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Working Toward Social Change:

Youth Researchers Using Discourse to Challenge Systemic Racism in Education

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

Melanie A. Bertrand

2012

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Working Toward Social Change:

Youth Researchers Using Discourse to Challenge Systemic Racism in Education

by

Melanie A. Bertrand

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Ernest Morrell, Chair

The United States education system denies many Black and Latina/o students a quality education due to systemic racism, which is manifested in racial inequalities in access to educational resources. These disparities are multifaceted. For instance, Latina/o and Black students have fewer opportunities to take college preparatory courses than their white peers (Darling-Hammond, 2004a; Fanelli, Bertrand, Rogers, Medina, & Freelon, 2010; J. Rogers, Fanelli, & Bertrand, 2009). Also, there are inequalities in access to qualified and experienced teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2004a), college counselors (Fanelli et al., 2010), technology (Margolis, 2008), and schools that are not overcrowded (Fanelli et al., 2010).

My dissertation research examines how a group of youth and adults called the Council challenges these manifestations of systemic racism while engaging in Youth Participatory Action Research—youth-driven, critical research and advocacy. The Council includes about 30 Black

and Latina/o high school students, along with a racially diverse group of adults, including me, a white woman. A partnership between a university and several California public schools, the group has been active for over a decade, cultivating a space for youth to learn and apply critical social science theory and research methods. Also the Council gives several presentations per year, allowing students to present their research findings and advocate for concrete changes in education.

My study investigates how Council students, during the 2010-2011 school year, took up and transformed discourses addressing educational inequality, and how they communicated the discourses through advocacy efforts. An example of such a discourse would be a research-supported appeal for more rigorous curriculum at schools serving Latina/o and Black students. I also study how the teachers and school administrators who attended Council presentations responded to the discourses. To study these phenomena, I used ethnographic methods and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I grounded the study in sociocultural theory, Critical Race Theory and the theoretical aspect of CDA, which posits that discourse can influence action, leading to shifts in social structures. My findings indicate that the students learned discourses about educational inequality from the Council adults, but not in a straightforward manner. Instead, as students collectively appropriated discourses, they transformed both their content and their form. Also, I found that students' discourses, as communicated at presentations, had some influence on teachers and school administrators. For example, one presentation prompted several teachers to reflect on their teaching and, in some instances, alter their curriculum. Also, teachers and school administrators who attended presentations reported using the Council as a curricular model in their schools. These findings point to new possibilities for challenging systemic racism in education.

The dissertation of Melanie A. Bertrand is approved.

H. Samy Alim

Marjorie Faulstich Orellana

John Rogers

Ernest Morrell, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2012

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[1] In the Acknowledgements section, names are listed in alphabetical order within paragraphs.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Bernarda, a Latina high school student from California, stood before rows of expectant faces in a conference room at the 2011 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA). A man in the audience had just asked her and her colleagues—other high school Students of Color—why they chose to belong to a group called the Council, which engages in Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR), collective, youth-driven research and advocacy. He asked, "This obviously took time, effort, took you away from…your friends….What is it about your experience that led you to choose to make the sacrifices that you had to make to do this work?" After some of the other students spoke on the question, critiquing race and class inequality in education, Bernarda gave this passionate response:

> we? we might be missing our fun? our friends?
> but there's one thing that we're actually missing.
> and that's our edu***ca***tion
> where ***is*** our education. ((*spreads hands*))
> where ***is*** it ***at***. ((*spreads hands*))
> and this is what ***we*** are here for
> to ***save*** our education
> to ***get*** a better education
> ***that's*** what we are here for
> ***that's*** what ***I*** wanna change
> to get a better education for me? ((*points to herself with both hands*))
> and everybody else ((*spreads hands wide*))
> in my school in my community and in my family.[2]

When she finished, the audience erupted in applause and one of her fellow Council members wiped what was perhaps a tear from his eye.

[2] I use a transcription method derived from the one developed by Jefferson (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). A list of transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G.

In this moving appeal, Bernarda challenged the status quo in education, which directs poor-quality educational resources to Black and Latina/o students while privileging white students (Darling-Hammond, 2004a). Using collective pronouns, she began by explaining that "our" education is "missing." She emphatically asked the audience, "Where ***is*** our education?" Continuing on, she framed the education she and others were receiving as something needing to be saved. She then revealed the object of her advocacy, asserting that she wanted "to get a better education for me and everybody else in my school, in my community, and in my family." Since her school and neighborhood are home to Latina/o and Black students and residents, Bernarda's words positioned her as an advocate for other People of Color. In this way, she contested the sub-par schooling available to Black and Latina/o students and challenged the systemic racism in education that places these students in a subordinate position.

How did Bernarda come to say these words challenging systemic racism? And did her words make a difference? These questions encapsulate the spirit of this dissertation. In it I explore the Council's advocacy efforts and their possible influence on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy. This research aims to shine light on the "how" of YPAR advocacy work that contests systemic racism and the ripples outward that it inspires.

Systemic Racism in Education

I ground this dissertation in a solid understanding of systemic racism, which, I argue, the Council challenges. Racism is part of the very structure of the education system (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), which inequitably distributes educational resources along race lines. The manifestations of this are varied. For instance, the distribution of teachers follows race and class lines, with predominantly white schools less likely to employ unqualified and inexperienced teachers than schools serving Black and Latina/o youth (Darling-Hammond, 2004a, 2004b). This

is overwhelmingly the case in California, where, in 2008, 55.4% of schools serving 90% or higher majorities of Black, Latina/o, and American Indian students had severe shortages of qualified college preparatory teachers, as opposed to only 12.6% of majority-white and/or Asian American[3] schools (Fanelli et al., 2010). Also, since schools serving Latina/o and Black students are more likely to have novice teachers, they are disproportionately affected by teacher layoffs. A 2010 lawsuit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union indicated that, in a recent budget crisis, three Los Angeles middle schools serving predominantly Black and Latina/o students lost more than half of their teachers, while other schools in the district lost none ("Massive teacher layoffs at three LAUSD schools violated state guarantee of equal education for all ", 2010). In addition, curricular disparities mar public education. Schools serving majorities of Latina/o and Black students often fail to provide an adequate number of college preparatory courses (Darling-Hammond, 2004a). Also, at racially mixed schools, tracking systems segregate students, with white students more likely to be tracked into advanced courses (Darling-Hammond, 2004a; Oakes, 1985). And the list of educational disparities goes on from there: Schools serving Black and Latina/o students are disproportionately overcrowded (Fanelli et al., 2010; J. Rogers, Fanelli, & Bertrand, 2009), white teachers hold low expectations for these students (Tettegah, 1996), and these students have inadequate access to high-level technology (Margolis, 2008) and college counselors (Fanelli et al., 2010).

These inequalities have been directly linked to unequal academic outcomes (Darling-Hammond, 2004a). What is commonly referred to as the “achievement gap” between whites and some groups of Students of Color has not meaningfully changed in decades. The National

[3] Asian American students are reported to be on the privileged end of this inequality (Fanelli et al., 2010). However, subgroups within this pan-ethnic group have varying levels of access to high-quality education (S. J. Lee, 2009). Also, discussing this group’s “privilege” obscures the fact that this group faces racism and inequality both in education and in wider society (S. J. Lee, 2005).

Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), known as the Nation's Report Card, starkly illustrates these disparities. In 2011, the math score difference for eighth grade Black and white students was 31 points,[4] while the Latina/o-white score difference on the same test was 23 points ("Mathematics 2011: National assessment of educational progress at grades 4 and 8," 2012). Both of these ranges are not statistically different from the ranges reported in 1990, and a similar pattern holds for reading scores.

Systemic racism in education, then, has concrete manifestations, such as the inequitable distribution of educational resources, which directly and negatively impact Students of Color. At the same time, this racism supports white supremacy, or white racial domination (Leonardo, 2004). This systemic racism forms the context of the Council and groups like it nationwide.

YPAR and Black and Latina/o Youth Voice

Students participating in YPAR programs challenge systemic racism by speaking out as Bernarda did. YPAR involves placing students, often Youth of Color, in positions as researchers of the conditions in their schools and neighborhoods (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; McIntyre, 2000; Morrell, 2008b; Morrell & Rogers, 2006; J. Rogers, Morrell, & Enyedy, 2007; Schensul & Berg, 2004; Schensul, Berg, Schensul, & Sydlo, 2004). YPAR generally follows three principles: 1) Youth and adults investigate collectively; 2) participants use indigenous knowledge to better understand a problem; and 3) participants seek to take action to address the problem (McIntyre, 2000, p. 128). YPAR often leads to critical and structural analyses of racism, classism, and other forms of oppression (Cammarota & Fine, 2008), and insists that valuable knowledge resides with the social actors "who have been *most* systematically excluded, oppressed, or denied…" (Fine, 2008, p. 215). In this way, YPAR is an inherently political undertaking and often involves students advocating for change (Morrell, 2008b).

[4] NAEP results are reported on a 0-500 scale.

In conducting research and advocacy, the youth cultivate a political, civic and critical knowledge base from which to communicate about social justice issues (Lewis-Charp, Yu, & Soukamneuth, 2006; Morrell, 2008a; Richards-Schuster & Checkoway, 2009). This appropriation of knowledge and communication approaches helps them speak back to those in power (Morrell, 2008b). As Lewis-Charp et al. (2006) argue about youth activism programs, "By supporting political skills and knowledge, civic activism efforts support young people's capacity to engage directly with power brokers, decision makers, and institutions in their communities" (p. 22). One way YPAR students exercise their political voice is through "Critical Textual Production," which generates "texts that serve as counter-narratives to…dominant texts" (Morrell, 2008a, p. 115) through various communicative modes, such as reports and documentary films.

Unfortunately, little is known about the impacts of YPAR efforts on communities and schools. Arguing from a theoretical rather than empirical standpoint, some researchers (Checkoway & Richards-Schuster, 2006; Richards-Schuster & Checkoway, 2009; Torre & Fine, 2006) have shown the value of one aim of YPAR projects: including students' voices in education policy and other pertinent policy arenas. In addition, youth organizing collectives, which share some commonalities with YPAR programs, have been shown to score concrete policy "wins" (Cervone, 2002).

YPAR holds promise when viewed from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is both a theory and a research method. Discourse—the social practice of language use—is theorized to have an intimate connection with social structures, such as the inequitable education system. Proponents of CDA (Augoustinos & Every, 2007; Fairclough, 1992a, 1995) argue that discourse not only reflects society, but also constitutes it to some degree,

acting as a building block of structures and institutions. Importantly, discourse is a site of struggle that can contribute to both social reproduction and transformation (Augoustinos & Every, 2007; Fairclough, 1995). From this viewpoint, YPAR generates discourse that could challenge systemic racism in education.

Study Overview

This study seeks to investigate how Youth of Color can use discourse as a tool and the possible influences of this discourse in contesting systemic racism in education. I accomplish this by examining the advocacy efforts of the Council. I study how the Council students challenge the manifestations of systemic racism in education by formulating and conveying what I call advocacy messages—critiques or demands for change focused on inequalities in the educational system. I also investigate the influence of these messages and the Council generally on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy.

The Council includes about 30 Latina/o and/or Black students from five public high schools in California, as well as a racially diverse group of teachers and university researchers, including me, a white woman. The Council, like many YPAR programs, provides a space for youth to conduct research on educational inequalities (Morrell, 2008a). The students learn critical theory and social science research methodology as they research the educational conditions in their school district, Onero School District,[5] documenting local and statewide race and class educational inequalities. Their data collection activities include creating and distributing surveys and conducting videotaped interviews with educational stakeholders, from students to legislators. With the help of the adults, the students synthesize their research into sets of findings and, from there, form specific policy recommendations. They craft these findings into documentaries and PowerPoint slides that they present at various events attended by community

[5] This is a pseudonym.

members, parents, teachers, and school administrators. In these presentations, the Council members advocate for change to the educational status quo.

During my year-long data collection period, the 2010-2011 school year, I focused on the Council students from one of the five schools—which I call Carver High School. This subgroup of the Council researched access to rigorous curriculum. Throughout the year, all Council students, including those at Carver, presented their research four to five times to various audiences, each time calling for concrete changes in education.

I investigate four areas related to the Council. First, using the Carver students as an example, I examine how the Council students, with adult guidance, developed advocacy messages. Second, I look at the ways Council students conveyed these messages. Third, I connect the Council students' advocacy messages to possible influences on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy. Fourth, I explore the influence of the Council as a curricular model for teachers and school administrators. My research questions follow these four areas of investigation:

1. How do the Council students, with the guidance of Council adults, formulate advocacy messages?
2. How do the Council students convey the advocacy messages?
3. What is the influence of these advocacy messages on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy?
4. What is the influence of the Council as an educational model on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy?

In researching these four areas, I use three theoretical lenses. First, CDA helps me frame the discursive actions of the Council as connected to social structures and, in some measure,

constitutive of the Council and other social realities. This analytic lens provides me a tool to examine how study participants use discourse (the focus of the first and second questions), and how this usage may have influence outside the Council (addressing my third and fourth questions). Second, sociocultural theory allows me to view the Council as a "community of practice," defined as "a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98). A community of practice is a historical space characterized by "legitimate peripheral participation" in which participants change their level or type of participation over time (Rogoff, 2003). Seen through the lens of the community of practice, the Council is the site of communal creation of advocacy messages and joint approaches to conveying them (the phenomena addressed through my first and second questions). Third, I use Critical Race Theory (CRT), which critiques power relations, especially those related to race (Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), and views racism as a structural and foundational aspect of society and its institutions, like schools. CRT provides the theoretical support to my framing of disparities in educational resources as systemic racism, allowing me to understand the students' efforts as challenges to this racism. In this way, CRT provides a lens for all four of my research questions. Also, CRT helps me interrogate my own positionality in the research as white person from a middle class background.

I use these theoretical lenses to illuminate data collected via two types of qualitative methods: ethnography and CDA. Through ethnography, I explore the practices and processes related to the formulation, conveyance, and influence of the advocacy messages, as well as the influence of the Council as a curricular model. Through CDA, which calls for a linguistic analysis connected to a structural framework (Fairclough, 2003), I analyze the students'

advocacy messages at the micro-level and connect these to social contexts and structures (Fairclough, 1992a).

During my data collection period, I attended virtually all Council presentations, along with meetings of the Carver subgroup and the Council as a whole. I took audio and video recordings, collected artifacts, wrote detailed field notes, and interviewed Council members. I also interviewed teachers and school administrators who attended Council presentations, if possible interviewing them more than once over the course of the year. These data helped me understand the ways Council members used and manipulated discourse (responding to my first two research questions) and how the Council and/or its members' use of discourse influenced teachers and school administrators (responding to the last two research questions). I used Atlas.ti software to facilitate an ethnographic analysis of all my data and CDA methods to examine my recorded data. Analyzed through these two methods, the data provided a rich picture of participants' use of discourse within the Council and the influence of the Council's advocacy messages.

Positionality and Interest in the Council

Long before I began data collection, I was involved with the Council. I began working with the Council in the summer of 2008 when one of the adult program coordinators asked if I could drive students to their field research sites. I realized after my first time giving rides to the students what a privilege it was to have been invited to participate in the Council. From then until June 2010, I occasionally drove students to their research sites, periodically attended their meetings, and attended almost all their presentations. These initial experiences with the Council brought life to the research on YPAR as I witnessed first-hand the power of the students' work. I

was introduced to the compelling advocacy of the students, which exposes the infuriating inequality in schooling and the unconscionable outcomes of this.

In the summer of 2010 I became more involved in the Council when I began working directly with a small group of students. This entailed meeting with the students and a lead teacher two to three times a week. During my data collection period, the 2010-2011 school year, I became a full-fledged member of the Council, acting as one of the adult mentors to the Carver subgroup. I continued this involvement after data collection ended, and, as of this writing, I am still a member of the Council.

I entered the Council members' lives as an individual with a comparatively powerful social position. My positionality runs along various axes: I am a white person in a society shaped by white supremacy and systemic racism (Leonardo, 2004; P. McIntosh, 1990); I come from a middle-class background; I speak a variety of English that is deemed "standard"; I am an adult; and I am also a Ph.D. student and a researcher at a well-known university. Unlike the students in the Council, I have never experienced the devaluation of my race, language and culture; I have never been stereotyped as deficient for these characteristics; and I have never been subjected to systemic educational racism. In short, I have lived a life replete with race and class privilege because of a system that subordinates People of Color and poor people *as a result of* what it gives to me and others like me.

In exploring the Council and the effects of its advocacy work, I strived to remain constantly aware of my positionality. Despite my privilege and position of power, I tried to approach the Council members as collaborators, and, indeed, wellsprings of a wealth of knowledge. With this dissertation, I endeavor to do right by my study participants and use my position of power to bolster change efforts.

Significance and Rationale

Toward the beginning of this chapter I asked how Bernarda came to speak at the conference and whether her words made a difference. This dissertation addresses these questions generally about the Council by examining how its members formulate and convey advocacy messages and investigating the messages' and the Council's possible influence. The answers to these questions could indicate how to cultivate tools to challenge systemic racism in education and the potential influence of the use of these tools. For this reason, my dissertation could indicate possible approaches to spurring structural change in education that weakens white supremacy.

In addition, this dissertation adds to the literature on YPAR, which has generally not focused on its possible impacts on communities and schools. Instead, most research on YPAR has examined benefits to the students (Lewis-Charp et al., 2006; Morrell, 2008b; Richards-Schuster & Checkoway, 2009; J. Rogers et al., 2007), such as civic engagement and activism. This focus is merited in that these benefits help students, often Students of Color, navigate and participate in our racially unequal society. However, YPAR programs often actively seek to change the racist status quo (Torre & Fine, 2006), suggesting that research should explore this area. An effective way to do this is to examine how students use discourse as a tool and the influences of their efforts. This approach is appropriate considering that the activities involved in YPAR—researching, making recommendations, etc.—are largely discursive, and many of the influences may be discursive as well.

Also, this dissertation study could have some level of generalizability. Fine (2008) argues that research on YPAR programs reveals many widespread commonalities: "...[A]cross projects we witness stunning, shared lessons about oppression, resistance, youth resilience, collective

possibility, disappointment, despair, and desire that bleed across zip codes" (p. 227). Such research demonstrates the concept of theoretical generalizability: "the extent to which theoretical notions or dynamics move from one context to another" (p. 227). My research could also be theoretically generalizable across YPAR programs, since it considers systemic inequality, a widespread phenomenon that typical YPAR programs challenge. In addition, this study could be generalizable across contexts outside of the education realm. In studying the connection of discourse and social structures, and the possibility of influencing this relationship, my study may illuminate ways to harness discourse for the purpose of challenging systemic racism and other forms of oppression in societal contexts beyond education.

Terms and Definitions

There are several concepts and terms that I use frequently throughout the dissertation that are worth explaining and defining.

Discourse

There is a range of definitions of discourse, many of which acknowledge discourse's connection to society. I use an amalgam of both Gee's (2008) and Fairclough's (1992a) definitions. Gee (2008) posits that Discourse (with a capital "D") encompasses ways of speaking, listening, reading, and writing that are connected to ways of knowing, believing, acting, etc. Fairclough (1992a) also makes the connection to society explicit: "In using the term 'discourse', I am proposing to regard language use as a form of social practice, rather than a purely individual activity or a reflex of situational variables" (p. 63). Taking aspects of both these definitions, in addition to Foucault's (1972) view of discourse, I define discourse as the social practice of using language and other semiotic material, a mode of action and representation, often connected to specific, historically situated topics.

Advocacy messages

I view advocacy messages as a subset of "discourse," specifically language and other semiotic material originating from the Council that express viewpoints, research findings, or demands for change that are critical of the educational status quo. Even though some advocacy messages do not directly advocate for change, they all challenge current iterations of schooling, thereby implying that corrective action is necessary. Also, advocacy messages are always intended for an audience outside the Council.

Race

Delgado and Stefancic (2012) synthesize the work of many scholars in providing an explanation of race that accounts for its socially constructed nature. They state, "Not objective, inherent, or fixed, they [race and races] correspond to no biological or genetic reality; rather, races are categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient" (p. 8). I use this definition of race.

Systemic racism

I follow CRT scholars (Bell, 1992; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001) in viewing racism as systemic in nature, part of the very fiber of society. As Yosso explains (2005), "CRT starts from the premise that race and racism are central, endemic, permanent and a fundamental part of defining and explaining how US society functions" (p. 73).

Race labels

In this dissertation, I choose my racial terminology carefully. Research (Sigelman, Tuch, & Martin, 2005) indicates that there is an almost 50/50 split in preference among Americans of African descent between the terms African American and Black. Following Reynolds (2009), I use the latter term due to its political undertones and global reach. Latinas/os who, despite their

racial variety, are often seen as a monolithic racialized group in the public eye (Padín, 2005), are sometimes referred to as "Hispanic," a term that connotes Spain and colonization to many (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987) I follow Hayes-Bautista and Chapa (1987) in referring to people of Latin American descent as Latinas/os. Finally, in keeping with common parlance, I use the term white to refer to non-Latina/o people of European descent. I refrain from using "European-Americans" because, as whiteness scholars have shown (Roediger, 1991), whiteness in the United States has superseded previously significant European ethnic categories. I capitalize the words Black, Latina/o, and noun phrases ending in "of Color," and refrain from capitalizing the word white in order to subvert the dominant racial hierarchy.

Outline of the Dissertation

In the remaining chapters of this dissertation, I expand on the concepts and research strands I introduced above.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the literature and theory that I build upon. I begin with an overview of scholarship about YPAR, discussing ways it has been used and how it has been studied. I then explain my theoretical framework. This consists of a melding of CRT, the concept of communities of practice, and CDA views of discourse to create a theoretical tool that illuminates the Council's relationship with advocacy messages and the influences of these messages beyond the Council.

In Chapter 3, I discuss my research methodology. First I discuss the research tools I use—ethnographic methods and CDA—and explain how these are well-suited to my study. I discuss my participants and research sites, explaining how I selected these. I then describe my role as both a researcher and a participant in the Council, before delving into details about data

collection. I conclude with a description of my approach to analyzing data using ethnographic methods and CDA.

In Chapter 4, I address my first research question, about how the Council students, with the guidance of adults, formulate advocacy messages. In this chapter I use the Carver High School subgroup of the Council to show how Council members cooperatively craft advocacy messages that are highly critical of the unjust status quo in education. As collectively produced and historical artifacts, the advocacy messages are intertextual, (Fairclough, 2003), drawing upon a range of voices and texts over time

In Chapter 5, I address my second research question, describing how Council students convey advocacy messages through the use of meaning-making resources. These resources include multimodal resources, such as those afforded by working with video editing software. Another set of resources are those that arise in interactions. These interactional resources include moments within conversational turn-taking structures (Sacks et al., 1974) in which an advocacy message can be inserted. I also examine the paralinguistic (e.g. pitch, intonation, etc.) and extralinguistic (e.g. body gestures) resources the students used in conveying the advocacy messages. Finally, I discuss the students' use of linguistic resources, including their linguistic repertoires (the range of language styles available to an individual or group (Duranti, 1997, p. 71)) and their rhetorical strategies, such as storytelling.

In Chapter 6, I answer my third and fourth research questions, exploring the influences of the Council's advocacy messages on teachers and school administrators and the influence of the Council itself as a curricular model. I begin with an examination of the influence of the advocacy messages, first discussing teachers' intertextual references to advocacy messages, or, in other words, how teachers revoiced these messages. I then examine instances when individuals told me

that they had told others about the Council and/or its messages, before describing the ways teachers said that the Council had changed their thinking or teaching practice. I conclude the section on advocacy messages by recounting instances when teachers had negative reactions to them. The following section examines the influence of the Council as a curricular model, describing how teachers and school administrators were using Council-inspired curricula in their classrooms and schools. I finish the chapter by arguing that the Council did, indeed, have influence on teachers and administrators.

In Chapter 7, I conclude with a discussion of the implications and limitations of my study. I argue that studying the Council, and YPAR and youth organizing in general, provides valuable insight into approaches to challenging systemic racism in education. I finish with a call for more research about the connection between discourse and society, and how this relationship can be harnessed in the service of radical social change.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE AND THEORY

In approaching my study, I draw upon several areas of literature and theory. I build upon the existing literature on YPAR and participatory action research generally. This burgeoning body of research has investigated a range of aspects about YPAR, including its aims, how it is practiced, the capacities it fosters in youth, and the social influence it may have. To help me add to the literature on YPAR, I approach my study with a theoretical framework that allows me to address a spectrum of phenomena, from the macro-level to the micro-level. This framework combines insights from Critical Race Theory (CRT), sociocultural theory (specifically the concept of communities of practice), and the theoretical aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Youth Participatory Action Research

YPAR is a specific type of participatory action research (PAR). McIntyre (2000) describes three principles of PAR generally: 1) A problem is investigated collectively; 2) "indigenous" knowledge is used to better understand a problem; and 3) there is a desire to take action to address the problem (p. 128). Cammarota and Fine (2008) add to this definition, explaining that PAR yields critical analyses of power and frequently draws upon Critical Race Theory (CRT). Duncan-Andrade and Morrell summarize, "Participants in the action research process become researchers about their daily lives in hopes of developing realistic solutions for dealing with the problems that they believe need to be addressed" (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008, p. 109). Fine (2008) emphatically contends that PAR is not a method, but rather an "epistemological challenge" that insists that knowledge resides with the social actors who are often the subjects of research. "PAR…assumes that those who have been *most* systematically

excluded, oppressed, or denied carry specifically revealing wisdom about the history, structure, consequences, and the fracture points in unjust social arrangements" (Fine, 2008, p. 215). YPAR, like PAR, positions youth as researchers of the conditions in their schools and communities (Torre & Fine, 2006), an endeavor that is inherently political since it involves revealing and challenging structural racism and other inequalities (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Fox et al., 2010; McIntyre, 2000; Morrell, 2008b; Schensul & Berg, 2004; Schensul et al., 2004). The Council is a prime example of a YPAR program in that its students are positioned as researchers of their unjust educational conditions.

Conceptions of YPAR share similarities with conceptions of youth organizing and activism. The two sets of conceptions are so similar that, for Fox et al. (2010), both exemplify "critical youth engagement." Aspects of critical youth engagement include critical analysis of issues, youth leadership, and action for social change. A definition of youth organizing from Rogers et al. (2012) encompasses these aspects, explaining that this approach "refers to the systematic development of youth power to confront inequities that negatively affect young people and their communities" (p. 47) and "is driven by the goal of transforming communities and institutions" (p. 48). Another aspect of critical youth engagement is its valuing the knowledge of Youth of Color (Fox et al., 2010), a central tenet of YPAR (Fine, 2008).

In practice, critical youth engagement can take a range of forms. For instance, a YPAR group called the Fed-Up Honeys in New York researches widely held stereotypes about young, urban Women of Color. One of this group's research questions is, "What is the relationship between the lack of resources (for example, education) and the stereotypes of young urban women of color?" (Cahill, Rios-Moore, & Threatts, 2008, p. 105). The researchers found that these stereotypes are produced within a public education system that institutionalizes

disinvestment in young Women of Color. Similarly, a group called the Collective of Researchers on Educational Disappointment and Desire, also in New York, explicitly frames its work as a critique of racism and other types of oppression (Tuck et al., 2008).

This type of involvement with YPAR and youth organizing can foster civic engagement, a contested term with a variety of meanings. Researchers of non-critical youth programs have cultivated narrow definitions of the term (Atkins, 2003; H. McIntosh & Muñoz, 2009; Wilkenfeld, 2009), framing civic engagement as the enactment of what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) would call the participatory citizen. Such a citizen votes and is involved in her/his community and may, for example, organize a food drive or lead efforts to clean up the environment. YPAR and youth organizing, on the other hand, often aim to cultivate what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) call the justice-oriented citizen. This citizen uses a critical lens to examine unequal social structures and address areas of injustice. This type of citizen would engage in more radical versions of civic engagement, such as those described by a YPAR and youth organizing scholars (Christens & Kirshner, 2011; Fox et al., 2010; Lewis-Charp et al., 2006; Morrell, 2008b; Richards-Schuster & Checkoway, 2009; J. Rogers et al., 2012; J. Rogers & Morrell, 2010; Watts & Flanagan, 2007; Watts & Guessous, 2006). One example of this type of civic engagement can be found in Morrell and Rogers' research on a YPAR program in California that trains high school Students of Color to research education conditions and produce critical texts (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Morrell, 2006; Morrell & Rogers, 2006; J. Rogers et al., 2007). In this program, youth develop identities that embody "a set of knowledge-based civic capacities that they can use to foster social change" (J. Rogers et al., 2007, p. 441). Similar to civic engagement, YPAR and youth organizing positively impact youths' sense of

public efficacy when certain conditions are present (O'Donoghue, 2006) and cultivate identities as advocates (Strobel, Osberg, & McLaughlin, 2006).

Other youth development outcomes have been connected to YPAR or youth organizing. For instance, Watts, Williams, and Jagers (2003) report that African American youth engaged in activism can experience a process of sociopolitical development that fosters critical consciousness. This concept, attributed to Freire (1993), refers to oppressed people's realization that "both they and their oppressors are manifestations of dehumanization" (p. 30). The process of critical consciousness, according the Freire, requires praxis, "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (1993, p. 33). Among the African American youth activists who Watts et al. (2003) interviewed, critical consciousness unfolded as they became " increasingly aware of existing social inequities and their history. This include[d] distinguishing the processes (e.g., policies and practices) and the outcomes (e.g., subjugation, trauma, and social and personal dysfunction) of oppression" (p. 187). Other scholars (Bautista, 2012; Cammarota & Romero, 2011) have reported similar findings.

Many scholars have connected youth's development of critical consciousness to their cultivation of language-based skills. The program Morrell and Rogers have researched has helped youth develop research skills, including interviewing and surveying (Morrell, 2006, 2008a, 2008b; J. Rogers et al., 2007), and other scholars have reported similar outcomes (Torre & Fine, 2006; Torre et al., 2008; Tuck et al., 2008). Also, the dissemination of YPAR students' research findings fosters language-based skills. For instance, some YPAR programs use poetry (Flores-González, Rodríguez, & Rodríguez-Muñiz, 2006; Torre & Fine, 2006; Torre et al., 2008) and other written works, such as reports, PowerPoints, books, and slambooks (Cahill et al., 2008; Morrell, 2008b; Torre & Fine, 2006; Tuck et al., 2008), and public speaking (O'Donoghue, 2006;

Torre & Fine, 2006). The youth use and develop these research and communication skills as they engage in critical analyses of power inequalities and apply the skills in the pursuit of social change.

Considering the ways that YPAR and youth organizing have been shown to foster youth's development, it is appropriate to consider the cautionary advice of Tuck and Yang (2011). These scholars warn against viewing development as a teleological progression from, for example, oppression to liberation. Linking youth resistance to "progress-oriented theories of change" is akin to adopting a Western philosophical frame, which has been used to justify colonization (p. 522). Instead, "change happens in ways that make new, old-but-returned, and previously unseen possibilities available at each juncture…" (p. 522). Tuck and Yang's (2011) warning, then, serves to complexify reports of YPAR and youth organizing fostering civic engagement, critical consciousness, and critical language skills.

Another aspect of discussions about outcomes of YPAR and youth organizing focuses on the social impacts of the youth's efforts. Definitions of both YPAR and youth organizing frame these approaches as including aims to spur social change (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Fox et al., 2010; J. Rogers et al., 2012). As Cammarota and Fine argue, YPAR "is designed to contest and transform systems and institutions to produce greater justice…" (2008, p. 2). Though much research on YPAR and organizing cites this as the goal (Cahill et al., 2008; Morrell, 2006; Romero et al., 2008; Tuck et al., 2008), much less research has documented how this may or may not be happening. Research that discusses social impacts usually provides evidence from case studies. For instance, Rogers et al. (2012) and Rogers and Morrell (2010) describe a youth-driven organization in Los Angeles that succeeded in pushing the Los Angeles Unified School District to pass a resolution to that all students graduate prepared for college. In Tucson, Arizona,

a YPAR program's advocacy efforts led to physical improvements in a high school and expanded multicultural course offerings (Romero et al., 2008). In the San Francisco Bay Area, youth activists secured funding for health services in high schools and blocked the expansion of a juvenile hall (Cervone, 2002). Fox et al. (2010) and Christens and Kirshner (2011) also describe several "wins" stemming from youth's change efforts.

These reports of social impacts must be viewed as conditional. As Rogers et al. (2012) argue, "Evidence from a number of case studies suggests that youth organizing 'can' lead to such effects. These civic outcomes are not inevitable." Regardless of the conditional nature of social impacts, several scholars agree that the inclusion of the voices of Youth of Color or marginalized youth in pertinent policy decisions greatly enhances policy conversations and outcomes, especially in areas directly related to youth's lives, such as education (Checkoway & Richards-Schuster, 2006; Richards-Schuster & Checkoway, 2009; Torre & Fine, 2006). Torre and Fine (2006) explain: "…marginalized/oppressed youth carry sharp critique and knowledge about the very mortar of social formations, and…revealing and legitimating this knowledge significantly challenge existing forms of institutional and structural oppression that have been naturalized as inevitable" (p. 272).

As of yet, the social impacts of YPAR and youth organizing remain cloudy. More research is required to fully clarify what the impacts may be and the how they may occur. Rogers et al. (2012) call for research that investigates "how youth participation in specific organizing activities contributes to civic outcomes" and "the long-term impact of this work" (p. 62). Others (Fox et al., 2010; Strobel et al., 2006) have also called for such research. This dissertation addresses these calls for more research by considering how YPAR students challenge systemic racism and the influences of their efforts.

Theoretical Framework

My tripartite theoretical framework—which draws upon CRT, sociocultural theory (specifically the concept of communities of practice), and the theoretical aspects of CDA—allows me to approach my study from a variety of vantage points.

Critical Race Theory

As I described in the first chapter, the United States is characterized by entrenched, systemic racism in the education system. In comparison to majority-white schools, the schools of Black and Latina/o students are often underfunded (Darling-Hammond, 2004a) and provide simplified, "back to the basics" curricula that do not offer opportunities for analytical thinking and enrichment (Gutiérrez, 2001; Martinez, Moreno, Morales, & Hopkins, 2008). At schools with majorities of these students, qualified and experienced teachers are often in short supply, and college preparatory classes are often off-limits because of inadequate course offerings (Darling-Hammond, 2004b; J. Rogers, Fanelli, Medina et al., 2009). Even in racially diverse schools, Students of Color may be tracked into less advanced courses, in contrast to their white peers (Oakes, 1985). Moreover, Students of Color disproportionately become targets of disciplinary measures, often missing school because of suspension (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010).

This landscape of inequality forms the context of the Council. CRT helps me situate the Council's actions and influences within this context. The Council members, as Latina/o and Black students who attend under-resourced schools within a state and nation in which high-quality schools are unequally distributed, are very much affected by this unequal structure.

CRT is based on the understanding that race is a social construction rather than a biological one (Buttny, 2003; Sanjek, 1994; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). As Omi and

Winant explain, “Although the concept of race invokes biologically based human characteristics (so-called “phenotypes”), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process” (1994, p. 55). CRT, which arose from legal studies in the 1970s as a means to study racism within the law and institutions (Lynn & Adams, 2002), views racism as a core organizing feature of society. Indeed, one of the main tenets of CRT is its assertion that racism is ordinary (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012) and endemic in society (Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995). This racism intersects with other forms of subordination (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso, 2005).

CRT also places value on the epistemologies of People of Color. This tenet of CRT, Yosso (2005) explains, “recognizes that the experiential knowledge of People of Color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing and teaching about racial subordination” (p. 74). CRT recognizes and utilizes counterstories, the resistance narratives of People of Color (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). DeCuir and Dixson (2004) explain, “Counter-storytelling is a means of exposing and critiquing normalized dialogues that perpetuate racial stereotypes. The use of counterstories allows for the challenging of privileged discourses, the discourses of the majority, therefore, serving as a means for giving voice to marginalized groups” (p. 27). Counterstories not only challenge racist discourse but also can intentionally avoid responding to dominant discourse (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). In this way, these stories can serve to “strengthen traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 32) while also confronting the “majoritarian” stories of white supremacy that have become naturalized in society.

Some scholars offer other tenets of CRT, in addition to those about the endemic nature of racism and the importance of first-hand knowledge of racism. For example, early CRT scholars

argued that civil rights laws are ineffective (Bell, 1992, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995). Formulated by Bell (1992, 2004), the concept of interest convergence contends that laws seeming to promote racial equality actually benefit whites. For example, Bell pointed out that the famous 1954 *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka* ruling occurred when the United States was in the grip of the Cold War. Delgado and Stefancic (2012) explain Bell's perspective: "It would ill serve the U.S. interest if the world press continued to carry stories of lynchings, Klan violence, and racist sheriffs" (p. 23). Yosso (2005) and Solorzano and Yosso (2001) add to the two tenets by arguing that CRT is a transdisciplinary perspective that challenges dominant ideology and works toward social justice. Delgado and Stefancic (2012) add that racism serves material and psychic purposes for the dominant group.

Racism affects society on multiple levels (Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), including that of the interaction. Solorzano et al. (2000) argue that "microaggressions," or subtle racial insults, can create a hostile climate for People of Color. Such insults, along with other instantiations of the discursive side of systemic racism, have been widely documented (Augoustinos & Every, 2007; Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Every, 2005; Bertrand, 2010; Every & Augoustinos, 2007; van Dijk, 1997, 1999, 2002). On a larger scale, CRT asserts the "permanence of racism" in institutions such as education (Bell, 1992, 2004; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 27; Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995).

Building upon generations of scholarship (Du Bois, 1920/1969), CRT also analyzes and critiques whiteness and white supremacy. This body of scholarship, now termed "whiteness studies," delves into the creation and perpetuation of white supremacy and its wide-ranging effects. These studies have focused on two main themes: marking whiteness as a particular identity and connecting whiteness to power (Roediger, 2002). Leonardo (2002) explains that

whiteness is visible as the norm, and invisible as an unmarked category that remains "cloaked in darkness" (p. 41). This identity is connected to innumerable everyday privileges (P. McIntosh, 1990). However, simply framing whiteness as privilege, without analyzing power, fails to account for "the active role of whites who take resources from people of color all over the world, appropriate their labor, and construct policies that deny minorities' full participation in society" (Leonardo, 2004, p. 138). Harris (1993) has demonstrated how white supremacy works in the law in her conception of whiteness and property. In examining historical property law, she asserts that, since whiteness was a shield against being a slave, the white identity was able to merge with a legal understanding of property. By law, property is something an individual has a right to own, just as whiteness is "the right to white identity as embraced by the law" (p. 280). This right to whiteness for white people is reified as an expectation that is upheld and recognized by the law.

For this study, it is important to consider CRT and whiteness/white supremacy in light of the unequal distribution of educational resources along race lines. As Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (1995) explain, for Students of Color, "the cause of their poverty in conjunction with the condition of their schools and schooling is institutional and structural racism" (p. 55). Students of Color, such as the Council members, face a barrage of barriers as they navigate an education system that is part of a larger system governed by white supremacy (Leonardo, 2007). This context forms the very reason for their work in the Council, is the object of their study, and is what they challenge through their discourse.

