

CHILDREN MAKING MEANING OF THE WORLD THROUGH EMERGENT  
LITERACIES: BILINGUALISM, BILITERACY, AND BICULTURALISM AMONG THE  
YOUNG INDIGENOUS CHILDREN AT TEKOÁ MARANGATU, BRAZIL

by

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## DEDICATION

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## ABSTRACT

There is a considerable body of research showing that before children enter school they are already equipped with language competencies and concepts developed particularly in their sociocultural environment. Although some studies have explored to some extent the lives of Indigenous children in their socio-cultural contexts, most of these studies do not systematically focus on the early years of their socialization processes. Furthermore, in Brazil, researchers have only recently – in the last 15 years – started to look at the child as a capable and competent being. Thus, the purpose of this study was to document and analyze the socialization practices used by and with Mbya Guarani children in the Tekoá<sup>1</sup> [reservation] Marangatu Indigenous reservation in Imaruí, Brazil, particularly within the school and community contexts.

The overarching goal of this dissertation study was to explore the role of Indigenous children's socialization processes in the development of bilingualism, biliteracy, or biculturalism within the school environment and how the bilingual school supports or hinders the development of the Guarani language. In this study, children are seen as social actors (Cohn, 2005a; Marqui, 2012; Mello, 2006; Tassinari, 2011), who transmit knowledge amongst themselves, the adults in their lives, and the different contexts in which they live and experience bilingualism and biculturalism, and in some cases, biliteracy.

In this qualitative study, I used ethnographic instruments (Heath & Street, 2008; Seidman, 1998) to document in-depth the several literacy practices performed by first- and third-graders in the *Escola Indígena de Ensino Fundamental Tekoá Marangatu*<sup>2</sup> (*E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu*). Data include fieldnotes from participant observations, video and audio recordings, literacy samples (in the form of photographs), and informal interviews, which were collected during

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<sup>1</sup> **Tekoá** ou *Aldeia* is the name given to an Indigenous reservation in Brazil. It has a similar meaning to the U.S. context, but it encompasses more than the land; it encompasses their people and practices as well.

<sup>2</sup> This is the bilingual Indigenous school on the reservation.

three months of fieldwork. Through open coding, I delineated specific domains regarding the use of literacy events (Heath, 1982) and the socialization practices of this specific Indigenous community, following previous empirical studies on immigrant and Indigenous children's emergent literacies (Azuara, 2009; Reyes & Azuara, 2008; Reyes, Alexandra, & Azuara, 2007; Teale, 1986).

Through the use of narrative inquiry (Schaafsma & Vinz, 2011), I demonstrate how the role of translanguaging (García & Beardsmore, 2009) and the role that peers (Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004; Halliday, 2004; Moll, 2001) took in the socialization processes of these children are some of the important findings of this study. By also interviewing key members of the school, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, I was able to understand more in-depth the importance of maintaining these children's cultural heritage at the same time that they learned their native language. In many instances the children in this study relied on more capable peers to understand the worlds and contexts in which they live. As they interacted with each other and with adults, children translanguaged across these multiple contexts as they brought their funds of knowledge (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) into the school setting.

The *modo de ser e viver* [way of being and living] in this Indigenous community was intrinsically connected to how they saw themselves as Guarani and how they have adapted to the ways of living on the reservation. Being Guarani encompassed many aspects of their religion, ways of thinking, cosmology, and thus many times it was difficult to separate all of the aspects that composed the Guarani individual. The constant transformation of this reservation has been reshaping the social structures and activities the Guarani perform on a daily basis, yielding new forms of literacy. Even though Portuguese is the dominant language in the school context, both adults and children used Guarani as a way to escape the homogenization almost required by the

outside world. Thus, understanding the role that the bilingual school plays in this community was also a key aspect of this research since both adults and children reinforced the use of Indigenous socialization practices within the school setting as a way to adapt to their way of living and being.

*Key words:* Bilingualism, biliteracy, biculturalism, Indigenous, translanguaging, peers

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*A escola entrou na comunidade como um corpo estranho, que ninguém conhecia. Quem a estava colocando sabia o que queria, mas os índios não sabiam, hoje os os índios ainda não sabem pra que serve a escola. E esse é o problema. A escola entra na comunidade e se apossa dela, tornando-se dona da comunidade, e não a comunidade dona da escola. Agora, nós índios, estamos começando a discutir a questão.*

The school entered the community as a foreign body, which no one knew. The individual who was putting it there knew what he wanted, but the Indians did not know. Today the Indians still do not know what is the purpose of the school. That is the problem. The school enters the community and takes possession of it, becoming the owner of the community, and not the community as the owner of the school. Now, we Indians, are starting to discuss this question. (Kaiagang as cited in Freire, 2004, p. 28)

It is alarming to know that many Indigenous<sup>3</sup> tribes today have become fully assimilated into the dominant culture through coercive and oppressive methods. I mark the term “Indigenous” with a capital “I” to signify a “nationality parallel” (King & Benson, 2008, p. 343 as cited in McCarty & Nicholas, 2012). As McCarty and Nicholas (2012) report, “throughout the world, Indigenous languages and the culturally specific knowledge they encode constitute the living heart of family—and community-based education .... It is this living heart that colonial regimes have sought to still and destroy” (p. 1). If we compare the current situation of Indigenous languages in Brazil (in their rapid decrease and disappearance) to the findings from McCarty and Nicholas’ report, we can see how many Indigenous cultures and languages have been lost or assimilated into the dominant society throughout generations. This awareness and consciousness of the cultural and linguistic crisis among Indigenous societies and the urgency in

preserving these languages and cultures ignited my interest in Indigenous education. Throughout this dissertation, the Portuguese and Guarani languages will be used in order to give a voice to the Tekoá Marangatu Indigenous group where the data was collected. To distinguish between the two languages, Portuguese words will be italicized while Guarani words will be represented in bold type. Proper nouns will be excluded from this practice.

Although it is not known exactly how many Indigenous societies existed in Brazil at the time Europeans arrived around the 1500s, estimates of native inhabitants range from 1 to 10 million individuals (FUNAI, 2013). Also in terms of estimates, linguists have assumed that approximately 1,300 different languages were spoken by many Indigenous societies. Today, Brazil is home to about 460,000 Indians, distributed among 225 distinct Indigenous societies, representing about 0.25% of the population. There is an extreme urgency among these communities in preserving these cultures and languages as they currently represent less than 1% of the population.

There are also around 180 Indigenous spoken languages, which belong to 30 different language families. Amongst these Indigenous groups are the Guarani people. They are spread throughout many different states in Brazil with a higher concentration in the northwest area. The Guarani people have been constantly displaced from their lands and they currently live mainly in urban centers. Many of them have not learned to speak their native languages. The estimated total number of Guarani people in Brazil is 50,000 according to the *Conselho Indigenista Missionário* (2007); the larger group is divided into subgroups, denominated Nhandeva, Mbya, and Kaiowá (Schaden, 1974). My study focuses on the Mbya Guarani people who have been present in the coastal areas of Santa Catarina for many years.

### **Situating the Study<sup>4</sup>**

This study took place at the Tekoá Marangatu, a Mbya Guarani Indigenous reservation located in Cachoeira dos Inácios, Imaruí, a very small town in the southern part of Brazil. This distinct group remains culturally and linguistically resilient, and they have adapted to their circumstances and emerged as bicultural, bilingual, and biliterate people. This research was aimed at exploring how young Mbya Guarani children's emergent literacies are mediated by their lived experiences in different contexts, thus influencing their bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural development, and also how the bilingual school supports or does not support the development of the Guarani language (which is mostly spoken in the home and community contexts).

This dissertation emerged from my desire, as a novice in the fields of bilingualism and biliteracy within Indigenous communities and early childhood settings, to understand how these different fields can come together to better understand how a young Indigenous child can develop as a bilingual, bicultural, and biliterate citizen of her many worlds. This interest also came from my work with Dr. Sheilah Nicholas throughout my graduate courses, where we focused on the role of schooling in various Indigenous communities, both national, such as the Hopi community, but also international, such as the Kamehameha schools in Hawaii. For three years we discussed how the Indigenous children from these various contexts become bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural, and how the institutions they are placed in support or do not support this development. Before developing my dissertation proposal, I contacted a former professor at a local university in the south of Brazil, Dr. José Antônio Santos, who described his long-term

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<sup>4</sup> Chapter 2 will provide a thick description of the Guarani people and its culture and also the state of contemporary Indigenous education in Brazil, but in this section, "Situating the Study," I briefly situate the research context.

relationship with the Tekoá Marangatu in Imaruí. Through him, I learned about the community and how they supported a bilingual Guarani-Portuguese school.

Beyond understanding how this community works, it is also important to understand why I decided to learn about them. This Indigenous community is located just an hour north of my hometown in Brazil. For some time, I have been researching materials related to the field of bilingualism and biliteracy in early childhood as it related to Indigenous communities in Brazil, but there was a lack of research in the field. Heath and Street (2008) state that the research space of language socialization is wide open for ethnographers, especially those interested in literacy. Although researchers have recently, in the past fifteen years, started to study the socialization process of Indigenous children in Brazil, their focus has been on the home context and not on how these socialization processes are reflected in the school context (the focus of this research). In addition, there is also a lack of research in Brazil on the field of bilingualism and biliteracy development as it relates to the socialization of Indigenous children.

Dr. Santos suggested that I talk to the current *cacique*, Mr. Floriano da Silva, as a way of introducing myself to the community. The *cacique* is the same as the chief of an Indigenous community, and he wields mostly political power. The role of *cacique* is a highly prestigious social status determiner within the community. The word will be used in the Portuguese throughout the dissertation. After learning that Mr. Rudmar Correa was a teacher at my mother's school and the director for the regional institution that oversees the bilingual school, I asked Mr. Correa to visit the school with me. Many tries later, we were finally able to contact the *cacique*'s brother, Eduardo da Silva. I started connecting with the community around July 2013 by talking to teacher Eduardo. He was one of the leaders of the community, the **kuaray** (*sol* or sun), and was highly involved with anything that related to the education of his people. When I first talked

to Eduardo, he immediately asked his brother permission, so I could collect data at their bilingual school as he strongly supported my views on bilingualism within the Indigenous context.

However, when I came back in July 2014, Eduardo's status at the community had been compromised due to personal reasons. Despite his loss of status, Eduardo contacted the *cacique* again on my behalf and arranged a meeting with the *cacique* and the school principal. This group decided how my presence as a researcher could best benefit the community.

I became very close with the non-Indigenous lead teacher, Jéssica, who worked with the first- and third-grade children I was observing. From the beginning, I became convinced that an important piece of the puzzle to understanding how this community worked was to build this close relationship with the children and the adults around them. This somewhat lengthy explanation of how I contacted the specific Indigenous group exemplifies how their community operates. As a non-Indigenous, I found communication a challenge, but with patience, I learned a lot about how the group functions, about their *modo de ser* [way of being].

### **The Community**

My research data was collected in the *Escola Indígena de Ensino Fundamental Tekoá Marangatu (E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu)* which is coordinated by the *Gerência de Educação da Secretaria de Estado do Desenvolvimento Regional de Laguna (GERED – a governmental institution that oversees the school in the region)*. At the *Escola Indígena*, about 51 Indigenous children,<sup>5</sup> who study in the bilingual Guarani-Portuguese school, learn how to become bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural citizens of their community. Travel to this rural school requires a ride by car or by school bus for about 30 minutes on a dirt road filled with turns, green fields, and a

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<sup>5</sup> This number reflects the numbers of students enrolled from first through eighth grade, excluding high school and adult education.

lot of dust. Despite the stunning view, the dust and the potholes made travel to and from the school a challenge.

The bilingual school has an important characteristic which is the fact that it works as a place where the community voice is heard. Indigenous community members have closed meetings (without the non-Indigenous teachers and staff) in order to decide matters on behalf of the children, and all of their decisions are made through the voice of the *cacique*. The *cacique* is the most powerful person in the community, as he has the final word on all matters pertaining to his community, with the help of the community committee. All of my observations were made at the bilingual school, both in first and third grades, and all of the activities that I observed outside in the community space were still school related.

Surrounding the Indigenous community are many farmers, who mostly grow rice but also tobacco, potatoes, and other vegetables. Most of the surrounding communities are part of a white, low-income population in addition to middle-class farmers. After passing the *vendinha* [small market] at the entrance of the reservation, visitors continue on the dirt road either to the left, towards some of the housing, or to the right, towards the bilingual school and the rest of the reservation. The reservation is united by dirt roads, trails, and bridges, and a large waterfall cuts right across its heart.

Under the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional* [Law of Directives and Bases of National Education] from December 20, 1996, all Indigenous schools in Brazil are guaranteed access to bilingual education and any resources to guarantee that children learn the national language, Portuguese. The law ensures that students can also develop and use their maternal language, in this case Guarani, in the school context. To comply with the law, the *E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu* offers weekly Guarani language classes that last 45 minutes, from first through fifth

grade. Besides the language classes, Guarani can be freely spoken in any environment within or outside of the classroom context. Each of the elementary classrooms has one bilingual monitor who supports the teacher in delivering the content from the national curriculum. The monitor is also responsible for teaching the Guarani language class.

All of the non-Indigenous teachers are from a white, either low- or middle-income background. These non-Indigenous teachers are considered outsiders to the community even though some of them have been working at the school for more than eight years. Each elementary classroom has one teacher for all subjects (Portuguese, math, geography, history, and science) in addition to an arts teacher, a P.E. teacher, and the bilingual monitor. The school is located in the heart of the community; most community members come by throughout the day, and even the children do not leave for their homes until the end of the day. Classes are held in three periods (each period lasts four hours): a) in the morning, third, fourth, sixth and eighth grades; b) in the afternoon, first, second, fifth, and seventh grades; and c) at night, high school and adult education. Thus, children come and go to the school to get food and to play with children from other grades, making their routine different from what it used to be for their parents when they did not have a school in the community.

### **Theoretical Underpinnings**

By studying the importance of non-mainstream sociocultural groups, we can enlighten their contributions to the understanding of socialization. Brice-Heath (as cited in Ochs, 1988) states that

Widely differing conditions of socialization . . . determine[s] the ways children have access to, can participate in, or are rewarded for responding to or producing specific language forms. [Studies] described in the context of what adults do with language and

the extent to which young children have access to these language forms . . . [will provide] good evidence on which to make judgments about the extent to which principles of conventionality and the saliency of certain of those conventions at certain points in children's maturational development as well as in coordination with their growing social awareness of themselves as members of a culture. (p. vii)

Brice-Heath goes on to explain the importance of recognizing oral forms of language as crucial to the socialization of competent citizens. This theoretical construct supports this study, as Guarani is a primarily oral society, which has started to use a writing system only recently. The monitor, Fabiano, illustrated the oral nature of Guarani in a conversation, when he stressed that most of the time he cannot find words to describe on paper what he wants to express in Guarani. However, when it comes to the oral telling of such expression, he can speak freely. He continued to explain, though, that bilingual schooling has helped him with putting his words on paper, but that written expression is somewhat new for his people and not everyone has access to the writing system. This interweaving between the different literacy forms present on the reservation is part of Brice-Heath's understanding of socialization as the individuals try to navigate these different worlds in order to become competent citizens. In addition, this understanding adds to the body of knowledge about the language socialization process in this specific Guarani reservation, "including what adults do with the language and how children access, participate in, and benefit from learning and producing specific behaviors and language forms" (Nicholas, 2008).

Writing from the tradition of Indigenous intellectual and scholars, Grande (2004) highlights the role of federal policies in "experimenting with reinventing Native American people in the likeness of white people" (p. vii). Schooling is, thus, a big part of what Indigenous

scholars have been trying to contextualize in the face of years of colonization, in the U.S. or in Brazil. Understanding the role that the school plays in the Tekoá Marangatu community has been a key aspect of this study. As a political construct, everything that happens in the community has to go through the school, where the *cacique* spends most of his day as part of the administration. As their bilingual leader, the *cacique* wrestles with the various power dynamics that play a role within this political environment, dynamics which are reminiscent of years of struggle with early colonization by the Spanish and Portuguese in Brazil. In this study, one of my clearest findings involved the different roles that schooling and peers (children and adults alike) can play in the young Indigenous children's lives. Schooling here is encompassed by a broad view of how the different elements in a child's life can support or hinder that child's development as a bilingual, bicultural, or biliterate individual of a community—in this case, the Tekoá Marangatu Indigenous reservation and all of its contexts.

My study is informed by the socialization practices of various Indigenous peoples in Latin and South America that share certain experiences. Luykx (1989) observed the family language policy and gender socialization in bilingual Aymara houses, in a very strong Spanish-speaking Bolivia in South America. De la Piedra (2006) studied the literacies and oral Quechua language of Quechua children in the Peruvian Andes to look at how the hegemonic Spanish school practices overthrew the value of oral Quechua. At the same time, she observed how the elementary students resisted that oppression of their native language through hybrid literacy practices such as writing in Quechua and through the use of Quechua as their peer language.

