

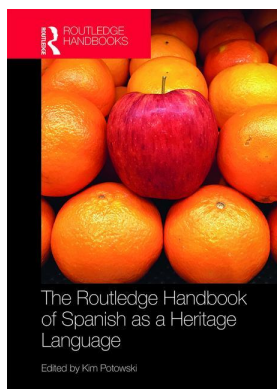
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TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR EXAMINING GOALS AND PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES IN TEACHING LANGUAGE TO HERITAGE SPEAKERS

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Introduction: language curriculum design

Language curriculum design according to Nation and Macalister (2010) is a complex process that involves the following activities: (1) discovering needs, (2) following principles, (3) establishing goals, (4) deciding on content and sequencing, (5) designing lessons, (6) monitoring and assessing learning, and (7) evaluating the course. This process, one that Valdés (2015, in press) has recently referred to as *curricularizing language*, is engaged in (either consciously or unconsciously) by all language teachers either as individuals or as part of a group of instructors who work together in a particular educational institution. The process of curricularizing language involves a series of interacting mechanisms and elements all of which function as part of a complex system as depicted in Figure 20.1.

Program goals and outcomes, in particular, are central to the process of determining teaching approaches, activities, and materials, as well as student placement and classification. They establish what is to be assessed and measured as evidence of program success, and they inform views about teacher capacities considered necessary in order to implement the program as designed. Nation and Macalister (2010) emphasize that goals are established by first obtaining a clear view of student needs and wants, then applying general principles and theories about language itself

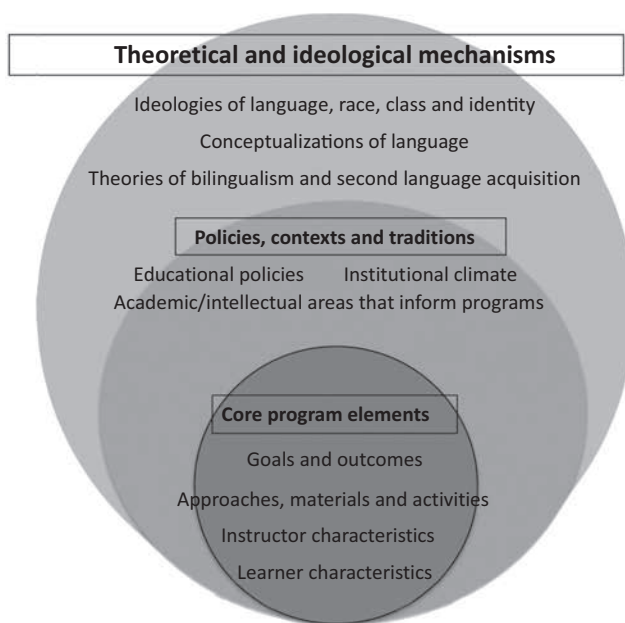


Figure 20.1 Concentric circles informing language curricularization

and language acquisition, and finally by considering the environment in which the language teaching and learning activity will take place.

Much less attention has, unfortunately, been given to the examination of the larger, complex interacting *system* in which language instruction is embedded and to its impact on pedagogical approaches and curriculum design. As noted in Figure 20.1, when language is curricularized, the activity is not self-contained. It is informed by the larger mechanisms depicted in Figure 20.1 which interact with each other and with smaller program-specific elements forming a complicated system of theoretical, pedagogical, and policy relations. All accredited language programs, for example, must be aligned with educational language policies such as credit-unit requirements and state- or profession-wide language standards (i.e., aspirational progressions stating what students can do and how well at different levels of study).¹ Program designers are not free to simply respond to student needs. They are constrained and informed by the system and, moreover, by ideologies of language and theories of language acquisition, language development, and bilingualism/multilingualism.

In this chapter, our aim is to propose a common analytical framework for examining goals and pedagogical approaches in teaching Spanish to heritage learners. Currently, publications in the field of Spanish as a heritage language (SHL) have multiplied (Beaudrie, Ducar & Potowski 2014; Beaudrie & Fairclough 2012; Fairclough & Beaudrie 2016; Zapata & Lacorte 2017; Pascual 2016). The literature includes much information about ongoing research and pedagogy initiatives. Unfortunately, it is often difficult to determine the similarities and differences between programs and to reach conclusions about more and less successful implementations. In proposing a framework that can be useful for the needed task, we draw from Valdés' work on curricularizing language (2015, 2016). In the first part of the chapter, we discuss each of the larger mechanisms of the overall system in which language curricularization is embedded—in other words, the three circles in Figure 20.1. We also discuss the smaller elements of the system in order to

situate programs that focus on heritage language (HL) instruction within this larger system. In the second part of the chapter, we present a historical overview of language goals and objectives in the SHL field and a review of new and expanded goals in SHL teaching. Finally, in the third part of the chapter, we explicate a multilevel, contextual analytical process created to support researchers and practitioners in describing and organizing their programs in detail. We believe that, given the broad continuum of linguistic abilities of Latino students, it would be impossible to define a single model that would fit all Latino students' needs. However, we consider it central to the future of the field to have a common understanding of the components (theoretical and pedagogical) that educators and Language Program Directors (LPD) should consider when designing and/or evaluating strengths and weaknesses of heritage programs across such continua.

Circle 1: contextual/environmental mechanisms that inform the curricularization of language²

This circle (as seen in Figure 20.2) contains four elements: (1) ideologies of language, race, class and identity; (2) conceptualizations of language; (3) theories of second language acquisition; and (4) theories of bilingualism.

Ideologies of language as they intersect with race, class, and identity

As Figure 20.1 makes evident, ideologies of language, race, class, and identity inform the entire process of language curricularization and directly influence language education. They inform constructions and conceptualizations of language itself and of established and emerging theories of what it means to “acquire” both a first and a second language. Language ideologies intersect in important ways with perspectives on bilingualism and multilingualism as well as with theories of bi/multilingual acquisition and use.

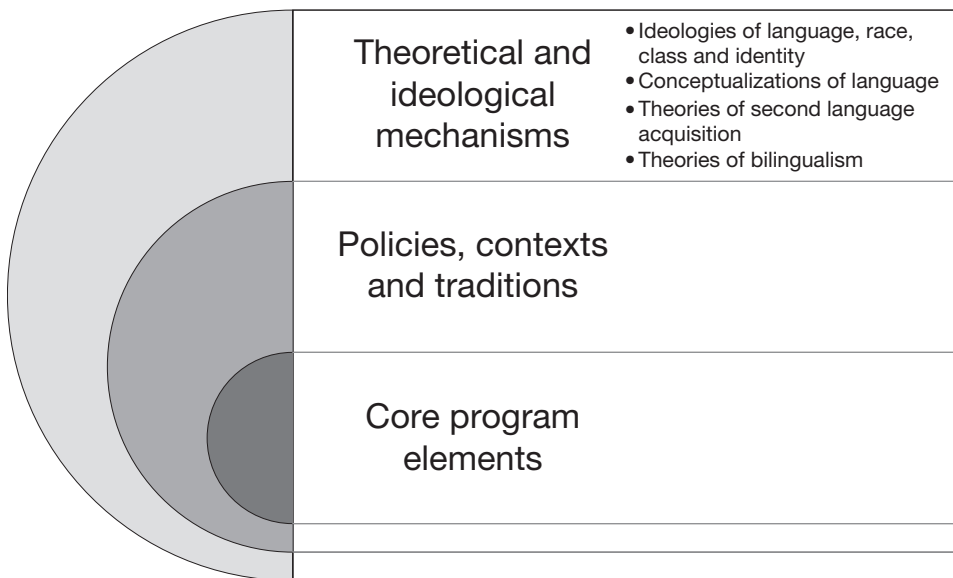


Figure 20.2 Theoretical and ideological mechanisms

Ideologies of language can best be thought of as unexamined ideas and beliefs that shape people's thinking about language itself and about those who use language. Rumsey (1990, p. 346) defines ideologies as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world." Silverstein (1979, p. 193) describes them as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use." Heath (1989, p. 53) views language ideologies as "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group," and Irvine (1989, p. 255) considers language ideology to be "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests." Eagleton (1991, p. 19) notes that "ideology creates and acts in a social world while it masquerades as a description of that world." These ideologies—often multiple and conflicting—help comprise the institutional and social fabric of a culture (Kroskrity 2004, 2010; Woolard & Schieffelin 1994) and include "notions of what is 'true,' 'morally good,' or 'aesthetically pleasing' about language, including who speaks and does not speak 'correctly'" (Valdés 2016, p. 258). Defined variously as feelings, ideas, conceptions, and cultural models of language (Kroskrity 2010), and as doxas by Bourdieu (1977), language ideologies may appear to be commonsense, but are, in fact, constructed from specific political and economic perspectives and frequently result in evaluative views about speakers and their language use.

