

Thinking Beyond “Languaging” in Translanguaging Pedagogies: Exploring Ways to Combat White Fragility in an Undergraduate Language Methodology Course

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Introduction

With the multilingual turn in second language acquisition (May 2014), the field of teaching English as a second language (TESOL) has had to reexamine the ways in which teachers are prepared to work in settings where all linguistic resources are valued and strategically utilized. To this end, scholars have identified and examined practices which welcome and leverage students’ linguistic resources. More specifically, the theory of *translanguaging*, which posits that all speakers selectively draw from one linguistic repertoire to make and negotiate meaning, has been applied

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pedagogically to enhance the instruction of multilingual students (García et al. 2017; García and Li 2014, see also Britton, this volume). In translanguaging classrooms, teachers work collaboratively with students to “use their different language practices to teach and learn in deeply creative and critical ways” (García et al. 2017, p. 2).

While multilingual practices, like translanguaging, are slowly becoming more common and accepted in education settings, their adoption is not without consequences. Given the neoliberal state of education worldwide that often values financial profit ahead of students’ needs, multilingual language policies often feed directly into corporate agendas by producing plurilingual, predominantly White elites (De Costa 2019). As parents from dominant social and racial groups seek to increase their own children’s cultural capital by equipping them with access to minoritized languages, language-minoritized communities still face inequities. Flores and Chaparro (2018) describe how bilingual programming policy decisions can result in racialization, or “processes by which racial meanings are attached to particular issues” and “the manner in which race appears to be a, or often the, key factor in the way they are defined and understood,” (Murji and Solomos 2005, p. 3). In addition to policy, others (e.g., Bucholtz 2016; Cammarota and Aguilera 2012) describe how teacher practices and student behaviors within the classroom can lead to racialization and the reproduction of racial hierarchies.

To prevent and combat language-based racism, teacher education programs need to be reimagined. Specifically, pre-service teachers (PSTs) need to be adequately prepared to become critical educators capable of talking about race with each other and their future students. Given the increasing cultural, linguistic, and racial diversity in U.S. classrooms paired with the predominantly White, monolingual teaching force, the call for more social justice-oriented teacher preparation is hardly new (e.g., Gomez 1994; Milner 2003); however, the need is especially pertinent for TESOL PSTs who (1) work closely with multilingual youth and families, and (2) serve as important resources and advocates in and outside of schools. In this chapter, we use DiAngelo’s (2011) concept of *white fragility*, or the defensive behaviors exhibited by White people when confronted with racial stress, to frame our findings and subsequent discussion of ways TESOL teacher education can challenge racism and racialization.

Unpacking Race in TESOL

During the past decade, the inextricable link between race and language has been increasingly theorized and explored. In 2006, Kubota and Lin raised concern about the lack of discussion of race in the field of TESOL. Their 2009 edited book, *Race, Culture, and Identities in Second Language Education: Exploring Critically Engaged Practice*, emerged from their “experiences of difficulties in discussing issues of racism with colleagues in second language education” (Kubota and Lin 2009, p. viii). Such difficulties, akin to white fragility, are counterproductive to combating racism because they “function to reinstate white racial equilibrium” (DiAngelo 2011, p. 54).

While fields like anthropology, linguistics, and education have long examined race and language, the contemporary field of *raciolinguistics* purposefully foregrounds the complex relationship between race, ethnicity, and language (Alim et al. 2016). Raciolinguistic perspectives build upon the intersectionality of race and language by recognizing the power of language ideologies in reproducing racial hierarchies and marginalization. Consequently, raciolinguistic perspectives “can contribute to understandings of the ways that categories are intersectionally assembled and communicatively co-constituted” (Rosa and Flores 2017, p. 15).

The adoption of raciolinguistic perspectives in an effort to more fully understand the racialized position of culturally and linguistically diverse youth is essential for PSTs. Although frameworks for the preparation of teachers who work with multilingual students often include the need to raise linguistic and cultural awareness, explicit focus on race is overlooked. For instance, the three dimensions of teacher knowledge and skills for mainstream teachers working with English language learners [ELLs] from de Jong et al. (2013) does not specifically use the words “race” or “ethnicity”; rather, it emphasizes understanding students’ “linguistic and cultural experiences” and the role of “language and culture” (p. 91).

