19 Language Socialization Across Learning Spaces

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1. Introduction

Learning to think, act, and speak like an expert in specific physical, temporal, cultural, and ideological spaces is a necessity to function successfully in any community. A primary way that humans become socialized to act and interact in culturally appropriate ways is through the use of language. *Language socialization* (LS) refers to the process by which individuals acquire, reproduce, and transform the knowledge and competence that enable them to participate appropriately within specific communities of language users. Thus, LS is fundamental to social life, given that all community members engage in practices of LS at numerous points in their lives, whether as relative experts or as relative novices.

Within LS research, language is regarded as a 'dynamic social practice' that is constantly 'contested' and 'in flux' among its users (Duff and Talmy 2011, p. 96). LS thus offers a theoretical and methodological framework for understanding how linguistic and cultural competence are developed through everyday interactions within communities of practice. Based in the traditions of human development and linguistic anthropology, LS is concerned with both 'socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language' (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, p. 163). LS researchers take a cross-cultural perspective to make visible the intersections between language and culture in the processes of learning and teaching. Such a perspective not only recognizes the existence of biological and psychological attributes in these processes but also importantly acknowledges considerable variations due to cultural factors and sociohistorical conditions (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002, p. 341). In addition, because of its concern with cultural specificity, scholarship on LS pays close attention to how socialization occurs in culturally meaningful learning spaces, and how these practices may be linked or kept apart across different kinds of spaces.

This chapter first presents a brief overview of the theoretical principles and methodological approaches employed in LS research (see also Duff and Anderson, this volume). To illustrate this framework and particularly the pivotal role of learning spaces within LS, the chapter then discusses how a university–high school educational partnership offers students opportunities to gain a new perspective on LS as ethnographers of language and culture in

The Handbook of Classroom Discourse and Interaction, First Edition. Edited by Numa Markee.
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their own speech communities. In guiding students to make creative and meaningful connections between community and classroom cultures, the program, SKILLS (School Kids Investigating Language in Life and Society), which is based in Santa Barbara, California, demonstrates that social interaction that bridges learning spaces – including classrooms, peer groups, families, and local communities – affords more and richer opportunities for LS than interaction restricted to a single context (González, Moll, and Amanti 2005; Lee 2010; Orellana, Lee, and Martínez 2010; Paris 2012). More generally, the program offers an example of the fluidity of the spatiotemporal boundaries of learning spaces as well as the agency of participants as they acquire, negotiate, resist, change, and/or create hybrid language practices. LS occurs through multidirectional processes with great potential for individual transformation and broader societal change.

2. Language Socialization as a Theory

The field of LS has had a relatively short history, yet it is deeply rooted in theories of learning and development that intersect various disciplinary perspectives from anthropology, linguistics, psychology, and sociology. LS research has made a significant impact on scholarship by demonstrating that linguistic and cultural learning and development are best understood as fundamentally contextualized and interactionally emergent processes. Because it views the development of communicative and interactional competence through the lens of language in context (Gumperz 1968; Hymes 1972), LS research focuses on language use within interaction as the main symbolic tool for developing linguistic and cultural competence. Moreover, linguistic and cultural competence are conceptualized as being co-constructed, highlighting the individual agency of the participants involved (Duff 2010). LS originated as a response to the narrowness of child language acquisition models that focused strictly on structural forms and psychological processes of language development without consideration of the sociocultural contexts of learning (Watson-Gegeo 1992). Going beyond such models, LS sheds light on the close interconnection between the structures of language on the one hand and the social world on the other by demonstrating how such structures are reflective of and emergent from cultural, social, and ideological forms of knowledge that are 'learned in and through language' (Duff and Talmy 2011, p. 95).

Because of the anthropological origins of the field, LS studies have centered on home and community practices, examining how young children gradually learn to speak and act like competent cultural members; however, there is increasing interest in investigating 'life-long and life-wide' socialization across learning spaces (Duff 2008, p. 257). Numerous in-depth reviews survey the theories, methods, and findings of LS, such as Schieffelin and Ochs's (1986) seminal introduction to language socialization as a field, Garrett and Baquedano-López's (2002) discussion of the cross-generational reproduction and transformation of language use, and Bayley and Schecter's (2003) edited volume of school-based LS studies. More recently, Duff and Hornberger's (2008) edited volume on LS presents not only a 30-year historical overview of LS (Ochs and Schieffelin 2008), but also theoretical discussions that extend LS into other domains such as higher education and professional spaces (Duff 2008; Morita and Kobayashi 2008). Finally, the state-of-the-art reference volume edited by Duranti, Ochs, and Schieffelin (2011) provides a comprehensive survey of international scholarship primarily from a linguistic-anthropological perspective, including the social and cultural implications of heritage language and second language socialization, literacy and media socialization, and socialization across the lifespan and various institutional settings. Given the wealth of information already available on LS, the purpose of this section is not to exhaustively review current trends in LS research but to summarize the field's basic

theoretical principles. The following seven principles hold constant in LS work across the lifespan, across different learning spaces ranging from traditional home practices to academic and workplace contexts, and across various modalities, from face-to-face interaction to online communication.