To understand the structural barriers that Students of Color encounter, a melding of CRT and social reproduction theories—which argue that schools keep the rich, rich and the poor, poor—is productive. Bowles and Gintis's (1976) seminal work argues that schools "train the

wealthy to take up places at the top of the economy while conditioning the poor to accept their lowly status in the class structure" (cited in MacLeod, 1987, p. 12). Supporting this idea, Anyon (2008), demonstrates that schools can reproduce the status quo by providing differing types of education to different groups of students. She studied four types of schools serving students from various social class positions. The school serving working-class students emphasized rote memorization of facts and learning discrete skills. On the other hand, the school serving the children of elite executives focused on rigorous and analytical thinking (Anyon, 2008).

Other scholars, however, have critiqued this "correspondence" theory for only considering economic relations (McLaren, 1994). Bourdieu, for example, argues for a reproduction theory that considers cultural aspects. He claims that schools' pedagogic message is that of the "legitimate culture," which is taken up differently by different social groups due to their family backgrounds, or "unequal distances from academic culture and different dispositions to recognize and acquire it" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 101). MacLeod (1987) succinctly explains this idea: "Hence, schools serve as the trading post where socially valued cultural capital is parlayed into superior academic performance. Academic performance is then turned back into economic capital by the acquisition of superior jobs" (p. 14).

Understood through a CRT lens, social reproduction theories—which analyze social class—can indicate some of the processes that contribute to systemic racism in education. Bourdieu's argument can be used to understand how schools devalue the home cultures of Students of Color and elevate dominant white cultures (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Yosso, 2005), phenomena that have academic and social impacts. The correspondence theory, on the other hand, suggests schools may not only differentiate their curriculum along class lines, as Anyon's (2008) study showed, but also along race lines.

Communities of Practice

Within the social context of inequality that CRT illuminates is the Council, which can be seen as a community of practice. The concept of communities of practice is indebted to Vygotsky, a Russian psychologist whose work forms the foundation of sociocultural theory. This type of theory "articulate[s] a view of culture not only as a system of meaning carried across generations, but also as constantly being created and recreated in local contexts. Sociocultural perspectives examine the roles of social and cultural processes as mediators of human activity and thought" (Nasir & Hand, 2006, p. 458). One of the central foci of sociocultural theory is the idea of situated learning (Nasir & Hand, 2006), from which the concept of the community of practice developed.

Lave and Wenger (1991) define a community of practice as "a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice" (p. 98). These communities are sites of learning and sense-making as members engage in communal activities (Wenger, 1998). Communities can be named or unnamed, formal or informal; and individuals can be members of many of these, from the family group, to the workplace community. Rogers et al. (2007) argue that a program such as the Council is a prime example of this type of community: "Joint activity around a shared endeavor, such as a campaign for educational justice, is a hallmark of a community of practice" (p. 421).

To account for the situated character of learning in communities of practice, Lave and Wenger (1991) propose the concept of "legitimate peripheral participation." As participating members of a community of practice, individuals occupy certain positions and have certain amounts of power. These two variables are captured by the descriptors "peripheral" and "legitimate," and refer not to dichotomies, but to spectrums of possible positions within a given

community of practice. Lave and Wenger assert that a social actor must experience some degree of these variables for learning to occur: "…[L]earners must be legitimate peripheral participants in ongoing practice in order for learning identities to be engaged and develop into full participation" (p. 64).

Learning or development within a community of practice involves members' changing participation in activities (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 2003). Lave and Wenger explain, "…[T]he mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community" (p. 29). However, the development is not unidirectional. According to Rogoff (2003), as people participate and develop, they also contribute to the practices of the communities. In this way the communities and human activity are mutually constituted. These mutual processes may be different depending on what types of learning are emphasized in a community. One type of learning is "intent participation," characterized by observation of activities intently with the intention of participating in them at some point (Rogoff, Paradise, Arauz, Correa-Chávez, & Angelillo, 2003). This is different from traditional classroom learning in industrialized cultures, in which knowledge is supposedly transmitted from teachers to students (Rogoff et al., 2003). These types of learning are not dichotomous and may happen in the same community and at the same time.

Within communities of practice, members use certain tools as they engage in activities and develop (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 2003). As Lave and Wenger (1991) explain, these tools carry with them associations of culture and history. "Thus, understanding the technology of practice is more than learning to use tools: it is a way to connect with the history of the practice and to participate more directly in its cultural life" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 101). Cole (1996) has elaborated on the concept of tools, what he and his colleagues call artifacts. He argues,

"…[A]n artifact is an aspect of the material world that has been modified over the history of its incorporation into goal-directed human action" (p. 117). Such a tool has both a material form and an ideal, or conceptual, form. Its ideal form arises from the history of the tool in use and how it influences the present moment. These tools mediate an individual's interaction with the natural world. For instance, as Cole (1996) explains, an individual's experience of chopping down a tree is mediated by the tool of the ax. However, the appearance of the ax does not negate the direct connection of the individual with the tree. Instead, "the incorporation of tools into the activity creates a new structural relation in which the cultural (mediated) and natural (unmediated) routes operate synergistically" (Cole, 1996, p. 119). Language is an especially important cultural tool (Cole, 1996; Holland, Lachiotte Jr., Skinner, & Cain, 1998; Nasir & Hand, 2006). Like other tools, it has both a material and ideal form. The material forms are written and verbal words, while the ideal forms include how the words have been used in the past and how they are acting as mediators in the present.

The insights of the concept of participation in a community of practice are instructive to the present study. The Council can be seen as a community of practice in that it involves a group of people participating in shared activities. The levels of participation may vary within the group, with new students in more peripheral positions than more seasoned students and some of the adults. Likewise, the legitimacy of participants in the Council may vary. In later chapters, I will focus on students' use and development of discourse as a tool to challenge systemic racism, viewing language and other semiotic material within the Council as mediating the members' experiences in the community and society.

Critical Discourse Analysis

An understanding of the community of practice and its context of systemic racism requires an understanding of discourse. I use the lens provided by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to view discourse as not only reflecting the community and social structure, but also constituting them to a degree. CDA is framework that encompasses many approaches, not all of which explicitly self-designate as CDA (with capital letters). However, all approaches within this framework involve "critical inquiry into language practices" (R. Rogers, 2011, p. 2).

Critical discourse analysts use a range of definitions of the term discourse. Van Dijk (2002) defines it as a communicative event, or language use, either written or oral (p. 146). Other definitions connect language use more closely to society. Fairclough (1992a) makes the connection to society explicit, framing discourse as the social practice of language use, both a mode of action and a mode of representation (p. 63). Gee (2008) defines Discourse (with a capital "D") as: "Ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing, that are accepted as instantiations of particular identities (or 'types of people') by specific groups" (p. 3). Both of these definitions are indebted to Foucault's definition of discourse. Foucault viewed discourse as the means of representing and constructing a given topic at a specific historical moment (Foucault, 1972; Hall, 1997). Both Fairclough and Gee's views of discourse acknowledge its role in representation, which is central to Foucault understanding of the concept.

I appropriate and alter Fairclough and Gee's definitions of discourse. I accept Fairclough's definition in its entirety because it points to discourse's dual role as action and representation, an understanding that sheds light on how the Council students engaged in the activity of using discourse that represented certain phenomena in certain ways. However,

Fairclough's definition lacks a connection of discourse to certain ways of speaking about topics (a la Foucault), a lens that is helpful in understanding how the Council students spoke about educational inequality. Gee's definition considers how ways of speaking, etc., are connected to certain identities, but not topics. Such a view does not consider the fact that ways of speaking, etc. may not be accepted as instantiations of an identity directly, but instead may index certain identities indirectly, depending on topic and context. Taking aspects of both Fairclough and Gee's definitions, in addition to Foucault's view of discourse, I define discourse as the social practice of using language and other semiotic material (ways of speaking, writing, representing, etc.), a mode of action and representation that is often connected to historically situated topics.

CDA elucidates this definition of discourse by explicating how discourse is connected to society and power. In summary, "CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society" (van Dijk, 2003, p. 353). Some of the tenets of CDA include: 1) power is enacted through discourse; 2) discourse is ideological; 3) discourse both constitutes and is constrained by the social structure; and 4) discourse serves both reproductive and transformative functions (Fairclough, 1992a; van Dijk, 2003).

The first tenet, about the connection of discourse and power, has been widely discussed in the literature. As Augoustinos and Every (2007) explain, following other critical discourse analysts (Apple, 1996; Fairclough, 1995; Luke, 1996), "…[R]elations of power, dominance, and exploitation become reproduced and legitimated" in everyday language practices (p. 138). These discursive practices are tied to the material world (Fairclough, 2011) and occur at both the micro and macro levels (van Dijk, 2002), in face-to-face interactions and in institutions. One aspect of this is that certain types of discourse are more dominant than others. Control of the more

powerful discourses can "lead to the acquisition of social goods (money, power, status) in a society" (R. Rogers, 2004, p. 6) and provide the means "to control the minds and actions of others" (van Dijk, 2003, p. 355).

Since discourses are connected to power, they are inherently ideological, as the second tenet argues, and "involve a set of values and viewpoints about the relationships between people and the distribution of social goods" (R. Rogers, 2004, p. 5). Fairclough (1992a) explains,

> Discourse as a political practice establishes, sustains and changes power relations….Discourse as an ideological practice constitutes, naturalizes, sustains and changes significations….As this wording implies, political and ideological practice are not independent of each other, for ideology is significations generated within power relations as a dimension of the exercise of power and struggle over power. (p. 67)

As Gramsci (1971) views ideology as supportive of hegemony, critical discourse analysts see the ideologies in discourse as forms of common sense that naturalize its functions (Fairclough, 1995; Luke, 1996). Fairclough (1992a) argues that people are not totally aware of this ideology in discourse, but, when discourses are contradictory, naturalization may weaken (p. 90).

The third tenet indicates that discourse is constitutive in nature (Fairclough, 1992a, 1995; Teo, 2000). Indeed, as mentioned before, discourse is related to the distribution of material goods, like money, meaning that "discourse both reflects and constructs the social world" (R. Rogers, 2004, p. 5). Indeed, Foucault asserts that discourse constructs objects. For example, "psychiatric discourse finds a way of limiting its domain, of defining what it is talking about, of giving it the status of an object – and therefore of making it manifest, nameable, and describable" (Foucault, 1972, p. 41). Fairclough (1992a) proposes a more tempered version of this conception, contending that there are three ways in which discourse is constitutive. First, discourse constructs

social positions; second, discourse helps construct social relationships; and third, discourse helps construct knowledge (p. 65). However, the constitutive work of discourse is constrained by social structures (p. 66).

The fourth tenet asserts that discourse has the potential to spur social change. Fairclough (1995) explains that discourse is a site of struggle that not only contributes to social reproduction, but can also lead to transformation (p. 77). This change can happen as people "combine discursive conventions, codes and elements in new ways in innovatory discursive events," which amounts to "cumulatively producing structural changes in orders of discourse" (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 97). Due to the constitutive nature of discourse, these changes can affect the material world. In this way, discourse is a type of social action that can have material effects.

One of the mechanisms through which discourse embodies the four tenets is through intertextuality. This concept, based on the work of Bakhtin (1981), examines how snatches of language from different sources are incorporated in the same written or spoken "text." (Bakhtin and others have construed the "text" in intertextuality to be written or spoken language. However, Hall (1997) has demonstrated that the concept applies to other semiotic material as well.) Intertextuality describes the "heterogeneity" of texts (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 272), pointing to not only direct quotations, but also oblique references to others' words and discourses. This revoicing is a productive process through which "texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 270).

Some critical language analysts have identified methods to heighten people's, especially students', awareness of the mechanisms through which discourse is connected to power, and cultivate their abilities to critically use discourse. The concepts of critical language awareness and critical literacy point to this idea. Critical language awareness, according to Fairclough

(1995), can provide an understanding of the way discourse functions hegemonically and open up "possibilities of empowerment and change" (p. 83). Approaches to critical language awareness consider two ways that language is connected to power. First, language promotes social hierarchies. Second, different types of language can trigger different racist/classist/sexist connotations through "language ideologies," which come into play, for example, when the language practices of racialized groups are considered nonstandard or incorrect (Alim, 2005b; Alim & Baugh, 2007; Hill, 2008). Alim (2005a) and Fairclough (1995) advocate for pedagogy that helps students become more conscious of language's relationship to power and the ways that it can be used as a counterhegemonic tool. Alim recommends that such pedagogy be aimed at linguistically profiled students, who are often Students of Color. Heightening this understanding of how language functions can serve to arm these students "with the silent weapons needed for the quiet, discursive wars that are waged daily against their language and person" (p. 29). Both Alim (2009) and Orellana et al. (forthcoming) have demonstrated how pedagogy can be used to foster students' understanding of language. Alim implemented "Critical Hip Hop Language Pedagogies," an approach that aims to "make explicit the link between language, power and social process" (2009, p. 219). Orellana et al.'s (forthcoming) work involves pedagogy that provides a space for students to analyze their own language practices along with those of the school setting. This pedagogy helps students develop a meta-awareness about the richness and variety of their language usage.

Like critical language awareness, critical literacy involves a critical understanding of language, and also includes a conception of speaking back to dominant discourse. Critical literacy, according to Morrell (2008a), entails "essential literacy skills that enable [young people] to powerfully navigate socially sanctioned language systems as they also attempt to speak the

truth to power" (p. 7). In this way, critical literacy entails an agentive use of language as a meditational tool. One way of engaging in critical literacy is through Critical Textual Production (CTP) (2008a), which involves critical communication through various modes, such as words, images, video, and sound. Morrell has implemented CTP with high school Students of Color in a seminar in which textual production was both "the means and the end" to changing educational inequality (p. 117). In many ways, these critical texts are counterstories, the narratives that CRT scholars describe. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) explain, "The use of counterstories allows for the challenging of privileged discourses, the discourses of the majority, therefore, serving as a means for giving voice to marginalized groups" (p. 27).

The concepts of critical language awareness and critical literacy, along with the other insights from CDA, provide instructive lenses in approaching the present study. In the Council, the students draw upon critical language awareness and critical literacy to insert their voices into the hegemonic bloc of discourse about their education. With their discourse, they contest the poor schooling conditions they face, which dominant discourses often justify through arguments that the conditions and academic outcomes are a reflection of the supposedly deficient cultures of People of Color (Bertrand, 2010). Critical discourse analysts provide a glimmer of hope, suggesting that groups like the Council can challenge the reproductive functions of discourse.

Discussion and Conclusion

The three theories I've discussed in this chapter point to three elements of society: systemic racism, communities of practice, and discourse. CRT demonstrates that systemic racism is a foundational component of society, affecting not only interpersonal relations, but also the structures of institutions and the distribution of resources. Sociocultural theory indicates that communities of practice are groups of people engaged in mutual activity to varying degrees.

CDA contends that discourse has a constitutive function, helping to maintain inequalities, while also serving as a tool to challenge inequalities. Placing these three elements in dialogue with one another leads to a complex theoretical tool that cannot be expressed with a simple bull's eye graphic of concentric circles. (See Figure 1.)

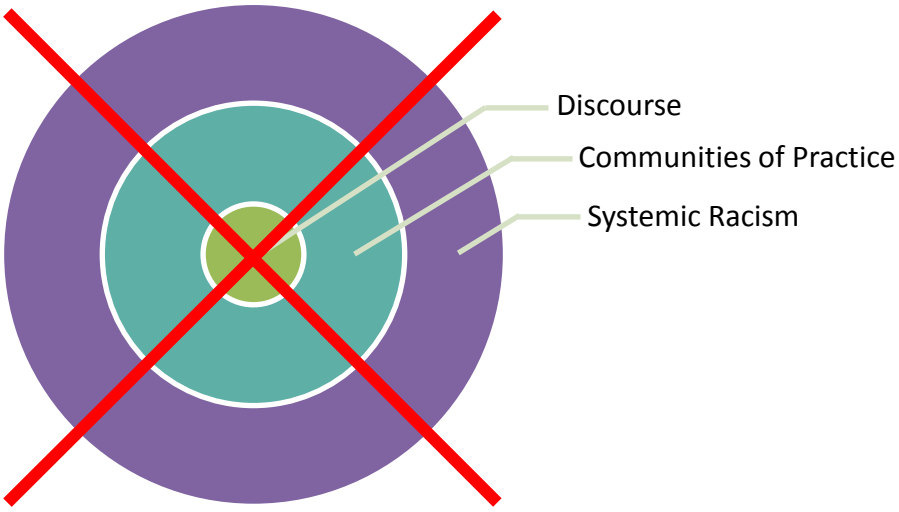


Figure 1: A bull's eye graphic does not illustrate the complex relationship of the three theories.

Instead, the three elements, elucidated by their corresponding theories, together form a powerful analytic tool for understanding YPAR groups. Figure 2 illustrates this tool. The three elements are depicted with three overlapping circles. The overlapping of the circles captures both the mutually influential and constitutive nature of the relationship of the elements and the mediating functions of the elements.

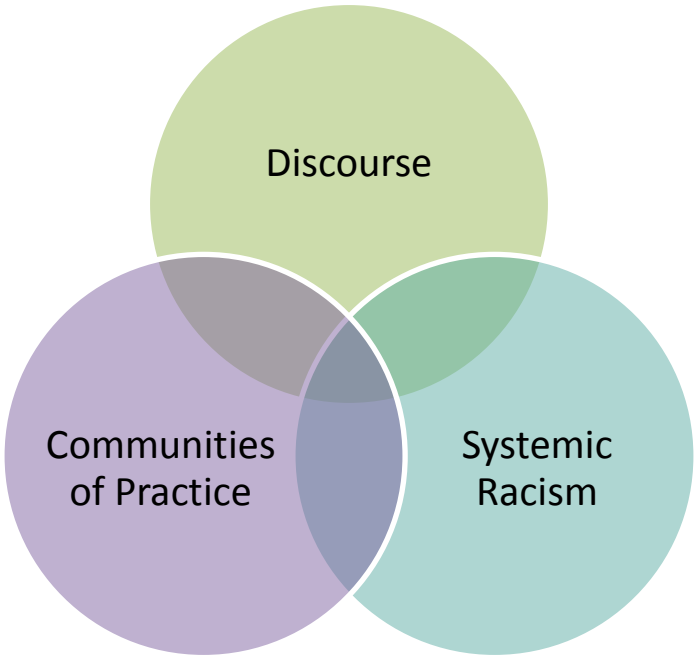


Figure 2: A dynamic graphic to consider the relationships between the three elements.

I will explain this graphic further by considering each element in relation to the others, starting with discourse. Discourse helps to constitute both communities of practice and systemic racism; also, communities of practice and systemic racism constrain, influence, and constitute discourse. In addition, discourse mediates the experiences of communities of practice with systemic racism. Also, discourse mediates how systemic racism influences communities of practice.

Communities of practice function in the graphic in a similar way. As community members participate in joint activities, communities influence and mold discourse and may sustain or challenge systemic racism. Conversely, systemic racism influences the communities of practice, as does discourse. Communities of practice can also mediate the relationship between discourse and systemic racism by serving as a communal context in which discourse supporting or challenging racism is used and manipulated. Likewise, systemic racism influences discourse through communities of practice.

Systemic racism, the final element of the graphic, influences both discourse and communities of practice; and, in turn, these two elements sustain or challenge systemic racism. In addition, systemic racism mediates between discourse and communities of practice in two ways: First, systemic racism shapes the discourse used in communities of practice. Second, systemic racism influences communities of practice, which mold discourse accordingly.

This composite and dynamic theoretical tool can help to illuminate aspects of YPAR groups. I view YPAR groups such as the Council as communities of practice. These groups are both constituted and constrained by discourse and systemic racism, but also may harness and transform discourse in challenging systemic racism. The resulting transformed discourse is a communally constructed artifact, reflecting the contributions of multiple community members.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

In studying the Council, I draw upon the tripartite theoretical framework I laid out in Chapter 2. In this chapter, I begin with an overview of the research tools I use for the study—ethnographic and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methods along with participatory action research (PAR). I then describe the Council and its participants, before providing an overview of the study. Finally I discuss my data collection methods and analysis, explaining how I used my theoretical framework to address my four research questions: 1. How do the Council students, with the guidance of Council adults, formulate advocacy messages? 2. How do the Council students convey the advocacy messages? 3. What is the influence of these advocacy messages on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy? 4. What is the influence of the Council as an educational model on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy?

The Research Tools

Using three types of research tools—ethnographic methods, CDA, and PAR—afforded me multiple vantage points. These differing perspectives, as Orellana (2009) describes, "allowed me to focus in at different levels of inquiry" while investigating processes over time (p. 135). Ethnographic methods allowed me to collect data as a participant-observer and flesh out the ways that students developed and used discourse in the context of the Council. CDA helped me explore particular communicative events and texts, such as presentations and interviews, and analyze change in discourse over time. Together, ethnographic methods and CDA provided me the tools to focus on micro-level, discursive moments and connect these to the larger social structure. I augmented these tools by also using PAR. I was an active member of the Council before, during and after my data collection period, providing me an insider's perspective that both enhanced and restricted my participant-observer role.

Ethnographic Methods

Ethnography explores culture, seen as the ways people make meaning of the world around them (Anderson-Levitt, 2006), and focuses on the viewpoints of the participants. As LeCompte and Schensul (1999) explain, “Ethnographic stories are built around and told in the words, views, explanations, and interpretations of the participants in the study” (p. 12). To know the viewpoints of participants, the researcher must interact closely with them over stretches of time in which mutual trust may develop. However, ethnography also involves the outsider perspective, brought by the researcher, who, in ethnography, is the primary research instrument. The use of the outsider perspective can make implied cultural meanings more visible (Anderson-Levitt, 2006). This dual lens suits my study, in which—with the outsider perspective—I frame types of discourse as challenging systemic racism and also—with the insider perspective—seek to understand the how processes occur from the viewpoints of the participants.

Ethnographic methods are especially appropriate for describing processes at work, (Anderson-Levitt, 2006; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999), making it a fitting method for my study. This is so because these methods allow for extended periods of time in the field in which the multiple phenomena of everyday life can be examined. Generally, these processes can be recorded through two main ethnographic methods: open-ended interviewing and participant observation (Anderson-Levitt, 2006), both of which I used in my study. Interviewing “is used to gather descriptive data in the subjects’ own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of the world” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 103). Interviews can vary in terms of their level of structure. Orellana (2009), in her study of immigrant youth, describes several formats, including individual and group interviews, and unplanned interviews that resembled conversations. I also explored several interview formats, each time using an

interview guide that divided "the interview into topics that will be covered, with some initial wording of questions…" (Brenner, 2006, p. 362). In both individual and group interviews, this type of guide allowed for a fairly natural flow of conversation that nevertheless explored specific domains of interest.

Participant observation captures the insider/outsider viewpoints characteristic of ethnography, and involves a delicate balance of the two activities (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The observation aspect of this role entails the collection of detailed field notes, which I accomplished by drawing upon Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw's (1995) guidelines on the topic. In their system, a researcher first creates "jottings," or very brief hand-written notes, while in the field. These jottings then serve as memory-jogging devices when the researcher writes full, typed field notes soon after the field visit. As the authors explain, "In general, writing fieldnotes from jottings is not a straightforward remembering and filling in; rather it is a much more active process of constructing relatively coherent sequences of action and evocations of scene and character…" (p. 51). During the field notes-collection phase of research, a researcher can periodically write analytic memos, which discuss ideas that arise from field notes (Heath & Street, 2008, p. 79) and guide future data collection (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 103). I engaged in this activity, as I describe later in this chapter.

Both during and after data collection, the ethnographic researcher uses analytic strategies of comparing and contrasting data (Anderson-Levitt, 2006; Heath & Street, 2008; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). One version of this type of analysis is the "constant comparative perspective," which considers individuals, institutions, history, and the researcher's positionality all at the same time (Heath & Street, 2008, p. 34). This perspective enables the researcher to constantly compare data, hunches, and theories from the literature. This generative and recursive process

leads to new theory (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999): “Ethnography…is a theory-building enterprise constructed through detailed systematic observing, recording, and analyzing of human behavior in specifiable spaces and interactions” (Heath & Street, p. 29). This endeavor encourages researchers to avoid ascribing static traits to people, and instead, as demonstrated by Alim, Lee, and Carris (2010) and Orellana and Bowman (2003), focus on participants’ processes of category construction.

A main aspect of ethnographic analysis is coding. To develop codes, Bogdan and Biklen (2007) explain, “You search through your data for regularities and patterns as well as topics your data cover, and then write down words and phrases to represent these topics and patterns” (p. 173). There are many approaches to coding, as Saldaña (2009) describes in his coding manual, but here I describe only the ones I used. Initial coding, structural coding, process coding, and simultaneous coding are all undertaken at the beginning of the coding phase of analysis, and are therefore called first-cycle coding methods. Initial coding, a method used in grounded theory, requires the researcher to be open to phenomena that appear in the data (Saldaña, 2009, p. 81). Structural coding, on the other hand, “applies a content-based or conceptual phrase representing a topic of inquiry to a segment of data that relates to a specific research question…” (p. 66). Process coding, which can be used with both initial coding and structural coding, involves coding participants’ activities, often with phrases that include gerunds (p. 77). Similarly, simultaneous coding can be used in conjunction with a variety of coding methods and involves placing two or more codes on a piece of data (p. 62). After the researcher has concluded with first-cycle coding, she/he can begin to sort the data, employing focused coding, a type of second-cycle coding that involves grouping existing codes into larger categories (p. 155).

Critical Discourse Analysis

Complementing ethnographic methodology is CDA and its ability to connect language to the social structure. CDA allows for an analysis of how micro-moves apparent in written and spoken language are tied to the social structure. For my study, this meant a better understanding of the discursive processes at work in the Council and how these processes challenged and were influenced by systemic racism. These discourse-level phenomena were a vital part of my study, which sought to document how discourse was developed and used, along with its influences. A study of this nature would have been impossible without a tool such as CDA.

CDA focuses "on how power, identity, and social relations are negotiated, and legitimated, and are contested towards political ends" within language (Apple, 1996, p. 130). Such an approach is able to show "the power relations of apparently mundane texts at work, to represent and interpret instances of everyday talk, reading, and writing…" (Luke, 1996, p. 40). Since CDA focuses on revealing power relations, it is an inherently political act that seeks to disrupt the naturalization of inequality in texts (Luke, 1996). In connecting texts to the social structure, this type of analysis bridges micro-level and macro-level phenomena (van Dijk, 2003). Engaging in a multi-leveled study of discourse is required in order to study social change, Fairclough (1992a) argues, and should consider three levels: the level of the text, the level of orders of discourse, and the level of the social structure. These "orders of discourse" include styles, or ways of being, discourses, or ways of representing, and genres, or ways of acting. I draw upon the spirit of Fairclough's call for a multi-leveled lens in considering (a) discourse, (b) the Council as a community of practice, and (c) systemic racism, a social structure. In addition to an analysis of various levels, Fairclough (1992a) cites three other aspects of a CDA designed to study social change. The first aspect is the capacity to examine different functions of discourse.

My study captures this in that it looks at ways of learning and deploying discourse, along with the influences of this. The second and third aspects are the use of a critical lens and a focus on the processes of text construction, both of which are central to my study.

The CDA tools that I used provided me with the means to explore discourse in-depth. Using some aspects of Fairclough's (1992a, 2003) approach, I considered the following broad categories of phenomena for both written and spoken language: vocabulary, grammar, and intertextuality. In examining vocabulary, I looked at wordings and word choices, along with metaphors. In the category of grammar, I focused on modality and transitivity. Some interpretations of modality limit this aspect of grammar to words of possibility and necessity, such as *must, can, could, should,* etc. However, I used Fairclough's conception of modality as the degree of affinity that a speaker or writer has to what she or he is saying (1992a, p. 160). The nuances of this can be seen in these example sentences: (a) The earth is flat; and (b) I think the earth is flat (p. 159). Transitivity, narrowly conceived, focuses on whether a verb can take a direct object or not. Again following Fairclough (1992a), I used this concept to look at the processes at work in sentences. Relational processes in sentences are about being or becoming, such as in this sentence: One hundred demonstrators are dead.[6] Action processes show someone or something acting upon a goal, such as in this sentence: The police shot 100 demonstrators. Action processes also include non-directed action, where there is no explicit goal, as in this sentence: The police were shooting. Also, action processes can be either passive or active constructions. Event processes demonstrate what happened to the goal, such as in this example: One hundred demonstrators died. Finally, mental processes involve the inclusion of thinking and feeling verbs, as this example shows: The demonstrators feared the police.

[6] The example sentences are from Fairclough (1992a).

Finally, drawing upon the work of several discourse analysts (Fairclough, 1992a, 1992b, 2003; Gee, 2005; Luke, 1996), I explored intertextuality. This concept, based on the work of Bakhtin (1981), examines how snatches of language from different sources end up in the same written or spoken text. This occurs when the author/speaker reports someone else's words, such as in direct and indirect quotes (Gee, 2005). In doing so, the author or speaker may clearly demarcate the outside text, or integrate it into her or his own (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 104). Using the lenses of vocabulary, grammar (especially modality and transitivity), and intertextuality allowed me to examine how speakers and writers framed their words and how they attributed agency, causality, and responsibility. This was helpful when I analyzed how the students used discourse as a tool to challenge systemic racism and how others reacted to this.

I augmented the tool of CDA by considering interactional phenomena. Though such phenomena are not typically addressed in CDA, I included them in my analysis because they are important meaning-making tools. By combining CDA with this lens, I acknowledge the co-constructed (Alim, 2004b, p. 192; Sacks et al., 1974) and multimodal (C. Goodwin, 2003; M. H. Goodwin & Alim, 2010) nature of interaction. An analysis of turn-taking can indicate who holds more power in a conversation and who is controlling a given topic (C. Goodwin, 1979; M. H. Goodwin, 1980). A look at how words are spoken—their pitch, volume, and prosody—and the extralinguistic resources used—body movements and references to the immediate physical context—can provide information on the speaker's meaning and how this is co-constructed with interlocutors (C. Goodwin, 2000, 2006; C. Goodwin & Goodwin, 2006). In my study, the interactional lens helped me better understand how students are using discourse as a tool.

CDA helped me formulate the concept of advocacy messages. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, advocacy messages are Council students' critiques or demands for change focused on

inequalities in the educational system. More specifically, I define advocacy messages as language or other semiotic material crafted by one or more of the Council members that express viewpoints, research findings, or demands for change that are critical of the educational status quo. Even though some advocacy messages do not directly advocate for change, they all challenge current iterations of schooling, thereby implying that corrective action is necessary. For this reason, I use the term "advocacy messages." These advocacy messages are intended for audiences outside of the Council, even though much of the discursive and semiotic work around the messages occurs within the Council. Examples of advocacy messages include discourse about Students of Color deserving rigorous curriculum, critiques of outdated technology at schools serving these students, and calls for change to school discipline policies. Advocacy messages can be conveyed through a variety of means: a speech, PowerPoint slides, a documentary, or a blog post. The construct of advocacy messages provided me the means to narrow the field of discourse to a set of phenomena that were more amenable to empirical study.

Participatory Action Research

As I described in the previous chapter, participatory action research (PAR) involves three principles: 1) Youth and adults investigate collectively; 2) participants use indigenous knowledge to better understand a problem; and 3) participants seek to take action to address the problem (McIntyre, 2000, p. 128). The Council, as a group, conducted a youth-driven version of PAR, or YPAR. I, as a member of the group and a researcher, used some aspects of PAR, along with ethnographic methods and CDA, to understand the YPAR of the group. I certainly enacted final principal in that I was a full participant of the group, working with the students on their research and advocacy and attending all Carver group meetings and events. However, I enacted the other two principals to a lesser degree, meaning that my research is not an example of true

PAR. Most of my research was not collectively accomplished; however, I considered the students' research topics in my own research. I used indigenous perspectives (as shown in my construct of advocacy messages), but also brought my own researcher lens to the phenomena I observed.

Site and Participant Selection and Description

Before discussing the data collection and analysis methods that I employed, an overview of the contexts and participants of the study is necessary. Below I discuss the contexts of the Council, Onero City and Onero School District[7], and a particular high school. I then describe the Council itself and the study participants, before turning to a discussion of my rationale for site and participant selection.

District and School Contexts

Onero City is a sprawling metropolis in California that is home to a diverse but racially and economically segregated population (Sandoval, Johnson, & Tafoya, 2002). Driving through the city, the extremes of wealth and poverty are immediately apparent, with some areas dotted with $50 million-dollar mansions and boutique stores, while other areas are characterized by crumbling apartment buildings and fast-food chains.

Over time, this city has been shaped by race and racism. Though this history of racism began with European colonization, I focus here on more recent history. At the beginning of the 1960s, the racial composition of the city and state began to change, at the same time as the Civil Rights Movement gained momentum (Merrow & Tulenko, 2004). During this time, schools were funded primarily on property taxes, ensuring that poor residents had poor schools. In 1968, a California court case, *Serrano v. Priest*, addressed this inequality in education funding, which led to a ruling that attempted to equalize resources. This was also the time period of major civil

[7] All proper nouns are pseudonyms, except for "California."

rights actions across the nation by Black and Chicana/o students and adults. As Students and Communities of Color scored crucial victories, whites' resentment grew. In 1978, California voters passed Proposition 13, which greatly decreased the amount of property tax the state could collect, almost immediately affecting public schools, especially those serving Students of Color (Merrow & Tulenko, 2004).

The Onero School District is a politically tumultuous behemoth that has been subject to a revolving door of superintendents, an onslaught of charter school companies, and even an attempted takeover by a politician. To many, Onero School District is synonymous with decaying and prison-like schools, chronic underfunding and teacher layoffs, and academic inadequacy. In this district, 52% of schools are overcrowded (versus 13% of all schools in the state),[8] all schools have a higher student-teacher ratio than the national average, and 99% of schools have a higher student-counselor ratio than the national average. The effects of these conditions can be seen in the district's "academic performance index" (API). The State of California calculates this number—which ranges from 200 to 1000—to represent how a group or entity scored on academic performance tests. In 2010, the district's API was 709 while the state's was 768.

The distribution of resources throughout the state falls along racial lines, pointing to systemic racism. During the 2010-2011 school year, the Onero School District was 73.4% Latina/o, 10% Black, 8.8% white, 3.9% Asian American, 2.2% Filipino, with American Indians and Pacific Islanders comprising 0.4% of the population each. In comparison, of the state's public school students, 51.4% were Latina/o, 26.6% were white, 8.5% were Asian American, 6.7% were Black, 2.6% were Filipino, with American Indians and Pacific Islanders comprising

[8] Statistics come from http://www.idea.gseis.ucla.edu/, http://www.ed-data.k12.ca.us/, and http://data1.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/.

0.7% and 0.6% of the population respectively. In comparison to the Onero School District, more schools in the state have adequate numbers of counselors and teachers.[9] Within the district, the resources fall along race lines. For instance, at a school that I focused on during this research, Carver High School, where all students are either Black and/or Latina/o and none are white, 56% of courses are college preparatory classes. At another high school, where 32% of the students are white, 78% of the courses are college preparatory classes. What this in-district comparison does not capture is the fact that far more white public school students live outside of Onero School District. In a majority-white high school in a district adjacent to Onero, 85% of the courses are college preparatory classes. These gross inequalities in educational resources reflect a deep and entrenched systemic racism that is at work at the state, district, and regional levels.

Though Onero School District is the site of the negative effects of systemic racism, it is also home to some extraordinary human resources. Despite the context of inadequate access to resources, many students achieve academically at high levels, continuing on to prestigious four-year universities (Morrell, Mirra, Santiago, & Rogers, 2010). Also, all students carry with them a wealth of assets learned in their homes and communities (Moll & González, 2004; Yosso, 2005). Many teachers I have met in the district are stellar, and often critical, pedagogues, whose dedication and innovation are unrivaled.

During my data collection, the 2010-2011 school year, I spent a lot of time at Carver High School, attending weekly Council-related meetings after school. The current iteration of the high school was built in the 1930s. Unlike when the school was built, its white-washed buildings are now mostly encircled by high chain-linked and barred fences. These fences not only keep people out; they also make it difficult to exit the campus, both during and after school. At any given visit to the school, I saw the effects of custodial and maintenance cutbacks: classroom

[9] This information comes from http://www.idea.gseis.ucla.edu/.

floors grimy from months of accumulated dirt; leaky ceilings, sometimes with no pail underneath to catch the dripping; and walls in need of a coat of paint. The school campus has little greenery, aside from some grass and trees in the front of the school. Inside the campus, much of the outdoor space, except for the sports fields, is covered with asphalt or concrete.

At this school, 81% of the students are Latina/o, 19% are Black, and 89% quality for free or reduced-price lunch. During the data collection period, the school was so overcrowded that it had multiple tracks, meaning that only about two thirds of the students attended school at any given time, and the school was open year-round. Also, this school was jointly operated by the Onero School District and an outside organization, unlike many other Onero schools that have been completely taken over by charter organizations. At this school, similar to many in Onero, graduation rates are abysmally low. Of every 100 ninth-graders at the school, 32 graduate four years later and 13 graduate with the course requirements to attend a University of California or California State University. Comparatively, of every 100 public school ninth-graders in the state, 67 graduate four years later and 26 have the college requirements.[10] Though these numbers are telling, they do not show the rich human resources at the school, including the students and teachers.

During the 2010-2011 school year, Carver High School was the site of turmoil and low employee morale. Beginning with the onset of the recession, Carver High School, along with schools throughout Onero School District and the state, experienced massive teacher layoffs. On top of that, at the beginning of the school year, the principal was asked to leave his post, and the partner organization supplied a leader for the remainder of the year. Also during this time, the school came increasingly under fire for low test scores and faced threats of reconstitution.

[10] This information comes from http://www.idea.gseis.ucla.edu/.

Amidst this tumult, a group of Carver teachers began to create a plan for a new school, to be submitted to the district under rules allowing for teacher-planned pilot schools.

The Context of the Council

Within the context of the Onero School District, the Council arose from a youth research project that began in 1999 at a university. The program trains high school Students of Color to become critical researchers of education conditions through the support of graduate students, alumni of the Council, Onero School District teachers, and university professors. Until 2008, the project involved only a summer component, called the Summer Seminar, in which a group of Onero high school students read sociological texts, studied research methodology, collected and analyzed data, and presented their findings to educational decision-makers. There were two main goals of the program: (a) "to help students acquire the language and tools they need to function within the academy" (Morrell, 2008a, p. 20), and (b) to produce texts (defined broadly) that were "important to the struggle for educational justice" (Morrell, 2008a, p. 21). The program has certainly succeeded on both counts. For over a decade, the students in the program have had higher college-attendance rates than their peers and have produced countless texts—from written reports to documentaries—that have reached a broad spectrum of readers and viewers.

The program involves several categories of participants. During the study period the Council included a racially diverse group of adults, including university professors, several alumni of the Council, five Onero School District teachers, and about five university graduate students, including me. Also involved were about 30 Latina/o and Black high school students, mostly 11th- and 12th-graders, who came from five different Onero high schools. The five Onero teachers recruited these students to be in the program. In focusing on Carver High School, I worked mainly with one of the five Onero teachers, who taught at Carver High School, and the

six high school students from Carver. The other schools were Baldwin, Key, MEChA, and Jefferson high schools, which all served virtually only Black and Latina/o students.