As Kubota and Lin (2009) explain, such emphases on “culture” may be an attempt to use a more “benign and acceptable signifier than race” (p. 4). To many, the concept of culture is synonymous with or inclusive of race, which may be why race is buried in many of these types of

frameworks. Similarly, DiAngelo (2018) argues that even in multicultural courses or trainings, racism and White privilege are not always talked about directly; thus, she contends that naming racist practices, including White supremacy and White power, is a central step in changing the conversations about race. Colorblindness, or the denial of racial privilege, must be vanquished “if we want to challenge ... racism” (pp. 86–87). With this perspective in mind, we argue that TESOL education, in particular, needs to address colorblindness because of the large number of students of color that populate ESL classrooms worldwide.

TESOL/ESL methodology courses are a unique site where the intersections of race, ethnicity, language, and other identity markers provide opportunity for critical exploration. To this end, our inquiry seeks to understand how racism manifested and was addressed within an online undergraduate ESL methodology course conducted in a College of Education. Furthermore, we seek to understand how PSTs describe their experiences related to race and its intersection with language and how this particular course may have influenced their thinking and behavior.

With the first two authors of this chapter being White and former instructors of the course, acknowledging our own roles in the processes of racialization set this inquiry in motion. As we began to reflect on our practices and admit our shortcomings in naming racism and fostering critical engagement with racial issues in the courses we taught, we shared a desire to take responsibility and “shift the locus of change onto White people ... [and] challeng[e] our complicity with and investment in racism” (DiAngelo 2018, p. 33). Our third and fourth authors, who are Asian, shared their perspectives as scholar-educators of color which enriched and nuanced our conversations about becoming more racially-aware teacher educators.

Overview of TESOL 499

TESOL 499 is a 15-week online ESL methodology course offered to upper-level undergraduates majoring in elementary or secondary education and pursuing a minor in TESOL at a U.S. public research university. This course is distinct from the other required courses for the TESOL

minor in its emphasis on the sociopolitical aspects of working with multilingual students and families; additionally, this is the only TESOL-minor course which includes a required field placement at a local K-12 school.

The goals for the course were for PSTs to develop their own stance of teaching in multilingual settings, to create meaningful instruction which draws upon the language practices and needs of emergent bilinguals and their families, and to become advocates who serve as resources in the school and community. The two required textbooks for the course were *The Translanguaging Classroom* (García et al. 2017) and *Rethinking Bilingual Education* (Barbian et al. 2017). Other course materials included scholarly journal articles, news articles, practitioner pieces, blog posts, instructor-created tutorials, and videos.

To achieve the stated goals, the course had weekly assignments plus three major assignments throughout the semester. The weekly assignments included a reading chart for summarizing course materials and generating a list of future teaching implications drawn from those materials, class discussion forums based on questions PSTs posed to each other, and application activities, such as the creation of a timeline of language policies, practice writing content and language objectives, and analysis of a lesson plan.

Data Collection and Analysis

Our qualitative inquiry draws on data from document analysis of the aforementioned TESOL 499 course materials, including student work and interviews with students who completed the course during the 2018–2019 academic year. At the end of spring 2019, nine PSTs consented to having their coursework from Google Classroom included in this study, and three of the nine PSTs participated in two follow-up semi-structured interviews.

Due to the volume of data collected for each participant, the first step of our analysis was filtering the assignments which focused on race and its intersection with language and culture. To facilitate this process, we searched for eight key terms: culture, race, bias, Black, White, ethnic,

identity, and monolingual as well as six key terms related to the nationality, languages, and ethnicities of the participants' teaching communities: American, Spanish, Chinese, Mexican, Korean, and African. Based on the results of this search, we narrowed our focus to four of the course assignments along with the PSTs' weekly reading charts and discussion posts. All passages containing any of the key terms from those assignments were compiled and thematically coded in MAXQDA.

Participants

Of the nine pre-service teachers whose classwork was included in the document analysis, only one identified as non-White (Makena) and only one identified as male; the other seven students identified as White females. The three focal PSTs in the study, Chloe, Emily, and Amelia, were PSTs at the secondary level when the study commenced. Currently, Chloe (who majored in Spanish) and Emily (who majored in mathematics) are completing their fifth-year student-teacher internship through the university, while Amelia¹ (who majored in Chinese) is teaching English in China at a private language institution.