First, LS research views cognition as a social rather than individual psychological phenomenon. Within the LS framework, learning is conceptualized as occurring through social interaction with more expert persons within the more novice individual's Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky 1978). Through social interaction, learners are able to perform shared and expected practices specific to a social activity and cultural setting. Lave and Wenger (1991) further argue that the sources of socialization go beyond individual interactions to participation in broader communities of practice; they emphasize the importance of learners' access to participatory roles in communities of practice, ranging from peripheral to full participation. Hence, LS perspectives incorporate the notion of apprenticeship to understand the complex sociocultural and cognitive processes of socialization within and across learning spaces. In LS research, the enactment of apprenticeship roles is examined in relation to the social, cultural, and pragmatic meanings associated with language in specific interactional routines (Rogoff 1990). This approach enables LS as a theory to account for how an individual becomes a full participant in a particular culture and language. According to Ochs (1986, p. 2), socialization is 'an interactional display (covert or overt) to a novice of expected ways of thinking, feeling, and acting.... [T]hrough their participation in social interactions, children come to internalize and gain performance competence in these sociocultural[ly] defined contexts.' LS research emphasizes how novices are socialized into using language as well as socialized through language into local cultural routines, practices, and expectations (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). Further, such scholarship examines how and why social identities and competencies, including learning trajectories, shape and are shaped by unstable and changing systems of cultural meaning and practices (Baquedano-López and Hernandez 2011; Kulick and Schieffelin 2004).

Second, researchers of LS see language and culture as inseparable. The influential works of Bambi Schieffelin, Elinor Ochs, and Shirley Brice Heath exemplify the interconnectedness of language use and cultural norms. For example, Schieffelin and Ochs's (1986) research in Papua New Guinea and Western Samoa, respectively, shows that talking to babies in a simplified register, a practice among middle-class white Americans, is not necessarily the norm in other cultures. In fact, the researchers found that the ways in which children are taught the social and communicative roles, expectations, and repertoires involved in their communities' linguistic practices are culturally specific. They discovered that through participation in everyday social life, children master the practices of their particular community and over time become more expert in the social and language skills needed to develop the worldview specific to their cultural context. This work set the foundation for future studies that examined how LS across various learning spaces in the home and community could differentially affect the experiences and academic outcomes of children in schools. Although most LS studies are more concerned with processes than outcomes (Duff and Talmy 2011), Shirley Brice Heath's (1983) highly influential ethnographic study powerfully illustrates the relationship between the two, comparing language socialization practices in three different communities to show how differences in communicative repertoires and expectations between home and schools can negatively affect a child's academic performance and trajectory. Thus, scholars of LS understand development as culturally situated in and mediated through social and political meanings and ideologies that are reflected and reproduced in language structure and use (Duff 2010).

Third, LS research recognizes the cultural norms and practices of a community as dynamic and fluid, with the potential to be reproduced or transformed by their users. It views

socialization as a complex process influenced by both broad macro-level sociohistorical processes and ideologies and micro-level cultural norms and interactions. This perspective enables researchers to localize their findings to specific spatial, temporal, and cultural contexts and to account for variations across and within their research sites. For example, Schecter and Bayley (2002) provide a clear illustration of the different ways that Mexican families in California and Texas practice and understand culture as well as how the use of Spanish, English, or both reflects dynamic and fluid cultural practices in these historically situated sociocultural contexts. This study demonstrates the shifting nature of LS by showing that the process extends throughout the lifetime in an interactive, multidirectional process rather than a linear trajectory. In other words, it calls for a 'dynamic model' of language socialization (Bayley and Schecter 2003) that considers issues of power, agency, contingency, and the multidirectionality of influences (Talmy 2008).

Fourth, by its very nature, LS involves power and inequality. Hence a perspective that focuses on a depoliticized notion of culture will miss a fundamental aspect of socialization. To begin with, LS positions some social actors as experts, or holders of knowledge, and others as novices or learners, an arrangement that profoundly shapes interactional and broader cultural rights and obligations. And more generally, all LS processes emerge from and reproduce language ideologies dictated by cultural assumptions and sociopolitical ideas about language forms and their use (Kroskrity 2004; Riley 2011; Silverstein 1979; Woolard 1998). Ideologies of language serve as 'the mediating link between social structures and forms of talk' (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, p. 55), which influence attitudes and beliefs about both in-group and out-group members and the kinds of language that they are expected to use.

Because ideologies about how language is acquired, or should be used, in specific sociocultural contexts influence and recirculate within LS routines adopted by caregivers and educators, it is important to examine such ideologies when assessing educational processes and outcomes. For example, one pervasive language ideology is that younger children are less competent and must be socialized over time by more able older siblings or adults in order to learn the communicative repertoire that is acceptable and expected in their local community. However, research has shown that in different communities, assumptions and opinions vary as to how and to what degree children need to be explicitly taught grammatically and pragmatically appropriate linguistic forms (Paugh 2011). For instance, among the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea, for whom age is the primary basis of social asymmetry, parents and older siblings overtly model appropriate ways of speaking and use prompting routines to socialize children to cultural norms (Schieffelin 1990). In contrast, adults in an African American community in the rural South studied by Heath (1983) believe that children's natural processes of formulating speech should not be interrupted and that they will eventually acquire the normative forms by imitating the speech of expert elders. However, because these language ideologies and processes of LS do not mirror those practiced in white middle-class European American families and reflected in mainstream schooling, such students are placed at a disadvantage in academic contexts. This example also illustrates the final aspect of power in LS: language ideologies draw from and perpetuate larger systems of social inequality, including racism, classism and economic disparity, xenophobia, sexism, and homophobia, as well as other forms of sociopolitical subordination. Thus, LS is not a neutral process; socializing practices within and across communities are rooted in participants' ideological dispositions, which have significant cultural, social, educational, political, and economic implications.

