoon, after they finished work, they brought their children with them. What I learned from these four women was implemented in the Conversation Cafés (for instance, they recommended more examples of sentence structures, more practice dialogues, and more bilingual support). I owe Carol, Loretta, Lina, and Jocelyn a debt for this important feedback.

Following Phase IV, in February 2016, I met with the group of four community members who recorded conversations at TCL2. This was an important opportunity to learn how community members viewed the flexibility of their roles in the conversations. First, I played excerpts from two recorded conversations for them. After I played the recordings, participants commented on what they heard. I followed up with questions. For instance, noting that one participant had taken a "teacher" role in a conversation, I asked whether he had intended to do so. This participant, Umar, had many years of experience teaching in his country of origin, and his "teaching" role, he said, was habitual. Here, I take the opportunity to thank these community members, Eva, Trish, Umar, and Aesera, for their recordings and for our subsequent talk together.

Researcher positionality. Agar (1980) asks ethnographers: "Who are you to do this?" Given the more four years of the study, the question could be, "Who have you become?" To answer these questions, I begin with a personal statement, followed by a statement of positionality as a researcher.

Personal statement. To respond to Agar's question in broad terms, I am a woman of white European ancestry. I am a member of the working class, and a mother. During the years of this research, I have become a grandmother. I have been and continue to be strongly invested in work toward equity in education, and social justice. My beliefs about equitable and humane distribution of resources draw me to critical scholarship.

Although I was born in the U.S., I grew up with my immediate maternal family and grandparents, working-class folk from Scotland, living back and forth between France, the U.S., and the Netherlands. Most of my life, people have asked me, "Where are you from?" For myself and immediate family, the "America" of our imagination was the place we were going to, not where we were from. While these aspects of my life perhaps do not answer Agar's question, and as a person who has experienced "America" *looking in* more than *being in*, my interests in language, culture, education, equity, and in the aspirations and socioeconomic forces that drive people into life's headwinds are entwined with my life, and became relevant to how community members viewed me as a teacher and researcher in this project.

Positioning as a researcher. Paris (2011) wrote of research as a process that transforms everyone involved, including the researcher. Some researchers (e.g., Lareau & Schultz, 1996) have observed that ethnography *is* relationships, and that is what I have

learned. My relationships to the university as an instructor in its ESL program for

international students from 2010-2014, as the instructor for CBL, gave me credibility as

someone who could be knowledgeable about language. I believe that my early history,

which I shared, positioned me as someone who could potentially understand what it

means to migrate to a new country. Although I arrived in the U.S. speaking English, and

have not experienced discrimination because of my ancestry, I have experienced cultural

and socioeconomic uncertainty.

Aware that my comings-and-goings at community organizations took the

organizations' time, in return, I led English classes when invited to, and asked the

community partner organizations about issues of relevance to them. This coordination at

times led to focusing Conversation Café planning on community members' preparations

to attend City Council meetings. For instance, preparing for a City Council meeting on an

ordinance for earned sick leave, we practiced vocabulary related to "earned sick days"

and discussed access to health care. I also expressed my solidarity on these and other

issues by attending community-led events. Aware of power imbalances, for instance, in

the highly asymmetrical construct of the "interview," I asked community members, "Is

there anything you want to ask me?" In so doing, I experienced the odd, dual sense of

commitment and vulnerability in the interview, which is built upon trust in the person

who is empowered to tell the story (see Agar, 1980). In my Conversation Café and

interview interactions, I asked for community members' input, and their preferred

language. These linguistic actions of *inviting* input for interpretation, translation, for

requesting information about issues of relevance, and desires for language use, have been important to CBL practices.

Throughout the data collection process, I have been involved and immersed in the research settings. Over the years, community members have asked me to help them with translations, advertisements, and flyers to obtain employment, and their applications to schools; I have been happy to do so in and outside of the Conversation Cafés. A disadvantage of this immersion is that as I am participating in events and conversations, it is difficult to make observations about what is going on, and I am, personally, uncomfortable in that role. My discomfort as the "instrument" of data collection while at community organizations and in class led me to jot down field notes afterward. Ultimately, I take the organizations' invitations to teach, and community members' requests for advice as expressions of confidence. I forever am in debt to community members and university students who allowed me to balance research with friendship and generously gave me the gift of responding to my questions with thought and care.

As I move into the findings chapters, I attempt to use the lenses of activity and identity, drawing primarily from university students' journals and from subsequent interviews with them to present case studies that respond to the research questions:

1) What repertoires of identity are co-constructed through service-learning activity?
2) What broad discourses of identity become salient to university students?
3) How are these identities negotiated? What interactional moves contribute?

In Chapter 4, I begin by outlining service-learning and contextualizing the project; I then turn to university students' narrations. In Chapter 5, I discuss changes that were

made to the service-learning project by implementing action research, and students'

perceptions of the activity in which they were involved. In Chapter 6, following a

description of the setting, participants, event, and activity, recorded conversations will be

analyzed, providing insights into what actually happens in the intercultural conversations

between university students and community members at the Conversation Cafés.

Chapter Four: (Re)Constructing Self in America

> Bilingual/ Bi-cultural: The American Dream? As a person who comes from a bi-cultural background I often witnessed the tension between being "American" and being true to "where you come from." Language is a central point in this dispute, because to be American means to speak English (usually without any accent). Although America is the country built on immigration, we have come to stigmatize our immigrants and their languages/accents become markers that are used against them.
>
> (Kelsey, Journal 9, December 2012)

This opening excerpt from a journal written by Kelsey, a bilingual university student, foregrounds themes of language, culture, and membership that I identified in students' narratives of their experiences in the service-learning project for English. Narratives are understood as ways of using language to make sense of self, "to establish coherence across past, present, and as yet unrealized experience" (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 2). Using this definition, Kelsey's question "Bilingual/Bicultural: The American Dream?" is itself a narrative of marginalization, of a bilingual/bicultural identity that is excluded from "being American" and is yet a possibility, within sight. In this excerpt, Kelsey described herself both as a traveler, "true to where you *come from*," and a group member who has arrived, "*we* have come to stigmatize *our* immigrants." The text, as well as her question, illuminated her dual vantage points as a witness and a participant. These identities, traveler and group member, linked with a broader narrative of English monolingualism as integral to an American identity, were (re)negotiated through Kelsey's participation in the service-learning project for English conversation. These and other student stories of (de) and (re)construction of their membership in the U.S. polity

form this chapter. Before sharing the stories that were shared with me, I first describe service-learning, and contextualize this research within the service-learning literature.

Service-learning is a pedagogy that combines academic study with community-based activity. In language-focused programs such as this one, service-learning pedagogy relies on social interaction to generate learning. Social interaction is fundamental as an expected outcome of service-learning's capacity to bring different social groups together; as such, interaction forms both a curriculum, a context, and a process for learning. Drawing from related sociocultural concepts—community of practice, identity, and language socialization—this investigation takes the poststructuralist view that social interaction, fundamental to service-learning, is a locus for identity construction. Identity is constructed both in relation to the given activity in which interaction occurs; and the possibilities afforded by the given activity, utilizing available resources, such as language. Language is a tool for such construction (Bakhtin, 1935/1981; Vygotsky, 1978), and, holds a symbolic dimension – language is inscribed with social division, informing construction of social categories. As Holland and colleagues (1998) wrote, language is "freighted with the valences of power, position, and privilege" (p. 191).

Although the service-learning literature is extensive, there is a silence regarding university students' social positions, social identities, and trajectories that suggests normative, monolingual, monocultural assumptions (DuBord & Kimball, 2016; Green, 2003; Meens, 2014; Harper, 2009; Leeman, 2011; Leeman et al., 2011; Wesely, Glynn, & Wassell, 2016). Curricula and assessments have generally been designed with an "imagined monolingual student" in mind (Leeman, 2011, p. 302). Related to this

monolingual orientation in curriculum and assessment design, service-learning research

has rarely problematized monolingual English ideology in programs for English in

diasporic and/or marginalized communities (Curtis & Curran, 2015; Lear & Abbott,

2008; Leeman, 2011; Leeman, et al., 2011; Rabin, 2009), leaving unexamined questions

of representation of university students and communities in the literature. This study

examines these questions and locates struggles with monolingual English ideology in

university students' narratives of their conflicts. The students I selected to represent

themes identified in the findings chapter are not outliers, but rather, represent the

perspectives of the diverse participants. In this chapter, I explore the specific ways that

these conflicts emerged for university students, and the negotiations of identity that

occurred for them. These explorations respond to research questions one and two: 1)

What repertoires of identity are co-constructed through service-learning activity? 2) What

broad discourses of identity become salient to university students? We will hear from

students, including Kelsey, who described their experiences in ESL programs and in

Conversation Cafés at two focal community organizations, The Community Link 1

(TCL1) and The Community Link 2 (TCL2). The students' narrations are organized

thematically into four sections: *Claiming Language and Culture*; *Being a Speaker of*

English; *Being a Teacher of Culture*; and *Being Bilingual and Bicultural.*

Claiming Language and Culture

To further contextualize university students' narratives, this section begins with a

brief description of the English and ESL/Citizenship classes at TCL2, and the participants

who attended these classes. At TCL2, national- and state-level volunteer projects for

ESL, as well as individual volunteers to "teach" English, were offered to a diverse public.

National- and state-level volunteer projects for ESL at TCL2 were evidenced in flyers

distributed by groups such as *Literacy Volunteers of America* that linked English to

"motivation skills" and "parenting skills" for instance. These flyers, collected at TCL2,

illustrate cultural models that position immigrants (immigrant women in particular) and

English learners in general as lacking in "motivation" and/or incompetent as parents,

reproducing a global ideology of English (i.e., its so-called intrinsic value, described by

Borjian, 2013; Phillipson, 1997; Seargeant & Erling, 2011) that has historically been

employed in the U.S. to measure a person's "worthiness" to be a citizen (Spring,

1994/1997). These contemporary examples from a local organization in Riverport

illustrate how global English ideology has been reproduced locally as a form of "social

uplift" (described by Pavlenko, 2005; Rabin, 2009, in Chapter 2) applied to immigrant

communities. In addition to these national- and state-level programs, the library offered

weekly ESL conversation and discussion groups led by individual volunteers, English

speakers who were unproblematically positioned as competent to lead these activities,

despite lack of training or language knowledge.

Community members who attended classes were generally in their 30s, of diverse

ethnic, linguistic, and academic backgrounds. Some were visiting scholars connected to

the nearby university; others were professionals who looked forward to using their

credentials in the United States, and in the meantime, found employment at the

manufacturing, warehouse, and home health care industries in the area (described in

Chapter 3). A few participants had retired from manufacturing or similar work. In what

follows, we hear first from James, a university student who supported one of the volunteer-fronted ESL "discussion" groups in fall 2012.

James. "These are questions I asked myself before starting." James, a U.S. student of African-American ancestry, described himself as growing up in a conservative, mostly white middle-class, New Jersey suburban town. An English major with a minor in Spanish, he wrote in his Pre-Course Survey (September 5, 2012), "I enjoy languages and language learning and wanted hands-on experience with community-based learning.… I also hope to learn aspects of educational theory that I might be able to apply when I become a teacher in the future." His strong orientation to teaching was also evidenced in his observations, recorded in his journals:

> In the first class I observed, the instructor had initially planned to discuss words related to shopping. However, due to the questions that the students were asking, the discussion soon became about shopping in Riverport and then about Riverport and the surrounding areas in general. This new discussion prompted much more participation than the initial lesson had. (James, J1, September 2012).

James noticed the ways that community members responded to the discussion topic on his first day. Referring to a class reading, (i.e., Auerbach, 1993), he continued, "One of the main lessons I have learned so far relates to the importance of allowing the wants and needs of language learners to guide and inform curriculum content." He consistently described his involvement in terms of shaping language learners' experiences, such as *guide* and *inform* (in the previous sentence), and *ensuring*, *solving the problem* (in the excerpt below), referring to participants as "students" in a setting that caused him concern:

[A]s the class's instructor [referring to the volunteer ESL instructor at TCL2] has increasingly focused on political issues, I am starting to worry that some students might be either offended or at least hesitant to practice discussing the topics in English for fear of offending somebody else. Ultimately, I want all the learners to find the class utile and the only way to ensure that would be to ask the students directly what they want to learn. However.… I am not the class's main instructor or supervisor and do not have control over what is taught each week. To solve this problem, I hope to be able to ask the students to perhaps write down what they would be interested in learning about North American English. (James, J5, October 2012).

Here, we can see James's uptake of language that was used in the CBL class. For instance, *North American English* (a variety of English) suggests the evolution of English within historical and political contexts in which multiple varieties of the language were produced. And, we can see James's concerns about the utility of the discussions for community members. His worries were justified: when I visited this class, led by a retiree named Duke, I noted that he spoke most of the time, barely pausing to allow his "students" to ask him questions. One October day, in the run-up to a presidential election in which health care and immigration policy were central issues, and repeatedly addressed in Duke's talks (author's field notes October 9 and 16, 2012), Duke suddenly announced, "All you people came here. We don't see anybody going to your country." Perhaps these remarks were intended as a question, but I can only conclude that Duke deemed them to be appropriate. They were followed by silence. I then explained to Duke that students in my class were expected to engage in small group conversations, and he reluctantly ceded the floor, allowing small groups to form.

James led the entire ESL class when Duke could not be there. For instance, having inquired about community members' desires for English, and having learned that

they would like to get better service at a restaurant, ask questions about a phone bill, or politely refuse a request, he developed a conversation guide called *How to Complain*, which proved to be popular.

> Before this class, I had asked the learners to write down lessons that they might be interested in learning… Thus, because some of the students showed a strong interest in these two topics [complaints and refusals], they responded to the lesson well and were, overall, very willing to participate. I also noticed that many learners were enthusiastic about working in groups as opposed to being lectured to. (James, J6, November 2012).

This excerpt forms a reflection on opportunities to discuss culturally and contextually relevant topics generated by community members. These opportunities, James found later, did not necessarily rely on "native speakers" such as himself. Community members were engaging with each other effectively as "mutual conversation partners" he observed (James, J7, November 2012). This observation formed an important discovery, a reconsideration of the role of "native speakers" in language learning, and an example of de-centering.

In response to another class reading (i.e., Banks, 2008), James reflected on possible cultural identities as they applied to himself and others:

> [To] the individuals I work with who came from other countries, I am seen as an English-speaking American, but to people who have grown up in the United States, I am often seen as Black or African-American.… I hold two different cultural identities that can become relevant in different contexts. Individuals who emigrate from different countries also hold multiple cultural identities: the identities associated with their home countries, their new American identities, and the interesting identity that arises from the language or languages they speak. Because every individual within the United States carries with them multiple cultural identities, it would not be logical to attempt to synthesize a single conception of citizenship or identity. (James, J9, December 2012).

James' reflection on identity was framed in terms of the nation-state and race, categories of identity that he understood as context-dependent, therefore socially constructed. This (de)construction referenced a historical and ongoing marginalization of African Americans in the U.S. citizenship narrative and collective memory (described by Vickery, 2016 as *civic estrangement*). Noting new possibilities for multiple cultural identities, in his next journal, he expanded upon this theme:

> The idea that there is one "right" kind of citizen or one rigidly defined identity that can represent all of the United States are both notions which my experience has … largely invalidated. It is through interacting with these individuals over the common goal of wanting to achieve a greater understanding of English that I have been able to gain a greater appreciation and respect for different ethnic and cultural identities and have begun to see myself as part of a larger global community that extends far beyond Riverport (James, J10, December 2012).

James' reflections unfolded as a process of (de)constructing taken-for-granted categories of identity, the nation-state and race. I understand it as a particular process of self-making ("authoring" described by Holland et al., 1998) that was encouraged by his participation in the academic course (described as an "initiative for social justice" in his J10), reflections on the texts we read, and by interactions that challenged "all these negative images" of immigrants as "poor and uneducated," with whom he found he shared a common goal. Rigid categories of U.S. membership were in the past ("invalidated"), while a new option became available ("I have begun to see myself"), an assertion of power for self-identity. This process has been described both as *civic estrangement* (Tillett, 2012, cited in Vickery, 2016, p. 29), as mentioned, and *cultural*

citizenship (Flores, 1997; Ong, 1996). Civic estrangement and cultural citizenship share

a quest, "a search for a new site of citizenship where African Americans, and other

historically marginalized groups, can redefine the notion of citizenship that better attends

to their cultural historical knowledge (2016, p. 29). Ong (1996) focused on "everyday

processes through which people, especially immigrants, are made into subjects of a

particular nation-state" (p. 737); and the cultural resources available to re-make

themselves in relation to nation-states. Adding that this dual process of citizen-making

could be applied to situations other than immigration, Ong wrote:

> Cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs
> of power linked to the nation state and civil society. Becoming a citizen depends
> on how one is constituted as a subject who exercises or submits to power
> relations; one must develop … an attitude of self-making in shifting fields of
> power that include the nation-state and the wider world (1996, p. 738).

Here, Ong referenced cultural citizenship as an emancipatory response to implicit

racial and cultural ranking of groups of people through routine activities of inclusion and

exclusion (p. 740). Flores (1997) also wrote of cultural citizenship that "involves self-

definition, affirmation, and empowerment" (p. 262). James identified (as did Kelsey)

discursive processes about who belongs and who does not, and the role of language in

inscribing a person's identity and worth. Ultimately, these students' reflections informed

an empowering process of self-definition and affirmation.

James later earned a Fulbright scholarship to teach English abroad, and when he

returned, we had an opportunity to catch up for a member-check of the book chapter,

"Who's Helping?" (Curtis & Curran, 2015), in which he was a focal participant. Our

phone conversation traced his year of teaching English overseas, and farther back to his

experiences in CBL. I learned in this conversation that his students at the South American

university, assuming that English was not his first language, asked him how he had

learned it. In this interview (PI, August 21, 2015), we talked about the native/non-native

speaker dichotomy, and it was then I also learned that when he was in CBL, community

members had asked him about AAVE. The following is reconstructed from my phone

interview notes and ensuing emails:

> James: I never took it badly, just that people would ask about AAVE, which I
>   don't consider myself a speaker of AAVE, but people would ask.

> Jess: As a teacher, I wondered about that. It didn't come up in class.
>   ((Talk about readings to address native speakerism)).

> James: I was a little bit concerned about how I would be perceived by the
>   community members because I was black.…Would they consider me to be
>   as intelligent as the other conversation partners? Would they assume that I
>   spoke English "less fluently" than white Americans? These were the
>   questions I asked myself before starting, but honestly, it turned out that
>   there was really no difference in how I was treated, and everyone was
>   respectful. [O]ne student commented that I "didn't speak like other black
>   people" … I wasn't necessarily offended by this comment, but it did make
>   me think about how the community members perceived African
>   Americans.