Testa (2008) studied the Mbya Guarani in different villages in the South and Southeast regions of Brazil for seven years and pointed to the need to re-conceptualize orality and writing as important aspects within a wider group of processes of production, acquisition, and

transmission of knowledge in these groups. She states that from her research, education is conceived in a wide sense that cannot be reduced to schooling. De Sousa (2010) investigated the Mbya Guarani group from Imarui, Brazil, with the objective of understanding the identity of the Indigenous Guarani in non-school spaces; however, she focused on the narratives used within that group to develop an inventory of narratives and not on how they used the Guarani or Portuguese language to transmit knowledge across generations. The role of student or apprentice traditionally attributed to Indigenous children is challenged by a pioneer researcher from Brazil, Antonella Tassinari (2001b, 2007, 2011), whose work views children as more than receptors; children are seen as social actors in the production of language and literacy. These different studies highlight important findings on Indigenous language and literacy practices that inform my study.

### **The Purpose of the Study**

The *aldeia* (the reservation/community) has adapted in many ways to the mainstream way of life: They have television, cable, cell phones, electricity. At the same time, they deeply value the traditional teachings shared from generation to generation—the stories about how they became the Guarani people are taught in the **opy**, their praying house, and the non-Indigenous people are not usually invited in (De Sousa, 2010). Their stories are also shared in the day-to-day life through teachings conveyed to younger children through many of their conversations. However, the literature<sup>6</sup> lacks information on how the young children from this specific group learn to become bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural citizens of their group and whether the school

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<sup>6</sup> The dissertation by Alexandra Serafim de Sousa (2010), entitled “*As narrativas como estratégia (s) de construção identitária dos Índios Guarani da aldeia Tekoá Marangatu, em Imarui (SC)*” together with the dissertation by Sergio Eduardo Carrera Quezada (2007), entitled “*A Terra de Nhanderu: Organização socio-política e processos de ocupação territorial dos Mbya-Guarani em Santa Catarina, Brazil*” were the only professional resources found about this specific Guarani group.

fully supports this development, which was the main focus of this research. Thus, this study was guided by the following questions:

1. How do young Guarani children integrate family and community socialization practices into the school setting?
  - 1.1. What is the role of adults (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) and peers in influencing or assisting the children in the process of becoming bilingual, biliterate or bicultural in the school setting?
  - 1.2. What are the literacy events Guarani children engage in at school?
2. In what ways does the bilingual school influence these young Indigenous children's bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural development?

In order to address these multilayered research questions, I employed ethnographic methods such as participant observation (Heath & Street, 2008; Seidman, 1998) along with the collection of fieldnotes, images of children's artifacts from school, and audio and video-recordings of children's interactions, and I conducted informal interviews with participants. For data analysis, I used narrative inquiry (Schaafsma & Vinz, 2011) to describe the school and community context where the participants in this study manifested their socialization processes as they became bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural. Through open coding, I delineated specific domains regarding the socialization practices of this specific Indigenous group and the use of literacy events (Heath, 1982), following previous empirical studies on diverse children's emergent literacies (Azura, 2009; Reyes & Azura, 2008; Reyes, Alexandra & Azura, 2007; Teale, 1986). The role of translanguaging (García & Beardsmore, 2009) and the role that peers took in the socialization processes of these children are some of the important findings of this study.

## **Significance of the Study**

The literature review in this dissertation indicates the great need to address the void in understanding how young Indigenous children in Latin America develop bilingualism and biliteracy. The studies conducted in the last couple of decades show there is a lack of research in the broader field of bilingualism and biliteracy in early childhood among Indigenous children. Although some studies (Azucena & Reyes, 2011; Dennis, 1940; De la Piedra, 2006; Luyckx, 1989; Marqui, 2012; Romero-Little, 2004; Tassinari, 2001b, 2007, 2011) have explored to some extent the lives of Indigenous children in their natural contexts, most of these studies do not systematically focus on the first years of these children's socialization processes. Though the focus of most research reviewed here is on Indigenous children throughout Latin America, the underlying theme, i.e., the need to understand how these children learn to be in the multiple contexts they inhabit, resonates with research on Indigenous children all around the world, including Brazil. This research also resonates with the need to expand how literacy is perceived by Indigenous people.

The enactment of the Federal Constitution in 1988 and the adoption of the new Law of Directives and Bases of National Education in 1996 resulted in an extensive redesign of the Brazilian education system. One of the main reasons for this change was that Indigenous education gradually began to have different prerogatives than the national education system. For the first time in the history of Brazil, the Constitution recognized Indigenous cultural diversity and set different rights for Indigenous peoples. Among them was the right to schooling in their mother tongues and the uses of their own learning processes.

The educational history of Brazil's Indigenous peoples, however, is one of compulsory experiences in mainstream formal schools and curricula. Schools have historically ignored how

these young children learn prior to entering the classroom. Thus, the goal of this research is to understand how the socialization processes of young Mbya Guarani children in the Tekoá Marangatu reservation influence how they make sense of the world around them through their emergent literacies as they become bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural. The contribution that the members of the **tekoá** make to our understanding of how young Guarani children learn is a significant and transformative benefit of this study. What the researcher found out from this study will also add to the understanding of how schools can more effectively support the development of bilingualism and further the educational development of this community and other Indigenous communities around the world. By adding to the research in this field, this study will also inform how to better prepare teachers to work with Indigenous children.

### **Organization of the Study**

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the context of the study and the purpose guiding it. In Chapter 2, I provide the reader with a thick description of the Guarani people and their community, starting with an ethnographic review; the group's way of life and religious practices; a brief review of the dislocation of Guarani groups on the coast of the state of Santa Catarina, Brazil; the research site, the Tekoá Marangatu reservation; and an analysis of contemporary Indigenous education in Brazil. The research site, the Tekoá Marangatu reservation and its bilingual school, are comprised of multiple contexts. In order to help the reader understand these contexts, I share some of my general observations regarding the social organization and cultural practices of the community. The different social interactions that the members of this community encounter are very dynamic, which make the reservation and the surrounding area the home of different contexts.

In Chapter 3, I first present my theoretical framework and review the literature that has influenced my conceptualization of literacy as a social construct (González et al., 2005; Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978; Zentella, 2005). Secondly, I provide an overview of the literature in the field of emergent bilingualism (García & Beardsmore, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Gillanders & Jiménez; 2004; Grosjean, 2010; Halliday, 2004; Luykx, 2003; Moll, 2001; Reyes, 2006) and biliteracy (Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1979; Goodman, Goodman, & Flores, 1979; Gort, 2006; Kenner, 2004; Moll, Saéz, & Dworin, 2001; Reyes, 2006), as well as a review of studies of children's socialization processes in diverse backgrounds, including mainstream studies (De la Piedra & Romo, 2003; Dyson, 1993, 2004; Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004; Heath, 1983; Reyes & Azuara, 2008; Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Volk & De Acosta; 2004) and Indigenous empirical studies (Azuara & Reyes, 2011; De la Piedra, 2006; Dennis, 1940; Luykx, 1989; Oliveira, 2004; Romero-Little, 2004; Tassinari, Grando, & Albuquerque, 2012).

In Chapter 4, I detail my data collection and analysis methods. I used qualitative tools to document the everyday literacy practices of both first- and third-grade classrooms in the *E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu*. Through a teacher-researcher perspective, I was able to collect fieldnotes, audio and video-recordings, and photo samples of students' work over three months. In order to analyze the data, I used Heath's (1982) notion of 'literacy events,' which is defined by the different ways children use language while they negotiate and construct meaning through writing, and the socialization practices from this specific Indigenous group. I analyzed the data following previous empirical studies on diverse children's emergent literacies (Azuara, 2009; Reyes & Azuara, 2008; Reyes, Alexandra & Azuara, 2007; Teale, 1986) by focusing on specific domains where language was at the center of interactions.

In Chapter 5, I describe my main findings. I used narrative inquiry (Schaafsma & Vinz, 2011) as a method to describe how these domains functioned within school and community contexts. The role of translanguaging and the role of peers in the socialization processes of these first- and third-graders are analyzed through the different uses of language observed inside and outside of the classroom context. These children are part of a transforming reservation, where the advent of a bilingual school has changed in many ways the living of these Guarani individuals. I show how these children were able to shine in their respective classrooms even though the regular curriculum often did not give them a chance to show their natural ability with their first language, Guarani. Formal literacy practices in the school setting constitute a large part of this study, but there were also many outside literacy events and socialization practices that highlighted the broader definition of literacy as a social construct, coming from outside of the school context. I also highlight the different roles that these children played in the socialization processes of their peers.

In Chapter 6, I discuss how the children in this study were active participants of their bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural development as they navigated the different contexts on and outside the reservation. By also interviewing key members of the school, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, I was able to understand more in-depth the importance of maintaining these children's cultural heritage at the same time that they gained and used Guarani as an academic language. These adult participants were also active members of these children's learning development as they acted in the children's zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978). In many instances the children in this study relied on more capable peers to understand the worlds and contexts they live in. More capable peers were represented by their classmates, siblings, extended family, teacher, and the bilingual monitors. The role of the bilingual monitors in these

children's language and literacy development is also of extreme importance as these monitors are the sole holders of the knowledge on the Guarani language and culture within the school context.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I provide some conclusions along with implications of this study. The constant transformation of this reservation has been reshaping the social structures and activities community members perform on a daily basis, yielding new forms of literacy. Even though Portuguese is the dominant language in the school context, both adults and children use Guarani as a way to escape the homogenization required by the outside world. Thus, I explore the different pathways the children pursue in their biliteracy, bilingual, or bicultural development and how their experiences accord with second-language acquisition theories as a way to contextualize the importance of this study. In this last chapter, I discuss the limitations and implications of my study. If fostered, the Guarani language can occupy a much larger role within the school context and thus further these children's biliterate development. I further explain some ways in which teachers can accomplish this change, but developing training for bilingual interpreters is easily one of the first steps to help children become bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural individuals of their Indigenous communities.

## CHAPTER 2: THE GUARANI PEOPLE IN THE COAST OF SANTA CATARINA

### Ethnographic Background

In this chapter, I present a review of early theoretical discussions of Guarani ethnology, articulating some ethno-historical, archaeological, linguistic, and ethnographic notions, with regards not only to the characteristics of the Guarani, but also to the commonalities they share with other Indigenous peoples. Further, because cosmology is at the center of Guarani understandings of life, it is critical to the discussion so as to provide a better understanding of the context of Guarani communities on the coast of the state of Santa Catarina. Roughly speaking, there are two major subdivisions of Indigenous peoples proposed by the Brazilian ethnology of the lowlands in South America, and they are the *Tupi* and the *Macro Jê* (In reference not only to linguistic trunks, but in relation to culture, cosmology and the Indigenous social structure). Such names may refer to both language and cultural issues and explain many of the continuities and discontinuities discussed in ethnographies of these people. Furthermore, these names not only indicate differences in the social structure, but also in their worldview.

The *Guarani* language is classified as belonging to the linguistic trunk *Tupi* and is part of the *Tupi-Guarani* language family (with hyphen) (Montserrat, 1992; Rodrigues, 2006). Yet *Tupiguarani* (no hyphen) refers to the cultural elements, and it is referred to as the *Tupiguarani* tradition or culture when discussing the archaeological finds of Indigenous groups who lived in Brazil (Prous, 1992). Both language and culture or worldview maintain certain specificities, homogeneity, and relationships, which underscore continuities between the peoples that share characteristics of this common cultural background.

The first step to further our insights into the Guarani society is not treating them as something monolithic or as an image of a homogeneous group since there is a significant

temporal and spatial heterogeneity that must be considered. However, *Guarani* is the nomenclature most widely used by scholars and even by Indigenous people themselves, which is important in relations with the State, among other things, by guaranteeing the Guarani's rights.

In Brazil, there are approximately 20 languages derived from the *Tupi-Guarani* language family, with approximately 28,000 speakers (Instituto Sócio-Ambiental [ISA], 2006). The languages spoken by the Mbya, Chiripa, and Kaiowa are derived from the ancient Guarani dialect (Melia, Saul, & Muraro, 1987). For the Indians, a person is identified as belonging to a certain group when she speaks exactly the same language as that group. This differentiation is linked to issues of identity because the way one talks tells a story, and it is connected to the *tekó* or *modo de ser* of the individual or group. *Modo de ser* means way of being, which differs from *modo de viver* or ways of living. Attention is drawn to the difference between ways of being and way of living, as the Guarani say that even if they might have a way of living similar to that of non-Indigenous people, the way of being and feeling the world is totally different (Vasconcelos, 2011). This *modo de ser* has a strong historical connotation since differences in the way the Guarani speak are seen as different stories lived, and they define, therefore, different *modos de ser* of each specific group, which is so diverse and homogeneous at the same time (Mello, 2002). For the Guarani, language differences are determined by **Nhanderu** (Wagner, 2010). The Guarani refer to their supreme being as **Nhanderu Tenonde** or “Our first and last Father” (Vasconcelos, 2011). Language and religiosity are strongly connected in Guarani culture.

**Guarani religion.** To the group, there is a unique and powerful God: **Nhanderu**. They believe that their God is for everyone and say that we are all equal. There is a belief in the community that when an Indian dies, there is a spirit that continues. The Guarani also believe in reincarnation. According to the way of seeing the world and the lives of the Guarani, everything

has a connection with nature and with the way God wants humans to live on the earth He created. In an interview (De Souza, 2010), the former *cacique* Augusto da Silva states the following:

So many people say that ... say that the sun is not ... is not a thing, a stone that lights here on Earth, but it is not. And the moon is the same. The moon is not just something that is illuminating us, it is God also. That is how we knew. And it is. This light, we call **Kuaraã**, but in fact the owner of **Kuaraã**, is God, **Nhanderu**. **Tupã** is Jesus Christ. (p. 28)

There is a clear hybridization of cultures, the syncretism of different religious headquarters. The Indian worships his God as **Nhanderu** and identifies **Tupã** with Jesus Christ. Traditions of Indigenous ancestors are thus merged with the beliefs of Christians from Europe. This perception does not cause estrangement to those who know the great adaptability and survival of the Guarani people. Vasconcelos (2011) states that there is no undisturbed, unchanged, original culture. All cultures come in contact and influence each other, whether these cultures are the Indigenous cultures together or cultures as diverse as Indigenous and European.

At the same time that there is a movement in the direction of adaptation to the European cultural context, there exists among the Guarani a concern regarding the maintenance of ancestral cultural traditions. This is seen, for example, when someone from the community passes away. At this point, they perform a ritual and everyone dances and sings around the body through the night, continuation of an ancient Indigenous tradition. Also in this ritual they smoke the **petynguá**<sup>7</sup> and blow the smoke in the face of the deceased, so that his body remains at peace.

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<sup>7</sup> **Petynguá** (pety = smoke, gua = the place par excellence) is the name of the characteristic Guarani pipe whose religious character is an instrument for expansion of thought and knowledge and is important for concentration (**djapitchaka**). According to the elder Alcindo, the **petynguá** is their Bible (Vasconcelos, 2011).

In addition, the life stories do not exist independently of mythology because many of the explanations of the Guarani's lives bring obvious mythical recurrences whose central axis is the blood relationship with **Nhanderu**. That is, the mythology explains how the Guarani live currently and does not only refer to the distant past. It is therefore from the meeting between the lived history and the mythological history that we can understand the Guarani in the earthly world, which is a replication of the mythical cosmos.

Each community has only one religious and political leadership. In case of two leaders in the community, it usually turns out to be divided. Two political leaders or religious disputes may show disputes or oppositions between kin. Generally, communities with two or more **opy** [praying house] show that there is more than one religious leadership and there is a tendency to disruption. But as it has been said, we should be careful with the monolithic view of a Guarani “nation,” and the same sources that point to the enormous cultural and linguistic unity of these peoples also warn about the enormous diversity in relation to political and territorial organization. The specific community I visited has a traditional format for their leadership: one religious leader, Seu Mário, and one political leader, *cacique* Floriano. Given these observations, I now turn to a discussion of some Guarani cultural aspects.

**The opy.** Religion is a common element and factor of identity and unity of the Guarani people. This theme occupies a privileged position in the works of classical authors who have researched the background of the Guarani (Nimuendaju, 1914; Cadogan, 1959; Clastres, 1978; Métraux, 1958; Schaden, 1974). These researchers are unanimous in naming religiosity as the guide of the Guarani way of being. It is also the holistic view of religion, a fundamental condition for deeper understanding of the subject because as the Guarani themselves say, “the **opy** - prayer house - is the church, the hospital, and the university of the Guarani” (Vasconcelos,

2011); religion is a central part of community life. The threshold that separates religion and medicine is very thin, and so it is important to consider these areas together (Litaiff, 1996).

The **opy** is a structure constructed of wood and bamboo, coated with mud, and covered with bamboo, whose dry fibers greatly protect from rain and wind. The **opy**'s thermal character is cool in summer and warm in winter. It has only one door facing west, and it sometimes also holds an altar - **amba** - facing the east, the same direction that the Guarani face as they pray. The prayer house can have two doors, facing west and east. The explanation is as follows: When the child is named and her soul enters her body, the soul comes from the door facing west, on the other side. When a person dies and is veiled in the **opy**, her soul needs to get out, but not through the same door that it entered. The soul must leave through the door facing east, the direction of the path that leads to **Yvy mara ey** - the Earth without evil. However, one door is more frequently observed (Vasconcelos, 2011).