During the study period, the project included a school-year component in addition to the Summer Seminar. The Summer Seminar and school-year component featured similar activities, and involved many of the same individuals. During the 2010 Summer Seminar, which lasted five weeks, many new high school student members were introduced to the Council. Most of these new students, who were invited by the teachers, had just finished their 10th- or 11th-grade years and replaced the students who had graduated from high school. Also, some of the students who participated in the Summer Seminar were pre-existing members of the Council who had not yet graduated.

During the 2010 Summer Seminar, students were put into mixed-school groups, which included members from most or all of the participating high schools. Each group remained intact throughout the summer, and worked with a teacher and graduate student on a research project related to a Council-wide topic. The overarching topic of the Summer Seminar was educational changes or lack thereof in the 10 years following the 2000 *Williams v. State of California* court case. Plaintiffs for the case alleged that educational resources, such as clean facilities and qualified teachers, were inequitably distributed across race and class lines. Each Summer Seminar group studied access to different types of educational resources mentioned in the case.

During the 2010 Summer Seminar, the students and adults met five days a week, for about eight hours a day. At the beginning of the seminar, much of that time was spent in a classroom on a university campus. In this space, the adults taught classes that introduced the students to critical sociological texts and research methods. When the students were not in the classroom, they were collecting data in and on schools in Onero and the state. If the data

collection involved an outing, the teachers and graduate students acted as drivers and chaperones as the students videotaped interviews with teachers, students, school administrators, elected officials, community members, and other educational stakeholders. Also, the students created and distributed surveys and gathered statistics on the internet. Toward the end of the seminar, much of the class time involved the students, with the guidance of the adults, analyzing the data and arriving at research findings and demands for changes. With this information, the students, again with the help of the adults, crafted PowerPoint presentations, verbal reports, and short documentaries that included clips of the videotaped interviews.

The 2010 Summer Seminar culminated in the students presenting their research at an event planned by the adults. This presentation, like its predecessors, was held at the Onero City Hall in front of an audience of teachers, parents, city and school officials, representatives of educational organizations, and reporters. The presentation began with a short introduction by adults, and then proceeded with a mini-presentation from each group. During these mini-presentations, the students discussed their research findings and policy recommendations as they progressed through their PowerPoint slides. Each mini-presentation ended with a short documentary film created by the students. In the presentations, the students made strong statements about the deplorable conditions in the Onero School District and demanded substantive changes.

The 2010-2011 school-year component entailed many of the same activities as the Summer Seminar. The students, with the guidance of the adults in the program, continued to research educational conditions, present research findings, and advocate for meaningful changes. There were two main differences, however. First, the students were grouped according to the high school they attended, and the teacher working with the group was usually a teacher at that

high school. Second, the students and adults spent less time doing Council-related activities. During the school year, there were weekly meetings at each of the five high school sites, for just the students at a given high school, along with a teacher and a graduate student. At the school level, these subgroups advocated for educational change by making presentations to faculty and students, meeting with administrators, and other activities. The Carver group held a professional development workshop (PD) for some of the teachers and also participated in an event cooperatively planned by several community organizations. At the whole-group level, there were monthly meetings on the university campus in which all 30 students from all five high schools were expected to be in attendance. Also attending these meetings were many or most of the teachers and graduate students. During these meetings, the students discussed and planned their research, strategized on how to advocate for change, and planned presentations for up-coming events. During the 2010-2011 school year, there were two whole-school events: a presentation at a labor-organizing center connected to a university (the Labor Center), and multiple presentations at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), a major educational research conference. The presentation at the Labor Center followed the format of the Summer Seminar presentation at the Onero City Hall, while the presentations at AERA included more adult speaking.

Description of Participants

The main participants in my study were the six students and one teacher from Carver High School. Also, I interviewed 29 individuals, often more than once, who observed one or more Council presentations. Seventeen of the individuals were teachers at four of the five schools the Council draws upon for students; seven attended Council presentations at AERA,

including two K-12 teachers; and three attended the cooperatively planned event that featured the Carver group.

The Carver Council students during the 2010-2011 school year were (in alphabetical order): Antwone, Bernarda, Jenica, Kelly, Knowledge, and Melissa. Each of these students chose their own pseudonym. Most of the students were in 11th grade, except for one sophomore and one senior. Reflecting the composition of the high school, the students identified as Black and/or Latina/o. Each of these students was unique and came to be very important to me over the data collection period and beyond. I learned tremendously from their insights on schooling and I hope to do them justice with the writing of this dissertation.[11]

The Carver teacher I worked with during the 2010-2011 school year chose the pseudonym of bell banks. Ms. banks selected this name and its lack of capitalization in order to highlight her marginality as a Woman of Color and align herself to the scholar and theorist bell hooks, who does not capitalize her name. During the school year and beyond, Ms. banks and I became friends as we worked together as the adult members of the Carver group. Ms. banks is passionate about social justice education and teaches action research curriculum in her social studies courses. I was honored to be able to work with her and learn from her as a researcher and member of the Council.

Selection Rationale

I first became acquainted with the Council when, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, I was asked to drive some students to some of their field sites. As I learned more about the Council, I became interested in the influence of its work. Also, I realized that studying the program could

[11] I refrain from describing individual students in detail in order to maintain their confidentiality.

yield some possibly generalizable results since the Council is a typical YPAR program (see Chapter 2).

The choice to study the Council automatically necessitated the choice of all those associated with it, including the high school students, the teachers, and those who attended Council presentations, such as teachers and school administrators. I specifically chose to focus on Carver High School because it is somewhat representative of the range of characteristics of the five Council-related high schools. It has relatively more Black and Latina/o integration than some other Council high schools (such as one that is 99% Latina/o and another that is 93% Latina/o.) Also, some of the five high schools operate under charter organizations while others report directly to the Onero School District. Carver, on the other hand, represents both types since it is jointly run by the district and an outside organization. Choosing Carver High School necessitated the corresponding choice of all Council participants connected to this school, including the six high school students and the teacher, Ms. banks.

Researcher Role

As Orellana (2009) explains, "hearing and understanding is immensely complicated when working across lines of difference that matter for social interactions, such as those based on age, gender, race/ethnicity, institutional positions and social class" (p. 127). My understanding of and interactions with the students were greatly complicated by the ways I inhabit a body associated with oppression: I am white; I generally come from a social class perceived as superior to that of the students; and I am an adult whereas the students are not. This positionality certainly impacted the types of data that I gathered. I was not privy to some of the student-to-student conversations and sometimes didn't understand the terminology they used. However, I spent a lot of time with the students during the school year, which diminished these barriers. With adult study

participants, my positionality both aided and hindered data collection. As an adult researcher, I was able to legitimate my research activities to the adult participants. However, my connection to the Council added another dimension to my positionality, since most adults were aware of my role in the group. The adults who admired the Council were more likely to agree to be interviewed, and those who found fault with the Council often mitigated their critiques in interviews.

To address the complexity of my positionality, I strove to focus on the humanity of the research and drew upon my passion for racial justice. I was (and continue to be) an active participant in the Council, fighting, along with the students and the adults, systemic racism and its effects. In this endeavor, I tried to work toward solidarity with the participants (Freire, 1993), even though full solidarity was impossible because of the societal privileges that I hold. Also, I tried to make my research a transparent process by discussing it with participants and distributing parts of my dissertation to the students and Ms. banks for feedback and commentary.

My use of PAR features further complicated my researcher role. As a full and active participant in the Council, I took on a position typical among the Council adults, that of a quasi-teacher. I often took on authority—sometimes intentionally and other times unintentionally—and many times other adults placed me in a position of authority. Sometimes I intentionally suppressed my authority, deferring to the students. I did this for two reasons: First, I wanted the students to have the opportunity to form their own ideas, without excessive adult interference. Second, I wanted my research data to reflect the voices of the students as they worked in conjunction with adults; I did not want the data to capture the students simply regurgitating the adults' ideas. Some of my field notes and memos indicated my ambivalent stance toward my approach to authority, showing how I, especially at the beginning of the research process,

agonized over how I should or should not enact authority. Another complication involving using PAR was related to my level of participation. Sometimes I was so involved in participating in the Council that I missed opportunities to collect data. On the other hand, the benefit of PAR was that I was able to get to know the students and Ms. banks very well. How I enacted PAR illustrates the importance of a consideration of not only my positionality as a white, middle-class woman, but also how this positionality was "mediated by social contexts" (Orellana, 2009, p. 129). Orellana captures this complexity in her discussion of her own research positionality: "The geographical and sociopolitical settings of my work, activities, and relationships I engaged in and mediational tools I deployed influenced how I was seen, and these could serve either to widen or narrow the social distance between me and families" (p. 129).

Data Collection

Below I provide a description of my data collection activities. Following a brief overview, I discuss how I collected data *within* the Council and then describe how I collected data *beyond* the Council, from teachers, school administrators, and others who attended Council presentations.

Data Collection Overview

I conducted a year-long study of the Council and its influences using ethnography, CDA and PAR. Most of my data collection occurred during the 2010-2011 school year, but I also collected some data during the 2010 Summer Seminar. I attended the seminar about two days a week (out of five days a week), collecting a range of artifacts and taking field notes some of the time. During the school year, I took part in virtually all whole-group meetings and events, along with virtually all subgroup meetings with Carver High School students and Ms. banks. The meetings at Carver occurred about once a week in the fall, but dramatically increased in

frequency in the winter and the spring, averaging three meetings a week. The whole-group meeting was once a month, at a university campus. In addition, during the school year the Council as a whole and as subgroups conducted several presentations. I attended and helped plan all the whole-group presentations and events. In March 2011, the Council presented at the Labor Center (discussed above), and in April 2011, the Council gave three presentations at AERA. Also, I attended the PD that the Carver group held in February 2011 and the community event featuring the Carver group. In addition to the whole-group and Carver-only presentations, I also attended a presentation by the MEChA High School group to some of the faculty at that school and two presentations to Jefferson High School faculty by both the Jefferson and MEChA groups.

While observing these meetings and events, I took limited "jottings" (Emerson et al., 1995) that I later fleshed out into detailed field notes. I wrote a total of 66 field notes. Also, I video-recorded the Carver group's presentations and the whole-group presentations, along with some Carver group meetings. I also frequently audio-taped Carver meetings. I collected a total of 21 recordings of meetings and five recordings of presentations. For each of the video and audio recordings, I created logs that documented occurrences for every five minutes of video. I also gathered students' writings, documentaries, and PowerPoints. For the documentaries, I created logs similar to those for the video and audio.

In addition, I conducted interviews with Carver students and Council adults, sometimes individually and other times in groups. Throughout the school year, I conducted a total of 14 interviews with Carver students and five with Council adults. I also conducted 38 interviews with the 29 teachers, school administrators, and others in contact with the Council throughout the year. (I interviewed some of these individuals more than once; hence the difference between the

two numbers.) I used interview guides (see Appendices A-F) that provided general areas of conversation and some wordings of questions (Brenner, 2006). Some of my interview guides were for the initial interviews with students, adults in the Council, and others who came in contact with the Council (see Appendices A, C, and E). These helped me explore the interviewees' relationships to the Council from their own perspectives. I used different interview guides for subsequent interviews I conducted with these groups (see Appendices B, D, and F). These elicited information similar to that of the initial interviews, but allowed me to assess how participants' views might have changed over time.

As with the video, I logged occurrences for every five minutes of recorded interviews. Also, I selectively transcribed pertinent parts of the audio-recorded interviews. In transcribing, I followed the transcription method set forth by Sacks et al. (1974). This method (see Appendix G) allowed me to note paralinguistic interactional phenomena—such as speech volume—along with extralinguistic phenomena—such as body movements—in the transcripts.

Data Collection Within the Council

My data collection within the Council allowed me to address my first two research questions: How do the Council students, with the guidance of Council adults, formulate advocacy messages? How do the Council students convey the advocacy messages?

To explore the pedagogical implications of these questions, I paid close attention to the interactions among the students and adults in the Council, considering the environment fostered by the adults. I looked at what the adults explicitly and implicitly taught the students, along with what the students taught the adults and other students. With my observations and recordings of whole-group Council meetings and Carver group meetings, I focused on explicit or implicit moments of pedagogy related to formation and conveyance of discourse (or advocacy messages).

These moments did not always flow from adults to students; I frequently observed both explicit and implicit pedagogy among the students. I also, following Rogoff (2003), looked for changes in participation over time. For example, I examined the ways the Council students transformed critical-minded discourse throughout the study period.

My focus on pedagogy was one aspect of a larger focus on changing participation with discourse over time. I considered the ways students and adults talked about educational ideas and how this shifted through collective discussion. I watched for moments when Council members collectively molded discourse, thereby creating new discourse, or advocacy messages. I also looked at how the Council members conveyed discourses through a range of meaning-making resources, such as: multimodal resources (the audio-visual modalities available with PowerPoint software and video-making software); interactional resources (the agentic use of conversational structures); paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources; and linguistic resources. I considered these discursive changes over time within the context of the community of practice and the pervasive context of systemic racism. This focus allowed me to connect phenomena across a range of levels and participants. In this way, I drew upon my tripartite theoretical framework. I focused on Council members' participation with discourse—in casual conversations, in creating speeches and PowerPoints for presentations, etc.—thereby drawing upon the CDA aspects of my framework. I considered how this participation with discourse unfolded over time, both constituting and reflecting aspects of the Carver group and the Council as communities of practice. I looked at the ways the students' discourse—or advocacy messages—responded to, challenged, and were shaped by systemic racism. Because of this multi-level data collection approach, I was able to later analyze how the advocacy messages challenged systemic racism,

even if the challenges were not explicit or the participants didn't frame the messages as challenges to systemic racism.

Several data sources spoke to my first two research questions. The discursive products the students created—verbal presentations, PowerPoint slides, reports, documentaries, etc.—were the concrete aspects of advocacy messages, historical artifacts that reflected their collective creation. My field notes and recordings of meetings provided the historical context of the creation of these artifacts and also showed how the Council members discussed conveying advocacy messages and actually conveyed them. Also, my interviews with Council students and adults provided participants' viewpoints about the creation and conveyance of advocacy messages. These data also illustrated the pedagogy of the adults and students in all of these processes.

Data Collection Beyond the Council

My data collection beyond the Council allowed me to address my third and fourth research questions: What is the influence of these advocacy messages on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy? What is the influence of the Council as an educational model on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy? To answer my third question, I drew upon my observations and video recordings of student-audience interactions at events. I was especially interested in the question-and-answer periods that followed presentations. For the third question I heavily relied upon the 38 interviews I conducted with people who attended presentations—teachers, school administrators, and others. In these interviews I asked a range of questions that elicited interviewees' reactions to the students and their presentations. If at all, I waited until the end of the interviews to ask directly whether interviewees had been influenced by the presentations. This strategy helped me avoid leading the

interviewees to responses. Also in interviews with the students and Council adults, I asked about their perceptions of the possible influences of the presentations. These methods provided me with the tools to gauge self-reported influences of the Council on teachers, school administrators, curriculum and pedagogy. Unfortunately, my methodology did not provide me the means to gauge whether these influences were lasting or not. However, I was able to consider how reports of influence were or were not related and how they unfolded over the course of a school year. In addition, in several cases, I was able to trace teachers' reports of influence to specific advocacy messages through analysis of intertextuality.

I answered the fourth research question almost entirely through a subset of the interviews with teachers and school administrators. These individuals described to me how they used the Council as a curricular model in their classrooms and/or schools. Whenever possible, I interviewed these individuals more than once in order to capture the concrete steps they were taking to use the Council as a model. For instance, I interviewed one school administrator, Mr. Acosta, in March 2011, in May 2011, and again in October 2011. Also, I tried to triangulate individuals' reports by interviewing others at the schools. For instance, to corroborate what Mr. Acosta told me, I interviewed one of the Council adults who worked in the administrator's school.

Analysis

I analyzed the data during data collection and afterward. This analysis took the form of analytic memos written during data collection, the coding of data, and in-depth ethnographic and discourse analysis. Below I provide a description of all of these activities.

Memos During Data Collection

During data collection I wrote memos about my thoughts about the data in order to elucidate what I had collected and provide me guidance for subsequent data collection. For instance, in a memo I wrote in February 2011, I elaborated on flows of discourse that I was observing. I wrote:

> I've been thinking about the links in discourse among the people involved in or touched by the Council. I've also cautioned myself about considering only discourse, when the overarching concern of my research is tracing the process of educational change. In terms of discourse, in the past week, with the PD [professional development] at Carver, I was able to start to look at trajectories of discourse. I could also see this on a more limited scale with the presentation at MEChA HS.

As this excerpt indicates, memo-writing provided me a space to theorize about the phenomena I was observing. In the excerpt, I introduced the concept of "trajectories of discourse" in examining the "links" among the discourse(s) voiced by Council members and people outside the Council. The memo went on to describe some of the instances of intertextuality I had observed in which teachers revoiced words and concepts presented at events. Also, this excerpt shows how memos allowed me to connect data from multiple sources. I wondered whether the trajectories of discourse I witnessed related to the PD at Carver could be similar to other phenomena from a presentation at MEChA High School. In these ways, memos provided me a space to flesh out preliminary analyses.

Ethnographic Coding and Analysis

I used ethnographic coding methods on almost all my data, including field notes and audio and video logs. I began the coding process by importing all my textual data into the

Atlas.ti qualitative research computer program. This program allows the researcher to digitally code documents and easily view chunks of text with the same code. Once the data were in the program, I began reading over a range of field notes and interview logs, thinking about my research questions and also noticing patterns that both fit within the scope of my questions and fell outside the scope. (See below for a more in-depth discussion about how my data analysis addressed my research questions.)

I then began first-cycle coding, creating a list of codes based on my initial perusal of the data. In creating this preliminary list, I engaged in structural coding and initial coding (Saldaña, 2009). I addressed my research questions through structural codes and tempered this more deductive approach with initial codes, drawn from my engagement with the data. This list changed greatly as I began using it to code the data, a process I recorded through detailed notes. For instance, the code "Intertextuality" was on my preliminary list and I soon realized that I would not be able to note instances of this phenomenon (which by definition occurs across people and texts) until later phases of analysis, after I had ascertained the "big picture." Since I coded my documents chronologically, and new phenomena arose over time during the study period, I added a total of 15 codes throughout the first cycle of coding. Many of these added codes captured teachers' and school administrators' reactions to the Council. The final code list included 53 codes. (A complete list of codes can be found in Appendix H.) In using this list to code the data, I often used simultaneous coding (Saldaña, 2009), placing more than one code on any given chunk of text.

After completing first-cycle coding, I began second-cycle coding. In this phase I employed focused coding (Saldaña, 2009) to begin to group the codes into categories, which I accomplished in Atlas.ti. Also during this phase, I used Atlas.ti to collect instances in which a

given code was used. I then read through all these instances and determined whether I needed sub-codes for whatever phenomenon I had aimed to capture.

After my second cycle of coding, I began ethnographic analysis. In this phase, I again used Atlas.ti to gather instances of a given code. I read these excerpts as a group and then within the context of the interviews or field notes from which they had been extracted. I also used Atlas.ti to show me instances of simultaneous coding.

During all phases of coding and analysis, my research questions guided my methodology. Below are explanations about how I coded and analyzed data for each of my research questions.

How do the Council students, with the guidance of Council adults, formulate advocacy messages? My first step in coding for this question was identifying advocacy messages. I accomplished this by considering the content of Carver presentations and the discursive themes presented therein. For instance, the Carver group, in each presentation during the school year, emphasized its concept of "powerful curriculum," defined as culturally relevant and rigorous curriculum. I considered discourse around the theme of powerful curriculum to be an advocacy message in that it was critical of the educational status quo and intended for an outside audience. Other advocacy messages drew directly upon existing theories, such as Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005).

After identifying the advocacy messages, I created codes that would capture instances when advocacy messages were discussed within the Council. I used these codes with all my data related to Council activities. These codes all began with the words "Council topic," with an example being: "Council topic-'powerful curriculum.'" I used simultaneous coding to indicate when discussion of advocacy messages occurred within the context of implicit or explicit pedagogy. Examples of this included when Ms. banks or I explained concepts like Community

Cultural Wealth to the students or pushed students' thinking about such concepts through questioning. Students also participated in pedagogy when they explained concepts to their peers. As my analysis continued beyond the coding phase, I looked for change or stability in the advocacy messages over time. I found initial instances of discussion about what would become advocacy messages and how the students and adults maintained and transformed the wordings and understandings of these messages throughout the school year.

How do the Council students convey the advocacy messages? To answer this research question, I created process codes (Saldaña, 2009) for activities related to preparing for presentations and writing blog posts. These codes, which I used on all my data related to Council activities, included: "In Council-working on blog," "In Council-working on verbal part of presentation," and "In Council-working on PowerPoint." Using these codes, I investigated how members approached meaning-making tools (e.g. language varieties, paralinguistic resources, multimodal resources available with digital software, etc.), noting when, how, and under what circumstances the tools were used to mold and convey advocacy messages. For instance, I noticed that "standard" varieties of English were deemed normative for verbal presentation speech, but videos included a range of language varieties. I also analyzed the role that adult and student pedagogy played in the use of meaning-making resources. Finally, I compared final versions of advocacy messages in various concrete forms (videos, speeches, blog posts, PowerPoint slides, etc.), to previous iterations, looking at change over time.

What is the influence of these advocacy messages on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy? To analyze data for this research question, I developed codes pointing to nuances in teachers' and school administrators' reactions to the Council's advocacy messages. These codes captured a range of responses, including reflection, negativity, and

reported change. One such code was “Outside Council-reported retelling,” which I used whenever a teacher or school administrator told me that she or he had told others about something they had heard at a Council presentation. For instance, I used this code on the audio log of an interview with a teacher who told me that she had told others about the Baldwin group’s discussion of access to technology at a presentation. Usually I used these codes on interviews with teachers and school administrators, along with some interviews of Council members, when they spoke of the Council’s influence.

What is the influence of the Council as an educational model on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy? To answer this research question, I coded all instances of teachers’ and school administrators’ talk about using the Council as a curricular model in their classrooms and schools. References to the Council as a model were sometimes explicit and other times implicit. An example of the latter occurred when a teacher told me that, at a presentation, she noted how the Council students’ PowerPoint slides were set up so that she could assign her students the task of creating similar slides.

Critical Discourse Analysis

My ethnographic analysis pointed to relevant audio and video excerpts to transcribe, which was the first step of the CDA I conducted. For each of my research questions, I identified key or exemplary excerpts to transcribe. For instance, to speak to my first research question, I transcribed conversations about powerful curriculum to better understand how students and adults fleshed out and transformed this advocacy message over time. As I mentioned before, I used a transcription method (Sacks et al., 1974) (see Appendix G) that allowed me to notate not only words, but also paralinguistic and extralinguistic phenomena. In using this ultra-detailed

form of transcription, I was able to perceive phenomena that had previously been invisible to me; thus transcription was a preliminary form of analysis.

After transcription, I began the intensive process of conducting CDA on the transcripts and textual documents the students had produced. As I explained above, I mainly considered vocabulary, grammar, and intertextuality—all foci within Fairclough's (1992a, 2003) approach to CDA. The analysis of the first two could be accomplished within a single transcript or document that was then compared to others. For instance, in many individual texts, I considered the multiple ways Council students used modality in their advocacy messages to tell their listeners what actions to take to address educational issues. However, I also analyzed how students' use of modality was structured across genres, participants, and time. In analyzing intertextuality, I compared phrasings across transcripts and documents, as do other CDA scholars (Fairclough, 1992a, 1992b; Gee, 2005). For example, I investigated the moments when Carver group members discussed powerful curriculum and created PowerPoint slides and speech write-ups (concrete forms of advocacy messages) about it. I also examined instances when the phrase (or concept of) powerful curriculum was revoiced by those outside the Council.

Through this approach to CDA, I was able to focus on discursive phenomena and examine how they constituted, reflected, and were shaped by the Council as a community of practice, and how they were influenced by and spoke back to systemic racism. In this way, CDA elucidated the form and function of the micro-level processes within and beyond the Council and indicated the importance of these processes.

Data Analysis and Theory

In all phases of my data analysis, I sought to use and expand upon my theoretical framework. The most obvious connection between analysis and theory was my use of CDA,

which is both a method and a theory. With this tool, I was able to consider how discourse was used to challenge instantiations of systemic racism, a structural phenomenon. In this way, I operationalized the main focus of CDA: to make explicit the hegemonic or resistant ways that language can be used (Apple, 1996; Fairclough, 1995; Luke, 1996). I viewed the study participants' engagement with discourse as occurring within and mediated by the Carver group and the Council, seen as communities of practice. My ethnographic analysis was especially helpful in understanding the communities of practice, but the CDA also shed light on this. To analyze the relationship between discourse and the communities, I paid close attention to participants' participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 2003) and their use of discourse as a tool or artifact (Cole, 1996) in ways that mediated and were mediated by their experiences with the communities of practice. With the concept of participation, I made sure to note changes in participation over time in both field notes and transcripts. Both the ethnographic analysis and CDA were helpful in understanding community-level discourse in light of systemic racism, as elaborated by Critical Race Theory (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Using this theory, I was able to understand the students' advocacy messages as challenging manifestations of systemic racism and place the Council, as a community of practice, within this context.

CHAPTER FOUR: HOW COUNCIL STUDENTS FORMULATED ADVOCACY MESSAGES

In front of a standing-room-only crowd of teachers, school administrators and community members, Melissa, a Council student from Carver High School, made this impassioned appeal: "Referring back to the metaphor I said earlier about present curriculum being dehumanizing [and like poor-quality food], we want you to understand, we give animals raw food. We give animals slop. We prepare nutritious and aesthetically pleasing dishes for humans, and that is powerful curriculum. And that is where we need you to start the reform."

Through her appeal, Melissa challenged an educational system that denies many Latina/o and Black high school students a quality education due to systemic racism, which is manifested in racial inequalities in access to educational resources. Melissa's words gave the audience a powerful metaphor to link quality education to nutritious food—a basic necessity of life.

But how did she arrive at this moment and come to say these words? This chapter considers how Melissa and other Council members formulated these types of appeals, what I'm calling "advocacy messages." Specifically, I seek to answer my first research question: How do the Council students, with the guidance of Council adults, formulate advocacy messages? I define advocacy messages as language or other semiotic material crafted by one or more of the Council members that express viewpoints, research findings, or demands for change that are critical of the educational status quo. Also, advocacy messages necessitate an intended audience outside of the Council. Within the Council, advocacy messages begin as discourses that evolve and meld together, taking shape in anticipation of an audience.

The best way to illustrate how the Council members formulated advocacy messages is to provide a chronology of the data collection period, the 2010-2011 school year. As the word "formulate" implies, the advocacy messages were products of complex processes that unfolded over time. The chronology illustrates the important role of adult pedagogy and guidance in the development of the messages, as well as the ways students molded and synthesized discourses along the way.

To analyze how the Council members formulated advocacy messages, I focus on a subgroup of the Council, the students and adults connected to Carver High School. As I described in Chapter 3, this group included six high school students—Antwone, Bernarda, Jenica, Kelly, Knowledge, and Melissa—and two adults—Ms. banks and me. I home in on one group in order to provide an up-close account of discursive processes at work, and I chose the Carver group[12] in particular because I was a member of it.

I divide the following chronology into four sections corresponding to the four seasons. I begin with a section focusing on the 2010 Summer Seminar, which shows that many of the discourses drawn upon during the 2010-2011 school year originated in the summer. In the section on the fall, I describe how the Carver group members voiced and synthesized discourses that would later become advocacy messages. In the section on the winter, I discuss the ways the Carver group prepared for an event, crafting advocacy messages intended for an audience of teachers. I end with a discussion of the spring, in which the group created advocacy messages infused with students' personal stories.

In looking at the formulation of the advocacy messages across time, I came to view them as historic, intertextual, and critical. They are historic in that they are products of processes

[12] By "Carver group" I mean the subgroup of the Council that included the six Carver High School students, Ms. banks and me.

unfolding over time. As multi-vocal products that draw from a range of semiotic material, they are intertextual. Finally, the messages are critical in that they challenge the manifestations of systemic racism, such as the inequitable distribution of educational resources (Fanelli et al., 2010). The chronology illustrates in-depth how the advocacy messages came to bear these traits.

Summer: The Foundation of the Advocacy Messages

For all Carver students except Kelly, the 2010 Summer Seminar was an introduction to the Council. In the seminar, the Council students learned about the concepts that became the foundation of the advocacy messages they developed over the course of the school year. All students were taught a general body of knowledge about theory, inequality, and research; and subgroups of students, working with one teacher and one graduate student, focused on specific research topics. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, during the summer, the students were not grouped according to school, as they were during the school year. Instead, each of the five groups had at least one representative from each school. Ms. banks's summer group, which included one Carver student—Knowledge—researched curriculum. In the fall, when the students joined school-based groups, Ms. banks retained the topic of curriculum as the focus of the research for the Carver group. Hoping to build off the summer research, Ms. banks and Knowledge spent time explaining to the rest of the Carver group about the curriculum research conducted during the summer. To do this, they showed and discussed the PowerPoint slides Ms. banks's summer group had created about the curriculum research. This presentation had 34 slides and was the main focus of conversation in three consecutive Carver meetings at the beginning of the school year.

In this section I provide an overview of the general theories and discourses that all the Council students were taught during the Summer Seminar. Also, I discuss the PowerPoint

presentation about curriculum created in Ms. banks's summer group. The discourses from both of these Summer Seminar sources—those taught to the whole group and those from the PowerPoint presentation—form the basis of the advocacy messages that the Carver students crafted during the 2010-2011 school year. In subsequent sections I show in detail how these discourses arose, evolved, and became advocacy messages. In this section, I provide some previews of how the discourses were used later in the year.

In general, the content the Council students learned was critical in nature, focusing on systemic racism and classism. For instance, on the second day of the seminar, a professor lectured the students about "segregation of resources" along race and class lines. In a PowerPoint slide, he showed a map of Los Angeles, color-coded by wealth distribution, with dots representing schools. He also discussed the racial breakdown of the areas depicted. After the lecture, he asked the students to work in groups to answer questions about their high schools: "How is your school characterized by others? What is the real story about life at your school? What are some commonalities about your experiences across schools?" After group time ended, students shared their answers. Carver students reported that people think their school is "ghetto," adding that they wanted caring and engaged teachers, better equipment, and more funding. Another topic that the professor discussed was education funding, which he connected to race and class injustice. In discussing the history of educational funding in California, he explained that, in the 1960s, white people in wealthy communities became less willing to fund schools in urban neighborhoods, home to a majority of People of Color. In this way, much of the discourse in the Summer Seminar focused on educational inequality in light of systemic racism and classism.

Also during the Summer Seminar, adults taught students about the *Williams v. State of California* court case. In 2000, plaintiffs filed a law suit alleging that many "low-income and nonwhite" children in California were being deprived of adequate educational resources and opportunities, such as clean facilities, textbooks, and qualified teachers. The case's settlement in 2005 led to the passage of five California bills designed to establish minimum standards for instructional materials, facilities, and qualified teachers. The Council students all received copies of the text of the *Williams* complaint. Ms. banks's summer group incorporated a quote from it in their PowerPoint presentation: "Schools lack the bare essentials required of a free and common school education that the majority of students throughout the State enjoy…Students who are forced to attend to schools with these conditions are deprived of essentials educational opportunities to learn." The wording of this quote, particularly the noun phrase "bare essentials," appeared in the students' discourse later in the year when they discussed the *Williams* case.

In addition to the general topics of systemic inequalities in funding and resources, the Council adults taught about social science theores in the Summer Seminar. One such theory was Freire's (1993) concept of the "banking method" of teaching, in which students are seen as empty receptacles, waiting to be filled by the teacher's knowledge. This concept came up casually during the year in Carver meetings when students described their teachers engaging in "banking." Another theory the students learned about was Yosso's (2005) concept of Community Cultural Wealth. Using a Critical Race Theory lens, she refutes the conclusions reached by some researchers using Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) social reproduction theory, instead demonstrating the existence of capital among racially marginalized groups. She identifies six forms of capital within Communities of Color: aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic,

familial, and resistant capitals. The Carver group applied this theory and taught others about it throughout the school year.

Adults also assigned the students portions of a chapter from *Ain't No Makin' It* (MacLeod, 1987) describing social reproduction theory. The chapter discusses a range of reproduction theories, beginning with an overview of Bowles and Gintis's (1976) correspondence principle. The chapter includes this quote from their work: "Specifically, the relationships of authority and control between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work replicate the division of labor which dominates the work place" (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, cited in MacLeod, 1987, p. 12). Several times during the school year, Carver students rephrased and applied the concept encapsulated in this quote, both in meetings as well as through advocacy messages spoken to audiences.

Ms. banks's summer group created a graphic to explain social reproduction, which they included as a slide in their PowerPoint presentation. This slide showed two base-down triangles, side by side. (See Figure 3.) The triangle on the right, labeled "Private Business," was divided into three layers, with "Owner" at the top, "Managers/Supervisors" in the middle, and "Workers" at the bottom. The one on the left, labeled "Schools," was similarly divided, with "Administrators" at the top, "Teachers" in the middle, and "Students" and "Parents" at the bottom. A related slide was one about habitus (see Figure 4), which included a quote from MacLeod (1987): "… the habitus is composed of the attitudes, beliefs and experiences of those inhabiting one's social world" (p. 15). Next to the quote is a graphic of a small circle around the words "Habitus of LA students" ringed by other circles encompassing these phrases:

- "Not taken seriously because we are young
- Teachers are the only ones heard

- Not teaching our culture
- Silencing youth voice
- For the poor to stay poor, and the rich to be rich”

The syntheses of social reproduction theory shown in these PowerPoint slides appeared in Carver students’ discourse throughout the rest of the school year. Ms. banks, the students, and I frequently called to mind the image of the two triangles to explain and understand inequality. Also, discussions later in the year about culturally relevant curriculum and students being silenced were reminiscent of the bullet points describing habitus.

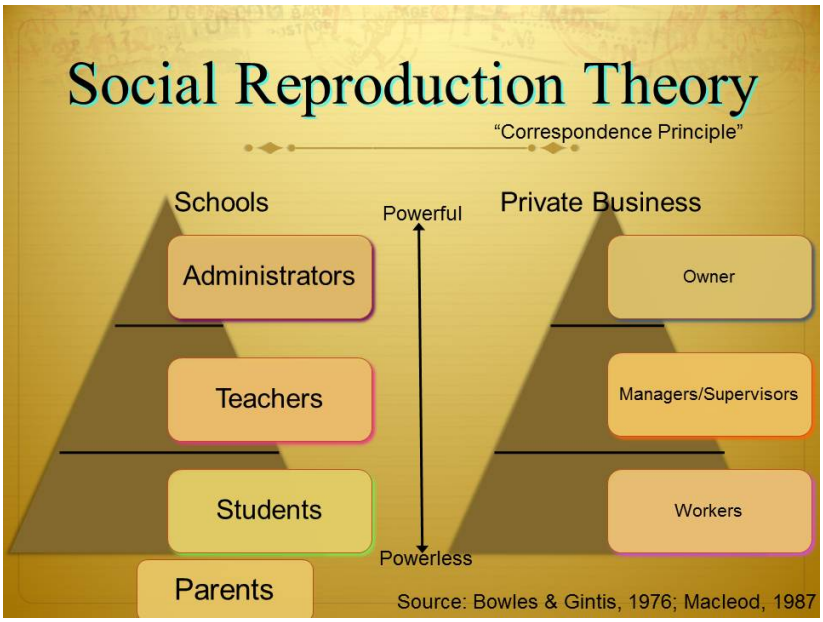


Figure 3: A PowerPoint slide illustrating social reproduction theory.

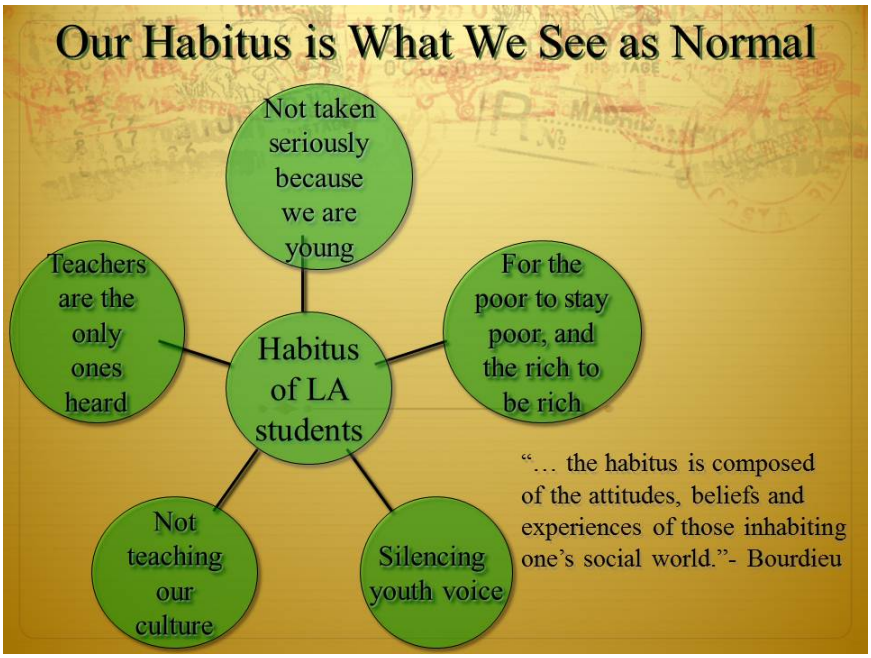


Figure 4: A PowerPoint slide illustrating the habitus of the students.

Other Summer Seminar discourses that were referenced during the school year focused on curriculum. The concept of "powerful curriculum" originated with Ms. banks's summer group, as can be seen in a quote from one of the slides from the PowerPoint presentation: "While high-quality education is more available in affluent communities, there are some courageous individuals in our communities teaching *powerful curriculum*" (emphasis added). This phrase would become the hallmark of the Carver group, used multiple times in presentations. Another set of curriculum discourses originating with the PowerPoint presentation highlighted characteristics of quality curriculum. A slide in the PowerPoint asserted, "Every student in California deserves a vigorous, rigorous, critical, and relevant curriculum." The summer group, as shown in the PowerPoint, defined the adjectives in the claim as follows:

Vigorous: "Difficult enough to prepare us for college"

Rigorous: "Difficult enough to prepare us for future challenges"

Relevant: "Built of our cultural wealth and helps us identify cultural capital"

> Critical: "Having the ability to research & identify problems & finding ways to solve them, to make a change to improve our communities, not only learning but by being able to educate others"

Throughout the rest of the school year, students revoiced aspects of these definitions, arguing that curriculum should be rigorous and culturally relevant.

Fall: Evolving Understandings of Curriculum

The Summer Seminar and the explanation of the summer group's research set the foundation for the school year in the Carver group. The Carver students' discourses, which became advocacy messages, reflected and reworked the theories, understandings of educational inequality, and insights about quality curriculum that were discussed in the summer. In the fall, the Carver students and adults, as a community of practice, synthesized the understandings they gained from the summer and created a vision of quality curriculum, pedagogy, and education. Their discourse was critical of their educational conditions, which, I've argued, are manifestations of systemic racism.