James had a concern from the start about how he and other African-American

students might be perceived. As we were talking, I recalled a class discussion about

languages in our lives, during which I had noted that James described himself as a

"typical New Jersey suburban kid" who was learning Spanish. Thinking back to this

conversation in class, I intuited that the local community identity he described in class

could be a critique, a form of resistance to "languages in our lives" as a topic. We

continued by email:

> Jess: I remember that people [in class] were sharing their language and family backgrounds when you contributed, "typical NJ suburban kid." I wondered how you meant that. For instance, it could have been an act of resistance to the topic (which would be ok). Or, maybe you meant that you were socioeconomically, a middle-class suburban kid. Thoughts on that?
>
> James: To be completely honest, I don't remember saying that. I was probably trying to say that I had a pretty typical middle-class upbringing.…Could you explain more of what you mean when you say … "an act of resistance"? I think I understand what you mean but I just want to be sure.
>
> Jess: Maybe you were distancing yourself from the topic in a polite way.
>
> James: It's very possible that I did say that! … Mainly I just meant to say that I had a middle-class upbringing and that topics like language were not really discussed at home. Like many other African Americans, I am not 100% certain of my heritage, and I used to be a little jealous of other people who could talk about their own backgrounds with such confidence (for instance, knowing exactly where their grandparents or great-grandparents were from), when that knowledge has largely been stripped from African Americans who can trace their ancestry back to slavery in this country. So, I do understand what you mean about resistance. It's possible the discussion "flared up" my own sensitivities or uncertainties about my background and heritage.

A class discussion that began about "languages in our lives" opened onto the

history of the African slave trade in the United States through which peoples' languages

and cultures were destroyed—processes of deculturalization, coercively stripping away of

a people's language and culture and replacing it with a new culture (described by Spring,

1994/1997). James was not the only student of African ancestry in the 2012 cohort, but

he was the only one to have grown up entirely in the United States. That day, in class,

James's response both resisted the topic of language (as a topic only of immigration and

not of the slave trade) and turned our attention toward local (New Jersey and suburban)
and socioeconomic (middle-class) life. The member-check interview formed an
opportunity to bring to the surface this history of language in the U.S., in addition to
immigration history. Another African-American student, Tara, later described her
struggles with language in her class writings. In her first journal, she revisited her
elementary school years in a diverse, urban community.

> **Tara. "Not a reflection as much as it is for me a starting point."** Tara grew up
in a large, diverse, urban, New Jersey community; her family's roots were in North
Carolina. A language major focusing on Greek and Latin, she wrote that she hoped to
"teach ESL in other countries and in areas of need" and that she hoped to learn "what to
expect when teaching" (Pre-Course Survey, September 6, 2016). She participated as a
conversation partner at TCL2. By 2016, CBL had ceased to support Duke's "discussion"
group. Instead, CBL students participated in Conversation Cafés that were organized by
students who had previously completed CBL and who enrolled in CBL Independent
Study courses. In her first journal, following the in-class discussion of languages and
language varieties, Tara described language as a "barrier" for her in K-12 schools:

> I had to learn about language barriers from experience at an early age. I remember
> going down to North Carolina in second grade and hearing my grandmother ask
> me if I wanted a "slice of the river" as she'd pour water into a cup. I then recall
> using this phrase in my classroom, after hearing similar phrases for a week, and
> getting laughed at (Tara, J1, September 2016).

Here, Tara reflected on the rich language that she had learned from her
grandmother and the laughter with which it was received in school. In a subsequent

interview, I asked about her teacher's reaction, curious as to what happened in the diverse

urban elementary school that Tara attended. "'I've never heard of that. It's just water, do

you want water?'" Tara remembered the teacher saying to her at the school water

fountain. "I was 8 years old, in third grade. Words and accents mattered even in

elementary school," she said. We can see in this account the pressure for linguistic

conformity in her elementary school – her bivarietal English, as Tara pointed out, was

experienced as a barrier. In her journals, Tara noticed diverse participants' efforts for

speaking English:

> At least once per Conversation Café session, there has been a discussion about the
> ways each member of the table has been practicing their target languages. Each
> time I reflect on this, I think about what the community members want to express
> to one another…. A regular member mentioned that she would watch movies
> every day in English because it reminded her of watching movies with her friends
> in Mexico.… [O]ne talked about how going shopping or visiting malls helped
> them with their confidence in the language because it reminded them of their
> daily life in one of the busiest cities in China.

Tara's observation highlighted the ways in which familiar experiences and

routines could be employed to advance learning a new language. This reflection

highlighted language as social practice:

> I found particular interest in this week's reading for our course.… [O]n page 174
> of Norton's 7th chapter for *Identity and Language Learning,* it states that
> "language learning is not an abstract skill that can be easily transferred from one
> context to another. It is a social practice that engages the identities of learners in
> complex and sometimes contradictory ways (Norton, 2013)." (Tara, J4,
> November 2016).

Tara's thinking as she described it in this journal highlights language learning as engaging both practice and context. Commenting on shaming and embarrassing incidents retold by Spanish-speaking community members in these conversation sessions (such as being interrupted with a comment about "tacos" while chatting on a check-out line, and being shouted at for speaking Spanish [and not English] while waiting for a bus), Tara reflected on the power of media, "how the media depicts people of Latin descent," and how the media "limits the exploration of other forms of identities," (Tara, J5, December 2016). This reflection on identity and depictions of Latin@s in the media led her to a broader inquiry about America's "multicultural" narrative of itself, and the history of the African slave trade in the Americas:

> As an African-American woman with no knowledge of my ancestry, I had always valued the people who were able to embrace their culture in America. Given the diversity that always seemed to be around me, I at first foolishly thought that it was common to welcome the cultures of other communities. I attempted to understand how difficult it could be to come into a new community and not be understood….The African-American label holds a problem for me given that it represents both those who were born in Africa as well as those who were born in America with African descent, and it is examples similar to this that cause me to wonder if this is the root of how we start to clump cultural stereotypes with appearances or what it is socially accepted for one to be characterized as….This last thought is not a reflection as much as it is for me a starting point (Tara, J5, December 2016).

James's and Tara's journals and interviews, while different in their arcs and timelines, described a sense of loss (of language and culture), and, empowering processes of re-making a sense of self (as a member of a global, transnational community), as well as (de)construction of the "melting pot" myth of seamless assimilation. Additionally, Tara's journals touched upon the K-12 experiences of African-American children while

NCLB was in effect, from 2001 onward. While Tara was not in an ESL class, the narrow focus on "standard" English abruptly implemented under NCLB indisputably invited racialized disciplining of African American students who spoke non-mainstream English (Lipman, 2004, p. 169). We can see from Tara's excerpt and interview that the rich and poetic language she learned from her grandmother was devalued in school. In a phone interview (PI, June 21, 2017), she said, with emphasis, "I haven't had a culture, other people have culture, and in the class, then I realized the parts of what make a culture. Language, relationships," she continued, "phrases that black people say, things I relate to, but not necessarily what I think of as culture. It made me think of things I saw in my childhood," she said. This reflection illustrates deculturalization as perpetuated in education policy and routine interactions. Tara's reflections resist this process and constructions of "difference" through powerful institutions such as education and media. Tara (re)constructed her identity as a member of a cultural group.

Being a Speaker of English

Thirty-two students of the 110 who participated over four years described themselves as transnational students – those who immigrated to the U.S. as children, in high school, or were international students at the university. Of those who attended U.S. K-12 schools, many attended ESL classes. Those who did not attend ESL classes were students who immigrated to the U.S. while in college (7), international students, meaning those who held student visas (3), a student who received private tutoring in English while in elementary school (1), and a student who was born in the U.S., first attending a U.S.

elementary school, then school overseas (1). In what follows, we obtain a sense of transnational students' experiences in ESL:

> Personally, when I started learning English in regular ESL classes, the teachers always made sure to appreciate my Spanish as part of my learning. However, there were some occasions when I had to hear the usual saying "Speak English, we are in America" and this gave me a bad idea of speaking my own language [Spanish] because other people were not appreciating it (Abril, J5, December 2015).

The discourse of who is *in* America, illustrated above, disregards the long history of Spanish and Spanish speakers in the Americas (Rosa, 2015), contributes to racialized constructions of Spanish speakers (see Leeman, 2013), and reinforces the false narrative of English as integral to an American identity. In addition to learning of these detrimental experiences for Spanish-speaking transnational students, what was striking to me was that students of African ancestry who were *already bilingual* in English and another language were placed in ESL classes. These students emigrated from countries where English is an official language, such as Ghana, Jamaica, and Nigeria. Paulette, a student of African ancestry in the fall 2015 cohort, wrote:

> Although I was born in the country and had only spent a few years outside of the U.S., my accented English resulted in my placement in ESL classes for two years…. I felt that I was not allowed to call myself American because of my accented speech. I assume that this is how other accented, or novice English speakers must feel.

This reflection illustrated a normalized exclusion routine. Abril received "a bad idea of speaking my own language" while the history of Spanish in the U.S. was disregarded; Paulette described an American identity that was placed beyond her reach, despite being

her born in the United States. The excerpt illustrates Paulette's empathy and solidarity with her peer in the class and others she met through the community-based conversation groups. She continued with a reflection on language, an American identity, and the possibility of a new identity:

> Language when it intersects with society, can often be used to categorize people. It can create a social bias against certain groups by pinpointing a group with a certain ancestry as incapable of being American citizens… Language is a big factor in one's identity. It allows one to present themselves or their culture through themselves to others…. As a bilingual speaker of both English and Twi I believe that I am set apart from everyone else and enjoy showing others my first language whenever I can. By knowing two languages, I do not feel constricted to one identity and I am able to be a multicultural citizen. (Paulette, J5, December 2015).

This excerpt recognizes citizenship as socially constructed, and racialized, constructing some groups of people as "incapable of being American citizens." We also see an empowering process of self-identity as a member of a meaningful community ("I am able to be a multicultural citizen"), a process described by Flores, 1997; Ong, 1996; Vickery, 2016 and others. These processes for recognition and empowerment were described in stages (seen in change from past to present tense). First, an understanding of the "American" cultural identity as the only option, and an option that was not available ("I was not allowed"), changed to an understanding of "American" as a "constricted" identity ("I do not feel constricted to one identity"). Another option became available ("multicultural citizen"). We can see a process of empowerment (from "I was not allowed" to "I am able to be") that relates to Paulette's positive (re)interpretation of her linguistic resources ("by knowing two languages") to claim multicultural citizenship. I

turn now to Olivia, who participated as a conversation partner at TCL2's ESL/Citizenship class in fall 2012, along with Deborah and Brie, also bilingual, transnational students in that cohort.

Olivia. "When I look in the near future, I see myself as a culturally competent person who will help others." Olivia had immigrated with her family to a large, urban New Jersey community while in high school, and, although bilingual, she was placed in ESL classes "because of my accent," she told us in class. English was the official language in her country of origin, and, the official language for education in that country. A public health major, she wrote in her Pre-Course Survey (September 5, 2012), "My expectation from this program is to increase my communication skills and the ability to help other people. Since I am an immigrant, it gives me the privilege to help other people who are also an immigrant. I hope this experience will help me learn as well and be able to help address their needs." She hoped that she might help others "achieve the American dream," she wrote in her first journal that semester. Olivia, with Deborah and Brie, were together at TCL2's teacher-fronted ESL/Citizenship class. "There were students from India, Dominican Republic, Argentina, and Russia," mostly older women, Brie wrote (Brie, J2, October 2012).

They remembered their disappointment when on their first day, Judy, a retired nurse who led ESL/Citizenship, apparently confused about what the students were expected to do, asked them "to sit at the back of the class not saying much the whole session" (Deborah, J10, December 2012). Nevertheless, they quickly became involved, leading a class when Judy could not be there. "On October 8th, there was a

miscommunication and the teacher, Judy, did not attend the class. The students however

did not know and showed up." They described a sense of urgency on behalf of

community members, for example someone who "was to have his exam in the next two

days" (Deborah, J2, October 2012). In response, they made one-on-one appointments

with community members beyond the hours of the ESL/Citizenship class.

> I have one student who thinks that English has become a barrier for her to acquire
> her citizenship…. I feel like if they are willing and ready to learn the English to
> acquire their citizenship why not be of help to them. It is also a great experience
> for these people to receive such an offer (Olivia, J4, October 2012).

Here, we see that English was capital that Olivia was aware she possessed and

could offer. In her journals, such as the journal excerpted above, she frequently referred

to English as a "barrier" to citizenship. Her awareness of "accent" as a marker of non-

membership that she had experienced in her ESL class led to a connection with

community members, "[t]hey feel uncomfortable to talk…. I use myself as an example to

them because I have an accent too" she wrote in her journal (Olivia, J7, November 2012).

Later she added, "The classroom interaction can often be something new to an individual.

I personally experienced the same fear when I made a journey to the United States,"

(Olivia, J8, November 2012), evidence of Olivia's empathy.

All three students described the preparation for the citizenship exam as largely

consisting of memorization; nonetheless, they had opportunities for conversations within

the ESL/Citizenship framework. "I am glad that we sometimes start dialogues with the

students which allow opportunities for them to engage in different conversations and use

some of the vocabulary that they learn. It actively engages them and makes them feel

more comfortable," Olivia wrote (J10, December 2012). Again referencing "barriers" she

wrote about her hope to become "a culturally competent person who will help others

break through certain barriers in life." To me, Olivia seemed culturally competent – by

cultural competence I mean that she was aware of the interactional demands of a new

language and had empathy for new speakers as they navigated social structures such as

the ESL classroom routine. In what follows, she described her own struggles with

belonging in the U.S.:

> In my cultural history, my struggle, my sense of belonging, and how the aspect of
> culture that becomes a contributor to my identity is revealed. I had always
> realized the struggle faced by humanity in [country name], West Africa as I was
> growing up. For that reason, I have always appreciated every moment of life,
> always trying not to take for granted the opportunities that are available to me in
> the United States. When I looked back, I would always see a brother who wished
> he had an opportunity to spend even a day in my shoes or a sister who just wished
> she had a pair of shoes. All that I seek is to be a part of change and I realize that it
> all begins with seeking knowledge and taking steps to help those who are
> underprivileged (Olivia, J10, December 2012).

Olivia described her struggle with her "sense of belonging" as she gazed ahead

from the vantage point of "opportunities that are available to me in the United States."

Although the wording (*those* who are underprivileged) suggested social distance, I re-

read it to also include geographic and cultural distance in relation to those left behind.

She wrote of immigrants who "are in the same boat I was in before" and the struggles

"between living within one's own identity and living outside a person's culture." Olivia

defined becoming "a culturally competent person" for herself as developing the capacity

to "help others," suggesting to me a desire for legitimacy as a member of the U.S. The

issue of legitimacy emerged in an interview (RI, December 05, 2012) with Olivia,

Deborah, and Brie. In the following excerpt, they responded to the interview question

"What did you learn?"

Deborah:	Going off of what Olivia said, when I was growing up, well I grew up part of my life in [country name], West Africa. And low English proficiency was equated with low education and I kind of had that mentality here in America. But it's so not like that, as Olivia was saying, these are people who had good jobs in their countries.
Int:	So you got a kind of different perspective…
Deborah:	Yes. And also, to be more sensitive.
Int:	… Nice … I'm going to flip the question. What do you think they learned from you?
Brie:	I feel like some of the students didn't expect the college students to be helping them learn English. That was kind of a shock to them=
Int:	=Kind of a surprise.
Brie:	=yeah because … they thought that I was in the classroom, also learning
Int:	Right. So they might have changed their ideas too.
Deborah:	Yeah, they would be like, "Oh, so you're a student, you're at university?"

As Deborah and Brie recalled how community members at TCL2 had reacted to them, Olivia had been silent. A few minutes later, she said, "I think a lot of people we were helping passed their exams. They would call us and thank us, gave us gifts." Olivia turned the conversation toward a material contribution she and her peers had made: community members had passed their citizenship exams in English. This contribution of

citizenship was one that was measured with clarity and conferred upon community members by the state. Deborah quickly chimed in on this concrete evidence of their help, recalling a community member who "just wants to be a citizen he wants to be American and we helped him," for which he thanked them (RI, December 05, 2012). This exchange illustrated a dynamic through which the students' surprise—immigrant adults were educated and "had good jobs in their countries" as Olivia and Deborah said—was mirrored when community members reacted upon learning that these African and Latin@ women were university students. The students' experience was a two-way window into a persistent ideology of English (see Auerbach, 1993; Pennycook, 2007; Phillipson, 2009; Levine, 2013; Seargeant & Erling, 2011 for historical and political analysis), propagated worldwide, that equates English with education, and implicates ethnicity and immigration with speaking English or not (for examples, see Bremer et al., 1996; Norton, 2013). The exchanges also illustrate that these students re-defined cultural competence as the capacity to help others, and their help concretely demonstrated such competence.

When I visited TCL2's ESL/Citizenship classes in November that year, I observed that all three students were sitting with community members, either reading with them or rehearsing the citizenship exam questions. Judy, the ESL/Citizenship teacher, praised them and the help they gave to the class. I did not notice estrangement during these visits, and Deborah was explicit in her journals about the respect community members had shown them. Describing an interaction with a community member, she wrote, "I noticed the respect he gave us as teachers and was alert and careful to follow any instruction we gave him for the citizenship test," (Deborah, J2, October 2012). I

listened again to the recorded interview, and wondered how Brie felt about the issue, as she had described the community members' initial response to them as "shock." Brie responded by email, "The students we were helping were surprised that we were assisting in the class. I guess this had to do with our age and how young we looked. They may have expected their teacher (and assistants) to be their age or older." Ultimately, it is unclear why community members reacted the way they did. It is clear, however, that the university students and community members adapted and formed connections, evidenced in actions such as exchanging phone numbers (e.g., "they would call us and thank us") and in expressions of empathy (e.g., "they feel uncomfortable to talk"). However, in contrast with reports from Anne, a university student of white European ancestry, these students' experiences also suggest that the role of "teacher" was not equally ascribed to each student, at least not initially, just as the identity of "English speaker" was not equally ascribed to students of African and/or Latin@ ancestries, as we have seen.

Being a Teacher of Culture

Anne and Noor were partners at an affiliate of TCL2, where together, they led two ESL classes. Citing long waiting lists, the TCL2 staff may have felt pressure to open new classes, and Anne and Noor were positioned as "teachers." In response to these expectations of the community partner organizations, additional class time in CBL was devoted to supporting students to develop materials for the ESL classes at TCL2.

Anne. "Learning about other ways of doing things can change our own ways." Anne wrote, "I love language and intercultural interaction. Teaching interests me as well. I hope to gain a better idea of whether language education is a career pathway

that I would like to pursue in the future. I hope that I learn more skills in terms of language teaching and interacting with people from other cultures" (Pre-Course Survey, September 5, 2012). Anne, a Middle Eastern Studies major, had lived in suburban New Jersey all her life, as had previous generations of her German-American family. On her first day at an ESL class at TCL2, she learned that the community was linguistically diverse, noting "I had expected that we would probably have only Spanish speakers in our ESL classes, but I was wrong." With the expectation that she might teach in the Middle East, Anne had studied Farsi, and was pleased that her struggles to learn a new language formed a basis for collaboration. She wrote, "I was surprised by how well I could relate my own struggles in learning languages to the experiences of community members in our classes, and by how we were able to find ways to combat those obstacles" (J1, September 2012). On her first day at TCL2, she was told by the organization director that she and her peer from CBL, Noor, were expected to be "teachers":

> I was a little anxious about this because I do not have any experience teaching and because we also did not have structured lesson plans for the day (other than completing introductions and finding out student goals). … In the first class, we had ten students registered and in the second we had six students registered, with the possibility of more joining in the coming weeks.