Fifth, and as an important counterpoint to the previous principle, LS scholars consider the agency of individuals as central in reproducing and resisting community-specific and wider practices. That is, LS enables the study of how socially, historically, culturally, and politically

positioned individuals with multiple subjectivities and identities engage in socialization activities to reproduce and transform the social order (Baquedano-López and Hernandez 2011; Duff and Talmy 2011). LS studies document how and when language practices are acquired, or acquired in different ways than intended; although researchers acknowledge the specificity of linguistic codes, exact reproduction is not assumed to be either the goal or the outcome of LS processes, and consequently the role of individual agency is emphasized (Garrett 2005; Kulick and Schieffelin 2004). In other words, because socialization is a multidirectional process in which both expert and novice are in the position of socializing each other and social actors are constantly influenced by and influencing the local contexts in which they participate (Duff 1995; Talmy 2008), those experiencing socialization have the agency to create new ways of acting, being, and thinking that do not simply reproduce the repertoire of cultural, linguistic, and ideological practices to which they are exposed (Kulick and Schieffelin 2004). This view is interlinked with the understanding of LS as a fluid and dynamic process, because the goals and practices of participants both advance and respond to changing cultural and societal circumstances. Additionally, although the grounding of LS within social interaction has led to a focus on the expert–novice dyad as the primary unit of analysis for socializing processes, self-socialization, or individual agentive action to enter a community of practice, is also an important aspect of LS. The original conceptualization of self-socialization has theoretical limitations, developing as it did from a traditional psychological perspective that lacks close attention to language and culture (Arnett 2007). However, the concept can be usefully adapted by LS researchers to enlarge the field's view of individual agency as an inherent part of socialization.

Sixth, LS research is centrally concerned with identity as a key outcome of socializing processes. This idea is in line with a general theoretical shift in research on language and identity from a correlational view, which holds that identities are reflected through language, to a constructivist view, which holds that identities are constructed and performed through language (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). That is, identities do not precede social action but are a result of social action. However, LS scholars recognize that language does not produce identity in a direct way; instead, through indexicality, or the semiotic process of creating contextualized meaning, speakers use language to take interactional stances, which in turn come to be ideologically associated with particular social categories (Ochs 1993; see also Eckert 2008). Hence, the indexical choices that speakers learn to make are not limited to the immediate interactional moment but have links to larger language-ideological systems. By conceptualizing identities as social accomplishments rather than a priori categories, LS research is able to investigate the processes by which individuals learn to become members of particular groups throughout their lives by mastering the linguistic and sociocultural practices needed to enact specific social roles and identities.

Finally, LS scholars understand the relational roles of 'expert' and 'novice' that underlie all such research as contextual, relative, and negotiable positionalities rather than fixed culturally assigned categories. Although these roles are widely used in analyzing LS processes, they are not conceptualized as wholly predetermined by cultural factors such as age or institutional status, as important as these may be in particular socialization contexts (Ochs and Schieffelin 2011). A participant may be an expert in one situation and a novice in another, and in some situations a relative novice may hold expertise that the culturally recognized expert lacks (Hsu and Roth 2009; Jacoby and Gonzales 1991). Moreover, expertise and novicehood themselves are gradient phenomena. This fact is especially evident in practices of peer socialization, whereby some individuals interactionally take on or have conferred upon them a relatively more expert status in a particular domain vis-à-vis those who are culturally positioned as their sociocultural equals (Goodwin and Kyratzis 2011; Lee, Hill-Bonnet, and Raley 2011). Peer socialization is especially well studied among those who

are otherwise culturally understood as relative novices, such as children or students, and it is an important means by which novices may claim agency and stake out identities. Peer socialization also illuminates another characteristic of expert and novice roles: they are negotiated within interaction (Carr 2010; O'Connor 2003). That is, it is not enough for a social actor simply to inhabit or adopt an expert (or novice) position; to be successful, a claim to expertise must be ratified by others, and not only once but in an ongoing way. This flexible expert/novice relationship lies at the very heart of LS.

In sum, LS enables cultural newcomers to understand, recreate, and rethink language expectations and norms as well as to engage in new practices. Most recently, new cultural and linguistic practices have emerged as a result of ongoing migration, processes of globalization, and advancements in technological means of communication, which in turn create new LS spaces and new forms of socialization. Duff (2010) notes that people and communities in the 21st century co-exist in multiple communities and use multiple linguistic varieties, thus blurring the boundaries of learning spaces. The resulting cross-fertilization in socializing practices, whether face-to-face or mediated by innovative technologies, leads to novel linguistic and cultural practices that reflect hybrid or complex identities. This situation is particularly evident in the lives of transnational, immigrant, and post-immigrant students. The multiple memberships of such youth may bring about discontinuities as well as continuities in linguistic and cultural practices and may produce greater variation in the range of experiences encountered by all participants in the LS dynamic (Duff 2010).