Chloe, Emily, and Amelia are all in their early twenties and self-identify as White females. They each grew up in predominantly White towns in the U.S. Midwest, and each has lived abroad for several months; Chloe spent a semester abroad in Ecuador, Emily was involved with humanitarian work in Mexico and also spent a summer semester in Spain, and Amelia spent a summer abroad in China to study Mandarin.

Findings

I think translanguaging was like, yeah, probably the most valuable and the most consistent throughout the course. (Chloe, July 24, 2019)

¹Although the first and second authors have both taught the course before, only two of the nine participants, including Amelia, were students of the first author.

As alluded to by Chloe, the focus of TESOL 499 was on the theory and pedagogy of translanguaging. Although translanguaging theory "builds on scholarly work that has demonstrated how colonial and modernist-era language ideologies created and maintained linguistic, cultural, and *racial* [emphasis added] hierarchies in society" (Vogel and García 2017, p. 1), the attention to linguistic aspects of teaching multilingual learners in the course seemed to overshadow the readings and assignments aimed at making connections between language, race, and larger societal issues. In addition to the shallow coverage of race in the course, we also found that opportunities to discuss racism and racialization in written assignments and discussion forums were rarely capitalized on by PSTs and instructors.

Race: The Unspoken "R-Word"

Our analysis revealed that few students ever used the word "race" in their assignments and the instructors did not directly prompt them to do so. One reading that explicitly mentioned race was a reading from Gonzalez (2016) which explained that not all English learners are "Hispanic, poor, and/or uneducated," and that they instead "span a wide array of cultures, races, socio-economic levels, and academic experiences" (para. 3). Additional readings described the social construction of the terms "language" and "dialect," including some information about Black English. Since these references to race and ethnicity were embedded within the readings and not specifically highlighted, almost all of the students overlooked these topics in their weekly reading chart summaries. The only exception was Makena, our sole black participant, who repeatedly referred to herself as a "critical race English educator" and discussed how Black English was an integral part of her own identity. Makena provided many insights on this topic; however, a detailed account of how her identity influenced her teaching is beyond the scope of the current chapter.

Throughout the semester, there was only one assignment that explicitly asked students to consider race. In the third week of the course, the Language(s) in the Community assignment required students to do a walking investigation in the neighborhood surrounding their field

placement school. The students had to search demographic information of their community of investigation, including racial composition. The reflection questions at the end of the assignment focused on language rather than explicitly asking students to think about race. Consequently, student reflections focused on the languages in their community of investigation rather than commenting on race, ethnicity, and racialization present in the places they visited.

Talking About Race: "I'm Not Ready for It"

When it came to talking about race, we observed varying comfort and knowledge levels among our participants. While Makena and Amelia talked more openly and confidently about their extensive experiences related to race and racism, Chloe revealed her hesitations. As she speculated on her ability to navigate cultural and racial issues in her future classroom, she said:

I've probably read about it [race] and stuff like that, but that just feels so distant ... but like, how would I actually do that [discuss race]? I have no idea ... [b]ut at the same time, that doesn't mean that I wouldn't be able to. I think it's just a lack of having a real experience in that area that makes me feel like I'm not ready for it.

Chloe added that she was willing to engage in conversations about race in her future classroom, but she was lacking a model of how to facilitate such discussions. Even though the course materials from TESOL 499 had examples of educators addressing racism, the opportunities to discuss and reflect on those examples were not fully capitalized upon by the predominantly White PSTs and instructors.

Even when there were opportunities to explicitly discuss race, the PSTs struggled in their ability to define and distinguish race, nationality, and ethnicity in course assignments and during individual interviews. In the Language(s) in the Community assignment, one of the PSTs wrote: "This website [census data website] showed American and Asian as the most common ethnic groups in the area." Interestingly, the website did not

provide information about ethnic composition, only racial composition; thus, this PST equated the largest reported racial group, "White," with the ethnicity, "American." Since she is White, her response may be reflective of DiAngelo's (2018) "us" versus "them" discourse which is based on one's social experiences and reinforces racial boundaries (p. 46). While this racially-coded language may not have been her intent, her confusion of the terms "ethnicity" and "race" led to this problematic claim.