In the case of the process of curricularizing language—that is to say, the larger system in which language instruction is embedded—language ideologies—discursive constructions of otherness including race, class, gender, and sexuality—that are present in the larger society directly influence the practice of language teaching (Kubota & Lin 2009). In the case of SHL, these constructions are influenced by instructors' backgrounds (Valdés et al. 2006, 2008), including whether they are speakers of peninsular or Latin American Spanish, or are Anglophone individuals who have acquired Spanish as a second language. Instructors' comfort with their ascribed identities as hispanophones in the United States also matters, as does their acceptance or challenge of hegemonic ideologies of *hispanofonia* (del Valle 2006, 2007, 2009; Mar-Molinero & Paffey 2011; Paffey 2007, 2012; Uricuoli 2010). In heritage language education (HLE) in particular, race and class are constructed as visible and tangible attributes of individuals. As Valdés et al. (2006) pointed out, for example, in Spanish language departments in U.S. universities, "white" or white-identified faculty (often Spaniards or upper-class Latin Americans) frequently respond negatively to the class and racial identities of U.S. Latinos and structure their Spanish instruction to eradicate all features of the students' original modes of expression. This is also true in many U.S. high school Spanish departments.

Conceptualizations of language

Conceptualizations of language are notions and broad ideas about language as well as definitions of language that are informed by the study of or exposure to established bodies of knowledge, by facts about existing and developing theories in applied or theoretical linguistics, by research data on the teaching and learning of second languages, and/or by personal experiences with language and language instruction. Such conceptualizations are often expressed with statements such as:

- Language is structure and form;
- Language is action;
- Language is doing things by means of words;
- Language is a fixed code;
- Language is a set of building blocks;

- Language is a vehicle for making meaning;
- Language is a human representation system;
- Language can be viewed as correct or incorrect, appropriate or inappropriate, standard or non-standard.

There are many ways that ordinary people as well as linguists define language. Different perspectives give rise to dramatically different expectations about teaching, learning, and assessing languages. As Seedhouse (2010) contends, researchers and practitioners involved in the area of language teaching may not be aware that they are starting with vastly different conceptualizations of language and that it is these differences that have led to existing debates in the field. Previously, the same point had been made by van Lier (2004), who also categorized a number of different common assumptions underlying conceptualizations of language. Van Lier contended that all of these assumptions involve “half truths that can easily lead to questionable teaching and learning practices” (p. 27).

What must be emphasized is that conceptualizations of language are shaped by different positions on what language is and is not. Additionally, each of these conceptualizations embraces different perspectives on what it means to “learn” or “know” a language, and the ways in which humans acquire the capacity to interact with other humans both in and outside of their first communicative contexts. These perspectives, moreover, underlie currently established theories of first and second language/second dialect acquisition and directly influence language instruction in fundamental ways.

Theories of second language and second dialect acquisition

Theories of second language and second dialect acquisition focus on the process and conditions of acquisition of languages or dialects (other than the first) in naturalistic (Siegel 2010; Ecker this volume) and in instructed settings (Fairclough 2016; Valdés 2005). The field of second language acquisition (SLA) is currently characterized by such debates and disagreements and is part of continuing research and theory development. In recent years, for example, there has been an increasing shift from a predominant view of second language learning/acquisition as an individual, cognitive process that takes place in the mind of individual learners to a view of L2 acquisition as a social process that takes place in interactions between learners and speakers of the target language (the language to be acquired). Research findings carried out from the perspectives of the dominant cognitive paradigm are seriously being questioned while, at the same time, alternative perspectives³ (characterized as part of the social turn in SLA) are not monolithic in their principles. Some emphasize non-linearity and variance in acquisition without a clear end to language development, while others focus more on the mechanisms of acquisition than the outcomes and do not necessarily challenge the much-debated idea of “full” or native-like bilingualism. Some researchers (e.g., Ortega 2013) predict that SLA in the 21st century will move toward what can be characterized as a bi/multilingual turn in the field.

In the case of heritage language learners (HLLs), the question is whether, by formally studying a home or heritage language in school settings, these learners are involved in one or more of the following processes:

- (a) the acquisition of “incompletely” acquired features of their variety of the HL;
- (b) the (re-)acquisition of HL features that have undergone attrition;
- (c) the acquisition of the standard variety of the HL as a second dialect (D2 acquisition) (Valdés 2005);

- (d) the development of discourse skills in the written and oral language including the acquisition of formal registers and styles (R2 acquisition) as well as the acquisition of basic literacy; or
- (e) the expansion of existing receptive proficiencies into productive abilities in the HL.

The perspective a program adopts is important because, as will be illustrated later, it will directly inform the core program elements including goals and outcomes, materials selection, testing and assessment of learning.

Theories of bi/multilingualism

Previously accepted and established views of bilinguals and bilingualism have recently changed in important ways. This complicates the scenario for heritage language instruction because it works directly with individuals “who are to some degree bilingual in English and their heritage language” (Valdés 2001). As pointed out earlier, there has been an increasing rejection of nation-state views of language-as-object that are associated with what Grosjean (1989) refers to as “fractional” perspectives of bilingualism, which view bilingualism through a monolingual lens, expecting that “true” bilinguals will be two monolinguals in one person. Movement is toward “holistic” conceptions of bilingualism (Grosjean 1989) within which bilinguals are considered to have unique linguistic configurations. Rather than “ideal” bilinguals and “ambilinguals,” researchers now argue that bilingual individuals will not be “perfect” (read: monolingual) users of two languages, but simply persons who use resources from two languages in their daily lives for a variety of purposes.

The study of bilingualism, then, has shifted increasingly to what Jessner (2008) refers to as a “bilingual view of bilingualism.” Additionally, the disciplines and fields most engaged in the study of bi/multilingualism are currently in the midst of a paradigm shift. The notion, for example, of discrete, distinguishable, named languages has been challenged and, as a result, earlier definitions of language itself now appear problematic (see Erker this volume). For example, Li (2013, p. 26) had defined bilingualism as “the coexistence, contact and interaction of different languages” and pointed out that the coexistence of different languages depends on three principal conditions: the existence of different languages, the opportunity for contact between the languages, and the capability of human beings to learn and use multiple languages within the multiplicity of contexts in which they interact. As will be noted, the question of how the notion of “different languages” is understood becomes central.

While narrow views of bilingualism continue to be deeply embedded in nationalistic views about language that are often prevalent in political and educational discussions, scholarly work on multilingualism (e.g., Blommaert 2014; Blommaert & Rampton 2012; May 2013) has argued for the legitimacy of the intricate and multi-faceted linguistic repertoires of bilingual individuals who perform complex identities effectively through more than one language for a variety of purposes. Most importantly, the native-speaker norm has been rejected as the end goal of SLA (Canagarajah 1999; Cook 1999; Doerr 2009; Leung, Harris & Rampton 1997; Piller 2002; Rampton 1990).

In sum, the fields of SLA and of bilingualism studies are changing rapidly. Ortega (2013) describes the moment as one in which SLA is characterized by “remarkable epistemological diversity” (p. 3). It has moved from *the social turn* (starting with the work of Firth & Wagner (1997), which interrogated the dominating cognitive perspectives of mainstream applied linguistics), to the *multilingual turn* (May 2013). This current trend is described by Ortega (2013) as bringing with it three framings of second language acquisition:

- 1 the rejection of comparisons of learners to monolingual native speakers;
- 2 the rejection of learner language as deficient; and
- 3 the acceptance of a view of bilingual “multicompetence” (Cook 1992, 1997) as different, unique, and legitimate.

In considering the importance of this multilingual turn, May (2013) argues that there are fundamental theoretical and disciplinary boundaries in the field that must be made permeable if language instruction is to address the reality of multilingualism in the world. Among the disciplinary borders May describes are positions that have been central to linguistic-cognitive SLA including its monolingual bias, its acceptance of established native-speaker norms, its views about interlanguage and fossilization, its acceptance of notions of incomplete acquisition (e.g., Montrul 2002), and its primary focus on language as structure and form. Ortega (2013), in the same volume, comments that there are problems of both ethics and validity in using nativeness and monolingualism as organizing principles in SLA because they support the erasure of multilinguals, produce data that result in confusion for researchers, and promote a deficit perspective.

Circle 2: policies, contexts and traditions that inform the curricularization of language

This circle, as seen in Figure 20.3, contains elements such as educational language policies, institutional climate, and intellectual areas that inform practice.

