

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Translanguaging and culturally sustaining pedagogies: A mutually dependent relationship?

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Abstract

Translanguaging has increasingly been embraced in equity-oriented research on foreign language teaching, yet with variable engagement with complex models of culture. In this article, we investigate the nexus of translanguaging and culturally sustaining pedagogies (CSP) as one response to this shortcoming. Extending previous research theoretically and contextually, our comparative case-to-case synthesis examines this nexus in English foreign language (EFL) teaching through ethnographic and participatory methods with students belonging to historically oppressed peoples in Europe, including Indigenous Sámi (Norway) and Roma (Spain) students, respectively. In the Norwegian case, student translanguaging demonstrated possibilities to shift English teaching toward CSP in a setting where such pedagogical practices were largely absent. In the Spanish case, the creativity favored by pedagogical translanguaging became essential for the students to expand their cultural perspectives and grow through English in an extracurricular implementation of CSP. Together, these cases demonstrate the mutual dependence of CSP and translanguaging.

KEYWORDS

culturally sustaining pedagogies, English as a foreign language, Europe, minoritized students, translanguaging

1 | INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, translanguageing has expanded from its origins in minoritized and second language education to encompass foreign language teaching oriented toward equity and epistemic access in multilingual educational contexts (e.g., Anya, 2017; Beiler, 2020; Orcasitas-Vicandi & Perales-Ferandez-de-Gamboa, 2023; Troyan et al., 2021). A key premise of translanguageing is its ability to account for linguistic complexity and hybridity (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2022). However, translanguageing research has sometimes failed to engage with complex cultural models and sociopolitical variations, engendering critiques of insufficient contextualization of theoretical claims (e.g., Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Mendoza et al., 2024). One response to such concerns is studies that have situated translanguageing within *culturally sustaining pedagogy* (henceforth, CSP) (Alim & Paris, 2017; Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014). Overall, these studies have suggested that translanguageing may contribute to enacting CSP (Hernandez-Garcia & Schleppegrell, 2020; Khote, 2018; Lu et al., 2024; Troyan et al., 2021) and that translanguageing can better achieve its critical and transformative aims when situated within CSP (Emerick et al., 2020; Orcasitas-Vicandi & Perales-Ferandez-de-Gamboa, 2023). Still, the potential for translanguageing to enrich CSP, as well as the emphasis on cultural and not only linguistic expansion within both approaches, has been less explored, especially within foreign language teaching and outside of the United States.

To address these issues, we seek to articulate the relationship between translanguageing and CSP in English foreign language (EFL) education without privileging language a priori as our unit of analysis. We do so by tracing the tenets of CSP as a response to earlier asset pedagogies, before we investigate two theoretically interlinked cases that started from opposite ends of the translanguageing—CSP nexus and that offer different, yet complementary, insights into the mutual dependency of these approaches. More specifically, the first case focuses on the translanguageing practices of the only Sámi student in a Norwegian upper secondary classroom, while the second case analyzes an extracurricular implementation of CSP with Roma students at a Spanish primary school. In both contexts, we investigate how self-directed and informal educational practices may suggest frameworks for formal EFL teaching.

The article first presents CSP and develops the theoretical connection with translanguageing, before outlining our research aim, cases, and methods. Following, the findings consider translanguageing as an entry-point into CSP (the Norwegian case) and, conversely, CSP as an entry-point into translanguageing (the Spanish case). Together, the cases demonstrate the mutual dependence of CSP and translanguageing in the foreign language education of students from historically oppressed communities in Europe.

2 | CSP: FROM THE THIRD SPACE TO THE SPIRAL

Paris and Alim (2014) initially proposed CSP as an improvement and expansion of the *third space* model that still structured the field of *asset pedagogies* by shaping two of its dominant approaches: Moll et al.'s (1982) *funds of knowledge* and Ladson-Billings's (1995) *culturally relevant pedagogy*. Inspired by Bhabha's (1994) take on culture as inherently hybrid and impure, educational applications of third space theory urged schools to bridge the potential gap between two different realities: the curriculum (taken as a cultural artifact) and minoritized students' families and communities. This involved drawing on elements from both students' cultures and official curricula, organizing them in novel forms that acted as steppingstones for

students' learning paths. Relying on ethnographic insights on culture gathered during the 1970s and 1980s, some classrooms started to welcome students' familial funds of knowledge, languages, literacies, and cultural capital (Lareau & Weininger, 2003) to design third space transitions. As shown by Options A and B in Figure 1, the fact that asset pedagogies often referred to the need for "bridges," "tools," or "scaffolds" (Alim & Haupt, 2017, p. 157; Valdez & Park, 2021, p. 329) already evinced the twofold view that schools were institutional third spaces and that education was synonymous with bridging a cultural gap.

In this context, Paris and Alim's (2014) CSP addressed the negative practical consequences of the third space model, which they traced to its theoretical underpinnings, through three basic critiques. While primarily applied to the medium of education (and especially in the United States), we intend to show that these critiques also apply to foreign language teaching (in this case, in Europe), as Anya (2017) and Troyan et al. (2021) have demonstrated in relation to centering Black students' cultural and linguistic repertoires. Paris and Alim's (2014) first critique was that prevailing models of asset pedagogies habitually resorted to stereotypical and lazily celebratory renditions of students' minoritized cultures, rendering growth and development difficult. At the root of this representational impoverishment was a one-to-one identification between race and culture that failed to do justice to the evolving nature of minoritized youth practices, especially to their novel combinations of languages, modalities, and literacies. Secondly, asset pedagogies welcomed learners' cultural resources as *means* to mastering the curriculum, but not as forms of life or culture that had "value in their own right" (Paris & Alim, 2014, p. 87). Finally, and most fundamentally, third space versions of asset pedagogies remained blind to "systemic inequalities based on race, ethnicity, and language" (Paris, 2012, p. 93). As a result, rather than interrogate and denounce the racist underpinnings of curricular goals and competences that reproduced idealized constructions of a dominant, White middle class (Alim & Paris, 2017), asset pedagogies were making schools more welcoming of minoritized cultures, yet only as a bridge to a White curriculum that remained the only arrival point, as shown in Figure 1, Option B.