Grappling with the Nuances of Race

Although some PSTs confused terms like "race," "ethnicity," and "nationality," others had more complex definitions and viewed these terms as being individually and/or socially constructed. When asked to define "race" during her first interview, Emily described how a former professor of hers whose parents came from India labeled himself as "South Asian" while a friend of hers who came from the same region, labeled himself, "Brown":

[Race is] how an individual defines themselves in society, like, within the social constructions of race. Right? I had a friend from high school who was from ... the very same region [of India as a former professor of mine] but, ... [he] didn't wanna refer to himself as ['Indian'], he wanted to refer to himself as 'Brown' [T]he way they identify themselves ... was very different based on their personal experiences. So, I think understanding, like, what does the race the student holds ... and what that means for them are two ... very different things.

Through this brief narrative, Emily shares her awareness of how personal histories can determine how an individual labels oneself; however, her use of the pronouns "themselves," "they," and "them" parallels the "us" versus "them" discourse used by the PST described earlier who appeared to associate her own Whiteness with "Americanness." Emily's understanding of race is intersubjective in the sense that she views race as something "they" have which is in contrast to her own identity as a White person who may not be fully aware of her privilege. Schwartz (2014) explains that "this us-and-them positionality points to larger ideological orientations of

power, privilege and the opposite of difference – unspoken, hegemonic ideas of normalcy” (pp. 163–164).

Like Emily, Amelia defined race as “complicated” and something that could be “socially forced on individuals in the form of stereotypes.” Despite her more nuanced notion of race, previous visits to various regions in China, and her several years’ study of the language(s) and culture(s), Amelia still described China as being a “monoculture.” Studying abroad in China helped Amelia disrupt some notions about her own identity, yet she believed that “most people [in China] follow the same beliefs. Most people have the same race and have the same language.”² When asked to reflect on this comment during the second interview, Amelia noted that her recent return to China to teach English had opened her eyes to the diversity within what she used to think of as a monoculture: “I’m more aware of, like, Chinese minority groups, and ... it’s a lot more present now [to me].” In other words, Amelia has continued to grapple with the nuances of race, language, and culture long after TESOL 499 ended.

White Fragility: “No Matter What I Say About Race, It’s Going to Be Wrong”

While there are many reasons PSTs and instructors may have avoided discussing race and racism (e.g., not enough time, lack of resources, lack of desire, lack of preparation), we found much evidence of white fragility. As DiAngelo (2018) explains, white fragility, or defensive responses to topics related to race, may be an attempt to avoid uncomfortable conversations. She notes:

Given how seldom we [White people] experience racial discomfort in a society we dominate, we haven’t had to build our racial stamina. Socialized into a deeply internalized sense of superiority that we either are unaware of or can never admit to ourselves, we become highly fragile in conversations about race. (p. 1)

²The Chinese government recognizes 56 ethnic groups; multiple languages and cultural practices exist which differ from the mainstream Han culture (Central Intelligence Agency 2020).

Due to this fragility, instructors and PSTs focused on other aspects of multilingual students’ identities and experiences, like language proficiency levels, immigration and citizenship status, (dis)ability, socioeconomic status, and family composition in assignments and discussion forums.

Chloe’s avoidance behavior during both interviews, in particular, denoted white fragility. When asked to define race, she stated: “I’m going to skip that question. I don’t super remember the course being about that.” During the subsequent interview, when asked to define her own race, Chloe hesitated again and responded:

Nope. Do I feel like I can explain that? I know that’s horrible, ... but in terms of, like, all White people ... I guess the group I belong to, I don’t think I can say much unless I was prompted with significant questions to get me to respond to those things.

Instead of answering the question in a way that might portray her as racist or a beneficiary of White privilege, Chloe deflected the question. Even when further probed during the second interview, she maintained her inability to speak on behalf of the group to which she belongs (i.e., White people). DiAngelo (2018) explains that this sort of white fragility “allows us [Whites] to maintain our sense of ourselves as unique individuals, outside collective socialization and group experience” (p. 86). Thus, in addition to avoiding discomfort, maintaining a sense of individualism removed PSTs, like Chloe, from institutional racism and may help explain why they were reluctant to name racism and racist practices explicitly in their assignments and during our interviews.

Encouragingly, after Emily shared the story of individuals labeling their racial identity in different ways, she described race as being a “fluid” concept; her understanding of race was quite complex, yet she admitted to being afraid of talking about race in her second interview. When asked to define her own culture and race, she noted:

I hate labels and ... I feel like ... race, it’s been assigned to me by somebody else ... I also feel like, race is, something I’m scared to talk about because I’ve been told by society and raised to be ashamed of being White and that

no matter what I say about race, it's going to be wrong, or it's going to offend somebody.