Educational language policies

As shown in Figure 20.3, educational language policies inform and directly influence the process and practice of curricularizing language. These policies include, for example, national and state

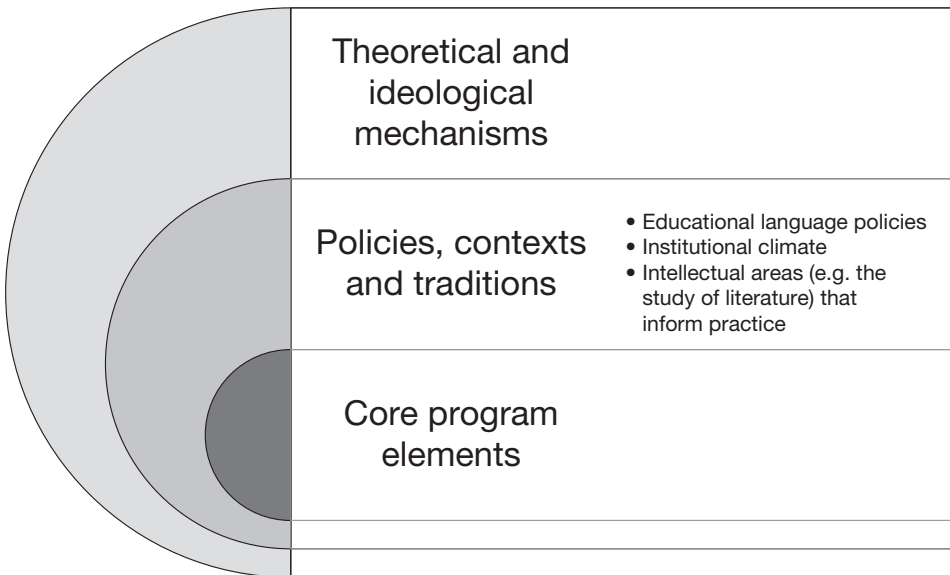


Figure 20.3 Policies, contexts, and traditions

standards (e.g., the National Standards for Foreign Language Learning (ACTFL 1996, 2006),⁴ state world-language frameworks, high school graduation requirements, new state policies promoting the Seal of Biliteracy (see <http://sealofbiliteracy.org>), college entrance language requirements, and college and university unit-credit language requirements. These policies, with few exceptions,⁵ are focused on the education and on the needs of majority individuals who generally speak the societal language and are the primary focus of school instruction. Specifically, foreign or world language education policies are primarily and directly concerned with the acquisition of languages other than the societal language. They therefore govern the study of foreign or world languages in state-run and other accredited educational systems, and establish the specific languages that are offered as subjects in schools and universities as well as the outcomes of elementary, secondary, and post-secondary instruction in “foreign” or world languages.

Interestingly, according to a document brought forward by the National Council of State Supervisors for Languages (2010), there is no consensus on world language requirements among states. The most common requirement is two years of study of world languages (ten states), followed by a requirement of two credits (seven states). Other states require two “units” (New York and Oklahoma), five credits (New Jersey), or simply “highly recommend” the study of world languages but do not require language study for graduation (Georgia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, for example). Most universities require two to three years of foreign language study for admission, but there is no consensus across universities on the number of years of study of a world language that students should have in order to graduate. A one- or two-year language requirement appears to be the most common choice. Enrollment in heritage language classes tend to fulfill world language requirements in high school or college level. Some high schools even pressure heritage students to take the AP exam with no previous course requirement. Although the AP exam can give high school students college credit, when the results are not high enough, students feel discouraged to continue their studies in Spanish.

Whatever the policies or requirements may be at any given point in time, they directly inform and constrain decisions on program goals and outcomes, on instructional approaches and materials, on learner categorizations and assessments, and on the relationship between the program and other subject matter areas. The availability and investment in heritage language programs is also greatly influenced by the available resources (e.g., staff, curriculum) within a school or district. As is the case around the United States, school districts with a larger or wealthier tax base have more funding to offer a greater selection of elective (non-core) courses and pathways. This leads to an investment in staffing, curricular resources, and professional development opportunities. Some districts have the flexibility to hire teachers specifically to nurture and develop heritage language programs. For example, in a traditional model, a course sequence may include Spanish 1, 2, 3, 4, and AP. With additional resources, a school could offer any combination of the former, as well as Heritage Speakers 1, 2, 3, 4, AP Language, and AP Literature. Funding is also critical for textbooks, ancillary supplies, website and software access, and subscriptions to other resources useful for teaching heritage speakers. Professional memberships, affiliations, and conferences (local, state, and national) are more likely available to staff and teachers where the discretionary budget for professional development can be more generous. The greater access to resources, the more likely a program will be met with success. Granted, these investments happen only when the administration comprehends and supports language maintenance and bilingualism for their student population, in addition to having the budget to do so.

In smaller school districts and rural areas, there are typically only one or two teachers and one traditional “foreign” language program, limiting the options until the quantity of heritage

Spanish students demands a separate program. These schools with more restricted funding are limited to having pockets of heritage speakers within each of their existing traditional levels, requiring extreme differentiation by the teacher (see Carreira & Hitchins Chik, this volume).

Institutional climate

The specific institutional climate or context in which a program is implemented has a direct impact on many aspects of language instruction. Figure 20.1 depicts this climate as surrounding the program itself and therefore determining programmatic alignment with other intellectual and academic areas that can enrich the broad engagement of HLL with important areas of knowledge, institutional goals, approaches, materials, and expectations of student success.

For example, in some institutions, links between the Spanish department where HL classes are offered and other entities such as Latin American Studies, Latino Studies, and Ethnic Studies are common. Scholars from across these areas of interest share students and often work together. Similarly, other campus centers focusing on race, poverty, queer studies, religious studies, global education, service learning, and the like often provide links to important academic and intellectual areas that can directly impact HL program design and instruction. In some middle and high schools, administrators encourage teachers of heritage courses to align their curriculum to the English Common Core State Standards, which the state of California has translated into Spanish (see <https://commoncore-espanol.scoed.net>).

As Potowski (2012) has argued, recent events focused on racial inequality at university campuses across the nation have, now more than ever, made links and partnerships with other academic areas of scholarship increasingly valuable for HLL instruction. She and other scholars contend that the theoretical and pedagogical frameworks of SHL education can benefit in meaningful ways by engaging with broad areas of Latino studies to include areas such as linguistic anthropology, sociology, immigration, border and gender studies, and Latino critical race theory not only to foster discussions in class but, more importantly, to provide students with the scholarly background, and therefore deeper and more informed perspectives, on their own struggles around race, ethnicity, ethnolinguistic identity, and gender within the Latino community (Parra 2016a; Torres, Pascual & Beusterien 2017). As Uricuoli (2008) and He (2006) have argued, the educational environment in which students enroll in SHL classes can trigger new questions about their identities, about their community membership, and about what it means to study a heritage language. College, and increasingly high schools as well, with the increase in heritage programs, is a time of social transition during which many Spanish heritage language learners (SHLLs) “rethink themselves as Latinos” (Uricuoli 2008, p. 261). Frequently decontextualized from their original communities, students become aware of their ethnicity—in contrast to the white-Anglo culture often prevailing in these settings—and the challenges and advantages of such ethnicity. At the same time, college also presents SHLLs with the opportunity to meet other students with different Spanish-speaking backgrounds. Within this new setting, membership in Latino organizations and the study of Spanish bring a “sense of safety” and “linguistic solidarity” to those students who see Spanish as “emblematic” and as a “social touchstone” (Uricuoli 2008, p. 273). It seems that the national climate in and outside of universities is propitious for these important conversations where the recognition of heritage languages is part of the efforts to support and empower Latino youth, as we elaborate in the next section. As Figure 20.1 illustrates, moreover, the climate in which language programs are embedded (i.e., the institutional and intellectual relationships on which language teaching practitioners can draw) offer or constrain the connections that can be made between the teaching and learning of HL beyond the traditional study of literature.

Circle 3: core program elements in the system of curricularization of language

Circle 3, as seen in Figure 20.4, contains elements such as goals and outcomes, learner categorizations, instructional materials, instructor competencies, instructional approaches, and assessments.

Core program elements

Core program elements interacting with each other make up the essence of the language curricularization system. When researchers and practitioners write about specific programs, they generally describe some aspects of the system as presented in Figure 20.5.