**Cultural and musical elements of the Guarani people.** According to Silveira (2011), at night, a thick log is set on fire to fuel the fire to heat the water for the **ka'ay** - the mate - and also to ward off mosquitoes. The absence of electricity and the light of a few candles offer a very pleasant climate. Musical instruments are placed on the **amba**, such as the **rave** (or fiddle, violin with three strings), the **mbaraka** (Guarani five-string guitar, tuned specifically), the **mbaraka-mirim** (rattle), the **popygua** (male instrument, consisting of two small wooden rods joined by a cord that hits one another and quickly produces a sound whose purpose is to create a suitable magnetic field during rituals), the **petynguá** (the pipe), and the **takuapu** (exclusively female tool made of bamboo, with holes in the knots, which hits the ground in rhythmic tones producing a dull sound that follows the drum beats and shakes the ground).

The **petynguá** is constantly smoked during rituals. The smoke from the pipe (**petytchimbo**) represents the union and communication with the sacred and **Nhanderu**, and is also an important tool for concentration (**djapitchaka**), a prerequisite for starting a prayer. In times of consecration, the Guarani use the phrases “pray the **petynguá**” or “make a pray,” indicating the sacred and religious character of the pipe. The pipe may be made of wood or clay. Clay is preferred (even though it breaks more easily) because it comes from the Earth and is therefore sacred. It is not uncommon for children to smoke. They puff and follow the recommendation of spitting. Smoking **petynguá** early is considered a value for the Guarani, and the Indigenous people refer to those communities that “are losing their culture” when children do not smoke the **petynguá**. While in Western societies smoking is seen as a practice exclusive of adults, in the Guarani culture smoking is not prohibited for children.

The rotting of the body is a recurring theme among the Guarani, who lament the evil of consuming **juruá** food. **Juruá** is how the Guarani refer to non-Indians. The literal version means mouth with hair, referring to the mustaches of Europeans at the time of contact hundreds of years ago (Hill, 2007), but it also refers to the act of speaking. The Guarani attribute the bad smell of bodies after death to the many impurities that have been ingested. In previous times, bodies tended to not smell, even many days after death since it was common to wait up to a week or more to perform a burial (Clastres, 1978). The Guarani follow these precepts: do not eat meat, do not abuse alcohol, pray daily through the use of **petynguá**, and respect the body so that it turns into light, so a person can die in peace (Vasconcelos, 2011). During my observations, the Indigenous people from Tekoá Marangatu experienced this deviation of *modo de ser* [way of being] when one of their community members passed away; they saw firsthand the effects of food and alcohol abuse when the body started to smell after one day of mourning in the **opy**.

*Cacique* Floriano, in his interview, attributed the smell to the member's unhealthy life style, as did some of the non-Indigenous teachers through informal conversations.

Language and religiosity are closely related in the Guarani *modo de ser* [modo de ser]. The teaching of Guarani elders in the **opy** allied with the different religious and cultural practices of Guarani people had a strong impact in how the community members lived at Tekoá Marangatu. The language and religiosity are also related to Guarani cosmology, together with mobility, which is a strong trait valued by all Guarani communities. The next section discusses mobility and displacement among the Guarani people.

**Mobility and displacement.** The Guarani communities have some particularity compared to other Indigenous people and even compared to the two other Indigenous peoples of the state of Santa Catarina who are speakers of the *Jê* family languages: the *Kaingang* and *Xokleng*. The *Kaingang* and *Xokleng* have been living in demarcated areas for some decades because the *Serviço de Proteção ao Índio*<sup>8</sup> (SPI) confined them in Indigenous Lands composed of several reservations. The Guarani spatiality occurs differently and each village maintains some distance from other villages, approximately 20 to 50 km, and are sometimes not part of the same Indigenous Land. It is as if each village forms an independent Indigenous Land. Ladeira (1984) called these communities “free villages” because they were not under the control of the *Fundação Nacional do Índio*<sup>9</sup> (FUNAI). The process of identifying these villages began in the 90s; consequently, many Guarani Indigenous lands are still in the regularization process. There are numerous Guarani reservations located on the coast of the state of Santa Catarina, and these reservations have a floating population ranging from about 50 to 100 people (Vasconcelos, 2011).

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<sup>8</sup> The Indian Protection Service was created in 1910. It was born after many debates about which “destiny” should be given to the Indians. From a positivist approach, the Indian should be protected and supervised by the State (Santos, 1973).

<sup>9</sup> The National Indian Foundation replaced the former Indian Protective Services in 1967.

The Guarani historical context explains much of this current setup because for a long time they used the strategy of “flight” from white people by disappearing into forest areas to follow their way of life. The Guarani were against the land demarcation process because they believed that being restricted in an area previously marked was a threat to their way of life, which is highly supported by mobility. This socio-spatial configuration – mobility – is also closely related to aspects of cosmology and ensures unity but also the independence of the reservations. José Benite Karai Tataendi<sup>10</sup> says, “Each Guarani community is a different country” due to the very different realities that each presents, including rules and different ways of living.

This aspect of the reservations is related to the great mobility and wanderings essential to the understanding of the *Ser Guarani* – Being Guarani (Pissolato, 2006). This mobility is driven by demands for new lands, including cosmological questions and shamanic visions, such as the search for relatives. Therefore, this mobility ensures the maintenance of the **tekó** as a form of freedom and cultural resistance, closely related to the Guarani ethos, in which mobility is part of everyday life and the formation of each person. Mobility constitutes ways of “feeling, wanting and doing” (Pissolato, 2006). This concept of mobility is relevant to this study because the freedom and cultural resistance of the Guarani people greatly affect their cosmology. After negotiating with the *cacique* for several months, I was finally able to get permission to observe the children at the bilingual school located at Tekoá Marangatu, and during this process I saw firsthand how this concept of **tekó** as a form of freedom and cultural resistance is closely related to the Guarani *modo de ser* [way of being].

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<sup>10</sup> In an interview conducted by Coterreau (2007). José is the chief of this village whose former name **Kuri’y** (Pinheiro) recently was changed to ***Mymba Roka***.

The concepts of **nhande** and **tekó** need to be explained in order to understand the Guarani way of being and the socialization practices of the children in the community I observed. In the Guarani language, there is *nosso* (our), which is the first-person plural possessive pronoun. The inclusive “our” referred to as **nhande** includes the speaker, and the other, called **ore**, excludes the speaker. If both speaker and listener are Guarani, the use of **nhande reko** means “our culture.” But when speaking with a non-Indigenous person, the speaker uses **tekó**, which indicates that the addressee is **juruá** [non-Indigenous] or belongs to other Indigenous group. These two terms have the same sense of culture, way of life, behavior, and cosmology, but **tekó** excludes the non-Guarani addressee. The Guarani find the term **nhande reko** funny (Vasconcelos, 2011) when used by a non-Guarani speaker because that speaker indicates he or she lives in and is included by Guarani culture. In order to respect the Guarani, I follow their way of describing speakers and use the term **tekó**. In the next section, I explain the **tekó** of the Guarani people; by using the term **tekó**, I thus exclude myself from that culture.

**Guarani ways of living.** The Guarani are traditionally farmers, but due to the actual historical settings combined with the lack of suitable land for planting in sufficient quantity, they are currently engaged in the manufacture of artwork to obtain economic and financial resources. This production and sales in cities include wood animals (preferably in pink cedar, which can be substituted with *caixeta*); baskets; ornaments such as earrings, necklaces, and bracelets made from bird feathers, seeds, and beads; and objects of Indigenous material culture sold as decorative pieces, such as bows and arrows, **mirim mbaraka** (rattle), among others. In Santa Catarina, these products are sold in big cities such as Florianópolis, Biguaçu, Palhoça and São Francisco.

Even with all the difficulties in relation to land resources and obtaining native seeds, the Guarani grow some of their own varieties of maize (**avatchi**), passed through several generations. They also plant peanuts (**manduvi**), cassava (**mandjio**), watermelon (**tchandjau**), beans (**comanda**), and pumpkin (**andai**), among other agricultural products. Besides being a sacred food, corn also has great symbolic importance, a recurring theme in mythologies, which state that **Nhanderu** gave corn to the Guarani (Silveira, 2011). Hunting and gathering activities are currently secondary activities, but still practiced with some frequency. The Guarani hunt small mammals such as possum (**mbyku**), coati (**tchy'i**), armadillo (**tatu**), and some birds like toucans (**tukã**), *aracuã* (**arakuã**), among others. It is a source of pride for the one who gets the game. They also collect fruits like palm coconuts to make a thick juice that is eaten with a spoon.

The lack of land suitable for planting is considered by the Guarani as a weak component for maintaining the **tekó**, and therefore these lands are not considered a good place to live. So the idea of **tekoá** meaning ‘village’ is subject to criticism in debates in Guarani ethnographies because it does not cover the broad meaning that Indigenous people attribute to the term. The known Guarani maxim, “*Sem tekoá não há tekó,*” translated by Bartolomeu Meliá (1988) relates well to this discussion. Without **tekoá** (village, in the strict sense of land) there is no possibility of maintaining the way of life, customs, or culture; in other words the **tekó** includes not only the earth, but a number of other relationships established with the earth (either with the environment or through personal relationships) and also with other villages (earthly or divine). Thus, the **tekoá** is the “place par excellence” where the **tekó** can fully exist. In my observations, it was not clear if the children knew what this concept meant, but many of them mentioned their connections to the land through different examples of daily living routines and socialization practices.

**Tekoá** is seen as a worldwide network that links villages and people. The term **tekoá** has been revisited and expanded and it goes beyond the limits of a single village linking up with other villages. It is represented by the reciprocal relationships and mutual obligations that the Guarani establish among themselves also through kinship and political, spiritual, and other relationships. If an earthly village is the image or reflection of the divine village of **Yvy mara ey**, then it must have appropriate conditions to be a good place to live here on earth. It must be a suitable place for children, youth, adults and elders to live happily and healthily.<sup>11</sup>

The **tekó** is the expression of the body of knowledge, the basis of social life, which when implemented represents the Guarani **nhande reko**. **Reko**, among some of its meanings, can refer to circulation, which leads us to believe that the Guarani system is rooted in movement or circulation, expressed, among other ways, in the mobility among villages, which refers to the way life moves (Vasconcelos, 2011). Movement, the Guarani say, is a term that means they always end, sooner or later, returning to the same places they have experienced before. In order to understand why the Guarani way of being and living are important for this dissertation, I turn to introducing the Tekoá Marangatu, the reservation where I collected the data for this study.

### **Tekoá Marangatu**

Because of the high mobility of the Guarani, there is no consensus among researchers on Guarani demographics. The Tekoá Marangatu community comprises several families from different states. As Litaiff, Post, and Darella (2000) state,

There is a consensus among the authors of the difficulties of quantifying the Guarani. In the case of Mbya Guarani people, a network of kinship and reciprocity extends

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<sup>11</sup> There are many cases of changes or abandonment of places considered unfit to live because there have been deaths of children, often more frequent than normal.

throughout its territory comprising the regions around their communities, implying a social dynamic that requires intense mobility (relative visits, rituals, materials exchanges for crafts and crops etc.). Thus, technically, it would be almost impossible to count individuals. There are other aspects, including: access to some villages or houses, difficulties in obtaining information in the communities, and especially the aversion of the Guarani to the census, because they understand, rightly, that the count is a way of instating State control. (p. 64)

Thus, at the time of data collection, it was not clear how many Indigenous people inhabited the reservation, but numbers range from 100-2000. This study took place in the community Tekoá Marangatu [*Vila da Harmonia* or Harmony Village], located in the municipality of Imarui, in Santa Catarina, about 100 km distant from the capital Florianópolis (SC). The land was bought with the money from the sale of the natural gas resource on their previous territory (a gas pipeline). With the help of the National Indian Foundation, these families, who came from various places such as Paraná, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro, Argentina and Florianópolis, were able to settle in these lands and restart their lives as Guarani people. In an interview (De Souza, 2010), the former *cacique* Augusto da Silva talks about the process:

But this one was bought, the land. It is not given, it was purchased through the pipeline money, we gained a little money to buy land. So, that is why we bought it, not the government, but the government had to also help because you have to put the land in the Union's name, because then the Indians do not need to pay the tax or anything. Because, if we were **juruaá** [non-Indigenous], we would have to pay the tax each year, right? It was not the FUNAI who bought it, but it has to give us assistance. (p. 22)

In his interview, former *cacique* Augusto da Silva (personal communication, October 17, 2014) restates his positions about the land:

*Depois que eu vim pra cá, agora daqui eu não vou me mudar mais, parece até. Porque eu to gostando muito desse lugar aqui. Eu escolhi esse lugar porque tem o rio, tem cachoeira. Muito lugar eu vi, fui, pra comprar essa casa aqui. Nós compramo isso aqui. Aquela vez do gasoduto [...] Então essa aqui... mais do que isso eu não preciso.*

After I came here, now I will not move from here anymore. Because I like this place a lot. I chose this place because it has the river, the waterfall. I saw many places, in order to buy this home here. We bought this. That time of the gas pipeline [...] So this one ... I do not need anything else.

The former *cacique* said that he looked for this land in many different states across Brazil, but that he settled for the place because it had a large resource of water, a waterfall that is at the heart of the reservation, and also land that could be used for both farming and hunting. He also demonstrates a strong trait of Guarani people, adaptation, as a way of reinforcing his choices for the land. These people have been living in Imarui since the end of 1999, when Augusto da Silva and Maria Guimarães came with their family to Imarui. They liked the place, found it suitable, and considered the **juruá** or *brancos* [non-Indigenous] as friends.

The geographic location of the Guarani reservations in Santa Catarina and mapping of the location in the city of Imarui are represented in Figure 2.1. Once one arrives at the reservation, there is a small *venda* [very small market] where a non-Indigenous family lives and survives from the income that comes from their sales. This small market supplies the community with basic products; however, most of the community goes downtown in Imaruí to bigger markets to buy supplies for the month. The kids also frequent the *venda* to buy sweets and treats that they

are able to afford with the help of visitors or when their parents or family feel they deserve them. After passing the small market, one continues on the dirt road either to the left, towards some of the housing, or to the right, towards the school and the rest of the reservation.

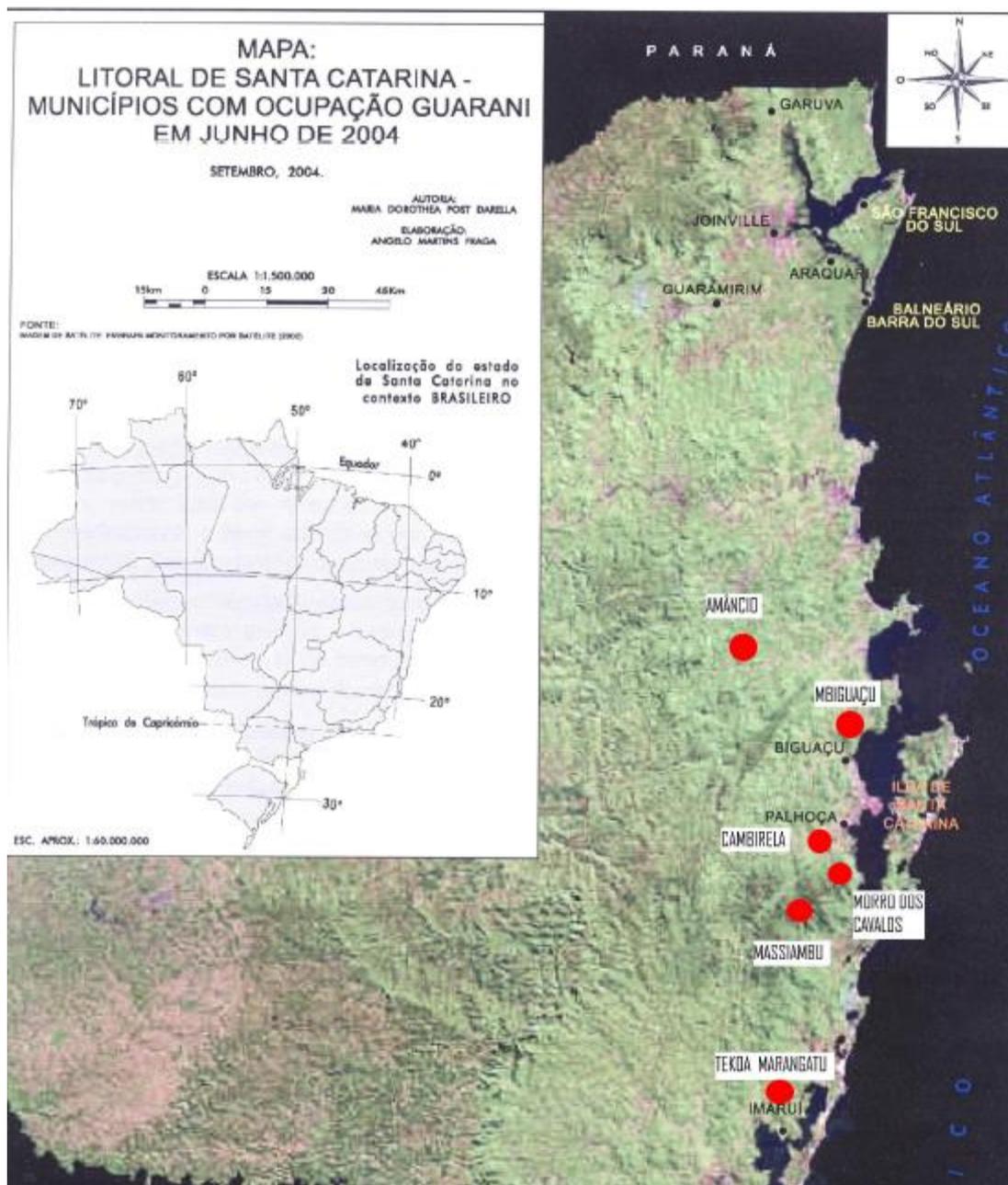


Figure 2.1. Guarani reservations in the state of Santa Catarina (Darella, 2004).