Emily's response reveals how fear can contribute to the confusion that PSTs have regarding definitions of race. As DiAngelo (2018) indicates in her description of the "good/bad binary," morally "good" individuals do not talk about race and are not racist, only morally "bad" people do (p. 73). Through this lens, we can interpret Emily's avoidance as an attempt to maintain her reputation as a "good" person who is *not* racist.

Combating White Fragility: Implications and Ways Forward

... our institutions were designed to reproduce racial inequality and they do so with efficiency. Our schools are particularly effective at this task. To continue reproducing racial inequality, the system only needs White people to be really nice and carry on, smile at people of color, be friendly across race, and go to lunch together on occasion ... But niceness is not courageous ... Interrupting racism takes courage and intentionality. (DiAngelo 2018, p. 153)

While we recognize that TESOL 499 is merely a snippet of PSTs' experiences related to race, we believe that a well-designed, thoughtfully implemented course which adapts to its students, local context, and current realities can make a difference in the criticality of future educators. There are important changes that this course, and other language methodology courses, could initiate. Although our recommendations are geared toward TESOL teacher educators, with slight adaptations, they are also applicable to other language teacher educators. In short, we agree with Milner (2017) that raising racial awareness in teacher education revolves around three primary tasks:

1. Building knowledge about race
2. Talking more often about race
3. Planning and enacting curriculum and instructional practices focused on race with students of all races and backgrounds (para. 3)

Additionally, it is important to explore the concept of intersectionality and the ways race is complexly intertwined with other identity markers, including language and culture. Without viewing "race through the lens of language, and vice versa," PSTs may not realize the complex history and parallels between racism and linguisticism (Alim et al. 2016, p. 1).

In an effort to build knowledge about race, teacher educators and PSTs need to not only have a repertoire of terminology with which to discuss racism but also a genuine desire and a viable course of action to do so. Chloe and Emily's hesitation and discomfort talking about race may be partially attributed to their lack of knowledge, as highlighted by the confusion between the terms "race" and "ethnicity." However, even if provided with definitions or tasked with creating their own, PSTs may not feel the need to discuss topics that they do not feel connected to, comfortable with, or responsible for.

Thus, encouraging and facilitating reflection and discussion on race must follow the explicit naming and acknowledgement of racism and racist practices. If teacher educators and PSTs do not first name racism as DiAngelo (2018) suggests, they will not see their role in the collective institutionalization of racism as well as individual acts of racialization. As Amelia disclosed, "A part of learning is, like, self-actualization. I don't even know if you could really like lead people to that point [discussing racism] if they don't want to be led." According to DiAngelo (2018), it is easier to "block out other realities by not discussing them, [because] we can pretend that they don't exist, thereby assuming a shared racial experience" (p. 86). Thus, TESOL teacher educators have a responsibility to make the connections between race and language explicit so that students realize the problematic nature of not acknowledging race in conversations about language since these "categories are intersectionally assembled and communicatively co-constituted" (Rosa and Flores 2017, p. 15). Analyzing the local context to uncover how "racial and ethnic identities are (re)created through continuous and repeated language use" (Alim et al. 2016, p. 5) may facilitate PSTs' adoption of a multilingual stance once they realize how central linguistic resources are to identity.

By reflecting on one's own racial experiences as well as those of others, PSTs can begin the process of debunking the myth of a "shared racial experience" and challenge "us" versus "them" discourses. Many of those

who advocate for pedagogy informed by Critical Race Theory recommend using narrative approaches to carefully reflect on one's past experiences (e.g., Nash 2004). In addition to White PSTs identifying particular instances in their lives when they noticed race or encountered experiences that shaped their views on race, the counter-narratives of people of color can further expose microaggressions or other realities that would often go unnoticed by those in positions of power. In this manner, White PSTs may begin to acknowledge their role in the collective institutionalization of racism as well as individual acts of racialization.

The required textbook for TESOL 499, *Rethinking Bilingual Education* (Barbian et al. 2017), provides exactly these kinds of counter-narratives from people of color, but the narrative content was often overlooked. Rather than reference specific stories from these readings, instructors' and PSTs' attention was usually drawn to other readings that may have been more comfortable to talk about as well as course logistical details, like assignment requirements. When asked about potential course changes, several of the PSTs mentioned the heavy reading load; with so much content to cover each week, they reported not being able to delve into each individual piece in a meaningful manner.