Given their backlog of registrations, TCL2 staff may have felt pressure to open a new class, as mentioned. Anne continued in her journal:

> The most difficult aspect was the expectation that the students [referring to community members] seemed to have. I think that they were expecting to have "real" experienced teachers and I felt bad because our lesson ended up being disorganized and maybe not helpful for everyone in the class…. The students

were also not entirely happy with the resources: some thought the books were too basic and others really wanted to be able to take the books home in order to study further. We decided to make copies of the important lessons and homework for the students. (Anne, J1, September 2012)

Anne and Noor, aware of the community members' disappointment, and learning that TCL2 did not allow ESL books to be taken home, made copies of materials, and aimed to fill the community expectation for "real" teachers, although they had expected to be conversation partners. Two other community partner organizations similarly communicated their expectations that university students would develop a "high quality curriculum" (author's notes, community partner meeting, September 19, 2012). One student dropped the CBL course upon learning that the volunteer ESL teacher he was placed with was no longer at the community organization; and that he was therefore expected, the organization director explained to him, to bring his own curriculum.

James pointed out that the service-learning program's early recruitment and promotional materials positioned university students as "advancing literacy skills in adults," contributing to the expectations held by community partners for university students' teaching, as well as contributing to university students' positioning themselves as "teachers" vis-à-vis community members. James continued, "I felt uncomfortable and at the time I wasn't really sure why," adding that he hadn't had "experience teaching adults" before then (PI, August 21, 2015).

In response to community organizations' expectations, we dedicated additional class time to planning the student-led conversation sessions. From my perspective, this was a period of learning about what would work best to guide university students who

were undergraduates in various academic departments (and not education majors who were learning how to teach, although certainly, some students were considering teaching as a career). Thus, I and others in the nascent program became involved in students' fulfillment of a "teaching" role despite the original plan for students' roles as English conversation partners.

CBL students found ways to apply theory to practice, as James had done. In the following, for instance, Anne referenced the need for fluent English speakers to self-monitor their amount of talk, a strategy that we had discussed in class, following our reading of Dooley (2009):

> I noticed during the middle of our Beginner ESL class that Noor and I had been doing a lot of the talking and asking of questions. At that point, I had decided to ask the students whether they had any questions for us about the class, about English, about anything…. Once they asked their questions, I could feel the classroom become a more comfortable environment…. The students also started dialogues with one another at this point, which is a great asset in learning (Anne, J1, September 2012).

In subsequent journals, Anne described her work as teaching (*organizing*, *designing*, and *reinforcing* lessons), and expressed concerns about the classroom environment (i.e., "I could feel the classroom become a more comfortable environment"). Anne's journals, and Noor's, also illustrated the extent to which the university students were positioned as teachers by community members. "During the class, the adults kept thanking us and at the end of the second session one of the adult learners called Anne and I *[sic]* 'angels' for helping her. It was such an honor to know that I will be helping the adult learners achieve their goals in having conversation in English" (Noor, J2,

September 2012). For Noor, a second-generation American, "helping the adult learners" was a vehicle for "giving back" for the help that had been given to her mother when she emigrated from Pakistan. Anne, however, was learning about the difficulties of learning English for the first time:

> I have taken notice to differences in the ways Noor and I speak, even though we have both lived in New Jersey for our entire lives. She grew up in a more urban, diverse setting, with parents who were immigrants. I grew up in a small suburban town, without much diversity, to parents who had been raised in New Jersey as well. We both understand one another, but there are definitely things that we say differently. So, my thinking was that if the two of us speak differently due to slightly differing environments, it must be really difficult for English language learners to be learning NAE (Anne, J5, November 2012).

The excerpt reveals increasing language awareness ("notice to differences" in NAE), making comparisons (of urban and suburban language, for instance), speculation ("it must be really difficult"), leading to an analysis of the situation for new immigrants in New Jersey. This awareness led to a reflection on her culture. "I am surprised to learn that I really am a perpetuator of American culture in my ESL classes!" Referencing our class reading of Norton (2000), Anne further reflected on her cultural membership and how it could be transmitted through teaching practices:

> In our class reading by Norton, she puts forth the idea that "teachers in the West cannot be complacent about the extent to which teaching practices can both constrain and enhance possibilities for ESL learners" (426). I would say that Noor and I were unknowingly teachers of culture through the cultural content of our lessons. … For example, we would ask about what everyone "did for fun over the previous weekend". This simple question actually assumed a lot about the students- that they had time for fun and weren't working, that they have family or friends to do things with, or that they have the disposable income to partake in weekend activities (such as going to the movies or eating at a restaurant). As Norton says, teachers must be mindful because there are so many subtle practices that act as enforcers of their culture. (Anne, J6, November 2012).

This excerpt illustrates Anne's awareness of an unmarked cultural membership that had been invisible to her ("unknowingly teachers of culture"). By the end of the semester, with her culture made visible, Anne shared her process of (de)construction. She reflected "this program has consisted of giving up my former assumptions, understanding where I am coming from linguistically and culturally, and witnessing how learning about other ways of doing things can change our own ways," (Anne, J10, December 2012). I turn now to Noor, also at TCL2. Although Anne and Noor were leading two ESL classes together, Noor's account of her first day at TCL2 was quite different than Anne's.

Noor. "I was born and raised in New Jersey." Noor, a second-generation student of South Asian ancestry, grew up near urban Riverport. She spoke Urdu, Hindi, and English at home; her major was Political Science. "When I read about the program I was interested especially since my mom did a similar program where someone helped her learn English. From this program, I expect to learn the different techniques of how to teach people. I think that while teaching I will learn unexpected things from the people I am teaching," she wrote in her pre-course survey (September 5, 2012). Noor, a practicing Muslim, described her first day at TCL2's ESL classes:

> One incident that occurred at the location was a man from [Middle East] asked me if I was Sunni, which is a form of an Islamic practice…. I politely answered and moved on to another topic because I did not want to go into depth into a controversial topic since it could have made either the adult learner and/or myself uncomfortable. If an adult learner was to become uncomfortable especially on the first day, they may choose not to return, and I did not want that to occur (Noor, J1, September 2012).

From Anne's perspective, a different dynamic was taking place. "It is also a little difficult for me because they [community members from Middle East] know that I am studying Persian (Farsi), so they direct most of their questions towards me," she wrote, (J2, September 2012). Both Anne and Noor described their experiences on that first day as uncomfortable. I learned that Noor, who fluently spoke three languages, was questioned about her religious practice, while Anne perceived that these community members directed their questions about language towards her, positioning her as the expert on language despite her novice status as a learner of Farsi. Noor's subsequent reflections opened a negotiation of the meaning of being "American" for her:

> Growing up in America, I would often receive comments about not having an accent or having an American accent. I remember once receiving a rude comment by a stranger at a coffee shop after I ordered my coffee. I believe the person was caught off guard when I opened my mouth and began to speak because I do not "look like an American" but sounded like one. The man began to ask me where I was from. … My response was "Pakistan" because people could easily understand and accept that, but I now realize I identify more with the American culture than the Pakistani culture especially since many Pakistani traditions are not Islamic and I am a practicing Muslim. I later began to answer the question of where I am from by saying, "I was born and raised in New Jersey and my parents immigrated from Pakistan" (Noor, J9, December 2012).

Noor's assertion, "I was born and raised in New Jersey" is an instance of (re)authoring her identity as an American Muslim, a claim to her birthright of citizenship, and the right that it entails to practice her religion. She continued:

> I believe that I may confuse others because I do practice the religion that has been in my family for hundreds of years and people do not consider Muslims to be Americans especially after 9/11. I see how resistant people are in accepting others in the smallest forms. My younger brother played football in high school and is now playing for a college and people have always put his ethnicity into the conversation when they do not do it for other players…. I do not believe my

definition of citizenship has changed but I have become more aware of the consequences a narrow view of citizenship has on a nation. We need to accept people of other cultures and open our minds to the idea of a multicultural citizenship instead of viewing diversity as a threat (Noor, J9, November 2012).

In these journals, Noor referenced space and time dimensions of her membership in a Muslim community, and her evolving sense of belonging in the imagined community (described by Anderson, 1983) called "America." She was unique in this cohort in referencing discourses of "threat" and 9/11 as a signpost for the provisional nature of citizenship (i.e., "people do not consider Muslims to be Americans especially after 9/11). Noor continued:

> Many people may even feel threatened by immigrants because they may feel that America is being "taken over" by minority groups and try to resist by not acknowledging them and what they contribute to society. I strongly believe after this class that America needs to embrace a cosmopolitan view and advocate for a bi/multilingualism society so that people are encouraged, rather than discouraged, to learn and embrace what others offer to society. (Noor, J10, December 2012).

These developments in the direction of empathy and advocacy may have taken place for Noor in any case; nonetheless, her assertion of her right for herself (and others) to claim a multicultural, multilingual American membership, and to "learn and embrace" what others offer to society, and her sense of belonging, were linked in this journal to her experiences in the class and community-based program (i.e., "I strongly believe after this class"). As for other CBL students, these excerpts map "America" and being "American" as white and monolingual, and suggest possibilities afforded by a multilingual identity. These excerpts also map the provisional nature of belonging for students of color.

Abu El-Haj (2007), in her research on the experiences of Palestinian high school

youth following 9/11, wrote of the limitations of nation-states as markers of people's

sense of belonging (p. 287). These limitations have been referenced by others whose

research focuses on national and cultural belonging for marginalized groups (e.g., Flores,

1997; Ong, 1996; Vickery, 2016); the resources for belonging are not identical for each

group. For Noor, the sign-post for being "American" moved after 9/11, specifically

excluding South East Asian and Muslim groups (while not necessarily including African

American or Latin@s, as Abu El-Haj and others have pointed out). Through her

participation in this program, Noor (re)negotiated her membership in the American polity

as a way to establish her religious identity, an identity and familial practice that

transcended national borders and timescales. In what follows, I add to Noor's account of

her experiences as a second-generation American through the voices of Amanda and

Kelsey, also second-generation, bilingual students, who were conversation partners

together at The Community Link 1 (TCL1). I will first provide a description of TCL1.

Being Bilingual/Bicultural

The volunteer ESL instructor at TCL1 did not return that fall, and in September

2012, the organization's director voiced an expectation that CBL students would develop

a "high quality curriculum" and run two ESL classes per week (author's field notes,

Community Partner Meeting, September 19, 2012). Ultimately, we clarified with the

director that CBL students could lead one English conversation group, and, as mentioned

earlier, we allocated class time to supporting development of plans and activities for the

conversation group. Since there would be no one at TCL1 to register, greet, and orient

community members (unlike at the better-resourced TCL2, where support staff registered participants and helped to make copies, and where ESL materials were available), either the CBRI program coordinator or I were at TCL1 every week to support the nascent, student-led Conversation Café in English. Personally, I welcomed the opportunity to test a community of practice model that potentially could allow for flexible participation of community members and university students. Children were welcomed at TCL1, and community members indeed brought children with them. Community members who attended at TCL1 were generally in their 40s, mostly from Latin America, and some held professional degrees, such as in accounting, nursing, or psychology. One participant, who aimed to learn enough English to obtain employment, was 18 years of age. None of the community members at TCL1 were affiliated with the university. Amanda, Kelsey, and Kristin, all bilingual, second-generation students, were partnered at TCL1. I focus on Amanda and Kelsey.

Amanda. "I quickly learned that I truly did not know." Amanda, a second-generation student, spoke Portuguese at home, learned Spanish in the urban community where she grew up, and spoke English at school. Enrolled in a liberal arts program, she wrote that she joined CBL because "I would like to give back to the community by helping others learn a language since I know, myself, how hard it could be." (Pre-Course Survey, September 5, 2012). In our class discussion about languages in our lives, she described herself as "between" languages and identities in her neighborhood: languages played a role in the "white" and "Puerto Rican" identities that were ascribed to her. In her first journal, she expressed a desire to "strengthen my own connection" with both English

and Spanish (Amanda, J1, September 2012). Yet Amanda voiced a concern about the

Conversation Café practice of allowing for collaborative dialogues (Swain, 2000) in

family languages. She asked in class, "What are they [community members] really

learning?" (Author's field notes, October 24, 2012). Having observed a relationship

between a mother and daughter at the English Conversation Café, she worried that

"families end up depending on the children":

> The mother depends on the daughter to help her translate what she does not
> understand …. We separate the mother and daughter when groups are made so
> that the mother can practice without her dependence on her daughter. We also
> separate couples and friends who come in together. This way no one is depending
> on anyone else. … We try to steer away from dependencies and have the students
> depend solely on themselves. (Amanda, J4, October 2012).

Here, Amanda re-voiced a discourse that positions speaking Spanish as a

dependency, aligning discursively with Americanization movements that positioned

immigrants, especially women, as "burdens" and "dependents" in the U.S. All of us who

were at TCL1 each week noticed the little girl's desire to participate. It seemed to me,

from what I could observe, that the mother hesitated to exclude her daughter, Paloma.

Knowing that they had recently emigrated from South America, leaving close family

behind, the situation seemed stressful. Paloma had learned English quickly, and was a

straight-A student, as we learned when her mother proudly displayed her report card.

Paloma answered the phone and translated during everyday routines. Except for school

hours, the necessity of speaking English formed a strong bond between mother and

daughter.

Halfway into the semester, Amanda described her awareness of the difficulty of learning a new language and culture, "Small details that Americans do not realize they do can become very complicated," (Amanda, J5, October 2012). Amanda subsequently described her changed view of language learning, her changed practices, and her changed relationship with her parents, for whom she translated:

> When I was younger, I would help my parents by translating things they did not understand…. and when I noticed that they were becoming too dependent on my English, I would translate less and less for them…. Through our English learning class, I have found that using the student's first language is actually beneficial when used as a resource and not a crutch…. The experience enhanced my patience and skill in communication. I see this reflected within my own conversations now with my parents (Amanda, J10, December 2012).

In this excerpt, family language was becoming a resource that changed the dynamic of Amanda's conversations with her parents. For families that find themselves learning a new language, the experience of role reversal is a common one, sometimes leading to highly-charged family dynamics (Auerbach, 1989; Ochs, 1983). "In some families, generational ties are tested as children and parents increasingly struggle to find common ground" (1983, p. 287) and parents find themselves depending on their children. Amanda's experience in the conversation group changed this dynamic. "We did not want our English learners to be fearful whether it was fear of speaking English, fear of using Spanish, or fear to ask questions," she wrote, acknowledging the affective dimensions of learning a new language. Acknowledging the possibility that Spanish could be a resource for Paloma and her mother, unmoored from supportive social networks and familiar ways of doing things, was a step toward deconstructing anti-immigrant discourses (discourses

of dependency or unwillingness to learn English, described earlier), applied with intensity

to those speaking Spanish (whether immigrants or U.S. citizens, see Rosa, 2015, 2016;

Zentella, 1997, 2009). Amanda subsequently confirmed in her exit interview that

immigrant stereotypes had been broken for her, "stereotypes where they're either

uneducated, they don't know English because they don't want to know English" (RI,

December 12, 2012).

> I found myself at the beginning of this journey having expectations or thinking
> that I knew what was in store, yet I quickly learned that I truly did not know
> where this process would take me. Many do not see others for who they are but
> instead for who they think they are. I met immigrants with all types of
> backgrounds and with different education levels. … I was not only an instructor
> but a student in my own classroom. (Amanda, J10, December 2012).

For Amanda, experiences with peers and community members in the conversation

group opened a pathway that led from "thinking that I knew what was in store" to "I truly

did not know," and toward patience, empathy, inquiry, and adaptation. Ultimately,

commenting on the shared endeavors of the conversation group, she said, "You tell your

stories and your experiences, but you also learn other people's experiences and adapt it to

your own," she said (RI, December 12, 2012). These changes in epistemic stance

illustrate the potential of collaboration in the contact zone, the zone of interaction, the

zone of proximal development.

Kelsey. "It was something I always knew existed." Kelsey, a bilingual, second-

generation student, grew up in urban Riverport. She wrote in her pre-course survey, "I

wanted to be involved with a program that really had an impact on the community. I

expect to learn a lot more about working with people and interacting with them in an

instructive way. I feel that lessons in human interaction will be very valuable to me in my career because I would like to go into counseling" (Pre-Course Survey, September 5, 2012).

Kelsey described herself as growing up in a Spanish-English bilingual household where the role of translator was "natural" for her, as a member of the second generation. She expected participants in Conversation Café would be immigrants from Mexico, "mostly women, but that is not what I found when the class began. … I absolutely love the diversity we have in the class; it makes for very interesting conversations and perspectives," she wrote.

> We use Spanish in our classroom regularly to help explain things, and to help each other understand what one person is trying to communicate. We also work as a team very much in helping those who are struggling with a certain aspect of the English language. Many times, Paloma, who is nine years old, or one of the more advanced learners (i.e. Leo) will interject when we are not doing a good job. (Kelsey, J2, October 2012).

In this excerpt, the various meanings of *we* indicated collaboration with community members (*we* … help each other understand, *we* also work as a team) to negotiate meaning. Community members "interject" (when *we*, Amanda and Kelsey, are not doing a good job) indicated a reorganization of the group dynamics, also mentioned in Amanda's journals (i.e., "I was a student in my own classroom"). I interpret this reorganization as an emergent community of practice for reciprocal, bilingual, intercultural conversation.

Beyond a shared engagement with language, the shared repertoires of the community of practice, such as routines and stories, allowed for intersections of communities of knowledge—creating new *possibilities* (Lave & Wenger, 1991) for participants' roles. Of importance here is that adaptations of novice and expert roles led to reorganization of the group. Leo, one of the community members in the TCL1 group, mirrored the enjoyment described by university students:

Jess: Do you find that you talk about your experiences together with other people in class?

Leo: Yes, definitely, everyone has a different story, and (.) but in a different way. We usually talk about that. We like to hear about our own story is maybe another person's story.

Leo added, "we make friends … y aprender cultura también [and learn culture too] … I feel that in the program, they, that we, can be part of something ... part of the community, part of the society." Leo's wife Gina chimed in, "es como familia [it's like family]" (RI February 10, 2013).

Reorganization of the group's dynamics at TCL1 also emerged in students' frequent mentions of "partner(s)" to describe roles available to themselves and community members. For instance, "Even the conversation partners, including myself, do not share the same ethnicities" (Amanda, J10, Line 17). In this example, Amanda emphasized her role as a *partner* in conversation. Kristin wrote, "I enjoyed the stories told by the conversation partners and the activities we engaged in together really built a bridge between our differences," (Kristin, J10, Line 3), emphasizing community

members as partners in engagement. Instances of negotiation, adaptation, and

collaboration leading to reorganization are illustrated in Figure 3, below. I will discuss

this finding and further illustrate it in Figures 4 and 5, in the discussion section of this

chapter.