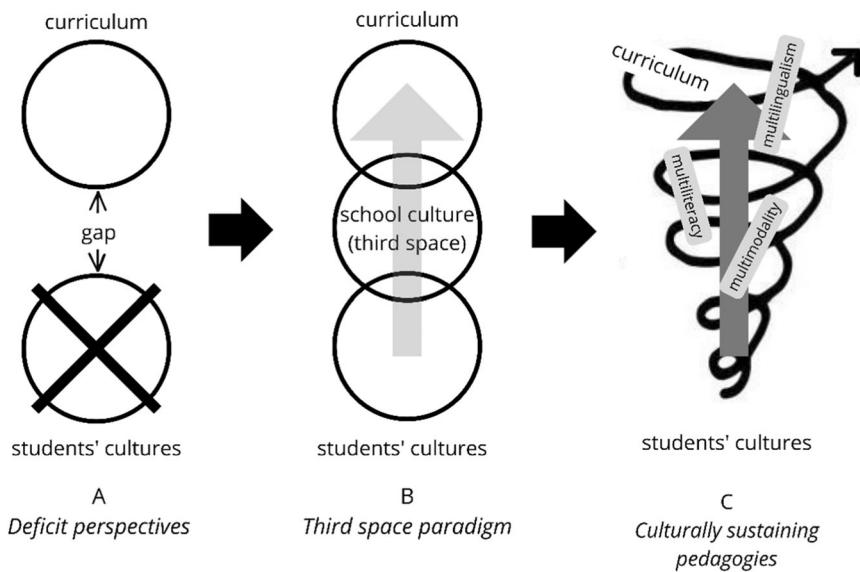


FIGURE 1 From the cultural gap to the third space to the educational spiral.

To appreciate the radical alternative offered by CSP, we propose that it be understood as a transition from the *third space* to the educational *spiral*, the development signaled in Figure 1, Option C. Behind Paris and Alim's (2014) pedagogy pulsates the democratic ideal of an educational process that unfolds entirely within the realm of students' cultures. Here, education would never occur by ignoring or suppressing learners' cultures, as *deficit perspectives* did by disregarding their intrinsic or educational value or by misreading them through pathological lenses (Alim & Paris, 2017, p. 4), as shown in Option A. Nor would education succeed by drawing upon learners' cultures only to motivate them for a journey to "some presumably 'better' place" (Paris & Alim, 2014, p. 87), as often occurred in third space models. Hence, Rosa and Flores (2017) claimed that CSP "can help us reimagine minoritized linguistic practices not simply as starting points but rather as central components of all stages of learning across contexts" (p. 178). Thus, education should proceed like a spiral, grounded in students' cultures, which can then be enriched and expanded through a process of accompaniment.

CSP entailed significant implications for curriculum theory. Going beyond the third space model, the school curriculum was no longer to be the *end* of education, but simply another *means* to democratically sustain and enrich students' cultures and knowledges. "What if the goal of teaching and learning with youth of color," Alim and Paris (2017, p. 3) suggested, "was not ultimately to see how closely students could perform White middle-class norms, but rather to explore, honor, extend, and, at times, problematize their cultural practices and investments?" Paris and Alim thus bestowed an open-ended quality to the educational process, which Option C (Figure 1) represents by extending the educational spiral beyond curricular knowledges and competences. Yet, as Paris and Alim (2014) emphasized, at no point should CSP be confused with uncritical affirmation of learners' cultures. Indeed, one of their main concerns with asset pedagogies was that these "[did] not critically contend with problematic elements in some youth cultural practices," hence engendering the need to "interrogate and critique simultaneously progressive and oppressive currents in [...] innovative youth practices" (pp. 85–86). Thus, educators had to negotiate with "ambivalence" along the way (Gutierrez & Johnson, 2017, p. 256). As a result, the educational spiral in Figure 1, Option C, contains partial *affirmations* and *negations*, in which educators sustain but also critique specific elements in students' cultures and experiences.

According to Gutierrez and Johnson (2017), "how culture is conceptualized varies and is consequential to how the practices of nondominant communities are understood, and how learning and pedagogical practices are defined" (p. 249). Sustaining and enriching students' cultural repertoires hence encompasses the "languages, literacies, and cultural practices of students in our communities" (Gutierrez & Johnson, 2017, p. 249). As suggested in Option C in Figure 1, this entails embracing the multiliterate, multimodal, and multilingual qualities that characterize the cultures through which students creatively engage with their environments. In the following section we theorize and review the instrumental role of translanguaging in enacting the multilingual component of CSP within foreign language education.

3 | TRANSLANGUAGING WITHIN CSP

Like CSP, pedagogical translanguaging is based on the premise that racialized and minoritized students' language practices are both dynamic and inherently legitimate (Alim & Paris, 2017; García & Li, 2014; García et al., 2017). Moreover, the dual emphasis on sustaining and

developing language practices is evident in García and Li's (2014) influential definition of *pedagogical translanguaging* as

a process by which students and teachers engage in complex discursive practices that include ALL the language practices of ALL students in a class in order to *develop new language practices and sustain old ones*, communicate and appropriate knowledge, and give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality.

(p. 66, emphasis added)

Thus, pedagogical translanguaging is characterized by a democratic commitment to maximizing the linguistic resources that are included, sustained, and enriched in the educational process (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García & Li, 2014; 2020; Lewis et al., 2012). This commitment supersedes traditional domain segmentation of home versus school languages (Seltzer, 2019), multilingual versus monolingual instructional methods (Hernandez-Garcia & Schleppegrell, 2020; Herrera, 2023), and informal versus academic language (Heltai, 2019; Rosa & Flores, 2017; Valdez & Park, 2021). In all these dimensions, translanguaging calls for creativity on the part of teachers and learners. On the one hand, translanguaging encourages teachers to draw flexibly upon students' repertoires to ensure that no student language is left out of the spiraling educational process (García et al., 2017; Heltai, 2019). On the other, it emboldens students to critically and creatively combine language resources through texts that are valued, first and foremost, as instances of language learning and cultural growth rather than examples of native-like competence (Dewilde, 2018; Lu et al., 2024).

Despite these philosophical similarities, the connection between translanguaging and CSP has only been elaborated in a few studies, mostly situated within the United States and English as a second language (ESL) teaching. In adult ESL, a central concern has been to investigate the transformative potential of translanguaging, which Emerick et al. (2020) found to fall short in the absence of attention to structural inequality and cultural sustainability. In contrast, Valdez and Park (2021) found that translanguaging contributed to sustaining cultural practices and honoring the wisdom of elders with limited formal education. Others have integrated translanguaging, systemic functional linguistics, and CSP into action research in high school ESL (Khote & Tian, 2019; Khote, 2018) or in elementary levels of French as a foreign language (Troyan et al., 2021). These studies found that this combination affirmed students' cultural and linguistic repertoires while raising their linguistic awareness in a new language. In Spain, Orcasitas-Vicandi and Perales-Fernandez-de-Gamboa (2023) have used pedagogical translanguaging and CSP to support students' multilingual identities in EFL teaching. Nonetheless, the ways in which CSP surpasses asset pedagogies is only rarely developed in these previous studies.

