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23 Language Socialization and Immigration

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Overview

Recent theoretical and methodological debates in the social sciences have called for the development of more comprehensive approaches to investigating the dynamics between the local and the global and the micro- and the macro-level processes that shape and influence practices of migration and immigration (Burawoy et al. 2000; Inda and Rosaldo 2002; Kearney 1995). Ongoing discussions about globalization and its flows of material, symbolic, and human resources afford us possibilities to develop more inclusive ways to understand identity formation processes among individuals who either physically travel or ideologically straddle geopolitical borders and boundaries (Agamben 1998; Alvarez 1995; Appadurai 1996, 2003; Clifford 1994; Ong 1999; Safran 1991). The study of these phenomena calls for anthropological methods that include multiple cultural and interactional sites that more comprehensively examine processes and practices of continuity and identification, as well as discontinuity and *dis*-identification, of those who experience migration (Brah 1996; Clifford 1994; Levy 2000;¹ Marcus 1995). Language socialization research offers an empirical grounding to these theoretical and methodological aims with its strong focus on the analysis of linguistically mediated socializing interactions. This focus, by design, engages the broader experiences, historical and sociological, of the participants in those interactions. This is partly due to the growth of the language socialization paradigm under the field of linguistic anthropology, a field that employs linguistic methods to understand sociocultural processes. The language socialization approach draws on the work of social theorists, significantly Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979), to analyze the relationship between a social actor's orientations to others and to social institutions. The contexts of interaction of immigrant populations are thus

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important sites for understanding how immigrant groups negotiate participation in and influence new communities and social institutions. The term 'immigration' is defined here as the processes and practices of an individual or a group when they enter and settle in another region, country, or nation. The term 'migration' refers more broadly to the movement of people (physical and/or ideological) in relation to the processes that generate that movement (e.g. colonization, globalization, and temporary or permanent labor, to name a few). The related concept of 'diaspora' is used to indicate the movement (whether by force or by choice) of people from one nation (or nation state) to another, and the ways in which this movement affords ideological, social, and economic links to the homeland or community of origin.

This chapter reviews language socialization research that has engaged the study of language mediated interactions and experiences at the intersection of migration. It also examines how these studies have contributed to the development of a more integrated approach to the study of immigration. The chapter is organized as follows: first, it provides an overview of the key issues and general trends in the study of immigration with an emphasis on work carried out in the United States. It discusses concepts and approaches relevant to the study of language and the context of immigration, including the concepts of 'speech community' (Fishman 1972; Gumperz 1968) and 'competence' (Chomsky 1965; Hymes 1972). Second, the chapter charts the development and influence of the Language Socialization² paradigm on our understanding of immigration and cultural and linguistic change. In this section, the concept of 'language contact' in relation to practices of migration is briefly discussed. This discussion is included given that recent work in the field of Language Socialization has been carried out in postcolonial, transnational, and globalized settings (see Garrett, this volume). The following section reviews the research on migration and language socialization that addresses (1) the relationship between home and community socialization, (2) the transitions between home and school, and (3) the relationship between homeland and diaspora, and then focuses on the practices of religious socialization in diaspora. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of current trends and possible trajectories for language socialization research in immigration.

Approaches to the Study of Immigration

The unique history of the United States, from its beginnings as part of the process of European expansion, its participation in the slave trade of Africans, its large-scale immigration from Europe during the 1800s and 1900s, and the more recent immigration from Latin American and Asian countries, has prompted scholars in a variety of fields to examine why different groups come to have such disparate experiences upon arrival (and even beyond settlement) in this country. In their book on immigrant adaptation, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, Portes and Rumbaut (1996) classify immigrant groups into four categories: first, labor migrants who cross the border into the United States by land; second, professional immigrants

who enter the United States to work in highly specialized fields and who may bring their spouses and children; third, entrepreneurial immigrants who often have previous business experience in their native countries and have access to capital and labor in the United States; and, fourth, refugees and asylees who are classified as such by governmental bodies based upon the dire conditions they experience in their home country. Many of the studies that we will review in this chapter examine the social and cultural phenomena of immigrant groups that fall into these categories; and while this typology may be expanded or revised, it provides a useful starting point for this discussion.

One of the most significant theories of immigration to surface in the late 1990s, one that remains a centerpiece in today's US immigration scholarship, is based on the notion of 'segmented assimilation' (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Zhou 1997). The notion of segmented assimilation was developed in response to decades of immigration scholarship that assumed that all immigrant groups shared the same linear assimilation trajectory (Bean and Stevens 2003; Zhou 1997). The theory's innovative claim was that immigrant groups' assimilation processes were dynamic and were influenced by a variety of pressures that immigrants faced within workplace and educational institutions, as well as peer groups and neighborhood enclaves. From this perspective, immigrants do not follow a linear path to assimilation but instead select from a variety of social statuses and practices that they encounter in US society. The success of the immigrant group depends upon which attributes members choose to assimilate, ranging from the underclass of 'native minorities' to the white upper class (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou and Xiong 2005). Immigration scholars from the sociological tradition have continued to focus on the ways in which institutions in the host country influence group behavior. Today, they rely on traditional methodologies of population surveys and interviews, while also beginning to incorporate ethnographic observations in immigrant communities in order to capture the nuances of how group members' cultural practices and national affiliations shift across institutions and over time (Kasinitz et al. 2008).

Another significant approach to the study of immigration has examined how individual behaviors are influenced by interactions with people and institutions in the immigration context. These studies have done important work to illustrate how key concepts in the study of culture and development, including 'cultural models' (d'Andrade 1992) and 'typologies of incorporation' (Ogbu 1987), as well as 'ecological systems' (Bronfenbrenner 1979) and 'cultural mediation' (based on the ideas of Vygotsky 1978), are enacted in the daily lives of immigrant communities. Studies following this approach have focused on the school (Azmitia and Brown 2002; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008) and the family (Buriel 1993; Delgado-Gaitan 1992; García-Coll, Meyer, and Brillon 1995; Goldenberg and Gallimore 1995) as the primary contexts that organize human behavior into activities that in turn influence an individual's developmental trajectory. The overlapping fields of immigration and education have also benefitted from research in Cultural Historical Activity Theory, which takes a Neo-Vygotskian approach (where learning is socially mediated) to the study of learning and

development in minority and immigrant communities (González, Moll, and Amanti 2005; Gutiérrez and Rogoff 2003; Lee and Smagorinsky 1999).