Figure 3: Adaptation and Collaboration at TCL1
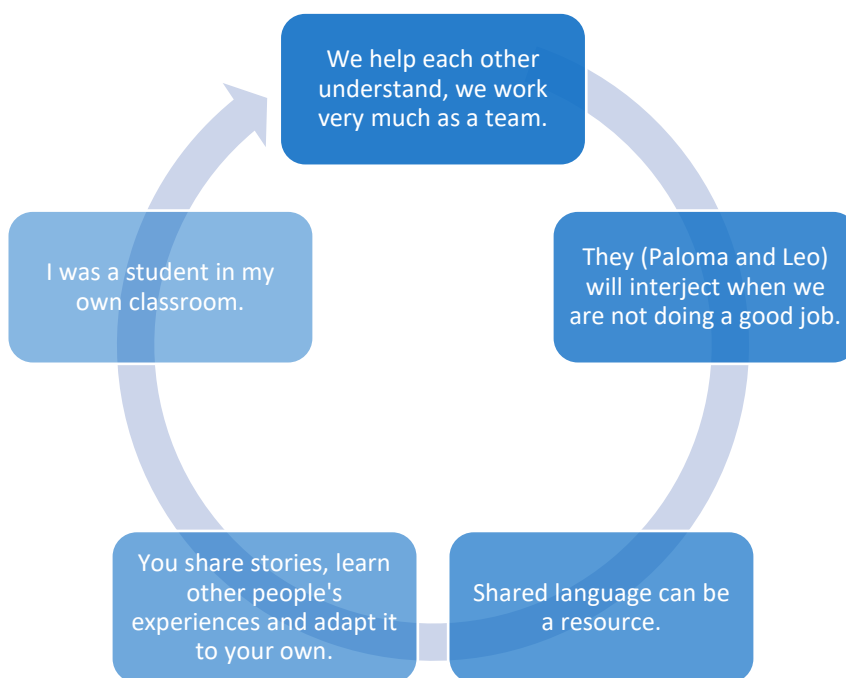
This chapter began with Kelsey's question: Bilingual/ Bi-cultural: The American

Dream? Returning to Kelsey's question and the text that followed it, in which I

highlighted dual and conflicted identities, I conclude that these conflicts were

renegotiated through her participation in the service-learning project for English. At the

end of the semester, she wrote of her family's language as a symbol of continuity:

> The learners expressed pride in their primary language and what it said about them as immigrants to this country, and it was something that I always knew existed but never critically thought about before…. As the daughter of an immigrant father I have witnessed the pride that comes in the ability to speak one's native language and how that ability symbolizes a respect, acknowledgement, and continuation of that culture despite the new setting or country. (Kelsey, J10, December 2012).

Language was mobilized to overcome the discontinuity of migration. Consciousness of respect and continuity, "something I always knew existed," were at the forefront in this excerpt. Although Kelsey described herself as a "witness" at the periphery of migration, I found that a continuum was also evident. Kelsey, the "daughter of an immigrant father," itself formed an expression of continuity that was echoed in acknowledgement of the past. Analysis of this text reveals that for Kelsey, Spanish-English bilingualism was transformed from "a point of dispute" into a resource in a diasporic time-space continuum in which Kelsey could be both the daughter of an immigrant father and a member of a bilingual "America." Language was mobilized not only to overcome discontinuity, but to (re)construct a bilingual self as a member of a potentially bilingual America.

Discussion

In response to the first research question, this chapter illustrated repertoires of identity that became available in the service-learning activity, generally perceived as teaching. In response to the second research question, this chapter presented larger and broader discursive processes of (re)constructing a sense of self in the context of restrictive and racialized categories of membership and non-membership, linked to

language. These processes invoked collective and colliding histories of colonialism, the African slave trade in the U.S., immigration, and processes of deculturalization and language oppression through language education policy. Related to these histories, English as a locus of power became visible through students' participation in the project. Next, I elaborate on these findings.

Returning to the first research question, we can see from the university students' accounts that the general perception of the students' activity was teaching English. This perception was reinforced by ideology that privileges English in service-learning (described in Chapter 2) in which university students were expected to inhabit the position of "teacher" or "assistant teacher" at the community organizations. In the context of the activity, the adult community members were generally characterized as "students" or "learners" of English. Such characterizations reinforce boundaries, social distance, social categories, "us-them" dichotomies necessitated by the structure of service-learning itself and that serve to reproduce this structure. From the start, English "teaching" roles were available to university students – both claimed by and ascribed to them. The service-learning program recruitment process (i.e., "students advancing literacy skills in adults") and the expectations of partner organizations ("to develop high-quality curricula" as well as to teach) contributed to such positioning. Such positioning is consistent with national citizenship models that make "teacher" roles available to volunteers with little or no training (e.g., *Literacy Volunteers of America*; *Teach for America*); while on the other hand, education policy briefs recommend that English instruction be embedded with "literacy" or "vocational" training (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2010; Center for an

Urban Future, 2010). These briefs are consistent with a cultural model (as defined by

Watson-Gegeo, 2004) that powerfully framed interpretations of the activity and

participants' roles in it. In their final journals (11), the students described their activity as

"teach" (44 mentions), "volunteer" (24 mentions), and "interact" (14 mentions),

illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Students' Mentions of Activity 2012
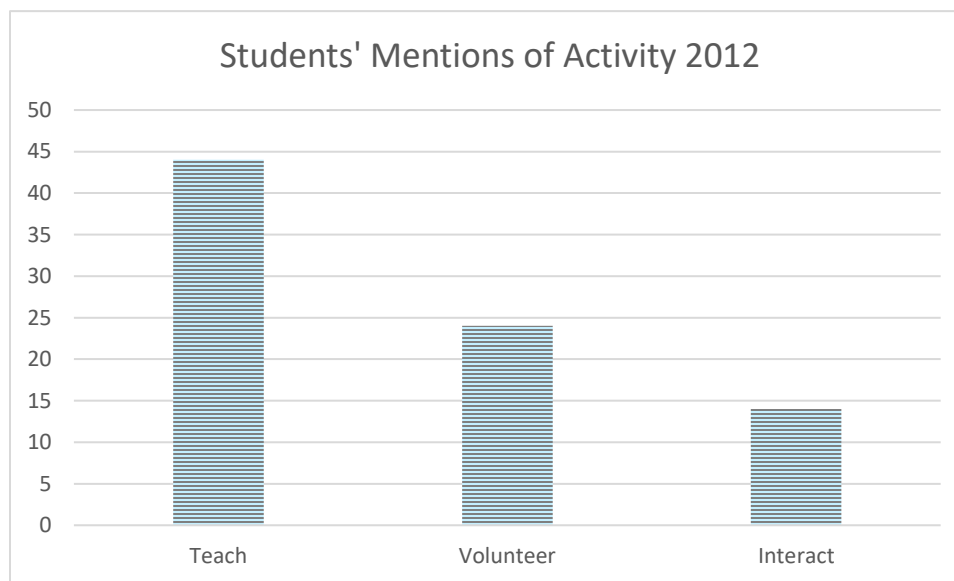
Related to these activities, mentions of social identities, that is, roles available to

themselves and others ranged from "students" and "learners" to "conversation partners."

The students' language choices differed, however, based on the dynamics at the focal

community organizations. At TCL1, collaboration and adaptation led to reorganization of

the group (illustrated in Figure 3). This finding of collaboration is further suggested in the

university students' choices of "partner" versus "student" and "learner" to describe

themselves and others. For mentions of some roles, the actual numbers are small (e.g.,

"novice" was mentioned only twice, both mentions at TCL1, 100% of instances). For the

category of "student" the difference is quite substantial: of 157 total mentions of "student," 101 were made by students at TCL2 and 56 at TCL1; and for "partner," similarly the difference is substantial, with 43 of 53 mentions at TCL1. This comparison is illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Students' Mentions of Roles Fall 2012
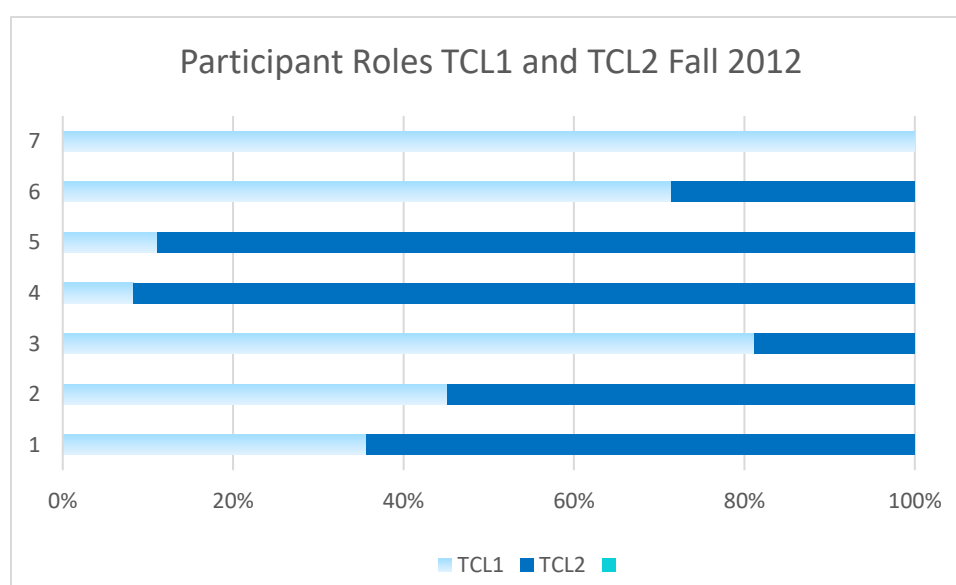
At TCL2, where the model for interaction was teacher-fronted, I found evidence of evaluation and decision-making by the university students. As Olivia pointed out, referring to the ESL/Citizenship Class, "It's more structured," (RI, December 05, 2012). For instance:

- They seem uncomfortable to talk … I use myself as an example. (Olivia)
- I noticed that Noor and I were doing a lot of the talking. At that point, I had decided to ask the students whether they had any questions. (Anne)
- I had decided to ask the students whether they had any questions. (James)

At both organizations, there is linguistic evidence of de-centering, inquiry, discovery, awareness, and empathy. Without diminishing the significance of these developments, the findings suggest that interculturality can develop with or without redistributions of power. However, critical service-learning seeks to achieve redistributions of power. The reorganization of the conversation group dynamic at TCL1 illustrates the possibilities for such developments when there are multiple opportunities for legitimate peripheral participation through attention to language.

Despite an overall pattern in which the roles of "student" and "learner" were generally ascribed to adult community members, identities as teachers and speakers of English were not equally ascribed to the university students. For instance, James, Anne, and Noor described themselves as speakers of New Jersey suburban English. However, James was questioned by community members about whether he spoke AAVE, Noor's fluency in Urdu, Hindi, and English was unacknowledged, while Anne, an emergent bilingual who was learning Farsi, was positioned as an expert. These responses by community members invoked racialized categories of identity, related to language.

Returning to the second research question, broad discourses of cultural membership emerged as themes in university students' narrations. Olivia's narration is one of a struggle for belonging, "between" cultures. She defined cultural competence as her future empowerment to help others like herself, who were new to the U.S. Anne wrote of deconstructing her cultural assumptions as a member of a dominant Western European cultural group. Her (de)construction of self as a group member suggested a possibility of change ("*can* change our ways"). James, referencing his African-American

identity and historical discourses of non-membership ("those born in the U.S. see me as black") relegated "one rigidly defined identity that can represent all of the United States" to the past, while an affiliation with "a larger global community" beyond New Jersey, was becoming a possibility. Discourses of dependency related to language choice entered Amanda's relationship with her immigrant parents through the translator role. Her participation in the Conversation Café facilitated her recognition of her parents' fear of speaking English, a fear that she first recognized in community members. Amanda wrote of changes "in my conversations with my parents," and changes in her epistemic stance, from "knowing" to "not knowing." For Kelsey, language was mobilized to overcome the discontinuity of migration and discourses of historical erasure. Spanish speakers have been targets of discourses that position using Spanish as problematic (Zentella, 1997, 2009), erasing centuries of historical presence in the Americas, and further positioning Spanish speakers as not yet arrived, "deferring their claims to societal inclusion to an unnamed future" (Rosa, 2015, p. 106). A bilingual U.S. membership in which language could be emblematic of cultural continuity as well as deferment became a possibility for Kelsey. Noor was unique in naming the discourse of threat. She (re)negotiated the extent to which an American identity was meaningful to her, claiming her citizenship of birth and her right to her religion. The extent meanings of membership in the U.S. polity were (re)negotiated by these students in a process of self-identity.

Chapter 5: Adaptation

Drawing from related sociocultural concepts—community of practice, identity, and language socialization—this investigation takes the view that social interaction, fundamental to service-learning, is a locus for identity construction. In turn, identity is shaped by the social activity in which participants are involved. In this chapter, I employ the organizing power of socially defined contexts (Hymes, 1964) to summarize and illustrate changes in university students' characterizations of their activity, and the roles available to them and community members. In this chapter, I illustrate how university students' characterizations of their activity changed by making a comparison of data from 2012 and 2015. At the start of the project, in fall 2012, the activity was characterized as "teaching English," through which adult bilingual community members were generally positioned as "students" and "learners" vis-à-vis university students, who were fluent English speakers. This general perception was reinforced by university recruitment materials, community organization staff, and by community members, reproducing a cultural model (Watson-Gegeo, 2004) in the service-learning narrative, one of "service" linked to English, and "dependency" and other so-called deficits linked to speaking family languages. By fall 2015, students' characterizations of their activity shifted away from "teaching" and toward "interaction."

In what follows, I first illustrate these changes in university students' characterizations of their activity; then outline the adaptations that were made to the course structure, course content, and community partnerships that I believe generated these changes.

Changes in University Students' Perception of Activity

The Conversation Cafés built upon the emergent TCL1 community of practice model (illustrated in Chapter 4, Figure 3) that encouraged collaboration and flexible participation in the conversation groups. This model for conversation involved students who completed the CBL course and wanted to participate in subsequent semesters. These returning students, "old-timers" in the community of practice, and called *Team Leaders*, participated in planning each Conversation Café. An integral part of the planning is first learning about community members' goals and desires for using English. Each semester, a new cohort of CBL students, the new conversation partners, participate in this collaborative activity of discovery. I will elaborate on the development of the Team Leader structure, but first, illustrate changes in perception that took place for the university students enrolled in CBL. A comparison of final journals from fall 2012 and fall 2015 shows a shift in perceptions of the conversation activity from "teach" to "interact." I selected students' final journals for comparison because, by the end of the semester, the university students potentially had a better sense of what the enterprise was about (they generally began not knowing what to expect, or expecting to teach, illustrated in university students' Pre-Course Surveys, Chapter 4).

Comparing students' final journals in 2015 with those from 2012 illustrates a shift in perception of their activity. Students mentioned *teach* less frequently with reference to their involvement, mentioning "teach" 29 times (versus 44 in 2012). Fourteen of these 29 mentions were made by one student, referencing his future as an ESL teacher. Other mentions of teaching involved applications of community of practice as a theory of

learning. For instance, "Accepting that resources outside of a primary <u>teacher</u> are beneficial to the learning process was instrumental," (S04, J5, December 2015). And, "[a]t the Conversation Cafés, it does not matter who is doing the <u>teaching</u>. Community members are encouraged to help each other," (S09, J5, December 2015, emphasis added). Changes in university students' perceptions of their activity are illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Students' Mentions of Activity
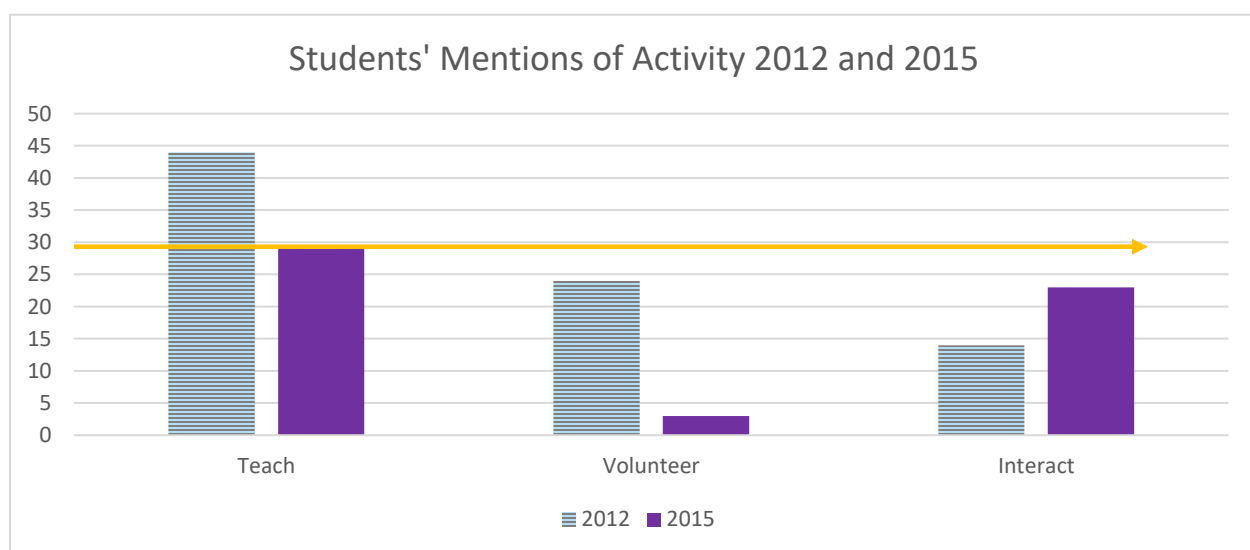
Related to this development, there were 23 mentions of *interact* in 2015 compared with 14 in 2012. As we can see in Figure 6, a shift took place. It may be that the university students were being "good students" by taking up the language that was modeled in the community of practice, or the language that was explicitly introduced in the CBL class. Abbott and Lear (2010) found in their case study research that "students have been trained to excel in an academic context" (p. 242), adding that they may perfect the "role

of student" without making transformative connections. Certainly, changes have been

uneven all along. Nonetheless, a shift toward *interaction* in students' mentions of their

activity, in inverse proportion to mentions of *teach*, was accompanied by changes to

perceptions of the roles available to themselves and their interlocutors. These changes are

shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Students' Mentions of Participant Roles 2012 and 2015
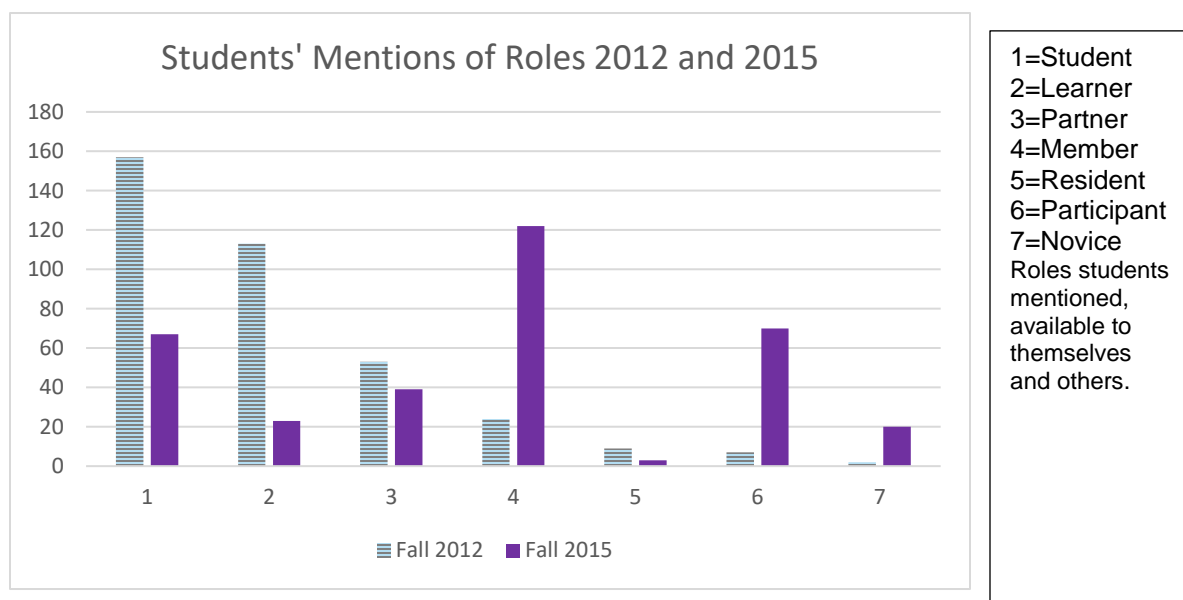
As we see in Figure 7, in fall 2015 students most frequently described their social

identities within the activity, and those of their interlocutors, in terms of *member* (N=122)

and *participant* (N=70), invoking new membership categories based on *interaction* and

the possibilities for multi-directional learning. For example (emphasis added):

- "I was able to understand how the language that each participant spoke
  signified a different social perception, or social identity for the
  individual," (Paulette, J5, December 2015).
- "I learned a better definition of who I am, my role as a community
  member," and "if we were not conscious about something, we were able to

find out our answers while working with the <u>participants</u>" (Abril, J5, December 2015).