A wider range of translanguaging scholarship has incorporated the notion of sustainability by drawing attention to historical and contextual imperatives for sustainable translanguaging. In the case of Indigenous and other historically minoritized communities, translanguaging may entail recovering and reclaiming practices that have been almost fully suppressed through colonialism or construction of the modern nation-state (e.g., Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Lee & McCarty, 2017; Lewis et al., 2012). For example, this was the case in a Sámi-medium kindergarten section in Norway, outside of the core area of North Sámi language use, where adults in the process of learning North Sámi used translanguaging to create a sheltered but linguistically flexible space for reclaiming their Indigenous language (Kleemann, 2021).

In other cases, the emphasis of translanguaging may be on recognizing language beyond monoglossic, standard language ideologies, as in a literacy project with Roma children in Hungary, where standardized forms of Romani bore little resemblance to the children's language practices (Heltai, 2019). As a result, rather than introducing an unfamiliar Romani standard into the classroom, training teachers in a translanguaging stance “enhance[d] the prestige of local ways of speaking and increase[d] the speakers' self-respect” (Heltai, 2019, p. 481). This recalls the emphasis in CSP on dynamic, living forms of language, rather than static and essentialized notions of ethnic groups or language communities (Alim & Paris, 2017). Troyan et al. (2021) have demonstrated the relevance of drawing in a similar manner on Black students' full linguistic and cultural repertoires to create investment in foreign language learning in the United States. Given the widespread use of English worldwide, and specifically in European societies, we believe that language research needs to pay greater attention to the cultural and identity dimensions of EFL learning among marginalized or minoritized EFL students.

4 | METHODS

4.1 | Aim and research questions

Extending the research presented above, the aim of this article is to explore the relationship between CSP and translanguaging in EFL teaching with historically marginalized students in Europe. Specifically, we address the following research questions:

RQ1. What are the affordances of translanguaging for CSP?

RQ2. How may CSP be enriched through translanguaging?

4.2 | Study design

The current study is a comparative case-to-case synthesis (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2016; Yore & Rossman, 2010). Rather than aim for maximum comparability of variables, this design maintains contextual complexity while tracing phenomena across two cases that, while distinct, offer deeper theoretical insight through contrastive and comparative synthesis. We employ a horizontal dimension of comparison (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2016) by investigating the same phenomenon at similar institutions, namely translanguaging and CSP in EFL at public schools, across two countries. In addition, the cases are coupled according to transversal (historical) and vertical (scalar) criteria (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2016). More specifically, our study focuses on students belonging to historically oppressed peoples in Europe, including Sámi in Norway and Roma in Spain, both of whom still face discrimination based on a dynamic co-constitution of language, culture, ethnicity, and race (Berg-Nordlie, 2022; Fundación Secretariado Gitano, 2023). In both cases, current societal language hierarchies and ecologies can be traced to histories of modern, monolingual state-building, which have entailed the forced assimilation of racialized minorities (notably Roma people across Europe and Indigenous Sámi people in the Nordic region) and the suppression of minoritized languages, like Valencian in Spain and Kven

in Norway (see Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Minde, 2003). At a policy level, English has a similar curricular status in both countries, taught as a compulsory first foreign language (e.g., before French or German) starting in primary school, reflecting the worldwide dominance of English.

Theoretically, the two cases are matched to explore the dialectical relationship between translanguaging and CSP. The cases are drawn from projects that were initially conducted separately, with similar research aims, respectively, in 2017 (Case 1) and 2021–2022 (Case 2). We identified the potential for a deeper understanding of the CSP-translanguaging nexus through a synergistic comparison when Ingrid visited Luis's project implementation in November 2021, as part of an Erasmus+ university partnership. As we detail below, the starting point for Case 1 was inquiry into translanguaging, whereas the project analyzed in Case 2 initially considered the affordances of CSP. Methodologically, both cases relied on qualitative methods that included participant observation, student interviews, collection of student work, and generation of reflexive artifacts, which allowed for centering emic perspectives and generating rich descriptions (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017; Bartlett & Vavrus, 2016; Busch, 2012).

4.3 | Cases and participants

Case 1 took place in a linguistically and culturally diverse suburban upper secondary school in Eastern Norway, outside of the traditionally delimited Sámi homeland, called Sápmi (see Berg-Nordlie, 2022). Ingrid followed three English classes taught by the same teacher (“Lars”¹) for 4 months, where few lessons explicitly articulated linguistically or culturally sustaining goals. In line with our aim to trace translanguaging in concert with CSP, the present study focuses on how the only Sámi student in a group of 56 students (“Sofie”) nonetheless engaged with cultural and linguistic sustainability in and around formal English teaching. Sámi students have a right to Sámi language education throughout Norway (Education Act, 1998, §6-2), and other school subjects, including English, are tasked with providing “insight into the indigenous Sami people's history, culture, societal life and rights” (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019, p. 8), but this is not always followed. While many other students at the school were linguistically or racially minoritized, Sofie's position as a Sámi student bears more historical similarity to that of the Roma students in Case 2 than to that of her fellow students.

Case 2 took place in an extracurricular educational project at a Spanish primary school that situated EFL learning within CSP, titled *Aprendemos dentro y fuera del aula! / We learn outside and inside school!* Participants included 10 Roma students, including 8 girls and 2 boys, aged 10–11, who lived in a severely underprivileged suburb of a major city in Spain. Despite having been a compulsory subject in Spain for four decades, English was overwhelmingly absent from the students' self-expressed identities, households, and communities (Villacañas-de-Castro et al., 2018, 2021). Outside of the English language classroom, their lives did not intersect with the English language in any noteworthy way, either in terms of time, exposure to the language, or opportunities for meaningful interaction in English. All the participants identified as Roma and as Spaniards, yet they did not speak Romani—which only some of their elders retained—apart from some widely shared terms for family activities. Despite being generally respectful of Roma culture and annually celebrating the International Romani Day (April 8), the school staff did not encourage Romani among its students, let alone through translanguaging, which was not consciously used in any school subject. All the participants were thus native Spanish speakers. For this reason, and considering the students' limited affiliation with Romani, Case 2 did not include the revitalization of this heritage language as a variable in its investigation.

The project in Case 2 was student-led and consisted of three connected workshops (*talleres* in Spanish), where the students used English and Spanish to reflect on the linguistic and literacy practices, knowledges, and competences they learned outside the classroom. The workshops included a diversity of multimodal and multiliterate forms of representation that offered a new perspective on the general topic and a new outcome for display, with a successively widening arc: from individual identity (Workshop 1) to the school playground (Workshop 2), to the entire neighborhood (Workshop 3). The tasks culminated in a final exhibition at the town library, where the participants shared their outcomes with school staff, their families, and other community stakeholders.