Carver group members, especially Ms. banks, often directly discussed race and racism. For instance, in a meeting on Sept. 22, 2010, Ms. banks recounted an incident she witnessed in the hall at school involving a Black student at Carver who was targeted by security personnel. Ms. banks retold this story in the meeting through a critical lens, turning the incident into a pedagogical opportunity. My field notes from that day report:

> She started by talking about a girl in school who has been labeled ED and violent. She said that that label is related to skin color—which I took to mean racist labeling of students. And she said that when this student was confronted and restrained in the hall recently by a security person, she pointed to a teacher and said something like, "'When

are they going to start caring about Black people?'" Ms. banks showed that she was impressed by this critical and resistive statement….

Here "ED" refers to either "emotional disorder" or "emotional disturbance," a label used for some special education students. In retelling this story, Ms. banks questioned the validity of this label for the student, implying that racism rather than a true disorder was at the heart of the label. Ms. banks focused on the resistive aspects of the student's encounter with security personnel, directly voicing her support for this. Also through this story, Ms. banks provided an example to me and the Carver students of how to view everyday experiences at the school through a critical lens that exposed systemic racism. Through moments like this, Ms. banks placed the work of the Council group generally, and the Carver group in particular, within the context of systemic racism and challenges to it.

The connection between this critical lens and the work of the Council became explicit later in the fall, when Ms. banks voiced critiques of racism when planning with the students the school year's research project. At this time, we thought our research would involve interviewing people to find out more about curriculum at Carver. (This didn't turn out to be the case, however.) At a meeting on Nov. 5, 2010, Ms. banks encouraged the students to interview community members, refuting notions that Communities of Color do not have valuable knowledge. My field notes report:

> She said that the students should interview people in the community, parents. She said that "we" (I took this to mean People of Color) are always bombarded with the idea (in schools, etc.?) that things worth knowing come from outside the community. Jenica or Bernarda made some kind of remark or snicker or something. Ms. banks said something like, "But really…" and emphasized again how the community has valuable knowledge

> that is ignored. I nodded to this. Ms. banks then told a story about how, out of school, her family or father encouraged her to read Black and Puerto Rican authors and not white authors, who were ubiquitous in school.

As my field notes indicate, Ms. banks directly connected the idea of the Carver students interviewing people in the community to resisting the notion that knowledge comes only from those "outside the community." In her story, Ms. banks indirectly implied that these outsiders were white people by recounting how her family or father encouraged her to read Black and Puerto Rican authors. In this way, I can infer (as I did at the time) that the community insiders in this narrative were People of Color. By using the pronoun "we," Ms. banks included herself and the students within the community and, therefore, indirectly expressed to the students that their own knowledge is valuable.

Ms. banks's focus on race, racism, and anti-racism added to the fertile and critical-minded context in which the group began to synthesize discourses about curriculum. These discourses recalled those from the Summer Seminar and embodied the critical spirit that Ms. banks modeled for the group. Often the group members negotiated discourses collectively, building upon each other's remarks in ways that were possible only within the setting of the community of practice. A discussion arising at a meeting on Oct. 12, 2010, exemplifies this. At the meeting, Kelly led the group in a lesson plan Ms. banks had given her. (Ms. banks was absent that day.) Kelly started off the lesson by asking each of us to write an answer to the question, "What is a vigorous education?" In the ensuing discussion about the meaning of "vigorous," I said the dictionary definition of vigorous was energetic, and the definition of rigorous was difficult. I then said, though, that we could "take control of the English language" and bend the definitions. After this activity, Kelly asked us to create a communal definition of vigorous

education. The ensuing discussion was captured in my field notes: “People began to call out different things…. Antwone said culturally relevant. Knowledge said pushes you mentally. Someone said motivation, another determination. Bernarda… [said] something like: ‘students and teachers all involved in the culture and community.’”

In this conversation, several students referenced concepts that appeared in the Summer Seminar PowerPoint and brought to mind Ms. banks’s commentary about the value of knowledge from Communities of Color. In the discussion, Antwone commented that a vigorous education should be “culturally relevant.” Bernarda envisioned teachers “involved in the culture,” echoing the PowerPoint’s call for “relevant” curriculum “built of our cultural wealth” and Ms. banks’s comments about Black and Puerto Rican authors. Knowledge said that a vigorous education is something that “pushes you mentally,” evincing the definitions of vigorous and rigorous in the PowerPoint. However, the students were not merely parroting the discourses presented in the PowerPoint and by Ms. banks. Two students mentioned student characteristics of a vigorous education: motivation and determination. Also, Bernarda’s vision extended beyond the PowerPoint’s definition of “relevant” curriculum. It evoked a communal environment in which both students and teachers participate. Finally, Knowledge’s comment reworded the PowerPoint’s definitions of vigorous and rigorous, while maintaining the gist. In this way, the students not only took up and intertextually referenced the discourses introduced previously, but reworked them into historically-rooted, but new, discourses based on their own ideas.

These discourses arose several weeks later, on Nov. 2, 2010, when the students were working on a blog post. This post was requested by an adult member of the Council for a federal Department of Education-related blog. (Later in the school year, the Council created its own blog.) Since this post was destined to become open to public consumption and the students

crafted it knowing this, it can be considered a vehicle for the Carver group's first advocacy messages. The adult member of the Council asked the Carver students to write the post as a short response to the following prompt:

> In the coming months, Congress will vote on the reauthorization of the Elementary [and] Secondary Education Act. This bill will significantly impact the learning experiences of millions of young people across the country. In light of this upcoming legislation, what information does Congress need to know about young people? How do you think young people can be more involved in the policy decisions that are being made about them?

Only two students attended the Nov. 2 meeting—Bernarda and Antwone—and so the writing task fell to the two of them, as I facilitated their co-creation of the text. After discussing the meaning of the prompt, I asked the students to brainstorm and discuss possible responses. Bernarda took bullet-pointed notes, which she and Antwone then used to create these responses:

> Young people feel disconnected because standards are not involving their cultures or pushing them to do better than a standard. Students feel tests should no longer be implemented because life conditions may affect the outcome of the scores. Students feel text books are not updated, making them feel as if their lives are not being taken into consideration.
>
> Students' voices are not being heard, therefore students should meet in larger quantities, making the Congress listen. They should get to know each student by visiting schools, creating programs, clubs, and meetings. Extracurricular activities like plays can make administrators and policymakers really see the qualities in education.

Like earlier Carver group conversations, this blog post included intertextual references to discourses introduced into the group previously. The first sentence touches on culturally relevant

curriculum and academic rigor. The last sentence of the first paragraph, about textbooks, brings to mind the *Williams* case. Also, the blog includes a mention of student voice, a theme seen in the PowerPoint presentation from Ms. banks's summer group. In addition, this text includes ideas that were not related to the Summer Seminar. For instance, the second sentence, about tests, does not connect to any of the Summer Seminar curriculum or discussions. Antwone came up with this idea, explaining that assessments are wrong because sometimes a student has a bad day and may do poorly on a test. Staging plays, mentioned in the last sentence, was Bernarda's idea. She said that student-created plays could show adults what is going on in schools from students' perspectives. The combination of discourses in the blog provides a preview of how advocacy messages would be crafted later in the year. Like the later advocacy messages, the blog post was a critical, collective product of a history of discursive synthesis.

The discourse about curriculum continued on Dec. 1, 2010, when I encouraged students to create a list of interviewees and interview questions. These interviews never came to fruition because we later changed our research strategy. Regardless, the exercise of creating questions allowed for a generative space of insight. As in the examples mentioned above, the students' conversation indicates that they were taking up discourses from the Summer Seminar and reshaping them. Also the conversation became a space in which the students applied discourses about curriculum—cultural relevance and rigor—to create concrete interview questions for teachers. In doing so, the students complexified the original discourses about curriculum in new ways. My field notes report:

> Antwone then asked: What are we going to ask them [the teachers]?... Bernarda said: "What does curriculum mean?" She continued, saying: Describe in one word what curriculum means to you. Antwone and Knowledge shot that down, saying it needs to be

> more than one word. I said both questions could be asked. Knowledge gave this question: Do you think you were ever taught powerful curriculum? Antwone said: Were you trained to teach a powerful curriculum? I asked why he thought of this question, and he said because if they weren't trained to teach in a powerful way, then…. [At this point he paused, and Melissa jumped in the conversation, saying]…"Reproduction!" Someone said: Are students involved in curriculum? I said: What if a teacher responds that she can't teach a powerful curriculum because [she is]…constrained by the California state standards. Melissa said…[the Carver students] can say: "Shouldn't you go above and beyond the standards to benefit the students?" I think Knowledge said: Are the standards in California up to what you have in your classroom? (Or something like that.) At that point Kelly and Jenica hadn't said much…. I asked Kelly if she had any questions. She said no. I asked [her]: If you were talking to a teacher, what would you ask? She said: If you have a powerful curriculum, how does it benefit students? Antwone said wow, or something like that. I said something too, like I was glad I asked. [Continuing to come up with possible questions,] Bernarda said: What do students feel?

As before, this excerpt shows the students' intertextual references to discourses that originated in the Summer Seminar and the PowerPoint slides. For instance, Knowledge used the phrase "powerful curriculum" in crafting a potential interview question for teachers: "Do you think you were ever taught powerful curriculum?" Antwone's subsequent question suggestion built on Knowledge's probing for teachers' prior experience. He asked: Were you trained to teach a powerful curriculum? From here, Kelly and I took up this noun phrase.

In addition to conveying intertextual references to content originating in the summer, the students engaged in a complex and collective synthesis of discourses not seen in previous talk or

text from the group. After I asked Antwone to explain his rationale for wanting to question teachers about their prior training in powerful curriculum, he responded by beginning to explain what happens when teachers are not trained in this type of curriculum. At this point, Melissa jumped into the conversation, answering Antwone's question by exclaiming, "Reproduction!" Here she was clearly referring to social reproduction theory, another discourse originating from the Summer Seminar. She did not explain her reasoning further, but since she completed Antwone's comment about what happens when teachers are not trained in powerful curriculum, her response implied that untrained teachers would not teach powerful curriculum, thereby reproducing the status quo of curriculum. After this exchange, I introduced a new idea into the discussion, the possibility that teachers would respond by saying they were not able to teach powerful curriculum because of the constraints of state standards. Melissa and Knowledge proposed two follow-up questions to be used in the case of such a teacher response. Melissa's question—"Shouldn't you go above and beyond the standards to benefit the students?"—conveyed that teachers should exceed the standards if they are not conducive to powerful curriculum. Knowledge's question took another angle, asking teachers to measure the state standards against their own classroom instruction. From here, Kelly and Bernarda turned the conversation to a focus on students' experiences, following my encouragement of Kelly and Jenica to offer potential interview questions. Kelly suggested that we ask teachers how a powerful curriculum benefits their students. Bernarda built on Kelly's question to suggest a question that gets to the heart of student experience: "What do students feel?"

In this conversation, the students collectively crafted a complex version of the Summer Seminar discourse about powerful curriculum. The questions pointed to the origin of such curriculum ("Were you trained to teach a powerful curriculum?") and the possible connection of

curriculum to social reproduction. Following my question about the constraints of the state standards, the students considered the quality of the standards themselves versus the curriculum in teachers' classrooms. Finally, students asked questions that connected the curriculum to students' lived experiences. In this way, for the first time, the students significantly added to the Summer Seminar discourses. In previous conversations and the blog post, the students combined discourses but did not augment them. In the above example, the students broadened the discourse around "powerful curriculum" to include its origin and its impact on students. This complex synthesis and augmentation of discourse characterizes the advocacy messages the Carver group produced in the remainder of the school year.

Winter: Discourse becomes Advocacy Messages

In the winter of the 2010-2011 school year, the Carver students had their first opportunity as a group to present their work. In the presentation setting, the students' discourses became advocacy messages in that they reached an outside audience. The presentation was actually a professional development workshop (PD) at Carver High School and this became the focus of the group's research. As I mentioned above, our plans for conducting interviews never came to fruition. In December, our research shifted to focus on the PD. This occurred when Ms. banks realized that a scheduled presentation to some of the Carver faculty could become a space for students to facilitate a PD, thereby embodying the group's push for quality curriculum. The action of planning and facilitating the PD became the object of research, as well as a site to advocate for change. In this way, the students' focus shifted from just research to a melding of research and advocacy.

Explicitly, the PD taught teachers about the concepts (and associated discourses) the students learned about during the Summer Seminar: the *Williams* case, Community Cultural

Wealth, social reproduction theory, and powerful curriculum, among others. Implicitly, the PD taught teachers about a method of group work instruction designed by Stanford University called Complex Instruction, or "CI." Teachers implicitly learned about CI because the PD was conducted as a model of it, with teachers in groups, playing the part of students. As described to me by Ms. banks, Complex Instruction is a form of group work in which every member has a specific role in completing a task. The roles include: harmonizer, recorder, materials manager, facilitator, and reporter. The function of each role is evident by its name; for instance, the materials manager keeps track of materials, such as markers and poster paper, and the recorder takes notes. Each group is given a "task card" with instructions for creating a product, along with several copies of a "resource card," a paper that provides written and graphic information about a topic. For the PD, students created several resource cards. Each group of teachers received copies of the same recourse card, meaning that one group read about one topic, while another group read about a different topic. Another aspect of CI, as explained by Ms. banks, is a collection of "norms," or sayings that are meant to guide the group work. One verbalized frequently within the Carver group was: "No one of us is as smart as all of us." Most of the Carver Council students were somewhat familiar with the concept of Complex Instruction (but not its name) since they had all had Ms. banks as a teacher at some point in their high school careers.

The preparation for the PD involved a synthesis of discourses similar to what was evident in the fall. As Ms. banks introduced the discourse around Complex Instruction, the students took it up and used it independently of Ms. banks or me. Also, the students, with adult guidance, each created a resource card describing one of the discourses originating from the Summer Seminar, such as the *Williams* case and social reproduction theory. These resource cards, the embodiment

of advocacy messages, included intertextual references originating from various points since the summer, along with several group members' voices. Also, they were critical of schooling and condemned manifestations of systemic racism.

The preparation for the PD began on Dec. 8, 2010, when Ms. banks told the students about the plan to have them conduct a PD for teachers using the Complex Instruction method:

Ms. banks: all of you have experienced CI. Complex Instruction.
that is where people have spe***ci***fic ***roles***
like facilitator resource materials manager
harmonizer recorder reporter etcetera right?
Knowledge: yeah°
Ms. banks: and these norms. okay?
so when we do our in-service to teachers?
we're going to teach them like
they're supposed to be teaching us
cuz you all would a***gree***
that that type of method allows for all types of learners
to understand the lesson, right?

In this excerpt, Ms. banks connected the new phrase of "Complex Instruction" to the students' prior experiences, telling them they had experienced it before and providing details to make the connection clear. Knowledge softly answered her tag question ("Right?"), indicating that he was familiar with what she was talking about or wanted to appear familiar with it. Ms. banks then introduced the idea that the students would be leading an "in-service" (PD) with teachers using Complex Instruction, which she framed as how "they're supposed to be teaching us." She built upon the idea that Complex Instruction should be normative among teachers by saying that it "allows for all types of learners to understand the lesson," ending again with a tag question seeking confirmation. The way Ms. banks described Complex Instruction here is important because aspects of this discourse reappeared throughout the year as students took up and transformed it.

An instance of this up-take occurred on Jan. 22, 2011 when students were talking about video narratives they filmed in which they discussed experiences with both good and bad teaching and curriculum. Antwone commented that a bad experience would not be "Complex Instruction." Another unprompted mention of Complex Instruction occurred in February, the day before the PD, in an interview I conducted with Melissa:

Me:	so whadaya whadaya hope happens from the PD
Melissa:	uh hopefully teachers will get a new perspective on how to teach students
Me:	whadaya want them to kind of go away ***know***ing or thinking or
Melissa:	must changing their, nah, their teaching methods?
Me:	okay
Melissa:	like Complex Instruction or stuff like that
Me:	mm hmmm

In this excerpt, Melissa framed Complex Instruction as an outcome she hoped would arise from the PD. Even though she may have supplied this answer because I—an adult leader of the Carver group—was asking the question, the response is still an example of an unprompted use of the phrase by a student.

As students took up the discourse around Complex Instruction, they contributed to the decision-making process about what topics the resource cards should cover. In this way, the students participated in creating a framework for later discursive activity involved in the creation of the cards. Decision-making about topics began on Dec. 8, 2010, when Ms. banks aired several possible resource card topics, such as the *Williams* case, social reproduction theory, and research findings. She then listed "demands" as a possible resource card topic for a teacher group, which prompted Antwone to interject a suggestion to have a resource card about implications.

Ms. banks:	so we have one group that has demands
	((*pause*))
Antwone:	implications°
Ms. banks:	I dunno is-
	what's the difference between implications and findings
	oh impact yeah

Antwone: what happens if you don't do anything
Ms. banks: okay good let's do that
…
I like that. it's really powerful, Antwone

In this excerpt, Ms. banks at first challenged Antwone's suggestion, implying that there is no difference between findings, a resource card topic she had already mentioned, and implications. She then changed course, saying, "Oh yeah, impact." At this point Antwone reentered the dialogue, expanding Ms. banks's definition of implications, saying, "What happens if you don't do anything." Convinced, Ms. banks framed his suggestion as "good" and "powerful," approving the addition to the resource card topics. She decided soon after this exchange to combine demands and implications topics into one resource card. This exchange is important because Antwone's suggestion to include implications shaped the nature of the advocacy messages presented at the PD and later presentations. All these presentations included a mention of implications. The final breakdown of resource card topics and the student assigned to write each one is shown in Figure 5.

Topic	**Student**
Demands and implications	Antwone
Findings	Bernarda
Community Cultural Wealth	Jenica
Williams case	Kelly
Social reproduction theory	Knowledge
Powerful curriculum	Melissa

Figure 5: The breakdown of resource card topics.

These resource card topics encompassed the discourses the students began learning about in the Summer Seminar. In transforming these discourses into resource cards, the students

transformed the discourses themselves, both collectively and individually molding the concepts into advocacy messages intended for an audience of teachers. Through early February, the students worked on their resource cards, sometimes as a group and sometimes individually at home. With each new edit, the resource cards and the discourses therein evolved. This can be seen at one of the longest collective editing sessions, which happened on Feb. 2, 2011, at a meeting that began after school and ended later than 8 p.m. All the students were at the meeting, as were a Council alumnus and I. Ms. banks was unable to attend. At this meeting, we collectively edited each student's resource card, projecting a Word document of a given card onto the screen in Ms. banks's classroom. The Council alumnus typed in all our changes.

Kelly's card, about the *Williams* case, sparked a discussion about whether and what to list as the "bare essentials," an intertextual reference to the text of the *Williams* complaint, discussed above. The final version of the night included the following paragraph, the third of three. This paragraph received the most attention in the editing discussion about this resource card.

> Example: Ten years after the Williams case many public schools such as Carver High School still lack the bare essentials, such as clean environments, qualified teachers, and instructional materials. As many students would say, their schools have very few resources. They are accustomed to having little and getting by with a little. Teachers must help students get out of their four walls by practicing a powerful curriculum. Powerful curriculum includes ample resources, e.g., posters, markers, up-to-date technology, etc. As students, we need all of our assets to come together and help us as a whole.

Prior to the editing session, this resource card text lacked the list following "bare essentials:" "clean environments, qualified teachers, and instructional materials."

In discussing this third paragraph, we also referenced the second paragraph of the card. This paragraph remained relatively unchanged during the editing process:

> Explanation: The Eliezer Williams vs. the state of California case was filed as a class action in 2000 in San Francisco County Superior Court. The plaintiffs were 100 San Francisco County students and their objective was that agencies failed to provide public school students with equal access to instructional materials, safe and decent school facilities, and qualified teachers. As a result of this case money was allocated to schools and CDE proposed changes to the School Report Card.

Kelly took this paragraph almost verbatim from a California Department of Education website, which explains:

> The *Eliezer Williams, et al., vs. State of California, et al. (Williams)* case was filed as a class action in 2000 in San Francisco County Superior Court. The plaintiffs include nearly 100 San Francisco County students, who filed suit against the State of California and state education agencies, including the California Department of Education (CDE). The basis of the lawsuit was that the agencies failed to provide public school students with equal access to instructional materials, safe and decent school facilities, and qualified teachers.[13]

Both paragraphs list resources that schools lack—"instructional materials, safe and decent school facilities, and qualified teachers"—the focus of the discussion about the third paragraph.

In the conversation excerpted below, Knowledge suggested that Kelly change the third paragraph so that it listed the "bare essentials" that some schools lack. Following this, the students and I negotiated how to edit the card and the meaning of *Williams* case itself.

Knowledge: I was gunna say you know how it says um have to ( )

[13] This text can be found at http://www.cde.ca.gov/eo/ce/wc/wmslawsuit.asp.

how they're accustomed to having little and getting by with a little
sh after that shouldn't we say like
what do we have that is a little bit?

Kelly: what?

Knowledge: like we could say what do we have ***right now***

(Me): okay

Knowledge: ( ) where it sa- where it says powerful curriculum
that's an example of what we're ***miss***ing

Kelly: and what would you say=

Knowledge: =so like things that we have right now is lack of ( )
((*long pause*))

Melissa: you dunno?

Knowledge: ( )

Me: it's not said outright but it's sort of implied
that that schools ***don't*** have=

?: =mm-hmm

Me: up-to-date technology
it's not said outright

Antwone: we do say that we still lack the ba- [bare essentials

Melissa: [yeah

Antwone: in the beginning so

Antwone: so why would you tell em what we lack?

Melissa: I think it's fine

Me: I mean I can see wh- I can see the argument for it

Antwone: and uh was bare essentials uh defined? bare essentials?

Kelly: no

Antwone: like the bare essentials uh

Alumnus: yeah what are the bare essentials that [we talked about

Antwone: [yeah

Alumnus: is it toilet paper? ( )

Several: ((*laughter*))

Me: what does the Williams case say are bare essentials?

Kelly: ( )

Me: [okay

Antwone: [books outdated books outdated

Me: facilities books

Kelly: safe environment

Me: yeah safe clean environment
qualified teachers? is that ( )?

Melissa mm hmm

Alumnus: such as what

Melissa: clean environment
qualified teachers

Antwone: clean environment qualified teachers and

?: text books

Antwone: in***struc***tional materials

In the excerpt, Kelly, once she understood Knowledge's suggestions, asked him to provide examples of "what we're missing." He then paused long enough for Melissa to ask him, "You dunno?" I then said that a lack of up-to-date technology was implied, probably referring to the second to last sentence of the third paragraph: "Powerful curriculum includes ample resources, e.g., posters, markers, up-to-date technology, etc." Antwone then contested the idea of including a list of lacking resources, saying that this was already included in the card. He was probably referring to the second paragraph, which stated, "…agencies failed to provide public school students with equal access to instructional materials, safe and decent school facilities, and qualified teachers." I then voiced support for Knowledge's original idea of adding a list of the essentials. After this, Antwone asked whether "bare essentials" was defined, probably referring to the third paragraph. The alumnus then asked what the "bare essentials" are. At that, the students and I offered several suggestions that were rephrasings of the list in the second paragraph. The alumnus, who had been typing in our changes, then said, "such as what," asking what he should type into the resource card projected on the screen. Together, Melissa and Antwone listed three items, each of which appeared either verbatim or in another form in the second paragraph. These three items are what the alumnus typed, verbiage that was retained in the final draft of the card. In this way, the students, the alumnus, and I jointly negotiated the meaning of the *Williams* case and how it should be conveyed to outside audiences.

The history of the *Williams* case resource card indicates the complex nature of the formation of advocacy messages. The card included almost verbatim text from the California Department of Education, which was referenced in the collective editing process, even though students other than Kelly may not have known the original source of the text. Some of the resource card text originated with Kelly, like the final paragraph, which was the focus of the

discussion. Knowledge's suggestion prompted a debate about whether the lacking resources should be included in the paragraph and what the *Williams* case defines as the "bare essentials." This communal development of discourse resulted in the following final draft of the sentence in question: "Ten years after the Williams case many public schools such as Carver High School still lack the bare essentials, such as clean environments, qualified teachers, and instructional materials." The history of this text indicates how the resource cards became intertextual artifacts by including other texts, like the California Department of Education website, and reflecting a range of voices (of the students, the website, etc.).

Some of the intertextual nature of the resource cards arose from edits suggested or mandated by Ms. banks or me. One example of this happened with Melissa's resource card, about powerful curriculum. The version she brought to the meeting on Feb. 2, 2011, included this sentence: "Complex Instruction is an example, it creates an atmosphere of partnership with both the student and teacher and it acknowledges everyone." During our group editing session, I asked, "Could we say at the beginning, 'Complex Instruction creates an atmosphere of partnership'…?" She responded, "Sure," and at the end of the meeting the sentence read, "Complex Instruction creates an atmosphere of partnership with both the student and teacher and it acknowledges everyone." This sentence was part of the final draft of the resource card that teachers read at the PD.

In addition to minor wording changes, Ms. banks and I made more substantial changes to the content of the cards. An instance of this occurred the day before the PD, on Feb. 7, 2011, with Bernarda's resource card. Before changes were made, her resource card included the following bulleted text:

- "Teachers don't get the students involved in the lessons

- Teachers don’t allow students to work with each other; therefore students cannot learn from each other.
- Many students say that they have bad experiences with teachers because they feel that teachers are not putting in all the effort to help them when they have trouble. (Ex. Teachers don’t work with the students on a one-on-one basis or have good communication.)
- Many teachers don’t know how to interact with students.”

Upon reading this text, Ms. banks implied to me and the students that she was concerned that teachers would balk at the blanket statements about teachers in the card. She changed “Teachers don’t get the students involved in the lessons,” by adding “some” at the beginning. For the last bullet point, the group discussed several possibilities, and the one I suggested was chosen: “Students want teachers to collaborate with them.” Ms. banks asked Jenica and Bernarda to write an addition to this phrase, which they did, with the words, “instead of just speaking for them/at them.” Also, Ms. banks added two new bullet points (the second and third below), including: “Some of the curriculum doesn’t challenge students to work at a higher grade level.” These changes can be seen in the final version of the resource card:

- “Some teachers don’t get the students involved in the lesson they are giving.
- Some of the curriculum doesn’t challenge students to work at a higher grade level.
- Some of the curriculum doesn’t allow students to demonstrate their knowledge of the material by using their authentic creativity.
- Some teachers don’t allow students to work with each other; therefore students cannot learn from each other.

- Many students say that they have bad experiences with teachers because they feel that teachers are not putting in all the effort to help them when they have trouble.
- Students want teachers to collaborate with them instead of just speaking for them/at them."

The final version of Bernarda's resource card retained the critiques of poor pedagogy and curriculum featured in the earlier version. For instance, in both versions, the first bullet point framed students' lack of involvement in lessons as something to be remedied, suggesting that such involvement would be beneficial. The difference between the two versions of the cards, then, was mostly in the wording. In four of the bullet points that were revised, Ms. banks added "some" to the beginning of the sentences. The final bullet point, however, changed in meaning. The original version offered an outright critique of teachers' failure to interact with students, while the group edited it to become a statement about the desire of students to collaborate with teachers. Through these adult-driven edits, Bernarda's resource card, like the *Williams* case resource card, became an intertextual product that nevertheless drew upon her own experiences. In this way, her card was an artifact of a distinct discursive history, representing points in time in the process of advocacy message creation and transformation.

Like both Bernarda's resource card and the one on the *Williams* case, many of the cards explicitly advocated change to manifestations of systemic racism. This was especially true of Antwone's resource card, which, like the others, represented a convergence of multiple voices. The final version of his card follows:

"DEMAND #1: Acknowledge students' culture or prior experience in your teachings (lectures), this demonstrates respect and care.

IMPLICATION: Students will remain blind to the importance of their experience and prior knowledge; making them disengaged from the learning process.

DEMAND#2: Students should be active participants in teaching and learning, instead of the teacher only depositing information.

IMPLICATION: If students are not involved in the curriculum, they will be uninterested and feel that the information given to them is unattainable. Or even worse, that their teacher is only there to collect a paycheck.

DEMAND #3: Create lessons that include decoding techniques so that you don't have to *water down* the curriculum. Keep the work challenging for all types of learners and reading levels.

IMPLICATION: Students will not be ready for higher education and will feel overwhelmed later. Or even worst they will resist the instruction by becoming a behavior problem."

In this resource card, Antwone (along with several other Carver group members who helped transform it over time) made statements that indicated the influence of discourses from the Summer Seminar that were critical of the status quo. The first demand evoked the discourse of culturally relevant pedagogy, similar to that found in the PowerPoint slides from the summer. The following implication, with its reference to the possibility of students "remain[ing] blind to the importance of their experience and prior knowledge," evinces the central tenets of Community Cultural Wealth theory. The second demand, in using the metaphor of teachers "depositing" information into students, is an allusion to Freire's banking model concept. The final demand and implication, about the connection of rigorous curriculum to higher education, is also directly connected to the discourses that originated during the summer. However, this

resource card shows how Antwone and others transformed these discourses into critiques and calls for action based on their positionality. Ms. banks's teacher standpoint can be seen in the reference to "decoding techniques" and the possibility of students resisting instruction. Antwone, with his student viewpoint, wrote the phrase about students thinking a teacher "is only there to collect a paycheck" if "students are not involved in the curriculum." By connecting the discourse about student engagement (juxtaposed against simply depositing information) to students' thoughts and emotions, he expanded the discourse about the banking model. In this way, the critiques in the resource card built upon and transformed discourses originating in the summer.

Like the resource cards, students' spoken texts at the PD were historical and intertextual products critical of the status quo. This was especially true for a narrative that Melissa told at the PD about a metaphor a Carver teacher had told her comparing knowledge to food. The first time Melissa mentioned this story was when she told it to the Carver group at a meeting on Dec. 11, 2010. I wrote about this in my field notes:

> …Melissa and Ms. banks began talking about a metaphor about food. I asked what they meant. Melissa said that "someone" had told her that teachers metaphorically give food to students (knowledge, I guess). I asked who, and Melissa, in a way that seemed like she was hiding something, said it was a teacher. Ms. banks knew who it was. Melissa I think was defending this food idea, when Ms. banks said that you can't just give raw food to someone, except vegetables. You have to cook the meat and prepare the food.

This telling of the food metaphor story was the first of many throughout the year as the story became central to one of the Carver group's advocacy messages. Sometime after this first telling, Ms. banks suggested to Melissa that she tell the story at the beginning of the PD. Melissa

then wrote a version of the story intended for the audience of teachers. The final version of the story, as told at the PD, follows:

Melissa: okay, so before we even start the activity
I just wanna share a conversation that I had with a teacher
that made me realize the importance of powerful curriculum°
so: we just had a conversation
about the distribution of education and praxis
so he started he started off the conversation with~a~metaphor
he said if I were to give you a plate of food?
it wouldn't matter how I would give it to you?
as long as I give it to you? then I did my job.
so my response was
why: ***what*** if while you were to throw it at us?
we were to choke? or not digest it as well
his response was well my job was only just to give it to you.
so as I began to tell others about the metaphor?
one person told me
what if when he gave it to you
it was already ***raw***? or not cooked sufficiently.
so then I began to think and I asked myself
why do (we only) have access to raw food?
or non-sufficient curriculums.
so I just thought we as students deserve a powerful curriculum.
we deserve ***ac***cess to a powerful curriculum.

An analysis of this final version of the story indicates its intertextual history. In the story, Melissa referred to "one person" who questioned, "'What if when he [the teacher] gave it [the food] to you it was already raw or not cooked sufficiently?" This "one person," as Melissa confirmed in an interview, was Ms. banks in the conversation on Dec. 11. In this way, Melissa incorporated Ms. banks's voice into the advocacy message through reported speech. This reference shows the complex nature of intertextuality, in that the reported speech altered the interpretation of the original story. The advocacy message's intertextuality appears even more complex in considering that most of it is a retelling of an earlier interaction between Melissa and a Carver teacher. Also, the phrase "powerful curriculum" originated in the Summer Seminar. All of these intertextual references demonstrate the historical nature of the advocacy messages. In

addition, this complex intertextuality serves the purpose of critique and a call to action. Melissa (along with the students who helped her write and edit her story) used the narrative to advocate for "powerful curriculum." She first used reported speech to voice her own self-talk: "So then I began to think and I asked myself, 'Why do (we only) have access to raw food or non-sufficient curriculums?" In this question, she made clear that "raw food" meant "non-sufficient curriculums" in the metaphor. She finished by stating that students deserve a powerful curriculum. In calling for this form of curriculum, she challenged a manifestation of systemic racism: the inequitable distribution of rigorous curriculum.

During the winter, Melissa and other Carver group members transformed the food metaphor story into an advocacy message. More of a process than a moment in time that can be pinpointed, the transformation involved molding the story into a purposeful message intended for a particular audience. This process included Ms. banks identifying the story as a potential topic for a presentation speech and Melissa writing it into speech form. Such a process can be seen with all the advocacy messages produced in the winter. Similar processes persisted after the PD, as students continued to transform discourse in the rest of the school year.

Spring: Storytelling to Spur Change

In the early spring, Ms. banks and I began to teach the Carver students about the methodology of ethnography, which they used to tell personal stories designed to make points about curriculum and pedagogy. The stories they told highlighted their lived experiences of injustice in schooling. In transforming these stories into advocacy messages, the Carver group molded and shaped both their content and form within two different media: spoken text and a video. These transformations were similar to those seen with Melissa's food metaphor story in the winter; the difference was that storytelling in the spring became a focal group activity. As

such, the process of forming the advocacy messages took a highly personal turn in comparison to the winter.

The story-based advocacy messages were critical in nature, a characteristic that Ms. banks and I encouraged. When the group first began to focus on ethnography, Ms. banks cultivated the students' connections to it by highlighting the deep roots of storytelling among Communities of Color and illustrating the critical potency of stories. On Feb. 15, 2011, she told the group:

Ms. banks: the beauty about ethnography? i:s
I love how: ***West***ern ***lan***guage hh ((*laughter*))
Eurocentric language
yo we've been doin this forever
it's called passing down a story
it's called why we (went into) adult conversation
r(h)ight?
that's when you really learn stuff
and so the Western world decided
oh I'm gunna make it into an academic word
and it's called ethnography
and ***rea***lly that was ear hustling
we're letting the audience ear hustle on ***ou:r***
Knowledge: ideas°
Ms. banks: life experience
okay?
you could even ***tell*** them
we will ***gift*** you with the ability right now
ethnography is our gift to ***you***
to ear hustle
to hear our life experience
to hear it as a story that's hu***mane***
instead of a bunch of words you read in a textbook about us

In this excerpt, Ms. banks connected ethnography, or storytelling, to the cultural practices of People of Color, thereby drawing upon the students' tacit knowledge (C. Lee, 2007). She began by indicating that the word "ethnography" is "Western" and "Eurocentric" language, thereby implying a connection to white people. She then used the collective pronoun "we" in

contrast to this group, indirectly indicating that "we" referred to People of Color, including the students.

From here she continued to explain the concept of ethnography: "It's called passing down stories." Three lines later, Ms. banks returned to the theme of the Western provenance of the label "ethnography," explaining that the concept behind the word describes "ear hustling." Here and elsewhere in the excerpt, Ms. banks seamlessly incorporated elements of Black Language (Smitherman, 2000a), further connecting the concept behind ethnography to Communities of Color. In the rest of the excerpt, she continued to use the noun phrase "ear hustle" to describe the ways the group would use storytelling. The audience, she said, would be given the gift of ear hustling on the students' life experiences. These stories are "humane," in contrast to textbooks, which have "a bunch of words" "about us." In the context of the excerpt, "us" can be understood as People of Color. In her use of pronouns and aspects of Black Language, Ms. banks indicated that she was speaking about and with People of Color, and that ethnography was culturally connected to this group. She also implied that ethnography was a form of resistance against how People of Color are portrayed.

Ms. banks's explanation of ethnography formed part of the context of the students crafting narratives about themselves. Both the content and form of these stories evolved over the coming weeks as they became lines to memorize for an upcoming event. On March 4, 2011, the Council students would present at the Labor Center, a space connected to a university and used for labor organizing. Bernarda's story illustrates the transformation that occurred in preparation for the event. On Feb. 14, 2011, she wrote down the first iteration of a heartbreaking story that she had previously shared verbally with the group:

> I had an english class where my voice wasn't heard because when ever I said something my teacher will always judge me for what I say and she will send me to the dean's office. Once I had that bad experience I felt unwanted I felt lonely and I felt silenced thinking to my self I'm not important so why talk and share what I feel.

This story offers a sharp critique of a teacher who didn't listen to Bernarda, judged her, and sent her to the dean's office. The teacher's actions deeply disturbed Bernarda, who felt "unwanted," "lonely," "silenced," and "unimportant." Recalling Ms. banks's understanding about ethnography, Bernarda's story became a humane vehicle to tell about inhumane treatment.

Bernarda's story evolved over time as it became an advocacy message—her speaking part for the presentation. After a meeting in which Bernarda wrote down her story, Ms. banks gave her ideas about new lines to add to the end of the story. On the day before the Labor Center presentation, in a run-through of the Carver students' speaking parts, Bernarda recited her lines to us, intermittently glancing at her note cards. The beginning of the story followed the narrative printed above. Then she said the new lines: "And this is what we mean by having equal access to the material, through a collaborative learning process, where everyone in the classroom has a role in the learning process, and the classroom norm is that no one of us is as smart as all of us. So we share this story so you won't be sad with us." From there Bernarda recited that others had similar stories. After she finished her part, Ms. banks altered these new lines, writing the changes directly on Bernarda's note cards. The following exchange shows how this was done:

Ms. banks: ((*seated several feet from Bernarda*)) something's off about your cards
and your statement
Bernarda: ((*standing*)) ( )
Ms. banks: no, but no matter what it's still off
I feel like
when you start to say about your story
right
uh i- I want the whole

it makes no sense
like at that point is when you say
don't be ***sad*** with me
don't be ***sad*** for me
instead realize we need
and then you say access to the curriculum

Bernarda: ( )

Ms. banks: if you ***got*** it then why aren't you writing it ***down***?
you know what point you're going to say it?
show- read to me the card ( )

Bernarda: ((*sits at table, reading*)) so we share this- so you won't be sad with us

Ms. banks: no no ((*stands, walks over to P and takes cards*))
let me see your cards ( )
((*reading*)) feel every time I have a conversation with a group of people
I feel like I have ideas
but if I say them no one will ( )
by having ( ) okay
((*begins to write on note card, sits down))*
((*long pause as she writes on card*))
((*slowly reads aloud what she is writing*))
I don't want you to feel sorry for me. period.
instead ((*pause*))
instead ((*pause*))
instead comma understand that ***all*** students deserve right?
equal access to the material. period.
right? um
by ***us***ing ((*pause*))
a curriculum that is collaborative and ((*pause*))
and everyone ((*pause*)) must have a ***role*** in the learning process
and the class norm is that no one
okay? okay.