- "Ultimately it was an educational exchange <u>between community members and ourselves</u>" (Maia, J5, December 2015).
- "Overall, all the students were able to <u>learn from the community members</u> and see a different aspect of life from a different point of view" (Michaela, J5, December 2015).

In addition, *student* (N=67) was mentioned less frequently compared with 2012 (N=157). Mentions of *student* were more frequently applied to students themselves, as in Michaela's quote above, "all the students were able to learn" and, "as students in the university," (S02, J1, October 2015). A new term to describe students' roles, *facilitator*, was introduced into the program in fall 2014, and this new term was mentioned in students' final journals as well (N=25). I did not include "facilitator" in the graph, as the graph is a comparison to 2012, before the term was introduced. However, I mention the introduction of this new term because it points to an important realization following the first semester of CBL in fall 2012: university students needed a vocabulary (as we all do) to name their activity (not a conventionally recognized activity), and to recognize community members as agents in their language learning. As a result, in class, I gave greater attention to notions of community members' *investment* (Norton, 2000/2013) in English, to the potential for *collaborative dialogue* in a primary or family language (Swain, 2000), and to *community funds of knowledge* (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992), building on notions of participation in a community (Lave & Wenger, 1998; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1994) that informed the course design. Realizing that the written handouts we were developing during class time could better reflect the philosophy of the program,

we revisited the language in the handouts, making modifications to them. Among these modifications, we emphasized the responsibility of the fluent English speaker to adapt; and included language that positioned community members as co-participants. For instance, directions to university students generally begin with the verb "invite" (e.g., *invite* fluent speakers to [contribute, question, discuss]). Using "invite" opens the notion of participants' agency and cooperation as partners in the activity, and the possibility of negotiation. The language of cooperation shifts attention away from evaluation of an outcome (e.g., "participants will be able to" is in fact a formulation that I unwittingly reproduced), toward the fluent speaker's responsibility in the interaction. Directions for university students may begin with "demonstrate" or "model" language for newcomers in a way that is *comprehensible* (Krashen, 1982). These actions place responsibility on university students, the fluent and experienced speakers of North American English, to generate understanding. The research cycles showed that a vocabulary for collaborative activity that emphasizes the dominant language speaker's responsibility needed to be developed and reinforced. This process in turn enhanced my own consciousness of language, and I hope I have become a better teacher for it. We also learned by analyzing students' journals that it was necessary to afford university students with additional opportunities to deeply reflect on community members' agency and contributions; and the material benefits that university students obtained from their participation. Consequently, I added a reflection assignment that asked university students to consider how they, themselves, materially benefited from community members' participation.

The U.S. service-learning structure, which requires the roles of "provider" and "beneficiary" seems to be a uniquely U.S. interpretation (as Rauschert & Byram, 2017, pointed out) of community-based activity, one that builds on and reproduces discourses of community deficit. These discourses are layered with an historical and cultural model related to language, i.e., leadership and moral "goodness" of English speakers involved in "national crusades" for disseminating English (described by Pavlenko, 2005, in relation to Americanization movements; and by Rabin, 2009 in social reform movements). In what follows, I briefly outline adaptations and changes made to the CBL course and program structures, our attempts to disrupt this cultural model for service-learning. The outline, comparing 2012 to 2015, is necessarily incomplete, but gives a sense of changes that were made. I then turn to examples of students' adaptations and self-recognition, described as occurring through their interactions with community members.

Adaptation of CBL Course and Program Structure

This study employed cycles of action research that resulted in a number of adaptations to the program. These adaptations in turn led to changes in relationships and practices in the service-learning project. Each phase formed an experiment. As a qualitative approach to education research, the action research tradition pursues critical consciousness (Creswell, 2013; Hatch, 2002) that may in turn lead to changes in relationships and practices. Action research is cyclical, rather than longitudinal—each phase of data collection is followed by reflection and implementation in practice, as the name *action research* suggests (Herr & Anderson, 2015). The project began as a partnership to support existing ESL classes, and a preliminary study was followed by the

development of a new service-learning course in fall 2012. Mid-semester that fall, five of

the eleven students in the CBL class (including Anne, James, and Noor, who we met in

Chapter 4) asked if they could continue in the program the following year. We quickly

decided to create an independent study, led by the Program Director and Program

Coordinator, in which university students would be academically supported. In turn, with

their experience, university students were positioned as conversation partners who could

model activities and in other ways support a new cohort of CBL students. In this way, the

community of practice model evolved with a group of experienced "old timers" who

were invested in the practices of the Conversation Cafés. The following year, 2013,

seeking to further emphasize community expertise, we piloted a Conversation Café in

Spanish. These Spanish conversation groups, organized by the GSE, recruited Spanish-

speaking community members and university staff, positioned as language and culture

experts. Over the years, community members participating in the English café have said

that they were happy to "give back" to the project, having benefited from their

conversations in English. Ultimately Conversation Cafés in three community languages,

English, Spanish, and Mandarin became available and have been sustained since the pilot

Spanish Café in 2013. I developed promotional materials that textually incorporated these

three community languages, illustrating a translingual model through co-location of texts

in three languages. The table below illustrates structural adaptations to the CBL course

and Conversation Café program, comparing 2012 to 2015.

Table 12: Adaptations to Program Structure

	2012 Preliminary Observation @ TCL1	Fall 2012 CBL Class Pilot	Fall 2015
Conversation Program Model	ESL / English Only Model	All languages welcome	All languages welcome
Teacher-Fronted ESL Classes	All	4	1
Team Leader Model	N/A	N/A	6
Community Sites	1	5	5
Materials	• ESL Binder at TCL1 • Proficiency Evaluation and Placement	• ESL Materials at TCL2 • Develop original materials so that participants can take them home • Primary Language Support • No Evaluation	• Develop original materials • Bilingual materials are generally available in Spanish and Mandarin
Academic Support	1-Credit Recitation	3-Credit Elective	3-Credit Elective
Written Assignments	10 Journals	10 Journals	5 Journals and 1 Original Conversation Guide
Community Hours	30	24	36 (Include Embedded Café)
Student Preparation in Advance of Community Involvement	3 Hours	2 Weeks	4 Weeks
Course Structure		On-Campus	On- and Off-Campus
Additional Support			1-Credit CBL Leadership, Independent Study Options, Professional Development for Community Members
Conversation Café (English)		2 Weekly	5 Weekly
Conversation Café (Spanish)			1 Weekly
Conversation Café (Mandarin)			1 Weekly

We can see from the table that as the CBL course and program balance shifted

from supporting traditional ESL classes (4 weekly) toward Conversation Cafés (5

weekly, and in addition, Spanish and Mandarin), multiple opportunities to model

bilingual education emerged. A university student in the fall 2015 cohort, referencing the

Conversation Cafés in Mandarin, shared her thoughts on the impact of access to language

(Brooklyn, PI, August 21, 2017):

J: How do you think you changed as a result of participating in the [Mandarin] Conversation Cafés? A change could be about anything … It could be anything you think is different.

B: The best part was being at the other side of the table … I was having so much fun. At the English Café [as an English conversation partner], I was always wondering how it felt to the person on the other side, was I going too slow, keeping everyone's attention? At the Mandarin Café, it was just fun talking.

J: Ok, so it was more fun than you thought?

B: The experience made me realize that it's [learning Mandarin Chinese] viewed as a terribly difficult thing especially for English speakers but learning it with other people and having it broken down to manageable bits makes it not more difficult than any other language. I was surprised by how easy it was compared to how hard I thought it was.

Brooklyn compared learning Mandarin to learning French, broadening the

discussion to its impact on using English, her first language. "It's [Mandarin] such a

listening language …When you learn French, you learn the genders, otherwise there's a

lot of catching up to do. When you learn Mandarin, you learn the tones first," adding that

the process had changed her perspective on speaking English. "I'm a lot more deliberate

in speaking." she said.

This interview with Brooklyn illustrates layered processes of adaptation,

involving affective dimensions. First, overcoming fear, potentially leading to desire and

enjoyment of using additional languages. This adaptation was followed by awareness and

action, suggesting a secondary language socialization (Duff, 2014) into a new way of

speaking a first language. In what follows, I further illustrate university students'

adaptations into new ways of speaking, and how changes in practice led to changes in

relationships in the Conversation Cafés for English.

Adaptation and Collaboration

Adaptation was a frequent theme in students' journals. University students

reflected on their repeated attempts at adaptation, and, prompted by a journal assignment,

noticed the ways that community members collaborated to help each other and the

university students. Paulette, a university student in the fall 2015 cohort, reflected on

speaking at a reasonable pace:

> Often in my own comfortable space I speak fast and often use slang terms that
> those who know me well are accustomed to. However, as I got comfortable with
> my speaker partner, I would often be unaware of how fast I would ask questions
> or reply back to his answers. Often making it hard for him to comprehend what I
> was saying, which will definitely be a point that I will make to correct myself in
> the future (Paulette, J1, October 2015).

This reflection illustrates the process of self-monitoring that Paulette engaged in,

leading to awareness ("I would often be unaware of how fast I would ask questions") and

empathy ("making it hard for him to comprehend"). Brooklyn, also in the fall 2015

cohort, wrote of the necessity for humility, to ask for the help of a community member.

She began, citing Dooley (2009):

> She writes about one time that she was interacting with a student and she didn't
> understand what they were saying so she feigned that she didn't hear them or that
> she didn't know what they were talking about (Dooley 502). She referred to it as
> "trying to save face for the student" (Dooley 502). When I was speaking to one of
> the community members I was having a hard time understanding something they

were saying. I realized that I was just answering her question affirmatively because I didn't want the her to know that I couldn't understand her well. However, that led to confusion and I had to ask her to clarify anyway. I think that it's okay to ask for clarification sometimes and that I should avoid pretending that I understand when I don't (Brooklyn, J1, October 2015).

Brooklyn's action, to request clarification, afforded an opportunity to negotiate meaning, an interaction that is important to language learning (Long, 1983), and to adaptation of the fluent English speaker. Taking a stance of "not knowing" opens opportunities for exchanges. Mira also reflected on implementing new ways of speaking and listening, emphasizing the need for practice. "At first it was very hard to slow down my rate of speech, especially when I got excited about something, but I kept reminding myself and got better as the class went on.… It was hard to find a happy middle, but I did," she wrote, referencing her first Conversation Café. Citing a class reading (Larrotta & Serrano, 2011), she continued her reflection with an observation about the potential impact of linguistic action on her interlocutors:

> I didn't want them to feel as if I were talking down to them [by speaking slowly] or that this environment was a deficit thinking one. "Commonly held assumptions based on deficit thinking posit that adult English learners lack in culture, language, and interest in learning. Deficit-thinking ideology also presents low ambition, low self-esteem, emotional instability, and lack of discipline as sources of illiteracy" (Larrotta & Serrano 318) … I tried to do this by sharing my personal experiences as being a second generation American, such as my parents being adult English learners as well (Mira, J1, February 2015).

Mira's journal began with a reflection on her adaptation, leading to voicing her concerns about deficit ideology, being a second-generation American, and her parents as English learners. The data suggest to me that changes in practice generated changes in

relationships, as they had for Amanda, who eventually came to recognize her parents'
fear of speaking, and whose conversations changed as a result. Through her interactions,
Mira recognized her parents, and found something else, as well.

Mira. "Immigrant communities have a lot in common." Mira spoke Punjabi at
home and learned Spanish in school. Her expectation of the program, she wrote, was "to
learn how to help people in different ways and be able to be open and accepting to
different cultures and types of people" (Pre-Course Survey, January 21, 2015). She
added, "My parents immigrated to America only about five years before I was born. All
my relatives immigrated. I've been surrounded by English learners my whole life." She
majored in economics and math. Mira was a conversation partner at TCL1, where most
community members were Spanish speakers.

She shared in the CBL class, "My mom worked for 25 years… she still works at
this warehouse and I always thought it like was her choice to work there because she
didn't want to learn English … but being in this program I kind of thought how hard it is
to get a front-end job … and the only job that you're really offered are labor jobs, and
that's what you have to do."

Mira recognized the discourse of "choice," a tenet of the American meritocracy
(masking inequities in social structure), and deficit ideology embedded in the notion of
"didn't want to learn English" (unwillingness/lack of ambition). She credited community
members for changes in her perspective. "I have learned so much about myself from the
community members," (J4, April 2015) who led her to realize that her mother's
experiences in social domains such as work and in routine interactions in her community

were shared, and common. By the end of the semester, Mira also discovered that being an

"outsider" was an experienced she shared with her peers, who formed a new community

for her:

> Growing up I always felt like an outsider—that I wasn't American "enough".
> Through Conversation Café I have seen that I'm not alone. There are many kids
> that feel exactly how I felt growing up. A lot more than I ever imagined actually. I
> learned that there's nothing wrong with being different. This is something that I
> did not expect to get out of the program when I first joined. I am extremely
> thankful, and it has made me embrace and accept my culture and myself more
> than ever. (Mira, J5, May 2015).

Mira's reflections echo those of Tracy, James, Noor, Anne, Amanda, Kelsey,

Tara, and others who (re)negotiated the meaning of their American memberships. I met

Mira often during my visits to subsequent Conversation Cafés at TCL1, where she took a

leadership role the following semester. She explained that in her mainstream elementary

school classroom, topics such as "going on vacation," and "holidays" such as

Thanksgiving and Christmas were repeated year after year. "My parents worked all the

time, we never went on vacation," she explained. "I was so scared to talk about my

culture, I wanted so hard to be American. I would act like I celebrated Christmas and

make up stuff. I couldn't say we had biryani at Thanksgiving. I wanted to be 'normal'

whatever 'normal' is."

Mira was born in the United States. In school, her stories about her culture were

silenced, as were her parents' working-class lives ("we never went on vacation").

Wanting to be "more 'American'" was a common theme among the university students in

her cohort, she told me. Noting that in her pre-course survey, she had written of a desire

to "be able to be open and accepting to different cultures" and that she had returned to culture as a topic in her final journal ("embrace my culture and myself"), I asked, "What did 'culture' mean to you at the time?" She meant "Spanish" culture at the start, led by curiosity about another culture, she explained. Her subsequent reflection on culture expanded to an affirmative statement of solidarity, "immigrant communities have a lot in common." I interpret Mira's recognition of mutual concerns as (de)constructing social difference ("I have learned so much about myself from the community members") and a beginning awareness of shared experiences based on socioeconomic class.

Mira's story and others illustrate that for many university students, the program became a community; as Mira wrote, "I have seen that I'm not alone," reorganizing her social relationships with community members and with peers in her group. As Mira said, wanting to be "more 'American'" was a common theme among the university students in her cohort, and many university students affirmed their right (and the rights of others) to self-identity, as well as shared experiences and interests.

In Chapter 6, I address the third research question by analyzing conversational (ex)changes between university students and community members. In Chapter 6, I examine three conversations and share the findings of a focus group meeting with the four community members who audio-recorded their conversations (the process is described in Chapter 3).

Chapter 6: (Ex)Changes in the Conversation Café

The aim of this chapter is to address the third research question posed by the study, what actually happens in Conversation Café interactions. This chapter presents analyses of three conversation excerpts recorded on a November morning in 2015. That day, 16 community members and 5 university students were present, seated in five small groups. I received four recordings from three community members that day. Although none of the conversations is representative or could be said to be "typical" in terms of content, the structure of the conversation routine and the random quality of the small groups that form differently each week are represented in these conversations.

Focusing on recordings that were made by three different participants on the same day afforded an opportunity to illustrate the Conversation Café Routine, and the variety of exchanges that potentially take place in small groups. These recordings formed case studies in randomness, the quality of *thrownness* (Young, 1990/2011) through which people find themselves in contact, with identities that may be assigned to them, and negotiations of identity may result. My analysis revealed the participants' alignment to the project of cooperation. Yet, as we will see, one community member, a mother and teacher, repeatedly attempted to introduce her professional identity as a teacher, and after several attempts, succeeded in doing so. The analysis reveals how this was accomplished, and tensions in the process. I will discuss these interactions next, first outlining issues in communication across linguistic difference that have been discussed in the language socialization literature.

Across linguistic difference, conventions for assigning and recognizing identity may be unclear (Ochs, 1993), and the analysis reveals resources that one community member employed to establish her professional identity as a teacher. Before delving into the analysis, I return to the question of how one might competently signal and recognize identity in situations of heterogeneity, a question posed by Pratt (1991), and taken up by language socialization research (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). Language socialization studies have increasingly attended to speech situations of heterogeneity, conceptualizing communities of practice as an approach such linguistic heterogeneity, "since the model presupposes that every individual participates in multiple such communities, during the course of his/her lifetime and likewise at any given point in time" (p. 347). This theoretical approach acknowledges the challenges for interlocutors in the heterogeneous Conversation Café. With thrownness, linguistic heterogeneity, and multiple communities of practice in mind, I provide the context for the recordings, and provide the transcriptions and analysis.

The recordings presented here were made by enlisting the independent contributions of community members to the research. Community members recorded their conversations with university students on a cell phone or another device and emailed the file to me (data collection procedures are described in detail in Chapter 3). To ensure that everyone understood that participation in data collection was entirely voluntary, I explained to community members that while they could stop or start recording at any point when they were comfortable, it would be useful if the first 15 minutes of a Conversation Café, the unscripted open conversation, could be recorded.