4.4 | Procedures, data, and analysis

The primary data for the first case include field notes (40 entries; 132,468 words), a student interview (51 min), a language portrait (Busch, 2012), a recorded narrative (3 min), and five student texts, some with teacher feedback. Contextualizing data include a teacher interview (79 min), 21 additional student interviews (603 min in total), 146 additional student texts, classroom video (1609 min), and student screen recordings (2807 min in total). These were generated through a 4-month linguistic ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015) at the school described in Case 1. In Case 2, data consisted of 35 journal entries by members of the teaching team (20,197 words), approximately 200 photographs of classroom and student work, and interviews with each of the participating children (326 min in total), generated through 35 weekly, one-and-a-half-hour-long sessions conducted over the course of 8 months.

Our synthetic analysis of the data proceeded abductively (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017; Emerson, 2004; Yore & Rossman, 2010). We initially coded our respective data sets separately, using translanguaging as a sensitizing concept in Case 1 and CSP in Case 2. However, we each found, through further inductive development of codes, that both concepts were analytically significant. Consequently, we compared and consolidated codes and analytical categories across both data sets to develop a coherent joint analysis (Saldaña, 2015), as seen in Table 1. Based on these, we each identified both representative examples and key incidents (Emerson, 2004), that is, information-rich events that make broader, often tacit, patterns

TABLE 1 Analytical Categories and Codes.

	Translanguaging	Culturally sustaining pedagogies
Codes	Language domains (home, school)	Affirmation
	Linguistic identity and emotion	Ambivalence
	Majoritized languages	Critique (partial negation)
	Markedness	Cultural planes (individual identity, family, community)
	Minoritized languages	Epistemology
	Monolingual ideology	Growth
	Monoglossic ideology	Multimodal/artifactual expressions
	Oral	Negation (assimilation, criminalization, pathologization)
	Translation	Reclamation
	Transsemiotic	Temporal orientation (past, future)
	Written	

analytically explicit, for joint micro-analysis. Given the diverse, multi-textured nature of our data, we applied a variety of micro-analytical methods, including interaction analysis of interview transcripts, multimodal analysis of artistic artifacts, and narrative analysis of texts (Busch, 2012; Copland & Creese, 2015; Saldaña, 2015). To increase analytical credibility, we also discussed our tentative interpretations of patterns and key incidents with our respective participants, both in interviews and during fieldwork, although the final, formal analyses were not checked with participants due to their age.

4.5 | Ethics and positionality

Ethical review for the Norwegian case was conducted by the Norwegian Center for Research Data, while the Committee of Ethics and Human Research of the University of Valencia was the agency responsible in the Spanish case. All participants and guardians of minors provided written consent to participate in the respective research projects.

Our participant roles in the respective cases differed, although we both contributed actively to data generation. In the Norwegian case, Ingrid entered fieldwork as a participant observer, primarily recording ethnographic data, although she actively guided the students in making language portraits (Busch, 2012). After establishing a sense of classroom dynamics, whereby minoritized language use was largely absent, she occasionally asked questions or made suggestions for students' individual work that would allow her to observe how they would respond to more explicit encouragement to engage in translanguaging (see Dewilde, 2018), when this was possible without disrupting classroom instruction. In the Spanish case, Luis conducted research while fully participating in the design and teaching of the extracurricular project studied, according to a *teacher as researcher* approach (Banegas et al., 2022), alongside three other educators who helped him nuance his vision and gather the data.

With respect to our social positioning, neither of us is a member of the Sámi or Roma communities, which entails an added responsibility to avoid either essentialization or reproduction of deficit discourses (Ladson-Billings, 2017). Ingrid's personal connection to the study topic includes her experience of growing up bilingual in majoritized languages (English and Norwegian), while not having learned another family heritage language (Western Armenian) due to assimilatory pressure in earlier generations. Luis lives a few hundred meters from the school in Case 2 and has had regular noneducational contact with families in the school community before the project. These personal connections encouraged him to contribute to a more socially just educational offer in this nearby, yet socially distant, context, through an ongoing collaboration.

5 | FINDINGS

5.1 | Case 1: From translanguaging to CSP

In response to RQ1, the first case found that student translanguaging demonstrated possibilities to shift English teaching toward CSP by engaging family relationships and community knowledge in a formal EFL context where such pedagogical practices were largely absent. As the following extracts illustrate, most racialized and minoritized students in the classes had internalized a home-school linguistic divide (cf. Seltzer, 2019), which rendered only

translanguaging with Norwegian and English socially acceptable (see Beiler, 2021). For example, when Ingrid asked three students about their reasons for not using a shared language, Urdu, in school, Amira traced their practices to the early grades: “in the classroom in general, we have right from first grade always spoken Norwegian, or English in English class, and at least for myself, I speak- I am used to only speaking Urdu with family, or just mom and dad.”² Her classmate Karima agreed: “it would be a bit strange, in a way, to suddenly speak Urdu when you’re not used to speaking [it].” “But we do joke with each other sometimes in Urdu,” added Halima (focus group interview, November 15, 2017). Thus, minoritized languages like Urdu, or Sámi, were generally not seen as relevant to curricular learning, positioned instead only as a resource for peer and family relationships.

In this context of absences, the self-directed language and literacy practices of the only Sámi student in the classes, Sofie, provided valuable insight into both the roots of this home-school divide and, through counterpointing incidents, the possibilities for inviting culturally sustaining pedagogical practices into EFL through translanguaging (see Seltzer, 2019; Troyan et al., 2021). Sofie drew the following language portrait in Figure 2 as a representation of her linguistic identity.

In Figure 2, Sofie depicted her linguistic repertoire as both rooted in Indigenous Sámi identity and as multilingual and expansive, resisting an essentialized linguistic, ethnic, or national identity (see Berg-Nordlie, 2022; Hornberger & Outakoski, 2015; Paris, 2012). She



FIGURE 2 Sofie's Language Portrait.

explained, “I have included several languages actually because I have a connection to several languages.” At the same time, North Sámi had a privileged place: “that is what I felt was the closest to me [...] I drew that as a heart, and that is because both my parents are Sámi, and I am completely Sámi, and it is a language that I am proud to know” (Recorded narrative, September 18, 2017). She also represented the national languages of three Nordic countries where she had family, highlighting the importance of family relations to linguistic identity. Furthermore, she commented on her interest in learning French and on her regular use of English, the latter accompanied by a hashtag, hearts, and names of social media platforms. Thus, Sofie oriented toward both sustainability and growth, toward familiar and new languages, in line with the aims of pedagogical translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García & Li, 2014).