Program goals and outcomes

As noted from Figure 20.5, program goals and outcomes define and guide every aspect of the program itself. As stated before, the elements of the system work together. For example, assessments required by educational policies determine placements, placements regulate instruction, and student characteristics (assessed or self-reported) define the appropriate goals and expected outcomes of programs designed for particular categories of students. In the case of HLLs, learner identification/categorization determines the types of assessments that are considered appropriate and informative for placing these students in classes, the expected articulation between instruction designed for HLLs and traditional foreign language learners (FLLs), and alignment expectations between the “regular” (i.e., non-HL program) and the HL programs. In many cases, alignment expectations and assumptions often directly regulate program goals for HLLs. Expected eventual enrollment in the regular grammar and composition courses for Spanish majors, for example, defines what is and is not included in HL classes. However, in many other cases, there is little or no explicit articulation between the heritage and the non-HL programs goals.

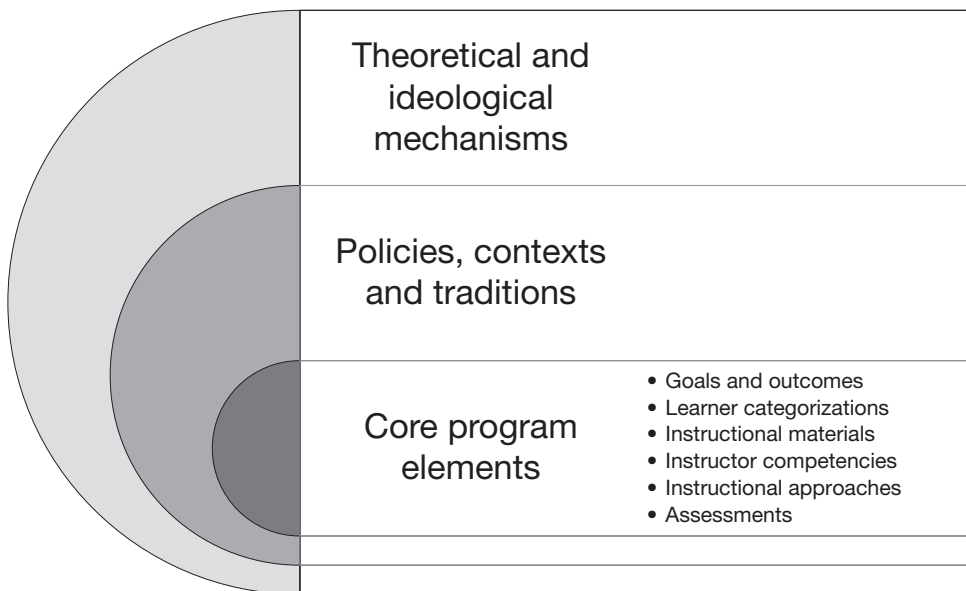


Figure 20.4 Core program elements

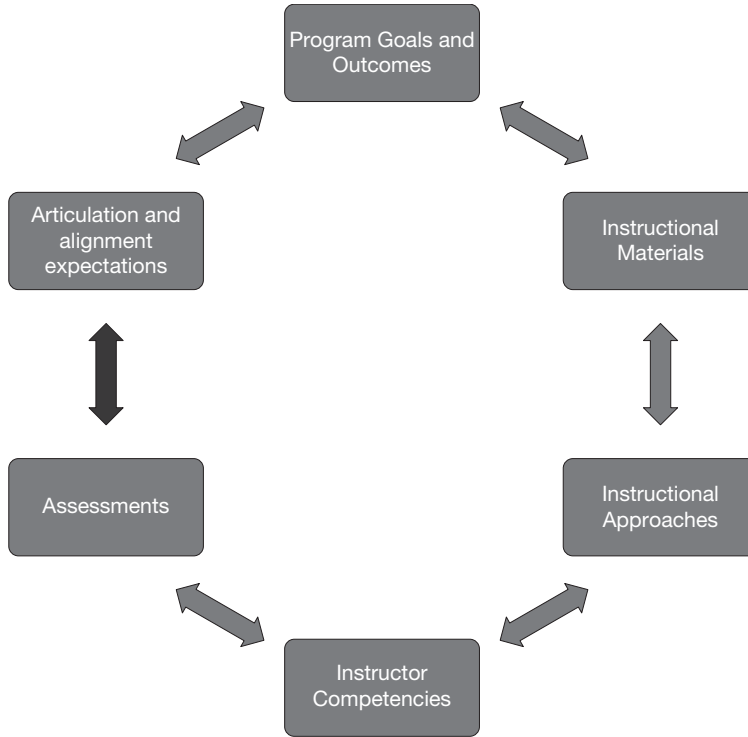


Figure 20.5 Core program elements, detailed

Rethinking goals and objectives in the teaching of heritage languages

As is the case in all language program curriculum development and implementation, HL program design is also embedded in a complex system of relations and interactions. To date, although there have been many important developments in the teaching of language to heritage speakers, a coherent framework for examining and comparing HL curricula in ways that might allow us to evaluate strengths and weaknesses across programs, contexts, and particular teaching conditions has not been established. In this second part of the chapter, we focus on goals (long-term aims), objectives (concrete attainments), and pedagogical approaches in the teaching of heritage languages as a beginning step in establishing such a framework. We contend that the examination of goals and objectives of currently implemented programs, within the interacting system of mechanisms and the smaller elements that inform program implementation, will do much to guide the future of HL teaching field. As proposed in a previous work (Valdés 2006), it will also contribute to:

- 1 the design of HL research agendas seeking to strengthen educational programs (Beaudrie 2016);
- 2 moving HL programs beyond their current “step child” position (Valdés 2015) within language program departments;
- 3 strengthening HL teacher training programs (Lacorte forthcoming 2017; Parra 2013, 2014; Potowski & Carreira 2004); and

- 4 advancing the field towards furthering both pedagogical developments and current theoretical debates on the role of HL maintenance in our superdiverse world (Blommaert 2012; Vertovec 2007).

In this section, we present a brief historical overview of an initial typology of four program goals for SHL instruction (Valdés 1995), later expanded to six goals (Valdés et al. 2008). We then present a summary of work conducted to date that illustrates various newer conceptions of goals and objectives. We will follow this discussion with a presentation of a common analytical framework. This framework will allow us to examine different programs using similar comparable criteria and to consider the outcomes and results of various existing and future instructional programs designed for HLLs. We argue that if we are to inform future practice, we need to understand the commonalities and the differences in the goals and outcomes of various existing programs. We conclude with a suggested analytical matrix designed to examine components of HL programs using similar, comparable criteria. In the final section, we examine the challenges presented by past, traditional goals of HL classes and illustrate how they have led to a particular deficit construction of *HL learners* that is now common and that tends to reinforce a narrow view of bilingualism.

Goals in heritage language teaching: an early view

In 1995, Valdés described the teaching of Spanish as an HL as characterized by its focus on four different and perhaps conflicting principal goals:

- 1 Spanish language maintenance;
- 2 the acquisition of the prestige variety of Spanish;
- 3 the expansion of bilingual range; and
- 4 the transfer of literacy skills.

In 2008, Valdés et al. (2008 pp. 173–175, 225–226) added two additional goals to the original four in their analysis of secondary and elementary SHL programs in California:

- 5 the development of academic skills; and
- 6 community building and the development of self-esteem.

The original typology sought to make evident that HL instructional programs had different, often unstated goals, from established foreign language programs. Because SHL programs were new, not yet totally accepted, and often seen as unnecessary, program designers struggled—and still do in current scenarios of mixed classes—to implement instruction that met expectations established for “regular” *Spanish-as-a-foreign-language students* (e.g., knowledge of grammatical metalanguage) and at the same time served the needs of Latino students. Given the goals of most Spanish departments, the majority of early SHL programs had as their principal objective helping students to acquire the standard variety of the language and assisting students in transferring the reading and writing skills acquired in their English language schooling to reading and writing in Spanish. If Latino students were to do well in Spanish department upper level courses, they had to display certain expected language characteristics. Moreover, they had to be able to read canonical literature in Spanish. The goal of expanding their bilingual range (that is, simply supporting students in using Spanish for other real-life purposes outside of the department) was less evident in those early years. Few programs, moreover, had the goal of maintaining the

Spanish language (in Fishmanian terms) for another generation, or of preventing language shift either in the community or in individual students.

By 2008, when Valdés and colleagues carried out research in secondary and postsecondary programs in California, the goal typology still held, to a certain extent, but it became obvious that other activities with real-life goals also had to be considered. For example, instructors described concern for building self-esteem and for involving students in activities such as tutoring to build a classroom or school community. Importantly, although Valdés et al. (2008) directly asked questions about goals in HL instruction directed at developing general academic skills (as opposed to literacy in Spanish), no examples of such goals were reported.

It is important to point out that the examination of program goals summarized earlier did not take into account the following mechanisms of the curricularization system: ideologies of language, language acquisition theories, theories of bi/multiculturalism, or other elements such as established professional practices, or the direct influence of local, state, and federal educational policies, even though (as argued earlier in this chapter) such mechanisms clearly influence programs.