The segmented assimilation and developmental frameworks have greatly contributed to our current understandings of the dynamic social and cultural processes that US immigrants experience, and thus continue to challenge notions of group homogeneity. We know that the diversity of immigrant groups and the politics of identity *within* immigrant groups are not new phenomena; rather, they have become the focus of attention that was not always salient in earlier scholarship. As US immigration policy shifted from a national quota system to a system of refugee relocation and family reunification in the middle of the twentieth century, scholars also readjusted their focus away from the linear assimilation of immigrants into a homogenous white middle class and towards an understanding of the diverse identities and experiences of new immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Bean and Stevens 2003; Zhou 1997). In emphasizing cross-group and cross-generation comparisons, however, scholars working within these frameworks may continue to assume a one-to-one correspondence between language code and community membership and the focus on shared patterns of group behavior can lead to typified understandings of communities and convey implicit beliefs about how the 'competent' or 'successful' immigrant assimilates into the US mainstream.

The speech community revisited

Language socialization scholarship has pointed us towards a more dynamic notion of social integration and of language or code use as central to participation in community. The cornerstone concept of 'speech community' in the study of language in society designates a group of people socially bound by language (Bloomfield 1984 [1933]). The earlier, more narrow focus of this definition, which correlated either geographical proximity or shared language code to community membership, has shifted to account for the fact that, as individuals in society, we participate in and are members, often simultaneously, of more than one speech community (Baquedano-López and Kattan 2007; Garrett 2005; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Morgan 2004). It was not until the work of Gumperz (1968) and Hymes (1972) that the notion of speech community began to include and account for the inherent diversity and complexity of social context and language use. Breaking free from models that mapped a one-to-one correspondence between a speaker and a group, the speech community became a notion that captured the gradient nature of cultural and linguistic membership. This membership is fluid and dynamic, and, at times, manifests itself in contradictory ways.

Silverstein (1998) has argued for a distinction between the terms 'language community' and 'speech community' in his insightful essay 'Contemporary transformations of local linguistic communities.' A language community shares both a language repertoire and communicative norms, both prerequisites for shared denotational meanings. A speech community, on the other hand, can comprise multiple language communities with shared indexical meanings that unite them

socially and politically but do not necessarily entail shared meaning-making processes. Silverstein's review of 'ethnographically based, and historically informed work,' which features discourse as the medium that both constitutes community and contributes to interaction among communities, illustrates the interplay between key terms in the study of language and society: purity and mixing, change and persistence, and the local and the global (1998: 403). He cited as examples the work of Duranti and Ochs (1986), Schieffelin (1995), and others to illustrate how language use in missionary contexts has been shown to be a rich site for contact between the local language communities of Samoa and Papua New Guinea and the broader speech communities that encompassed Western religious and colonizing ideologies, institutions, and individuals. As Silverstein claims, and as the studies reviewed in this chapter show, these points of contact and the tensions that are inherent in them are central to our understanding of speech and language communities in the current geopolitical context of mass media and mass migration.

Notions of 'competence' have also become more encompassing, expanding from notions of having knowledge of the language (Bloomfield 1984 [1933]; Chomsky 1965) to having the ability to use language in its appropriate context and domain (Hymes 1972). Language socialization researchers and linguistic anthropologists have also advanced the notion that the acquisition of linguistic competence is not a neutral or value-free process; rather, it is conditioned by the ideologies we hold about ourselves and about the languages we speak (Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity 1998). The tensions between the knowledge and use of linguistic codes and the more global, technologically mass-mediated popular culture symbols create fluid notions of community and language that defy earlier, narrower assumptions concerning the location of and membership in community (Alim 2003, 2004, 2006; Garrett 2007; Spitulnik 1996, 1998). As a result, recent studies have demonstrated that displays of competence in dynamic community formations are diverse and multiply mediated. Mendoza-Denton's (2008) study of the linguistic and cultural practices of young Latina gang members in Northern California examined the complex layers of meanings created and recreated in the familiar and proximal notions of 'localism' and 'territory,' and advanced a notion that captures multiple ideological locations in her concept of 'hemispheric localism.' Hemispheric localism is a 'projection of neighborhood-based, spatialized discourses of "turf" onto broader domains that play out debates over race, immigration, modernity, and globalization' (2008: 104). Symbolism and other embodied representations of place and identity among gang members illustrate how the indexical property of language, the ability to name and resignify in one word – for example, *sur* ('south,' indexing Mexico) or *norte* ('north,' indexing the United States) – references, with impending social consequences, speakers' language background, possible immigration status, gender, ethnicity, and gang affiliation (see also Rymes 1996, 2001).