Sofie’s experience further demonstrated that sustaining North Sámi as part of her repertoire had required both reflexive critique and reclamation:

Sofie	From I was born until maybe I was three, four years old, I only spoke Sámi at home. I didn’t know what water was in Norwegian. I knew very little Norwegian.
Ingrid	What is it in Sámi?
Sofie	<i>Čáhci</i> [water]
Ingrid	<i>Čáhci</i> [water], so that isn’t similar at all.
Sofie	No, so I asked those employees at preschool if I could have <i>čáhci</i> [water]. They didn’t understand, and I understand that too. [...] Mom and dad could probably have taught me some Norwegian, because I do of course need to know some. But I was in any case not allowed to speak Norwegian—no, Sámi— at home, because they thought it was a bad influence on me [...] It makes it so I can’t communicate with others and such. And that’s true, so I get that very well. But maybe we could have for example done it so that I potentially could have been allowed to practice Sámi at home, even if I should also have learned a little Norwegian. (Interview, November 15, 2017)

Similarly to her classmates above, Sofie here recounted that an early encounter with educational institutions led to a shift toward Norwegian. However, the assimilationist pressure upon Sofie’s family was even more far-reaching, for it not only reified a home-school linguistic divide, but pushed her parents to speak Norwegian rather than (North) Sámi even at home, as Sofie clarified through a false start (“not allowed to speak Norwegian—”) and reformulation (“no, Sámi— at home”). Now 15, she reflected back on the adults’ decision as misguided, displaying the critical awareness crucial to translanguaging (Li, 2022; Li Seltzer, 2019). She further connected her critique to language sustainability at a different point in the interview:

I at least think now, in hindsight, that what they thought then was wrong, and that, since it is a part of me, and it is very important that, I- like Sámi which is an Indigenous language and the same as an Indigenous people, that one- I preserve the language as well as I can because there is a possibility that the language will go extinct. There aren’t like lots of people who speak it.

(Interview, November 15, 2017)

In this extract, Sofie emphasized the intertwined nature of language and culture and of the personal and societal dimensions of Sámi language sustainability (see Hornberger & Outakoski, 2015). In view of the danger of language extinction, she personalized this

responsibility, reformulating from an initial “one” to “I” as the subject who must preserve the language as well as possible. This conveyed Sofie’s drive not only to expand her repertoire toward new languages like English and French but also to deepen her existing connection to North Sámi.

Sofie did not have many opportunities to bring these commitments into English class. However, a singular incident demonstrated the untapped potential of translanguaging for culturally sustaining pedagogical practice. The following episode arose when Ingrid posted on social media that she was looking for someone who could read North Sámi and Lars, the English teacher, suggested that she ask Sofie.

I bring Sofie the North Sámi article that I have printed out to use in my teaching. She says she can understand the gist but not everything: it is about the environment. She is unsure what the title means, so I ask if she could maybe ask her parents later. Instead, she calls her father right away. She speaks to him in North Sámi but spells the title in Norwegian, for example, “*d med strek*” [d with a bar, i.e., <đ>]. She switches to Norwegian for a bit. Then she tells me that the title means, “Soon the opportunity will close.” The conversation seems to have ended, and I move toward another student. Then, Sofie gets my attention and says, “My dad found out that it means ‘worse than spring.’” She continues to investigate the article for longer than I have asked for. She repeats that it is difficult for her; she’s not that good at reading Sámi. Finally, during the break, Sofie gets my attention and tells me more about the article. The weather has gotten milder, and the river has melted. It looks like it is spring, though it is still winter. The article is about environmental disaster. Her father read it and sent her more information.

(Ingrid, fieldnote, November 22, 2017)

This interaction stood out as a key incident (Emerson, 2004) for several reasons. Firstly, it represented the only time during 4 months of fieldwork that Ingrid heard Sofie speak North Sámi, interrupting, for a brief moment, the normalized absence of students’ minoritized languages and experiences in the classroom. Secondly, it was the only apparent example of any student drawing on a parent’s expertise to accomplish an interpretive task (see Lee & McCarty, 2017). Thirdly, Sofie and her father engaged with the text for longer and in greater depth than what Ingrid had asked for, thus indicating an investment in understanding and conveying its message. The collaborative reading illustrated the multiple modalities and knowledge bases potentially involved in translanguaging, through Sofie’s and her father’s talk in North Sámi and Norwegian (including the practice of naming Sámi orthography in Norwegian), translation, and critical interpretation of text (see Dewilde, 2018; Lewis et al., 2012; Li, 2022). By centering an account of climate crisis reported by and for a Sámi-literate readership, the interpretive task also brought Indigenous discourses into a critical societal debate in which industrial infringements on Indigenous land rights are often framed as green technology (Frandy, 2021).

This translanguaging episode can be compared with the narrower affordances for CSP in the only, and somewhat incidental, curricular opportunity to engage with cultural identity, when Lars let the students choose their own topic for a term paper in English. Although the assignment was monolingual, Sofie relied on Norwegian at various points to draft and discuss with the teacher and her peers. She decided to write about perceptions of Native Americans, contextualizing the topic in her own Indigenous experience in Norway:

When I was younger, I never told anyone who I was. Well, of course everyone knew my name, but not my story. Every year, when the Norwegian Constitution Day was just around the corner, I was very nervous. [...] I was too afraid to walk the parade, because what I would be wearing was not the Norwegian traditional clothes. I am a 100% Sami, which is the indigenous people of Norway, and today I am proud of who I am. I have been lucky and not experienced much hate and racism in my life, but I know that all of my ancestors went through a lot. From taken away our natural and Sami traditions, assimilated and sent to boarding schools and treated as inferior humans, I want to write about how oppression is still relevant to all indigenous people in the world by focusing on the indigenous people in the United States.

(Student text, December 21, 2017)

In this introductory paragraph, Sofie reflected critically on cultural negation and affirmation, describing her own trajectory from nervousness to pride in her Sámi identity, framed in relation to Norway's Constitution Day. On this day it is common to wear a Norwegian national costume known as *bunad*. Instead wearing a *gákti* may be the only visible sign that one is Sámi and, thus, also a potential target for racism (see Berg-Nordlie, 2022). In line with CSP, Sofie here used English to create a resistant narrative to this earlier fear by connecting her feelings and experiences back to her ancestors and to other Indigenous people, including in the United States.

Nonetheless, compared to the collaborative translation evidenced above, this writing assignment provided narrower affordances for CSP. It allowed Sofie to shape the content, but without prompting her to connect with her family or extend her repertoire beyond English or Norwegian. Comparing the two key incidents, the translanguaging around the Sámi text illustrated greater potential to engage a broad range of relational and epistemic resources that, when brought into formal assignments, could move existing EFL pedagogical practices toward CSP.

5.2 | Case 2: From CSP to translanguaging

In response to RQ2, the second case found that the creativity favored by pedagogical translanguaging became essential for the students to expand their cultural perspectives and grow through English (despite their limited command of the language) in an extracurricular implementation of CSP. The following findings rely primarily on evidence from the second and third workshops, when the project fully realized its culturally sustaining pedagogical aims. The second workshop took place on the playground, where the students had to identify informal learning processes, in accordance with the topic of the project. Equipped with disposable cameras, Agustina, Yashira, Fran, Alegría, and Cintia took photographs of each other in their favorite playground areas, then pasted them on a huge school map they had produced with Google Maps and decorated profusely, as shown in Figure 3. Next to the mural are three enlarged images of the photographs and a range of bilingual and English-only texts that the learners also wrote about them. "My favourite space is the logs area. I learn balance in the trunks because it slips. It is fun," wrote Agustina (see Figure 3).