The entire reservation is united by dirt roads, trails, and bridges. Continuing to the right, one passes by the Guarani cemetery, which is a place that the kids prefer not to go since they learned from the adults that their beloved ones should rest in peace and not be bothered. Right across from the cemetery stands the bilingual school, called *E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu*. In the methods section, I will further explain the context of the bilingual school. In the Tekoá Marangatu community there is a waterfall, and all the houses are surrounded by greenery, with a winding road to reach the end of the reservation, where the **opy**, or prayer house, is located. In the community there is also a small health center, where Valnélia Ramos Simão, a patient care technician, works daily and shares all necessary assistance with the Indians. I use the term “sharing” because usually Valnélia consults with community members to decide whether traditional medicine will suffice before resorting to mainstream medicine. Valnélia has great influence and is considered extremely important by the Indians because she has been present since the Guarani arrived and has always helped them whenever they needed help. Along with school teachers who are non-Indigenous, Valnélia also helps to organize various parties and dinners for community gatherings, where everyone participates.

I witnessed in many instances where the Indigenous committee (the elders and relevant adults from the group) asked Valnélia for directions on matters relating to their well-being. Many people gather around the *postinho* [health center] to talk or to use the internet; the health center offers the best place to get good signal. The internet has penetrated the community, and many of the elders blame it for their youths’ loss of connection with being Guarani. Former *cacique* Augusto (personal communication, October 17, 2014) stated that “*Agora as crianças já tem telefone, televisão em casa e a internet na aldeia. Não quer mais aprender o Guarani*” [“Now young children already have telephones, T.V. at home and internet in the reservation.

They do not want to learn Guarani anymore”]. On the other hand, younger people believe the internet is an instrument needed for them to survive in the current situation of Indigenous people in Brazil. Beyond the health center, one finds many housing complexes. The houses are usually grouped in threes, and the closely related relatives live in them. Next to the houses, there is always a clay house, which is used for different purposes such as sweat ceremonies, normal housing, and as a kitchen. Each family decides what they want to use the clay house for. In addition, some of the houses also have some sort of garden right next to them, and the Guarani grow beans, potatoes, and other vegetables for basic nourishment.

The one place that I was not able to enter was the Guarani's **opy** or *casa de reza* [praying house]. The praying house is sacred for them and usually outsiders are not invited to it. It is located at the top of the mountain at the end of the dirt road, and I had the chance to see it from the outside. Inside of it, both adults and children make use of the **petynguá** [pipe] and do different routine and ritual ceremonies depending on the situation and time of the year. For instance, the chief told me that one of the children whom I had been observing in third grade is destined to be a *pajé* [medicine man or shaman], and that is why I did not see him around the school as much once his class period was done. His grandfather was currently the medicine man, and his father was about to take over, so since the student was very young, he has been learning what it means to be a medicine man by frequenting the praying house and participating in the rituals.

The praying house is also used as a learning place. Before schools were introduced to Guarani reservations, praying houses were considered their schools and children learned from adults there on a daily basis. One of the most valuable teachings that children learn is about freedom and mutual respect. Respect is at the core of Guarani teachings and it can be seen

demonstrated daily by the adults on the reservation. In earlier times, children learned to respect each other, nature, and the elders of the community. These days, children also learn to respect the outsiders who come to their community. For instance, when children resort to the Indigenous language when they do not want the outsider to understand what they are saying, adults and elders do not like that children use this excluding mechanism (Gumperz, 1965); however, adults often resort to the same exclusionary practice.

According to Quezada (2007), many aspects of the Guarani culture remain unchanged because women and children still work in agriculture. This practice is secularly organized in Guarani culture and education. In this society, the division of labor is based on gender and age. Men are assigned the task of hunting, gathering and group protection, while women and children are in charge of domestic affairs and agriculture. However, there have been changes in cultural practices, especially for men, because the group has only 77 acres of land, which prevents the practice of hunting, gathering and hence, the guarantee of the group's subsistence. In such a small territorial area, men cannot sustain the family group through hunting and fishing. Even so, men do not practice agriculture as subsistence. Women are still responsible for the task, which includes planting sweet potatoes, corn, pumpkin, and watermelon; agriculture allows women to put food on their tables.

Young people take care of crafts and study at the bilingual school, which offers instruction in first through eighth grades, as well as high school and an adult education component. Young people enjoy manufacturing many products to sell; these include miniature wooden animals, baskets, necklaces, and musical instruments. The handicraft is also used in rituals, and it is a familiar source of income. Both women and girls are responsible for

manufacturing these items. The money earned from the sale of these crafts gives support to families. Litaiff, Post, and Darella (2000) explain how the Mbya Guarani sell their crafts:

Agriculture is of fundamental importance to the life of the Mbya families, but promoting their crafts and its consequent marketing means an essential source of livelihood. The Mbya sell their crafts along the BR101 highway, the 280 and others; in the streets of neighboring cities to their villages; they leave them to be sold in shops, schools, public agencies or companies; and they have been participating in various craft fairs, religious festivals or special events. (p. 16)

Many aspects of the white man's culture have merged with the Guarani culture. Clothes, electricity, bathrooms, brick houses, bicycles, and the school itself all are signs of "white" culture. But on the other hand, houses made of mud and straw, hammocks, and cooking food on bonfires all exemplify the Indigenous culture. In addition, the mother tongue and current language is still Guarani. The rituals, songs, social organization, the hierarchy between the families, the notion of time, the division of labor between the sexes, the legends, the relationship with nature, and their own food are all fundamentally Guarani. Given this fundamental Guarani culture, I now discuss Indigenous schooling in the Brazilian context, in order to provide a better understanding of the laws that regulate Indigenous schools.

### **Contemporary Indigenous Education**

The enactment of the Federal Constitution in 1988 and the adoption of the new Law of Directives and Bases of National Education in 1996 resulted in an extensive redesign of the Brazilian education system. One of the main reasons for this change was that Indigenous education gradually began to have different prerogatives than the national education system. For the first time in the history of Brazil, the Constitution recognized Indigenous cultural diversity

and legislated different rights for Indigenous peoples. Among those rights was the right to schooling which used the Indigenous peoples' mother tongues and their own learning processes.

The process of democratization of the country marked the production of this new Constitution. With the support of intellectuals and religious leaders throughout the 1980s, Indigenous leaders from different groups worked in the Constituent Assembly, demanding recognition of rights that would ensure their continuity as differentiated ethnic groups. These constitutional provisions are in line with those expressed in Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (although the Constitution was enacted a year before the Convention, it was only ratified by Brazil in 2002). In 1991, the education of Indigenous groups was no longer the responsibility of the National Indian Foundation and became part of the national education system with its development and implementation as public policy falling under the power of the Ministry of Education.

The Law of Directives and Bases of National Education in 1996 provided for the supply of "bilingual and intercultural education" to Indigenous peoples, and initiatives aimed at achieving this offering have been called "differentiated education," despite the ambiguities of the term. In a pioneering way, there was an undeniable government investment to put into practice the requirements of the legislation. In the Ministry of Education and the State Education Departments, subdepartments were created aimed at the development of educational policies for Indigenous peoples.

Standards were designed for Indigenous schools and the training of Indigenous teachers, and Indigenous teacher training programs were implemented to enable them to work in schools. Textbooks were published in native languages. The category "Indigenous school," which was created in 1991, should ensure autonomy in the definition and management of Indigenous school

projects. The training of Indigenous teachers was increased, so that today there is a significant number of Indigenous teachers with higher education.

However, although supported by legislation that valued cultural diversity, these initiatives continued to standardize and regulate education programs developed in various schools. With this normative perspective, government investment in Indigenous schools was concentrated in the production of teaching materials, the development of specific curricula, and the training of Indigenous teachers. This standardization of schools presented a challenge to establishing public policies which respected Indigenous peoples' "own learning processes," which the legislation provided for (The Law of Directives and Bases of National Education, 1996).

In this legal scenario, contemporary Indigenous schools are defined as "differentiated," "bilingual," and "intercultural." Although each Indigenous community has the freedom to define their pedagogical and curricular projects, those projects must be recognized by the Ministry of Education in order to ensure students graduate and continue their studies. In the National Curriculum Reference for Indigenous Schools (RCNEI), issues such as the schedule and the school space are discussed, noting that an Indigenous school can predict the calendar times of festivals and farm work with the ability to adapt school activities; the school could open for new teaching spaces beyond the school building; and also Indigenous mythology, history, and narratives can be taught. Indigenous teachers have been instructed in these precepts in Indigenous degree courses in secondary education or universities.

According to Tassinari (2011), currently there are 227 recognized Indigenous groups in Brazil, using more than 180 different languages. The population living in Indigenous territories, demarcated or not, and in rural and urban areas total some 480,000 people. Outside Indigenous areas, living in the big cities of the country, the Indigenous population is estimated at 120,000

people, resulting in an approximate number of 600,000 inhabitants. In 2005, the school census recorded 2,323 Indigenous schools with 163,693 students enrolled and 8,431 teachers. It is noteworthy that almost all of these schools are located on Indigenous reservations, while only 1.6% of the schools are located in urban areas. Despite the law, only 1,818 schools reported using Indigenous languages and 965 reported having coursework relating to the ethnic group. In 2007, the census concerning Indigenous schools recorded 2,422 Indigenous schools with 174,255 students enrolled. In 2012, the number of students enrolled increased to 234,869.

In this context, some authors establish the 1980s as a division in the history of Indigenous education (Ferreira, 2001; Silva, 2001). Given the long history of missionary and government initiatives of formal education which catechized or assimilated the Indigenous population, we cannot deny the difference of current public policies that recognize the sociocultural diversity of Indigenous peoples and seek to respect them or embed them in the school process.

On the other hand, one can also find continuities in these national education policies for Indigenous groups. The first project, based on positivist ideology, was developed by the Indian Protection Service in 1920, in order to “civilize” the Indigenous peoples to fully participate in the national project. Subsequently, the public policies developed in the 1960s by the National Indian Foundation had as their premise the integration of the Indigenous national society, characterized by the inevitable loss of the cultural characteristics of Indigenous groups.

In this sense, the school projects gradually incorporated the native languages in the early grades as an intermediate step in a process that would lead to assimilation. On the other hand, the progressive integration of the native languages in the school curriculum in the 1990s’ and hiring of Indigenous individuals as assistant professors (called bilingual monitors) was the beginning of an Indigenous mobilization that led to the development of the differentiated,

bilingual, and intercultural education project, in order to ensure self-determination, maintenance of Indigenous languages, cultures, and ethnic differences.

Just like bilingual education, intercultural education is also a challenge. How can we talk about Indigenous knowledge and school knowledge in the classroom? Are these different types of knowledge universal? The risk perceived in many Indigenous schools around the country is to teach both an “Indigenous history” and a general “history” or an “Indian geography” and a general “geography,” creating dichotomies. When these concepts are parallel, it is understood that the history behind them did not interweave, which is not true given the fact that the Indigenous people were the first inhabitants of Brazil. However, interculturalism can only be achieved when we recognize the fact that Brazil’s history is complex, and this is certainly a great challenge.

The processes of teaching and learning, one of the precepts of the new national Indigenous education policy, have proved to be the most difficult to incorporate into school experiences. In fact, there is little idea of what these processes are, and there is little material on the processes of teaching and learning that emphasize the importance of socialization practices, extremely important in Indigenous groups (Seeger, Da Matta, Viveiros de Castro, 1979). It becomes even harder because pedagogical references to teaching practices and proposals are forged in mainstream schools, Western, urban, and aimed at an audience that comes from a literate environment.

The notion of “differentiated” education is also distinctly valued. While some people make use of this prerogative to develop educational programs that barely remind us of our conventional view of “school” (Gallois, 2001), there are situations where the Indians seek more

traditional school models and criticize the “differentiated” education policy as lower quality program, which maintains Indigenous people in a state of isolation, ignorance, and inferiority.

### **Summary**

This chapter described many aspects of Guarani ways of being and living, which will serve as the bases for understanding how these aspects of the Guarani life permeate the school context. It also described more in depth the context where this study took place, the Tekoá Marangatu reservation and its bilingual school for elementary children. Last, it offered a brief account of the situation of Contemporary Indigenous Education in Brazil, describing the role of bilingual monitors and the definition of differentiated, bilingual education for Indigenous children. Chapter 3 follows with the literature review, which frames the theory underlying this study. The literature review is presented in three parts. First, I look at the role of bilingualism and biliteracy in the lives of Indigenous children by exploring the definitions and uses of both bilingualism and biliteracy. The second section reviews how children socialize in different cultures, focusing primarily on Latino, Indigenous, and U.S. (EuroAmerican/U.S. White middle-class) children by analyzing case studies which spotlight the socialization processes that children go through not only on the home setting but also the community and school settings. I review separately, in the third section, the research on Indigenous children socialization theory within the Brazilian context.

### CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

The presence of South American Indigenous children in ethnographies does not constitute, in fact, anything new. Children's photographs adorn books and ethnographies, and they are seen in discussions of social organization, kinship, and ritual life. It is common to read about references to the patience of Indigenous people with children, as well as detailed descriptions of rituals and taboos that surround them, since before birth. Although the role of children has been important in analyzing Indigenous cosmology and philosophy and children and the world that surrounds and permeates their lives have been taken as important and central to theoretical and analytical focus to the understanding of cosmology, philosophy and Indigenous thought (Tassinari, Grando, & Albuquerque, 2012), these lenses have rarely been used to understand South American Indigenous children's bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural development. However, in this dissertation, the place occupied by children in everyday life and sociocultural contexts provides an opportunity for a revealing analysis of children's language and literacy development.

Nicholas' (2009) work on Hopi youth sheds light on the role of cultural and social contexts in the way of life of Indigenous communities. Nicholas states that "language is inherent in the myriad social, cultural, and religious practices of Hopi, still primarily an oral society. These practices provide the context for language as cultural practice for which a proficiency in Hopi (receptive and productive ability) is not a prerequisite" (p. 322). This notion of *language as a cultural practice* offers me, as a researcher, a bridge into understanding how children socialize in this Indigenous community as they become bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural individuals because as will be seen, not all children demonstrated competencies in all three spheres (bilingual/biliterate/bicultural).

My study is informed by research studies on the socialization practices of various Indigenous peoples in Latin and South America that share certain experiences. Luykx (1989) observed the family language policy and gender socialization in bilingual Aymara households, in a very strong dominant Spanish-speaking Bolivia in South America. De la Piedra (2006) studied the literacies and oral Quechua language of Quechua children in the Peruvian Andes as she looked at how the hegemonic Spanish school practices overthrew the value of oral Quechua, and, at the same time, how the elementary students resisted that oppression of their native language through writing in Quechua and through the use of Quechua as their peer language. Testa (2008) studied the Mbya Guarani in different villages in the South and Southeast regions of Brazil for seven years and points to the need to re-conceptualize orality and writing as important aspects within a wider group of processes of production, acquisition, and transmission of knowledge in these groups. Testa states that from her research, education is conceived in a wide sense that cannot be reduced to schooling. De Sousa (2010) investigated the Mbya Guarani group from Imarui, Brazil, with the objective of understanding the identity of the Indigenous Guarani in non-school spaces; however, she focused on the narratives used within that group and not on how they used the Guarani or the Portuguese language to transmit knowledge across generations.

Tassinari (2011) stresses that the research on Indigenous children in Brazil has started to take the perspective of the child as an agent in the production of knowledge. Meanwhile, Marqui's (2012) study revealed how the student identities of Mbya Guarani children on the reservation of Nova Jacundá developed at the same time that the school placed on the reservation also developed its identity as an Indigenous school. Marqui used the child as a central agent in understanding how the Guarani learning and teaching processes should be included in the differentiated instruction offered by the school. On the other hand, in the research reviewed for

this dissertation, little has been found on the need to understand how, in Brazil, young Indigenous children's socialization processes influence their bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural development.

The first studies concerning the Brazilian Indigenous children naturalize some dichotomies, such as a strict separation between processes of formal and informal learning. The earlier analyses also articulate an idea of unilateral and vertical socialization, which is not characteristic of many Indigenous groups in Brazil. Aside from some pioneering work (Fernandes, 1946; Mellati & Mellati, 1944; Métraux & Dreyfus-Roche, 1958; Schaden, 1945) dedicated to the education and care of Indigenous children, Indigenous children seldom appear in research studies until the late 1900s in Brazil. Recent growth in the research includes areas such as anthropology of the child, Indigenous ethnology, and anthropology of education in Brazil. Studies in these interrelated fields (Codonho, 2007; Cohn, 2000a; Marqui, 2012; Mello, 2006; Nunes, 1997; Oliveira, 2004; Pereira, 2004c; Sobrinho, 2010; Tassinari, 2001b, 2007, 2011; Vasconcelos, 2011) comprise research on various themes using as lenses the child as an agent in knowledge production.