In this exchange we see how Bernarda's narrative, as an advocacy message, changed through Ms. banks's edits. As with the bulk of the advocacy messages produced in the winter, Bernarda's speaking part represented a communally created, intertextual product born of a history of interactions. However, Bernarda's story is different from most of the previous advocacy messages in the way it harnessed personal experiences in service of a larger critique and a call for change. This transformation occurred through Ms. banks's intervention in the trajectory of the advocacy message. This trajectory began with Bernarda's personal experiences

with the alienating teacher. In February, Bernarda wrote down the narrative in anticipation of speaking it in front of an audience. Ms. banks then gave her ideas about new lines to add to the story, which brought to mind Complex Instruction in mentioning roles and norms. Finally, as can be seen in the excerpt above, Ms. banks then edited the new lines of the narrative, but kept the meaning. Bernarda's final iteration of her story, as told at the Labor Center event, shows the collective nature of an advocacy message that began as a highly personal story:

Bernarda: I was in the eleventh grade?
when I had an English class
where I felt I had no voice.
cuz whenever I said something?
my teacher would judge me?
and send me to the dean's office.
once I had this bad experience
I felt lonely? I felt unwanted
and I'm thinking to myself
that huh I'm not im***port***ant
so why talk and share what I feel.
and every time?
huh that I have a conversation
with a group of people
I feel I have ideas
but if I ***say*** them?
no one will pay attention to me.
I don't want ***you*** to feel sorry for me
instead I need ***you*** to understand
that all students deserve equal access
to the ma***ter***ial by using a curriculum? that is collaborative?
and everyone in the class must have a role.
in the learning process
and the class norm is that
no one of us? is as smart as all of us?

The composite nature of Bernarda's story or advocacy message is apparent in her retelling at the presentation. The first 11 lines of her story followed, almost verbatim, what she had written on Feb. 14, 2011. The following six lines, which did not appear in the original version of the story, elaborated the earlier theme of painful and alienating experiences. The rest

of the lines are those that Ms. banks provided ideas for and/or edited. These lines connected Bernarda's narrative to the rest of the presentation, about quality curriculum and pedagogy. Also, these lines directly advocated for pedagogy reminiscent of Complex Instruction. In this way, the new lines framed Bernarda's story and alerted listeners to its intended significance.

Like Bernarda's speaking part, the speeches of the other students at the Labor Center event were also collaborative and intertextual products of a history of activity that began with personal experiences. Melissa's story about the raw food metaphor, which had already transformed in the winter, again transformed in the spring as the story was further molded to be an advocacy message. Unlike at the PD, at the Labor Center Melissa spoke twice, with the second speaking time featuring additions to the original food metaphor story. These new lines originated on Feb. 26, 2011, when Ms. banks told Melissa she should say something like: "You feed raw food to animals. You feed prepared food to humans." Hearing this, I suggested the word "nutritious" instead of "prepared." Melissa's final version of the advocacy message followed almost verbatim the version at the PD, except for the second speaking time, which showed how she took up my and Ms. banks's suggestions. Here is the final version of the second speaking part:

Melissa: so referring back to the metaphor I said earlier
about present curriculum being dehumanizing?
we want ***you*** to understand that
we give ***a***nimals raw food.
we give ***a***nimals slop.
we prepare nutritious and aesthetically pleasing dishes for humans
and ***that*** is powerful curriculum
and that is where we need ***you*** to start the reform

These words were crafted with a particular point in the presentation in mind. The Carver group meticulously planned the order in which each student would speak and how all the parts would flow together, and how the words would connect to the PowerPoint slides. Melissa's

second time to speak occurred after she and several other students had shared their stories. Knowledge's part was about a chemistry teacher whose class modeled social reproduction theory and Bernarda shared the story recounted above. Within the context of these stories, or advocacy messages, Melissa's words above allowed for a convergence of the themes of the presentation. She recalled the metaphor she told earlier in the presentation, saying that it was "about present curriculum being dehumanizing." She had never used the word "dehumanizing" prior to this instance, but Jenica, just before Melissa's second time speaking, had said, "We realized that educational reform must start with humanization." In this way, Melissa connected her words to Jenica's. Also, indirectly, her words brought to mind the stories of Bernarda and Knowledge, who, arguably, were treated in a dehumanizing manner. She then used the collective pronoun "we" four times to hammer home the inhumanity of feeding students "slop," or poor curriculum. Following this, Melissa compared "nutritious" dishes to powerful curriculum, using the adjective I had suggested. She ended by invoking the audience members by referring to them as "you" for the second time, commanding: "And that is where we need you to start the reform."

The changes to Melissa's and Bernarda's stories in the spring demonstrated the Carver group's new level of sophistication in harnessing personal stories for the sake of advocacy. In the spring, through mainly Ms. banks's guidance and editing suggestions, the students' experiences of alienation at Carver became stories and tools for advocating for humanizing education.

The molding of personal stories into advocacy messages also occurred in the medium of video documentary. The video, like the speaking parts, highlighted the students' personal narratives. It also included a rap written and performed by Antwone, in addition to clips of each student thanking their parents in Spanish and English for being their first teachers. The ideas for

the video came from everyone in the Carver group, and its production, though done mainly by Bernarda, was shaped by collective input.

The video, which I view as an advocacy message, included footage of students telling about experiences with both good and bad teaching and pedagogy. Jenica told about a math teacher who always used PowerPoint slides and didn't have control over the class. Knowledge related a story about a teacher who always used the banking model. On the other hand, Melissa told a positive story about a trigonometry teacher, saying: "Not only did he teach us, we taught him." This statement recalled previously aired discourse about the importance of involving students in the classroom pedagogy and curriculum. Also, Kelly described a teacher who taught about the Haitian Revolution, curriculum that "related to" her. Her statements drew on discourse about culturally relevant pedagogy. (I further describe aspects of the Carver video in the next chapter.)

In preparing for the Labor Center presentation, the Carver group molded personal stories into advocacy messages by shaping both their content and their form. These advocacy messages, like the bulk of their less-personalized predecessors, were historic products, amalgamations of intertextual references to multiple sources and voices. These advocacy messages were unequivocal in pointing to the manifestations of systemic racism and calling for change.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the chronology above, I've traced the ways the Carver group formulated advocacy messages. In the fall, the group began drawing upon and transforming the discourses originating from the Summer Seminar. In the winter, this process continued as these discourses became advocacy messages in the form of intertextual, historical, and critical artifacts. In the spring, the group again produced advocacy messages, this time highlighting personal stories.

Pedagogy

The formulation of advocacy messages that I've described would have been impossible outside of the context of the community of practice. As Lave and Wenger (1991) argue, a community of practice such as the Carver group is a site of learning and sense-making through legitimate peripheral participation. Each of us in the Carver group inhabited a certain role associated with differential levels of power, which constantly shifted. Ms. banks and I, as adults enacting teacher-type roles, often held a greater degree of power in comparison to the students.

We both built upon the pedagogy of the Summer Seminar, which provided the foundation of the advocacy messages in focusing on systemic inequality along race and class lines and introducing the students to the discourses they drew upon throughout the school year: Community Cultural Wealth, the banking model, social reproduction theory and the *Williams* case. Also, the seminar was the source of the curriculum focus of the Carver group and the discourse around "powerful curriculum," rigor and cultural relevance. Ms. banks and I, acting as guides and facilitators of the community of practice, connected the seminar discourses to the activities of the school year.

Ms. banks used her experiences as a Woman of Color to link these discourses and other Carver group activities to systemic racism and other forms of oppression. She often spoke explicitly about her own and others' experiences of being racialized and marginalized within a society built upon systemic racism. For instance, as I explained above, she connected ethnography to storytelling within Communities of Color, framing it as a counternarrative to outsiders' (whites') evaluations of these communities. On an implicit level, she countered language ideologies that further racism by showcasing her ability to code-switch. I, a white woman in a white supremacist society, also referred to race and racism, but less frequently than

Ms. banks, and, of course, not from the perspective of a Person of Color. For this reason, Ms. banks's leadership was necessary to the anti-racist bent of the group.

Another of my and Ms. banks's roles was to guide students as they created and edited advocacy messages. I supported the groundwork of the advocacy messages, facilitating conversations and helping generate collective syntheses of discourses. Examples of this can be seen in the discussions held in the fall. Ms. banks led the group in structuring the PD and the presentation, and editing their advocacy messages, as the example of Bernarda's speaking part indicates.

The adults, however, did not have a monopoly on playing a teacher role; the students also coached each other on how to write and speak advocacy messages. For instance, they collectively edited each other's resource cards, as the discussion about Kelly's resource card illustrates. In this way, both adult and student pedagogy mediated the formulation of the advocacy messages.

As participants engaged in activity, both adults and students inevitably learned over time. The changing nature of discourse in the community of practice points to this learning. As Lave and Wenger (1991) and Cole (1996) explain, groups such as the Carver group use a range of culturally altered tools to mediate their interaction in the world. The tool I've focused on, of course, is discourse. The students used this tool to understand the schooling conditions they faced, as can be seen in conversations about curriculum that occurred in the fall. But they also changed the tool of discourse in the process of harnessing it, transforming it into advocacy messages by drawing upon their insider knowledge as Students of Color within an oppressive schooling system. This shows the mutual influence of the Carver members and the Carver group

as a community of practice. As the members transformed the discourse, it gave them a new way of understanding schooling, which helped them mold the discourses into advocacy messages.

The Advocacy Messages

The advocacy messages were the results of critical literacy (Morrell, 2008a), products that were historic, intertextual, and critical of the manifestations of systemic racism. They were historic in that they were the products of several months of pedagogy, discourse, and effort, a finding that follows Lave and Wenger's (1991) understanding of tools within a community of practice. As the Carver group members appropriated and molded the discourses originating in the Summer Seminar, they added to them, making them into new discourses aimed at sparking change—advocacy messages, in other words. Melissa's story about the food metaphor, for instance, shows how this occurred, as does Bernarda's resource card, among other examples. In the process of molding and transforming discourses, they added to the intertextuality of the messages. This can be seen in the inclusion in the messages of aspects of the discourses originating in the Summer Seminar. However, as I emphasized above, the students (and adults) never simply revoiced a discourse as-is, instead opting to transform it based on lived experiences. Antwone's resource card, for instance, demanded that teachers avoid "only depositing information"—an intertextual reference to Freire's (1993) banking model. However, the following implication, with its mention of the possibility that students would think a teacher was "only there to collect a paycheck," does not have a direct source other than Antwone. In that the advocacy messages were historic, they were somewhat akin to a cross-section of a tree trunk, which shows concentric tree rings that accumulate over time. However, this metaphor does not do justice to the transformation that occurs in the advocacy messages. If each additional tree ring

transformed the previous ones in a non-linear fashion, the metaphor would best illuminate the historic nature of the advocacy messages.

In a related vein, these historic products were also intertextual and collectively created. Some of the "voices" in the advocacy messages were references to past texts or discourse, as I just explained. Also, the messages were intertextual in that they included several of the voices of members of the community of practice. For example, Melissa's food metaphor story derived from her personal experiences, while some of the text came from Ms. banks and me. All advocacy messages were collective products that could not have been produced in the same way by just one member of the Carver group.

These messages were also critical of systemic racism by nature. They condemned the manifestations of systemic racism, such the dearth of rigorous and culturally relevant curriculum at schools like Carver, which serves Latina/o and Black students. Antwone's resource card is a potent example of such critique. In it he (and other group members, as editors) demanded that teachers "[a]cknowledge students' culture or prior experience in your teaching" and provide challenging curriculum. Not following these demands would lead to students being "blind to the importance of their experience" and not being "ready for higher education." The advocacy messages also critiqued students' lack of voice in schools, classrooms, and curriculum, as Bernarda's resource card shows. She (and her editors) stated, "Some teachers don't get the students involved in the lesson they are giving." The speech she wrote for the presentation at the Labor Center also highlighted student voice: "I was in the eleventh grade when I had an English class where I felt I had no voice."

Following Fairclough's (1992a) claim that discourse is not only reflective of society, but also constitutive, we can understand the advocacy messages as not only critical literacy products

of the community of practice, but also as influences in it as well. This can be seen in the historical aspect of the messages. The advocacy messages produced in the spring were similar but not identical to those produced in the winter, a shift that could point to the messages' influence on the students, as members of the community. Overall, this mutual influence demonstrates how actors within a community of practice can collectively harness the tool of discourse to generate new meanings, thereby creating the conditions for further creation of meanings. In the case of the Carver group, these ever-evolving meanings became the basis of messages intended to spur change in a society based upon systemic racism.

CHAPTER FIVE: HOW COUNCIL STUDENTS CONVEYED ADVOCACY MESSAGES

In this chapter, I answer my second research question: How do the Council students convey the advocacy messages? One of the answers to this question, as I discuss below, is that they accomplish this through their use of meaning-making resources made available in the context of the Council as a community of practice. As I described in previous chapters, a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) is a space in which learning occurs as members' participation changes over time. Within such communities, members use tools to mediate their contact with the world (Cole, 1996), and language is one such tool (Cole, 1996; Holland et al., 1998; Nasir & Hand, 2006). In the Council, a community of practice cultivated by Council adults[14], the students used a host of meaning-making resources to convey advocacy messages critiquing systemic racism and other forms of structural inequality, such as classism.

Below I describe how the students used these resources within the context of the community of practice. I look at their use of multimodal resources in videos and PowerPoint slides. I consider the importance of what I call "interactional resources," or conversational structures that can be used agenticly, such as intertextual references to interlocutors' words. I examine students' paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources—e.g. voice intonation and gestures—when speaking at presentations. Finally, I explore the students' use of linguistic resources, including their range of language varieties, or linguistic repertoires, and their rhetorical strategies.

Before delving into a discussion of the students' use of resources, I consider the Council adults' important role in creating opportunities for students to convey advocacy messages. I then

[14] The subgroups within the Council were also communities of practice.

describe the Council's avenues for conveying advocacy messages, such as presentations and the Council's blog.

Adults' Role in Conveying Advocacy Messages

Council adults played essential roles in the students' conveyance of advocacy messages. Council adults fostered an environment in which students' existing meaning-making resources could be utilized and expanded, rather than devalued or ignored. In most schools, students are praised for written and verbal usage of so-called "standard" English, a slippery construct that does not point to a monolithic language variety. In the Council, adults encouraged students to use many meaning-making resources to convey advocacy messages, including several languages and language varieties, along with other semiotic tools, such as extralinguistic resources and multimodal resources. In this way, the Council adults implicitly promoted the students' critical language awareness. This concept, discussed in Chapter 2, refers to an understanding of the way language is connected to power and how it can be used as a counterhegemonic tool. Alim (2005a) and Fairclough (1995) advocate for pedagogy aimed at cultivating such an awareness, and the Council provides an example of one approach to this.

Council adults also created opportunities for students' voices to be amplified. Though I do not discuss this point in detail in this chapter, it is worth mentioning here. During the study period, the Council gained access to presentation spaces with the help of its university connection and professorial leadership, as well as a generous grant. The planning of the whole-group presentations was mostly accomplished by graduate students, one of whom was paid a salary through the grant. The school-level presentations came about largely thanks to the Onero School District teachers in the Council, who used their positions at their respective schools to ask that weekly professional development time be turned over to students. Also during January of the

study year, the graduate students facilitated the creation of a Council blog in order for students to have a space to share their research on the internet.

In all, this behind-the-scenes work by the Council adults demonstrates one of the ways the research question guiding this chapter could be answered. It is clear that Council students would not have been able to convey their advocacy messages as they did without the efforts of the adults.

Avenues for Conveying Advocacy Messages

During the 2010-2011 school year, the Council held several presentations/events—both as a whole group and as individual school groups—and I attended most of them. The first whole-group event of the school year was held at the Labor Center, on March 4, 2011. The event began with one of the professors connected to the Council giving a short speech. Following this, each school group gave an approximately 10-minute presentation, which featured PowerPoint slides and ended with a short documentary. Another professor concluded the event with a short speech. At AERA, in April, 2011, the students presented the content from the Labor Center event at a two-hour, Council-only session. At this session, speeches by adults in the Council were interspersed between the school groups' presentations. At the two other AERA presentations, students presented new content, which was accompanied by PowerPoint slides.

The individual school group presentations I attended were held at MEChA, Carver (the PD), and Jefferson high schools. Also, the Carver students gave a presentation at an event collectively planned by several organizations. All of these presentations—except for Carver's PD (professional development)—featured PowerPoint slides and similar or the same content that each group presented at the Labor Center. On Jan. 31, 2011, the MEChA Council students presented to the faculty of one of the small schools on their campus. A few days later, on Feb. 8,

the Carver students facilitated the PD for some of the faculty at Carver. On May 28, 2011, the Carver students presented their Labor Center event content as part of the event planned by several organizations. Finally, on May 31, 2011, the Jefferson students gave two presentations to two small schools at their campus.

Outside of the Council's presentations, the main avenue for conveying advocacy messages was the blog. There were 10 posts from the blog's inception in January 2011 to the end of the 2010-2011 school year. Each post was written by a particular school group and often featured individual entries from each student in a group. For instance, one of the Carver group's posts has each student's name listed, followed by her or his text about a given topic. Also, the blog often featured pictures of the authors.

Multimodal Resources

The PowerPoint slides and the video documentaries best illustrate how the students conveyed advocacy messages using multimodal resources. Such resources, also called "modes," are tools "for representation and communication" (Kress, 2003, p. 45), such as words, images, video and sound. Both the PowerPoints and the videos used text and still images, and the videos added sound and moving images. The blog was also multimodal in that it included pictures of the authors, but it was not illustrative of the full range of resources the students used. The students' use of multimodal resources in PowerPoints and the videos was, of course, facilitated by the adult-structured environment of the Council. Adults provided not only the digital resources but also the understanding that advocacy messages could be powerfully conveyed through multimodal means.

PowerPoint Slides

In the PowerPoint slides, students used text, graphics, and photos to simplify complex concepts. For instance, in the PowerPoint created by the MEChA High School group for the Labor Center event, one slide explained Freire's (1993) banking concept of education with an image of a bank deposit box alongside the words: "A Banking education system for the youth of America." A slide in the Baldwin group's PowerPoint for the Labor Center event illustrated the concept of cultural capital with a triangle, base down, divided into three horizontal sections, with the word "working" in the bottom section, the word "middle" in the middle section, and the word "upper in the top section. (See Figure 6.) An arrow emblazoned with the words "Privileged Groups" pointed toward the top part of the triangle. Also, the slide included a definition of cultural capital: "An accumulation of cultural knowledge, skills and abilities possessed and inherited by privileged groups in society." This definition is Yosso's (2005) summary of Bourdieu's (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) understanding of cultural capital.

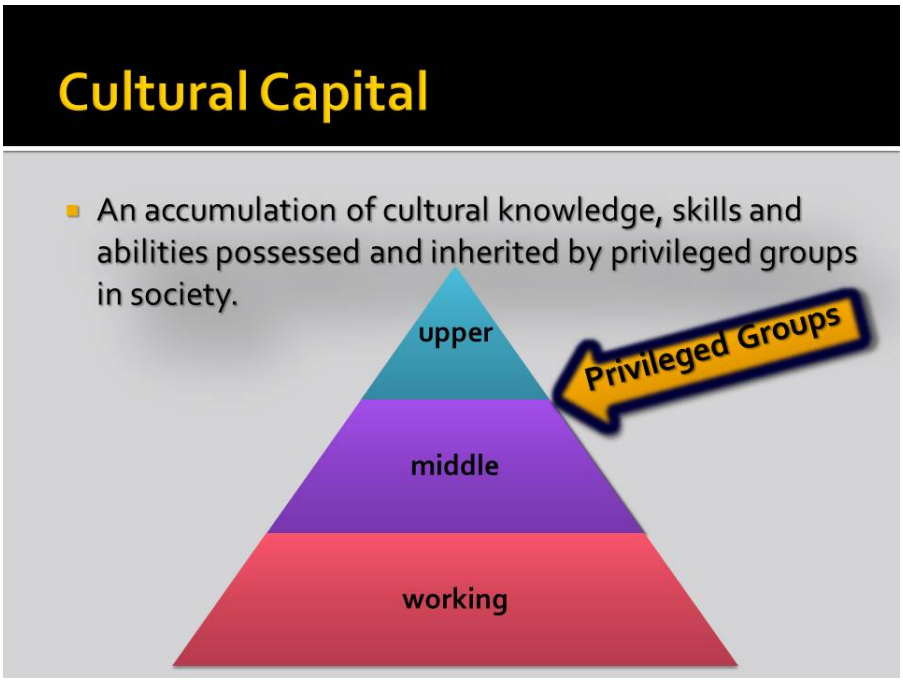
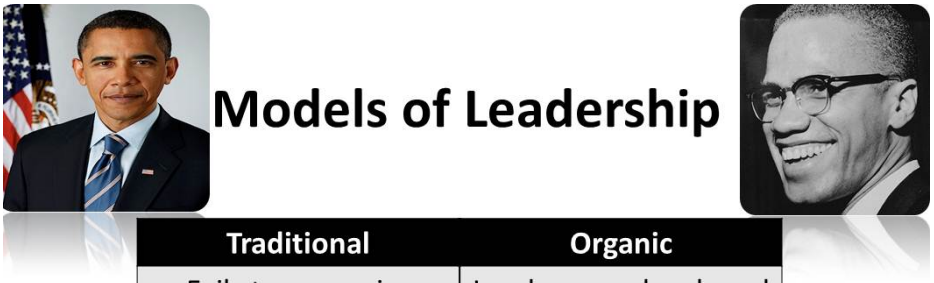


Figure 6: A PowerPoint slide from the Baldwin group's Labor Center presentation.

Another way the students used the combination of text and image was to show comparisons. A PowerPoint created by the Key group for the Labor Center event showed a two-columned chart with the headings “Traditional” and “Organic,” referring to Gramsci’s (1971) two types of leadership. (See Figure 7.) President Obama’s image appeared over the first column, while Malcolm X’s image appeared over the second. Under the “Traditional” column were several points, including, “Overemphasize hierarchy, power, and top-down decision making,” while under the other column, among other points, were the words, “Come from within the people.”



Traditional	Organic
Fails to recognize organic leaders	Leaders are developed
Overemphasize hierarchy, power, and top-down decision making	Come from within the people
Keeps the status quo	Mutual connection
Official Status	Unified people
Stays within limits	Problem Posing

Figure 7: A PowerPoint slide from the Key group’s Labor Center presentation.

The example slides show students’ innovative use of image and text to convey advocacy messages. They used multimodal resources not only to make slides more visually engaging, but also to simplify complex theories. The image of the triangle in the first example slide shows, at a glance, that the theory of cultural capital is about social inequality. The second example slide

conceptualizes traditional and organic leadership by providing photos of example leaders along with concise snippets of text explaining the leadership types.

Video Documentaries

For the video documentaries, students, within the context of the community of practice, used a complex combination of multimodal resources to convey strong critiques. Supported by adult guidance and provision of resources, students creatively combined modes to convey advocacy messages. In the documentaries, students included interview clips and footage of themselves speaking to the camera, performing a rap or enacting skit. Students also used voiceovers and clips obtained from the internet.

An example of a skit can be seen in a documentary by the Baldwin group, which began with a student standing in front of a large painting. The painting showed several People of Color on the left side, one holding a sign that said, “Stop immigrant bashing.” In the middle a white man with a swastika armband sat upon a chest bursting with paper money. Below the chest were images of papers with words on them, one of which said “annexation of Mexican Lands.” The student looked at the painting and said, “This looks interesting. I wonder if there’s any of this in the textbook.” Next the documentary showed the student seated at a desk, flipping through a textbook. Another student approached, asking her what she was doing. The first student replied, “Nothing, I’m just looking in the textbook to see what it says about Latino culture.” After a few moments, the student commented, “It only has two paragraphs about Latino culture! What happened to the Mexican American War? The East LA Walkouts?” The other student added, “What happened to our ancestors?”

Oftentimes the students used audio and visual elements from different sources. The documentaries included voiceovers, either taken from interviews or recorded by the students,

overlaid on top of video footage or still images, sometimes recorded in-house and other times taken from the internet. For instance, in a documentary produced by the Key group and shown at the Labor Center event, an image of a line of penguins with the word "leadership" underneath appeared on the screen as a man's voice said, "As an educator, my primary goal is to…." At this point, an image of a brain with rays shooting from it appeared as the man continued his utterance: "…seep knowledge into the brainstems of every student that I come in contact." (See Figure 8.) More complicated still, some video documentaries had a voiceover, showed images, and played background music all at the same time, creating a poignant multimodal message. This was the case with the Key group's documentary, which featured the introductory bars of "Moment 4 Life," by artists Nicki Minaj and Drake, throughout the video.



Figure 8: An image from the documentary the Key group aired at the Labor Center.

In crafting the videos and PowerPoint slides, students, with adult guidance, made communal decisions about how to use multimodal resources. Through processes similar to those I documented in Chapter 4, the Carver group members negotiated the content of these products. I documented many moments in which Carver students hunched over a computer together, deciding the order of video clips, the wording of slides, among other decisions. These processes, facilitated by adults, allowed the students to use critical literacy to "design" (Kress, 2003) formats through which to convey advocacy messages. The products of "design," as shown in my descriptions above, conveyed highly critical and compelling advocacy messages about educational inequality.

This "design" occurred within a community of practice that adults had cultivated. Adults provided the digital technology and, in many cases, the know-how about using it. This was especially true for the Key group, whose teacher was known for his video-making skills. This teacher's expertise mediated the students' participation with the technology. As with the creation of PowerPoint slides, adults structured an environment that implicitly conveyed the critical language awareness lesson that important and critical information can be conveyed in multiple ways.

Interactional Resources

The Council students also drew upon interactional resources to convey advocacy messages. By "interactional resources" I refer to structures of conversation (Sacks et al., 1974) that can be used agenticly. Question-and-answer periods at the end of students' presentations were moments when students used interactional resources. Students responded to audience members' questions and comments with responses that capitalized upon interactional resources to varying degrees. Though Council adults engaged in little explicit pedagogy about responding

to questions, the discourses the adults introduced in the 2010 Summer Seminar (discussed in Chapter 4) provided students with discourses to use and manipulate, even when speaking extemporaneously, as in question-and-answer periods.

An example that shows the complexity of the students' use of interactional resources occurred at the Carver PD, when, after the activities had concluded, a Latina teacher named Ms. Cervantes asked if there was time for questions. The interaction began when Ms. Cervantes praised the Carver Council students for their hard work. She then described how students in general were not excited about their education and asked the Council students how they became passionate about it. Kelly responded to the question, speaking somewhat softly but not at all shyly. A Latino teacher, Mr. Solís, then asked a follow-up question, and both Kelly and Antwone responded. Ms. Cervantes's original question, along with that of Mr. Solís, created the space for Kelly and Antwone to take advantage of the interactional resources at hand and convey an advocacy message. Here is the first part of the dialogue:

Ms. Cervantes: do we have time for questions? ((*standing*))
first first let me commend you all
for doing such ah wonderful research
it's refreshing to see young people
actually interested in their education
so you're commended
secondly. ***how*** do we REACH you
when I say reach you I mean as as a as a whole
it's not a lot of students that are as engaged or as as excited
about their education that ***you*** are
a:nd if we I know that there's no ***form***ula
but there's gotta be a way that we can ***reach*** you
because teachers as a- myself
I talk to my kids every day on a constant
and I know they do too ((*gesturing to teachers in the room*))
but sometimes it just seems as
we're soo ag***gres***sively tryna give you the information
and it hurts us when you don't get it
and I don't know if it's maybe that we're not using the same
or we're in different books

or the tangents lines are different ((*waving arms in the air*))
or if the communication gap is that large ((*spreads hands*))
and I don't think it's the communication gap
I think it's the ***pass***?ion
where's your passion. ((*points to students with both hands*))
how did ***you*** guys get that passion ((*points to students with both hands*))
so that ***we*** know how to kick start the others so that they're as passionate
or ***you*** guys kick start ((*gestures toward students with one hand*))
it'll come better from you°
so that's my question
thank you so much
I'll sit down°

Knowledge: umm

Ms. Cervantes:( )

Kelly: okay so personally? how I got my passion
f- to do all this research and get involved
with the students at my school? ((*right hand makes circular movement*))
was first learning information.
and like cuz I saw one of the older students' presentation ((*right hand goes up*))
when ***I*** was a junior and when ***I*** was younger ((*right hand goes down*))
and it inspired me know- like knowing all of the facts ((*gestures with right hand*))
and having all of the information
made me want to know more ((*moves arms downward*))
and get involved
and tell other students ((*gestures to the side*))
and help them and help them get involved as well
so that's how I found my passion.°

Ms. Cervantes began this exchange with a commendation that involved framing the Council students as unique in having passion for learning: "It's refreshing to see young people actually interested in their education." After this praise, she raised the volume of her voice as she emphatically asked, "How do we reach you?" She went on to explain that "you" referred to students as a group, who are not as "as engaged or as as excited about their education" as the Council students. She continued by telling a narrative about talking with her own students and trying to give them information. Ms. Cervantes then used a mental process form of transitivity to describe the emotional impact of the information not being taken up: "And it hurts us when you don't get it." Following this, she considered possible reasons for this lack of connection,

including students and teachers being in "different books," having different tangent lines, or experiencing a communication gap. However, she dismissed these explanations, asserting that "It's the passion," something that the Council students purportedly had ("How did you guys get that passion?") and other students, who need to be "kick start[ed]," lacked.

In this commentary, Ms. Cervantes framed most students as lacking motivation and interest in school. Though she did not specify which students she was talking about, she did mention her own students at Carver High School, which serves virtually only Black and/or Latina/o students. Instead of analyzing Ms. Cervantes's intentionality with these comments, it is important to consider that they occurred within a white supremacy-based education system that promulgates deficit ideology framing these students as lacking motivation.

Kelly did not choose to challenge Ms. Cervantes's characterization of students, but answered by intertextually referencing her question about passion: "Okay, so personally how I got my passion f- to do all this research and get involved with the students at my school was first learning information." Kelly said this occurred upon seeing a presentation by older students that inspired her to want to "know more." Though she did not specify what information this was, her comments occurred at the tail end of a PD in which highly critical advocacy messages were circulated. Referring to this information as something that inspired her, she suggested that it was not readily accessible: "And [the older students' presentation] inspired me know- like knowing all of the facts." Her utterance implied that, prior to the presentation, she knew only some of "the facts," but that others were still hidden until seeing the presentation. This could be an allusion to the critical-minded information circulating within the Council.

After the above excerpt, Kelly continued interacting with the audience, answering the following question from a teacher: "Does it make you feel like you're more in control of your

education?" Kelly responded by saying that learning the information had helped her in her classes. After this interaction, which lasted 26 seconds, Mr. Solís asked Kelly what information had inspired her. She did not have a chance to respond, however, because Antwone answered instead. Taken together, Kelly and Antwone's responses to both Ms. Cervantes and Mr. Solís, along with some comments from the latter, formed an advocacy message. Here is the dialogue with Mr. Solís:

Mr. Solís:	what facts and information
	what what were the facts and information
	that were presented to you? that got you passionate
	about wa- wanting t- to learn more about ( )
Antwone:	[the lack of
Kelly:	[u:m
Antwone:	the lack of essentials the lack of resources that we have in ((*pause*))
	schools today ((*pause*)) the: lack of technology? ((*pause*))
	all these things we face every day
Mr. Solís:	so kinda like studying about current and historical injustices educationally?
	that you guys have to experience?
Kelly:	((*nods slightly*))

In this interaction, Mr. Solís requested clarification of Kelly's vague utterances about "information." In response, both Antwone and Kelly began speaking, and the former gained the floor. To convey what the "information" was, he used noun phrases that intertextually referenced discourses from the Summer Seminar: "the lack of essentials, the lack of resources that we have in schools today, the lack of technology, all these things we face every day." While Kelly's response was not a straightforward advocacy message in that it was unclear whether she was making a critique, Antwone's was directly critical of education. His response, however, was possible only because of the interactional chain preceding it. After Antwone's response, Mr. Solís gave what was ostensibly a summary statement, which he spoke with questioning intonation, indicating a request for verification. This statement did more than simply summarize Antwone's response; it framed his list as "injustices" and added two temporal contexts: "current"

and "historical." Kelly nodded in response to this questioning statement, indicating agreement. In this way, Kelly confirmed an advocacy message jointly crafted by Antwone and Mr. Solís, which built upon Kelly's earlier utterances and Ms. Cervantes's original question. This complicated interactional history demonstrates how the students used the interactional resources at hand to a certain degree, but also left much of the meaning-making up to the two teachers.

In other instances, students fully capitalized on the interactional resources available. An example of such a time occurred at one of the AERA presentations. At this presentation, each school group spoke for a few minutes, and at the end, several students came forward to answer questions. It was during this question-and-answer period that a Black middle school teacher, Mr. Harris, asked the students why they chose to be in the Council. Here is his question:

Mr. Harris: this obviously took time, effort
u:m took you away from from
your friends (your friends)
( ) (all the fun)
uh what is it u:h what is it about your experience
that uh led you to choose t- to: make the sacrifices
that you had to make to to do this work

This question sought to illuminate the reasons why students were invested in the Council, framing their efforts as "sacrifices" that kept them from their friends. Mr. Harris's question is similar to that of Ms. Cervantes in that he questioned the motivation of the students. Several students responded to his question, discussing their drive to equalize and improve schooling in the face of systemic oppression. On the heels of one of these responses, Bernarda gave the following heartfelt commentary:

Bernarda: oh (let me say something)° ((*steps forward*))
we? we might be missing our fun? our friends?
but there's one thing that we're actually missing.
and that's our edu***ca***tion
where ***is*** our education. ((*spreads hands*))
where ***is*** it ***at***. ((*spreads hands*))

and this is what ***we*** are here for
to ***save*** our education
to ***get*** a better education
that's what we are here for
that's what ***I*** wanna change
to get a better education for me? ((*points to herself with both hands*))
and everybody else ((*spreads hands wide*))
in my school in my community and in my family.
((*steps back*))

Audience: ((*applause*))

Antwone: ((*wipes eye*))

Several people in the audience began crying upon hearing Bernarda's words and Antwone wiped his eye after she finished speaking. This moving moment became possible with the opportunity afforded by Mr. Harris's question. Bernarda grasped this opportunity whole-heartedly, taking advantage of the moment to convey an advocacy message about the urgency of the state of education. One of the ways she capitalized on the moment was by making intertextual references to Mr. Harris's comments and question. Bernarda's second line was, "We might be missing our fun, our friends…," which echoed Mr. Harris's comment about the Council taking students away from their "friends" and "all the fun." She also used a word implied by Mr. Harris's narrative: "missing." Mr. Harris had said that the students' efforts "took you away" from friends and fun. She drew upon Mr. Harris's utterance not only to summarize his question, but also to flip its meaning in the third and fourth lines of her response: "…but there's one thing that we're actually missing, and that's our education." She then transitioned into an impassioned plea for a quality education. Though this plea did not directly intertextually reference Council discourses from the Summer Seminar and beyond, it is important to consider that, by the time of AERA, Bernarda had presented several times as a member of the Council. At each of these presentations, she advocated for a quality education, just as she did in the response to Mr. Harris.

Bernarda's response, then, points to the role of the community of practice in students' capitalizing on interactional resources.

The examples of Bernarda, Kelly and Antwone using interactional resources provide a picture of the nuanced ways students took advantage of these resources during question-and-answer periods at events. The community of practice of the Council fostered these resources in indirect ways, by providing discourses to be manipulated. However, the students added to what the Council had provided by agenticly appropriating moments in interactions in which to insert these discourses.

Paralinguistic and Extralinguistic Resources

Students also harnessed paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources to help them convey their advocacy messages at presentations and events. Paralinguistic resources include volume, intonation, and prosody, while extralinguistic resources include hand gestures, gaze, and other body movements. One of Antwone's speaking parts at the Labor Center event illustrated how students used these resources. He spoke at the very end of Carver's presentation, listing the group's demands. As he spoke, he held the microphone in his right hand and several note cards in his left. His body swayed slightly from side to side, and his left hand bobbed with the cadence of the words he was speaking. He maintained a fairly loud volume, but increased or decreased it at times, emphasizing some words. Also, he was flanked on his left by the five other Carver students, who were standing slightly behind him. At one point in Antwone's speaking part, the other students stepped forward and spoke several words in unison. A transcript follows, with paralinguistic and extralinguistic phenomena noted.

Antwone: now in order to have a powerful curriculum *((looks at audience))*
[you must ***first***
[*((opens and closes left hand))*
follow these three demands.

((looks down at note cards and moves top card to the back))
acknowledge students' culture
[and prior experience. it shows care.
[*((looks at audience))*
((looks at note cards))
make sure students are active participants
[in teaching
[*((looks at audience))*
[***and*** learning.
[*((looks at note cards))*
[and thirdly °. create lessons that are
[*((opens left hand))*
challenging
((looks at audience))
for ***all*** types of
[f:or ***all*** reading levels and
[*((closes left hand, looks at note cards))*
[***all*** types of learners
[*((opens left hand))*
we [DEMAND these things
[*((eye brows raise))*
((body stills, looks at audience))
because [as our song says
[*((looks at note cards))*
((Other students step forward))
All students: everybody is a ***star***
((Antwone makes larger movement with left hand and emphasizes the word "star," everyone looks at audience))
Antwone: and deserves the opportunity to shine.

As this excerpt demonstrates, Antwone orchestrated a range of paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources when speaking this part of the presentation. He used paralinguistic strategies to emphasize aspects of the speech content. When he said, "We DEMAND these things," he raised his voice's volume with the word "demand," highlighting the action of demanding. The increase in volume served to convey the forceful nature of such an action, as opposed to, for instance, recommending. After that, he emphasized the word "star," returning to a topic discussed earlier in the presentation. Throughout much of the presentation, the song "Everybody is a Star," by Sly and the Family Stone, was playing in the background. Toward the

beginning, Kelly had told the audience that, throughout the presentation, the students would share lines with each other from the song. And, indeed, each student, upon finishing her or his speaking part, turned to the other students and told them, for example, “I love you for who you are, everybody is a star.” Antwone highlighted this affirmation with his emphasis of the word “star.”

In conjunction with his use of paralinguistic resources, Antwone also used body movements, or extralinguistic resources. Several times throughout the excerpt, Antwone altered his normative movements: swaying his body and bobbing his left hand to the cadence of his words. For instance, he opened and closed his left hand several times, and this frequently corresponded to an utterance in which a word was emphasized. The most dramatic use extralinguistic resources occurred when Antwone stilled his body and raised his eyebrows when saying, “We DEMAND these things.” This worked in tandem with his volume increase to further convey the importance of this part of the speech. Body movement also stood out with the utterance, “Everybody is a star.” Just before this line, all the other students stepped forward in order to speak in unison. Also, Antwone made an exaggerated movement with his left hand at this utterance.

Antwone’s use of intonation and body movement was intentional and planned. In meetings prior to the Labor Center presentation, Ms. banks had worked with Antwone to make his speaking more charismatic. After one of Antwone’s pre-Labor Center rehearsals, she told him:

Ms. banks: you have to make sure you move to a rhythm.
right?
Antwone: mmm hmm
Ms. banks: because sometimes if you stand still
( ) buh buh buh ((*in monotone voice, stands upright with arms at sides*))
[if you move

[((*leans toward Antwone with arms and hands outstretched*))
that's what I think is a key for you.