In response to young people's movements within and across geographic, linguistic, cultural, and educational boundaries, it has been argued that socialization studies need to take into account 'how cumulative LS experiences affect subsequent performances and subsequent socialization in other settings,' particularly in higher education and beyond (Duff 2008, p. 266). Theoretical and methodological perspectives are therefore needed to illuminate how LS affects social actors' short-term and long-term trajectories in culturally defined and valued roles and activities, the agency of individuals to change or resist dominant practices, and the formation and consequences of hybrid practices. Hence, LS theories must pay more explicit attention to the interconnection of language, culture, and learning in relation to processes of power and inequity, as it is through language that inequitable ideologies and educational practices are constructed and enacted in ways that positively or negatively affect students and teachers, as well as families and communities (Baquedano-López and Hernandez 2011).

3. Language Socialization as a Methodology

To examine the development of linguistic and cultural competence and practices across settings, LS has employed a variety of methodologies, ranging from participant-observation to interviews to audio and video recordings of interactions. Most LS studies have in common an ethnographic perspective to gain insider understandings of cultural meaning, a longitudinal design to document detailed descriptions and interpretations over time and across settings, field-based data collection and analysis of linguistic and embodied socializing interactions, and attention to both micro- and macro-levels of analysis and their connections (Garrett 2008; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Kulick and Schieffelin 2004). LS processes have traditionally been examined by researchers through some form of participant-observation in order to gain insight into the cultural workings of specific learning spaces; however, the potential of participants themselves to collect naturalistic data across varied times and settings presents a powerful alternative (as discussed further in the next section).

Because LS involves gaining competence in new ways of using language and representing sociocultural meanings throughout the lifespan, what constitutes authentic or legitimate competencies and identities may change, as these are directly tied to social, cultural, and life changes. Furthermore, the processes of socializing and being socialized via language entail an understanding of how language functions in participants' daily lives and what it accomplishes, for whom, and by whom. And although language, as the most complex communicative resource, is central to socialization, within the richly contextualized approach taken in LS research, language is understood as deeply intertwined with embodied and material communication. In order to understand the multiple pathways through which socialization can happen, LS researchers have examined spoken, written, and signed language use as well as other semiotic systems, including embodied (e.g., gestural, kinesic, haptic), technologically mediated, and other forms of communication. Researchers investigate how these systems work together to convey cultural meanings, particularly the stances and practices that help constitute identities and memberships in specific cultural groups. This focus on socialization through linguistic and other semiotic systems is compatible with various forms of discourse analysis, including conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, and positioning analysis, among others (Duff 2007; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002).

Regardless of the analytic approach, social interactions are scrutinized for culturally embedded social practices in which experienced and novice participants construct, coordinate, and negotiate communication and knowledge, using not only language but also other symbolic tools such as their bodies, material objects, and the surrounding environment (Matsumura 2001; Morita 2000; Vickers 2007). Thus, the focus of LS analysis goes well beyond single isolated utterances to examine discourse practices during cultural activities within particular contexts; this methodology requires a holistic approach that considers socializing interactions in light of the immediate context, the history of relationships among participants, and relevant sociocultural, historical, political, and other institutional processes (Duff 2007). Whether through audio or video recordings of interactions, through observational field notes, through the analysis of landscapes and artifacts that help form ideologies and practices, or through interviews – which may variously involve one-on-one interaction or focus groups; structured, semi-structured, or open-ended questions; and other tools such as elicited recall protocols or concept maps – researchers use multiple methods and data sources to triangulate information in order to build a historical and contextual understanding of specific learning spaces (Duff and Talmy 2011).

One of the most challenging aspects of LS research is the need to define and delimit what constitutes a learning space for analytic purposes, while at the same time recognizing that socialization processes are influenced by both immediate and distant factors. Researchers are well aware, for example, that LS processes inside classrooms may be influenced by LS processes in homes, peer groups, and community spaces, and vice versa. These learning spaces must be understood as 'intersecting layers of experience' rather than as separate and distinct contexts (Duff 2008, p. iii). For example, in her ethnography of the linguistic practices of New York Puerto Rican children and their families, Zentella (1997) highlights the necessity for research to examine the connections between practices used in the home and those used at school. Her research revealed a gap between the fertile multilingual competencies enacted among language users in the local community and the linguistic spaces in schools, which did not acknowledge these linguistic skills. These findings reveal lost opportunities for educators to build upon the linguistic resources that bilingual children possess and demonstrate the importance of investigating LS not only within but also across culturally defined learning spaces.

As LS continues to expand its examination of settings, new methodologies are needed in order to capture how socialization experiences vary or maintain continuity across contexts.

This contextual and methodological range is illustrated by Lo's (2009) study of how Korean language students in the United States are socialized to acquire culturally appropriate moral dispositions via the values and practices encoded in the Korean language. Lo's analysis of interactions across multiple learning spaces considers a community-based Korean heritage language classroom as well as various extracurricular programs, and draws on teachers' interpretations of students' embodied movements and expressions, stance-taking toward others, and use of language as indicators of their moral dispositions. This study highlights the rich possibilities of incorporating multiple contexts and types of data analysis into LS research. Furthermore, it demonstrates how classroom language use can directly influence the construction of young people's identities by youth themselves, their peers, and adults (see also Fader's 2008 study of LS and gender in a New York Hasidic community). Such research illustrates the importance of examining LS across learning spaces – in particular, how the interconnection of language and culture shapes participation and produces identities within and across contexts. Moreover, given the growing population of linguistically, racially, and economically minoritized children in the United States, such studies show how these individuals may deal with conflicting discourses about identity in their private versus public spheres and how they may become linguistically and culturally socialized to manage their identities in each context. Thus, blurred boundaries across times and settings also lead to 'innovation and syncretism within any particular stratum or locus of socialization' (Duff 2008, p. xv). Building on such work, innovative methods that can make connections across different settings are needed. These new methodologies will contribute to a dynamic model of language socialization that can capture the complexities involved in the process of individual and cultural change.