Although some studies (Azulara & Reyes, 2011; De la Piedra, 2006; Dennis, 1940; Luykx, 1989; Marqui, 2012; Oliveira, 2004; Romero-Little, 2004; Tassinari, Grando, & Albuquerque, 2012) have explored to some extent the lives of Indigenous children in their natural contexts, most of these studies do not systematically focus on the first years of their socialization processes. Even though most of the research reviewed here is on Indigenous children throughout Latin America, the underlying theme resonates with research about Indigenous children all around the world. The educational history of Brazil's Indigenous peoples is one of compulsory experiences in mainstream formal schools and curricula. Schools have historically not

considered and in some cases have explicitly ignored how these young children learn prior to entering the classroom. There is an inherent need to produce scholarship that honors these language and literacy practices for young Indigenous children. This literature review is divided in three parts: First, I review theory on and research in bilingualism and biliteracy; second, I describe the socialization and enculturation processes that Indigenous and minority children go through as they navigate their home, community, and school contexts by highlighting case studies within a sociocultural framework; and third, I provide an overview of Indigenous children's socialization processes in Brazil.

### **The Role of Bilingualism and Biliteracy in the Lives of Young Children**

**Definitions and uses of bilingualism.** Bilingualism theory has been shaped throughout the years by many important frameworks, such as developmental, sociocultural, or political. The benefits of bilingualism documented in the field are stated throughout this review. The definitions and uses of bilingualism are important to this study since they support the understanding of how the young Mbya Guarani children develop language competencies. Within bilingualism theory, there are some important terms and concepts to be taken into account, such as *emergent bilingualism*. García and Kleifgen (2010) define English language learners as emergent bilinguals. Grosjean (2010) utilizes different resources to explain the concept of being bilingual. He defines bilinguals as “Those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives” (p. 4).

Grosjean explores early bilingualism by challenging the notion of “the earlier the better,” stating that bilingualism depends on contextual factors. While Grosjean does not necessarily focus on emergent bilingualism, his definition of bilingualism identifies the many factors that affect how a child can become bilingual and to what extent the languages of this child can be

developed. One of these factors is parental input and the extent to which a parent influences the learning of one or more languages; for example, if bilingual parents use a certain language in a specific domain such as the home context, the child will identify that language with that specific domain and continue using it (Zentella, 1997). This factor has proven to be extremely important for children who are emergent bilinguals and should be kept in the forefront when talking about the role of peers (who in this case could be seen as the parents or any other peer – e.g., classmates, teachers, or family members in the child’s environment) in the development of young emergent bilingual children.

In a study of three emergent bilingual and biliterate children, four years of age and speakers of English and Spanish, Reyes (2006) uses both terms “emergent bilinguals and emergent biliteracy” to understand the processes through which these children experience the connections when developing two languages. Reyes (2006) uses the term *emergent bilinguals* to describe

young children (ages three to five years) who speak a native language other than English and are in the dynamic process of developing bilingual and biliterate competencies (in this case in English and Spanish), with the support of their communities (e.g. parents, school, community). (p. 268)

In Reyes’ study, teachers resist the imposition of English, and with the use of both Spanish and English in the classroom community, children can develop early bilingualism and biliteracy even without conventionally writing in either language. These definitions of emergent bilinguals shed light on the holistic view of many researchers when examining the role of language(s) in the lives of young children. By using the term “emergent bilinguals,” García and Kleifgen (2010) reject the deficit view and construct a framework which sees language learners

not as limited or lacking knowledge but rather with potential to become bilingual. They stress that “there is a growing dissonance between *research* on the education of emergent bilinguals, *policy* enacted to educate them, and the *practices* we observe in schools” (p. 4, emphasis in original text). Thus, by investigating how different factors affect the development of bilingualism in the lives of young children, we can better understand how they come to become bilingual and how that development also influences the development of biliteracy and biculturalism.

To further understand how bilingualism impacts the lives of young children, we should consider bilingualism to be a dynamic endeavor, not a static one (Vygotsky, 1978). According to Vygotsky, researchers should relate bilingualism to concrete situations while studying children’s development by taking into account the whole aggregate of social factors (e.g., personality, context) that influence the development of bilingualism. For Vygotsky, “Being bilingual must be studied in all its breadth and in all its depth as it affects the whole mental development of the child’s personality taken as a whole” (as cited in Rieber, 1997, p. 259).

Within that same “thought collective,” Ramanathan (2002) and Luykx (2003) state that in terms of language use, a bilingual is not simply the sum of two monolinguals. Children growing up bilingually acquire not two discrete systems but an evolving linguistic repertoire that draws upon two systems. Growing up bilingually includes not only these languages’ formal features (phonological, grammatical, semantic, pragmatic), but also the conventions regarding how and when to combine those features, the social meanings of different varieties and combinations of varieties, and local ideologies about all of these (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Rogoff, 2003). Because bilinguals are not the sum of two monolinguals, the definition of bilingualism needs to go beyond the view of balanced bilingualism. García and Beardsmore (2009) critique

the concept of balanced bilingualism because it tends to define adults and children as capable of being equally competent in two languages independently of the context and the participants of a dialogue. For García and Beardsmore, this form of bilingualism does not exist, and it implies that a bilingual is like two persons who are completely fluent in their two languages (Grosjean, 2010; Luykx, 2003), which is also called a “fractional view” of bilinguals (Reyes, 2012). For García and Beardsmore (2009), a bilingual “languages” differently since his or her experiences with each language is unequal (p. 45). Also, García and Beardsmore state that the *complementarity principle* means, according to Grosjean (1997), that “any bilingual is never two monolinguals in one person, and any child, regardless of circumstances or education, will never be able to become two monolinguals in one person” (as cited in García & Beardsmore, 2009, p. 48). Thus, Grosjean (1997) and Reyes (2012) in her review adhere to a “holistic view” of bilinguals, which reflects the various life experiences and contexts in which each language is learned and used. Expecting bilingual children to be “two monolinguals in one person” is dangerous in that such expectations lead to the use of the deficit model. Thus, in this study, I take into consideration all of the factors that influence the emergent bilingual development of the young Indigenous children I observed, contributing to a holistic view of bilingualism.

Another important landmark in the research on bilingualism involves the languages that bilingual children use and the uses that these children give to their languages. García and Beardsmore (2009) see languages as one’s discursive practices. Furthermore, they contend that “bilingual children tend to have more metalinguistic skills and divergent thinking than monolingual children, thus enabling them to play with words and sounds of words much more than those who are monolingual” (p. 42); a good example is when children’s languages share the same syntactical structure such as Spanish and Portuguese because of the same linguistic

family. García and Beardsmore go further to describe the concept of translanguaging, or how bilinguals engage in multiple discursive practices in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds. Translanguaging “is an approach to bilingualism that is centered, not on language as has often been the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable” (García and Beardsmore, 2009, p. 44). Translanguaging goes beyond code-switching. As García and Kleifgen (2010) state, “Educators who understand the power of translanguaging encourage emergent bilinguals to use their home languages to think, reflect, and extend their inner speech” (p. 63). By looking at the practices and uses that bilingual children are putting their languages to, we change our thinking from looking at language structure and instead honor the benefits that bilingual practices can bring to emergent bilingual children.

As language mediates learning, the flexible use of bilingual practices, or translanguaging, mediates learning for bilingual learners. By using a translanguaging framework, we refute the notion of a “true bilingual” (Váldes, 2003) or a balanced bilingual, where one can keep two languages separate. It challenges monolingual bias (García & Beardsmore, 2009; García, 2012), which frames translanguaging from a deficit perspective. In a translanguaging framework, García and Kleifgen (2010) suggest that some practices are included, such as: (a) shifting between text in one language and discussion in another; (b) moving across texts that feature different languages; (c) discussing in one language but checking comprehension in another; (d) reading in one language and writing in another, discussing in one language and writing in another; (e) integrating students’ language resources; and (f) using both languages flexibly in microalternation, or code-switching. Later in Chapter 6, I use this framework to understand how the young Indigenous children translanguaged in different contexts.

Researchers who propose the concept of translanguaging or similar terms such as polylinguaging, heteroglossia, codemeshing, and translingual practice (see Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012, p. 649) argue that it “better captures the sociolinguistic realities of everyday life” (García & Wei, 2014, p. 29). One of the advantages of translanguaging is the support for a deeper understanding of subject matter through the use of ZPD and crosslinguistic transfer (Baker, 2006). If students do not understand the language they are being taught in, it will be next to impossible to construct meaning and learn meaningfully. Using the full range of bilingual meaning-making resources, including translanguaging, expands thinking and understanding by permitting children to build on their language and literacy knowledge. It gives teachers and students opportunities to build on their strengths and to acknowledge and use a full range of linguistic practices to improve teaching and learning.

Research in language socialization (Ochs, 1986, 1988; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) has demonstrated that “the process through which a child learns to speak cannot be analyzed simply as language acquisition (i.e., an encapsulated process of interest only to students of language), but instead constitutes a profound process of language socialization through which the child, by learning how to speak in a community, becomes a competent socialized member of his or her society” (as cited in Goodwin & Duranti, 1992, p. 1), thus becoming bicultural individuals. Through the use of language, children are affirming their role in the world. The language learning development of young children is closely related to the strategies that more competent peers use in school settings. Children make meaning not only by sounding out words or describing pictures in a book but also by negotiating meaning with their peers in their social environment (Halliday, 2004). This negotiation of meaning was central to this study, as children constructed meaning with and from their peers throughout my observations.

A review of the most recent and perceptive literature regarding definitions and uses of bilingualism reveals the following major research conclusions that are instructive to researchers and educators:

1. The definition of emergent bilinguals involves the use of more than one language, and in the U.S. context has referred to children who speak a language other than English and are in the process of developing bilingual and biliterate skills (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Grosjean, 2010; Reyes, 2006).
2. Bilingualism should be seen as a dynamic process, where the individual speaking two languages is not seen as a monolingual speaker of two languages but rather as one individual using two evolving linguistic and cultural systems. By using this dynamic view, we are opposing the pervasive deficit view of bilingualism, but also its complexities (García & Beardsmore, 2009; Grosjean, 2010; Luykx, 2003; Reyes, 2012; Vygotsky, 1978).
3. The role of peers (either adults or children) in the development of bilingualism should not be underestimated. Parents' beliefs and practices regarding bilingualism are one of the factors that affect bilingualism in young children. Educators also play a great role in this development according to the support they give to children's multiple languages in the classroom (Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004; Halliday, 2004; Moll, 2001).
4. The use to which children put their languages is another important factor in the development of bilingualism. When a child translanguages, she is putting into practice various metalinguistic and metacognitive skills, which are very different than the ones that monolingual children possess (García & Beardsmore, 2009; Norbert, 2010).

5. Children “socialize” into their languages as they experience the multiple contexts around them, such as the home, community, or school (García & Beardsmore, 2009; Luykx, 2003).

With that in mind, I now will review current research on biliteracy, which is intricately related to the development of bilingualism in young children.

**Definitions and uses of biliteracy.** Bilingualism and biliteracy are two processes that cannot be studied separately in contemplating how children learn two or more languages. The processes that children go through as they try to make sense of the oral and written worlds around them is described by researchers as biliteracy, which is always informed by the level of bilingualism that a child has developed and vice versa. The various factors that affect bilingualism will, in one way or another, influence biliteracy. With that in mind, some concepts surrounding biliteracy are important to consider, as there is not one specific focus on the discourse of bilingualism and biliteracy. Emergent literacy is concerned with the earliest phases of literacy development, the period between birth and the time when children read and write *conventionally*. The term “emergent literacy” signals a belief that, in a literate society, young children—even 1- and 2-year-olds—are in the process of becoming literate (Sulzby & Teale, 1996, p. 728).

The concept of emergent literacy sheds light on the idea that if a young child can develop literacy in one language, those literacy skills can be transferred to a second or third language. This process is called biliteracy. Biliteracy has been examined through various lenses: developmental, where the relations of language, literacy, and thinking are taken into account, e.g., developing personalities (Vygotsky, 1978); sociocultural, looking at family dynamics, funds of knowledge, speech communities, and social class; institutional, which looks

at pedagogical conditions, curricular models, and school ecology; and political, looking at policies, politics, language ideologies, and class ideologies. Biliteracy, though, has not been studied in the same depth as bilingualism (see Dworin & Moll, 2006). While some scholars have mixed the terms and consider all under the same umbrella, other researchers have carefully attempted to describe the two processes separately.

Goodman et al. (1979) support the use of the term “biliteracy” (instead of using the simple term “reading”) in order to stress the interrelatedness of reading and writing. Pérez and Torres-Guzmán (1996) use the term biliteracy to express “the acquisition and learning of the decoding and encoding of and around print using two linguistic and cultural systems in order to convey messages in a variety of contexts” (p. 54). Furthermore, Reyes (2006) contends that “emergent biliteracy” refers to

the ongoing, dynamic development of concepts and expertise for thinking, listening, speaking, reading, and writing in two languages. From a sociocultural and transactional perspective, the term also encompasses the children’s use of their cultural and linguistic experiences to co-construct meaning with parents, teachers, siblings, and peers in their environment. The children’s emergent understanding of how to approach and represent ideas in writing is socially constructed and supported by the adults and expert writers around them. (p. 269)

The definition of “emergent biliteracy” helps us understand the processes young children experience, independent of their background, when learning two languages simultaneously and validates the efforts to promote this development from an early age. One of the key questions on biliteracy, though, is how these competencies are translated from one language to another as children navigate their different worlds. One study that helps us understand this question further

is the *continua of biliteracy* developed by Hornberger (1989) and later revised by Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) based on international studies. Biliteracy can be defined as “any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in and around writing” (Hornberger, 1989, p. 213). Reyes (2012) emphasizes that by “interrelating findings from research, practice, and educational policy, Hornberger proposed a highly comprehensive, ecological model that views biliteracy as a set of continua of abilities” (p. 309).<sup>12</sup> Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) state that “the more their learning contexts allow learners to draw on all points of the continua, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development” (p. 96). There are different points of the continua that can be seen through the different approaches to Indigenous culture-based education, for example in the development of biliteracy where oral language is emphasized in the home context but then written language is reinforced through Indigenous bilingual programs so the child is drawing from the two ends of the continua.

Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) suggest that “the advantage of the model is that it permits us to focus for pedagogical, analytical, activist, or policy purposes on one or selected continua and their dimensions without ignoring the importance of the others” (p. 98). For instance, when the traditional power of the continua is giving voice and agency to the less powerful end of the continua, children are critically reflecting “on how their own everyday biliteracy practices do or do not exercise and maintain power” (p. 100), and how the dynamic nature of day-to-day experiences can influence and change the way that the different points in the continua interact with each other. For example, within the sociocultural factors that affect biliteracy, Hornberger (1989) cites family dynamics, funds of knowledge, speech communities, and social class. As will be seen later, all these factors, as well as the other factors in the

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<sup>12</sup> The power relations in this continuum are presented towards two ends: a traditionally less powerful and a traditionally more powerful. For example, within the development of biliteracy, written language is seen as traditionally more powerful than oral language.

continua, can affect the development of biliteracy depending on how they are intertwined in a child's development process.

Classroom, home, and community are some the contexts where emergent bilinguals have the potential to develop literacy in two languages. Bauer and Gort (2012) explain that biliteracy should be understood as a special form of literacy and not from a monolingual perspective, composed of literacy practices and processes from monolinguals; instead, biliteracy should be seen as “a complex phenomenon with cognitive, sociocultural, and sociological dimensions” (p. 2). As Bauer and Gort (2012) state, when bilinguals are immersed in multilingual and multicultural environments, they are constantly transacting with “two literate worlds to create knowledge and transform it for meaningful purposes” (p. 2). Bauer and Gort frame their research through a view of literacy development that is constructivist within a sociocultural context. For purposeful and authentic meaning-making to happen, a constructivist lens should see the learner as an active participant while a sociocultural framework will see children using their context to learn about the world around them, and in the case of emergent biliteracy, children are actually using two interconnected linguistic and cultural worlds to make sense of the world around them with the help of their peers, family, neighbors, teachers, and so on.

Kenner (2004) reported on how six bilingual children responded to English instruction at school and simultaneous first-language instruction in community language schools in London. The first languages observed were Spanish, Arabic, and Chinese. As part of the study, children were encouraged to peer-teach a classmate about the writing system of the first language. Kenner suggested that children were able to identify distinguishing features of varied writing systems while explaining the rules underlying each of those systems through peer-teaching their classmates. The study provides positive evidence that learning two languages

simultaneously in the early years, “when children are at their most flexible in mind and body” (Kenner, 2004, p. 10), has great benefits in terms of academic achievement and building both oracy and literacy in both languages. While the author focused on the writing process, his study supports the development of biliteracy and bilingualism in children from a very young age for various reasons, such as the fact that children, from an young age, are trying to make sense of print even in two languages and that peers can be extremely important in the process of biliteracy development.