Meanwhile, another group of students decided to artistically recreate two other areas of the school yard. By using English alongside Spanish and a wide range of multimodal and

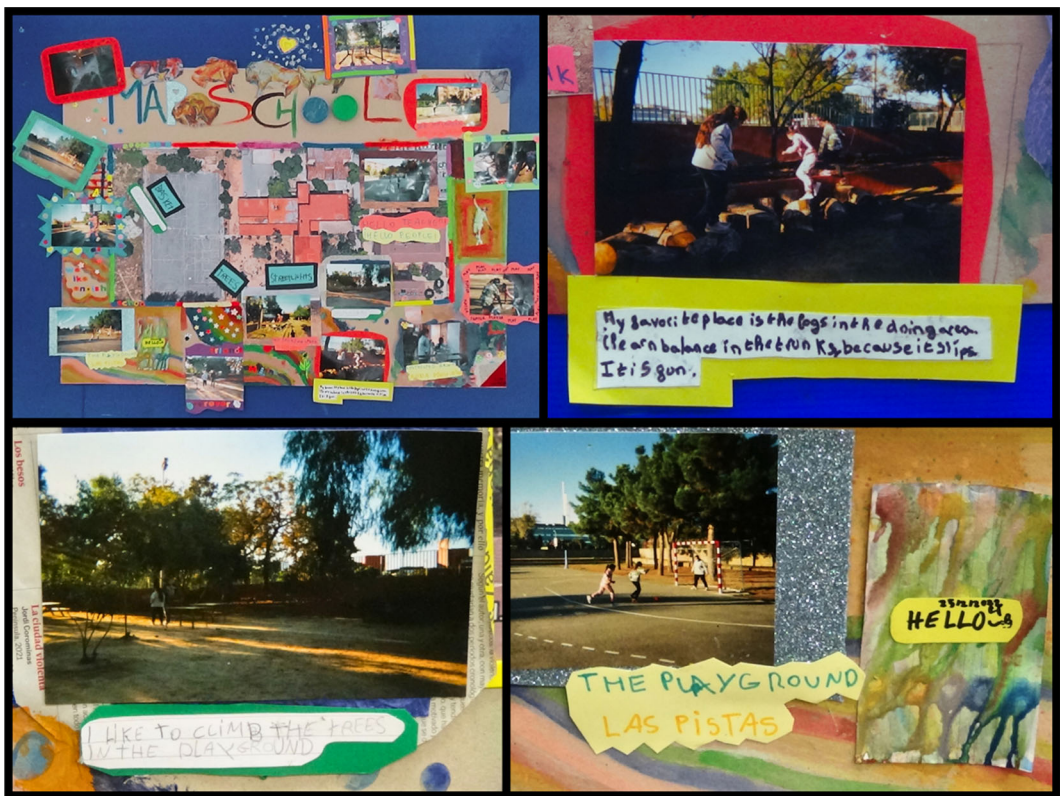


FIGURE 3 What do I learn in the playground?

multiliterate means of expression, the students activated and expressed the specific *cultures of childhood* (Wohlwend, 2013) that they recreated together on the playground. These cultures remained at the center of the workshop and mediated the students' Roma identity and culture. At the end of the workshop, Miriam said that they had “given it [the playground] their touch. For instance, to that bench Africa has added her touch. To those stones Judith has added her touch” (Interview, March 25, 2022). Meanwhile, Figure 4 shows how Samira, María, and Africa took a photograph of the “friendship bench,” created an artistic copy with colored silicone, and wrote a bilingual, imaginary dialogue that included the following excerpt: “*En el banco de la Amistad* [On the friendship bench] you learn to feel your feelings” (Student text, Workshop 2).

For her part, when Miriam decided to take a photograph of the corner where the children played football, she initiated one of the richest creations of the entire project, also shown in Figure 4. She first painted a watercolor representation of the playground corner, on which she pasted figures of her most admired football players, like Leo Messi, Cristiano Ronaldo, or Neymar da Silva. At the same time, she playfully replaced some of their original faces with those of her best friends and her own. Just as translanguaging merges words and phrases from different named languages and combines them in new iterations, Miriam added the names that resulted from mixing her friends' names (and genders) with those of the famous players, as in “*Leo Miriam*,” “*Leo Santi*,” “*Carmen Neimara*,” or “*Samira Ronalda*.”

Next, when she decided to write a long text on the meaning of her artistic work, Miriam put into practice a “building blocks” procedure that Luis suggested to her (Luis, journal entry,

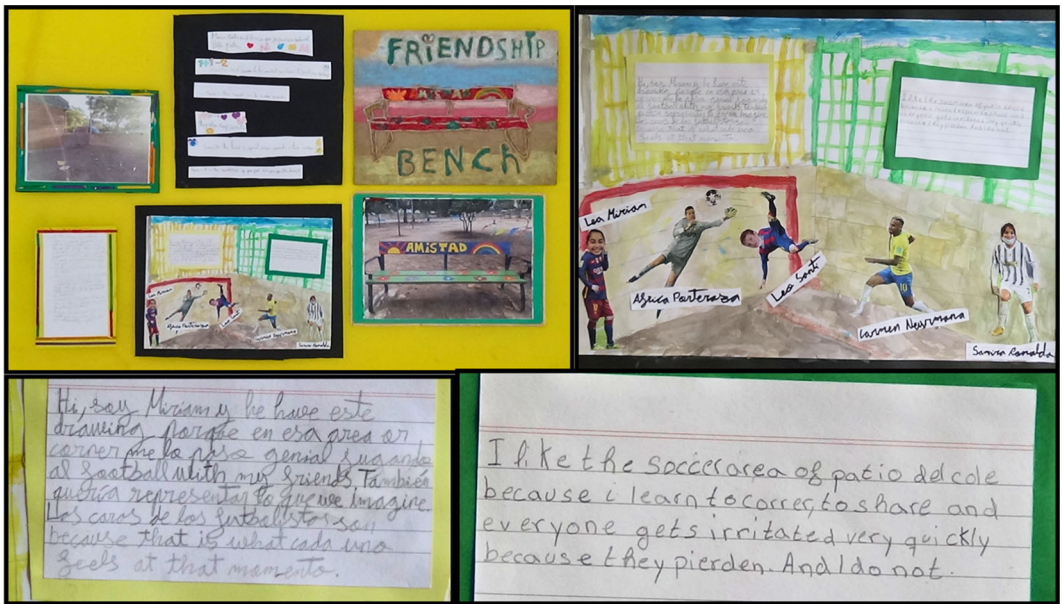


FIGURE 4 What do I learn in the playground? Miriam and Santi's work.