Along with new methods, it is necessary to investigate new research contexts. Duff and Talmy (2011) call for LS researchers to pay greater attention to the socialization of older youth and adults across the lifespan, socialization in more diverse, multilingual, multicultural, and transnational contexts, and socialization through multiple modalities such as face-to-face and computer-mediated communication. The first step may be to engage in comparative and contrastive studies across different life stages or different socialization settings that enable comparisons between previously expected and shifting norms. Such studies are likely to provide an understanding of how language socialization unfolds within 'sites of struggle' and contact (Heller 2002, p. 48). Thus, broadening the range of tools for LS research may be one way to increase consideration of the 'essential unpredictability, contestedness, and fluidity of socialization' (Duff and Talmy 2011, p. 111).

Methodological advances in the field of LS, then, must account for differences and variations within and across groups and individuals, both over time and across settings. Given researchers' continued focus on language use and its interaction with sociocultural and cognitive factors, diary studies at the individual level as well as in-depth case studies of demographically similar and different individuals are needed to account for variations within and across settings and groups. In addition to longitudinal ethnographic accounts, interview-based data collection on a shorter time frame from more participants may yield significant and robust insights into LS processes. Furthermore, quantitative studies and experimental designs in a variety of learning spaces are needed to identify and test LS patterns across time and settings (Matsumura 2001). Such methods are less common given the ethnographic roots of LS as a field, but they can enhance and complement current methodologies by addressing new questions as well as offering new ways of investigating long-standing issues.

Perhaps even more importantly, however, in addition to reconsidering who and what can be studied through LS frameworks, as well as how these studies may be conducted, it is necessary to reexamine who can investigate LS processes. In particular, participants

themselves have deep insight into LS processes as well as a level of insider access and understanding unavailable to most researchers, yet they are only occasionally included in research teams. Enlisting participants as contributors in LS research most often involves data collection (e.g., training participants to operate recording devices in order to minimize the effects of an outside researcher), data processing (e.g., working with bilingual participants to transcribe and translate data), and data analysis (e.g., using playback interviews (Gumperz 1982) or other methodologies that allow participants to offer their own interpretations of data recordings). While such activities are driven by both practical and analytic considerations, collaborative and partnership-based research transforms the research relationship in a more fundamental, theoretical, and political way, enabling participants to define the research agenda from the outset and thus partially shifting the balance of power from academics to those whose practices we seek to understand.

Such collaborations remain all too rare, especially in research focused on children and youth. Few studies have fully recognized the potential of young people as producers of knowledge about their own lives (but see, e.g., Alim 2007; Egan-Robertson and Bloome 1998), yet youth have unique access to the LS practices in which they participate, as well as unique insights into the cultural meanings of such practices. Moreover, by bridging the artificial divides between the learning spaces of school, home, peer group, and community, youth-driven research can further LS theory and methods while supporting young people's academic development and identity formation.

The remainder of this chapter illustrates this claim, using the example of the SKILLS university–community partnership, through which students are socialized as ethnographers of their own linguistic and cultural communities. The results of this partnership suggest that by creating opportunities for young people, especially those from sociopolitically subordinated groups, to participate in LS as both novices and experts, schools and other educational learning spaces can foster greater academic and social equity.

4. Language Socialization Across Learning Spaces: The SKILLS Program

The primary goal of SKILLS is to promote sociolinguistic and educational justice (Bucholtz *et al*. 2014; see also Martín Rojo, this volume; Miller, this volume). The SKILLS program is founded on the principle that effective learning, including LS, recognizes and builds on young people's already considerable linguistic and cultural expertise. The program thus provides a learning space that positions youth as experts as well as novices within the socialization process, by integrating their existing linguistic and cultural knowledge with new ways of examining and using language. In addition, SKILLS links the different forms of LS that students participate in across the learning spaces and communities of practice in which they spend most of their time: the school, the peer group, the home, and the local community. At the same time, the program creates opportunities for young people to explore unfamiliar territories and to position themselves as experts in these contexts, including the university and the wider society.

SKILLS combines original research on language and culture, hands-on training in research and teaching for graduate and undergraduate students, and professional development for teachers, as well as academic preparation for public school students. From its first full implementation in 2011 to the present (2014), the program has served over 250 high school students, primarily from linguistically, racially, and/or economically marginalized groups, at multiple sites and in diverse settings and formats in Santa Barbara

County, including as an after-school enrichment program, as a component of a weekend and summer college-preparation program, as part of an existing academic skills class, and as a stand-alone high school social science elective class. In some settings, students receive college credit for completing the program as part of an arrangement with a local community college.