Moll, Saéz, and Dworin (2001) view biliterate children’s writing as a social practice. For them, the historical conventions of written language are inherited by children in specific sociocultural contexts as they learn with the guidance of peers (adults and other children). Moll et al. stress that children become metalinguistically aware of the conventions of print as they talk and think about language. The authors highlight that there are different lines in the research of reading and writing: one that involves quasi-experimental studies concerned with “what advantages, if any, bilingualism offers the subjects of study on these highly reduced tasks” (Dworin & Moll, 2006, p. 245); a second one which deals with reading and writing as separate phenomena, usually done in a case-study format; and a third which involves “the analysis of biliteracy as part of broader social contexts, such as homes or classroom” (Moll et al., 2001, p. 438). My study focuses on this third line of research. Children’s stories and the dynamics of cultural, social, and institutional contexts are intrinsically related to literacy, be it bilingual or not. In their study, Moll et al. conclude that a child becomes biliterate in two languages as she acquires and develops skills in those languages and also as she becomes competent in the literacy practices that constitute the multiple contexts where those languages are used, in this particular study, the school context.

The research in biliteracy has revealed the following:

1. There are multiple factors involved in the definition of biliteracy, such as analyzing biliteracy as the interrelatedness of reading and writing (Goodman, Goodman, & Flores, 1979) within two dynamic linguistic and cultural systems and viewing biliteracy as “the ongoing, dynamic development of concepts and expertise for thinking, listening, speaking, reading, and writing in two languages” (Reyes, 2006, p. 269).
2. Research (Kenner, 2004; Moll et al., 2001) addresses the role of peers in the development of biliteracy for young children. As young children try to make sense of print, they interact not only with the text but also with peers around them, who can help in the process of sense-making.
3. Other studies (Bialystok et al., 2005; Gort, 2006) show that there can be a positive transfer of skills from one language to another for emergent biliterate children learning to read and write in two languages, and this transfer not only facilitates the process of learning to read and write, but also the learning process of the two languages.

With that in mind, I turn to a focus on the socialization process of young Indigenous and minority children and apply theories on bilingualism and biliteracy to understand better how these young children growing up in Indigenous communities use their emergent literacies to make sense of the world by integrating their various literacies.

### **Children’s Socialization Processes in Diverse Backgrounds**

According to Zentella (2005), “Language socialization research sheds light on the subtle yet significant contrasts between the cultural ways that students use languages in their communities and homes and the language genres of the classroom, whether the languages are the same or different” (p. 7). Oftentimes, children rely not only on language but also on different

means in order to build an understanding of themselves, their peers (children and also adults), and the environment. For example, children might learn how to negotiate meaning during playtime by using gestures and physical movement; or children might learn how to make meaning of their environment by walking outdoors and observing the way plants grow or animals behave. In Brazil and in the U.S., children are socialized in many different ways, and that also applies to the Indigenous communities around Brazil. These socialization processes and the knowledge systems that children are exposed to guide them into “internalizing/appropriating their cultures and traditions” (Rogoff, 1990). These socialization processes start in the home, move into the community, and finally reach the school setting, always taking into consideration that this process is flexible and it might be different depending on the community, especially when it comes to Indigenous people. Through a sociocultural lens, the concept of *mediation* is placed at the core of this study, by emphasizing the dynamic interactions and negotiations between learners and material and symbolic artifacts (i.e., cultural tools) (Vygotsky, 1977, 1987, 2004). Given the interactions between a learner and her or his surrounding context, learning also emerges as a mediated and situated activity. From this standpoint, then, the physical, social, and symbolic context in which learners are engaged are at the core of this broad understanding of learning as a sociocultural practice.

This section looks at how children socialize across cultures, focusing primarily on Latino, Indigenous,<sup>13</sup> and U.S. (EuroAmerican/U.S., White middle-class) children by analyzing case studies which spotlight the socialization processes that children go through not only in the home setting but also in the community and school settings. Most of the research reported here comes from a sociocultural theoretical framework, where “researchers emphasize the nature of the relationships between participants and the social context in which children develop biliteracy”

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<sup>13</sup> The research on Indigenous children socialization in Brazil is treated separately.

(Reyes, 2012, p. 310). This section also emphasizes the sociocultural capital, or the *funds of knowledge* (González et al., 2005; Moll, Amanti, Neff, &, 1992; Moll & González, 1994; Moll, 2014), of culturally and linguistically diverse children from the previously mentioned groups. The research on funds of knowledge, which started over 20 years ago, focuses primarily on the literacy education of Latino, mostly Mexican American, children in the U.S. Southwest (Moll, 1990). Similar to González et al. (2005), I use the term *funds of knowledge* to refer to the “historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being” (p. 133), and by looking at the research on socialization practices for diverse groups in the U.S. and Brazil, I highlight how these funds of knowledge play a role in the development of bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism for these young children. Further, I highlight how these children’s local funds of knowledge are woven into the classroom setting, invariably influencing how these children become bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural.

**The role of reading and writing in the socialization process of children.** The socialization process of children within the home and school context was studied in-depth by Heath (1983), who investigated ways of learning from printed stories in mainstream middle-class families with preschoolers and also considered ways of talking in non-mainstream families that did not follow the school-expected patterns of literacy. These families differed in the way they talked (“talk” means the ways in which children engaged in adult-child interactions and conversations), read, and told stories. This ethnographic study illustrates social and linguistic exchanges in two working-class communities in the Carolinas (Trackton and Roadville), according to their participation in different “literacy events.” These literacy events can be characterized as the interactions of individuals with print and the values connected with these

practices. As Heath compares the families she studied, she helps us think about important questions regarding the nature of language development, the influence of literacy on oral language practices, and the sources of communication problems between schools and families.

While Heath's study does not necessarily involve bilingual children, the nature of diversity within the families observed is relevant to understanding the emergent literacies that children use to make sense of the world around them. As children grow up, their culture is symbolized by the ways of taking meaning from the environment around them. Heath emphasizes that the "ways of taking from books are as much a part of learned behavior as are ways of eating, sitting, playing games, and building houses" (as cited in Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 97). For some of the parents in her study, guiding their children through modeling and specific instruction of how to take meaning from books was also embedded in other environments other than the home and school contexts. Each community had its own way of taking from the printed word, and how community members used this knowledge was interdependent to who they were as a group, just as in my study, children were socialized to the ways of taking meaning from text in different ways depending if they were inside or outside of the school context.

Dyson (1993) developed various studies connected to the role of writing and reading in the socialization process of children, stressing the relevance of the different kinds of language that can potentially enhance school literacy success. Dyson bases her theoretical framework on the principle that schools' socioculturally diverse populations should be the guide for developing literacy curricula. Throughout an ethnographic study of 6 students in kindergarten through third grade, Dyson explains how these students, who were considered at risk, were objects of the system that uses a written format that does not fit all children's skills. The key theme in this

study was the link between composing a text and composing a place in this social world. This mismatch between children's home worlds and what is expected of them at school influences their literacy development as well as their identity. If children do not see their backgrounds within the school contexts, they invariably will not value those backgrounds, and that can lead to language loss in the case of emergent bilingual children, or worse, it will position children in a tension-filled environment to resolve the issue with little assistance. While Dyson's study was developed with monolingual children, this mismatch between children's home worlds and what is expected of them at school can be seen in the lives of many emergent bilingual and biliterate children.

Within the different ways kids use talk while they negotiate and construct meaning, children and teachers engage in various literacy events (Dyson, 2004). In short, different kinds of language use can potentially enhance children's literacy development success (Dyson, 1993), in this case, in the development of young children's biliterate abilities. How children use language(s) can be a great tool for their biliterate and bilingual development. As they try to make sense of the texts around them, children put language(s) to different uses, and as will be seen in some of the studies below, these uses are key to support the way children make sense of the world.

*Studies of Latino families.* Focusing on the home context, Gillanders and Jiménez (2004) conducted a study in the home of four Mexican immigrant families from a low socioeconomic status. The kindergarteners showed high levels of literacy when compared to their peers. The community that surrounded these families was mostly of Mexican origin, although some were from Puerto Rico, Cuba, and other Spanish-speaking countries. In order to understand how the home practices influenced these children's literacy development, the

researchers focused on the literacy beliefs and practices in each of the homes. The main goal of the research was to illustrate how Spanish-speaking families supported their children's literacy development. Gillanders and Jiménez refuted the deficit view of families from low socioeconomic backgrounds as lacking the skills to help their children succeed in school. The authors reported their findings by observing literacy events where children participated in a process of "guided participation" (Rogoff, 1990) with adults. According to Rogoff (1990), the concept of guided participation "means that children's learning of a cultural tool, such as literacy, occurs through both guidance and participation in culturally valued activities" (p. 245).

Many children reviewed in the study by Gillanders and Jiménez (2004) challenge the deficit perspective of families from low socioeconomic backgrounds as lacking skills which count as vital for successful learning in schools. For example, in the Luzardo family, Eutimio's mother (Rosario) believed that by raising him bilingually, he would get "más oportunidades de empleo, de estudio, de superarse" (more job and study opportunities, to get ahead) (Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004, p. 259). While Rosario made sure that Eutimio also spoke Spanish correctly, she helped him succeed at school even though their home literacy practices differed from that of mainstream successful literacy practices for school readiness.

This example shows how the perspectives on literacy and biliteracy development have been shifting throughout the years, as many other examples from the studies cited here. However, there is still a great emphasis on looking at these bilingual children from a monolingual perspective, which does not give justice to the elaborate metalinguistic processes these children go through as they carefully make meaning of the world around them. As Heath and Boehncke (2004) state, "Language socialization research currently gives primary attention to the role of social interactions in enabling children to become competent communicators in their

sociocultural group” (p. 206). Thus, a more comprehensive research lens should include children’s interactions with peers or with teachers and all the different ways they communicate while developing their metalinguistic awareness about the use of language(s) in multiple contexts.

The interchange between home, school, and community contexts is explored in a study by Reyes and Azuara (2008). They reported on a multiple data study with twelve 4- and 5-year-old Mexican immigrant children living in the U.S. Southwest. The three case studies (Dariana, Frida, and Sercan) are discussed in the article “Emergent biliteracy in young Mexican immigrant children” and sought to answer the following questions: (1) “What knowledge of biliteracy do young bilingual preschool children develop in the early years?” and (2) “How do context and specific language environments influence the development of biliteracy in young Mexican Spanish-English bilingual children?” (Reyes & Azuara, 2008, p. 374).

Results indicated that the children were developing knowledge and metalinguistic awareness about print in both their languages; one example was when Dariana wrote a bilingual prayer book modeled on her grandmother’s prayer book during a sad event, the passing of her great-grandmother. It is very common in Latino households to pray for someone’s soul for an extended period after that person pass away, and Dariana took this event as a chance to express herself both in English and Spanish in her bilingual prayer book. This practice demonstrated her development as a bicultural individual, and it illuminated the understanding of practices which were also observed during my study, where Indigenous children drew both from their Indigenous epistemology and the mainstream culture to make sense of the world around them.

Last, intergenerational learning occurred in both directions among family members; an example was when Sercan borrowed English words such as “whatever” and “never mind” in his Spanish conversations with his parents, and his parents frequently asked him to translate the

words into Spanish. This type of everyday interaction points to the switching between expert and novice roles by Sercan and his parents depending on whether the interactions were in Spanish or English. Reyes and Azuara believe that “these case studies provide evidence that these emergent bilingual children’s development of biliteracy is dynamic and mediated by their immediate sociocultural contexts” (p. 392), which is in line with much of the research on emergent bilingualism and biliteracy. This intergenerational learning was also present in my study, and as such I turn to a discussion on understanding how peers impact the language and literacy learning of diverse children.

**The role of peers in children’s socialization processes.** Looking at the home context, De la Piedra and Romo (2003) describe a literacy event which focused on a Mexican immigrant family in South Texas, involving a pre-literate, pre-verbal 18-month-old child. In this study, the authors pay special attention to the important influence of siblings in their analysis of the ways in which language and literacy are socially constructed in a non-mainstream immigrant family (the Valdéz family). According to the authors, they focus their analysis on two main points: “(1) the important influence of siblings in language socialization and literacy development and (2) the ways in which language and literacy are socially constructed in a non-mainstream immigrant family and community” (as cited in Bayley & Schecter, 2003, p. 44). Their framework is grounded on the foundations of literacy as a cultural and social phenomenon, where older siblings help young siblings to understand what it means to know a language. The authors use discourse analysis to describe the “collective literacy” (p. 46) event where siblings and adult help L (18-month old child) in making sense of the language around her. Siblings, according to the authors, have a strong influence on young children because of the mutual knowledge they might share with them, and that mutual knowledge aids in the language socialization process of a

young child. These siblings also act as “mediators of literacy.” Mediators of literacy are described as “participants who have literacy skills in the code being used” (De la Piedra & Romo, 2003, p. 49). They do not only read or write the message of a text, but also interpret its meaning in the social context in which it occurs by actively constructing the literacy event. This framework of literacy as a social construct aided by the work of siblings as mediators of literacy adds to the framework of my study.

Volk and De Acosta (2004) looked at how supportive interactions among Puerto Rican siblings at home and their networks influenced the literacy development of three bilingual kindergarten children. *Syncretism* is used “to describe the creative process through which people reinvent culture as they draw on diverse resources from prior experiences,” and it is “often characterized by contradictory elements arising out of disparities in power” (p. 204). The main research question guiding this study was “what can we learn from the other teachers in children’s lives?” (p. 205). According to Valdés (1996), “in Latino families, sibling caretaking and teaching are typically valued aspects of family life” (as cited in Volk & De Acosta, 2004, p. 205). For data collection, the researchers focused on the children’s oral language development, concepts of print, word identification, word analysis, comprehension, and fluency. The findings, as in De la Piedra and Romo’s (2003) study, was that the older siblings acted as “mediators of literacy” by helping the younger siblings in understanding texts both in Spanish and English.

An emergent literacy perspective puts the emphasis on the learner and not on the teacher, thus rejecting the banking concept of education (Freire, 1970), where teachers are the sole holders of knowledge. Children are, on the other hand, viewed as constructors of knowledge who with the help (or not) from their peers, can achieve higher levels of literacy and biliteracy development. In “guided participation” (Rogoff, 1990), children actively engage with other

peers in order to construct meaning in specific “literacy events” (Heath, 1982). Vygotsky (1978) uses the term “zone of proximal development” to describe the “distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (p. 86). While Vygotsky focused on peers as the adults in children’s lives, in the various studies reviewed here and elsewhere, children participated in social networks of peers (e.g., siblings, schoolmates, cousins) and adults as they became bilingual and biliterate in two languages (Moll et al., 2001; De la Piedra & Romo, 2003; Gillanders and Jiménez, 2004; Kenner, 2004; De la Piedra, 2006; Reyes, 2006; Romero-Little, 2004; Volk & De Acosta, 2004; Reyes & Azuara, 2008; Azuara & Reyes, 2011), thus their peers were more than only the adults in their lives. The role of social interactions is crucial in understanding how more competent peers can not only influence students’ roles in the school setting but also how they can contribute to the students’ literacy development in different contexts.

**Children’s socialization within Indigenous communities.** It is important to contextualize this section within the literature review. My study explores the socialization practices and language and literacy development of young Myba Guarani Indigenous children in Brazil, and as such, the literature reviewed here offers a context for the different lenses that researchers have used to observe Indigenous children’s socialization practices. In one of the only ethnographic accounts of Hopi child-rearing practices, Wayne Dennis (1940) describes the lives of Hopi people in the village of Hotavila in the summers of 1936 and 1937. Although dated, this ethnographic account gives us insight into the cultural practices in the home and community lives of Indigenous peoples in the beginning of the century and pushes us to think further about what has changed since then. First, Dennis describes the world of the Hopi child by talking

about the life of the village and child care, and he also parallels those aspects from the villages of New Oraibi and Mishongnovi. I rely mainly on his accounts of the Hotavila village life, which represents the most traditional Hopi Village at the time. Thinking chronologically, Dennis studied many aspects of child-rearing practices which are relevant to the use and acquisition of language by Indigenous children. He states, "In early childhood there is little or no difference in what is expected of the boy and the girl but from three to four years of age onward, we must distinguish between boys and girls, for the social roles of the two are not the same" (Dennis, 1940, p. 83). This quote speaks to a very important aspect of Hopi socialization for boys and girls: both have determined roles from an early age. There were three distinct groups of children at the time. The first was the girls under 12 years old with their younger siblings. The second were the boys from four to eight years old; they were old enough to be around without their older siblings but still too young to go to the fields with the older men. The last group was formed by boys who had already been initiated; they helped in the morning with the farming but later on they were also free to play. These three groups show the elaborate system which the Hopi created when raising their children. They were free beings who could play anywhere they wished and had the adults' attention when needed. I am not aware how the children's groups are organized today.