The goals of the expanded field

The field of heritage languages, broadly conceived, has expanded in significant ways throughout the country in the last ten years. Beaudrie (2012) found that of a total of 422 universities across the country, 169, about 40%, are offering SHL programs. The broader vision of SHL programs is also shifting, leaving behind traditional and prescriptive language teaching goals aimed at “undo[ing] the damage that had been done at home” (Valdés 1981, p. xi) to embrace broader agendas centered around: students’ strengths and specific needs; the cultivation of positive attitudes towards the HL (Beaudrie, Ducar & Potowski 2014); the development of critical language and cultural awareness (Leeman 2005; Leeman & Serafini 2016; Parra 2016b); and the empowerment of students’ voices in Spanish and English beyond academic and professional registers as a way of promoting students’ pride as well as a sense of agency directed at social change (Bernal-Enríquez & Hernández-Chávez 2003; Correa 2011; Hidalgo 1997, 1993; Leeman 2005; Martínez 2003; Parra 2016b; Villa 2002, 1996).

In particular, recent proposals have placed a specific emphasis on the relationship between the HL and the student’s identity from an ecological perspective (Hornberger & Wang 2008; Parra 2011) and interdisciplinary framework (including but not limited to psychology and human development, philosophy and linguistics, bilingualism and linguistic anthropology, sociology and sociolinguistics, immigration, and border and gender studies) to inform practitioners and language program directors’ theoretical and pedagogical frameworks. The embracing of these new perspectives in the profession stems from the conviction that *what* is taught can only be meaningful if *to whom* we are teaching is clearly understood (Parra 2013, 2016a). As proposed by He (2006), the learner’s identity—along with their motivation and affective needs (Hornberger & Wang 2008; Lacorte & Canabal 2003; Parra 2016a; Van Deusen-Scholl 2003)—is “the centerpiece rather than the background of heritage language development” (He 2006, p. 7).

This theoretical and pedagogical work is reflected in recent volumes such as Beaudrie, Ducar and Potowski (2014), Beaudrie and Fairclough (2012), and Fairclough and Beaudrie (2016), which offer a revision and expansion of goals and objectives for HL programs in addition to recent advancements in the field (Pascual 2016). Articles included in these volumes address recent developments in areas such as course content and material design; the teaching of literacy; the understanding of the transfer of linguistic and academic skills; assessment and placement; students’ involvement in the community; and effective and inclusive pedagogical approaches.

Among these innovative instructional approaches we find, first, comprehensive pedagogical approaches (Carreira 2016) that move beyond the teaching of grammar to include a multiliteracies perspective (Kalantzis et al. 2016; Kalantzis, Cope & Cooland 2010; Parra, Otero, Flores, & Lavallé 2017; Zapata & Lacorte 2017) centered around the teaching of meaningful content and experiential learning. Within this comprehensive approach we also find discourse-based, task-based, and project-based approaches. Second, we find differentiated teaching strategies (Carreira 2012; Carreira & Hitchens Chik, this volume; Potowski & Carreira 2004) for addressing the different and specific needs and strengths of heritage students in the classroom—particularly for mixed classes with SHLLs and FLLs. For Potowski and Carreira (2004), the chief advantages of differentiated teaching include the availability of multiple learning materials, variable pacing, varied grading criteria, work that is assigned to students based on their level of readiness, on-going student assessment built into the curriculum, and, most importantly, student participation in the setting of goals and standards. Finally, we find a critical pedagogy framework (Freire 2005; Giroux 1991; Parra 2016b; Leeman, this volume) to guide students in their understanding and building of awareness of the complex socio-cultural and political circumstances under which many heritage learners have grown up, as children of immigration. The goal is to assist them in overcoming feelings that arise from the stigmatization of the ways that they speak, feelings that challenge not only the use of their two languages but also their sense of identity in relation to both U.S. and country-of-origin mainstream cultures. The ultimate goal is “empowering students’ ethnolinguistic identity as part of their lives in the United States and as part of their global citizenship” (Parra 2016b, p. 167).

Along with new pedagogical approaches, practitioners have emphasized the importance of designing HL courses with relevant and meaningful content from students’ perspectives (Beaudrie 2016; Webb & Miller 2000) and including topics informed by sociolinguistic research relating to:

- 1 the use of minority-majority languages within home and school settings (Parra 2016b);
- 2 the use of standard and vernacular dialects (Leeman & Serafini 2016);
- 3 commonalities and differences between second language acquisition (SLA) and second dialect acquisition (SDA) (Fairclough 2016; Siegel 2010; Valdés 2005);
- 4 the difference between dialects, registers, and styles (Colombi 2015; Martínez 2005);
- 5 linguistic variation in the classroom (Fairclough 2016); and
- 6 the power dimensions that shape linguistic exchanges (Bourdieu 1991).

The main goal has been to raise students’ critical language awareness as a way to “decolonize” their thoughts (Aparicio 1997) and feelings about their use of the Spanish language, so they can become active users and address their communities’ needs (Beaudrie, Ducar & Potowski 2014; Martínez 2012; Potowski & Carreira 2004).

The inclusion of various other theoretical perspectives in the field of HL has also reshaped the teaching of literacy to these students. There are a number of current proposals that are also sensitive to language in use. For example, the systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is an approach that considers written language (along with the oral modality) “as social practices anchored to specific social contexts” (Achugar & Colombi 2008; Byrnes 2011; Colombi 1994, 2003; Kern 2004). SFL has contributed to the field’s understanding of students’ language abilities and strategies in Spanish and English within a “biliteracy continuum” (Hornberger 2003) that incorporates the relation between oral and written texts in both languages (Colombi 1994, 2003). This comprehensive framework aims to provide heritage students who are looking to expand their “bilingual range” (Valdés 1997) with opportunit[y/ies] to grow in their mother tongue, and

use it in meaningful and creative ways (Valdés, Lozano & García-Moya 1981, p. 14). Programs drawing from such perspectives focus not on “correcting errors” but on teaching the different communicative and social functions of Spanish in different social contexts, including the academic one (Achugar & Colombi 2008; Colombi 1994, 2003).

Because most heritage students are not educated in Spanish and do not have the opportunity to be exposed to and acquire the formal registers of the language, heritage programs have privileged the teaching of academic genres and specialized literate-like registers (Chafe 1982) now being referred to as “academic language” (e.g., Chevalier 2004; Colombi, Pellettieri & Rodríguez 2007).⁶ Research within this area has provided evidence that the development of advanced literacy in heritage speakers is similar to that of monolingual speakers of Spanish developing literacies in a first language in monolingual contexts (Colombi & Harrington 2012, p. 249). This research has also suggested that explicit instruction can accelerate the acquisition of advanced literacy skills including the use of the formal registers that are characteristic of the written language (Colombi 2015). Moreover, some researchers have pointed out the transfer of literacy skills in Spanish and English that occurs in students’ written compositions. For instance, Colombi and Harrington (2012) and Schleppegrell and Colombi (1997) analyzed the academic writings of Spanish heritage students who had received writing instruction only in English and found that students rely “on their common underlying language proficiency (Cummins 1992) to develop their repertoire of strategies in both languages.” Colombi and Harrington (2012) has also found that students used “the same strategies in both their essays in English and Spanish—one of them being more analytical and synthetic, and the other more oratory and subjective” (p. 249). Spicer-Escalante (2005, p. 244) has shown that the transfer of rhetorical strategies is bidirectional—have correspondence in both languages—and global. Carreira (2007) suggests that research conducted in this tradition has revealed the important contribution that teaching heritage languages can have in the acquisition of overall academic skills, and in closing the academic gap for Latino students, at the college as well as high school level.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that the emphasis on the teaching of academic literacy⁷ has resulted in a tendency to adopt a narrow perspective that views professional, academic, and literary texts as the main and more prestigious genre to be mastered by heritage students (see Samaniego & Warner 2016). Some scholars (Leeman & Serafini 2016; Martínez 2005) would argue that by restricting curriculum to the teaching of academic literacy and literary writing, the field is missing the opportunity of tapping into the broader and richer linguistic resources that are part of heritage language varieties and genres and that could contribute in important ways to the development of students’ voices and creativity. Unfortunately, these varieties are not yet fully recognized and valued in the classroom. Samaniego and Warner (2016) state that: “Exclusive focus on academic and professional registers may erode HL speakers’ pride in their own vernacular uses of the HL and the specific sociocultural heritage these index.”