October 29, 2021). This approach was his adaptation of the principles of pedagogical translanguaging to the students' needs and especially to the challenge that their basic level of English posed to all tasks involving writing. Once Miriam had written what she wanted to say in Spanish, Luis challenged her to underline every word for which she already knew an English term, and add it to the original text. In doing so, she proved to herself and to Luis that she was capable of coming up with English words by herself. This led to her realizing that she knew much more English than she had thought, but also to developing her metalinguistic awareness through this comparison. The last step involved using these English words as building blocks for writing a translingual text including English words in larger chunks that already took into account grammatical and syntactic aspects (translation below):

Hi, soy Miriam y I have [made] *este drawing porque en esta area or corner me lo paso genial jugando al football with my friends. También queria representar lo que we imagine. Las caras de los futbolistas son* because that is what *cada uno* feels at that *momento*.

Hi, I'm Miriam and I have [made] *this drawing because in this area or corner I enjoy so much playing football with my friends. I also wanted to represent what we imagine. The football players' faces are [there] because that is what each of us feels at that moment* (Student text, Workshop 2).

Reflecting the dynamic growth of the educational spiral, Miriam's interview revealed that the second workshop bolstered her creativity to an artistic standard that she considered valuable. "I think it is more beautiful than reality," she commented on her drawing and text in Figure 4. "Here are all the imaginations, all the pieces of imagination that belong to me and my friends. [...] I love it that the people will see our imagination and what we have in our minds" (Interview, March 25, 2022), she added, anticipating the final exhibition.



FIGURE 5 What do I learn in the neighborhood? steps and phases.

These developments were reinforced during the last workshop, in which the students had the chance to showcase their Roma identity and culture amidst the people and the environs of this local “cultural community” (Alim & Paris, 2017, p. 12). At this point, the children walked the educators through the neighborhood public spaces where they spent most of their after-school time. There they reflected on what they had learned, and then learned to say and write this information in English. During the next phases of the project, the students took photographs and interviewed people whom they met about the state of the community. Acting this time as researchers, the students audio-recorded these interviews so they could listen to them in the workshops, summarize the main points, and include them in their final artifacts. The latter were small, multimodal boards that brought together photographs, maps, fragments from the interviews, and their own comments on their neighborhood. Figure 5 shows different steps in the workshop, while Figure 6 includes three of the finished boards and artifacts from the final exhibition.

Despite being two of the students who had the lowest levels of English, María and Alegría were very engaged in this part of project. “I liked this work very much,” María said,

because everyone joined the walk through the neighborhood, and we could ask people to say what they thought about the neighborhood and see whether they realized how dirty it was. Nearly everyone said it was dirty. She [the woman María interviewed] said she found this normal, because she had spent eight years living here, and by then she had gotten used to it. But I’ve been in this neighborhood for ten years or more. I’m about to turn eleven, and I still feel disgust.

(Interview, June 10, 2022)



FIGURE 6 What Do I learn in the neighborhood? And final exhibition.

Together with the previous quote, Figures 5 and 6 show how the students used English to selectively either affirm or negate their culture, alternately celebrating and critiquing their Roma identities and experiences through a balance that Paris and Alim (2014) placed at the heart of CSP. Therefore, next to photographs that displayed severe damage to neighborhood equipment, Alegría urged the town mayor to act, but she also wrote basic yet very effective bilingual messages on her board that commanded her neighbors to take greater responsibility for the common spaces: “Things don’t break [by themselves], *las cosas no las cuidamos!* [we don’t treat them well]”; “I don’t break the [things] of the neighborhood; if in your home [you] don’t break things, in the neighborhood neither!” (Figure 6, María’s board, upper-left corner). On the other hand, by echoing positive comments like Miguel’s—a Roma community leader who emphasized, during his interview, how much he liked sitting with other neighbors under the refreshing shadow of the pine tree shown at the bottom-right corner of Figure 6—the project successfully sheltered the students’ Roma identity and prevented it from mapping onto discourses of criminalization, pathologization, and even self-hatred that are often disseminated around and among Roma people (Sigona & Trehan, 2016). Clearly, the children and adults who took part in the project found things to criticize in their neighborhood, but they never lost sight of those positive and healthy aspects that justified them in looking at the future, and their community, with pride and hope.

The same dialectics of growth expressed themselves linguistically, for instance, when Alegría finished her board on the very last session, after which she proudly stated: “I am bilingual!” (Luis, journal entry, June 10, 2022). This comment reflected how the project facilitators’ translanguaging stance was interiorized by the Roma students, and now influenced the way they saw their relationship with this foreign language. Contrary to the deficit orientations that continue to permeate English language teaching (Alim & Paris, 2017, p. 4), the participants used English as a means for their own cultural enrichment, to create outcomes that

they, their families, and communities could identify with and feel proud of. For Alegría, this was precisely what being bilingual should mean. During her interview, Ana also affirmed that she had “felt like an artist when I did this, and I felt intelligent when I was able to more or less translate this” (Interview, March 25, 2022). Agustina concurred:

My mother was very impressed. She was very happy and felt like the proudest mother in the world for what her daughter had done, and she felt happy that her daughter attended extracurricular English classes and made all this—this beautiful magic potion made of joy, of many things, of English words.

(Interview, June 20, 2022)

Agustina's account of the final exhibition echoed the dynamics of the educational spiral, as she described how elements from their cultural backgrounds and lifeworlds were stirred together, reorganized, and expanded through a worthwhile educational experience that enriched their Roma childhood cultures and individual identities. As a culmination of the various strands in the workshops, the exhibition proved that creative, contextualized use of translanguaging is instrumental to CSP fulfilling its aims.

6 | DISCUSSION

Considered jointly, the findings from our cases suggest that, more than “mutually supportive enterprises” (Emerick et al., 2020, p. 304), CSP and translanguaging should be reframed as mutually dependent approaches. This reframing entails practical and theoretical consequences for our understanding of culture, language, and their relationship in foreign language education, some of which may seem quite ambitious.

The first implication for educators and policymakers in multilingual contexts is to centrally consider those other realities, apart from language, that CSP successfully incorporates in its educational philosophy. This took place in Case 2, where foreign language learning unfolded within the bounds of the learners' cultural realities (see Alim & Paris, 2017, p. 3), which were enriched in turn through reflection, art, and the English language. Thanks to this, the project was able to encompass María's, Alegría's, Ana's, and Miriam's cultural “ambivalence” (Gutierrez & Johnson, 2017, p. 256) regarding both the positive and negative aspects of their neighborhood, which then were transformed into valuable artistic manifestations in the third workshop. In Case 1, similar processes of cultural reflexivity emerged through the space that Sofie created in an EFL writing assignment, where she negotiated competing emotions of shame and pride in her Sámi identity (see Kleemann, 2021; Minde, 2003), before considering similar experiences of other Indigenous peoples. These findings call for foreign language education to engage more directly with minoritized students' cultural realities. This entails balancing the overt emphasis on national target-language cultures, which still characterizes the intercultural communicative competence paradigm prevalent in Europe (Byram et al., 2013), with attention to sustaining and enriching students' own cultures as they invest in identities in a new language (see Anya, 2017).