Here Ms. banks not only told Antwone how to use paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources, she modeled their proper and improper use. She began by advising Antwone to "move to a rhythm," and then explained her rationale. She acted out to Antwone what happened when he stood still, speaking "buh, buh, buh," in a monotone voice and standing upright. She then modeled what happened when Antwone moved as he spoke, adopting a more dynamic body position, leaning toward Antwone and outstretching her arms.

Judging by his performance at the Labor Center, Antwone took heed of Ms. banks's advice, and, indeed, added to it. He also helped other students develop their paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources. For example, prior to the Labor Center presentation, Antwone counseled Bernarda, Knowledge, and Melissa to emphasize specific words in their speaking parts and use hand gestures. The excerpt below occurred after Melissa had practiced her part aloud. After she finished, Antwone said she should emphasize something, but couldn't remember what. He asked to see her note cards to find the words he was trying to remember. When he found the part, the following exchange ensued:

Antwone: ((*looking at Melissa's note cards))*
oh yeah wh- here when you say
((*presentation voice))*
we as ***stu***dents de***se:rve ac***cess to
((*end of presentation voice))*
like you should put like
emphasis in all of these like
((*presentation voice))*
we as students deserve access to a powerful curriculum
Knowledge: and bang on the thing ( ) ((*hitting table*))
Melissa: mm[m ((*giggle*))
Knowledge: [( )
Antwone: ***we*** as ***stu***dents de***serve pow***erful cur***ri***culum ((*hitting table at each word*))
Knowledge: I'm serious
Antwone: and that's why we created a we- we created

a teacher workshop that was a ***clear*** model of powerful curriculum
((*looking up at Melissa, end of presentation voice*))
so you really get like the the the crowd like
oh wow she's really like
she's really like [into this like h
Melissa: [hhh like what
Knowledge: she's demanding it
Antwone: like she's into this and she's like demanding it

In this excerpt, Antwone both explained and modeled how Melissa should add emphasis to her speaking part. In his second line, he said aloud one of Melissa's lines, placing emphasis on two syllables. He then explained that she should "put like emphasis in all of these." After he spoke aloud another of Melissa's lines, Knowledge interjected with a joke: "And bang on the thing," which he accompanied by hitting the table. Here "thing" can be understood as "podium," meaning that Knowledge jokingly suggested that Melissa hit the podium when emphasizing the words. Melissa giggled at the joke and Antwone enacted it, using extra emphasis and hitting the table as he said, "We as students deserve a powerful curriculum." Antwone then spoke from the viewpoint of the audience by using the third person singular pronoun "she" to explain that the crowd would think Melissa was "into this." Taking up Knowledge's suggestion, he added that she would look like "she's demanding it."

In this excerpt, the students discussed normative paralinguistic and extralinguistic moves, even placing boundaries on what was acceptable by joking about banging on the podium. Similarly, another student, Kelly, explained to me in an interview that she strategically used paralinguistic resources. She said, "Usually when I present, I try to pick out, like, the power words. So I try to, like, emphasize those words. And, like, see which words would, like, connect with the audience." Interestingly, the noun phrase "power words" may have originated with Ms. banks, who used it during the study period.

Kelly's quote, in addition to the excerpts above, demonstrate that (a) the students consciously used paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources for the purpose of better engaging the audience and (b) Ms. banks and student members of the community of practice created an environment in which paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources were fostered and deemed important.

Linguistic Resources

In all the avenues of conveying advocacy messages, students used linguistic resources to further their points. These resources included linguistic repertoires and rhetorical techniques.

Linguistic Repertoires

The students in the Council displayed rich and varied ways of speaking, or linguistic repertoires. First defined by Gumperz (1964), the concept of linguistic repertoire refers to the range of language styles and varieties available to an individual or group (Duranti, 1997, p. 71). Students can use these language varieties to translate for others and interact in various situations and with various groups (Martinez, 2012; Orellana, 2009; Orellana & Martinez, 2010; Orellana & Reynolds, 2008; Orellana, Reynolds, & Martinez, 2011). This concept aligns with scholarship demonstrating that languages are fluid and contextually shifting instead of bounded and exclusive (Baily, 2000; Zentella, 1997). I follow the spirit of this scholarship in avoiding framing students' utterances as definitively representing a certain language or language variety.

In the Council, students drew upon their linguistic repertoires differently in different situations. The students' video documentaries, as intertextual spaces channeling a multiplicity of voices, provided the most opportunity to showcase their linguistic repertoires. The documentaries framed many speakers as conveyers of information and included sound bites from a range of individuals. An additional aspect of this intertextuality related to the languages and

language varieties used. The documentaries featured not only so-called "standard" varieties of English or White Mainstream English (WME) (Alim, 2006), but, rather, represented the students' linguistic repertoires more fully. This can be seen in the Carver group's documentary shown at the Labor Center event. In it, when students thanked their parents for being their first and primary educators, three of the students delivered the thank yous in Spanish. Bernarda said, "Me gustaría agradecer mucho a mis padres por el apoyo que me han dado, porque sin ellos no estuviera yo en este momento aquí. Gracias. Los quiero mucho." (*I would like to thank my parents very much for the support they have given me, because without them I wouldn't be here at this moment. Thank you. I love you very much.*) This shows Bernarda's facility with Spanish, which is part of a repertoire that includes varieties of "standard" English or WME, as seen in her quoted speech earlier in the chapter.

Also in Carver's documentary, Antwone performed part of a rap he had written in which he drew upon Hip Hop Nation Language (HHNL) (Alim, 2004a, 2006). The following excerpt of his rap should be considered in conjunction with the earlier excerpt featuring Antwone speaking at the Labor Center. I used the earlier excerpt to discuss paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources, but it also illustrates his use of what could be considered "standard" English or WME. The transcript below in conjunction with the one printed above demonstrate how Antwone deployed aspects of his linguistic repertoire:

> look listen ***think*** a the state a education.
> I'm not waiting here not gunna be no patient.
> I advocate a change to rearrange the game
> so the next generation isn't left behind.
> I got to stop my teacher from teaching just glitz and glime
> ***real*** truf ***real*** facts that we deal with today
> sugar coated and watered down leave education decayed
> ***eight*** thousand on a student fifty thousand on a convict
> this is a system minorities can't profit
> schools built like jails see dey want us to fail.

real teachers are made not just found in da mail.
look open your eyes surpass suppressive veils
they got funds to buy guns not polish our mine
make it harder for us make it easy to be confine.
but in the end you should regret cuz we are your future
but while it's real tight like a pre sown suture
system standards'll put you in a certain class.
police in fronta school mentally it holds ya ba:ck.

This rap showcased Antwone's facility with HHNL resources (Alim, 2004a, 2006). One feature of HHNL that is apparent in the rap is the link to "the sociopolitical circumstances that engulf the HHN [Hip Hop Nation]" (Alim, 2006, p. 72). Antwone's rap is sociopolitical in its very essence, critiquing systemic racism ("This is a system minorities can't profit"), pedagogy, public education spending injustices, and the school-to-prison pipeline. Like HHNL generally (Alim, 2004a, 2006), the rap was highly creative. Antwone employed complex rhyme techniques, including assonance, multi-syllabic rhyme, end-of-line rhyme (end rhyme), and within-line rhyme (internal rhyme), creating what Alim (2006, p. 147) calls a "multirhyme matrix." An example of internal assonance can be seen in the third line ("I advocate a change to rearrange the game"), in which he used the long *a* sound in four different words. An example of end rhyme can be seen in the lines that end in "future" and "suture." Antwone also drew upon alliteration and figurative language, key features of HHNL (Alim, 2006) and indices of his creativity. Alliteration can be seen in the phrase "glitz and glime" and figurative language appeared in his call for listeners to "surpass suppressive veils." Antwone orchestrated this range of linguistic tools provided by HHNL to deliver a scathing critique of educational oppression and systemic racism.

Antwone's rap could also be considered an example of HHNL in that it includes characteristics of Black Language, in which HHNL is rooted (Alim, 2006, p. 71). Some of the phonetic features of Black Language that appeared in Antwone's rap include:

- Final *th* realized as *f* (Smitherman, 2000b, p. 24), as seen in: "Real truf, real facts that we deal with today."
- Initial *th* realized as *d* (Smitherman, 2000b, p. 24), as seen in: "Schools built like jails see dey want us to fail."
- Few consonant pairs (Smitherman, 2000b, p. 25), as seen in: "They got funds to buy guns not polish our mine."

Both students and adults considered linguistic repertoires in planning how to convey advocacy messages. The idea to include students' thank yous to their parents in both Spanish and English originated with Ms. banks, while Antwone frequently sought moments to showcase his rapping ability, which Ms. banks and I encouraged. In this way, the Council students and adults consciously privileged a range of language varieties in the video documentaries. The students' documentaries, therefore, aligned with the aim of Critical Hip Hop Language Pedagogies (Alim, 2009), which seeks to "reverse…the laws of the dominant linguistic market," which elevates the language spoken by middle-class whites and denigrates Black Language and other marginalized English varieties. Instead, the documentary treats Black Language, HHNL, and Spanish as elevated languages.

By featuring a range of languages and language types, the Carver video, along with other Council-produced videos, challenged language ideologies that bolster systemic racism. However, the overwhelming majority of the live-spoken speech of the students could be perceived as "standard" English, or WME. This can be seen in all the excerpts of students' speech at presentations printed thus far in this chapter.

This usage was certainly related to language ideologies in the Council that framed language like WME as appropriate for verbal presentations. As Kroskrity (2006) explains,

language ideologies are ideas about language, including "beliefs about the superiority/inferiority of specific languages" (p. 497). The Council adults both challenged and upheld dominant language ideologies that positioned WME as superior to other language varieties. On one hand, we sought to elevate the social standing of language forms that index People of Color by discussing with the students an aspect of the concept of Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) that demonstrates the wealth of linguistic capital that Communities of Color possess. Also, most Council adults modeled using both dominant and non-dominant language varieties. (See Chapter 4 for an example of when Ms. banks did this.) On the other hand, we indirectly encouraged the students to use language that could be perceived as WME in the verbal parts of their presentations. We knew that the students' audiences—teachers, school administrators, and other adults—may not have taken the students seriously if they had presented entirely in English varieties deemed less valuable. Also, as Ms. banks once commented to me, there was a benefit to the students learning to present to diverse audiences.

Council adults and I encouraged students to use what could be considered WME through subtle means. An example of this occurred when I counseled Melissa to slow her speaking rate prior to the Labor Center presentation. After she had watched a video of herself practicing her speaking part, I asked her to practice speaking more slowly. Through the ensuing interactions, Ms. banks and I subtly pointed to WME as appropriate for presentations, as this excerpt from my field notes indicates:

> I asked her [Melissa] to say her part at half the speed. She took out her notes and I snatched them from her so that she would say the part from memory. She would still say individual words quickly, but then pause between them. Plus, she couldn't remember her narrative when saying it more slowly. I found a Democracy Now [news program] episode

> on my ipod and had her listen to it for a little bit to see the speed. She also re-watched the video [of herself practicing]…. She came back saying that she could see how she was going too fast. Plus, before or after this, Ms. banks leaned into our conversation, saying that Melissa needs to enunciate, that she "eats" the ends of her words. I demonstrated with a few of the words.

This excerpt shows how I positioned the language of the Democracy Now news program—which could be viewed as WME—as normative presentation speech. Even though I used the program to illustrate how to speak slowly, I also framed the program's language variety as an example to emulate. Moreover, Ms. banks's comment that Melissa "eats" her words suggested that Melissa's everyday speech was unacceptable for the presentation. I reinforced this message by providing some examples of this. In these ways, Ms. banks and I implied that Melissa's presentation speech needed to be remedied by making it a closer to WME. Instances such as this occurred frequently, in which Council adults promoted a specific language variety—WME—as appropriate for presentation speech. These moments contrasted instances when adults encouraged students to use other language varieties in other genres—such as in videos.

The students themselves made a distinction between language varieties they deemed acceptable or unacceptable for presentations. This can be seen in a joking exchange between Knowledge, Antwone, and Kelly, right after the group completed a run-through of a presentation. Antwone, who had the last speaking part of the presentation, joked that he would end by saying something like, "We out!" Kelly, faux-perturbed, said she'd be angry if he did that. After that, Antwone and Knowledge continued the joke. My field notes provide an outline of the conversation:

Knowledge: yee
Antwone: we outta here y'all peace!

Knowledge: yeah and then throw the microphone

What marks this exchange as interesting is that it framed HHNL (Alim, 2004a, 2006) as unacceptable for the verbal part of the presentation. Knowledge began with "yee," which can mean "yes" or show excitement. Antwone, continuing the joke, exclaimed, "We outta here, y'all. Peace!" Judging from Knowledge and Antwone's speech use over the course of the study period, I surmise that they were not making fun of the language. In separate, non-joking instances, I have record of Knowledge using "yee" and Antwone saying "peace" as he left a gathering. The joke, then, stemmed from the idea of using this language variety at a presentation. The perceived unacceptable nature of HHNL was highlighted further when Knowledge jokingly suggested that Antwone throw down the microphone, a reference to the Hip Hop Nation. This act was framed as equally unacceptable as the language use.

In all, the language ideologies in the Council, as a community of practice, both encouraged and constrained the students in their use of their full linguistic repertoires. Some aspects of the adults' implicit and explicit pedagogy sought to elevate traditionally marginalized languages and language varieties, thereby encouraging students' critical language awareness. However, adults, along with students, prompted students to use "standard" varieties of English in the verbal parts of presentations. Despite *and* because of the language ideologies in the community of practice, students showcased their myriad linguistic abilities. Antwone took advantage of an opportunity to perform his rap in the video while using a language that could be perceived as WME in his spoken presentation. Also, Bernarda's spoken language at a presentation was constrained to WME, but she used Spanish in the video. The choices adults and students made about when to use what language, though governed by language ideologies and knowledge of them, may have heightened the effectiveness of the advocacy messages. By being

encouraged to draw upon their linguistic repertoires, the students were better able to align themselves with their audiences, which were often linguistically diverse.

Rhetorical Techniques

In addition to drawing upon linguistic repertoires to convey advocacy messages, the students also used rhetorical techniques. Across all avenues of conveying advocacy messages, the students frequently used the following two techniques, among others: (a) providing examples to describe and critique educational conditions at schools serving Students of Color; and (b) advocating for change by telling the reader/listener that certain actions should be taken. The former often involved the telling of personal stories, or counterstories (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002), about educational injustice. The latter drew upon the grammatical resource of modality. Both of these techniques were actively encouraged on the part of the adults.

Instances of students using examples to describe and critique educational issues can be seen in presentation excerpts quoted in Chapter 4. For instance, Melissa, at the PD, told a story about a teacher who compared curriculum to food. Ms. banks had encouraged Melissa to tell this story at the PD (and subsequent presentations) and link it to advocacy for quality curriculum. This is the way Melissa told the story at the PD:

Melissa: he said if I were to give you a plate of food?
it wouldn't matter how I would give it to you?
as long as I give it to you? then I did my job.
so my response was
why: ***what*** if while you were to throw it at us?
we were to choke? or not digest it as well
his response was well my job was only just to give it to you.

In telling this story, Melissa used evocative verbs, such as "throw," "choke" and "digest," which fit with the overall metaphor and framed a subsequent call for "powerful curriculum." Similarly,

Bernarda told a compelling story that Ms. banks had encouraged her to recount in a presentation. At the Labor Center event, Bernarda said:

Bernarda: cuz whenever I said something?
my teacher would judge me?
and send me to the dean's office.
once I had this bad experience
I felt lonely? I felt unwanted
and I'm thinking to myself
that huh I'm not im***port***ant
so why talk and share what I feel.

In this excerpt, Bernarda employed vivid modifiers ("lonely" and "unwanted") and mental process forms of transitivity ("I felt" and "I'm thinking") that served to heighten the emotional quality of the story. With guidance from Ms. banks, she used this story as a tool to call for classrooms in which "the class norm is that no one of us is as smart as all of us."

Students also told personal stories within the blog. This can be seen in a blog post by the students from MEChA High School, who wrote about teachers. This post was separated into entries by each MEChA student, and one student critiqued the trend of filling teaching posts with unqualified teachers (which happens more frequently in schools serving majorities of Students of Color (Fanelli et al., 2010; J. Rogers, Fanelli, & Bertrand, 2009)). She then provided a personal story about this: "For example, I currently have a physics teacher who is not qualified to teach physics. I personally feel like the class is a waste of time, considering that I haven't learned much and a whole semester has already passed." Like Bernarda, this student used a mental process form of transitivity ("I personally feel") to convey the story.

For some students, the use of storytelling was consciously deployed to better engage audiences. Kelly explained that this was the reason she used that rhetorical strategy. She said,

> Usually when I hear people present, it's the story that catches me. Like, it would get me more interested in what they're gunna say later. So I figured if I say something that they

> would feel about us, how, like about what we've been through, and, it would be more interesting.

Other students added narratives and striking details not only to capture the audience's attention, but also to have "a voice," as Bernarda told me. This function aligns with the function of counterstories in Critical Race Theory (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

In addition to telling personal stories, students advocated for change by making demands of listeners or readers, thereby using deontic modality—statements about obligation (Fairclough, 2003, p. 168). Examples of this form of modality include directives or phrases using the word "should." Voicing "demands" was a standard practice that adults encouraged within the community of practice. During the 2010 Summer Seminar, adults taught students to structure their PowerPoint slides so that demands were listed at the end. The use of demands spilled over into the 2010-2011 school year, both in PowerPoint slides (and the connected verbal presentations) and the blog.

Over the course of the 2010-2011 school year, the word "should" appeared on the blog 23 times in just 10 posts. An excerpt from a post from the Carver group illustrates this:

> Students should regularly facilitate professional developments/teacher workshops. How can a teacher teach a group of people without their input or point of view? Once one of our group members had a teacher who would talk for the whole period and would never listen to the students when they wanted to say something. We feel that every teacher should have a space to let us students share with them what we know and what we think so that teachers would have more ideas in what they are teaching.

In this excerpt, the writers argued that students "should" lead professional developments. This assertion was supported by a question and an example from a student's experience. This was

followed by another assertion, that teachers "should have a space to let us students share with them what we know…." By using deontic modality, the Carver students made explicit their stance, bringing in a degree of morality with their advocacy. Antwone's speech at the Labor Center event also provides an example of deontic modality. Using directives, he told the audience, "Acknowledge students' culture and prior experience….Make sure students are active participants in teaching and learning….Create lessons that are challenging…for all reading levels and all types of learners." In this quote, each verb is in imperative form, indicating what Fairclough (2003, p. 170) would describe as a high degree of commitment to obligation.

With the encouragement of adults within the structure of the community of practice, students used deontic modality, along with personal stories, in advocating for explicit changes in their education, indirectly challenging systemic racism by focusing on its manifestations. Students and adults consciously employed and negotiated these linguistic resources in ways that fostered critical language awareness.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the varied ways the Council students used meaning-making resources to convey advocacy messages. As I've shown, the adults played an important role in this process, supporting students' use and development of meaning-making resources within a community of practice. Often adults mediated students' participation by providing guidance and feedback, while students took active roles as the creators of concrete forms of advocacy messages. The discussion above of Antwone's paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources illustrates this point. Ms. banks encouraged Antwone to "move to a rhythm" when he spoke at presentations, advice he put into practice at the Labor Center in creative ways. He decided what words to emphasize and how to use extralinguistic resources in conjunction with the words he

spoke. Also, he advised other Council students about using paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources. This history shows how the Council, as a community of practice, was a space in which adults facilitated and supported students' participation.

Through the structure of the community of practice, the adults privileged a range of resources, not just those traditionally valued in schools, elevating language forms and modes of communication that are often marginalized or overlooked. Also, adults made technology resources available to students, which they used in crafting PowerPoint presentations and videos. Beyond concrete materials, students drew upon adults' advice and discourse about education. However, adults also implicitly set boundaries on when resources should be used and for what purposes, for instance, framing WME as appropriate for presentation speech. These findings suggest that adults in YPAR organizations should provide a range of resources in order for students to convey advocacy messages in multiple ways. Also, such organizations could encourage frank discussions about members' ideologies about when and how a given resource can be used.

Through the students' creativity, meaning-making resources became powerful tools for shaping advocacy messages. With these resources, the students honed the form and delivery of the messages with the aim of better reaching audiences. Through interactional resources, students agenticly inserted advocacy messages into question-and-answer periods. As Bernarda's response to a question at AERA illustrated, these resources could be used to exploit an interlocutor's utterance, revoicing it to help promote a different point. Students also used paralinguistic and extralinguistic resources to hone the form of advocacy messages. Using these resources, Antwone emphasized key points of his speaking part at the Labor Center, thereby making himself a more engaging speaker. Likewise, the students used multiple languages from their

repertoires to enhance messages, as shown by Bernarda's use of Spanish in the video. Also students augmented advocacy messages through storytelling and modality. Storytelling placed their critiques within the context of lived experiences, while modality conveyed the urgency of the students' critiques. In these ways, the strategic use of meaning-making resources allowed the students to highlight and convey advocacy messages in unique and compelling ways. Other YPAR groups and, indeed, other organizations seeking to promote change, could look to the Council as a model of how to convey messages in multiple ways in order to reach multiple audiences.

CHAPTER SIX: THE INFLUENCE OF THE ADVOCACY MESSAGES AND THE COUNCIL AS A CURRICULAR MODEL

*"The fact that they [the Council students] kinda made me think about my own accountability and and reflect on my own practice I think was was. I I felt **good** knowing that they had that impact on me."* – Mr. Bateson

Mr. Bateson, a white teacher at MEChA High School, told me this several days after attending the Labor Center event. His strong response to the event presents powerful evidence that the students' advocacy messages were influential. Below I discuss how Mr. Bateson, other teachers, and two school administrators were influenced by the Council, answering two of my research questions: 1) What is the influence of the advocacy messages on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy? and 2) What is the influence of the Council as an educational model on teachers, school administrators, curriculum, and pedagogy?

In this chapter, I begin by describing the outcomes the students intended with their presentations, before detailing teachers' responses to students' advocacy messages. Some teachers told others about advocacy messages or made intertextual references to them. Other teachers reflected on their teaching practice or enacted concrete changes in their classrooms. However, some teachers reacted negatively to the messages. Also, I describe the ways some teachers, along with the two school administrators, were using the Council as a curricular model.

Students' Intentions

Through their presentations, students aimed to change the audience's perceptions of them, as high school Students of Color from working-class neighborhoods. Students commented about this both before and after the several presentations they made during the school year.

Before the PD at Carver, Knowledge told me he wanted teachers to be impressed by the students. Our conversation follows:

Mel:	whatduyou hope uh happens from
	from the the professional development.
Knowledge:	scuse me? ((*questioning look))*
Mel:	whatduya hope happens because of the professional development.
Knowledge:	uh ((*pause))*
	oh that ***most***ly like th-
	that teachers learn from us
	like they learn ( ) (we're not)
	little kids tryna impress them
	we're actually um as ***high*** as ***they*** are
	[like in ***teach***ing
Me:	[mm hmm
Me:	uh huh
Knowledge:	like we would teach
Me:	yeah
Knowledge:	ah like they can and
	maybe even better
	because of what we're doing
Me:	[uh huh
Knowledge:	[how is that a powerful curriculum
	I hope they take the into considera- into consideration
Me:	mm hmm
Knowledge:	use it in their methods um
	hopefully they're pretty impressed and
	I mean I don't wanna go in there
	with them thinking
	ooohh look at these poor kids
	and all that like
	I don't want them to feel ***sorry*** for me

In this excerpt, Knowledge answered my question about his hopes for the PD with a range of points, most of which focused on teachers' impressions of the students. After commenting that he hoped teachers would "learn from us," he explained that he didn't want teachers to view them as "little kids" trying to impress the teachers. After legitimizing the value of the students as educators, he described his hope that the teachers would use what they learned in the PD in their teaching. He then returned to the theme of teachers' impressions. Contradicting

his earlier claim, he explained, “Hopefully they're pretty impressed.” He expanded on his desires about teachers’ viewpoints by describing what he did not want the teachers to feel: “I mean I don’t wanna go in there with them thinking, ooohh, look at these poor kids and all that. Like, I don't want them to feel ***sorry*** for me.” Here Knowledge verbalized a stereotypical response to poor students (and Students of Color): pity stemming from a place of superiority. This contrasted his assertion that the students can teach just as well as the teachers, and “maybe even better.” In this statement, Knowledge’s use of the noun phrase “poor kids” echoed his earlier noun phrase “little kids.” With both of these phrases, Knowledge used his word choices to amplify his comments about hierarchical differences between the students and teachers, differences he clearly challenged. Of note, later in the interview, Knowledge told me that he thought teachers might be surprised at the capabilities of the students.

Similar concerns about teachers’ views of the students arose with other students. For instance, Kelly told me that she hoped after the Labor Center presentation that audience members would “put a face to what they hear about our schools.” In a similar vein, some students expressed a desire for teachers to understand how students feel. After a presentation to MEChA High School teachers, a MEChA Council student explained, “I would like to, um, to let teachers know that, um, how the students feel about the education and the whole system and not just have the perspective of, of the adults.”

Also, many of the Carver students told me they hoped classroom instruction would improve as a result of the PD and presentations. Before the PD, Jenica said she wanted teachers to learn how they’re “supposed to be teaching.” Kelly hoped teachers would “actually learn something and actually take it into their classrooms,” while Melissa’s aim was for teachers to change their teaching methods and use Complex Instruction. Similarly, Knowledge commented

to me in an interview at the end of the school year that his hope for the presentations was to change “our curriculum, the school’s curriculum.”

Influence of the Advocacy Messages

Did the presentations lead to the outcomes the students desired? Though my methods cannot indicate a replicable effect, my data point to influences set in motion by the Council and its outreach. I found that the Council’s actions did, indeed, influence some—but not all—teachers and school administrators in ways the students had desired. Also, the scope of the influence was difficult to ascertain. As I mentioned in my methods chapter, I interviewed 29 individuals who observed one or more Council presentations. Of the 29 individuals, 17 were teachers at four of the five schools that the Council draws upon for students. Seven individuals attended Council presentations at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), including two K-12 teachers. Three of the individuals attended an event that featured the Carver Council students.

Intertextuality

Some presentation attendees pointed to possibly influential advocacy messages through intertextual references (Fairclough, 1992b, 2003). It is through these intertextual references that I can trace the trajectory of advocacy messages from their origin in the Council to their revoicing by others. I focus on intertextuality related to the Carver group since I conducted most of my fieldwork within that group. At least five Carver teachers made intertextual references to advocacy messages from Carver presentations.

One example of such intertextuality occurred with a white teacher named Ms. Paxton in an interview with me about a week and a half after the Labor Center event, which she had attended. In the interview, she revoiced the words “powerful curriculum,” a noun phrase

indexing one of the Carver group's advocacy messages. She used this intertextual reference in order to contextualize some changes she was making in her curriculum in response to the event. In the excerpt below, Ms. Paxton mentioned that she was coming "back." This refers to going "back on track" at Carver High School. Since Carver was an overcrowded school, it had three "tracks," and at any given time the teachers and students associated with one track would be on break, with the school open year-round. On the day of the Labor Center event, Friday, March 4, 2011, Ms. Paxton was ending her break, preparing to return to school the following Monday.

Ms. Paxton: okay so that Monday where we came back to ***start***
um: so I was thinking about you know like
that they focus so much on like collaborative like
that powerful curriculum is collaboration
um and anyway so we were coming back to the AP government
and ***all*** my government classes and
I wanted them to know about everything
that's happening around Egypt and stuff
so we ended up
like literally that ***night*** I went home thinking about like
how am I going to create like an amazing lesson plan (on week) start
not an a***maz***ing but anyway
so we started that day and we started with- in their groups
analyzing the four worlds of the Egyptian revolution?

From here, Ms. Paxton further described the lesson plan she created. I talk more about Ms. Paxton's lesson plan later in this chapter, but here I focus on her use of the words "powerful curriculum." This phrase originated in the Council, specifically in the 2010 Summer Seminar, and was the crux of the Carver students' research. In the excerpt, Ms. Paxton summarized part of the Labor Center presentation, saying that "they" (the Carver Council students) focused on collaboration. She then used a relational process to equate powerful curriculum with collaboration ("powerful curriculum is collaboration"). After providing some context and saying she wanted her class to know about the Egyptian revolution, Ms. Paxton then said she created an "amazing" lesson plan. Though she mitigated this claim in the following line, her use of

"amazing" indicates what type of lesson plans would constitute a "powerful curriculum." She then mentioned "groups," referring to group work in her class, a connection with her earlier reference to collaboration, and her equation of that to powerful curriculum.

One other teacher revoiced "powerful curriculum" to me in an interview. Mr. Cole, a Black teacher, had heard this term at the PD, where he, as part of a group of teachers, studied the topic of powerful curriculum. In the excerpt below, he referred to a moment after the scheduled PD activities had finished, when several teachers asked the students questions.

Mr. Cole: I got the strongest feedback from the students
Me: uh huh
Mr. Cole: in in especially when they asked (them) um
was um power curriculum going on
in um in their classrooms you know
one of the students said that in the ***less*** the ***least*** um ***or***ganized class
she wasn't really learning

Here Mr. Cole used the noun phrase "power curriculum," slightly different from the original "powerful curriculum." He recounted a moment in the PD when "they" (teachers) asked "them" (students) whether "power curriculum" was going on "in their classrooms." Interestingly, the question he recalled, as shown in my video recording of the PD, did not include the noun phrases "powerful curriculum" or "power curriculum." Instead, the question was: "Do you have classes at the moment where you're, where you're frustrated because the class isn't at the same level as the as this PD that you're giving us?" After restating the question, Mr. Cole recounted the student's answer about not "really learning" in the "least…organized class." (Again his rephrasing is slightly different from the original, but both convey a negative learning environment.) Later in the interview, Mr. Cole said some teachers are disorganized and simply pass out worksheets, an example that he contrasted with the "power curriculum" in his own

classroom. Both times he uttered "power curriculum," he distinguished it from what it was not: disorganized and worksheet-centric.

The interviews with both Mr. Cole and Ms. Paxton indicate the ways the advocacy messages about powerful curriculum were taken up. Both teachers directly or indirectly said they used powerful curriculum in their classrooms. Ms. Paxton implied that the Labor Center presentation had inspired her to create powerful curriculum, while Mr. Cole said that he already used such curriculum. It is important to point out here that both teachers used the word "curriculum" in a broad sense, encompassing instruction and pedagogy, not simply content. This can be seen in Ms. Paxton's reference to collaboration and Mr. Cole's reference to organization in the classroom. This broad view of curriculum is similar to the way the Carver Council group used the word.

Another advocacy message that can be traced from the Carver group to its up-take is the raw food metaphor. As I discussed in Chapter 4, Melissa presented this advocacy message at the PD and at subsequent presentations. In the message, Melissa described a conversation she had had with a teacher who compared curriculum to food and implied that his job was simply to provide the food. Melissa recounted this story at the beginning of the PD, before the teachers had begun group work tasks. During group work time, the following conversation ensued between a Latina teacher named Ms. Gonzalez and another teacher:

Ms. Gonzalez: oh you mean like that's what they do at ( )
Teacher: right
Ms. Gonzalez: so you have t- you either get it or you don't kind of thing
Teacher: right [right ( )
Ms. Gonzalez: [so we're gunna ***give*** you the information
kinda like her metaphor where she was like
I'ma throw the food at you
but you figure out=
Teacher: =uh-huh right

This excerpt began with Ms. Gonzalez questioning the other teacher about "what they do" at a particular place. Though I couldn't hear the name of the place, the rest of the conversation indicated that it was probably a school. The teacher confirmed the accuracy of Ms. Gonzalez's statement by saying, "Right." Ms. Gonzalez then uttered a summary statement of the other teacher's previous utterance (which was not recorded): "So you have t-, you either get it or you don't kind of thing." The other teacher again agreed with this evaluation. Ms. Gonzalez continued along the same vein, further fleshing out the already stated idea: "So we're gunna give you the information." She then compared this to the metaphor Melissa had described just minutes prior: "Kinda like her metaphor where she was like, I'ma throw the food at you." Here, not only did Ms. Gonzalez mention the metaphor, but she also revoiced the word "throw," which Melissa had used in the advocacy message: "What if while you were to throw it at us, we were to choke or not digest it as well?" Ms. Gonzalez then added to the gist of the original message with her final utterance: "But you figure out."

Ms. Gonzalez again mentioned this metaphor in an interview with me two days after the PD. In the following excerpt of the interview, I asked whether the point of the PD was clear and what the point was. Ms. Gonzalez's response included a reference to the metaphor. This reference was framed by a much more elaborate explanation of the significance of the metaphor in comparison to the reference in the conversation with the other teacher.

Me:	so didya think that their point was clear
	or wha- I mean what ***was*** their point, wha-
Ms. R:	I mean I think their point like was about how they learn
	and about like how what their research says
	and what their experience (is) is
	is that you know is more than just you know here's
	like I I mean I think it was a wonderful metaphor
	that you know the student mentioned about like
	here's the food now eat it
	(now I mean) and it's like

> okay like I get that and that ***works*** for some people
> and um and I think when we think of you know traditional teaching
> or um teaching in in terms of you know
> just like blank slate teaching
> and I think that may work
> but I think their whole point was
> you ***have*** to you know think bigger
> and you have to think about context
> and you have to think about you know us as individuals

In her response to my question, Ms. Gonzalez used the metaphor to highlight the type of instruction the students advocated. She said the students wanted to convey "how they learn," "what their research says," and "what their experience is." She began to provide a counter-example to this, saying: "is more than just, you know, here's." She then stopped herself mid-sentence and referred to the metaphor instead, which she described as "wonderful." She summarized it with the words: "Here's the food; now eat it." These words encapsulated the gist of much of the metaphor story, in which Melissa said that a teacher told her: "'Well, my job was only just to give it [the food] to you.'" From there, Ms. Gonzalez compared this type of teaching to the students' "whole point:" "think bigger," "think about context," and think of the students as "individuals."

In both excerpts, Ms. Gonzalez drew upon the metaphor to describe a certain kind of teaching. The first excerpt hinted that this type of teaching would involve simply giving information—indeed she placed paralinguistic emphasis on the word "give." In the second excerpt, she provided more details about this type of teaching, describing it as "traditional" and "blank slate" teaching. In this way, the metaphor served as a springboard for her to convey a certain kind of teaching, and use this as a counter-example to what the students advocated.

The intertextual references made by Ms. Gonzalez, along with those by Mr. Cook and Ms. Paxton, indicate how these teachers revoiced the Carver students' advocacy messages. This

intertextuality is important, as Fairclough (1992a) would argue, because "intertextual chains," such as the ones I've described, "are lines of tension and change" (p. 133). In the cases presented here, none of the teachers contested the students' significations of "powerful curriculum" and the raw food metaphor; however, they applied them in ways that extended the meanings of the original advocacy messages. This transformation of meaning demonstrates how the students' advocacy messages became tools for the teachers to interpret pedagogy and curriculum in perhaps new ways.

Reported Retelling

Another way I trace the trajectory of the advocacy messages is by noting when presentation attendees mentioned telling others about the content of Council presentations. I recorded this phenomenon only four times; however, I report it here to indicate the possibilities for movement of change-oriented discourse.

Ms. Paxton is one of the individuals who reported retelling messages heard at a Council presentation. When I interviewed her after the Labor Center event, she discussed the presentation by the students representing Baldwin High School. This group focused on inequalities in access to technology, airing a Council-produced documentary showing footage of outdated computers. In the interview with me, Ms. Paxton said:

Ms. Paxton: the Baldwin group talking about the technology
and that ***really*** hit me
specially them showing like the ninety eight er
what I dunno like=
Me: =floppy drives
Ms. Paxton: ***yeah*** oh man
and I've been ***tell***ing people about it
and it just lights people on ***fire***

In this excerpt, Ms. Paxton began by shifting the conversation to the Baldwin group's presentation, which, she said, "really hit" her. In her next utterance, she began to tell me an

example of what "hit" her, referring to "the ninety eight." Here she paused and commenced a word search with "er" and continued with "what, I dunno like." In saying "ninety eight," Ms. Paxton could have been referring to the year 1998. She used "ninety eight" as an adjective and stopped before supplying the noun it modified. She may have been referring to a part of the documentary in which footage showed an old computer. However, no year was spoken in the documentary. In the absence of a noun, I supplied a noun phrase: "floppy drives." With these words I referred to a skit within the documentary in which a teacher offered a student a floppy disk. These references to out-of-date technology framed Ms. Paxton's next utterance. After an exclamation of, "Yeah, oh man," she referred back to our utterances about technology to say, "and I've been ***tell***ing people about it." Here she emphasized the word "telling," indicating which part of the utterance had the most import for her. She then relayed the angry reaction of the people she had been telling: "It just lights people on fire." The vivid imagery of her words indicated her perception of others' reactions, mirroring the emotion of the exclamation of, "Yeah, oh man."

Another instance of "reported retelling" came to me second-hand from Ms. banks's husband, who also attended the Labor Center event. He had homed in on the presentation by the Council students from Jefferson High School, who refuted some of the claims made in the popular *Waiting for Superman* movie. These students boldly declared that they didn't need to wait for Superman because they were all superheroes. My field notes describe a discussion with Ms. banks a few weeks after the event:

> She said that her husband, since attending the Labor Center presentation, now talks to people about the presentation. Since he's in the film/TV industry, he's talked to people who like the Waiting for Superman movie, which was critiqued by the Jefferson High

School students at the Labor Center event. She said (that he said?) that the buzzwords used in the Waiting for Superman movie are dangerous.

My field notes indicate that I was uncertain whether Ms. banks was stating that her husband framed the movie's buzzwords as dangerous or if that was her own evaluation. Regardless, the notes clearly indicate that he talked to others about the movie, according to Ms. banks.

These two examples of reported retelling indicate the potential of word-of-mouth movement of discourse. In both examples, those carrying the discourse became motivated by a single event—the Labor Center event—and told others. It is probable that other individuals in the audience may have retold advocacy messages as well. If this is true, then the examples I've provided may be representative of a larger phenomenon. Supporting this conjecture is a comment Ms. Paxton once made to me: "I think it's amazing that the Council is a common name on [the Carver] campus that people know." It is difficult to measure the accuracy of this statement, but it certainly indicates Ms. Paxton's perception of how word of the Council had spread.

Reported Change

Throughout the latter part of the school year, a range of individuals reported in interviews that the Council presentations they observed sparked some sort of change—from internal reflection to changes in curriculum and pedagogy. I was unable to ascertain the possible lasting or ephemeral nature of these changes; plus, my intervention as an interviewer could have influenced individuals' responses. Regardless, these reports of change demonstrate the potential of YPAR-style advocacy and discourse.