All versions of SKILLS are implemented by teaching teams that include graduate students, undergraduates, and public school teachers as collaborators. The teams guide student-researchers to conduct empirical research on language use in their peer groups, their families, and their local communities, as well as to examine the politics of language in their lives. The student-researchers collect and analyze audio and video data of their own and others' interactions in culturally relevant spaces and critically reflect on and challenge language ideologies in the world around them. In addition, SKILLS creates explicit links between student-researchers' linguistic and cultural expertise across learning spaces. For example, student-researchers investigate slang in their peer groups and report the results of their analysis in an online multimedia dictionary, they incorporate their bilingual skills into academic presentations for their parents and classmates, they carry out public language awareness campaigns in their schools and communities, and they examine their family's language practices and share their findings with scholars and students at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Through these various activities, language is placed at the center of student-researchers' learning both as the object of study and as the means through which they become socialized into the academic community.

LS is central to all aspects of the SKILLS program. Student-researchers are socialized to think and talk analytically about language as a human activity with substantial sociocultural, political, academic, and personal consequences. They learn to look at language as the basis of culture and identity, and to view their own and others' LS experiences in specific learning spaces as ways of gaining expertise in different cultural contexts. As we illustrate below, rather than leaving their knowledge of family, peer, and community linguistic practices at the classroom door, student-researchers integrate their full linguistic repertoires into their knowledge production within the program, and they further expand their repertoires through mastery of new academic communication skills in a variety of genres. Finally, although we do not have time to develop this point further here, participants in SKILLS do not simply gain new abilities but also use their newfound expertise to take action to produce social change by socializing others into a deeper understanding of highly charged issues of language, power, and inequality (e.g., Bucholtz forthcoming).

Given the scholarly conceptualization of LS as multidirectional and the roles of expert and novice as fluid, however, an exclusive focus on how the SKILLS program serves students in a classroom setting would miss the program's much wider aims. SKILLS seeks to foster LS processes not only for the student participants, but also for those with whom they interact, both in school and in other learning spaces. The program also works to dismantle the borders between learning spaces, so that expertise in one domain can support socialization in another domain (see also Kasper and Kim, this volume; and Lindwall, Greifenhagen, and Lymer, this volume, on the boundaries between classroom and non-classroom interaction). Figure 19.1 presents a model of LS across learning spaces within the SKILLS program.

As the model indicates, the student-researchers stand at the center of the SKILLS program, where they enact roles both as experts and as novices. In their social interactions with friends and other peers, family members, and members of the local community, young people are sometimes experts, sometimes novices, as they participate in LS processes in a wide variety of domains. And although in traditional schooling all students are positioned as novices instructed by a teacher-expert, in the SKILLS program youth are encouraged to bring their

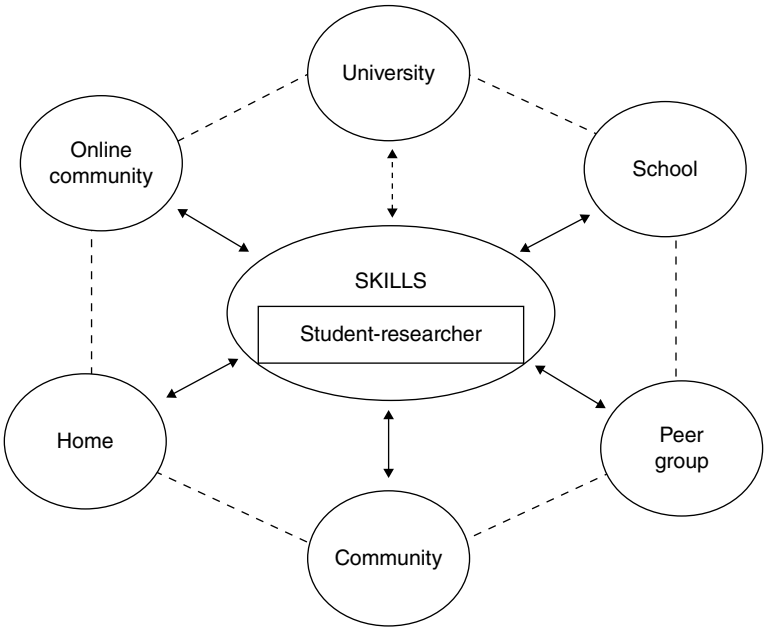

Figure 19.1. A model of multidirectional LS across learning spaces in the SKILLS program

diverse forms of expertise into the classroom and to share their knowledge with classmates as well as teachers. SKILLS also gives student-researchers direct access to the university as a multidirectional learning space: not only do students experience for themselves the role of college student as they participate in various aspects of college life with their undergraduate hosts, but they also enter the university setting as experts in their own right, authoritatively presenting the results of their research and political action projects to an audience of university faculty and students as well as family and community members. Finally, the student-researchers' role as knowledge producers has a life well beyond the SKILLS program: their data are archived at UCSB and used in further research by faculty and students, and their projects are made available to the public at large through the SKILLS website (www.skills.ucsb.edu). Thus, SKILLS helps foster and connect students' expertise across domains in their everyday lives and facilitates the flow of knowledge across learning spaces, as represented by the dotted lines in Figure 19.1.

To be sure, LS is a multidirectional process in any setting, and all participants in LS are always simultaneously experts and novices. The contribution of the SKILLS program to LS research, then, is not that it turns students into experts. Rather, SKILLS recognizes that students already are experts within many different spaces, and it uses this insight as the basis for further learning. By valorizing and supporting rather than devaluing or ignoring the knowledge and abilities that young people already have, the program helps youth to envision themselves as college students with highly prized abilities and knowledge, and to gain the additional skills needed to succeed in college and beyond. Finally, for researchers, programs like SKILLS create rare opportunities to learn directly from youth about LS processes in their lives, based on research that they themselves have conceived and carried out. The following section illustrates the multidirectionality of LS within the SKILLS program as well as the value of linking LS practices and processes across the learning spaces that young people inhabit.