A second implication for classroom practice is that translanguaging may expand the reach of CSP, when this connection is made with intentionality and grounding in students' repertoires and communities. In particular, Case 1 demonstrated that translanguaging can invite and extend students' cultural, linguistic, and epistemic resources in the foreign language classroom,

while enriching conversations about important societal issues. Ingrid could facilitate some of this translanguaging by introducing a text in North Sámi, despite her not knowing the language, as would be the case for most teachers. Thus, involving Sofie's father as an interlocutor was a crucial next step for Sofie to expand her own understanding of the text, and not only to make it accessible to an outsider like Ingrid. However, the potential scarcity of interlocutors may represent a significant challenge where minoritized or Indigenous languages have a weak presence outside of the classroom (Kleemann, 2021), as in both cases, or where students are sole speakers of their language in school, as in Case 1 (Beiler, 2020; Mendoza et al., 2024). Given such constraints, individually adapted pedagogical design may be important for translanguaging to go beyond widely shared languages and knowledges, for instance, through family and community-engaged projects or contextualized translation tasks (García et al., 2017; Lee & McCarty, 2017).

At the same time, while minoritized languages may have more transparent links to CSP (Beiler, 2021; Seltzer, 2019; Valdez & Park, 2021), translanguaging with majoritized languages also may support CSP when the incorporate students' actual repertoires and identities (see also Troyan et al., 2021). This applied to Sofie's use of Norwegian and, moreover, to the Roma students' use of Spanish, which, after years of suppression of Romani, was their primary family and community language (cf. Heltai, 2019). As Rosa and Flores (2017) have observed, raciolinguistic ideologies construct similar perceptions of deficiency among purportedly 'bilingual' Latinx and 'monolingual' African American students, which in turn necessitate similar forms of interrogation, regardless of racialized students' monolingual or bilingual repertoires. In Case 2, by "prioritizing students and their language practices over standards and regulations" (Valdez & Park, 2021, p. 331), translanguaging bolstered the multimodal and multiliterate dimensions of the project with flexible combinations of English and Spanish. Nonetheless, this means that Case 2 missed the opportunity to enact a sustaining and *revitalizing* form of translanguaging (see Lee & McCarty, 2017) by not including Romani as a target language. This potential contradiction in outcomes calls for both immediate and long-term responses, at classroom and policy levels: in the immediate term, welcoming both majoritized and minoritized languages as being authentically part of minoritized students' identities; while, in the long term, joining forces with language revitalization efforts to promote holistic multilingual education that encompasses Indigenous, minoritized, and foreign language learning (e.g., Cenoz & Gorter, 2017), alongside other projects of cultural revitalization.

At a theoretical level, in proposing a mutually dependent relationship, the article has presented an alternative to the dominant assumptions that translanguaging is either a means to enact CSP (Hernandez-Garcia & Schleppegrell, 2020) or itself a form of CSP (Emerick et al., 2020; Herrera, 2023; Khote, 2018; Khote & Tian, 2019; Valdez & Park, 2021). These assumptions have at least two limitations. First, against Paris and Alim's (2014) reflexive and self-corrective spirit, there can be a tendency to regard CSP as a finished model that translanguaging, at most, can help to implement in language teaching. Second, by not engaging CSP in enough theoretical depth, researchers may overlook how CSP enriches translanguaging, or may even revert to the asset pedagogies that CSP had already critiqued and expanded (Khote, 2018; Khote & Tian, 2019; Troyan et al., 2021).

In contrast, our proposal avoids conflating language and culture, since this understanding has often led to translanguaging being equated with CSP (Emerick et al., 2020; Valdez & Park, 2021), or even to CSP being considered a form of translanguaging in itself (Orcasitas-Vicandi & Perales-Ferandez-de-Gamboa, 2023). A mutually dependent relationship between CSP and translanguaging respects the intricate connections between language, literacy, and

culture, in which the first two are privileged, but by no means the only, vehicles through which human culture hybridizes and rebuilds itself (Gutierrez & Johnson, 2017). Aided by the multimodal artifacts presented as evidence in Cases 1 and 2, we have come to see translanguaging as a concrete example of how human culture grows and is recreated more generally, by both adults and children. Within foreign language education, this distinction may serve as a reminder that translanguaging is only likely to be as culturally sustaining and educationally transformative as the knowledges, relationships, and multimodal and artifactual expressive forms that it brings into play (see also Li, 2022; Li Mendoza et al., 2024).

7 | LIMITATIONS

A methodological limitation of both cases is their reliance on evidence from incidental (Case 1) or extracurricular (Case 2) learning to argue for implications within formal foreign language education. Our need to look for evidence in less regulated spaces arose from the relative absence of either translanguaging or CSP in current formal foreign language education in both contexts, as noted above. Accordingly, the findings might have had greater ecological validity for formal instruction if directly produced therein (e.g., Troyan et al., 2021), although we maintain the transferability of the learning processes presented.

Other limitations concern our researcher positionality: namely, greater sharedness with the cultural background or linguistic, ethnic, or racial identity of the participants might have provided us a deeper understanding of their experiences or engendered different conversations (see Hornberger & Outakoski, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2017; Troyan et al., 2021). However, our interactions with the students may still provide an indication of possibilities for translanguaging and CSP in school systems where minoritized students are primarily met by linguistically majoritized White teachers, as is the case in both Norway and Spain. Furthermore, greater commonality between the researchers' respective roles in each of the cases would have allowed us to investigate more systematically the impact of contextual differences.

8 | CONCLUSION

In foreign language education, there is urgent need for approaches that can both reckon with systemic inequalities and offer an emically productive educational vision, rather than one modeled on White middle-class speakerhood (Anyia, 2017; Mendoza et al., 2024; Troyan et al., 2021). Extending previous research conducted primarily in the United States, we suggest that the translanguaging—CSP nexus may productively disrupt and invite new epistemic bases for EFL education in Europe. We invite further ethnographic and participatory work to explore these connections across a variety of settings and student trajectories, but perhaps especially in those where structural inequalities in foreign language education are often glossed over, such as our own.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Participant names in Case 1 are pseudonyms. Participants' real names are used with consent in Case 2, according to their wishes.
- ² Due to space constraints, interview data are presented in English translation. Original language transcripts (Norwegian and Spanish) are provided as supporting information online.

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

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