By comparison, according to other scholars (Martínez 2005; Parra et al. 2017) conceiving the teaching of HLs (in both oral and written modalities) within a more comprehensive notion and broader understanding of “genre”—as “a staged, goal-orientated, and purposeful *social activity* that people engage in as members of their culture” (Martin 1984, p. 25, emphasis added)—and literacy in general,⁸ appears to open up the possibility for students to analyze and produce different types of texts beyond literary or academic work, including descriptions, narrations, poetry, essays, novels, debates, blogs, art, music, and more (Martínez 2005; Parra et al. 2017). Along these lines, recent proposals are calling for the inclusion and study of not only the linguistic and stylistic features needed to craft academic texts but the interpersonal dimensions that can be included in written texts to convey meaningful messages (see Hyland 2002 for a review of this perspective). Bilingual poetry, biographies of children of immigrants, and short stories and

novels by authors from the students' heritage communities are seen as rich sources that allow students to analyze the ways in which multiple languages and voices function within a text to create a reality that speaks to our heritage students' linguistic and cultural experiences (Parra 2016b). In this regard, Martínez (2005) has proposed that there is a need for a theory:

[t]hat considers how genres are disembedded and recontextualized in the life of the heritage language community; how professional discursive practices are transformed into *homely* ones and how homely discursive practices are recast as professional ones in the lived experience of multicultural interaction and interchange.

p. 83

Supporting students' home varieties and creative uses of their language is also aligned with current proposals that aim to foster and strengthen the relation between students and their communities. Community service learning (CSL) experiences have long been advocated for language learners in order to make the HL class experience more meaningful (Hellebrandt & Varona 1999; Lear & Abbot 2008; Parra 2013; Thompson 2013; Wurr & Hellebrandt 2007). CSL experiences have also been suggested as one of the most effective ways to enhance heritage students' development of critical thinking⁹ (Leeman 2005; Leeman & Serafini 2016; Martínez & Schwartz 2012; Parra 2016b; Samaniego & Pino 2000; Trujillo 2009). Quoting Martínez and Schwartz (2012): "Community engagement provides students with a level of motivation and investment in language learning that would be difficult to achieve in a classroom setting alone" (p. 46). For heritage students, a community-based curriculum appears to provide a very effective pathway to "harness the wealth of knowledge and experiences these students bring to the classroom" (Carreira & Kagan 2011, p. 62), in particular the different degrees of "functional proficiency" (Valdés 2005) and cultural knowledge that HLLs already bring with them. More importantly, as Leeman, Rabin, and Román-Mendoza (2011) suggest, CSL experiences "foster students' development of identities as 'legitimate' (as opposed to deficient) speakers of Spanish" (p. 1). For more about CSL, see Abbott & Martínez, this volume.

More recently, Martínez (2016) proposed a framework centered on the notion of "capabilities" which differs significantly from the notion of competency, embedded in the National Standards for Foreign Language Learners. For Martínez, "competency" refers to what a student is able to do, while "capability" refers to what an individual is able to do and *to be* (Nussbaum 2011). Following Sen (1992, 2000) Martínez emphasizes that "capabilities are created by a combination of personal abilities and the political, social, and economic environment" (2016, p. 40). Furthermore, it is important to underline that for Martínez, theorizing HL goals as capabilities rather than competencies requires a larger commitment on the teachers' part as HL educators to a much broader agenda to include and "assume responsibility not only for what students learn in the classroom, but also for how competencies are actualized in local and transnational communities" (p. 47). Therefore, proposes Martínez, we also assume greater responsibilities for partnering with HL communities and for drawing on their expertise in reaching our own goals.

Toward the development of an analytical framework for describing and understanding goals and approaches in HL instruction

Although important advances have been made in the field of HL instruction, as presented earlier, there is still much that can be done by building on the work completed and documented to date as well as on the HL program design and implementation that is currently in progress. We argue that if we are to inform future practice, we need to understand the commonalities and the

differences in the goals and outcomes of various existing programs. In this section, therefore, we propose a common analytical framework that will allow the field to:

- 1 examine different heritage (and foreign) programs using similar comparable criteria; and
- 2 consider the outcomes and results of various existing and future instructional programs designed for HLLs.

The proposed analytical framework takes into account the complex system within which language programs are designed and implemented.

Given our focus on the *curricularization of language*, that is, on the ways in which multiple mechanisms impact the design and implementation process of language instruction, we offer a preliminary version of a framework that we hope others will add to that includes the various mechanisms and elements depicted in Figure 20.1. This analytical framework and the accompanying questioning process can help practitioners and researchers to obtain a more complete understanding of the theoretical and pedagogical aspects of different current or proposed HL programs.

Steps in the analytical process.

The analytical process we propose moves back and forth between the examination of the three “circles” (*Core Program Elements*, the *Policies, Contexts & Traditions*, and the *Theoretical and Ideological Mechanisms*) as illustrated in Figure 20.6. An accompanying matrix worksheet that can support the steps of this analysis is included as Appendix 1.

As noted in Figure 20.6, the complex system that informs the curricularization of language has three main levels. Decisions made at the program level are directly influenced by elements and mechanisms that are frequently not immediately apparent to those who work directly with students. In some cases, important decisions that directly impact both students and instructors

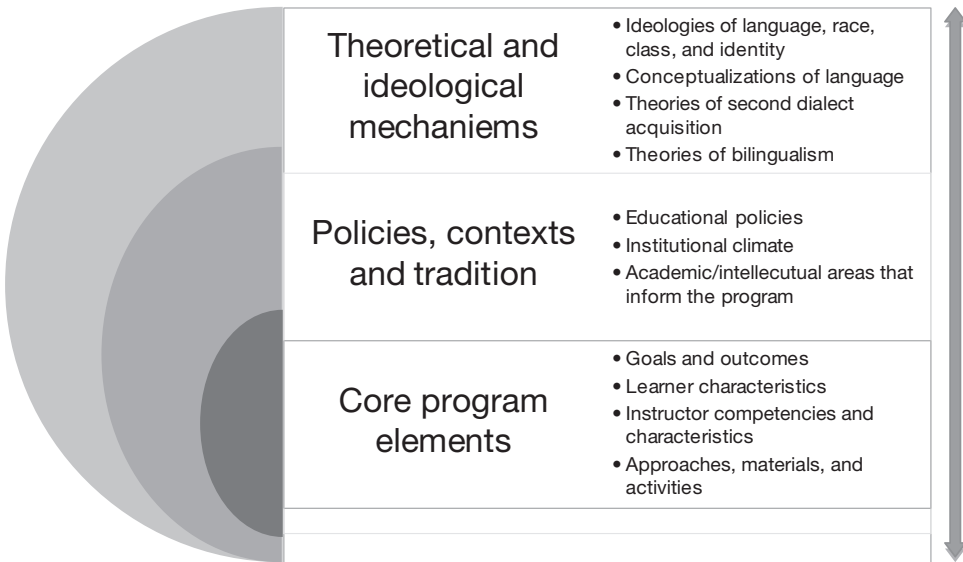


Figure 20.6 Movement across levels in the analytical process of the complex system of curricularization

are made simply because policies or traditions require it, because existing ideologies surrounding groups of students and their characteristics have not been interrogated, and/or because reasonable alternatives have not been explored. In other cases, programs that purport to be cutting-edge and committed to social equity may actually be serving narrow departmental policies, established professorial hierarchies, and doing little to question ideologies of language, race, class, or identity. Moving between levels while examining a program in which long-term investments have been made by its designers, forces those conducting the analysis to focus on the main core elements, goals, and objectives and then immediately to examine learner characteristics. Are the two aligned in meaningful ways? Are there mechanisms in place that problematize learner categorizations and classifications? Once goals and learner characteristics are clear, it is then useful to consider how language policies and the immediate institutional climate might be contributing positively or negatively to the implementation of the program and its success or failure. Equally important is the examination of the intellectual resources (the academic and intellectual areas) that HL program designers and instructors can draw from their environment.

Once the relationship between a program's goals, objectives, and its immediate surroundings are understood, it is time to examine the larger mechanisms that affect the entire teaching and learning enterprise. How are HL students viewed by mainstream members of the department? Do senior members of the department share the same background as students who enroll in the HL program? Are ideologies of standardness, correctness, and appropriateness expressed publicly and frequently, with the assumption that they will be generally accepted? Do negative views about speakers of particular varieties of the HL go unquestioned? Do judgments about race and class and identity disadvantage particular groups of students? Are upper class, European-identified individuals in the department conscious of their privilege? Are HL classes taught exclusively by non-tenure-track faculty and/or part-time instructors? Do senior members (in literature and linguistics) support the HL classes? Answers to questions about ideological perspectives provide individuals describing their HL program with an opportunity to consider how such ideologies guide, constrain, or support both programmatic and individual student goals.