As far as girls' roles, Dennis introduced various aspects of their lives from an early age. For this study, it is important to look at their duties around the ages of four to five:

The work of the girl begins when she is very young. Even at four years of age she may join her mother and her sisters in carrying water from the village spring, although her load would be a very light one. By the time she is five years old, the girl's

responsibilities have increased so as to include tending and carrying a baby as well as bringing in fuel from the woodpile. (Dennis, 1940, p. 84)

The quote above speaks to the role of young girls in Hopi at the time. Today, many young girls do not care for their siblings because both older and young siblings are already at school, thus their load is reduced; however, they still assume these responsibilities when in the home. At the time, children started school at age six or older, which has totally changed with the advent of Head Start and Early Head Start in the 1960s, where children may start school at an early age. This shift changes how older Hopi girls see their responsibilities and shifts a cultural practice that has been part of this Indigenous group for centuries. It is important for us because it also shows another important shift: the use of language within the home context. With children starting to go to school from an early age, they spend less time with their elders at home. At school, they learn English while their elders at home still speak Hopi. That is not true for most families as some adults have also lost their production abilities, but for some of them, the children continue to hear Hopi. García and Kleifgen (2010) call this process “recursive dynamic bilingualism.” They state that recursive dynamic bilinguals do not enter schools as monolinguals because they constantly recover their existing ancestral languages as they go on in their home and school contexts. As García and Kleifgen (2010) state, “This is the case, for example, in many Native American communities in the United States, where language practices have been deeply influenced by contact with English and resulting language loss” (p. 43). As García & Beardsmore (2009) contend, this process produces receptive bilinguals, incapable of producing their native languages because those languages are not valued in the wider society. This process shows us how, not only in Hopi but in other minority and Indigenous groups, children are experiencing language loss at a higher rate.

According to Dennis, men at the time were responsible for planting and weaving. During the farming months, they rose early to take care of the fields. For the duration of winter, they were supposed to weave the clothes for their families. The value of strengthening oneself and discipline performed by men who rose before the sun was highlighted as well. This value was shown from an early age to boys:

The five year old boy has little work to do, although he may be sent on errands, but he has learned how to use the bow and arrow which the kachinas have brought to him, and he can throw sticks, spin tops, roil hoops, and run races. (p. 84)

At age six, the boy was expected to start going to the fields with his father, and his duty was to keep birds and other intruders away from the corn. Today, boys at age six are expected to be in kindergarten, but many boys still do participate in the corn planting tradition (during summer planting). Other technologies also take the child's time away: television, video games, and so on. Although I am not sure how much of it has been introduced to the Hopi, we know that schools form a great part of children's daily lives. This study directly related to my own research since many of the gendered activities and the adaptation to the school setting were also prominent in my findings.

In another classic study of Indigenous socialization practices, Aurolyn Luykx (1989) reported on family language policy and gender socialization in bilingual Aymara households. According to the author, the setting of this particular study was a Bolivian town inhabited by (mostly) bilingual speakers of Spanish and Aymara, an Indigenous Andean language spoken by about one-fourth of Bolivia's population of around 6.5 million (Census, 1992). As Luykx (2003) states, "Virtually all huatajateños speak Aymara, and around two thirds also speak Spanish" (p. 27). The data, collected over a period of three months in 1987, mainly

reflect her host family, comprised of five children between the ages of one and 11, the father (Aymara/Spanish), the mother (Quechua/Spanish/Aymara), and also the mother-in-law (Aymara monolingual). Aymara children in the traditional agricultural communities accompany parents of the same sex in their daily tasks. Because many men in Huatajata worked in the city, many boys who were not in school could be seen playing outdoors. On the other hand, girls were constantly helping their mothers with cooking, washing, caring for younger siblings, and attending to livestock. The author asserts that for boys, the peer group had a greater influence on their early linguistic socialization than for girls.

Part of the language shift that is occurring in that particular Indigenous group was due to the influence of siblings, as Spanish plays a greater role for these young children than it did when their older siblings entered school. Thus, Luykx (2003) asserts that

In this regard, it is notable that children are not just the objects of language socialization, but also its agents, influencing not only the speech of younger siblings but that of their parents as well... Clearly, home-language socialization is not a unidirectional process limited to early childhood, but a family network of mutual influences that shift and evolve in response to new situations, reflecting speakers' changing social roles and communicative needs. (p. 30)

Bilingualism is common for most parents in Huatajata, and code-switching between Aymara and Spanish is common. No one views bilingualism as a lack of fluency; in contrast, it is seen as part of a distinctive bilingual Aymara identity. As children go on their daily activities, they learn where, how, when, and with whom it is appropriate to use each language or mix the codes. The author states that there is a great degree of imitation in Aymara children's play as they follow adult gender roles and experiment with adult speech styles, such as baby talk, the

singsong of a bus driver calling out stops, or a market women bargaining for the best price. The role of socialization in language practices and language use in Luykx's study is also characteristic of many other Indigenous groups in Brazil and South America.

De la Piedra (2006) developed a study of a rural Quechua community in the Peruvian Andes. The study illustrates how hegemonic Spanish literacy practices are present in the school, how children spontaneously use Quechua orally to make sense of the written Spanish texts they encounter at school, and how various forms of literacy are present in the community. As in the work by Azuara and Reyes (2011), De la Piedra uses the concept of hybrid literacy practices as resources for developing biliteracy practices in the context of the bilingual classroom. While bilingual and biliterate children have access to two linguistic and cultural systems, Indigenous children "not only have access to two literate worlds but they have access to two different ways of defining and using literacy according to its purposes and context of use" (p. 385).

For this specific study, De la Piedra conducted an 18-month ethnographic study in a K-6 school where Spanish was the predominant language and where De la Piedra was a participant observer and also conducted interviews with the children, families, and teachers. De la Piedra observed powerful discourses of the illiterate versus the educated, the mestizo versus the urban culture, and so on. Teachers used the syllabic method to teach reading and writing where students copied materials. Teachers did not see students as active participants and teachers were the experts, and while children tried to adapt to schooled literacy, their creativity was inhibited.

De la Piedra encountered meaningful events where participants combined literacy and orality according to their gender, age, and social roles. In addition, these hybrid literacy practices were socially organized in the non-school contexts, where there was use of "literacy mediators, the interplay of Quechua oral language and Spanish/Quechua written text, and the

translation, interpretation, and negotiation of meaning via collective interaction around text” (De la Piedra, 2006, p. 397). In the home context, children acted as literacy mediators by helping younger siblings recognize written texts and literacy practices used at school, as well as by helping their parents with writing or editing texts for them. In all settings, literacy mediators were constantly using interpretation, negotiation, and collective decision-making processes. Correspondingly, in the development of three case studies, Hornberger (1996) explored the use of literacy as a counter-hegemonic instrument among Quechua speakers in Peru. In Hornberger’s findings, she observes that Quechua literacy was used in different ways: to record the language, to preserve the Indigenous language, and for religious purposes. These two distinct but similar studies on Quechua-speaking communities highlight the role of children in countering hegemonic language practices, a process vital to the maintenance of Indigenous languages.

Romero-Little (2004) writes on the role of Pueblo children as mediators of language and literacy in different studies. Like other Indigenous groups around the world, the Pueblo people have created different ways of socializing their children, so they ensure cultural continuity.

For Pueblo children, learning the language and knowledge they need for literacy in the Pueblo world requires continual linguistic and social interactions with many highly visible mediators. This process begins well before they enter the doors of mainstream schools and extends to adulthood. (Romero-Little, 2004, pp. 210-211)

Romero-Little’s (2004) study examined “*how* Cochiti children come to know or learn to become Kuchite-me [Cochiti]” (p. 211). In Cochiti families, “parents, grandparents, and siblings are the central mediators in child socialization” (p. 211). Romero-Little goes on to state that “in these complex oral Pueblo societies, the religious and social life of the people revolve around a

rich ceremonial calendar permeated with communal activities in which there are numerous opportunities for Cochiti children to participate” (p. 211). There, children are immersed in learning through participation, for example, when a 4-year-old Cochiti boy watching the buffalo dancers starts mimicking the adult dancers; through teaching by doing, for example, when young girls help with bread making in the Pueblo homes and praised by their mothers; or through learning through engaged observation and teaching through example of role modeling, for example, when Cochiti children learn proper social behavior and discourse by observing, listening and participating with adults. Furthermore, “at each stage, guidance, praise, and encouragement are given continuously” (Romero-Little, 2004, p. 212).

Looking at the interchange between three contexts, the home, school, and community, Azuara and Reyes (2011) developed a study of a young Mayan girl learning the Yucatec Mayan language, her home language, and Spanish, the colonizer language, and developing literacy within a small community on the Yucatan Peninsula. Maya is the heritage language spoken amongst family members, but Spanish has become more and more predominant in the school setting. While Spanish is seen as “the language of opportunity and mobility,” parents and adults regard Maya as “a significant part of their cultural capital” (Azuara & Reyes, 2011, p. 182). The case study presented in this paper is part of a larger study that identified literacy practices and patterns of language use in Mayan families in Chak k’iin (Azuara, 2009).

Azuara and Reyes (2011) use the example of letter writing to illustrate Yadira’s (7-year-old girl used as case study) hybrid literacy practices. The authors contend that “children contest, adapt, and redefine practices from the varying contexts in which they interact” (p. 188). Yadira got involved in letter writing, which was not a common activity in the household but an activity performed to thank donors who sent the children school materials. She was observed in several

occasions using the letter format, learned from both her mother and at school, and while she wrote in Spanish, she orally explained the letter in Maya to her sibling. Yadira was, thus, translanguaging (García & Beardsmore, 2009) as she tried to make sense of the written text in Spanish and as she used oral Maya to explain how she made sense of it. This study highlights the socialization processes that this specific Indigenous group goes through when they are learning to negotiate their two languages in a context where Spanish, the dominant language, has taken more and more space in the home of Yucatecan Mayas.

Regarding Vygotsky's zone of proximal development, Moll (2001) affirms that "Vygotsky may have intended the concept not only as an instructional heuristic, or to highlight the importance of social dynamics in assessment but also to emphasize the significance of meaning in the cultural mediation of thinking" (p. 8). Children, in the role of experts or learners, were constantly trying to make meaning out of the conversations that they engaged, including their conversations with the siblings, peers, teachers, relatives, and researchers. For example, Yadira constantly code-switched between Spanish and Maya in order to construct meaning with and for her mother, siblings, and cousin (Azuara & Reyes, 2011). While Yadira wrote a letter in Spanish, she orally explained it to her mother in Maya. Dyson (2004) contends that "learning social roles, cultural values, and power relations is an integral aspect of learning language, oral or written" (p. 156). As Yadira was translanguaging (García & Beardsmore, 2009), she showed her mother the different structures of letter writing, and also learned from her mother how to proceed in the task, thus engaging in different social roles.

Freire (1970) states that "reading the word and reading the world are, at a deep level, integrally connected – indeed, at a deep level, they are one and the same process" (cited in Gee, 2004, p. 121). The way in which young students, at the age of two and three years old, express

their understandings of reading words is intrinsically related to what they bring from their own worlds. Not only adults but also children are engaged in different “cultural models” (Gee, 2004, p. 125); also, the production of children’s social identity differs according to what their surrounding community, family, and teachers show to them (Harro, 2000). As Gee (2004) states, “Cultural models come out of, and, in turn, inform the social practices in which people in a discourse engage” (p.125). Indeed, the social backgrounds in which children are situated also contribute to what they want to learn about and also read. In the case of the different Indigenous children’s case studies cited here, there was great variance in the way that children were expected to act, but in essence, some of these children also lived by similar beliefs. For example, in the Cochiti Pueblo, children were immersed in different learning experiences (Romero-Little, 2004). Halliday (1994) states that children learn language through the “doing” of language, such as by talking, listening, reading, and writing and that they “learn language through language, referring to language in the construction of reality: how we use language to build up a picture of the world in which we live” (p. 13). Children in the Cochiti Pueblo (Romero-Little, 2004) engaged both in learning language through the doing of language (Halliday, 1994), for example, as the young girls learned from their mother how to make bread, and also in learning language through language (Halliday, 1994), as they observed different rituals and ceremonies. These different processes socialized Indigenous Pueblo children into their worldviews and ways of life and help us understand how these children are gradually making sense of the world around them. They further inform us of the role of socialization practices through and with language in the development of bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural Indigenous children.

## **The Brazilian Context**

It is important to contextualize this section within the literature review. This dissertation involves the lives of young Myba Guarani Indigenous children, both within the bilingual school context and their lives around the reservation, and as such, the history behind Indigenous children socialization theories in Brazil should be highlighted. The idea of a child as a producer of knowledge is part of the sociocultural lens applied to analyze the data resulting from this research, as will be seen in the most recent studies in Indigenous children's socialization practices in Brazil. The preoccupation with the child as a social agent is a fairly new concept in the Brazilian research context. Because little was found on the field of bilingualism and biliteracy for Indigenous children in Brazil, this study focuses on learning from and with the children's socialization practices from the anthropological and Indigenous ethnological perspectives taken in the studies reported here. Also, it reinforces the importance of conducting this study in bringing new perspectives to the field of Indigenous children's socialization processes in Brazil.

This section explores theory regarding Indigenous children's socialization processes in Brazil. Métraux and Dreyfus-Roche (1958) and Mellati (1976) comment on childhood in Brazilian Indigenous societies with greater emphasis on the issue that concerns the construction of the body between these populations, and even though socialization is not the focus, it is present in their work. Egon Schaden (1945) writes about education in Brazilian Indigenous societies and emphasizes that these societies convey teachings and values to their children through features that involve magic. He also admits that learning occurs through imitation; however, an innovative aspect of his work is the fact that the non-repressive nature of this

process of teaching and learning is something that stimulates children's autonomy and is not disordered due to inherent lack of authority attributed as characteristic of these populations.

Florestan Fernandes' (1946) study of urban Indigenous children in the city of São Paulo is a milestone in recognizing children as important agents of their own socialization and as relevant sources of information through their own representations of reality in which they operate. This approach, however, was only appropriated again in the late 90s, when there was an upsurge of research on childhood development both nationally and internationally. There was a new perception of the child's world as a separate universe, which is full of meanings and not a mere imitation of the adult world and lives. Children started to be recognized as a minority group, in opposition to their historical view in a hierarchical society as less than adults.

The work of Seeger, Da Matta, and Viveiros de Castro (1979) has been exemplary in regards to the employment of native categories in their analysis, such as the recognition of different notions and constructions of the person between the Indigenous societies. As it turns out, the research above contributes to a view of children as active beings, who possess significant knowledge, unlike traditional approaches to socialization where children were taken as mere passive receptacles of a culture that was little by little inculcated through the care of more capable peers until they became adults, whole beings. The first works concerning Brazilian Indigenous children naturalizes some dichotomies, such as the existence of a strict separation between processes of formal and informal learning. The earlier analyses also express an idea of unilateral and vertical socialization. Aside from some pioneering work (Fernandes, 1946; Mellati & Mellati, 1944; Métraux & Dreyfus-Roche, 1958; Schaden, 1945) dedicated to the education and care of Indigenous children, Indigenous children seldom appear in research studies until the late 1900s in Brazil.

There is a recent increase in the research in the fields of anthropology of the child, Indigenous ethnology, and anthropology of education in Brazil. In these interrelated fields, studies (Codonho, 2007; Cohn, 2000a; Marqui, 2012; Mello, 2006; Nunes, 1997; Oliveira, 2004; Pereira, 2004c; Sobrinho, 2010; Tassinari, 2001b, 2007, 2011; Vasconcelos, 2011) comprise research on various themes, and they will be briefly described in the next paragraphs.

Cohn's (2000a) dissertation talked about the understanding of childhood and learning among Xikrin Indigenous children. Cohn focused on various parts of the child's development, such as the place of the child within that society; the role of gender in different activities; the relationship between the child and **pia'am** – does it represent shame, respect or social distance; punishment; child and death; and adoption. Cohn placed the child as a competent being able to navigate different worlds to make sense of his or her socialization practices. While Cohn did not specifically use the word “biculturalism,” throughout her dissertation she used multiple examples of Xikrin children's socialization practices to demonstrate how the children were becoming bicultural.

Oliveira (2004) observed Guarani children's participation in the “tradition valorization” process in the M'Biguaçu reservation in Santa Catarina. By studying the daily lives of these children, the author realized that they were at the center of a controlled contact policy with non-Indians through their participation in school activities, in the **opy** (praying house), and in the children's choir.

According to Mello (2006), the concept of Guarani childhood differs radically from the Western view of childhood that considers children as “beings in training.” For the Guarani, there is the recognition of the autonomy of the child, which must be respected. Furthermore, the notion of production of knowledge from the children is also present in the dissertation of Camila

Codonho (2007). Her research documented the Galibi-Marworno Indians from the north of the state of Amapá, describing the childhood, cosmology, and the horizontal transmission of knowledge among Galibi-Marworno Indigenous children. Codonho used theories from anthropology of the child and Indigenous ethnology to analyze her data. In this way, issues as social organization, ethnic knowledge, time, space, and body sensations were highlighted to demonstrate this rich knowledge, which was transmitted inside the groups of children in order to show how important they were to maintain their social and cultural systems.

The Kaiowá and Guarani groups, although occupying different spaces in the south region of Mato Grosso do Sul, have a strong cultural identity linked to their lands (Pereira, 2004c). The living environments present in these lands are understood as all the landscapes, resources, and social relationships involving people, families, and groups of families in the course of social life. These current living environments are ever present in the socialization contexts of the Kaiowá and Guarani children, and they influence in many different ways how these children are socialized. Depending on the different living environments, children are socialized either through traditional socialization practices or through adapted forms of socialization. The ever changing status of the Tekoá Marangatu, as will be seen, has changed in many ways how their children get socialized, and as such become acculturated into new living environments.