5. Multidirectional LS Across Domains: SKILLS Student-researcher Nancy Áviles

To illustrate LS in action, this section highlights some of the accomplishments of one student-researcher in the SKILLS program, Nancy Áviles.[1] Nancy participated in the SKILLS program in Spring 2011 as a high school senior and after graduation went on to attend a four-year university. Already a strong and highly motivated student, Nancy was able to leverage her bilingual expertise to conduct insightful and valuable original research within the program while also expanding her own and others' linguistic and cultural competencies.

Example 1 is taken from data that Nancy audio-recorded as part of a SKILLS research project on slang use in her friendship group. In the example, she is chatting with her friend Ramón at lunchtime. As Ramón explains to Nancy how recessive genes work, he uses a Spanish term with which she is unfamiliar, *cuates*, 'fraternal twins'.

Example 1: 'Cuates,' January 12, 2011 00:36.92-01:25.26

Ramón: Porque esta, Alma,
'Because that girl Alma'

if you see her entire family, um,

todos tienen como, pelo, negro, y, ojos cafes?
'everyone has like black hair and brown eyes'

but her two brothers traen como, blue eyes, y son cuates.
'but her two brothers have like blue eyes and are fraternal twins'.

Nancy: Cuates? What does that mean? Twins?

Ramón: Twins, that, I don't know, they were born in the same, like,

but they don't look the same.

Nancy: Oh.

Ramón: Like, I don't – I guess that's still considered twins,

porque [no son] gemelos,
'because they aren't identical twins'

Nancy: [Mhm.]

Ramón: (ellos) son cuates.
'they're fraternal twins'

Nacieron de la misma vez, pero no se parecen.
'They were born at the same time, but they don't look alike.'

Although here Ramón teaches Nancy a new word, it is important to recognize Nancy's own linguistic expertise as well. Not only was she able to successfully interact with Ramón according to the norms of their bilingual friendship group, but as a student-researcher she recognized and accepted the new term *cuate* as a marker of their bilingual speech community. Through the learning opportunities in the SKILLS program, she gained the ability to identify and analyze her friends' slang use in the recordings she collected and presented the results of her analysis to her classmates and the program instructors as well as on the SKILLS website as part of the site's multimedia slang dictionary, thereby sharing her knowledge with a much broader audience (http://www.skills.ucsb.edu/projects/slang). This example demonstrates how language practices within peer groups can illuminate the everyday lives of bilingual youth, who are both expert participants and novice learners in their own speech communities. But whereas Ramón's bilingual expertise is valued in the peer group but not

necessarily in the classroom, as a participant in SKILLS Nancy engaged daily in creating and recreating cultural and linguistic practices both within and across learning spaces.

This point is demonstrated in the next example, in which Nancy again relies on her bilingual abilities to interview her grandmother for a linguistic oral history project for the SKILLS program. The example opens with her grandmother stating that unlike in Spanish, in English 'no hay acentos' ('there are no accents').

Example 2: 'Acentos,' February 21, 2011

Grandma:	Lo que me doy cuenta que en el inglés, no hay acentos así, ¿verdad? 'What I realize is that, in English, there are no accents like that, right?'
Nancy:	Mm.
Grandma:	Te vas. 'You go with it'.
Nancy:	Como, 'Like',
Grandma:	[(unintelligible)]
Nancy:	[Sí, sí, hay a]centos. Como, 'Yes, yes, there are accents. Like',
	el:, el inglés que se habla aquí en California es muy diferente al inglés que se habla, 'the, the English that's spoken here in California is very different from the English that's spoken',
	como, en Nueva Yo:rk, en la Florida. Es muy diferente. 'like, in New York, in Florida. It's very different'.
Grandma:	Sí, [(laughs)] 'Yes'
Nancy:	[Como] si ellos vienen aquí, ellos, se quedan como, '¿Qué estás hablando?' 'Like if they come here, they're like, "What are you saying?" '
	Y si tú vas para allá:, así como es:, bien diferente el idioma. 'And if you go over there, it's just like, the language is really different'.
	Así como es el mismo idioma, 'Since it's the same language',
	se habla igual, (0.8) se:, se habla, pero se pronuncia igual. 'it's spoken the same, it's, it's spoken, but it's pronounced the same'.
	I mean, diferente, se pronuncia diferente. 'I mean, different, it's pronounced different'.
	Como:, que no ves que muchos dicen, 'Oh, está Colorado <[kolora:o]>,' 'Like, you know how a lot of people say, "Oh, it's Colorado <[kolora:o]>" ',
	Y nosotros, es 'Color[ado] <[koloraðo]>.' 'And (for) us, it's "Colorado <[koloraðo]>" '.
Grandma:	[(laughs)]

Throughout the interview, Nancy positions herself as both novice and expert. As the interviewer, she is seeking information from a knowledgeable elder and is thus in a learner role. At the same time, however, the interview genre is unfamiliar to (and uncomfortable for) Nancy's grandmother but is somewhat familiar to Nancy, who has received training in interview methods within the SKILLS program. In this particular example, moreover, Nancy shifts from the role of interviewer to challenge her grandmother's assertion about the lack of accents in English. Nancy skillfully draws on her own observations as well as what she has

learned in SKILLS to counter this claim; in addition, she spontaneously draws an analogy for her grandmother based on variation in the Spanish pronunciation of *Colorado*; her grandmother's appreciation of this example is reflected in her laughter.