Before returning once again to the full examination of program implementation at the Core Program Level, it is essential for those describing HL programs to put forward their own conceptualizations of language and those of others present in the department. How is it that they conceptualize language? Is language structure and form? Is it use? Is it both? What does it mean to say that students "know" or "don't know" a language? Are there different dialects/varieties of language? Which dialects or varieties should be taught or not taught and why? What is the difference between styles, registers, and varieties of language? And finally, do the educational policies guiding teaching and learning in the department share the same conceptualization of language?

Equally important in defining program goals and objectives is the question of how teachers believe languages or dialects are acquired. Individuals describing HL programs should make clear the theories of second language acquisition (SLA) or second dialect acquisition (SDA) that they subscribe to. Do they assume that the HL is incompletely acquired? If so, how will the HL be acquired or learned through the program? What activities or types of instruction will promote such acquisition? On the other hand, if they believe that HL instruction is a matter of second dialect acquisition, what theories underlie their instructional program? Finally, given that HL students have developed resources in English and an HL, what perspectives on bilingualism influence the program design? Is the task for students primarily to minimize the influence of English on their HL, or is their task to acquire the prestigious variety of the HL? Whether the goal is one or the other, or both, the fundamental theoretical questions are:

- 1 How is it that bilinguals keep two languages apart?
- 2 How is it that speakers of stigmatized varieties learn to use the prestigious variety appropriately?
- 3 What needs to happen in (or outside of) HL classes for both of these outcomes to occur?
- 4 What will motivate a heritage student to engage in a process of long-term language learning and maintenance?

These points speak directly to the possibilities for instructors to have the proper certification or preparation to teach heritage classes and engage with students in meaningful ways. Unfortunately, it is not uncommon for teachers to feel intimidated by students whose Spanish may be “better” than theirs, and therefore they choose not to advocate for the development of heritage programs. Therefore, even if large enough populations exist to warrant independent sectioning, the quantity and quality of courses available to students is largely contingent upon having several highly motivated and prepared staff members.

Similarly, the quality of the curriculum is also contingent upon the instructor’s pedagogical training. Traditional programs can rely on a textbook publisher to provide them with a “one size fits all” textbook. However, because heritage Spanish programs are non-core subjects, textbook companies have been slow to invest in and develop programs, and few options are available. Some of those options available have shifted their content from emphasizing the importance of language as part of students’ ethnolinguistic identity to emphasizing language as a commodity (see Leeman and Martínez 2007 for a review, and <http://potowski.org/resources> for tables of contents of commercially published heritage speaker textbooks). High school teachers need to put together available resources to create a unique curriculum that not only responds to the advanced level of the native Spanish speaking student, but also prepares them for a potential AP experience, and college instructors teaching mixed classes must design a good part of their own exercises.

When preparing a description of core program elements such as approaches, materials, activities, and instructor competencies, the previous steps provide information to those conducting the analysis of the HL program about the alignment between these core elements and (1) the program goals and objectives, (2) educational policies, (3) conceptualizations of language, and (4) SLA and SDA theories.

Moving forward

In sum, when analyzing HL programs, we have argued that we need to begin by examining the multi-level, complex system in which the programs are embedded. Given the analytical process we have presented, we believe that professionals and researchers in the field of Spanish as an HL face the challenge of developing specific competencies to embrace the challenges posed both by the environments in which heritage Spanish courses are offered and the characteristics of the Latino student body. The field Spanish education as an HL has emerged within an environment that, as many studies have documented (Beaudrie 2016; Potowski & Carreira 2004; Valdés 2015), does not fully support Latino youth wellbeing and educational opportunities. At the same time, as existing research in SHL makes clear, our work in classrooms deals directly with students’ personal lives, families, and their own process of identity formation while struggling within the same adverse climate. Professional competencies in our field are not, then, only about how to teach our subject, but how to relate to (Carreira 2012; Parra 2013, 2014) and empower our students. The goals of our profession now comprise engaging students in deep

reflections to raise their critical awareness around important and sensitive issues such as language ideologies and the power structures—what some scholars call “ecologies” (Hornberger 2003; Hornberger & Wang 2008; Parra 2011)—that have shaped students’ beliefs about their own languages, cultures, and identities. Concurring with this position, some authors (Lacorte 2016; Parra 2013; Potowski & Carreira 2004) have proposed several components that should be part of teacher training programs and workshops: ideological, cultural, socio-affective, linguistic, curricular, pedagogical, and professional issues of interest for instructors working with HLLs in HL courses and/or courses with a combination of HL and L2 students.

In particular, and as we move forward towards the professionalization of the heritage language teaching field, we believe that it is also key to train teaching assistants (TAs) and fellows within this multileveled and inclusive framework. We need to incorporate five main aspects in future teacher training programs.

First, the reflections around language ideologies and the dimensions of power involved in language teaching, and how this power is played out in instructors’ relationships with their students, including when the instructor is a second language speaker of Spanish (see Edstrom (2005) for a personal reflection on this topic). TAs who lack this awareness will likely stigmatize, perhaps automatically, students who demonstrate any variation from the standard. When the student-teacher relationship is jeopardized by notions of power from the linguistic norm and by assumptions that SHLs are deficient and in need of remediation, then the personal relationship that a TA establishes with her students is likely to become detrimental to the students’ progress. TAs become more than just facilitators who guide students to speak. For heritage learners, TAs become representative of the powerful linguistic norm, a “language authority” (Potowski 2002, p. 39).¹⁰ It is then imperative that TAs—native and non-native—become aware of their own teacher’s beliefs (Lacorte 2005) around the language variety students speak, and around the process of language learning that they will guide throughout the course.

Second, as a consequence of the first point, HL teachers need to incorporate language awareness and sociolinguistics to support the importance of and the need for a broader perspective on our goals beyond the teaching and learning of *standard* Spanish (Valdés, Lozano & García-Moya 1981). We need to acknowledge the fact that even when SHLs do not know the “grammatical rules” of the prestigious varieties of Spanish, they do bring to the classroom a richness of vocabulary that is not found in the textbooks that use standard versions of Spanish (Valdés 1997).

Third, and as an example of how the different levels of the model we are proposing are connected, “classroom activities must be based on knowledge about how Spanish is used in a variety of communities and about the attitudes brought by the students” (Valdés 1981, p. xi), instead of focusing only on the Spanish found in textbooks.

Fourth, we also need to incorporate training in how to validate language practices that are familiar to heritage learners. A frame of correction is not uncommon and is often well intended. Correction implying that the heritage student is “wrong,” however, is not effective and ultimately diminishes both the student’s and the teacher’s, or TA’s, efforts. Scalera (2004) presents a much more productive approach:

Heritage students who are treated with respect for their linguistic and cultural knowledge and taught in ways that tap into their special linguistic competencies will excel in a foreign language class while students whose heritage knowledge is ignored or disdained are less likely to be successful.

p. 4

Finally, educators and TAs must remember the importance of taking into account HL individual differences (Parra 2013). The basis of HL teaching should be knowledge of the individual strengths, needs, interests (Valdés 1997), and particular motivations of our students to reconnect with the language they grew up with. Our role as educators and TAs becomes more prominent when teaching SHLs as we nurture the linguistic and cultural identities of our students. For this reason, in addition to incorporating ideology and language awareness, and sociolinguistics into professional and TA training, it is crucial to include an emphasis on the central role that individual differences play in the emotional and psychological dimensions of the language learning experience. HLs are linked not only to notions of linguistic competence but also to students' individual stories, identities, and self-determinations (Fishman 1994; Wiley & Valdés 2000), thus demanding a teaching approach that is significantly different than that used by TAs to teach foreign language students.

Professional development, then, has to go beyond basic knowledge and skills to ideally include an in-depth, comprehensive review and understanding of the theoretical frameworks, or "conceptual apparatus" (Blommaert 2012, 2014; Blommaert & Rampton 2011; May 2013; Ortega 2013; Valdés 2016), which inform our conceptualizations about our students, our relationships with them, and the purpose of our work.

In the case of our constructions of learner characteristics and proficiencies, our review of the current literature suggests that we need to develop agendas that incorporate a more integrated view of our students as multicompetent speakers rather than as deficient or incomplete monolinguals. Considering our students to be incomplete or deficient reinforces ideologies of language that impact their self-esteem and motivation to continue studying the language in the future. At the same time, a multicompetent perspective could also facilitate the integration of students with different language levels into our classes under the concept of "translanguaging" (García & Wei 2014), which emphasizes discursive language practices embedded in specific social contexts with a meaningful purpose.