Six different interviewees reported that a presentation encouraged them to be reflective, but did not report any other changes. Mr. Bateson, who I introduced at the beginning of this chapter, told me that the MEChA Council students' presentation about quality teaching at the

Labor Center event made him think about his own teaching. In the presentation, the students argued that the definition of a good teacher should include caring, extending beyond No Child Left Behind's mandates. Also, this presentation was partially based on Council student surveys of MEChA teachers, including Mr. Bateson. Importantly, his discussion of how the presentation spurred reflection did not arise from a question about any possible impacts. Instead, my prompt question was: "What kinds of things um stood out; or what was your overall impression of Friday?" His first utterances after this question focused on his positive impression of the professionalism of the students. After that, the following discussion ensued:

Mr. Bateson: again their: comprehension and application of the:
ver:y scholarly theories? um was awesome
and just their- their findings
a lot of the stuff um
especially when it was um on like teacher effectiveness
it it it it made ***me***: reflect on my ***own*** practice (and think)
((whispering)) oh gosh you know
wha wha whar whar where do I stand
on this kinda thing you know
and and I'm I'm always tryna be reflective in my practice
and really evaluate things and make modifications and changes
and so that was an***oth***er one of those things
where I had to stop and think
okay where do I fall on on on on this particular criteri- uh c- criterion
you know am I that teacher? or this teacher.
and and where do I wanna be and where am I
and so i- that was that was cool
and and and uh um
I forget exactly what schoo:l uuuuh presented specifically on that
I think it might have been the MEChA group
and that's one of the things that I told I think ***Mar***cos was like
you know you made me kinda start checkin myself
and questioning myself in a lotta those things and=
Me: =yeah=
Mr. Bateson: =you know I did did the survey
and did alla that stuff and I'm like
((jolly voice)) oh: ***course*** I'm a good teacher
and then they really made me s:low down
wait like you know how how far am I going

with the things that I believe in
am I putting em into practice
or am I kinda slackin off sometimes
Me: yeah
Mr. Bateson: so that was that was good
the fact that they kinda made me think about my own accountability
and and reflect on my own practice I think was was
I I felt ***good*** knowing that they had that impact on me
that was cool

In this excerpt, Mr. Bateson provided a rich description of the reflection process sparked by the Council presentation. He began the excerpt by praising the Council students for their use of theory and their findings. He quickly transitioned to the presentation's topic of teacher effectiveness, saying, "It it it it made ***me***: reflect on my ***own*** practices." This marked a shift in his narrative toward a discussion about himself. Also, this utterance served as a template for some of his subsequent utterances in several ways. In it he used a mental process verb: "reflect." Throughout the excerpt, he used either "reflect" or "think" a total of four times to describe the happenings of his inner landscape. Also in the utterance, he said that the presentation ("it") "made me" reflect. He used the construction of *make + me* three other times, twice with the subject of "they" and once with the subject of "you" in his reported speech to a Council student from MEChA High School named Marcos. With these thinking verbs, in conjunction with the four occurrences of *make + me*, Mr. Bateson pointed to his actions (thinking) and the impetus of his actions ("it," "they," and "you").

Also in the narrative Mr. Bateson assessed himself as a teacher, but this occurred only within reported speech. Of the four instances of reported speech, three of them entailed him describing his own self-speech or thinking, and one of them presented his words to Marcos. These are listed below:

1. it it made ***me***: reflect on my ***own*** practices like
((whispering)) oh gosh you know

wha wha whar whar where do I stand
on this kinda thing you know

2. I had to stop and think
okay where do I fall on on on on this particular criteri- of c- criterion
you know am I that teacher? or this teacher.
and and where do I wanna be and where am I

3. you made me kinda start checking myself
and questioning myself in a lotta those things

4. I'm like
((jolly voice)) oh: ***course*** I'm a good teacher
and then they really made me s:low down
wait like you know how how far am I going
with the things that I believe in
am I putting em into practice
or am I kinda slackin off sometimes

In the first instance, after saying that the presentation "made me reflect," he continued, in a whispered and worried voice, "Oh, gosh," and then reported asking himself: "Where do I stand on this kinda thing?" This utterance was preceded by several stutters. Interestingly, Mr. Bateson's stutters were much more prevalent when he was negatively assessing himself. In the second instance, he continued with a theme he began in the first instance: the use of "where" in his self-assessments. He asked: "Where do I fall…?" and "Where do I wanna be and where am I?" With the use of "where," Mr. Bateson added a spatial and physical quality to his exploration of his teaching quality. In the third instance, he reported telling Marcos that "you" (Marcos or Marcos along with the other Council students) made him question himself. The fourth instance encompassed an interesting contrast that was highlighted through paralinguistic phenomena. He began this snippet by quoting himself or his thinking with a jolly and animated voice, saying: "Oh: ***course*** I'm a good teacher." This was his thinking when the Council students surveyed him, which happened before the presentation. He then said, "And then they really made me s:low down." In light of the deictic references throughout the excerpt, "they" here can be assumed to

index the students at the presentation. He framed this intervention as a shifting point that caused him to "slow down." He then told me that he questioned his positive evaluation of himself, beginning with the paralinguistically emphasized word "wait." He wondered aloud whether he was putting his beliefs into practice or "kinda slackin off sometimes." He mitigated this negative evaluation with "kinda," a strategy he also used elsewhere to the same effect.

Mr. Bateson's negative evaluations contrasted an utterance he made toward the beginning of the excerpt: "I'm always tryna be reflective in my practice and really evaluate things and make modifications and changes." With this statement, he implied that he was self-reflective regardless of the Council presentation. Other moments in the excerpt contradict this implication by framing the presentation as a catalyst for self-reflection. Despite the contradictory nature of his self-assessments, he ended the excerpt by saying that the presentation had an "impact" on him.

Other event attendees referred to their thoughts, but did not speak in as much depth as Mr. Bateson did. For instance, a teacher from Key High School said that the Labor Center event helped "cement" his ideas about student leadership. The presentation attendees at AERA reported similar thinking-type responses. For instance, one individual commented, "It's making me question what I've been thinking." Similar to Mr. Bateson's excerpt, this interviewee used the construction of *make + me* to describe the influence of the presentation. Though these reports of Council presentations spurring thought are not easily quantified or triangulated, the fact that six teachers mentioned this to me (not including those who mentioned reflection in conjunction with more concrete changes), indicates that this phenomenon was important.

The individuals who reported concrete changes sparked by the advocacy messages were few. As I describe in another section below, many more event attendees reported concrete

changes based on using the Council as a model for in-school curriculum. Interviewees who I consider being influenced to action by advocacy messages include those who mentioned the content of a presentation and said that this led them to specific actions. Only two individuals—Ms. Paxton and another white teacher from Carver, Ms. Bauman—reported such changes.

Both of these teachers' reported changes were in response to the Labor Center event. I spoke with Ms. Bauman several days after the event, and she told me that she was on a "humanized high" because of it. She then used variations of the word "humanize" several more times in her discussion with me. This could be an intertextual reference to some of Melissa and Jenica's lines at the event about humanization, which I discussed in a previous chapter. A lengthy excerpt of our conversation follows:

Me: and so what- whad you think about it overall
Ms. Bauman: well overall I think that might be why
I'm on my humanized high this week
because li[ke I feel like
Me: [really
Ms. Bauman: what the youth were really demanding
is like see us as people
Ms. Bauman: see us as [human beings
Me: [mm hmm
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: really worth this high quality education
that looks like this to us.
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: and here's how we want you to do it.
it like it kind of connected a lot of [dots for me?
Me: [hmm
Me: hmm
Ms. Bauman: which I fundamentally and theoretically believe
but sometimes in my practice become
like there's a certain a sort of like latency
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: that that, that theory or that pedagogy takes
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: in the midst of rushing [through an AP course
Me: [yeah
Me: yeah

Ms. Bauman: and so I've made like a special effort this week
to really ***see*** my students
and see who they are and what they (need)
((recording and interview paused))
Me: hey hhhm uumm anyway you're saying that
you've been on a humanizing
even more than- usual
Ms. Bauman: right I've been like trying to figure out in the moment
how do I humanize my students=
Me: =mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: how do I see what they [need and respond to it
Me: [mm hmm
Me: mm hmm mm hmm
and you see that as connected to Friday
Ms. Bauman: I see it as connected to Friday
because the students were saying
we need culturally relevant pedagogy
we need problem based instruction
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: so I've been starting with the problem
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: and and our courses ss starts with an [inquiry approach
Me: [(right)
Ms. Bauman: and a sort of like an open ended essential question approach
Me: yeah
Ms. Bauman: but to translate that to everyday being a problem.
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: how are you gunna tell a story of yourself.
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: so to***day*** was how are you gunna tell a story of yourself
Me: hmm
Ms. Bauman: even if what you wrote on your assignment yesterday
doesn't tell the story
how are you gunna change it
so that you are telling your story with this poem
Me: hmm
Ms. Bauman: so just really like, seeing an invitation
to ask my students questions
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: that pose a problem to them that ***they*** are interested in
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: solving
and I feel like that was really represented by the students on Friday
and a- as well as what really stuck with me
was this idea of traditional versus organic forms of leadership=
Me: =mm hmm

Ms. Bauman: and the way that leadership ***must*** be developed by [a
Me: [mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: a community right?
Me: [yeah
Ms. Bauman: [and that it's ***my*** responsibility
to help my students develop as leaders=
Me: =wow
Ms. Bauman: so when I say like thank you for helping him like that
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: I'm taking onus off of me as expert
and putting it on them as expert=
Me: =mm hmm mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: to build their leadership with each other
which is ultimately what they need
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: and that's a really ***in***formal way to do it
but I've been trying to think about
how to formalize those experiences [too
Me: [mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: so at the beginning of this week with my advisory
I gave them smart goals
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: and they really said like this is about you developing
how do you wanna develop
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: and even the process of goal setting
I mean can be really kind of like far from the self
but if- if you bring it up close and you see
this is how I accomplish goals
Me: mm hmm
and even ***that*** is a process of leadership development.
Me: mm hmm=
Ms. Bauman: =so I've just been seeing it all kind of holistically
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Bauman: and I feel like there're a lot of reasons
but this week I've just been
like my practice (I said) like has been elevated
and I think it has a lot to do with
what happened on Friday night
Me: huh

I include this lengthy excerpt from our conversation to show Ms. Bauman's range of responses to my question about the Labor Center event. She characterized the event several times in the excerpt. Near the beginning of the excerpt, she said the "youth" were "demanding" the

following: “See us as people, see us as human beings really worth this high quality education that looks like this to us. And here’s how we want you to do it.” This interpretation of the event connected with her reported action of trying to “really see” her students. Later in the excerpt, Ms. Bauman referenced advocacy messages voiced in three of the five presentations at the Labor Center event. From the Carver presentation, she mentioned “humanization” and “culturally relevant pedagogy.” At the Labor Center, Melissa had advocated humanizing pedagogy and Antwone had told audience members to “acknowledge students’ culture and prior experience” in curriculum. Ms. Bauman also mentioned “problem-posing pedagogy,” a concept originating with Freire (1993), which was discussed by the MEChA students. Finally, she discussed organic versus traditional leadership, concepts from Gramsci (1971) that were highlighted in the Key group’s presentation.

Ms. Bauman listed at least four changes she made in her pedagogy in the school days following the presentation. The first one involved seeing her students in a new, humanized light, and responding accordingly. This she conveyed with, “So I’ve made, like, a special effort this week to really ***see*** my students and see who they are and what they (need).” After a pause in our conversation, she added that she’d been “trying to figure out, in the moment, how do I humanize my students, how do I see what they need and respond to it?” Second, she said she’d been “starting with the problem.” She clarified that “our courses” had already included an inquiry approach. Here she was referring to the fact that several teachers in her small school within Carver used such an approach. She marked a shift between what regularly occurred in “our courses” to what she did in her classroom “today,” which she highlighted by paralinguistically emphasizing the second word. She recounted asking the students to “tell a story of yourself,” perhaps even altering the previous day’s assignment to do so. She then transitioned to the next

comment with “so,” indicating a summary or evaluation of what was just uttered. She said, “So just really, like, seeing an invitation to ask my students questions that pose a problem to them that ***they*** are interested in solving.” Here she emphasized “they,” placing importance on the students’ interests driving curriculum. Third, Ms. Bauman discussed her responsibility to help her students develop as leaders. She described an example of an “informal” way of doing so. She said, “So when I say, like, thank you for helping him like that, I’m taking onus off of me as expert.” Her narrative does not clearly indicate whether this was a hypothetical situation, or whether she actually said that to a student. Fourth, and finally, she described guiding her “advisory” period (like a home room class) in a discussion of “smart goals.”

She connected these four concrete shifts in her classroom to the Labor Center event. She first responded to my question about what she thought of the event “overall” by describing the event’s influence on her: “Well, overall I think that might be why I’m on my humanized high this week.” She then reported that the event “kind of connected a lot of dots for me.” Later in the conversation, I asked Ms. Bauman to clarify this influence by asking, “And you see that as connected to Friday?” She responded in the affirmative and later said that the problem-posing pedagogy she described “was really represented by the students on Friday.” She ended the excerpt by saying her practice had been “elevated,” a phenomenon that had “a lot to do with what happened on Friday night.”

Much like the excerpt featuring Mr. Bateson, this excerpt featured a mitigated self-critique. After she said that the presentation “connected a lot of dots” for her, she then said, “which I fundamentally and theoretically believe,” referencing not only the utterance about the “dots” but also the utterances about seeing students as humans. She then commented, “But sometimes in my practice become, like, there’s a certain a sort of, like, latency that that, that

theory or that pedagogy takes in the midst of rushing through an AP course." Here she critiqued the "latency" of her beliefs in practice. However, she mitigated this critique by removing herself as the subject of the utterance. Instead, "latency" is the subject of the phrase overall, and "that theory or that pedagogy" is the subject of the dependent clause.

Ms. Paxton, the other teacher who reported making concrete changes in response to the Labor Center event, was quoted earlier in the chapter to illustrate intertextuality. In the earlier excerpt, she described creating a lesson about the Egyptian revolution inspired by the call for collaborative learning by the Carver group. Following the earlier excerpt, she continued by providing specific details about the lesson. Below is the rest of our conversation, in which she described her lesson plan in an animated and excited tone of voice.

Ms. Paxton: and we read an article that was called
wired and shrewd the youth youth guide the revolt in Egypt
Me: mmm
Ms. Paxton: it's all about how this diverse group of students
um male female Muslim Christian
you know like they how they all came together
and then they also used Facebook and Twitter.
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Paxton: and how they collaborated together.
and basically did what the students do in their groups
so it was like the way to reinforce like
this is why we do group work
Me: mm hmm mm hmm
Ms. Paxton: and this is what ***they*** did is what you guys are practicing
so now like you're empowered [to do this
Me: [mm hmm mm hmm
Ms. Paxton: when you guys see a problem in your community
so studying Egypt as an example of um
but it was it was I mean like exciting for me
and- the students really got it
but ***their*** presentation's what really made me think
like I need to like reinforce why we do group work
I need to reinforce that (just giving them) the tools to create larger change
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Paxton: and (let's connect you) to like the rest of the world
and show these stories about youth your age or just older

are able to do the same things you guys are studying
so that kind of all came together in my head ***from*** the presentation.
Me: wow that's awesome
Ms. Paxton: yeah hh hh [( ) was inspiring you know

This excerpt indicates the concrete changes Ms. Paxton implemented in her classroom in response to the Labor Center event. She gave her rationale for the lesson, saying that it was meant to encourage her students to see the connections between themselves as a collective and the protesting Egyptians. She also linked this rationale directly to the event. Ms. Paxton said, "But ***their*** presentation's what really made me think, like, I need to, like, reinforce why we do group work; I need to reinforce that (just giving them) the tools to create larger change and connect these to the rest of the world." Tellingly, she ended her narrative with the comment: "So that kind of all came together in my head ***from*** the presentation." Here, the deictic reference "that" pointed to everything she had just explained about the lesson. Overall, this excerpt indicates what aspects of the Labor Center event motivated Ms. Paxton (e.g. "group work") and the results of her efforts inspired by the event (a lesson plan designed to "empower" her students).

The interviews with Ms. Paxton and Ms. Bauman indicate that the advocacy messages aired at Labor Center event influenced at least two school-connected audience members to make concrete changes in curriculum and pedagogy. Also, interviews with others, like Mr. Bateson, showed that the advocacy messages sometimes led to thinking and reflection. Even though these data do not indicate whether the advocacy messages' influence was enduring, their influence is nonetheless apparent. This finding aligns with Fairclough's (2011) assertion that texts (semiotic material) can have "causal effects" on "our knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values, experience, and so forth" (p. 122). However, these effects are not automatic or regular:

> Texts can have causal effects without them necessarily being regular effects because many other factors in the context determine whether particular texts as parts of particular events actually have such effects, and this can lead to a particular text having a variety of effects. (pp. 122-123)

Applying Fairclough's explanation of the "causal effects" of texts to the present data lends support to my argument that the advocacy messages were influential, but also indicates that my data could not predict how or whether any given individual would be swayed by the messages.

Negative Responses to Advocacy Messages

Not all teachers responded positively to the Council students and/or their advocacy messages. I recorded several negative responses, and these all came from teachers who attended presentations at their high schools during the weekly professional development time. These teachers did not have a choice about attending a presentation, but were a "captive audience," as one teacher said.

Only two interviewed teachers directly critiqued the students' advocacy messages. Ms. Ruddy, a white teacher at MEChA High School, was one of these teachers. She disliked the representation of some of the data in a presentation the MEChA Council students gave to the teachers at a small school within MEChA. In the presentation, the students showed and explained a graph that compared graduation rates and college eligibility data for several California schools, including a school in Beverly Hills, a wealthy, white-majority city[15]. At that point in the presentation, Ms. Ruddy commented aloud, "That's skewed." At the time I thought she was talking about the shocking differences between the schools' data. However, I later learned when I interviewed her that she meant something else:

[15] The city was 78.6% non-Latino White in 2010, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

Ms. Ruddy: but I also remember the ***other*** graph
where it was Beverly Hills had a whole bunch a kids go to college
and like Clarington had ***zip***
Me: mm hmm
Ms. Ruddy: and I wondered why they chose to do ***just*** Beverly Hills
Me: okay
Ms. Ruddy: like are they trying to do another um like ***county***?
are they trying to do just a different eth***ni***city?
Me: uh huh
Ms. Ruddy: I think would like to have seen like some of San Diego some [of
Me: [huh
Ms. Ruddy: Sacramento or if you're just doing around ( )
maybe like Riverside some of the
Me: okay
Ms. Ruddy: some of the counties around [( ) not just one
Me: [right
Me: yeah yeah [yeah
Ms. Ruddy: [it looked a little skewed

Ms. Ruddy clearly stated that the reason she was bothered by the graph was because of the schools represented in it. This can be seen in her utterance, "And I wondered why they chose to do ***just*** Beverly Hills," classifying it separately from schools in Clarington, home to a majority Latina/o residents. Interestingly, the slide included several schools in addition to the Beverly Hills school, not just schools in Clarington. Then she suggested, "Are they trying to do just a different eth***ni***city?" After telling me that the graph could have included other areas, she stated, "It looked a little skewed," using the same word—"skewed"—as she did at the presentation itself. Ms. Ruddy did not clearly state why this "skewed" school representation was troublesome to her. She may have been referring to the differences in racial composition of the various areas, a speculation supported by her mention of "ethnicity." However, considering the fact that Beverly Hills and Clarington have populations that differ socioeconomically, she may have been referring to social class as well.

Later in the interview, Ms. Ruddy critiqued another advocacy message about students wanting more caring teachers. She rebutted this argument by saying that teachers are too

pressured by teaching to the test to have a classroom that is "lovey based" versus "science based." I heard this refrain from several of the MEChA teachers, who made similar comments, but less forcefully.

Two presentations at Jefferson High School drew teachers' critique as well. The Council students from both Jefferson and MEChA high schools presented their Labor Center material during the weekly professional development periods of two small schools within Jefferson. Each small school's faculty viewed separate, but identical presentations. At these presentations, the students criticized teacher seniority and praised younger teachers. One teacher, who was the Council liaison at Jefferson, said he noticed that teachers "turned and looked at each other" upon hearing this critique. Later, a principal who was at the presentation said, "I mean, a couple people mentioned they might have disagreed with some of their points, especially the seniority quote, I think." Unfortunately, I did not succeed in getting any of these teachers to be interviewed. One of the teachers I emailed to set up an interview replied with this message: "Hi i am sorry but many of us were offended by the presentation, to be honest with you." Though I returned his email, saying that I would love to talk with him about his views, I didn't hear from him.

However, I did succeed in interviewing another teacher who attended one of the Jefferson presentations. Mr. Lee, an Asian American teacher, was the second teacher, in addition to Ms. Ruddy, who critiqued advocacy messages directly to me. Here is an excerpt of our conversation:

Mr. Lee: I think what struck me was the was the budget?
Me: mm [hmm
Mr. Lee: [and and how that seemed to be very uh um
didn't seem very equitable
Me: mm hmm
Mr. Lee: um when I think maybe they didn't really have grea:t uh
a fir- a firm grasp of some a the facts of of of um you know
how some district schools may have more money than than others

Me: mm hmm
Mr. Lee: uh and have the perception of of urban schools as as uh
getting less funding than than more uh more-
middle class suburban schools
Me: mm hmm
Mr. Lee: uh and I think that's been a little bit of a misconception
in a lot of people's minds
Me: mm hmm
Mr. Lee: urban schools ***do*** get um their fair amount of funding
uh and in fact sometimes the funding is is reversed
Me: mm
Mr. Lee: which which I'm not so sure that they're aware [of
Me: [aware about it
Mr. Lee: yeah how- how it's ***used*** in the schools you know
is is I think um a different matter
Me: mm hmm mm hmm
Mr. Lee: so ***that*** part um I think that they they they didn't quite I think
do all the research necessary to get to that con[clusion
Me: [mm hmm mm hmm
Mr. Lee in some ways I think that you know in high school research projects
there there's a conclusion that they wanna reach

In this excerpt, Mr. Lee questioned the validity of the students' research and disagreed with the students' advocacy message. He accomplished the former throughout the excerpt. Toward the beginning of the excerpt, he said that the students didn't have a "firm grasp" of "how some district schools may have more money than than others." He mitigated this claim, however, by including "I think" and "maybe." He might have softened his critique for my benefit, knowing I was connected to the Council. From here he began to refute the students' claims. He described the "perception" that urban schools receive less funding than "middle-class, suburban schools" as a "little bit of a misconception." Instead, he argued, urban schools get "their fair share" of funding and sometimes the funding "is reversed." His argument, then, was that urban schools sometimes receive more money than suburban schools. (Of note, research has shown that schools in wealthier areas are better funded than schools in poorer areas, not only because of district spending, but also parent contributions (Darling-Hammond, 2010; J. Rogers, Bertrand, Freelon,

& Fanelli, 2011).) After laying out his rebuttal to the students' claim, he returned to evaluating the students' research quality. Again mitigating his critique, he stated, "They didn't quite, I think, do all the research necessary to get to that conclusion." He rationalized that in "high school research projects there there's a conclusion that they want to reach." In questioning the research validity, he was able to make a stronger argument critiquing the content of the presentation, specifically the points about funding. In the case of Mr. Lee, the students' advocacy messages did not have their desired effect because the carriers of the messages didn't have validity in his eyes.

The reactions of Mr. Lee and Ms. Ruddy illustrate Fairclough's (2011) idea that discourse can have different types of influence, depending on the context and participants. Advocacy messages that may have inspired some teachers drew criticism from the two teachers discussed here. The interview data overall suggest that the advocacy messages had more influence on the teachers for whom the content of the presentations resonated with their existing beliefs. This was the case with Mr. Bateson, who said, "…[A]nd they [the Council students] made me slow down, wait, like, you know, how how far am I going with the things that I believe in?" It is not a coincidence that much of the positive commentary about the Council came from teachers who attended the Labor Center event. These teachers attended the event *voluntarily*. Mr. Lee and Ms. Ruddy, on the other hand, were required to attend Council presentations because they occurred during weekly, mandated professional development time.

In considering these varying responses to the Council from teachers, it is necessary to bear in mind that teachers are social actors within a larger unjust system, and teacher quality is shaped by structural factors in addition to individual characteristics (Kennedy, 2010). This point

suggests that both the positive and negative responses that I have chronicled in this chapter should not be given undue significance.

Influence of the Council as Curricular Model

During my data collection period, nine people told me that they looked to the Council as a model of curriculum, and I heard of two others second-hand. Seven of the 11 total individuals were teachers and two were principals. Of the remaining two, one was a community college administrator and the other was an education reformer. Many of these individuals reported small-scale, classroom-level efforts to use the Council as a model. However, the two principals were trying to implement Council-inspired curriculum on a larger scale within their schools.

In a way, these individuals were influenced by an advocacy message, but not the type I've discussed thus far. As I've explained, advocacy messages are aspects of the content of the students' presentations that critique the status quo in education and/or demand change. The advocacy messages, then, are semiotic material meant to be persuasive. Similarly, a presentation, as semiotic material representing the Council in a certain light, is an advocacy message. This view aligns with notions of discourse that capture its potential multimodal and composite nature (Fairclough, 2011; Hall, 1997). From this perspective, a Council presentation can be called an umbrella advocacy message, which encompasses the content-specific advocacy messages conveyed by the students, as well as the overall presentation performance. This umbrella advocacy message is not straightforward like the others, but indirect. Presentation attendees observed Black and Latina/o students dressed nicely presenting graduate-level theories and compelling research. Often these students embodied a confident demeanor as they spoke. All of this sent a message to attendees (differently taken up, of course). This umbrella advocacy

message (even if encountered at multiple presentations) was, for most attendees, the only representation of the Council they knew.

All but one of the teachers who reported using the Council as a model were from either MEChA or Jefferson high schools. The other teacher attended one of the students' presentations at AERA. Several of these teachers mentioned that they asked their students to conduct original research, an idea encouraged or inspired by the Council. A Latino teacher at Jefferson, Mr. Santos, voiced this sentiment. He had known about the Council since he was introduced to it as an undergraduate by a professor. Since then he had attended "many presentations." I interviewed him a couple months after he attended the Labor Center event, and he told me that he incorporated Council-like curriculum into his courses. After this, I asked him to elaborate:

Me: maybe you could tell me a little bit about
how you said that you use some of the curriculum
Mr. Santos: mm hmm
Me: in your class
Mr. Santos: mm hmm u:m I- I can't remember the year but
um what jus- what comes to mind first
is usually what I used in my government class?
and my economics class with my seniors
I used some of the: the curriculum on
on critical literacies?
Me: uh huh
Mr. Santos: like um being aware of like different social issues
Me: [yeah
Mr. Santos: [so I had students students um researching that
in my own class so I I modified my my um
my curriculum in my government class and I [had my
Me: [mm
Mr. Santos: so I- I had my students reading
Me: mm hmm°
Mr. Santos: like uh Paulo Freire and different you know theorists
and going through the whole like research process

Mr. Santos's comments to me reflected his long connection with the Council, rather than simply the Labor Center event. Indeed, he described a time period outside of the data collection

year. This indicates the chronological and possibly cumulative reach of the Council beyond the year I studied. In Mr. Santos's description, he mentioned at least two ways he used Council-like curriculum: His students (a) conducted research and (b) read the work of theorists such as Paulo Freire. After this excerpt, he continued to tell me that he taught the research process in his elective courses as well, to a variety of grade levels.

A Latina teacher at MEChA High School, Ms. Santiago, reported incorporating specific ideas from the Council. She, too, had been aware of the Council for several years and occasionally asked the Council-connected teacher at MEChA for curricular recommendations. She taught action research to her students and collected curriculum ideas at Council presentations. She said, "I always like to go and also see kinda like the strategies and um the m- like tryna use it as a model." One strategy that she had noted at Council presentations was the students' use of PowerPoint slides. She said she liked their outlining of the research methodology, data, analysis, significance, and implications. This setup, she said, breaks down the larger study in more manageable chunks.

Mr. Bateson focused less on specific Council strategies and more on activism. He said, "That's the idea to see them, you know, taking control and and instead of just complaining about the problem or even identifying the problem, but tryna ***do*** something about the problem." In this quote, not only did Mr. Bateson convey the importance of activism with his choice of words, but he also emphasized the word "do," differentiating it from "complaining" and "identifying."

Another way the teachers used the Council as a model was by emulating the presentation aspect of the research process. One teacher, for example, organized a teach-in for her entire small school within Jefferson High School. I heard about this event from Mr. Vélez, the teacher at Jefferson who was the Council liaison. He told me that the Council, along with meetings with

one of the professors from the Council, had inspired the teacher to organize the teach-in event. Here Mr. Vélez described the event to me:

Mr. Vélez: so the ***whole*** day was ***work***shops
for their small school
and teachers were obligated to go to these workshops as well
Me: tha- that the students were teaching?
Mr. Vélez: the teachers di- the students did the teaching
and so it was the en***tire*** day that's what they did

Mr. Vélez continued on to say that individuals at Jefferson planned to implement more pedagogy that emulated the Council.

One such individual was a principal of a small school at Jefferson (not the one that had the teach-in). Mr. Klein, a white man, was working on plans to implement Council-like curriculum and pedagogy on a broad scale. Like many of the teachers discussed in this section, he had been familiar with the Council for years. Indeed, he was the one who arranged for the Council students to present to the faculty at Jefferson. When I interviewed him, he described the process that led him to envision his curricular plans:

Mr. Klein: I guess I was really amazed by the um
that they were reading some of the: high-level theory and
and then I liked that they were using media uh making videos
um so: I guess all along I thought wow wouldn't it be great
if you cou- like when I saw the students present
Me: mm hmm
Mr. Klein: I thought this is great um
I wish there was a way that we could
do something like this: at our- in ***school***
and not just have a ***small*** group do it
Me: yeah
Mr. Klein: in the summer and then they expand
expanded it to do the school year
but I still felt like
how can we take these ideas and bring them to a school

Mr. Klein, to a greater extent than teachers, had the power to implement Council-like curriculum on a scale extending beyond one classroom. In this excerpt, he pointed to two sources

of inspiration. He mentioned the "high-level theory" that the Council students read and the videos they produced. In much of the rest of his narrative, he described his thoughts about wanting to bring Council-like curriculum to a broader group. Helping him compare the current versus the potential reach of such curriculum, he placed paralinguistic emphasis on "school" and "small." He then conceded that the reach of the Council expanded when it went from merely a summer program to a school-year program. However, he ended by implying that the reach was still not broad enough: "But I still felt like, how can we take these ideas and bring them to a school?"

Mr. Acosta, a Latino administrator at a different high school, also drew inspiration from the Council. During the data collection year, he was an administrator at a small school within Key High School. Prior to attending the Labor Center event, he had never attended a Council presentation. For this reason, the case of Mr. Acosta provides an interesting comparison to that of Mr. Klein. I interviewed Mr. Acosta for the first time several weeks after the Labor Center event. Here is part of our conversation:

Mr. Acosta:	(although) I was really really exhausted going there from the long week on a Friday
Me:	yeah
Mr. Acosta:	I left around eight o'clock feeling really re***juv***enated [and excited
Me:	[really
Mr. Acosta:	and excited about the idea
Me:	mm hmm
Mr. Acosta:	to restructure schools
Me:	mm hmm
Mr. Acosta:	around this model
Me:	oh really
Mr. Acosta:	so that that was for me was very exciting for me

In this excerpt, Mr. Acosta used several modifiers to convey to me his mental states before and after the event. He described a dramatic shift, from feeling "really, really exhausted" to "feeling rejuvenated and excited." Indeed, he used a variant of "excite" three times within a

few short utterances. This feeling of excitement stemmed from his desire to "restructure schools around this model." The model to which he referred, of course, was the Council. I was clearly excited to hear this news, too, as shown by my frequent interruptions.

I interviewed Mr. Acosta again about two months later, and he reported to me that he had met with the Council students to discuss next steps toward using the Council as a model. At the end of the 2010-2011 school year, he transferred to another school, becoming its head principal. At the new school, he began implementing plans to create curriculum focused on student-conducted research. A graduate student associated with the Council began visiting the school to help with the first step in this implementation plan: holding a discussion group with teachers about action research. This group met once a month during the weekly professional development time. On Oct. 14, 2011, I interviewed Mr. Acosta again and he told me about the conversations he had had with the graduate student that had led to the creation of the discussion group:

Mr. Acosta:	we talked about how can we: create a school that um is an is is um invested in helping students do research
Me:	mm hmm
Mr. Acosta:	my ***vi***sion was to have something like the Council?
Me:	mm hmm
Mr. Acosta:	be implemented in the school's master schedule
Me:	mmm

In this excerpt, Mr. Acosta indicated the value he placed on Council-like curriculum in several ways. First, he did not mention a curriculum per se in the first several lines. Instead, he described a "school" that is "invested in helping students do research." Here we can see Mr. Acosta's holistic approach to this reform. He then named the Council, indicating that it was his model: "My vision was to have something like the Council." His description of his vision then took a pragmatic turn when he stated that this curriculum would be "implemented in the school's master schedule." In this line, we can see the concrete aspects of his vision. In addition, this line

indicates that this curriculum was important enough to Mr. Acosta to be placed within the "school's master schedule."

Also on Oct. 14, 2011, Mr. Acosta conveyed details about his plan and again made a specific reference to the Council:

Mr. Acosta:	by the time they exited twelfth grade?
	that it's the expectation that ***ev***ery twelfth grade student
	would do a senior research defense.
	a defense that would in- that would require them to
	get out of the the the the school setting
Mel:	mm hmm
Mr. Acosta	and do some um inquiry
	some [groundbreaking
Mel:	[that's cool
Mr. Acosta:	[um um through ***in***terviews
Mel:	[yeah
Mel:	yeah
Mr. Acosta:	through ***field*** notes through ***ob***servations
	um and read the research and apply it
	and then you know have an evening where they would defend it
Mel:	mm hmm [mm hmm°
Mr. Acosta:	[and dress formally
	just like they did at the [university] Labor Center

Here Mr. Acosta listed for me aspects of the Council-like curriculum he planned to implement. Every senior would do a "senior defense" supported by original research. He listed research methods: "interviews," "field notes," and "observations." Also he said students would "read the research," implying a literature review. Notably, these are the aspects of research that the Council students did. Mr. Acosta then made the connection to the Council explicit in the last two lines: "And then, you know, have an evening where they would defend it, dress formally, just like they did at the [university] Labor Center." He envisioned, then, a replica of the Labor Center event as the capstone of the curriculum.

Mr. Acosta, along with the others using the Council as a curricular model, were enacting a version of the Council often based on an umbrella advocacy message—that is, a presentation.

In doing so, these teachers and school administrators focused on the subtext of the presentations rather than the content-specific, explicit advocacy messages. This subtext asserted that Latina/o and Black high school students are scholars capable of high-level research. In this way, the teachers and administrators using the Council as a model were challenging systemic racism in education.

Surprise at Students' Achievement

Unfortunately, not all event attendees responded to the overarching advocacy message embodied in the Council presentations by challenging systemic racism. Many audience members reported being surprised and impressed with the Council students' performance, a phenomenon I call the "amazement factor." Sometimes these comments were combined with thoughtful responses about the content, or advocacy messages, of the presentations. Other times, however, the advocacy messages were completely overshadowed by audience members' sentiment of surprise. This is a response that Ms. banks and I often worried about. Before leaving for the AERA conference, she told me, "The audience is going to be…the people who wonder why these kids are so exceptional." She continued on to comment that she hoped that the Council students could articulate to the audiences that "their friends" (other Students of Color) were just as motivated as they were. Knowledge was also concerned about such a response, telling me before the PD at Carver, "Knowing how the teachers are at this school, most of em will be surprised of what we're capable of."

Knowledge and Ms. banks's predictions were spot-on in some cases, at Carver and beyond. The post-PD commentary of Ms. Cervantes, who was introduced in the previous chapter, is a prime example of "amazement" discourse, and shows how such discourse could be used to further deficit ideology. Following the PD, Ms. Cervantes asked the Carver Council

students how they got “their passion” for education, suggesting that such passion was unusual. Here is her question and commentary:

Ms. Cervantes: do we have time for questions? ((*standing*))
first first let me commend you all
for doing such ah wonderful research
it’s refreshing to see young people
actually interested in their education
so you're commended
secondly. ***how*** do we REACH you
when I say reach you I mean as as a as a whole
it’s not a lot of students that are as engaged or as as excited
about their education that ***you*** are
a:nd if we I know that there's no ***form***ula
but there's gotta be a way that we can ***reach*** you
because teachers as a- myself
I talk to my kids every day on a constant
and I know they do too ((*gesturing to teachers in the room*))
but sometimes it just seems as
we're soo ag***gres***sively tryna give you the information
and it hurts us when you don't get it
and I don't know if it’s maybe that we're not using the same
or we're in different books
or the tangents lines are different ((*waving arms in the air*))
or if the communication gap is that large ((*spreads hands*))
and I don't think it’s the communication gap
I think it’s the ***pass***?ion
where's your passion. ((*points to students with both hands*))
how did ***you*** guys get that passion ((*points to students with both hands*))
so that ***we*** know how to kick start the others so that they're as passionate
or ***you*** guys kick start ((*gestures toward students with one hand*))
it’ll come better from you°

This excerpt includes multiple elements that are ripe for discussion; however, I focus here on how Ms. Cervantes discursively framed the Council students as exceptional, in contrast to other students at the school, which serves a Latina/o and Black population. Near the beginning of her commentary, she said, “It’s refreshing to see young people actually interested in their education.” In this phrase, the adjective “refreshing” implied that “young people” (the Council students) were unusual in a way that she welcomed. The word “actually,” modifying

"interested," served to suggest that the Council students' interest in their education was rare. In framing the Council students as exceptions, this phrase also implied that the general population of students was not interested in their education. A few lines later in the transcript, she stated, "It's not it's not a lot of students that are as engaged or as as excited about their education that ***you*** are." Here "you" refers to the Council students, who were juxtaposed with "a lot of students." In this phrase, Ms. Cervantes clearly stated what she had implied earlier, that most students are not as engaged in their education as the Council students. This phrase followed a question, given paralinguistic emphasis: "***How*** do we REACH you?" Several lines after this question, she described how she talked to her students "every day on a constant." She also said she and the other teachers were "soo ag***gres***sively tryna give you [students in general] the information." These descriptions imply that teaching the general population of students was a difficult task, evidently because the students would not take up "the information" the teachers were trying to "give." In suggesting that teaching the general student population was difficult, Ms. Cervantes furthered the comparison with the Council students. However, it is also important to note her sincere concerns about how to teach the general student population, which she summarized in this statement: "And it hurts us when you don't get it." After this, Ms. Cervantes posited ideas about why students "don't get it," pointing to the existence of a possible "communication gap." However, she dismissed these ideas, saying "I think it's the ***pass***?ion." The following lines placed the "passion" within the Council students (e.g. "***How*** did you guys get that passion?"), a quality that other students would need to be "kick start"ed in order to possess. In these discursive moves, Ms. Cervantes implied that students' interest in school was the responsibility of the students themselves, and was a quality that was (at least partly)

disconnected from teachers' pedagogy, a point made by the dismissal of the "communication gap" as a causal factor.

In using the Council students to frame the general population as lacking "passion" and "interest," Ms. Cervantes's comments aligned with deficit ideology about Students of Color (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Ms. Cervantes did not ever mention race, but she discussed the students at Carver, who are Black and Latina/o. It is impossible to claim with certainty that Ms. Cervantes was referencing race: She may have been referring to the students at Carver in particular, or to students from working class backgrounds. However, her comments certainly followed the model of deficit discourse about Students of Color, which frames these students (along with their families) as unmotivated and the cause of educational disparities.