Such complex understandings of community and competence invite new ways to study how interactions in an immigrant context reconcile macro-sociological categories of belonging with micro-interactional negotiations of group

membership and identity. Hall (2002, 2004) has provided a multidimensional approach for anthropologists studying immigrant incorporation in ways that capture the transformation processes that occur not just at the individual level (as in an immigrant incorporating to the larger society) but also at the societal level (the processes of nation formation). Ethnographers cannot just focus on the local, the everyday negotiations; they must attend to the broader public discourses that construct 'nationhood' (Hall 2002, 2004). Drawing from her work among Sikh youths in London who construct identities for themselves as British yet are held to Indian standards by elder and recent immigrants, Hall suggests that a shift away from the description of levels of accommodation to the identification of how sites of power operate across social scales may provide a productive way to understand the tension between the individual and the group. In short, the shift would permit examination of not only how one negotiates belonging to a community but also why belonging to a particular community seems important to an individual. Rampton's (2001) ethnographic study of Indian and Pakistani youths born in England, in diaspora, echoes Hall's work by illustrating how the macro-politics of social power relations emerge in micro-interactions between Indian students and their British teachers. The Indian and Pakistani adolescents employed 'stylized Asian English' (Rampton 2001: 404), code-switching from vernacular English into a form of English contoured with Indian accents in interactions with teachers. The students' use of stylized Asian English in these interactions accomplished two goals: first, it indexed broader societal relationships between dominant and majority communities, and, second, it rejected or tested the teachers' assumptions about youths of immigrant descent in the school. Language socialization research has been offering a way to productively study the tensions between macro-political and micro-interactional social phenomena. By tracing the development of individuals' participation in a group, made observable through their use of discourse strategies, talk, and other forms of language to co-construct social norms and manage locally contingent criteria for membership, language socialization scholars study culture and identity as they are organized and enacted during interactions in both the daily lives of individuals and in the lives of institutions. Language socialization research thus provides a nuanced approach to the study of immigration experiences with its conflicts, tensions, and resolutions.

Intersections of Language, Movement, and Power: How Language Socialization Research Contributes to the Study of Immigration

Language socialization researchers study and analyze developmental language data obtained through sustained ethnographic fieldwork.³ Language socialization research is thus longitudinal – it involves the observation and analysis of language data over time and, in many cases, across sites and contexts of interaction. A careful analysis of any ethnographic field site also necessarily engages a historical

and contemporary study of that setting. Such engagement traces a line of human activity and movement – its resources, disruptions, and divergences across time and space. From this perspective, facts and accounts of migration experiences are not just used as a backdrop for building the ethnographic context for the analysis of language data; these migration experiences actually, directly or indirectly, influence the language socialization practices being observed and analyzed by the ethnographer. This has been demonstrated in much of the earlier language socialization research conducted in geographical areas that had experienced large-scale cultural and linguistic contact (Kulick 1992; Ochs 1988; Schieffelin 1990). These studies analyzed language use that reflected the development of hybrid and syncretic ideologies and practices of socialization that signaled the transformation of the social order in non-Western, traditional societies. In many instances, such change was the result of European colonization or missionization campaigns.

While largely stemming from interests in human and language development, several of the earlier language socialization studies (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986), focused on interactions of members of communities that were part of, or were at least influenced by, migration processes. Thus, while not analytically focusing on these actors in an immigration context, the work examined socializing interactions that were constructing diaspora and enacting transnational flows. For example, the socialization practices of members of immigrant families in Northern California were analyzed among first- and second-generation Spanish-speaking Mexican immigrants (Eisenberg 1986). This study highlighted how the context of immigration and the ongoing cultural, linguistic, and racial contact it afforded organized and framed the interactions of family members. In an excerpt of a teasing exchange (the focus of Eisenberg's study), the adults and children in a family were discussing whether the children would dress up in Halloween costumes and participate in door-to-door 'trick or treat' practices. Another teasing routine involved imagining romantic relations between a young Mexican girl and a white, American boy of the neighborhood. Teasing exchanges in this case served to discursively examine the boundaries and possibilities of living in a multicultural and multiracial environment. As will be discussed below, teasing routines among Mexican immigrants continue to be a rich site to study the politics of diaspora and the ways in which broader concerns, including the presence of state authority, pervade daily interactions (Bhimji 2005; Mangual Figueroa in press).

Language socialization research in Pacific communities has examined how migration and contact led to linguistic and cultural change (Duranti and Ochs 1986; Kulick 1992; Ochs 1988; Schieffelin 1990). In a remarkable line of work, now spanning over 25 years of research, Schieffelin has continued to examine the ways in which Australian missionaries and the establishment of Christian churches transformed local worldviews and their representation among the Kaluli in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea. The initial focus of her studies centered on Kaluli family routine interactions and described the linguistic structure of gender role socialization and of young children's participation in multiparty interactions. This focus expanded to include the effects of literacy socialization (including religious literacy) and the shifting worldviews of this community (Schieffelin 1995, 2000). This

is the only language socialization study that has captured, in one generation, the process and outcome of colonization in a modern-day society and the profound transformations that this has had on ideologies of self and other in that community (Makihara and Schieffelin 2007; Schieffelin 1990, 2000, 2002, 2008). In another study in Papua New Guinea, Kulick (1992) investigated language shift in the community of Gapun. Much internal and external migration had taken place across Papua New Guinea as men were contracted for labor away from their communities. In Gapun, the shift from the local vernacular Taiap to Tok Pisin (an English-based contact language) was also related to the extended processes of migration in Papua New Guinea, even though there was little migration into and out of the community. The effects of this shift created an ideological and domain-regulated separation of the languages in which Taiap became the less desirable code as the language of the village, of the elders, and a language of emotion, and Tok Pisin began to be seen as the language of progress, Christianity, and reason (Kulick 1992, 1998). The effects of Western expansion and migration were also documented in other Pacific societies. In Duranti and Ochs' (1986) study of literacy practices in Falefa, a community in Western Samoa, letter writing was a common practice between community members and their relatives working or living outside Samoa in New Zealand, Australia, or the United States. This practice suggested the existence of an established community of Samoans outside the islands. Perhaps most telling of the influence of Western culture on the socialization practices of young children in Samoa is Duranti and Ochs' description of the teaching of a printed syllabary that included superimposed images from non-Samoan contexts (an elephant, a ship, a sedan car) that illustrated representations of Samoan words that begin with a particular letter of the Roman alphabet. The children in these lessons were learning to represent the sounds of their language invoking an imaginary of Western concepts.