University students were recorded if they were sitting at a table with a community member who was recording. As a result, sections of conversations were randomly recorded, and university students were randomly recorded, as community members chose where they would like to sit. On the day of the recordings, I made sketches of the groups. Ultimately, I received four audio files, recorded on the same day, from three community members. Although I transcribed the fourth conversation, because it primarily recorded an exchange between two people and the conversation among others at the table was inaudible, I decided not to include it in this chapter. The analysis focuses on turn-taking and negotiations of identity in small group conversations.

Turn-taking as the focus of analysis (Schegloff, 2007) allows for establishing the degree to which there is cooperation in the conversation, and for locating *actions*, generally recognized goal-oriented behavior (such as making a request, contradicting, interrupting); and *stances* (epistemic stances such as certainty/uncertainty; and affective stances such as fear/desire/alignment) within turns at talk. Actions and stances are understood as speakers' attempts at establishing the social identities of themselves and others (Ochs, 1993, p. 288) in the context of the activity. Thus, a more detailed description of the setting, participants, event, and activity follows.

Intentional Randomness

The conversations took place at The Community Link (TCL2). The organization attracted linguistically diverse community members from Riverport and nearby towns – while some community members walked to the Conversation Café, many arrived by car. Community members were generally "thirty-something" in age and represented varied

academic backgrounds and experiences of migration. Most (75%) reported previously

attending English classes in their countries of origin or in Riverport. On average, thirteen

participants from Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe attended

each week (described in Chapter 3, Table 11). The photo below illustrates the

organization of the room where the conversations took place. The photo was not taken on

the day of the recordings, but at a semester-end celebration of a Conversation Café, with

the permission of the participants (Chapter 3, Figure 1).

Groups at Tables in a Conversation Café

As we can see in the photo, tables are arranged with intentional randomness, as in

a café. Many community members, whether long-term residents or newcomers, novice,

or experienced speakers, arrive with spouses, cousins, friends, and neighbors. In practice,

informality and seeming randomness create opportunities for community members to access their social networks and family languages, leading to mutual support. Such support, for instance collaborative dialogue, is encouraged. Terry, a university student, observed in her journal that community members' collaboration with each other "helps our activities run smoothly." In addition, the ability of community members to choose where they would like to sit and to access language knowledge from each other destabilizes the language hierarchy of a conventional teacher-fronted ESL class. Employing the metaphor of a theater stage, the privileged "front-stage" (Goffman, 1956) role of English and the English speaker are disrupted, and languages that might otherwise be whispered in the "back-stage," behind the scenes, are up front, at the table. Social identities must be negotiated, at least initially. As they arrive and find places to sit, community members are invited by university students to share their weekly news. *What's new? How was your day?* In this way, participants are proactively invited to open topics for discussion, leading to opportunities to control the direction of the conversation.

The data presented here include three conversations recorded on a November morning in 2015, the fifth week of the Conversation Café. Of the five small groups present, one included two first-time participants who did not wish to be recorded. Of the four remaining groups, three small group conversations were recorded by community members: Eva, Aesera, Umar, and Trish.

> Eva/Recordings 1 and 3: Eva recorded two conversations with Maia, a university student, and two other community members, Darja and Afshid.

> Aesera/Recording 2: Aesera and her husband Umar volunteered to record their conversations, and on that day, Aesera and he were sitting together. They

recorded their conversation with Terry, a university student, and two other community members, Mei, and Ying.

Trish/Recording 4: Trish recorded her conversation with Michaela, a university student. Also present were another university student and one community member, who are not audible.

The excerpts selected for this chapter represent interactions of small groups, providing data that responds to the research question. Consequently, I have not included the unscripted open conversation (the first 15 minutes of a CCR) involving only Trish and Michaela. The first excerpt, *Conversation One*, represents an open conversation as people arrive. The second and third excerpts, *Conversation Two* and *Conversation Three*, represent conversations during a structured turn-taking activity. The sequence of activity is outlined here, and the parts of the Conversation Café Routine (CCR) that are excerpted in this chapter are shaded in green.

Table 13: Conversation Café Routine (CCR) Recorded at TCL2

Component	Approximate Duration	Conversation Café Activity (CCA)
Open conversation as people arrive and sign in. ***Open Chat.***	20 minutes	• What's new? How was your week? o Sharing news of interest (personal, community, current events). • Community members initiate topics if they wish to.
Warm-up Activity ***Where Were You in 2002?***	20 minutes	• Employs structured turn-taking to support novice speakers; allows for expansion to other topics.

Focal Activity *Life Changes: Making Comparisons with "Used to"*	40 minutes	• Focus on one or two language features.
		    o Pragmatic, lexical, or grammatical.
		    o Include opportunities for "4 domains".
		• Conversation partners are prepared to make adaptations for novice and fluent speakers.

Close	10 minutes	• Small groups summarize shared learning or opt to continue talking and say good-bye.

Component	Approximate Duration	Conversation Café Activity (CCA)
		• Option for community members to share with whole group.

In what follows, I introduce the four participants in *Conversation One*.

Conversation One: Eva, Darja, Maia, and Afshid

Present in this conversation were four women, including Maia, a 21-year-old African-American university student whose family languages included Spanish and English and who was majoring in Spanish translation. Included were three community members, Eva, Darja, and Afshid. Eva was 30 at the time and had arrived in New Jersey from Perú the previous summer, joining family that had settled near Riverport. Darja was 39, with a child in elementary school, while Afshid's children were in their early twenties. Darja had begun a teaching career in the Czech Republic before moving to the United States with her husband, a visiting scholar; while Afshid described herself as participating in family life in Iran before moving permanently to New Jersey. While Eva and Darja both completed university degrees in their countries of origin, Afshid did not provide information about her formal education. Maia told me in a subsequent conversation that she, Eva, Darja, and Afshid were together as a group for the first time on the day of the recording.

As the recording began, Maia addressed the small group with a reflection on time, childhood, and adulthood. Reflections on past, present, and change, were the topics of the

Conversation Café that day. Maia's reflection opened a broader conversation about

parenting and rituals that mark the passage of time[10]:

1   Maia: All the time, time went so fast (xxxx) like time went fast when I was
                young? time took so long.
2   Darja: So my son it's his ninth birthday today.
3   All: ((O::h)) =
4   Darja: =Very quickly (.) Time (.) Very quickly.
5   Maia: What kind of cake did you make for him.
6   Darja: I (…) I've never made (..) this cake before.
7   So this is from my colleague from the Czech Republic (..) yesterday she sent me
8   the recipe (..) and it's only a (..) brown (..) a brown cake[
9   Maia: With chocolate?]
10 Darja: Yeah with a little ch- cocoa and on the top I put (.) some (.) sauce like
                (xxxx) sauce and then I put (xxxx) sour cream
11 Maia: Wow
12 Darja: I hope that it's ok (..) I never make this before LF=
13 All: = ((LF appreciatively))
14 Darja: This morning I prepared the cake and after lunch I (.) (finish/finished) it.
15 Maia: Oh wow.
16 Darja: Because at 7 o'clock today we have celebration? with all of the family.
17 Afshid: ((arriving))
18 ((inaudible))
19 Darja: We have only four. We have different holidays (xxxx)

Afshid arrived, joined the group, and the topic of the birthday celebration was

reinterpreted as "holidays," another ritual for the passage of time. At that point, Maia left

the group to introduce the next conversation activity to everyone in the room, and the

conversation paused as community members listened to her. To understand the

interactional work achieved thus far, let us first look at turns at talk; and consider how

understanding was co-constructed.

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[10] Transcription conventions (Schegloff, 2007), Appendix E.

Turns at talk. Ochs & Capps (2001) describe conversation as "ordinary discourse" that is open-ended and locally organized. "The direction of a conversation can be loosely anticipated inside of a conversational turn," yet "the order of acts and speakers and thematic content of extended stretches" cannot be anticipated (p. 7). Given its unpredictability, conversation is an "interactional achievement" (Schegloff, 1986, cited in 2001, p. 7). Schegloff (2007) found that one of the most fundamental units of conversation is turn-taking, focusing researchers' analytical attention on sequences of talk rather than isolated utterances. Turn-taking as the focus of analysis allows for understanding the degree to which there is cooperation in the conversation and locates linguistic *actions* (behavior such as making a request, contradicting, interrupting); and *stances* (epistemic stances such as certainty/uncertainty; and affective stances such as fear/desire/alignment), understood by Ochs (1993) as attempts at establishing the social identities of the participants in the conversation (p. 288).

Orientation to co-participants. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) described recipient design (also called audience design), as "a multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (p. 272). An audience orientation involves addressing co-participants' stance (as a novice or expert for instance), or identity (as a student, a mother, a teacher, a professional). Competently projecting or assigning an identity are dependent on participants' knowledge of local conventions for acts and stances, making assignment of an identity or group membership a complex process. Although Ochs (1993) made the case that there may be candidates for

universal representations of acts and stances across cultural groups, she also explained that "even if all the understandings are in place, a projected identity may not take hold" if a language learner or another interlocutor "does not know the conventions for linguistically ratifying a speaker's claim to social identity" in a given context (p. 291). With turns at talk and orientation to co-participants in mind, let us look at the open-ended conversation that occurred.

Initiating the conversation, Maia reflected on the topic of time. By introducing the topic and making the comparison of the present "time always went fast" with when she was younger, when "time took so long" (Line 1), she foreshadowed the topic in that day's conversation session, and opened the topic to the group. Darja, seated across from Maia at the table, responded that her son's birthday is "today" (Line 2). Darja's turn at talk not only signaled her understanding of the general topic (time) but took up the comparison of youth and adult time by introducing her young son's birthday. Repeating elements of Maia's opening statements, "time" and "very quickly" (Line 4) signaled Darja's stance of alignment with Maia's status as an adult, for whom time goes quickly, and repetition may also have signaled the end of Darja's turn (Schegloff, 2011).

Darja established understanding of and cooperation with developing the topic of time; and the related topic of making comparisons of youth and adult notions of time. Maia's question "What kind of cake did you make for him?" in Line 5 continued the topic (referencing celebration of birthdays as a ritual that marks time). This response acknowledged an identity that Darja had introduced, her identity as a parent. Maia's question elicited new information (about a cake), while also conveying a presupposition

about Darja (making cakes). Question-asking, or making a request, is a complex action in this example. It involves a request for information, a presupposition, and establishing the content for the next stretch of talk, about the cake.

Did Darja say she made a cake? I replayed this short segment multiple times, thinking I had missed something; and, admitting the possibility that Maia's question could have drawn from a previous conversation with Darja. Ultimately, I interpreted the subsequent turns at talk as Darja's resistance to an ascribed homemaker identity and Darja's attempts to establish her identity as a professional.

Darja paused frequently as she searched for words or self-corrected (e.g., in Line 6), and the co-participants, Maia and Eva, waited for Darja to express her thoughts without interrupting her. "I never made this cake before" (Line 6), she said, followed by a statement of uncertainty (Line 12), "I hope it's ok." Darja's stance of uncertainty raised questions to me about her alignment with the homemaker identity that was ascribed to her. Darja's mention of her colleague in the Czech Republic (Line 7) who sent her the recipe introduced Darja's identity as a professional. I interpret this mention of her colleague as invoking different social identities (as a parent and a professional) in two spatial contexts, and in past and present time dimensions, within the frame of the conversation. Maia responded to Darja's introduction of her colleague who sent her the recipe by asking about the cake (Line 9), again invoking Darja's identity as a homemaker, not as a professional. The conversation continued about the birthday celebration until Afshid arrived, leaving Darja's professional identity unacknowledged.

Then, Maia left the group to introduce the next conversation activity to the larger group

attending that day. Maia began:

> The past is things that have happened before now. It could be yesterday. Then
> what happens after the past is the present. And then after (…) Ok so this how the
> activity (…) So, we'll take one of these slips ((taking a piece of paper)). It says:
> Where were you in 2014? (..) So, we're gonna do it like that. Everybody is going
> to pick up one of the cards, one of the little slips, and we're gonna talk about what
> we were doing.

Maia was a "novice" in the community of practice for English conversation. This

was her first time outlining and introducing a conversation activity to a large group, and

her uncertainty about how to proceed is evident (long pauses, for example). I mention this

to illustrate how the Conversation Café inducted new cohorts of CBL students into the

CCRs. After three weeks as conversation partners in the small groups, university students

then have opportunities to address the whole group, introducing the next conversation

topic – for many undergraduate students, this is a new experience. Now, we will learn

about interactions in a second group as they participated in the structured turn-taking

activity introduced by Maia.

Conversation Two: Structured Turn-Taking with Aesera and Umar, Mei, Ying,

and Terry

The group seated together at the table included Aesera and Umar, a married

couple from Iran, both 33, expecting their first child. Umar is a teacher, and Aesera, his

wife, a landscape architect. Also present were Terry, a 20-year-old university student

majoring in Spanish, an "old timer" in the Conversation Café, who had completed the

CBL course the previous semester. Two older women from China, Mei and Ying, were

visiting their children, university students in the U.S. From the conversation, we learn

that they, too, are teachers. Aesera contributed the recording, which began as Terry was

reading directly from the prompt.

1　Terry: Where were you in '92? And then he gets an answer and then he asks the
　　next person. "Where were you?" And then …
　　(xxxx)
2　Terry: Yeah. One by one. So we're gonna do a little example of this. And then
　　we like can break down our examples if you guys wanna see it.
3　Mei:　O::h.
4　Umar: Okay. We have to start from this?
5　Terry: Oh no that's just an example of how (.) so we'll go (xxxx) the first person.
　　The first person asks, "Where were you in '92?" And then the person says, "I was
　　in France. And where were you? I was in school." You know, like that, and so
　　it's going around the table. So we can start off with like one (.) everybody can
　　answer. Where were you in 2000?
6　Umar: 2000]
7　Terry: [15 years ago.
8　Umar: 2000 eh (…)
9　Aesera: I was in high school I know LF.
10　Umar: No. ((Correcting Aesera)) I started university.
11　Aesera: I finished high school. The first time that I finished high school and
　　gonna go to uh]
12　Terry: [university
13　Aesera: university] LF
14　Terry: [Sorry. Okay.

Aesera said with certainty that she was in high school in 2000 (Line 9). Umar

contradicted her and recast her response, "I started university" (Line 10). It appeared to

me that Aesera perceived Umar's contradiction (Line 10) as limiting. In response, Aesera

employed repetition of "high school" to insist on her own formulation, "I finished high

school and gonna go to" (Line 11). It is at this point that Terry, adding "university" for

Aesera (Line 12), overlapped her turn at talk. Terry apologized, recognizing the fumbled

moment. Unprompted, Ying picked up the thread of the conversation about the year

2000, signaling her understanding of the turn-taking routine, and the topic.

15 Ying: China. I work in China (xxxx).
16 Umar: And how about you, where were you in 2000? ((addressing Mei, there is a pause))
17 Terry: It's so hard to think about, so many years ago, or to know exactly what you were doing.
18 Ying: Um (…) Twenty-three years ago ((mistaking the year))
19 Terry: We're doing this one ((pointing to 2000)).
20 Umar: Where were you in 2000.
21 Mei: Ah. Oh this question. I was in … I was in my … I was in China. What do you do?
22 Umar: At the time.
23 Terry: Tell us what you were doing.
24 Mei: I was accounting in my country.
25 Terry: ((Taking her turn in the conversation)) Okay. Where were you in 2014? That was last year. Um I was still here as a student. I was still living here living at the same apartment where I live at (.) But I was still (…) How about you?
26 Umar: About me in 2014 I was in my country Iran and I do my job and teaching and studying.
27 Aesera: About me eh like him I was in Iran my country and I do my job and uh working LF. I was working.
28 Umar: Describe your job ((speaking to Aesera)).
29 Terry: Did you two know each other?
30 Aesera: Yes.
31 Umar: Yes. Four years.
32 Aesera: We were together four years.
33 Terry: O:h
34 Ying: 2014 I … I lived in China for several months and ((repeats)). Yeah I was in China. I visit my (.) my (.) daughter she is attending school in United States.
35 Terry: O::h So you go to China and then you come back.
36 Ying: Yes. Yeah.
37 Terry: Oh. So is 2014 that was your first time here in America?
38 Ying: No. In 2000 visit the American (xxxx) Center.
39 Umar: What was your job in China.
40 Ying: I'm a teacher too.
41 Umar: Oh yes. Good.
42 Ying: ((inaudible))
43 Umar: Yes. Which major or which field do you teach.
44 Ying: At the university and then my major is biology electrical ...
45 Umar: Biology.

46 Ying: But my teaching is not my area.
47 Terry: So you teach a subject that isn't … isn't your subject. Oh. How old are the students that you teach? Are they older? Or younger.
48 Ying: My students is about (…)
49 Umar: She means mean high school or university ((to Ying)).
50 Ying: At the university.
51 Umar: Okay.
52 Mei: You said you were here (…) (xxxx)
53 Terry: So now do you have (…)
54 Ying: Last year I lived in China for several months and lived here for several months.

In five turns at talk (Lines 23, 29, 37, 47, 53), Terry invited her co-participants to elaborate. Umar's linguistic actions involved recasting and evaluation in eight turns (Lines 10, 20, 22, 28, 41, 43, 49, 51)—generally employing the well-known "triadic dialogue" of a teaching cycle called Initiation/Response/Feedback—and conveying an epistemic stance that positioned him as a teacher. Listening to the recording, his contributions could be perceived as facilitating the conversation. How community members Mei and Ying perceived his actions is unknown, but it is clear that Aesera was the intended audience for Umar's contradicting and directing (Lines 10 and 28). In a subsequent conversation, I asked Umar whether his "teaching" role was intentional. He explained, "This is because I am a teacher, I am a teacher for ten years, and this is why I ask people, 'What about you? Describe this. Ok it's your turn, sometimes more than the teacher [referring to Terry]". Umar perceived his actions to be aligned with teaching "sometimes more" than Terry, also characterized as a teacher.

These exchanges illustrate several challenges in intercultural conversation. In Conversation Two, Umar's teaching identity was evident through linguistic actions (e.g.,

recasting and evaluating) and epistemic stance (e.g., reinterpreting what Terry "means").

On the other hand, Darja's professional identity was unacknowledged when we left

Conversation One. Darja made additional attempts during the structured turn-taking

activity, presented in the next section.

Maia rejoined the group after introducing the activity. Having mentioned in her

introduction that in 2014 she was living in Mexico, Eva initiated a conversation with

Maia.

1	Eva:	You were really living in Mexico in 2014? Or you create (..)
2	Maia:	No I did.
3	Eva:	Do you speak Spanish?
4	Maia:	No I speak a little. My dad is half Dominican.
5	Eva:	A::h
6	Maia:	It's still kind of bad. But I lived in Mexico for 6 months.
7	Eva:	Oh you like it?
8	Maia:	I love it. I loved it.
9	Eva:	Your mom?
10	Maia:	My mom is from here.