Ms. Ruddy was another teacher who expressed surprise at the Council. Prior to conveying surprise, however, she articulated racist views of Latina/o students. She began her racist commentary with this statement about MEChA High School: "I think that there is a lot of, I don't want to say lazy, but I would say maybe t- culturally it's unappreciated high school." Here she used a linguistic strategy to convey a negative generalization about Latina/o students while protecting herself against charges of racism (Augoustinos & Every, 2007). Moments later, she expounded on this viewpoint:

Ms. Ruddy: it's all Hispanic here or like ninety eight percent
and I think el- depending upon what generation you are here?
like if you're as far as generation
you don't value high school? as much as you're supposed to?
I know that like first and second generation
doesn't really see the value? in high school?
because in Mexico they used to go to work

These racist and deficit views of the "Hispanic" students and their supposed undervaluing of high school shed light on the possible reasons why Ms. Ruddy was surprised by the MEChA

Council students' presentation. In the following excerpt, she commented to me about the question-and-answer period of the presentation she attended. One of the questions was about the amount of work the students did during the Summer Seminar and whether it was enjoyable. Students answered that the work was enjoyable, even though one night they had to stay up until 4 a.m. working. Here is Ms. Ruddy's reaction to that response:

Ms. Ruddy:	I'm sur***pris***ed though that they had so much ***fun***? in the summer
Me:	okay
Ms. Ruddy:	I guess it's because it's ((*pause))* the summer like
	you don't have school ***and*** other work on top of it.
Me:	you would've thought there would've been=
Ms. Ruddy	=I don't know like I don't wanna waste my summer doing doing school things
	but I guess since it was not high school ***and*** extra Council work
Me:	yeah yeah
Ms. Ruddy:	it was a little more relaxed
Me:	uh huh uh huh
Ms. Ruddy:	but I'm glad to see the dedication
	that kids stayed up to like four AM?
Me:	yeah
Ms. Ruddy:	I think that's amazing. great work ethic

She told me she was "surprised" the students had "fun" in the Summer Seminar, even though that entailed doing "school things." She concluded: "I think that's amazing; great work ethic." This work ethic contradicted her impression of the general MEChA student population, which she made clear in saying, "I don't want to say lazy, but…." It was obvious, as Ms. banks and Knowledge predicted, that she thought the Council students were "exceptional."

No other teachers contextualized their responses of surprise with blatantly racist and deficit views of the students. However, 10 different interviewees responded with some level of surprise or amazement, frequently using those words. Often, but not always, these interviewees avoided discussing with me the Council students' advocacy messages, instead focusing on their performance. One exception was Mr. Bateson, who, prior to telling me about how the Labor

Center event sparked self-reflection, told me that he was surprised at the level of professionalism of the students.

With some exceptions, then, the individuals noting surprise seemed to respond more to the students' performance than to the presentations' content. The adults were impressed by high school students—Latina/o and Black students in particular—enacting adult professional roles. This surprise, as shown by Ms. Cervantes and Ms. Ruddy's responses, could easily co-exist with deficit and racist views when the Council students were framed as exceptional.

Discussion and Conclusion

Above I've shown the influence of the advocacy messages presented at Council presentations. Some audience members made intertextual references to advocacy messages or reported that they had told people about them. A cadre of teachers reported that aspects of the Council presentations (or advocacy messages) made them reflect on their teaching practice or even alter it. Ms. Bauman, for example, explicitly discussed ways she was "humanizing" her students. Many more teachers, along with two school principals, looked to the Council as a curricular model, in effect framing the Council itself as an umbrella advocacy message. In these ways, the Council students succeeded in eliciting the responses they desired from some adults. Also, many (but not all!) adults seemed to take the students' advocacy messages seriously, instead of dismissing them, as Knowledge and others worried.

However, the true reach of the advocacy messages is difficult to measure. A relatively small group of teachers and school administrators attended Council presentations during the 2010-2011 school year. Moreover, the number of those who attended and reported some sort of influence to me was even smaller. Indeed, I used some teachers as examples for more than one type of influence. For instance, Ms. Paxton made an appearance in my discussions of intertextual

references, reported retelling, *and* classroom changes. In addition, the permanence of the influence of the advocacy messages is unclear. At least five teachers—Ms. Gonzalez, Mr. Bateson, Mr. Santos, Ms. Santiago and one other not quoted in the chapter—discussed either concerns about the ability of the Council to create lasting change, or provided suggestions on how such change could be implemented. Ms. Gonzalez and the teacher not quoted wondered about the impact of the PD at Carver, given that it was only one event. If there was no follow-up, Ms. Gonzalez said, the momentum "just fizzles." Mr. Bateson suggested that the Council students add "continuity" to their research. In light of the "big demands" they make, he argued, they should build on previous research and provide updates about their progress. Ms. Santiago suggested something similar. Mr. Santos recommended that the Council curricular model be replicated in schools to expand its reach.

In several cases, the impacted teachers told me that the Council's messages resonated with their existing beliefs. This suggests that teachers who already held certain beliefs—perhaps critical beliefs—about education and society were more receptive to take up or even act upon the advocacy messages. The opposite may be true for those who responded negatively to the advocacy messages. Clearly Ms. Ruddy already held deficit views of her students prior to my interview with her.

Notwithstanding these caveats about the reach or permanence of the advocacy messages, I report here with confidence that the advocacy messages did, indeed, have influence. As Fairclough (2011) argues, "texts" (in this case, advocacy messages) can have "causal effects on, and contribute to changes in, person (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world" (p. 122). However, as I discussed above, these effects aren't necessarily "regular" effects, like those reported in quantitative studies. Instead, as Fairclough (2011) argues,

a text may not have the same impact in different contexts. This is most readily seen in the differential influence of the advocacy messages on different individuals.

Regardless, as Ms. Bauman told me, “The presentation[s] created a rippling effect,” illustrating the transformative potential of discourse (Fairclough, 1992a). Several teachers—most of them in schools serving virtually only Black and Latina/o students—reflected on how to improve their teaching practice. Two teachers—Ms. Bauman and Ms. Paxton—made concrete changes in their classrooms, improving pedagogy and curriculum for these students. Nine teachers and two principals were using the Council as a curricular model, placing Students of Color in roles as scholars. In improving pedagogy and curriculum for Students of Color, all of these actions directly or indirectly challenged systemic racism in education.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I've followed the movement of discourse that challenges systemic racism within and beyond the Council, an organization engaged in Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR). Within the Council, critical-minded discourses became advocacy messages, which were conveyed through a range of meaning-making resources. Outside the Council, teachers and school administrators responded to the advocacy messages and the Council as a whole. But this dissertation is not a story solely about discourse; it's ultimately about people. *People* form the Council; *people* collectively learn discourse(s) and transform them into advocacy messages; and *people* respond to the advocacy messages.

In this chapter, I begin by providing an overview of my findings chapters, and then analyze the findings within a theoretical model of discourse, learning, and social change. I then discuss implications for (a) YPAR, (b) incorporating the voices of Youth of Color into educational policy, and (c) discourse and social change. Throughout all these discussions, people remain the focus.

Overview of Findings

Taken together, my findings chapters illustrate aspects of interrelated processes. In Chapter 4, I demonstrated how the Council, as a community of practice, formed an important context for its members and their transformation of discourse. Within this space, adults created conditions that fostered this transformation, such as teaching critical-minded discourses and asking students to apply these to their schooling experiences. As the students' participation in the community changed—as they added to the discourses their own ideas about oppression based on their experiences and molded the discourses for outside audiences—the discourse transformed

and became advocacy messages. For instance, the Council's engagement with Melissa's story about the raw food metaphor led to the creation of an advocacy message in which this story illustrated the need for powerful curriculum. In this way, members' participation in the community of practice of the Council provided them the context to collectively create advocacy messages. Importantly, these messages were artifacts that were co-constructed through changing processes of participation. As collective products, they were intertextual and historic, reflecting activity across time and texts. Also, the advocacy messages were critical in that they challenged the manifestations of systemic racism.

In Chapter 5, I showed how the Council students conveyed these anti-racist advocacy messages by using and honing meaning-making resources. The context of the Council provided the students the opportunity to draw upon and expand their existing resources. Students honed these resources with adult guidance; for instance, Ms. banks counseled Antwone to use extralinguistic resources for a presentation speaking part. Also, students advised each other on how to use these resources. In this way, participation in the cultivation and expansion of meaning-making resources was not just a top-down activity. Through these forms of participation, the meaning-making resources were crafted with the goal of increasing the messages' effectiveness in challenging the manifestations of systemic racism.

Chapter 6 described the ways the advocacy messages spread out from the Council, reaching teachers and school administrators, people in positions of relative power. These individuals often voiced discourses similar to the advocacy messages, indicating that their pre-existing beliefs aligned with those circulated by the Council. For the most part, their views did not support systemic racism. Indeed, many of these individuals, as People of Color, were negatively impacted by systemic racism. However, as people with relatively more power than the

students in the Council, they were positioned to address the manifestations of systemic racism in education. In this way, the students' challenge to systemic racism was far from direct. They targeted their advocacy messages to people who may not have been promulgating systemic racism, but were better positioned to challenge it.

Regardless of this double mediation, the influence of the advocacy messages was evident, and could be conceived as "causal effects" (Fairclough, 2011). Such effects are not regular; instead they are dependent upon the context. The influences included teachers reflecting on their practices and even changing their classroom curriculum and pedagogy in response to the Council and its advocacy messages. Often, however, the teachers and school administrators responded to what I call the Council's umbrella advocacy message. This message is the form of the Council presentations, not the content. It included the image of Youth of Color dressed professionally, giving well-rehearsed presentations. This umbrella advocacy message influenced teachers and school administrators who sought to model their classrooms and schools after the curriculum and pedagogy of the Council. This focus on form over content may stem from the fact that the messengers were youth, Youth of Color in particular. I come to this conjecture because of the many instances when teachers and school administrators emphasized to me how amazed they were with the Council students.

Limitations

The main limitations of this study are related to its time period and scope. In terms of scope, I was unable to provide a complete picture of how discourse was formulated and conveyed in the Council as a whole, since I was able to embed myself in just one of the five subgroups of the Council. Also in terms of scope, I was unable to contact every outsider with whom the Council came in contact. As a sole researcher, I did not have the capacity for the

increases in scope that would have staved off these limitations. The most serious limitation related to time is that my study cannot assess whether the influence of the Council's advocacy messages was lasting. This is because the one-year period of my data collection was not long enough to document possible long-term influences. This narrow view of the Council's history cannot illustrate how those who attended one presentation may or may not have continued to be influenced by it. Likewise, this view cannot show how those who attended multiple presentations over a span of years may be influenced.

Improving research such as mine would require a team of researchers engaged in a longitudinal study. Multiple researchers could embed themselves in an organization such as the Council and could even make comparisons across organizations. This team approach would provide incredible breadth and depth into phenomena within and beyond an organization, illustrating the richness of discursive processes across social actors and contexts, and illuminating the scale of discursive influences. A longitudinal study would provide the opportunity to investigate changes in discourse over time. This could be accomplished by carefully following the discourse of members of an organization as well as those the organization hoped to influence. Also, such a study would entail investigation of news coverage and social media messages about the organizations. In my academic career, I plan to engage in such longitudinal research, investigating discourse shifts connected YPAR and other forms of advocacy that contest systemic racism.

Theoretical Model of Discourse, Learning, and Social Change

In Chapter 2, I described how I understand the relationship between communities of practice, discourse, and systemic racism. I asserted that these three elements are all mutually influential and that each element is a mediator of the other two. The graphic I introduced in

Chapter 2 (see Figure 2) featured an overlapping area of "Discourse" and "Communities of Practice." In the case of the Council, the mutual influence of these two elements, represented in the overlapping area, is an in-between space where new forms of participation and discourse arose. This graphic, however, does not capture movement or agency on the part of a community of practice.

My findings point to a more complex and nuanced understanding of aspects of the relationships between the three elements depicted in the graphic in Chapter 2. Here I present a new graphic (see Figure 9) to conceptualize the processes that occur between a community of practice and discourse, using the Council as a model. Systemic racism is not directly depicted in the graphic, but is ever present. In the graphic below, the streaks represent the Council students and critical-minded discourse that challenges systemic racism. It is important to note that the beginning and end points of the streaks do not represent actual beginnings and ends in time. The graphic is not intended to represent a chronology or trajectory, but a moment that was repeated, lengthened, shortened, and transposed over the course of my study period.



Figure 9: Illustration of discourse, learning, and social change in and beyond the Council.

The blue streak represents the Council students as part of a community of practice. On the left it is cobalt blue; however, at the point when it draws in and appropriates the yellow

streak, it becomes blue-green as the blue and yellow colors mix. The yellow streak, at the top left, represents the critical-minded discourse that the adults in the Council introduced and modeled to the students. In this way, the yellow streak encompasses not simply discourse, but pedagogy. The yellow-green streak, at the bottom right, represents the discourse that the students conveyed, what I've called advocacy messages.

Represented by the yellow streak, the Council adults create an environment in which the Council students can add to and appropriate established critical-minded discourse that challenges systemic racism. The blue streak, representing the Council students in the community of practice, changes color in response to the pedagogy of the adults introducing critical-minded discourses. Also, this color change shows how the students altered the discourses by adding to them their own theories about oppression based on their experiences. This illustrates the importance of the students' existing insider knowledge of systems of oppression. The critical-minded discourse of the adults (the yellow streak), upon appropriation among the Council students, changes as well. Neither the yellow streak nor the blue streak remains the same as the Council students participate in activity around the discourse introduced by the adults, and the discourse and pedagogy of the adults alters as well. In this way, the merging of the blue and yellow streaks represents the ways that the discourse introduced by the Council adults transforms into advocacy messages as both adults and students change their participation around it. This transformation also points to the meaning-making tools (like multimodal and paralinguistic resources) that the students and adults co-harnessed in seeking to make the advocacy messages more effective.

As the students convey the advocacy messages, teachers and school administrators respond to them, sometimes revoicing them. This process, represented by the yellow-green streak, retains some of the history of the critical-minded discourse (the yellow streak) and the

Council students (the blue streak). These revoiced advocacy messages, however, are not the solid yellow of the critical-minded discourses introduced by Council adults. As the students convey the advocacy messages, the teachers and school administrators transform them (into self-reflections, changes in pedagogy, curricular models, etc.) in ways that can challenge systemic racism.

This graphic, then, illustrates some of the processes involved in the relationship among critical-minded discourse and pedagogy, the Council as a community of practice, and systemic racism. This graphic builds upon the contributions of the three theories that form my theoretical framework: sociocultural theory's concept of communities of practice, Critical Race Theory (CRT), and theoretical aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The concept of communities of practice theorizes changes in participation, which constitute learning. The graphic captures this by showing (a) the pedagogy of the adults in the Council as they introduce critical-minded discourse that challenges systemic racism and (b) the participation of the Council students in appropriating and manipulating the discourse. The participation of both the students and adults in activity around critical-minded discourse leads to the creation of advocacy messages and alters the community of practice. CRT demonstrates that racism is a foundational aspect of society. Systemic racism can be viewed as the context of the graphic, literally and figuratively the white space around it. I also incorporate this concept into the graphic by framing the critical-minded discourse introduced by the Council adults as anti-racist discourse. In doing so, I am arguing that the Council students' appropriation and conveyance of this discourse is inextricably linked to and challenges systemic racism. Finally, CDA asserts that discourse and the social world are mutually influential and constitutive. This graphic illustrates these ideas by showing how discourse changed when appropriated by the Council students and how the Council

students changed discourse. Also, the influence of the discourse, as advocacy messages disseminated beyond the Council, is illustrated as well.

This graphic indicates how my study adds to the three theoretical strands by putting them in conversation with one another about my findings. The concept of communities of practice is strengthened by placing it into societal contexts of power, specifically systemic racism, and focusing on the in-group participation processes involved in transforming discourse. CRT, when approached with the insights from the other two theories, is better able to theorize the ways that individuals, acting as a collective, can challenge systemic racism by using discourse as a tool. Finally, CDA is strengthened by placing it in the context of systemic racism and recognizing the pedagogical aspects of the ways in which communities of practice appropriate and transform discourse. This speaks to the CDA-inspired concept of critical language awareness (CLA), which advocates for the layperson's awareness of the connection between language and power (Alim, 2005a; Fairclough, 1999). The present study, echoing Alim's call for CLA pedagogy (2005a), illustrates the need for CDA to consider how people learn CLA. Also, supporting Morrell's concept of Critical Textual Production (2008a), this study demonstrates that an understanding of the critical and agentic production of discourse is also necessary. Finally, the study points to the importance of CDA scholarship considering the effectiveness (in creating change) of strategies to harness, transform, and convey discourse.

My study, encapsulated in the graphic, shows how individuals co-acting as part of a collective can harness discourse to challenge inequality, specifically systemic racism. The focus here is on a group of people who learn, draw upon, expand, and add to the tools at hand to contest injustice, efforts that influence people outside of the group. In examining efforts at social change and their influence, this study points to implications for a range of issues.

Implications for YPAR

This dissertation speaks to research on students' learning and advocacy efforts in YPAR organizations and, because of their similarity, youth organizing groups, which often incorporate aspects of YPAR, in addition to focusing on campaigns for specific changes. It responds to Rogers et al.'s (2012) call for more research on youth organizing groups. They comment, "…[W]e need longitudinal studies of youth and youth organizing groups that shed light on the long-term impact of this work and what is needed to support the field over time" (p. 62). My study, though not longitudinal, indicates the multifaceted nature of studying the "impact" of YPAR and/or youth organizing groups. In examining how members formulate and convey discourse and how outsiders respond to the discourse, this dissertation illustrates the complexity of impacts, and how they may be understood as rippling effects.

The implications I discuss about students' learning build upon numerous studies documenting the ways students develop critical research, civic, and activist skill sets and outlooks from participation in YPAR and similar activities, like youth organizing (Christens & Kirshner, 2011; Fox et al., 2010; Lewis-Charp et al., 2006; Morrell, 2006, 2008b; Morrell & Rogers, 2006; Richards-Schuster & Checkoway, 2009; J. Rogers et al., 2012; J. Rogers & Morrell, 2010; J. Rogers et al., 2007; Watts & Flanagan, 2007; Watts & Guessous, 2006). My study illustrates, in-depth, how such development can occur within a YPAR group, as members change their level and type of participation over time. My dissertation shows how the students and adults engaged with critical-minded discourse and transformed it over time into advocacy messages. These messages, as collective artifacts, point to the ways that the group members collectively participated in their creation. The messages also indicate how the discourse shifted over time as students appropriated and manipulated it. Using the messages as a focal point also

illuminates the role of adults in YPAR. In my study, the adults, including me, introduced new discourses and technologies to the students and also coached them on how to convey advocacy messages. Our (the adults') voices can be heard in the students' final products. Unlike some research on YPAR, this finding shies away from constructing the students' efforts separately from adult guidance and instead shows the ways that adults played a major role in the development and conveyance of the advocacy messages. However, the findings also indicate that students coached and greatly influenced each other in these processes. So, in summary, the students jointly engaged in crafting the advocacy messages, which changed over time as students' discourse changed. This change, to sociocultural theorists, is learning, which would not have been possible without the adults creating an environment within which this could happen. Also, the findings in this area indicate the value of collective engagement and production of discourse.

This analysis of my study shows the value of YPAR students appropriating and manipulating discourses within a context that provides structural support from adults, but also allows for authentic engagement and participation with discourse. When in place, such processes deter the practice of indoctrination from arising. Adults in YPAR should be aware that communal creation of discourse takes time. As I showed in Chapter 4, as the school year progressed, the Council students engaged ever more creatively with the discourses, but always with adult support. This indicates the importance of continuity in YPAR programs of the adults. Also, this suggests that YPAR adults should expect and encourage students to change their perspectives on issues. Placing rigid constraints on students' discourse would stifle the generative processes I've described.

The processes in the Council that encouraged collective development also led to the creation and conveyance of discourse in the form of advocacy messages, which challenged systemic racism. The Council members may have strengthened these messages by creating them collectively. As the students appropriated the critical-minded discourse of the adults, they added to it their own understanding of oppression gained from their experiences. The resulting advocacy messages drew upon the knowledge of the students in addition to established critical-minded discourses. In this group process, the students and adults applied the lenses of critical-minded discourse to each other's ideas and vetoed some ideas. This process allowed for the creative input of multiple contributors (granted, not all with the same power in the group) with multiple resources and perspectives to offer. For instance, the main focus of the Carver group's presentations was its members' personal stories. These were potent singly, but lent weight to each other when retold as a collection. In conveying the advocacy messages, students drew upon their varying meaning-making resources, which were not all the same for each group member.

This collective development of anti-racist discourse can be implemented in other YPAR programs. Adults in these programs can create environments in which students are encouraged to engage with their existing discourses and meaning-making resources while also transforming them. Support for the cultivation of these discourses and resources can occur not only from adults to students, but also among students, as occurred in the Council. It is through this process that a group comes to jointly create and take ownership of a new and possibly more effective discourse. This can be applied to any community organization or small non-profit. If group members co-create discourse, it will be more meaningful to them, and that, in-and-of-itself, could make it more effective in advocacy efforts.

Also, YPAR groups would benefit from insights about audience responses described in this dissertation. Validating Fairclough's (2011) claim that discourse produces effects, but not "regular" effects, my study shows that teachers and school administrators responded to the students' presentations in a variety of ways. Some were influenced by the overall performance of the presentations, what I've called the Council's umbrella advocacy message. Some of these individuals were "amazed" at the quality of the presentations, suggesting that they had lower expectations of the students. Others looked to the umbrella advocacy message as providing guidance for modeling action research-based curriculum in schools and classrooms. Still others responded to the actual content of the Council presentations, not just the form. All of these responses were "effects" of the conveyance of discourse that challenged systemic racism.

These audience responses point to several implications for YPAR groups and youth organizing groups, both of which advocate for changes. Groups could capitalize on the response of amazement and inspiration to presentations by giving audience members an opportunity to "do something" easy and concrete. For instance, if a YPAR group supported the signing of a petition, the petition could be available to sign at an event. Also, if a group were raising money for a cause, audience members could be asked to donate right then and there. Also, of course, audience members could be encouraged to act in larger ways; however, these small ways would take advantage of the "amazement factor."

To capitalize on the desire to replicate aspects of YPAR within schools, YPAR groups could take active steps to reach out to eager audience members. Printed material distributed at events, along with digital materials, could include the contact information for one of the adult YPAR members who could coordinate outreach to schools. To revoice a suggestion from one of the teachers I interviewed, YPAR groups could develop manuals or kits for teachers and school

administrators interested in developing action research curriculum and pedagogy in their classrooms or schools. These kits could include social science readings for the students (for instance, a chapter from Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*) along with concrete ideas for how to organize action research in the classroom. The kit could also include a video of YPAR in action. However, a kit alone may not be adequate to implement YPAR. To address this, outreach to schools could include coaching and on-going meetings to share ideas.

In addition, YPAR students and adults should be aware that some audience members will act or reflect on the content of a presentation. For this reason, every piece of semiotic material—including the spoken words, the words in a PowerPoint presentation, the paralinguistic and extralinguistic moves, the images, the video, etc.—needs to be carefully considered. Demands should be concrete items that the audience members would be capable of accomplishing. For instance, if the audience is teachers, then demands should focus on classroom-level changes that acknowledge the constraints of standardized curriculum and high-stakes testing.

Implications for Integrating the Voices of Youth of Color into Education Policy Discourse

One of the goals of YPAR is to integrate the voices of Youth of Color into education policy discourse and practice in meaningful ways. As other scholars (such as Fine, 2008) have argued, these individuals are closest to the problem of systemic racism in education and contend with the everyday machinations of it. Also, they have insights and ideas for solutions that adults, even those directly connected to schools, may not. Who better to consult on such issues than these youth? However, the wisdom of Youth of Color is rarely utilized in discussions about education policy and practice. This issue was glaringly obvious as I conducted my dissertation study. During the focal year of data collection, the 2010-2011 school year, not one policy maker

(traditionally defined) attended a Council presentation.[16] However, teachers and school administrators did attend presentations. These individuals are often not viewed as policy makers, but they do shape local-level decisions about schooling, which could be considered "policy." They also interpret the policies mandated from above.

There are several obstacles to incorporating the voices of Youth of Color into education policy and discourse. First, these youth may find it difficult to contest powerful current reform efforts driven by private dollars. Much of the movement to privatize education—including the over-reliance on charter schools and the push for school choice—is rooted in funding from foundations (Lipman, 2011). These reforms have not shaken the hold of systemic racism in education and instead are exacerbating it (Buras, 2011; Lipman, 2011). In addition, the deeply entrenched standardized testing regime, which has been shown to widen racial inequalities (Darling-Hammond, 2007; Leonardo, 2007), continues to grow with broad-based support (Graham, 2005). Even adult-centric critical-minded organizations may find it difficult to challenge this well-funded neoliberal force. The voices of Youth of Color may be even more marginalized.

Another major obstacle to incorporating the voices of Youth Color is the "amazement factor." This phenomenon points to something more insidious: the expectation that Youth of Color are not capable of producing scholarly work and presenting it dynamically. In other words, the "amazement factor" is a result of deficit discourse about youth generally and Youth of Color specifically. One of the reasons for this response to YPAR students is that educational discourse, policy, and practice overwhelmingly support systemic racism. Some of this discourse is blatantly racist, like the work of Thernstrom and Thernstrom (2003), who ignore structural issues and instead blame Families of Color for the racially unequal outcomes of standardized testing.

[16] Policy makers did attend a presentation the previous year, however, and in other past years.

Educational policies themselves are often built upon racism (Leonardo, 2007). For instance, the reductive curriculum often spoon-fed to Students of Color (Gutiérrez, 2001) can be connected to the prevalent discourse that these students lack "the basics." Certainly no national policies have capitalized on the Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) that these students possess.

A further obstacle is the lack of power Youth of Color have in comparison to policy makers, from teachers to legislators. Concerning elected officials, the fact that youth cannot vote may decrease the priority of this constituency. Indeed, some of these youth will not be able to vote even upon turning 18 because of the United States' construction of citizenship. Also, Communities of Color, especially poor communities, are less represented in politics than white people and rich people (Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy, 2004).

There are several strategies to address these obstacles that could be taken by YPAR groups and other groups seeking to incorporate the voices of Youth of Color into education policy and practice. One approach could be to increase the frequency that educational decision-makers are in conversation with such youth. Without on-going contact between the two groups, change efforts may dissolve. Another approach could be to organize large numbers of youth. One Carver teacher told me that having a Council student in one of her classes kept her on her "A-game," knowing that the student was thoroughly aware of what constituted a quality education. This teacher suggested that having Council students scattered across classes could improve education at Carver High School.

Another strategy to incorporate the voices of Youth of Color into education policy and discourse would be for the youth to establish adult allies in relatively powerful positions. At the school level, like-minded adults could incorporate Youth of Color onto governing and planning boards. Conversely, Youth of Color could ask to be involved on such boards. Also, as the

Council illustrates, connections to universities can provide Youth of Color the metaphoric microphone for their voices to be amplified. Universities can provide funding, resources, and access to wider audiences. Similarly, ties to other prestigious organizations could also be helpful. However, the more the students gain prestige, the more they could be considered different from the general student population, potentially reinforcing the response of amazement and its corresponding deficit discourse. To combat this, YPAR organization members—both students and adults—should continually remind outsiders that the student members are not exceptional, but, instead, are involved in an exceptional program that should be more widely available.

Despite the obstacles, we should strive to incorporate the voices of Youth of Color into educational discourse. As Morrell (2008b) argued, "For those interested in changing the current conditions of schools, it is imperative that young people play a central role" (183). I would add that specifically Youth of Color should play a central role in transforming schools. It is time that the bastion of systemic racism in education be seriously breached by making discourse not only reflect, but embody, a more equitable representation of the school populace.

Implications for Discourse and Social Change

I am not naïve about the power of discourse to spark social change. I understand the incredible power of those possessing material resources and the discourses (like that of white supremacy and capitalism) intended to maintain the inequitable distribution of these resources. However, discourse effects (Fairclough, 2011) are real and meaning is perpetually a site of contestation (Hall, 1997). Many of the teachers and school administrators I interviewed reported that the Council's presentations spurred action and/or reflection, pointing to the potential of discourse in fostering social change.

A consideration of the potential of discourse equates, of course, to a consideration of people. I've shown that anti-racist discourse does not simply come into being, but instead requires human efforts and development. I've also demonstrated that discourse can be taken up differently by different people in positions of relative power. These understandings point to the necessity of combining theory about learning with theory about discourse to better understand how discourse can be harnessed and transformed by Youth of Color and other marginalized groups in striving toward social change. Such an approach would illuminate how a community of practice collectively learns and transforms discourse and also how those outside the community learn or do not learn (appropriate or do not appropriate) the discourse.

In making these observations, I hope to move conversations about discourse and social change from a place of *de*scription to a place of *pre*scription (Morrell, 2012). I openly advocate for research that shows how to challenge systemic racism and other forms of oppression through discourse. More studies like this dissertation could illuminate strategies that YPAR and organizing groups could harness to effectively promote change.

APPENDIX A

High School Student Semi-Structured Interview Protocol for Initial Interview

Topic 1: Relationship to the Council:

- When did you first hear about the Council and how did you get invited to join?
- What did you think of the Council when you first heard about it and why did you decide to join?
- What did you think about being a member of the Council when you first got involved in it?
- Has what you thought about the Council changed since then? If so, how?

Topic 2: Ways of developing critical discursive capacities:

- Has being in the Council changed the way you understand the world? If so, how?
- What kinds of reading, writing, listening, and speaking do you do in the Council?
- Is this any different from reading, writing, listening, and speaking you do at school or other places? If so, in what way?
- *(If interviewee mentions critical perspectives on structural inequality, prompt for more information.)*
- Do you think the way you read, writing, listen, and speak has changed because of your involvement with the Council? Why or why not?

Topic 3: Ways of using language as a tool to challenge systemic racism:

- As a Council member, have you ever brought attention to race and class inequality? If so, how did you do this?
- *(If necessary, prompt interviewee to discuss whether this has been done in specific situations, such as in interviews, written works, and Council presentations.)*

Topic 4: Impacts of using language to challenge systemic racism:

- When you interview people for your research, how do they react to you? *(Prompt for examples and other conversational situations.)*
- What did you say or do to make them react like that?
- Does the Council's work have an impact on your school? If so, in what ways? If so, how did the Council make that happen?
- Does the Council's work have an impact anywhere else? If so, how? If so, how did the Council make that happen?
- Have there been any unintended impacts of the Council's work?
- Is it possible for the Council to make change in education? Why or why not?

APPENDIX B

High School Student Semi-Structured Interview Protocol for Subsequent Interview(s)

Topic 1: Relationship to the Council:

- Since you were last interviewed, has your view of the Council changed? If so, how?

Topic 2: Ways of developing critical discursive capacities:

- In the last interview, we talked about the reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills that you may have developed since becoming a member of the Council. Has your opinion on this changed since we last talked?
- *(Prompt for types of critical discursive capacities and specific examples. If it seems natural to do so, also prompt for explanation of how these skills are used to understand the world and inequality.)*

Topic 3: Ways of using language as a tool to challenge systemic racism:

- Since we last talked, have you brought attention to race and class inequality? If so, how?

Topic 4: Impact on others and educational reform:

- The last time you were interviewed, you talked about how people react to you as a Council member. Do you have any new stories about this? *(Prompt for explanations about why these reactions happened.)*
- Since you were last interviewed, has there been any impact of the Council's work at your school? If so, please describe it. (Prompt for possible impacts at other sites.)

Topic 5: Opinions on specific phenomena:

- (*Here discuss any pertinent phenomena and garner the interviewee's perceptions of them.)*

APPENDIX C

Adult Council Participant Semi-Structured Interview Protocol for Initial Interview

Topic 1: Relationship to the Council:

- When did you first hear about the Council and how did you get invited to join?
- What did you think of the Council when you first heard about it and why did you decide to join?
- What did you think about the Council when you first got involved in it?
- Has what you thought about the Council changed since then? If so, how?

Topic 2: Ways of developing critical discursive capacities:

- Has being in the Council changed the way students understand the world? If so, how?
- Have students developed reading, writing, listening and speaking skills as members of the Council? If so, how?
- What or who, exactly, has helped students develop these skills?
- In the Council, students have learned about critical theory and inequality along race and class lines. Are students' reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills connected to their understanding of race and class inequality? If so, in what ways?

Topic 3: Ways of using language as a tool to challenge systemic racism:

- How have students brought attention to race and class inequality?
- *(Prompt for specifics about presentations, interviewing and writing.)*

Topic 4: Impacts of using language to challenge systemic racism:

- During interviews, how to people react to the Council students? *(Prompt for examples and other conversational situations.)*
- What did the students say or do to make them react like that?
- Does the Council's work have an impact at schools? If so, in what ways? If so, how did the Council make that happen?
- Does the Council's work have an impact anywhere else? If so, how? If so, how did the Council make that happen?
- Have there been any unintended impacts of the Council's work?
- Is it possible for the Council to make change in education? Why or why not?

APPENDIX D

Adult Council Participant Semi-Structured Interview Protocol for Subsequent Interviews

Topic 1: Relationship to the Council:

- Since you were last interviewed, has your view of the Council changed? If so, how?

Topic 2: Ways of developing critical discursive capacities:

- In the last interview, we talked about the reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills that students may have developed since becoming members of the Council and how these may be connected to their understanding of inequality. Has your opinion on this changed since we last talked?

Topic 3: Ways of using language as a tool to challenge systemic racism:

- Since we last talked, have students brought attention to race and class inequality? If so, how did they do this?

Topic 4: Impact on others and educational reform:

- The last time you were interviewed, you talked about how people react to the Council members. Do you have any new stories about this? *(Prompt for explanations about why these reactions happened.)*
- Since you were last interviewed, has there been any impact of the Council's work? If so, please describe it. *(Prompt for possible impacts at other sites.)*

Topic 5: Opinions on specific phenomena:

- (*Here discuss any pertinent phenomena and garner the interviewee's perceptions of them.)*

APPENDIX E

Educational Decision-Maker Semi-Structured Interview Protocol for Initial Interview

Topic 1: Relationship with the Council:

- Please describe your contact with the Council.
- When did you first come into contact with the Council? Please describe this encounter.
- What was your first impression of the Council (including both students and adults involved)?
- Since then, what type of contact have you had with the Council? Please describe the interactions you've had with the Council.
- Has your impression of the Council changed over this time? Why or why not?
- Are the viewpoints of the Council any different from other viewpoints you hear about education? How?

Topic 2: Ways of using language as a tool to challenge systemic racism:

- At Council presentations, what point(s) are the students trying to make? *(Also prompt for opinions or specifics on their documentaries, PowerPoints, written materials, meetings, etc.)*
- Are the students effective in getting their point across?

Topic 3: Impacts of using language to challenge systemic racism:

- If you've been interviewed by the Council students, how did you react to their questions? *(Prompt for examples and other conversational situations.)*
- What did the students say or do to make you react like that?
- Has your contact with the Council caused you to make any concrete changes in educational conditions or practices? If so, please explain.
- Has the Council had any impacts unrelated to you? If so, please explain.
- If not mentioned: Has your involvement with the Council impacted the way you talk about education, students, reform, etc.? If so how?
- Have you heard anyone else talk about the Council? If so, please provide concrete examples.
- Is it possible for the Council to make change in education? Why or why not?

Topic 4: Opinions on specific phenomena:

- (*Here discuss any pertinent phenomena and garner the interviewee's perceptions of them.)*

APPENDIX F

Educational Decision-Maker Semi-Structured Interview Protocol for Subsequent Interview(s)

Topic 1: Relationship with the Council:

- Has your contact with the Council changed since you were last interviewed?
- Has your impression of the Council changed since you were last interviewed? Why or why not?

Topic 2: Ways of using language as a tool to challenge systemic racism:

- The last time we talked, I asked about what points the Council students are trying to make in their presentations, documentaries, etc. Has your opinion of this changed?
- Do you still think the students effective/ineffective (*choose one depending on previous interview*) in getting their point across? What is their point?

Topic 3: Impacts of using language to challenge systemic racism:

- Since we last talked, has your contact with the Council caused you to make any concrete changes in educational conditions or practices?
- Since we last talked, has your involvement with the Council impacted the way you talk about education, students, reform, etc.? If so how?
- Since we last talked, have you heard anyone else talk about the Council? If so, please provide concrete examples.
- In the last interview, I asked whether it is possible for the Council to make change in education. Has your opinion changed on this?

Topic 4: Opinions on specific phenomena:

- (*Here discuss any pertinent phenomena and garner the interviewee's perceptions of them.)*

APPENDIX G

Transcription Conventions, adopted from Sacks et al. (1974)

Low volume: degree sign
Cut off sound: hyphen
Emphasis: bold italics
Overlapping speech: left bracket
Sound lengthening: colon
Falling voice: period
Rising voice: question mark
No pause between speakers: equal sign
Inhalation: h's preceded by asterisk
Rapid speech: tildes
Long pauses: numbers in parentheses indicating seconds and tenths of seconds
Laughter: h in parentheses
Volume increase: capital letters
Transcriber commentary: double sets of parentheses
Transcriber uncertainty: single set of parentheses

APPENDIX H

Code List

Genre-disagreement/challenging
Repair
Carver HS setting
Council topic-"powerful curriculum"
Council topic-andragogy
Council topic-auto-ethnography
Council topic-bad teachers or teaching
Council topic-banking model
Council topic-Community Cultural Wealth
Council topic-complex instruction
Council topic-Council modeling CI, not banking
Council topic-culturally relevant curriculum/pedagogy
Council topic-curriculum in general
Council topic-event logistics
Council topic-food metaphor
Council topic-human
Council topic-reflection on Council
Council topic-rigorous curriculum
Council topic-social reproduction/habitus
Council topic-student voice
Council topic-systemic racism and structural inequality
Council topic-teacher caring, good teaching
Council topic-Williams and/or "adequate" education
In Council-collaborative meaning-making
In Council-pedagogy, guidance
In Council-student intentionality
In Council-working on blog
In Council-working on PowerPoint
In Council-working on research process
In Council-working on resource/activity cards
In Council-working on verbal part of presentation
In Council-working on video
Outside Council-Council as model
Outside Council-deficit ideology
Outside Council-emotional response
Outside Council-impacts-reported change
Outside Council-mention of PD
Outside Council-negative/lukewarm response
Outside Council-reported retelling
Outside Council-spreading the word
Outside Council-student-adult interaction at event
Outside Council-surprise at students' achievement

Outside Council-teacher, principal & other responses
Outside Council-where to go from here?
Speaker/Actor-Jenica
Speaker/Actor-Antwone
Speaker/Actor-Council Outsider
Speaker/Actor-Knowledge
Speaker/Actor-Kelly
Speaker/Actor-Melissa
Speaker/Actor-me
Speaker/Actor-Bernarda
Speaker/Actor-Ms. banks

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