The above research is foregrounded to indicate that, while immigration was not the sole focus of their analyses, these language socialization researchers necessarily brought into relief the fact that the study of the everyday interactions they observed occurred in a larger, complex societal context. Many of the linguistic and cultural practices that were analyzed in these studies were also the result of the flows of religious ideologies and the economic expansion of more dominant groups in the region. There is now strong and sustained interest in understanding these dynamics across a variety of contexts of immigration and this work is reviewed in the next section. It is important to note that language socialization research on Creoles is also becoming a rich and robust area for understanding the effects of language contact phenomena. Led by Garrett's (2003, 2005, 2007) research in St. Lucia, Paugh's (2001, 2005) in Dominica; Riley's (2001, 2007) in the Marquesas; and Schieffelin and Doucet's (1994) on Haiti, these researchers collectively illustrate how negotiations involving multiple codes/languages and registers cannot be understood without attention to the histories that generated linguistic and cultural contact, including migration. These language socialization researchers' studies have focused more centrally on the experiences of young children growing up in contexts where they have to negotiate more than one language and role

across speech events and activities with multiple interlocutors. The practices of children and their caregivers in these studies motivate us to reconsider notions of linguistic competence and the long-standing concepts of 'speech community' and of language specificity in its social domain (Fishman 1972). Other language socialization researchers have been studying second language socialization processes in foreign language education and in English-as-a-second-language (ESL) classes. With a focus on language learning and acquisition in formal schooling settings and in the workplace, these researchers have also expanded the scope of earlier studies to include adolescents and adult immigrant populations (see Duff, this volume; see also Duff and Hornberger 2008 and Zuengler and Cole 2005 for comprehensive reviews).

Home and community socialization

This section reviews selected recent language socialization studies that directly address the immigration context. It reviews research that has focused on language socialization interactions in the home and that also addressed community membership (cultural or ethnic⁴). The socialization studies described here examined linguistic and cultural practices in which interlocutors created and maintained speech communities through code choice that conformed to social, historical, and ideological conventions and expected patterns of language use. In her book, *Growing Up Bilingual* (1997), Ana Celia Zentella examined, through ethnographic and detailed analyses of naturally occurring data, English and Spanish code-switching practices among members of a New York Puerto Rican neighborhood that she called *el bloque*. Her study analyzed how social, political, and economic variables influenced the ways that cultural and linguistic participation in *el bloque* was negotiated. The choice of language – English, Spanish, or 'Spanglish' – revealed that locally situated norms for displaying competence, role-taking, and identity formation shifted in different locations within *el bloque* in response to perceptions of language use by community members. The ways in which members of *el bloque* used 'Spanglish,' for example, itself a linguistic practice of migration and language contact from Puerto Rico (the island) to the United States (the mainland), illustrated how its use was subjected to the social conventions of the local community, including when it was appropriate for speakers to use it (see also Urciuoli 1996). Such norms of use and appropriateness are central to second language development as well. Schieffelin's (1994) analysis of the verbal environments and everyday household routines of immigrant Haitian Kreyòl-speaking families in New York City illustrated how young children code-switched to elicit a host of linguistic strategies and expansions that furthered their acquisition of English as their second language. These strategies involved other participants and caretakers (who were Kreyòl speakers but who also spoke to varying degrees English, Spanish, and French) in the use of paraphrases, repetitions, repair sequences, and clarification requests to expand local linguistic repertoires.

The intermediary role of youths and young children in immigrant contexts is varied and complex. Drawing on a longitudinal and comprehensive corpus of

language data on bilingual practices of young adolescents in Illinois (mostly Latino youths), Orellana et al. (2003) and Orellana and Reynolds (2008) examined the linguistic repertoires of youths who translate and interpret for family members.⁵ Through analyses of texts and interpreting activities, the researchers analyzed the linguistic and ideological competencies that children and youths displayed while engaging a number of genres, including letters, official jury summonses, and advertisements. The authors argued that these higher-order competencies contrasted sharply with the activities that the same youths carried out in school settings, where the full range of their linguistic abilities was not always utilized⁶ (see also Valdés 2003). In a south central Los Angeles study of low-income immigrant Mexican families' interactions with school and preschool-age children in the home, Bhimji (2005) pointed out the ways in which the young children not only learned to become adept at language and cultural practices of the home during adult-child interactions but also learned to mediate and be intermediaries in adult-adult teasing routines (see also Eisenberg 1986; Farr and Domínguez Barajas 2005). Through teasing exchanges, these children were also taught to become aware of the politics of immigration affecting immigrant Latinos in California. As an illustration of this last point, in the context of a teasing exchange, a young child, Esmeralda (2 years old), is encouraged by her mother (Carmen) to respond to an adult (her godmother, *madrina*), who was teasing her, with the threat of deportation.

Example 23.1: Example layout modified from Bhimji (2005: 74).

- Madrina: *Mocosa.*
 'Snoot nose'
 ((to Esmeralda))
- Carmen: *Dile. La Migra. Dile*
 'Tell her. Immigration police. Tell her.'
 ((to Esmeralda))
- Esmeralda: ***La migra.*** [sic]
 'Immigration police'
- Carmen: *Dile. Te lleva la migra. Van a venir*
 'Tell her. The immigration police will take you. They're going to come.'

This exchange illustrates the role that children play as 'conduits' of teasing and humorous exchanges among adults. But, as the interaction between Esmeralda and her godmother and mother shows, the seriousness of the difficulties of the immigrant experience is palpable and *teachable*. The threat of deportation and the fear of surveillance invoked by the words '*la migra*' can shape the daily contexts of interaction for many immigrant families and youths (see also Mendoza-Denton 2008). Teasing routines and other speech events that invoke and reference immigration policies or dominant public discourses on immigration become

opportunities, however difficult to negotiate, to make sense of exclusionary experiences. Such discussion of immigration policies and experiences are also common outside the home.

Home and school socialization

This section reviews studies on the transition from home to school that may also include the transition from the home language to the language of the school. The studies reviewed here also illustrate the entanglement between educational policy and ideologies of immigration. More often than not, both policy and ideology frame immigrant students as deficient learners, which can severely limit these students' participation across educational contexts. The focus on linguistic strategies of the language socialization studies reviewed here illustrates the complex practices that families and youths engage in as they negotiate the overlapping, yet at times disconnected, contexts of socialization between the home and school.