Eva initiated this exchange by asking whether Maia had really lived in Mexico,

suggesting the possibility that this example had been invented as part of the conversation

prompt and furthermore, that the conversations were removed from reality. Following an

extended exchange with Eva about her experience in Mexico and inquiries about one of

her family languages, Spanish, Maia returned the group's attention to the turn-taking

activity:

16	Maia:	Would you guys like to start the activity? Did you guys have any questions about the activity? ((No))
17	Maia:	No? So I' m just going to mix it up a little bit. We're just gonna go around in a circle, ok? (…) Ready? (xxxx) I' m sorry.

Realizing that Darja had picked up a slip of paper and was ready to initiate the next

sequence of talk, Maia apologized (Line 17), ceding the floor to Darja.

Conversation Three: Structured Turn-Taking Activity with Eva, Darja, Maia, and

Afshid

18 Darja: ((Reading question on the slip of paper)). Where were you in 1999? Um
  (..) I was in the Czech Republic and I finished my study at the university.
19 Maia: Nice. What did you study there.
20 Darja: I studied the (xxxx) Prague university. I am a teacher[
21 Maia: ok
22 Darja: and I studied physical education].
23 All: A::h nice. ((approving applause))
24 Maia: Would you like to go? ((turning to Afshid)) Where were you in 1999.
25 Afshid: I was in my country? Iran (…) I was (…) I don't know I was living there.
  ((Afshid and all LF)) I was living with my children and my family.
26 All: A::h
27 Maia: Living life.
  ((LF how many children do you have?))
28 Afshid: Two. One daughter and one son]
29 Maia: [That's good!
30 Afshid: Both of them are here.

In this sequence of talk, Darja began in the past "I finished my study" (Line 18)

and in response to Maia's question (Line 19), transitioned from the past, "I studied," to

assert her professional identity in the present, "I am a teacher" (Line 20), to the approval

of the whole group. In Afshid's turn, she described "living with my children and my

family" later adding the detail that her children are in the United States, a topic also

introduced in the present tense, that led to an exchange about living in a nearby town. In

the sequence that follows, we see how Darja and Afshid continue the topics they have

introduced. Maia asked, "Does anyone want to go again, or…" Darja again picked up a

piece of paper and read from it, initiating the next sequence in the conversation.

59 Darja: In 2000 (…)
60 Eva: One year later
61 Darja: I was start I started to teach in primary or secondary school. Because we have a different school system in the Czech Republic. I started to teach, to learn English more ((inaudible stretch of talk and a reference to Darja's marriage in 2000)).
62 ((Maia)): So where were you in 2000 ((to Afshid))
63 Afshid: I was in my country again ((again refers to previous sequence in which Afshid was in Iran)) we were going to be ready for coming to the United States. It was hard because I had my children I had my parents because they were sick I was really busy I had classes everything was mixed together.

Darja employed her turn at talk to introduce her professional knowledge, and

Afshid added details about her preparations move with her children to the United States

from Iran (Line 63) and her complex life as a homemaker, mother, and caretaker of her

parents. I interpret these developments as actions that signaled their alignment as adults

living complex lives; and introduced multiple identities. In these exchanges, the four

women, together as a group for the first time as I learned later, frequently signaled their

alignment and support through elongated vowels (o::h an a::h), through non-linguistic

means, such as applause. Maia's question (Line 19) communicated interest in Darja's

professional identity, and "ok" (Line 21) suggests her surprise. Overall, the few

interruptions and/or overlaps illustrate a high degree of cooperation in the group.

Within these cooperative turns at talk Darja made several bids to establish her

professional identity. As Ochs (1993) has observed, "Social identity is not usually

explicitly encoded by language, but rather is a social meaning that one infers on the basis

of one's sense of the act and stance meanings encoded by linguistic constructions" (p.

289), adding, "in this sense, assignment of identity is a complex inferential process" (p.

290). Across linguistic difference, Ochs (1993) pointed out, local conventions for assigning identity may be unclear, yet constructions of certain social actions and certain stances may be candidates for universal understanding. Among these candidates are actions such rising intonation to indicate requests, and the use of imperatives and address terms to constitute summons (p. 299). Certain epistemic and affective stances may be understood as well. Epistemic stances of certainty and uncertainty may be universally understood through the use of determiners, modals, and rising intonation; and affective stances may be universally marked by vowel lengthening (p. 300).

These findings illuminate the resources that Darja invoked to establish her professional identity. She introduced this identity in Conversation One with the mention of her colleague in the Czech Republic. In the subsequent structured activity, Conversation Three, Darja brought a topic that began in the past (Line 18, "Where were you in 1999?") into the present, shifting from past to present tense (Line 20) with a statement, "I am a teacher." The structured activity formed a resource that Darja employed to continue the topic of her professional identity as a teacher during her turns at talk, adding new information and making a comparison between Czech and American school systems (Line 61). The findings also suggest that Darja resisted being positioned as a homemaker, engaging her *habitus* as a teacher to twice initiate the turn-taking activity (Lines 18, 59). Meanwhile, Afshid introduced her roles as a homemaker and mother (Line 25) and later employed the turn-taking structure to introduce the complex preparations and planning she was engaged in, while acting as caregiver to her parents, in to move to the U.S. with her children (Line 30). Yet these roles were unacknowledged.

The previous week, in her journal, Maia recounted an exchange with a community member about establishing her professional credentials in the U.S. Referring to Norton's (2000/2013) accounts of immigrant women's experiences in ESL classes in Canada, Maia chronicled the exchange, in which the community member described frustration that she needed to obtain a U.S. license for her profession, "extra schooling to be licensed in what she considered herself a master in. I then recognized her determination as claiming her identity," Maia wrote, adding that she was reminded "of the need to respect peoples' identities in the community language learning setting," (Maia, J3, October 2015). The exchanges with Darja and Afshid illustrate that in intercultural conversation, the social position of the fluent English speaker as a "teacher" is difficult to dislodge; in multilingual settings, recognition of social identity across linguistic difference may need more time and multiple opportunities to unearth and unpack. Maia, the university student, communicated later by email that in this conversation, she was focused on turn-taking, ensuring that everyone had an opportunity to speak. It appears that identity-focused preparation of university students is needed to generate reciprocal outcomes in intercultural conversations. In addition, the workings of ideologies that position immigrants and other marginalized groups as incompetent, and in the case of immigrant women, as "incompetent homemakers" (Pavlenko, 2005) may be invisible to university students, and deserve explicit attention. These ideologies have been perpetuated in Americanization movements of the early 20th century (Pavlenko, 2005; Rabin, 2009) and intertwined with ESL (Menard-Warwick, 2008) and service-learning (Rabin, 2009). Yet these roots are deeper, ingrained in the establishment of the nation itself (Spring,

1994/1997). These ideologies can be traced to "manifest destiny" that claimed English as a vehicle for "civilization" and "redemption" of indigenous, enslaved, and otherwise historically marginalized people so that they would emulate Anglo-Protestants. Meanwhile, in this conversation, Darja and Afshid aligned with each other's complex lives and multiple identities.

The Focus Group

In February 2016, the four community members who audio-recorded their conversations, Trish, Eva, Aesera and Umar, met with me to talk further about their experiences in the Conversation Café. I played two recorded conversations, beginning with the open conversation recorded by Eva, and the structured turn-taking conversation recorded by Aesera. I asked three questions: 1) How would you describe the conversations? 2) What do you think you learned, and how did you learn? 3) Do you think the conversations had an impact on your daily life? Their combined responses revealed three themes: friendship/exchange/culture; fluency/grammar; and intergenerationality.

Friendship/exchange/culture. "In my case," Eva began, "it was good because we talk about what you do on the weekend … when you talk with the teacher [referring to university students] you learn some words that you use," adding, "it's like you are friends" in comparison with a traditional English class, she said, where there is only one teacher. For Aesera, "here is very different culture from my country … a subject like shopping help me more than other subjects. I like to learn grammar but it's not important for life here. At first, I wanted to learn something that help to live here."

Fluency and grammar. "The last year when I went back to [private language school] … after Conversation Café my teacher from the last year noticed, 'Eva, you speak more! I remember when you were right here, you only spoke some few words, now you speak more fluently, I know you have a lot of mistakes, but you speak more fluently ((…)) My teacher she noticed." Trish valued grammar. She said, "I like it there is many facilitators [university students] that is helpful. I like that in the class we learn grammar also, correct my incorrect habits," adding again that the students were "very helpful."

Intergenerationality. "The reason students [adult community members] are more comfortable to ask them questions because they [university students] are young. Students are ashamed about asking some questions. In this situation you can ask, because they are young people, you don't feel shy to ask them something," Umar said. Commenting on the empowerment of question-asking, he added, "You can ask, if you see some script [text] anywhere, you can ask." Trish commented, "[b]ecause our teacher [the university student] was about 20 years old, and me, about 33, another had 40 years, another one is 55," she recalled. "So, the question was, what did you do in 2000, 2010, and so we had more different information to receive about that. One of them was (xxxx) and one his own company in China, and we learned that. Very interesting." Umar agreed, "It was intergenerational exchange." Trish continued, "I know that we are supposed to help each other in the class. But I think we should be separate. The people at lower level should be together so they can learn better.… Other than that, like Umar is saying, we exchange so that we can learn different cultures from different people." Eva high-fived her agreement

with level-sorting, "Because in the real life in this country your contact is with Americans, you have to be very quick!"

Here, Eva suggested that the Conversation Café, the community of practice, was a step removed from "real" American life. This is a valid observation. The Conversation Café is an intentional, orchestrated community of practice that works in an in-between, hybrid space, between a language classroom and a natural environment. Opportunities to speak are scaffolded by student preparation and by the CCR structure. It may be that "novice" and "expert" conversation groups would be helpful; on the other hand, preparing undergraduate university students to support novice speakers in a few weeks seems daunting. I have found, in practice, that some participants, when they first attend, prefer to sit with friends or spouses for support, and eventually seek out diverse interlocutors as they gain experience and confidence speaking, choosing to sit in different groups over time.

The conversation also illustrates how the teacher–student dichotomy was invoked by community members as well as by university students. Although Umar was himself a teacher, he positioned himself as a student and learner, aligning with others who might be ashamed to ask questions. He pointed to something I had not thought of, that because the university students "are young people, you don't feel shy to ask them something." Umar's observation highlights the opportunities afforded for collaboration, for inquiry, and for intergenerational communication.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This dissertation research study began with the overarching question of what university students learned in one semester of participation in a language-focused service-learning project. Following the action research tradition, the contours of the study were shaped by semester-length iterations of data collection, reflection, and implementations of changes to the project content and design. The study sought to capture these changes, to understand university students' interpretations of their experience, while illuminating social positions, identities, and trajectories of diverse students. With these purposes in mind, this study addressed the research questions through the lens of students' perceptions, employing narrative inquiry. Applying three sociocultural concepts—community of practice, identity, and language socialization—the study located learning through students' descriptions of their activity and negotiations of identity in the context of the activity.

University students in this study described ideological struggles centered on social identity and language-related resources as they grappled with social positioning as teachers, students, and partners vis-à-vis adult community members. Shared experiences in the language-focused project powerfully evoked and often disrupted English ideology through which the "teacher" role became available to them. Language ideology that equates English to ambition, competence, independence—tenets of the American meritocracy—as well as equating English to education, intelligence, race, and cultural membership was made visible to university students. For many students, recognition led to action in terms of (re)negotiating relationships with their families and communities,

membership in the U.S. polity, and meanings that such membership held for them. Implicated in these (re)negotiations was hegemonic pressure to "buy in" to a dominant culture while being linguistically or ethnically excluded from it.

The students in this study were those who were successful in K-12 and entered university life. In K-12, many of the students, bilingual and bivarietal students of color, experienced marginalization, positioned as non-members of the U.S. polity: "I was not allowed to call myself 'American'" and "I was not American 'enough'." While engaged in the service-learning project, students described different trajectories: "Understanding where I am coming from linguistically and culturally," for instance. "I am able to be a multicultural citizen," the possibility for bilingual citizenship, "Bilingual/Bicultural: The American Dream?" and, as Noor described, claiming her citizenship rights, "I was born and raised in New Jersey."

Educators and policy makers need to listen to these students. Many students described their identities in the context of K-12 education as *confined*, *constricted*, *limited*, *narrowed*, *restricted*. This lexicon unambiguously informs educators and policy makers that educational spaces have been confining spaces for many. Scholars (e.g., Bale, 2011; Flores & Bale, 2016; Flores & Schissel, 2014; García & Bartlett, 2007; Hornberger, 2005, 2006; Hornberger & Link, 2012) have argued that spaces for bilingualism in schools and communities are needed and necessary to achieve a just society; and that education has an obligation to ensure that communities have access to desired language education. In an era that has been focused on standardization of educational outcomes, and in turn, standardized measurements of these standardized

outcomes in ways that benefit culturally dominant groups, there is a need to respond to what cannot be measured, the inequitable impacts of education on people, and the *possibility* of a better world that Simon (1997) and others have described. "An education that empowers for possibility must raise questions of how we can work for the reconstruction of social imagination in the service of human freedom," (p. 375). Echoing the language of possibility, I discuss the findings and possibilities for educators in response to each of the research questions. Then, I outline directions for research in community-based language education.

Research Question 1: What repertoires of identity become available through the activity?

This study finds that university students' perceptions of their English conversation activity in turn contributed to shaping the ascribed and claimed roles available to them and to co-participants. I examined university students' understandings of the activity in which they were involved, comparing two focal semesters, fall 2012 and fall 2015. The findings are outlined in Chapters 4 and 5.

At the start (2012), university students generally perceived their conversation activity as *teaching* English. Such a perception is consistent with national models for public service that make "teacher" roles available to volunteers with little or no training. These perceptions engaged English as symbolic capital that reinforced the position of fluent English "native" speakers as competent group members in "America" vis-à-vis English learners and non-white ethnic groups as "incapable of citizenship," as Paulette observed, by programs that link learning English with topics such as "motivation." The

study finds that students' perceptions of their activity as teaching were informed by 1) at the university level, the structure and discourse of the university service-learning project that reproduces "providers" and "beneficiaries" who are served while discursively reinforcing these roles through its promotional materials that positioned university students as "advancing literacy skills" in adult community members; 2) at the community organization level, cultural models that equate English-learning with skills- and motivation-learning, as mentioned; and by 3) and at the interaction level with community members, who also co-constructed their roles along a teacher-student axis (described by Trish and Umar in Chapter 6). In many cases, students' *desire* to teach, a vision of themselves as teachers in the future, aligned with this general perception, and students readily embraced it while acknowledging their lack of expertise. University students took this teaching identity seriously, expressing concerns for the community members' comfort with learning English. Given the general agreement in stakeholders' perceptions of the service-learning activity, adult co-participants initially were positioned as *students* and *learners* in the English conversation program in fall 2012; however, this positioning did not occur evenly across the program sites. A model at TCL1 that afforded multiple opportunities for legitimate peripheral participation and collaboration led to recognition of shared resources and reciprocal interaction, and in turn, reorganization of roles as *partners* in conversation, expanding the repertoire of possible identities available to university students and community members.

Three years later (2015), as the project increased opportunities for legitimate peripheral participation in collaborative conversation models, the students' general

perception of the conversation activity followed suit, shifting toward *interaction*. In parallel with activity that foregrounded interaction over teaching, participants' roles were more frequently described by university students as *members* of conversation groups and *participants* in the conversations, applied equally to themselves and community members. I conclude that the collaborative model and its practices, explicitly taught in the CBL course, led to these reorganizations of relationships, and expanded repertoires of identity that were described by the university students in this study.

Possibilities for critical service-learning. Previous research in community settings has shown that intercultural learning and collaboration do not happen through proximity alone, but must be facilitated and guided (Byram, 2008; De Leon, 2014; Menard-Warwick & Palmer, 2012; Palpacuer Lee & Curtis, 2017; Rauschert & Byram, 2017). The role of critical service-learning educators, then, is to not only create the conditions for inquiry and interculturality by bringing different communities together, but to provide a model for practice, and a vocabulary for students' (re)interpretation of their social activity. For instance, a vocabulary in which linguistic competence can be understood as a *dynamic repertoire*, as *investment* in a new language, compatible with *desire* to maintain family languages, and in which language is understood as a locus of power, invites and encourages inquiry into structures, policies, and discourses that create "providers" and "beneficiaries" in the first place.

Redistributions of power, however small, do not happen on their own, and the structure of service-learning in the United States, which requires "provider" and "beneficiary" roles, mitigates against social reorganization; as a consequence, it mitigates

against intercultural competence, a frequently stated goal of service-learning in applied linguistics. Social reorganization must be intentional, encouraged, facilitated, and modeled by educators. The findings demonstrate 1) that social proximity may not necessarily lead to interculturality; and 2) interculturality and awareness may not lead to changes in actions, relationships, or redistributions of power. The potential and possibilities for authentic relationships need to be built into the structure of the activity, disrupting inequitable distributions of power inherent in the notion that one group inhabits the role of "provider" and another inhabits the role of "beneficiary."

It is for these reasons that I join others who advocate for a community of practice approach to service-learning (for instance, Kinloch, Nemeth, & Patterson, 2015); and to broaden community of practice applications to language teaching through service-learning. A community of practice approach does not necessarily eliminate asymmetrical power relations. However, as a theory of learning it assumes diversity of participants, emphasizes participation in multiple communities of knowledge, advancing multi-directional flows of learning, and co-construction of knowledge. As Cooks & Scharer (2006) argued, a focus on the individual "limits the possibilities of the other in interaction to contribute to … coordinating meaning, and the moral outcome of the conversation" (p. 45). Researchers have called for a sociocultural approach to the assessment of service-learning outcomes, (e.g., Cooks & Scharer; DuBord & Kimball, 2016), while others have called for collaborative, interdisciplinary, and cross-linguistic models for service-learning projects (e.g., Cardetti, Wagner, & Byram, 2015; Porto, 2014, 2015; Porto & Byram, 2015; Porto, Houghton, & Byram, 2017; Rauschert & Byram, 2017). Educational

theorists and researchers should consider merging these innovations with community-based and community-led models for bilingual education (e.g., DuBord & Kimball, 2016; Leeman et al., 2011; Mangual Figueroa, Baquedano-López, & Levya-Cutler, 2014; Newcomer & Puzio, 2016), ultimately building intercultural and bilingual communities of practice not only for access to English, but also to build social spaces in which multiple languages can be practiced by English speakers. These are starting points from which to expand the possibilities and spaces *for* language, advancing a social justice agenda *through* language.

Research Question 2: What discourses of identity become salient?

Drawing from related sociocultural concepts, the study assumes that social activity, fundamental to service-learning in applied linguistics as an outcome, a curriculum, and a process, is a locus for identity construction, and that language is a mediating symbol and tool for such construction (Bakhtin, 1935/1981; Bourdieu, 1977; Vygotsky, 1978). The findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5 go beneath the surface of a student-teacher axis to contribute to an understanding of diverse students' experiences, social positions, and trajectories, filling a void in the service-learning literature. The study finds that the identities of "teacher" and "English speaker" were generally but not equally ascribed to diverse university students by stakeholders at community organizations and by community members: university students may or may not be socially or culturally distant from the diasporic and/or marginalized communities that they become involved with, and categories and identities ascribed to the university students have a quality of *thrownness* (Young, 1990/2011); people find themselves with

identities assigned to them as they come into contact. The social space of the Conversation Café in this sense formed a zone where participants' histories in the Americas intersected and collided. These different histories were evoked by a programmatic focus on language. These intersecting/colliding histories included layers of colonial rule, the African slave trade, European immigration, and impacts of capital globalization on local communities, a history of restrictive language education policy applied to dominated groups. In this sense the social space of interaction, the contact zone, formed a text in which university student participants potentially recognized themselves, their families, and community members as they navigated the social and historical terrains in which we are all involved and interdependent participants; yet not equally vulnerable to domination in every context.