Once students are willing to talk about race, teacher educators not only need to find time but also need to plan in advance to create a classroom atmosphere where discomfort and vulnerability are welcomed. In an online atmosphere, the richness of face-to-face conversations may be lost, but the psychological distance provided by online courses may help facilitate difficult conversations (Smith and Singer 2006). Some relevant conversation facilitation guides recommend setting ground rules, like respecting everyone's opinion, but DiAngelo (2018) warns that such practices may actually be counterproductive. Instead, teacher educators should connect difficult topics to the course's learning objectives and take time to reflect on their own vulnerabilities and trigger points related to the topic of discussion.

While there is no "toolbox" of anti-racist pedagogies, PSTs do need some models and practical information about how to avoid racializing students and how to talk comfortably with students about race. Emily shared with us the need to:

talk about how you specifically implement them [strategies to raise cultural and racial awareness] into your [class]room, which I know can look a lot different. But I know it's good to talk about concepts, but sometimes I feel like I wish there was something I could grasp, like, something I could try out and, like, bring to the classroom instead of having [theoretical readings].

In an effort to model what critical race discussions might look like, teacher educators should (1) share their own experiences of reflecting on instances of racialization, and (2) integrate local issues concerning race into their instruction. Giving students the skills to be critical ethnographers (McPherron and Randolph 2013) allows them to consider the ideologies and hidden power that may be at play in everyday events and settings. Such critical mindsets—paired with the notion of lifelong learning—are key to identifying racially-inflected microaggressions.

Finally, it is necessary to acknowledge that a single course can only do so much, hence, the importance of encouraging PSTs to be involved in other university and community events. Besides mentioning other courses they had taken, the PSTs commented on the influence of non-course experiences on their racial awareness. Amelia, for example, was mostly comfortable talking about race because she said it was something that she had done so many times. Her role as an intercultural aide in the residence halls not only provided her with multicultural and diversity trainings but also brought her into what Pratt (2001) describes as "contact zones" or "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other often in contexts of asymmetrical relations of power" (p. 34). In this way, PSTs have a better chance of forming more authentic relationships with people of color.

Conclusion

I offer that we must never consider ourselves finished learning...It is a messy lifelong process, but one that is necessary. (DiAngelo 2018, pp. 153–154)

Even though the PSTs in our study felt like they walked away from this ESL methodology course with a firm grasp on the theory and pedagogy

of translanguaging, they were not as fully aware of the complex sociopolitical implications of multilingual practices. More specifically, the intersectionality of race and language was largely overlooked due to a lack of clear definitions of key terminology, a lack of opportunities to discuss racism and racialization, and white fragility of the predominantly White PSTs. This limited coverage of race in the course led to PSTs not feeling prepared to discuss cultural and racial issues in their own future classrooms.

To avoid silence and the perpetuation of racial hierarchies and the racialization of linguistically diverse students, teacher educators should play a key role in not only designing their courses appropriately but also serving as models of critical educators. We suggest that teacher educators carefully reflect on their own experiences, biases, and positions in society in order to help their PSTs do the same. Together, instructors and PSTs can build their knowledge of race, talk more often about race, and consider the intersectionality of race and language in an effort to plan and enact critical and empowering pedagogical practices that will sustain the messy lifelong learning process about race underscored by DiAngelo (2018) and other critical language educators.

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Preparing Monolingual Teachers of Multilingual Students: Strategies That Work

Qianqian Zhang-Wu

Introduction

According to data from the US Department of Education, currently around 10% of the student populations are identified as English language learners, bringing over 800 different languages into American public schools; yet there is a severe lack of teachers who are fully trained to support those students (Cross 2016; Takanishi and Le Menestrel 2017). Additionally, despite the growing diversity in student populations in American K-12 education, the U.S. teaching forces remain dominated by white, middle-class, monolingual English-speaking females (Assaf et al. 2010; Sleeter 2008, see also Sterzug and Shin, this volume), among whom a significant number have been found to “have doubts about their ability to create a culturally enriching classroom environment” due to their lack of exposure, awareness, and training in relation to cultural and linguistic diversity (King and Butler 2015, p. 48). In response to the

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