In a series of studies looking at transitions between home and school and their impact on language skill development, Pease-Alvarez and Vásquez (1994) and Vásquez, Pease-Alvarez, and Shannon (1994) examined practices of linguistic and cultural continuity among the children of Mexican immigrant families of a community in Northern California. In response to the perception that the academic failure of Mexican immigrant students in schools stemmed from deficiencies in the home that largely resulted from a lack of extended, directive, and expansive conversational routines with peers and family members (see also Heath 1982), these researchers set out to ethnographically observe and examine the linguistic and interactional contexts of home and school. Their studies showed that adults' uses of 'contingent queries' at home in response to children's requests served as productive scaffolding strategies that worked to clarify and elaborate on those requests. Such queries also served as deliberate strategies to enforce maintenance of the home language and delay the shift from Spanish to English. These studies were the first to provide longitudinal, ethnographic evidence to support an additive model of learning for bilingual Mexican immigrant children in schools (see also González 2001). The authors contended that children had the strategies in the home language to engage academic content in the school. Yet, having the linguistic skill is only one aspect of children's successful integration in school; they still have to contend with the expectations that teachers and schools have of their abilities.

In a study of a first-grade ESL classroom, Willett (1995) documented the second language socialization experiences of four immigrant students. The students, three girls (Palestinian, Maldivian, and Israeli) and one boy (Mexican American), were students at a school that was attended primarily by children of university graduate students. The boy, who was part of the focal group, was the child of a laborer at the campus stables. Several factors influenced the ways in which students demonstrated communicative competence during interactional routines in the classroom. These factors primarily included gender and class – preferred participation frameworks in teacher(s)-to-student(s) and peer-to-peer interactions – and

the teachers' presumptions about the students' cognitive abilities. These criteria, and the practices that they supported, reproduced contexts and ideologies that reinforced gender, class-based, and ethnic group expectations that positioned the four immigrant children on a differential path to academic success. During the course of the observations, the three girls displayed, and were rewarded for, their linguistic competencies, peer support, and academic success, while the boy increasingly became singled out as a problematic learner as he tried unsuccessfully to position himself as socially competent in the class. Rymes and Pash (2001) examined the literacy and language practices of René, a second-grade boy from Costa Rica who was also an English language learner. In the second-grade class that René attended, he learned to 'pass' as a competent speaker during classroom routines, in part to enact a desirable male behavior among his peers and gain social approval. At the same time, however, he was also being designated for special education classes and entering a different academic track in school.

Kyratzis, Tang, and Koymen's (2009) research on peer socialization during play activities at a Head Start program for low-income and mostly Mexican immigrant children challenged the assumption that working-class children were more likely to use restricted codes (rich in paralinguistic strategies but without much verbal elaboration) and that they lacked the linguistic skills for successful participation in the language of the school, with its reliance on elaborated codes (explicit and explanatory language practices) (see also Bernstein 1974). The bilingual children in the study employed a range of productive communicative resources that included strategic switches between English and Spanish, the use of paralinguistic cues to indicate joint engagement, and the use of complex referential practices. Thus, rather than falling strictly within a dichotomy between the use of elaborated and restricted codes, these children's use of peer group language, with its varied rules and conventions, can facilitate entry into the complex language practices of the school.

Expanding on the research of young translators and interpreters discussed above, García-Sánchez and Orellana (2006) examined parent-teacher conferences in which children were also present. Narratives that teachers constructed about their students' progress were illustrative of the socialization of institutional expectations of behavior, including the moral identities that were desired by schools. Remarkably, in these parent-teacher meetings, children were not simply translators and interpreters for the events; they were also the main co-participants as well as the actual objects of behavioral scrutiny and evaluation. The discussions and teacher narratives in these parent-teacher conferences tended to absolve teachers of problems arising in the development of the children and placed the greater moral weight on the children themselves to become responsible for their learning. These studies are mentioned to illustrate the ways in which attention to the transition from home and school by language socialization researchers has served to identify the first 'critical' transitions (from home to school) that are also constructed as the first indicators of academic success and failure.

Recent work studying the critical transition across higher levels of education points to yet another point of contact where academic success depends on more

than just having the institutional structure to facilitate that transition. Solís' language socialization study (2009) of a cohort of recent immigrant Latino students in Northern California (all designated English language learners) transitioning from two middle schools to one high school points to the need to examine the linguistic practices that go along with structures of academic transitions. The rigid administrative structuring of this institutional change (the shift from eighth to ninth grade), which is sometimes arranged independently of actual language learning or proficiency, follows district policies. Solís argues that these critical academic transitions may maintain the linguistic, and thus power, asymmetries experienced in the students' schools of origin through continued English-language-learner labeling and via limited educational supports throughout high school. This is a situation that becomes exacerbated in the new and often larger and more complex educational context.

Institutional labels given to immigrant language learners do not only shape the process of socialization; they frame it from a perspective of deficit and undesirability (García-Sánchez 2009, this volume; Lucko 2007; Talmy 2005, 2008). In his study of a Hawaiian school that served a varied population of ESL students from various countries of origin covering a wide span of US residency (from six months to ten years), Talmy discussed the process that created the near impossibility of becoming a different kind of learner once an ESL learner has been given that identity. Drawing on his two-and-a-half-year-long study, Talmy described this process as the result of 'the cultural productions of ESL students' (2008: 621). This process constructed a school-sanctioned version of an ESL student (through programs and educational policies) and a more oppositional 'generation 1.5' version illustrated through student behaviors that reinforced school beliefs about ESL instruction as academically inferior (students came unprepared for class or did not do their homework).