In Example 2, Nancy brings the expertise she has gained in SKILLS into her home setting and demonstrates her socialization into the academic community of linguistics students and scholars, who are attentive to the details of linguistic variation. Conversely, in Example 3, she brings home-based knowledge into the domain of the school. In this example, Nancy has just completed her bilingual presentation about her grandmother and is answering questions from her classmates. As the example begins, a student has just asked when Nancy's grandmother was born and Nancy has replied, 'Nineteen fifty'; she goes on to describe a funny incident that occurred during the interview.

Example 3: Nancy's classroom presentation, March 2, 2011

Nancy: And when she was telling] me her birthday, she was like,

'Nací el, uh, dos mil- mil noveciento:s,'
' "I was born on, uh, two thousand- thousand nine hundred" '

'Cause she couldn't remember how (laughs) to say it 'cause she was nervous at first.

She said, 'Two thousand nine hu:ndre:d,'

(Laughter from class)

She's like, 'Oh no, nineteen fifty.' Yeah. She's sixty now.

As one of the most highly proficient bilingual students in the class, Nancy voices her grandmother in Spanish, the language spoken in the interview, but quickly switches to English to make sure her classmates appreciate the humor of the anecdote. Nancy's ability to move smoothly between her grandmother's original speech in Spanish and an English translation for her classmates is a striking example of youth expertise (see also Bucholtz *et al*. 2014). By integrating her knowledge of the language norms and practices of the classroom learning space with a linguistically accurate representation of her interaction with her grandmother through the act of codeswitching, Nancy demonstrates her successful socialization into the language practices of her multiple domains, thereby reaffirming her bilingual and bicultural identity. As all three examples illustrate, as youth socialize others and are themselves socialized to and through the use of language, young people's bilingual abilities create a strong foundation for linking the learning spaces of home and school, the peer group and the wider world.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of LS as a general framework for understanding how newcomers learn to become full-fledged members of a community of practice, and has offered as an illustration the accomplishments of a bilingual student-researcher who embodied the multidirectionality of LS within a particular university–school partnership, the SKILLS program.

The chapter has enumerated seven theoretical principles that underlie all LS research and continue to drive new developments in the field:

1. Cognition, including learning, is social and interactional.
2. Language is inseparable from culture.

3. Culture is dynamic and constantly changing.
4. Power and inequality are central to LS processes.
5. Individual agency of all participants is central to LS processes.
6. Identities are produced through LS processes.
7. Roles of expert and novice are flexible.

This theoretical framework is supported by a wealth of methodological tools and techniques for richly contextualized investigations of LS within and across cultural spaces as well as over time. These methods have traditionally been based in ethnography, including participant-observation, audio and video recordings of social interaction, interviews, documentation of the built and natural environment, and various forms of discourse analysis to interpret all of these data sources. Recently, LS methods have expanded to incorporate complementary quantitative and experimental techniques as well.

The preceding discussion has emphasized that LS processes are situated within specific learning spaces, which offer particular affordances for socialization into cultural membership(s). Yet, this chapter has also argued that the often rigid divisions between learning spaces such as school, home, peer group, and community are more ideological than real, and that LS practices that transcend these boundaries can promote greater educational and sociolinguistic justice. Although LS has traditionally been investigated from the perspective of adults' socialization of children, the SKILLS program starts from the premise that students have the agency and expertise to socialize adults as well as other young people into the linguistic and cultural practices that are relevant and meaningful to their lives. SKILLS demonstrates the benefits of providing opportunities for youth, especially those who have been linguistically, racially, and/or economically marginalized, to build on their linguistic and cultural expertise in ways that break down the traditional boundaries between learning spaces. As a result of the inherently dynamic and shifting nature of LS, programs like SKILLS can take advantage of socializing processes not only to foster individual opportunity and transformation but also to advance social change on a much wider scale.

7. Acknowledgments

We thank Numa Markee for his patience, encouragement, and extremely helpful suggestions; we also thank our research collaborator Dolores Inés Casillas and the members of the seminar The Politics of Race and Language in Learning Contexts for their insights. In addition, we are grateful to the graduate assistants and undergraduate interns at the Center for California Languages and Cultures, and especially María José Aragon, Meghan Corella Morales, Cassidy Copeland, Daisy Gomez, and Maria Reyes, for their research assistance. Finally, we would like to express our deep appreciation of the students, teachers, and administrators at our partner institutions, our graduate and undergraduate SKILLS team members past and present, and UC/ACCORD, the Verizon Foundation, and our many funders at UCSB.

NOTE

1 In recognition of the valuable contributions of the SKILLS student-researchers, we use their real names, with their permission. Other participants' names have been changed.

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See Chapter 18: The Role of Language Socialization in Heritage Language Classroom Interaction.

See Chapter 20: Academic Language and Literacy Socialization for Second-Language Students.

See Chapter 21: A Language Socialization Perspective on Identity Work of ESL Youth in a Superdiverse High School Classroom.

See Chapter 27: Power, Resistance and Second Language Learning.

See Chapter 29: The Social Construction of Inequality in and Through Interaction in bilingual classrooms.