Possibilities for language education and service-learning. This study finds that the attention in the program to power differentials and the construction of an intentional bilingual space formed opportunities for university students to reinterpret their linguistic resources, initially described by some bilingual students as a "broken" non-language. These resources included bilingual and bivarietal language practices. Many university students (whether in ESL or not) described K-12 education that dismissed, ignored, or otherwise subordinated their linguistic resources, competence, and cultures; while, for other students, knowledge of English positioned them within a globalized language hierarchy that privileges English over other languages, or within an unmarked and racialized U.S. cultural membership. The study shows that visibility is a first step toward disruption of these hierarchies.

Researchers in language policy have described the different ways that educators and students are actors in constructing and implementing language policies at the classroom level (e.g., Fuentes, 2016; Hornberger, Menken, & García, 2013; Jones, 2007). Similarly, language educators in service-learning have an opportunity to expand participation in language education to a broader public, through community partnerships. Wesely, Glynn, and Wassel (2016) raised the issue of inequitable access to language in K-12 education. In K-12 education, they point out, "not everyone is always invited to play," (p. 566). Wesely and colleagues talk of changing the focus, changing the "arc of the pendulum" (p. 567) of language education. The authors advocate for developing skills that are "broader, deeper, and more firmly rooted in the lives of our students and the realities of the world today" (ibid.). Community partnerships form an avenue toward language education for empowerment. Partnerships may take various forms or may be initiated by various actors. Newcomer and Puzio (2016) described a partnership, initiated by an elementary school principal, in which a community center afforded an after-school social space for bilingualism; while DuBord and Kimball (and others) described university-initiated partnerships with schools and adult ESL projects. Mangual Figueroa and colleagues (2014) described a community-led initiative for bilingual education that involved a partnership with a gardening project. Such initiatives expand community access to language, as well as contribute to empowering language education. Designing such programs entails listening to students, seeking community partners, and developing strong and sustained collaborations, across content areas and educational levels to expand ideological and implementational spaces for bilingualism (echoing Hornberger, 2005).

Research Question 3: What interactional moves contributed?

The findings in Chapter 6 illustrate the potential for explicit instruction for intercultural practice, as well as its limitations. This study makes the argument that shared conversation routines, practices, and stories in the contact zone (the zone of proximal development being a particular part of that social zone) had the effect of producing opportunities for collaboration, and potentially provided a community benefit – access to the desired language, English, and more importantly, the capacity for "voice" (Hymes, 1972), or as Bourdieu (1977) put it, the right to speak and to be listened to. We can see in the transcripts a high degree of cooperation in the intercultural conversations, evidenced in the turns at talk with few interruptions and overlaps. I interpret these outcomes to be the result of conscious and explicit instruction of practices for intercultural conversation (e.g., employing wait time, using clarification formulae, self-monitoring pace of speech, and contributions to the conversation) that in turn led to community members' reports of affective gains, enjoyment of their conversations, and confidence to pursue further opportunities for English conversation in other social domains. Yet we can also see that community members' bids for recognition of a professional identity, such as Darja's for instance, while ultimately successful, highlight the challenges of projecting social identities in intercultural conversation, and for fluent English speakers who are operating as "knowers" of culture, the difficulty of recognizing projected identities of cultural "others." This study points to ways that language education can include preparation for these nuances of intercultural communication.

Possibilities for intercultural education in service-learning. A critical agenda for interculturality prioritizes negotiation of meaning, opening opportunities for co-construction of knowledge, and (de)constructing difference as an outcome of power differentials. A critical agenda ultimately prioritizes human relationships. Researchers have argued that as communities and nations become linguistically and culturally complex, there is a need for both language education and service-learning to contribute to intercultural communication and intercultural competence. Interculturality has evolved as a focus in international service-learning (e.g., Bringle, Hatcher, & Jones, 2011; Jackson, 2011; Rauschert & Byram, 2017; Larsen, 2014), and a similar argument has been advanced for service-learning within the United States (e.g., Avineri, 2015; De Leon, 2014; Einfeld & Collins, 2008). Yet, we need to ask (echoing Wesely and colleagues), who is invited to play? Leeman et al. (2011) emphasized that while education policy makers prioritize developing university students' "global" or "intercultural" competence, these same students may have experienced subtractive English-only K-12 schooling that subordinated certain languages, language varieties, and their intercultural competence. Wesely et al. (2016) point out that the U.S. education policy agenda for intercultural competence is often framed in terms of travel abroad. A critical agenda for interculturality turns attention toward community members *and* students as empowered agents and experts who navigate multiple, layered, and often hostile social terrains, as illustrated in the findings. However, educators need to be cautioned by a language-as-resource (and intercultural competence-as-resource) perspective in which languages and

competence may be appropriated, measured, commodified, and consequently unequally distributed as a commodity (Flores, 2013).

Contributions of the Study: Conversation as Text and Context

This study examined the impact of a university-community partnership for language education through the lens of university students' narratives. The project was conceptualized as affording access to English for adults, honoring community investment in English, while honoring community desire to maintain family languages and social networks. University students, in turn, were trained to participate in intercultural conversation; this preparation was aimed at both facilitating community access to English and developing university students' awareness of power differentials inscribed through language. This study informs educators about the possibilities of conversation as a *text*, a *con/text*, and a tool to use *with text* in multilingual communities of practice. The study demonstrates the power of interaction and reflection, demonstrating biographical dimensions of learning theorized in the zone of proximal development. The contribution of this study to education is its emphasis on these biographical dimensions, theorized by Vygotsky (1978) and described by Lave and Wenger (1991) as a space where different communities intersect and interact, and interpreted by Holland et al. (1998) as a space of authoring.

In Chapter 4, I made the argument that an opportunity for a community of practice for bilingualism and interculturality emerged when we tested the idea of collaborative English conversation group in fall 2012, at TCL1. This collaborative model included opportunities for *legitimate peripheral participation*, that is, the possibility of

multiple roles at the nexus of different communities in the conversation groups. We also learned that students made adaptations, showing evidence of interculturality – the capacity for relativizing (decentering) self, for inquiry (suspending one's beliefs), for discovery (through interaction), for awareness (of how each is seen by others), and importantly, empathy and concern for community members learning English. We then learned from the university students that interactions afforded resources and opportunities to (re)negotiate the meanings of their cultural membership in the U.S. polity, an empowering process of self-identify (described by Flores, 1997; Ong, 1996; Young, 1990/2011).

To understand these findings, we need to understand the social and political environments in which these university students came of age. University students' narrations demonstrated the heightened relevance of language to constructions of membership in the post 9/11 era, in the era of NCLB. By emphasizing the period following 2001, I do not diminish the long history of education in English as a tool of oppression, but instead, emphasize the ways that education policy has perpetuated language and culture oppression in U.S. public schools, described by many of the students who participated in this study.

In the U.S., the onset of fifteen years of silence about bilingual education and, in contrast, public debates about English-only education coincided with a time in which the demographics of students in public schools were becoming increasingly diversified and bilingual. Meanwhile, with the nation at war, a familiar public discourse of "language-as-threat" intensified and shifted its focus (provisionally). Bilingual and bivarietal students

experienced language and culture oppression, heightened by extraordinary debates about language, immigration, and citizenship in the period between 2012-2016. The university students' (re)constructions of identity as bilingual/bivarietal, bicultural U.S. citizens were facilitated by their participation in this program, opportunities for interaction with peers and community members, and reflections on these interactions. Ultimately, educators who employ community-based learning must locate their projects within the socio-political history and context of service learning in the U.S., so that students can gain a deeper understanding of the historical struggle for language and culture rights, the power relations that construct certain people as exempted from these rights, and students' potential roles as advocates for democratic citizenship that includes such rights.

In Chapter 6, I presented recorded exchanges that demonstrate the ways in which students and community members participated in conversations together, across generations, and across linguistic and cultural differences. These interactions demonstrated, as Bremer et al. (1996) and others theorized, that building "understanding" in conversation is a social achievement, not only a linguistic one. Conversation analysis provides insights into how understanding is achieved (or not), step by step, while also revealing that there is a necessity to develop fluent English speakers' intercultural competence, regardless of experiences of language, culture, ethnicity, and/or migration. Language ideology affects everyone, albeit in different ways. The analysis illustrated adaptation and cooperation in intercultural conversations and thus provided evidence that these interactions formed events of socialization for the participants.

Many university students wrote of their worries and concerns for being helpful, expressed in their journals as anxiety, nervousness, awkwardness, and explicitly as fear. "Sometimes I fear that I will be seen as unhelpful if I am unable to teach them at least one thing or answer a question about something in English that I myself am unsure of," as Terry wrote. There is evidence of fear of "not knowing" vis-à-vis community members, and emancipation from this fear. Terry elaborated on the theme of collaboration in her journal, emphasizing that community members' active participation "helps our activities run smoothly." A focus on relationships and mutual learning in communities of practice, rather than measuring outcomes, can lead to the reciprocity and social reorganization sought by critical service-learning, illustrated at TCL1. For instance, for Tracy, whose narrative and call to action introduced this paper:

> Growing up in an apartment building in Queens, I wasn't deprived of my Latino culture. It was all around me, sitting on stoops and hanging out in the hallways. Yet even though I was immersed in the culture I couldn't feel further detached from it.... Unlike most of my neighbors, Spanish was not my first language and I couldn't speak it with the same accent and flair that they did. … To my relief, I quickly learned that the participants [community members] were very forgiving of my broken Spanish. This was my first encounter with reciprocity. I knew that my fellow conversation facilitators and I were trying our hardest to make the participants feel as comfortable as possible but didn't realize how comfortable they would make me feel in return (Tracy, J5, December 2016).

Possibilities for Research and Researchers

This study responds to calls for new structures for language education (e.g., Geisler et al., 2007) and for implementational spaces for bilingualism (e.g., Hornberger, 2005, 2006). The study opens possibilities to examine the impact of such structures and spaces on participants' trajectories, and the impact of bi/multilingual social spaces on

language use, for those who wish to learn English, and for English speakers. A longitudinal inquiry was beyond the contours and scope of this study; nonetheless, based on my interviews with university students, for many who decided to pursue careers in teaching, social work, and public health, their experiences in the language partnership, the bilingual community of practice, were definitive turning points for them. James and Anne became ESL teachers in New York and New Jersey; Brie, Tara, and Brooklyn (among many others), are pursuing careers in ESL in the U.S. and overseas. Former CBL students (including Amanda, Deborah, Kelsey, and Kristin) are pursuing social work, health, and counseling careers. In fact, a survey of the service-learning literature in applied linguistics (Palpacuer Lee, Curtis, & Curran, 2018) found a demand for education that focuses on intercultural communication in public-serving professions, such as in health and social work, as well as in education (see for instance the American Health Association, 2015; Flecky & Gitlow, 2011). Through interviews and surveys, community members learning English described the program's impact as producing affective gains, (e.g., "losing the fear of speaking") leading to empowerment to pursue opportunities to use English (e.g., as Umar said, "You can ask, if you see some script anywhere, you can ask"). In a pilot survey, community members reported an expansion of the social domains in which they used English (author's unpublished pilot study, 2016), and a subsequent study (Curtis, Palpacuer Lee, & Curran, in preparation) found that English speakers who participated sought opportunities to speak Spanish and Mandarin, two of the community languages in Riverport. Future studies might also investigate the impact of access to

bilingual social networks; and investigate conversation as a space of language learning (see Overfield, 2007; Rampton, 1999; Richards, 2006).

Lastly, language socialization research could examine how linguistic resources are deployed in linguistically diverse settings, and how participants, including English speakers in the U.S., learn to become competent members in multilingual settings. Language socialization researchers (e.g., Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002) have viewed communities of practice as potential settings for such research. In this paper I join many educators, researchers, and community-led initiatives that have advocated for and worked toward bi/multilingual communities of practice in educational spaces.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Student Pre-Course Survey (Program Document)

1) Name

2) Email

3) Age, gender, year in college (freshman, sophomore, etc.)

4) Rutgers program or major

5) Have you always lived in the U.S.? Please indicate other countries where you have lived.

6) Do you speak more than one language? If you would like to indicate which language variety(ies) you speak, that's fine too (E.g., for Chinese, it could be Cantonese, Mandarin, or for Spanish, it could be USA Southwestern, Castellano, etc.).

7) Which is your family language? How did you learn other languages? Are you learning another language now?

8) What communities do you feel a connection to? (It's okay to be unsure.)

9) What are your career goals? (It's okay to be unsure.)

10) What do you expect to learn from this course? What brought you here? Write on the reverse if you need to.

Appendix B: IRB Attachment 7 Interview Protocol

This interview focuses on your experiences in the CBL class this past semester. Specifically, we are interested in finding out about your experiences working with youth and adults who are English learners, that is to say, on a spectrum of bilingualism, in a community setting (conversation partners program). We are also interested in learning about your perceptions of the class so that we might improve it for the next group of students and the international community members who we work with.

1) Tell me about the class that you are enrolled in. What was the focus? (If necessary, ask, "If someone asked you to describe it, what would you say?")

2) What had been your experience with language learning before this class? Adult language-learning specifically? (Optional: What have you learned about the process of language-learning?)

3) What insights have you gained about resources, networks, knowledge, and expertise in the international community?

4) What have you learned directly from the families and community members you conversed with during this semester? And, conversely, what do you think they learned from you?

5) What insights have you gained about the role and the potential of community-based programs in support of language learning? (If necessary, ask the same question about multilingualism).

6) Are there things that you learned this semester that you think could only have been learned in this community-based format? If so, what are some of those things?

7) On the other hand, are there modes of teaching and learning that you would have liked to have experienced in class to a greater degree throughout the semester?

8) What were the advantages and limitations of engaging with community members in conversation-based activities during this course?

9) Any other feedback that you would like to provide?

Thank you for your time.

Appendix C: Modified IRB Attachment 7 Community Participant

Interviewer: I would like to talk with you about how you use English in your daily life; and learn whether your participation in (PROGRAM) has made a difference to you. The purpose of our interview is to learn how the conversation program can be improved. When I ask a question, you may answer in any way you like, and you may ask me questions, too. We can speak in English or Spanish. I will record our conversation so that I can fully understand your experiences and thoughts. Your name will not be used in the research findings but if you prefer that we use your name, you can let me know. Do you have any questions for me before we begin?

Me gustaría hablar con usted acerca de cómo usted utilize el inglés en su vida diaria/cotidiana; y aprender si su participación en (el PROGRAMA) ha hecho una diferencia para usted. El propósito de nuestra entrevista es aprender cómo se puede mejorar el programa de conversación. Cuando hago una pregunta, usted puede contestar de cualquier modo que le guste y usted puede hacerme preguntas, también. Podemos hablar en inglés o en español. Voy a grabar nuestra conversación por lo que puedo entender perfectamente sus experiencias y pensamientos. Su nombre no será utilizado en las conclusiones de la investigación, pero si usted prefiere que usemos su nombre, usted puede avisarme. ¿Tiene usted alguna pregunta para mí antes de empezar?

1) Tell me about your typical day. Hábleme de su día normal. Let's talk about when you speak English. Vaya a la conversación de cuando usted habla inglés.
2) We are interested in finding out about your experiences working with Rutgers students and staff in the English conversation partners program. Tell me about the experience. (If necessary, ask: Who did you work with? What format did the conversation take?
   What were your aims for participating in the program?)
3) What have you learned from the students and staff that you worked with during this semester? What did you think they learned from you?
4) What were the advantages of working with the Rutgers students and staff? What were some of the limitations of practicing English in this way?
5) How might the program be improved for the next class?
6) Tell me a little about yourself and your family.
7) Is there anything else you would like to share about the conversation program? Thank you for your time.

Appendix D: Community Member Survey (Program Document)

A) Do you feel more comfortable speaking English in the community after taking these classes? Please give an example if possible. ¿Se siente usted más cómoda/o hablando inglés en su comunidad después de este curso? Favor de darnos un ejemplo.

B) How do you feel about conversing with students and staff from the university? ¿Cómo se siente usted al conversar con compañeros y personal de la universidad?

C) Before this project, have you taken a class with English speakers? What was it like? Antes de este proyecto, ¿Ha tenido usted este tipo de práctica (con hablantes de inglés)? ¿Qué forma tomó la clase?

D) Would you like to continue taking classes? ¿Quisiera usted seguir tomando las clases?

E) Would you refer friends to the class? ¿Recomendaría usted este curso a sus amigos?

F) If there are times when you are not able to attend the class, would you say that the reason is: Si hay tiempos en que no se puede asistir a la clase, es que la razón es ...

       Work   Childcare   Illness   Other _____

G) Tell us how you feel … ¿Cómo se siente usted? …. for example, por ejemplo

Did you enjoy the classes?   ¿Disfrutó usted de las clases?

1	2	3	4	5
No / Not at all No / nunca		OK OK		Yes/Very Much Sí / mucho

Were the topics helpful? ¿Fueron los temas útiles?

1	2	3	4	5
No / Not at all No / nunca		OK OK		Yes/Very Much Sí / mucho

H) Circle anything that was helpful or that you enjoyed doing.   For example: Círcule todo lo que le fue útil o que usted disfrutó. Por ejemplo:

- ◦ Conversing with an English speaker. *Conversar con un hablante de inglés.*
- ◦ Pronunciation. *Pronunciar.*
- ◦ Telling stories. *Contar historias.*
- ◦ Writing. *Escribir.*
- ◦ Other / *Otro/a*:
  _____ (For example, discussions, using a dictionary, describing pictures, anything you did in class. *Por ejemplo, cualquier actividad del curso, por ejemplo: discusión, usar el diccionario, describir imágenes.)*

I) What did you learn? ¿Qué ha aprendido?

J) How did you hear about this class?   ¿Cómo se enteró de este curso?

     Friend / Amigo/a   Flier / Folleto   Facebook Other

K) Do you use a computer at home? ¿Utiliza una computadora en casa?

     Yes / Sí   No

L) Do you need child care in order to attend class? ¿Necesita cuidado infantil para asistir a clase?

     Yes / Sí   No

M) We would like to have your suggestions for future classes.   How else can we help you? Nos gustaría tener sus sugerencias para clases futuras. ¿De qué otras maneras podemos ayudar?

Appendix E: Transcription Conventions (Schegloff, 2007)

(.)	micropause
(..)	medium pause
(…)	long pause
LF	laugh
((LF))	transcriber's description of events
?	rising intonation
,?	slightly rising intonation
.	final intonation contour
↓	sharp rises or falls in intonation
<u>how</u>	stress or emphasis
-h	intake of breath
[	onset of overlap
]	end of overlap
-	interruption
=	latching
°	(degree sign) talk becomes quieter
(it's)/(is)	alternate interpretations of an utterance