As the field of teaching heritage languages struggles to find recognition as legitimate within Language and Literatures departments that still support monolingual and prescriptive perspectives of languages, and most of the time are not willing to financially support the development of a heritage track (Beaudrie 2016), educators and practitioners in the field need to continue their quest for promoting and proposing specific courses for Spanish heritage students with different Spanish proficiencies. We believe that a common analytical framework for examining theoretical assumptions, goals, and pedagogical approaches in teaching Spanish to heritage speakers, such as the one we proposed in this chapter, can provide a solid guide to navigate the complex process of language curriculum design (Nation & Macalister 2010). The framework calls then for collaboration and deep reflection among researchers and practitioners around future ways to: (a) understand the ideological complexities of the environments within which our programs are being developed, and (b) strengthen our pedagogical practices in the classroom. It also suggests that relevant research agendas need to be developed in order to move the field forward in support of Latino youths as they reach their professional and academic goals. Finally, if we are to contribute to the professionalization of the field, we must first start a conversation to explore the relevance of designing specific benchmarks and expectations of performance for SHLLs beyond the National Standards for Foreign Language Learning (NSFL). Specifically, we need to ask: are such benchmarks necessary or not? Would they be one more piece of the culture of standardization that some scholars in the field are questioning (e.g., Train 2002, 2007)? How would we design them to avoid transmitting a message of commodification of the language and heritage (Leeman & Martínez 2007)? And could such benchmarks be conceptualized around students' linguistic and cultural capabilities (Martínez 2016) to further develop what our

students can do and be as multicompetent speakers (Cook 1999)? We hope that the framework we propose provides a first step towards a consensus within our professional community around the core elements of our HL programs and the ways that they are informed by the complexities of the environments within which we develop them. Our ultimate hope is that our joint work might make clear the relationship between ideologies, theories, and current language policies that inform the teaching of heritage languages in the United States. Such an understanding, we believe, can contribute to strengthening our field, its professionalization, and its practices to support and enhance the full and healthy ethnolinguistic development of our students' Latino identities and their communities in the United States.

Notes

- 1 In education, standards are the result of a consensus policy-making effort that is intended to inform practice. *Standards are not goals or objectives as such*; however, in most educational systems, program goals are expected to be *aligned* with established standards. The evaluation of particular programs, then, can depend on the degree to which program goals are directed at developing the types of proficiencies specified in adopted standards.
- 2 This section draws significantly from the following publications: Valdés (2015, 2016, 2017, in press).
- 3 For an overview of alternative approaches to cognitivist SLA, the reader is referred to Atkinson (2011).
- 4 In 1996, the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages proposed the National Standards for Foreign Language Learning (NSFLL), known as the “Five Cs” (Phillips & Terry 1999). The standards were developed with the intent of serving learners from all backgrounds, including heritage learners (Valdés 2000). The NSFLL were initially well received since they represented a new conceptualization about the meaning and importance of communication and a move beyond the four language skills—speaking, writing, listening, and reading—to three “communicative modes”: *interpersonal*, *interpretative*, and *presentational*. Each mode involves a particular link between language and the ways in which interaction takes place (Valdés 2001, pp. 27–28). However, many have questioned the NSFLL because they do not take into account the specific strengths or the affective, social, academic, and linguistic needs of heritage learners (Carreira & Potowski, 2004). According to Martínez (2016) the NSFLL have given priority to the Communication standard over the Communities standard so significant for Latino learners. Moreover, Leeman (2011) notes that the Communities standard may reveal an underlying commodification. She argues that local communities can be seen as simply a resource for “language practice” which a) undermines the deeper needs and hopes of their members, b) puts forward the idea of “personal enjoyment and enrichment,” and c) reinforces a “one-way benefit” approach to community engagement (2011, p. 301). Martínez (2016) contends that the tendency towards commodification identified by Leeman can be interpreted as part of a broader critique of the NSFLL that emphasizes a culture of standardization (Train 2002, 2007). Within this view, “standardized and standardizing educational practices systematically disregard, and consequently devalue, the learner’s personal, cultural, and community-based identities” (Martínez 2016).
- 5 Educational language policies are often also directed at students who do not speak the societal language, e.g., English language learners in the United States.
- 6 For a problematization of the notion of academic language, readers are referred to Valdés 2004 and 2017.
- 7 It should be noted that this review of the literature uses the terms “academic language” and “academic literacy” interchangeably. This reflects the still imprecise definition of these two terms that characterize current scholarly conversations (Valdés 2010).
- 8 In this regard, it is important to acknowledge the key contributions that the Multiliteracies framework (Kalantzis, Cope & Cooland 2010; New London Group 1996) has done to the heritage language teaching field. This framework, aligned with a functional conception of language, defines “literacy” as a “meaning making activity” that embraces language variety and variability (Kalantzis, Cope & Cooland 2010). The new educational aim is not to give students monolingual and monocultural models to reproduce, but rather to guide them in the learning process of making meaning by giving them specific tools to apply to the language in novel and creative ways. The ultimate goal is to empower students’ agency as meaning makers of their communities. Several scholars are taking these ideas and applying them in heritage language classrooms (Parra et al. 2017; Samaniego & Warner 2016; Zapata & Lacorte 2017, among others).

- 9 In the field of heritage languages, “critical thinking” tends to refer to the notion of “critical consciousness,” or *conscientização*, as proposed by the Brazilian pedagogue and thinker Paulo Freire (1970, 2005). As explained elsewhere (Parra 2016b), Freire proposed that the first step to social change is the recognition of our own position within the oppressed/oppressor dialectic while at the same time being part of a system of societal hegemonies. Freire hoped that individuals would engage in critical self-reflection to understand their own biases, assumptions, and values so as to allow them to change their perceptions of themselves and of others, and to recognize the conditions of injustice that surround them. In Freire’s words, critical consciousness is the “process in which [individuals], not as recipients but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality” (Freire, 1970, p. 452).
- 10 In her work with heritage students and TAs, and through interviews and focus groups, Potowski (2002) found three main themes relevant to this discussion: (1) heritage students tend to feel that their Spanish is not “good”; (2) they feel they are at a disadvantage; and (3) they have mixed views of their instructors. The students’ ambivalent feelings came from the fact that TAs tended to give “insensitive” and “insulting” feedback and had “unreasonable expectations” about their knowledge of Spanish. When interviewing TAs, Potowski found that the majority operated “within a framework of error correction when providing linguistic feedback to their heritage students” (Potowski 2002, p. 94).

Appendix 1

Analytical matrix for the analysis of heritage language programs

1	Program outcomes and goals	List the goals and expected student outcomes of the program
2	Learner characteristics and learner levels	For which types of learners is the program intended? How are learners categorized and classified?
3	Educational policies	List the educational policies, that dictate or guide program outcomes (e.g., unit credit requirements, major requirements, faculty expectations in higher level courses).
4	Institutional climate	Describe the institutional climate in which the program is embedded. Is it a school-related or a community-based program? If school- or college-based, describe the status and relationship of HL program instructors in the department to other faculty in the department (e.g., Do the highest status members of the department teach in the HL program?).
5	Academic/intellectual areas that inform the program	What related or aligned academic or intellectual areas primarily inform the program (e.g., literary studies, Latino studies, community service, Critical Race Theory, translation and interpretation)?
6	Ideologies of language, race, and class identity	Is there awareness of the ways that ideologies of language might impact program design and learner evaluations (e.g., ideologies of standardness, purism)? Are there ideologies of language that the program deliberately resists? What perspectives are there on language and identity?
7	Conceptualizations or definitions of language	Describe how language is understood in the HL program (e.g., language is structure, language is use, language is a social construction). What is it that students are expected to “acquire”?
8	Theories of Second Language (SLA) or Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA)	What theories of SLA or SDA guide the program’s goals and determination of success? How is bilingualism conceptualized (i.e., is the educated native speaker norm seen or not seen as the end-state of learner success? Are bilinguals assumed to be two monolinguals in one person? Is there an awareness of the multilingual turn in SLA?)?

(continued)

(continued)

9	Approaches	What approaches are used to meet program goals? How were these approaches decided on?
10	Materials	What materials are used to meet program goals? Are they available commercially or created and/or adapted by instructors?
11	Activities	What activities are carried out by instructors and students in the course of the teaching and learning enterprise? How were these activities decided on?
12	Required instructor competencies and professional characteristics	What types of competencies must instructors have to teach in the program? What kind of training or life experiences should they have? What types of language characteristics are optimal?

As noted in this matrix, both elements of the curricularization process, that is, environmental/contextual elements and core essentials, are included. Users are provided with a set of questions to guide them in providing key information about their program.

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