Although the focus of this review has been primarily on US immigration so far, ongoing immigration processes in other countries have also been subjects of study from language socialization and related perspectives. Lucko (2007) has investigated the formation of ethnic identity among Ecuadorian immigrant teenagers in a working-class neighborhood in Madrid, Spain. Based on 16 months of ethnographic research, the relationship between academic success and failure and the Ecuadorian students' understanding of their ethnic identity as distinct from that of their Spanish classmates was examined. Through multisited observations at a school for immigrant students (at an *escuela concertada*, which is a system partly funded by the state), at an Evangelical Church, and during activities of Latino gangs, Lucko discussed how essentialist discourses gave way to unbridgeable cultural differences that positioned Ecuadorian youths as problematic, untrainable, and different. García-Sánchez (2009, this volume) drew on her 20 months of fieldwork in a community in southwestern Spain to illustrate complex linguistic and cultural practices of Moroccan Muslim immigrants, who in the course of everyday activities negotiate for themselves and their families the meanings of a politics of exclusion that has historically positioned them as an inferior 'other.' These expressions of exclusion seem especially incomprehensible when it is

remembered that the host country's ideological efforts to integrate and include linguistic and cultural minorities in the mainstream now amount to special, if only ideologically, inclusive schools. Under the increasing surveillance of Arab groups, these immigrant children demonstrate, in spite of the exclusionary practices they experience (and not unlike those experienced by the children in the Orellana et al. studies), a tremendous sense of responsibility, managing to translate and interpret complex situations, including taboo topics, for adult family members during medical visits. These youths learn, at an early age, to act as buffers to ameliorate the tensions and differences of the cultural worlds they inhabit and, in so doing, they still manage to uphold the moral standards of their home communities.

Di Lucca et al. (2008) reported on a larger study of Moroccan adolescents in Italian schools where rapid linguistic shift from Arabic to Italian (within the same generation) and a redistribution of these languages across genres and domains were taking place. Moroccan Arabic became confined to oral genres in the community, while Italian (and affiliation to Italian identities) permeated these students' educational and social activities. The process of early childhood incorporation into the routine practices of schools has also been examined from a language socialization perspective. Pallotti (2000, 2002) documented for eight months the language development of a Moroccan girl, Fatima, at a nursery school in an Italian city. Building on repetition and format tying as linguistic and interactional scaffolding, Fatima borrowed key words from ongoing conversations with peers and teachers and managed to achieve coherence across turns, which positioned her as an engaged interlocutor in multiparty interactions. In another study addressing second language socialization, Cekaite and Aronsson (2004) examined first-to-third-grade (seven to ten years of age) Swedish 'reception classrooms' or immersion classrooms for refugee and immigrant children. The children, who were immigrants from Iraq, Lebanon, Thailand, and Turkey, demonstrated innovative skills at participating in humorous, joking activities (including producing a great deal of language play) as a way to use the second language meaningfully and become proficient in it (see also Aronsson, this volume). Since much of these children's activities involved role-playing and role-appropriation, the opportunities to animate voices other than their own were particularly conducive to learning registers and taking on stances not usually their own.

There is much we can learn from examining language socialization processes from a cross-cultural perspective, an earlier approach favored in language socialization research; yet, as the studies discussed here illustrate, the nuances of each immigration context might only explain the social and historic dynamics of that setting. Collectively, however, these studies illustrate that children and youths can, when it is possible to do so, engage fully with the linguistic and cultural resources available to them at home and at school.

Homeland and diaspora

The relationship between 'homeland' and 'diaspora' has been central to anthropological studies and related disciplines addressing immigrant populations with

social and ideological ties across geographical and political regions. The notions of home and dispersion create a tension that engages transnational networks and practices of identification (Brah 1996). As Clifford (1994: 317) noted, 'diaspora cultures work to maintain community, selectively preserving and recovering traditions, "customizing," and "versioning" them in novel, hybrid, and often antagonistic situations.' Such work is evident in the findings of language socialization research in both new and established diasporas as participants in studies negotiate notions of homeland and the creation of individual and collective identities.

Education in the New Latino Diaspora: Policy and the Politics of Identity (Wortham, Murillo, and Hamman 2002) comprises studies that analyze the ways in which educational institutions in the US South (a relatively recent immigration context for Latinos) have begun to socialize newly emerging communities of Central American and Mexican immigrants. The volume includes Villenas' two-year ethnographic study of the cultural contact and debate over child-rearing practices in a city in North Carolina and Hamman's and Martínez's studies of bilingual policy in the South and Midwest. Each chapter of the volume identifies a different component of the US public educational system and illustrates its impact on the socialization and education of Latinos in diaspora communities, reminding us that socializing sites produce conflicting ideological positions. For the new Latino communities in the South and Midwest, the history of the more established sites of Latino immigration such as the Southwest and the East Coast provides continued public debate and is generating new immigration policies. As the work in this volume shows, much of the research in diaspora is concerned with questions of authenticity, acceptability, and adaptability of immigrant populations in the host country's mainstream institutions. Mangual Figueroa's 23-month ethnographic study of a mixed-status Mexican community living in the New Latino Diaspora of the US Rust Belt follows four mixed-status families from home to school and into the public space in order to track the moments when juridical categories of citizenship status are taken up, reproduced, and contested during routine interactions between family and community members (Mangual Figueroa 2010). She finds that adults and children of all ages develop appropriate understandings of the significance of Mexican and US citizenship that are expressed during talk in everyday activities such as homework completion routines (Mangual Figueroa in press), family discussions about the family's future plans, and peer interactions among adults and children. Like other language socialization research reviewed here, this work is fundamentally concerned with the ways in which micro interactions are shaped by and indexical of macro-sociopolitical phenomena, and how these phenomena converge in the daily language socialization experiences of immigrant communities.

Kattan (2009) has been studying the language socialization and development of young children of families of Israeli origin who are temporary immigrants to the United States. The *shlichim*, emissaries of the Jewish Agency for Israel, relocate to the United States for short periods of time (two to three years) to recruit diaspora Jews (those living outside of Israel) to move to Israel, establish and support Zionist or pro-Israel communities, and raise funds for the agency's work.

Kattan's work on the experiences of these temporary immigrant families helps us to appreciate the complex nature of notions such as nation, immigration, homeland, and diaspora. While adopting cosmopolitan ideals vis-à-vis transnationalism and bilingualism, the children in the study (all living in or near New York City) also develop strong (and more favorable) ideological and linguistic identifications with Israel in ways that help to construct at an early age desirable forms of ethno-religious identity. In interactions at home and in school settings, the children explore the boundaries of proper or authentic forms of Hebrew (as the desired language spoken by Israelis) in comparison to inauthentic uses of Hebrew by non-Israeli Jews. The children of *shlichim* learn to parody US pronunciations of Hebrew to indicate the less desirable identity of 'American,' while simultaneously asserting their ability to pass as 'Americans.' This boundary work (between Israeli, Jewish, American, and transnational identities) draws on the historical relationship between the Israeli state, the Jewish Diaspora, and the United States, and the significance of Hebrew, as the ideal code, within that relationship. In simultaneously recognizing the prestige of English while derogating its speakers – and in acclaiming Hebrew and its speakers – *shlichim* and their children reconfigure the values of languages often positioned in hierarchical relation to each other.

Shankar's (2008, 2009) research among South Asian American teens (Desi) in Northern California illustrates how, in another diasporic setting, the use of speaking styles converged with perceived class statuses and shaped linguistic and social norms for these youths. The South Asian American teens in this study were from more upwardly mobile Punjabi families who had settled and benefitted from the economic and technological boom of Silicon Valley. Depending on prior histories of class and education in India and the United States, Desi youths and their families would speak English or Punjabi at home. The study described the use of two styles of English: the popular or more mainstream style and the 'fresh off the boat' style that represented the marginalized second- or third-generation immigrant Sikh Punjabi. The marginalized group resignified the features of the more popular and mainstream speech to disaffiliate with it and with the social group it purportedly represented. Lo's (2009) study of Korean heritage speakers in Northern California is significant here for the dynamics of moral desirability inculcated by teachers in their students, who were Korean heritage language learners (see also Lo and Fung, this volume). This multisited language socialization study of interactions across the weekend heritage language school, a tae kwon do studio, an art school, and an after-school program that taught English and math, examined how moral judgments of persons and actions were conveyed across these settings in ways that reified Korean norms and expectations and that positioned children as morally worthy Korean people. The identities that were being constructed for the students incorporated the present experiences of these children as Korean American youths but were also emblematic of a past and present history of immigration to the United States by Koreans.

In a linguistic and educational study of an immigrant Yemeni community, Sarroub (2002, 2005) discussed the tensions that young Yemeni women experience as they negotiated new literacy and linguistic worlds as Muslims at an American

public school. Based on two years of ethnographic research in a Yemeni community in southeastern Michigan, the study examined the educational experiences of adolescent women as they negotiated learning to become Americans while remaining Yemeni. The women were also learning to grow up as daughters of immigrant families and students at the public school and to straddle the difference between being teenagers and being women. For many of these students, the school provided a safe space without the demands placed on them by virtue of the gender norms and expectations of the home community. Yet, these conflicting experiences (which can run counter to community norms) were not easy to resolve in a context that was not always welcoming of women wearing the *hijabat* in post-9/11 times. The pressure on these students sometimes produced moments of anxiety that created perceptions of themselves as having failed to uphold the expectations of them at home and at school.

Religious socialization in diaspora

Religious socialization has been a growing area of language socialization research and inquiry that has centered more recently on immigrant and diasporic communities in the United States. A main focus of attention in the research on religious socialization has been to study the inculcation and teaching of literacy practices. For example, Duranti, Ochs, and Ta'ase (1995) expanded the scope of the Samoan studies discussed above (Ochs 1988) and examined the literacy practices of a Samoan American community in Southern California during Sunday School lessons. The same syllabary that served as a literacy tool in Samoa (with its Western features) was also being used at the Californian church to index experiences, worldviews, and identities present in the Samoan islands prior to Western colonization. These discourses of identity, and even more of nostalgia, socialized young Samoan American children to adopt bicultural and bilingual identities that promoted the use of established formal and informal registers, as well as the development of linguistic innovations that the new immigrant context afforded (see also Duranti and Reynolds 2000). Admonitions to learn and retain the home language permeated the lessons at church and, like many other religious contexts for children, repetition of religious text, while in many cases unintelligible, was the vehicle for acquiring and displaying desired knowledge and practices.

Ethnographic studies of transnational practices of Mexican immigrants in both Chicago and Michoacán identified the *doctrina* (Catholic catechism for young children) educational setting for young children as a site of cultural and linguistic continuity for immigrant communities in Chicago (Farr 1994). Baquedano-López's studies of *doctrina* classes at two parishes in California analyzed a range of literacy practices from narrative tellings of the religious icon of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Our Lady of Guadalupe) – which socialize children to affiliate with a collective identity of dark-skinned Mexicans living in the United States (1997, 2000) – to the interpretation of prayers, Bible stories, and parish events with moralizing messages relevant to their identities as Mexicans and US immigrants (Baquedano-López 2004, 2008; Baquedano-López, Leyva, and Barretto 2005). Additionally,

sermons and Bible lessons at a Pentecostal church in Southern California socialized youths to stay on a Christian path, or *El Camino*, and to not choose the sinful ways of the world, or *El Mundo* (Ek 2002, 2005). The stronghold of such moral exhortations also created a sense of belonging not to an ethnic community, as was the case in the *doctrina* studies, but to a broader Latino Christian community. This illustrates the fact that the choices that immigrant youths make, such as learning to remain visible or hidden and to affiliate with the larger ethnic group (Mexican in California, for example) instead of claiming an ethnic-minority identity (e.g. Salvadorian or Guatemalan) are not without consequence. These decisions are part of the everyday socialization experiences that many Central American immigrant youths experience in situations that require identity work (e.g. when youths are challenged by other youths in the schoolyard or on the street to identify with a particular ethnic group) (Lavadenz 2005). Depending on context, these youths must enact norms of behavior that align with an ideological position that goes along with a particular ethnic affiliation.

Access to religious contexts is not always problem-free. Political tensions also surface in ways that illustrate how larger discourses of immigrant fear or rejection articulate exclusionary practices. Baquedano-López (1997, 2004) and Baquedano-López and Ochs (2002) report on the parish debates concerning the possible elimination of *doctrina* instruction in favor of English-only instruction at a parish in Los Angeles. These debates took place during and after the passing of anti-immigrant policies (in particular the passing of Proposition 187 in 1994, a ballot initiative that denied social services, including public education, to undocumented workers and their families).⁷ The tensions among parishioners indexed conflicting views of Catholicism, ethnic identity, and cultural practice that were resolved by invoking English-only ideologies and practices. In other cities in Southern California, parishioners have experienced a range of negative emotional consequences during church services in English. As reported in Relaño Pastor's (2005) study of immigration stories among Latina mothers, parishioners found services in English to be insulting when the majority of the congregation spoke Spanish. These mothers' responses to such practices, such as leaving church during religious services, served to moralize their younger children to learn and take stances on church politics. Young children learned to see that language use in religious settings was one place in which immigrants could construct a sense of belonging, but they also learned how the politics of immigration shaped immigrant reception in these contexts.

The tension and conflict in the socialization of religious and social identity are also difficult to resolve (Aminy 2004; Fader 2001, 2007, 2008; Klein 2009; see also Sarroub 2002). Fader's research in Hasidic communities in New York City has examined the relationship between linguistic boundaries and community boundaries and how they are shaped by religious beliefs about gender and difference. Processes of language shift and the creation of syncretic registers and practices of Yiddish and English indexed an ethno-religious identity that allowed some members of the community to participate in secular contexts outside the community. Young girls learned at an early age to shift to English and engage in

multilingual literacy practices as they prepared for their roles as cultural brokers for the men of the community, who are mainly speakers of Hebrew and Yiddish. Aminy's (2004) research in a Muslim religious community in Northern California that included many recent immigrants from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Palestine, and Morocco examined the revivalist nature of religious instruction in this community. In her multisited ethnographic study of two Islamic schools and of a study group for women (*halaqa*), Aminy described the diversity of practices within the Islamic community even as the US public responses to the events surrounding 9/11 constructed a negative public image of a homogenous religious community. The practices of the religious community were shaped by discourses of insider/outsider and reflected the tensions created by the moral weight of being Muslim in the United States. In a study that also explored the tensions of minority religious socialization, Klein's (2009) analysis of the narratives around turban (*dastaar*) wearing and religious affiliation among Punjabi Sikh youths in Los Angeles examined these youths' conflicting stances on religion, dress, and identity. While wearing a turban would index a moral commitment to community and religious belief, it could also evoke negative perceptions about Sikh identity and a misrecognition of the group (or an individual) as Muslim, which in America's post 9/11 context continues to elicit reactions of terrorist fear (see also Sarroub 2005).

Conclusions

The research reviewed here integrates the complex macro-sociological and micro-interactive phenomena that are enacted through language use and that have an impact on a range of socialization practices in immigrant and migrant communities. Each of the studies presented here examined the historical trajectories and contemporary sociopolitical conditions of interlocutors, a particularly exigent task in the study of cultural contact, transmission, and shift. Language socialization research on immigration supports longstanding assertions about the bidirectionality of expert and novice roles across the lifespan. For example, children who are more proficient than their parents in the language of the host country often take up expert roles in relation to their parents. In these cases, we see that children, who are perceived to be novices in family dynamics, assume new responsibilities as they take on expert roles in high-stakes translating situations at school, in the hospital, and during legal encounters. The research presented here also highlights the existence of social barriers that continue to prevent children from fully integrating into educational contexts. These social barriers stifle children's learning and participation in multiple discursive worlds and the societal mainstream, and, more poignantly, prevent them from being appreciated for their skills across various educational contexts in which they participate and, in many cases, help mediate.

The voices of immigrant children in social institutions, which have been animated in the research reviewed here, demand a departure from the way in which we do and understand research on child development. In the work examined in

this chapter, ethnographers have documented and analyzed the many cases of children's acts of innovation, convention, and norm-breaking – for example, the linguistic and morally complex work young children do as interpreters for adults across social institutions. Yet, mainstream ideologies surrounding linguistically diverse communities and assumptions regarding limited cultural competence continue to be reproduced in institutions, such as schools, through policies and practices that hinder the full incorporation of many immigrant groups into the larger society. In other words, verbal practices and repertoires are not devoid of value within the social hierarchies of class and race. This point could become a catalyst for directing us to study the politics and consequences of language choice or, even more poignantly, the responsibility and politics involved in conducting research in contexts of language use often fraught with social inequities. There is much that language socialization research can do to continue to upgrade the status of immigrant children. A step toward this would be to continue to document the ways in which children are very much social actors who produce culture in the course of everyday activities, actively figuring out how to be competent members of multiple communities. This documentation could in turn be used to influence institutional policies that could make reception contexts for immigrant children more inclusive.

New studies of bidirectional socialization could shed light on how immigrant groups are socialized to the vast array of participation frameworks and settings available across their contexts of migration. We have learned from language socialization research how schools influence immigrant parents and children, but we know very little about how immigrant groups socialize one another and even less about how immigrant groups influence the cities and locales they inhabit. As such, a strong call is put forth for studies that foreground the bidirectional nature of socialization and that expand the socialization sites studied to include events across the multiple sites of cultural and linguistic contact, including host and home communities.

This review began by citing key research in sociology and anthropology that has started to document immigrant-immigrant and immigrant-city socialization processes. Language socialization research can offer a complex understanding of the role of language and interaction across and within these processes. As noted at the start of this chapter, recent theorizations on diaspora and globalization now permit us to engage in more integrated approaches to the study of immigration, where a focus on language provides a much-needed lens through which to understand the complexities and affordances of this ever-present and evolving process.

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