The voices of children are also explored in a study by Sobrinho (2010). The intent of Sobrinho's work is to establish, from the words of Sateré-Mawé children, the crossing between the knowledge experienced by them in their daily Indigenous community and the knowledge established by the regular school. Sobrinho highlights the (mis)match that emerged in the research process and that configures the distinction between the places for Indigenous cultures, which were absent in schools, and the school logic that determines the existence of a knowledge

hierarchy in which the patterns of urban social life should be followed as the current hegemonic model.

The role of student or apprentice traditionally attributed to Indigenous children is in many works challenged by a pioneer researcher from Brazil, Antonella Tassinari (2001b, 2007, 2011). According to Tassinari (2011), there are five recurring aspects of Indigenous childhood in Brazil according to various studies:

1) The recognition of the autonomy of the child and his or her judgment: Children learn much more than adults teach them, by their ability to process everything around them: the said and the unsaid, the explicit and the veiled, the known and the unknown.

2) The recognition of children's different skills compared to the adults: Leave the children to observe everything is part of a native pedagogy. In other words, children know everything because they see everything.

3) Education as the production of healthy bodies: These people associate the teaching of moral and ethical values to the production of healthy and beautiful bodies by eating proper foods and the practice of body techniques. The concern for education seems to be more directed to preparing the bodies for learning and showing how to do certain things rather than talking about them. The indigenous notion of education, therefore, not only addresses the transmission of ideas, knowledge, skills, and values, but also recognizes that what is known is "embedded" and takes a seat in the body, and the body should be properly prepared to receive knowledge.

4) The child's role as a mediator of various cosmic entities: This reinforces what has been previously said about "incorporated" education – the effort to educate the child equals that of making her a "person" with a healthy and adequate human body.

5) The role of the child as a mediator of various social groups: There are also contact situations with non-Indians, in that Indigenous children occupy an important mediating position. Children seem to have much more ease than adults in trading with non-Indians and impressing them with aspects of their cultures.

In another study, Tassinari & Cohn (2009) developed the idea that only when we transcend the school experience that marked our childhood, can we approach more appropriately the context of Indigenous children. The idea of “freedom” which is so emphasized in the literature on Indigenous children was explored. This freedom was always associated with that freedom allowed in the gaps of the school environment (and usually in a negative connotation). Instead, Tassinari and Cohn tried to emphasize a point that some associated with freedom given to children in the Indigenous societies: the responsibility for their actions and their consequences.

The teaching and learning process and the pedagogical practices of Mbya Guarani children in Nova Jacundá in the southeast of Pará was the focus of Marqui’s (2012) dissertation. The author explored what it is to become an Indigenous student. In her research, Marqui studied the child as a social actor who is an active producer of culture. The school was seen as a place where the child became a student, thus a place that generated meaning for their world. Marqui was able to capture the importance of movement and mobility in how children perceived the world around them. Due to the recent advent of the reservation, the Indigenous school and the fourth-grade teacher were still struggling with producing a differentiated classroom for the students. Marqui found that there was a mismatch between the school’s pedagogical practices and the Guarani processes of teaching and learning, which Tassinari (2001b) calls *espaços de fronteira* (border spaces). Marqui suggested that the teacher, Simone,

should focus on observing the Guaranis' ways of transmitting knowledge and apply them to the classroom instead of complaining about the shortage of materials and pedagogical resources. Marqui also questioned the importance of including children's interests in the school curricula since Guarani children were used to seeing (**oexa**), listening (**endu**), and doing (**japo**) language and literacy through many of their daily practices. The children's identity as students was built as they became students, just as the identity of the school was built as it became Indigenous. This research speaks directly to my study, as my findings reflected the ways in which the children developed as emergent bicultural individuals. With this notion of a child as the agent of knowledge production, I turn to describing more in-depth how the children in my study developed as bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural individuals.

### **Summary**

This chapter was divided in three parts: I first reviewed definitions and uses of bilingualism and biliteracy to lay the foundation for the second part. Secondly, I reviewed and presented case studies where socialization practices were at the core of the emergent bilingual and biliterate practices and explained the immediate day-to-day practices young children, families and teachers were involved. Finally, the last part reviewed specifically the research on Indigenous children's socialization processes in Brazil, informing us further of the need to continue research on the field. The next chapter is comprised of this study's methodology, where I used ethnographic tools to collect data and then followed with an analysis of specific domains to analyze the data. I also describe in depth the participants and bilingual school context for this study, and explain how I used narrative inquiry to analyze and reflect on my observations and findings.

## CHAPTER 4: METHODS

The purpose of this study is to document and analyze the pedagogical practices used by and with Mbya Guarani children in the Tekoá Marangatu Indigenous reservation in Imaruí, Brazil. It is aimed, more specifically, at exploring the role of young Indigenous children's socialization processes in the development of bilingualism, biliteracy, or biculturalism within the school environment and how the bilingual school supports or hinders the development of the Guarani language. The research process used two types of qualitative research methodology: ethnographic participant observation (Heath & Street, 2008; Seidman, 1998) to gather data both in a first-grade and a third-grade classroom in the bilingual school, and narrative inquiry (Schaafsma & Vinz, 2011) for the in-depth analysis of data gathered.

Qualitative research is by nature contextually based. In the ethnography of communication, we study language acquisition and how particular ways of speaking are developed in particular societies in the process of social interaction. The task of ethnography, thus, is seen as the discovery and explication of the rules for contextually appropriate behavior in a community or group—in other words, what the individual needs to know to be a functional member of the community (Saville-Troike, 2003). The main approach I used in this study was ethnography (Heath & Street, 2008) followed by narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry, according to Caine, Huber and Steeves (2013), “embodies potential for shaping extraordinary pedagogy in education” (p. 213). The authors see narrative inquiry as a way to portray life in classrooms, schools and beyond, grounding their philosophy on the premise that it is education that lives at the core of narrative inquiry “and not merely the telling of stories” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1998, p. 246). Clandinin and Connelly (1998) state that

We see living an educated life as an ongoing process. People's lives are composed over time: biographies or life stories are lived and told, retold and relived. For us, education is interwoven with living and with the possibility of retelling our life stories. As we think about our own lives and the lives of teachers and children with whom we engage, we see possibilities for growth and change. As we learn to tell, to listen and to respond to teachers' and children's stories, we imagine significant educational consequences for children and teachers in schools and for faculty members in universities through more mutual relations between schools and universities. No one, and no institution, would leave this imagined future unchanged. (as cited in Caine, Huber & Steeves, 2013, p. 2013).

This approach to talking about the data is very important to my study, as it helps me remake the living context of the classroom and bilingual school in order to analyze how the children were making sense of the world around them.

### **Research Questions**

1. How do young Guarani children integrate family and community socialization practices into the school setting?
  - 1.1. What is the role of adults (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) and peers in influencing or assisting the children in the process of becoming bilingual, biliterate or bicultural in the school setting?
  - 1.2. What are the literacy events Guarani children engage in at school?
2. In what ways does the bilingual school influence these young Indigenous children's bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural development?

In this chapter, I describe the methodology used in my research and divide this discussion into three segments: the research context, which includes both setting and participants; data collection methods, including my positionality and tribal approval; and finally, the procedures and categories used for data analysis. In order to understand the Guarani *modo de ser*<sup>14</sup> [way of being] and their long-term struggle for survival in the midst of Brazilian context and its educational system, I situated the context of the Tekoá Marangatu in Chapter 2, and in Chapter 4, I offer a concise description of the bilingual school where data was collected.

### **Research Context: The School and Community Contexts**

My research data was collected on an Indigenous reservation, the Tekoá Marangatu, located in Riacho Ana Matias, Imaruí, a very small town in the southern part of Brazil (Figure 4.1). There, about 51 Indigenous children who studied in a bilingual Guarani-Portuguese school, named *Escola Indígena de Ensino Fundamental Tekoá Marangatu (E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu)*, which is coordinated by the *Gerência de Educação da Secretaria de Estado do Desenvolvimento Regional de Laguna*, learned how to become bicultural citizens of their community. (The school can be seen in Figure 4.2). Visitors to this rural school ride by car or by school bus for about 20 minutes on a very dusty and twisting dirt road bordered by green fields. Because I did not own a car, most days I caught a ride to the school bus stop at the highway and from there commuted with teachers from both the *E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu* and the other local school that served the general population of that region. The school bus picked us up every morning at 7:15am and we did not get back to the bridge until 5:30pm. Sometimes, I was able to catch a ride with one of the staff members of the school, either by car or by motorcycle. The view was stunning, but the

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<sup>14</sup> As a reminder, throughout this dissertation, the Portuguese and Guarani languages will be used in order to give a voice to the Tekoá Marangatu Indigenous group where the data was collected. To distinguish between the two languages, Portuguese words will be italicized while Guarani words will be represented in bold type. Proper nouns will be excluded from this practice.

dust and the potholes made the trip arduous, a commute that the Indigenous people of this group are used to making.



*Figure 4.1.* Location of the reservation in the state of Santa Catarina.



*Figure 4.2.* View of the bilingual school from the soccer/ P.E. field.

Surrounding the Indigenous community are many farmers, who grow mostly rice but also tobacco, potatoes, and other vegetables. Most of the surrounding communities are part of the white, low-income population in addition to the middle-class farmers. All of the reservation is united by dirt roads, trails, and bridges, and its about 77 acres of land. The main characteristic of this *aldeia* [community/ reservation] is that it supports a bilingual school for children from five years old to 17 years old and also an adult education program. According to De Sousa (2010), the school employed eight teachers in 2010 (two Guarani teachers, the other local Brazilians), one principal, and one janitor (who was also Guarani). In my observations, I found that the school employed six non-Indigenous teachers for elementary and middle school classes, five bilingual monitors, two non-Indigenous staff, and seven Indigenous (Guarani) staff. These other non-Indian teachers were from several small towns surrounding the city of Imaruí. De Sousa also explained how the community uses the school as a tool to become more informed about the “mainstream” way of living, to learn how to read and write (mostly in Portuguese). However, in de Sousa’s perspective, the community also believed that their traditional education was an additional way to teach the children through oral stories, songs, fables, and myriad cultural practices. Their culture, thus, was central in their approach to educating their children. Even though most of the teachers were non-Indian, they have the students’ interest at heart and try to bring in the Indigenous culture through intertextuality in the activities they performed daily.

Under the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional* [Law of Directives and Bases of National Education], from December 20, 1996, the school was guaranteed access to bilingual education and any resources to ensure that children learn the national language, Portuguese, but that they also develop and use their maternal language, Guarani, in the school context. The *E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu* provides weekly Guarani language classes that last 45 minutes and

take place from first through fifth grade (once a week). Until 2013, these classes were also taught from sixth through eighth grade, but a review by the government assessed that these classes were not needed in the upper grades, thus the school changed its curriculum to fit the new law.

Besides the language classes, Guarani can be naturally spoken in any environment within or outside of the classroom context. Each of the elementary classrooms has one bilingual monitor who supports the non-Indigenous teacher in delivering the content from the national curriculum (which includes subjects such as Portuguese, math, geography, history, and science). The bilingual monitor is also responsible for teaching the Guarani language class, and he is a Guarani individual who resides locally. None of these monitors (currently there are five) have an undergraduate degree or specialization course. All of the monitors graduated from the bilingual school and due to their grades and aptitude with the native language, they were chosen by a community committee to be monitors at the bilingual school (Bruno is the monitor for first grade and Fabiano is the monitor for third grade). There is also a Guarani language coordinator who oversees the work of the monitors. Besides the monitors and the coordinator, there are also other Indigenous community members who work at the school, one in the technology lab, two in the kitchen (kids are fed throughout the day at the school with funding from the government), one in the preschool classroom, one as the janitor, and one in the *Mais Educação* [More Education] classroom, a government funded initiative to provide extra curricular activities to the children. The *cacique* is also part of the administration of the school as he has the final word in everything that happens not only in the community context but also inside the school. The principal always has to abide by the *cacique*'s suggestions and that way the community organization runs more smoothly.

All teachers from the regular classrooms are from a white and low- or middle-income background. These non-Indigenous teachers are considered outsiders to the community even though some of them have been working at the school for more than eight years. Each elementary classroom has one teacher for all subjects (Which are taught by teacher Jéssica in the first and third grades) in addition to an arts teacher, Mariana, and a P.E. teacher, Sara. In middle school, teachers teach several subjects; for instance, the math teacher also teaches science, history and geography, and the Portuguese teacher also teaches P.E. Because of lack of funding, they have to resort to the same teachers for different subjects. Their role in the classroom is to deliver the content from the national curriculum, which has been adapted to fit the needs of the children at the school. Some of the strategies they use in order to adapt the content are getting to know the community and their funds of knowledge by developing relationships with parents, staff and extended family; putting together events which involves bringing in the whole community to the school space; performing routinely walks at the reservation with the children, for instance, during P.E.; or trying to learn specific words and sentences to include in their speech to facilitate classes for the children in the absence of bilingual monitors or even when they are present. Some of the non-Indigenous teachers, like teacher Sara who teaches P.E., have been at the school for many years and have been able to develop strong relationships with many community members, and Sara shares her knowledge about the Guarani ways of being and Guarani language knowledge with other non-Indigenous in almost any occasion she finds fit. The bilingual school also includes a principal and a secretary, who are mother and son. Their work is strictly administrative and they are also from a white, middle-income background.

The school is located in the heart of the community; most community members come by throughout the day, and even the children do not leave for home until the end of the day. Classes

are held in three periods (each period lasts four hours): a) in the morning, third, fourth, sixth and eighth grades; b) in the afternoon, first, second, fifth, and seventh grades; and c) at night, high school and adult education. Thus, children come and go to the school to get food and to play around with children from other grades, making their routine different from what it used to be for their parents when they did not have a school in the community.

A large waterfall also runs across the reservation, and the water is used for both survival and recreational purposes. As far as recreation, when it is too hot for children to go to the soccer field for P.E., they go swimming at the waterfall instead. Every grade can do that, from first through eighth grades. Also, the P.E. teacher uses the reservation as a walking field, so children go for walks during P.E. This way of approaching class was established by the Indigenous committee, as they did not endorse regular P.E. classes at all times in the community. The community has strong ties to nature through their use of natural resources, such as the waterfall, for their daily activities. However, the non-Indigenous world has entered the reservation in different ways, through schooling and the internet. This non-Indigenous world is referenced in Chapter 2, where I describe the cosmology, values, and religion of the Guarani people. Also, it is important to notice that other researchers (Wyman, McCarty, & Nicholas, 2013) have used the term “non-Indigenous world,” many times referring to non-Indigenous people as outsiders. These interconnected aspects of the Guarani way of being and living will be reflected in the discussion of findings.

### **Participants**

The participants for this study were pre-determined by my placement in first and third grades (which will be explained in my positionality in the next section). First grade was comprised of nine students, one boy and eight girls, and they met in the afternoons. Their names

were Sabrina, Santa, Sielen, Melissa, Juliana, Janaina, Fernanda, Virginia, and Bernardo. Third grade was comprised of six students, three boys and three girls, and they met in the mornings. Their names were Gabriel, Ricardo, Mateus, Anita, Gabriela, and Kayane. Although my initial focus was to observe children in the earlier grades, I ended up observing children from six to 10 years old. These first years of schooling are in a sense children's first years of socialization into the schooling structure and to the formal learning of the Portuguese language, thus contributing to viewing them as emergent bilingual and biliterate children.

All fifteen children were the focal participants. I observed how these young children also interacted with the peers around them in order to make meaning of the world, children from other ages and adults were also part of my sample. Most of the children I observed in these grades had siblings studying in other classrooms at the school. The adult participants were the non-Indigenous teachers: Jéssica (Portuguese, math, science, religion, history, and geography); Mariana (arts); Sara (P.E.); and Valnélia (patient care technician). Also, Indigenous community member participants were: Fabiano (bilingual monitor for third grade); Bruno (bilingual monitor for first grade); Floriano (*cacique*); Seu Mário (shaman); Tarcísio (Guarani language coordinator); Seu Augusto (former *cacique*); Dona Ana (shaman's wife); Dona Francisca (cook and mother of two first graders); and Patricia (cook and mother of a first grader). Adults from the reservation also circled around the school almost daily, which made it easier to recruit the children from the classroom and get consent for their participation. This circulation of adults is characteristic of the mobility present in many Guarani communities; they mainly checked in with the *cacique*, or on their children, or just mingled around and talked with other community members. There was a total of 13 adult participants who were part of my study.

**Recruitment methods and consenting process.** I accessed the target population—selected focal children, their immediate and extended family members, and the larger population of community and school members who play significant role in their lives—by performing observations at the school and the community sites. Recruitment of participants was done in conjunction with the bilingual language coordinator due to his insider perspective of the community members and his bilingual ability to speak to parents. The principal also granted permission for the PI to access documents, classrooms, and participants necessary to conduct this study.

### **Data Collection Methods**

In sociolinguistics research, qualitative information, which informs ethnography of communication, should become an important prerequisite for sampling, data collection, and interpretation (Saville-Troike, 2003). Qualitative research is by nature contextually based. In the ethnography of communication, we study language acquisition and how particular ways of speaking are developed in particular societies in the process of social interaction. The task of ethnography, thus, is seen as the discovery and explication of the rules for contextually appropriate behavior in a community or group—in other words, what the individual needs to know to be a functional member of the community (Saville-Troike, 2003). The main approach I used in this study was ethnography (Heath & Street, 2008) followed by narrative inquiry.

According to Heath (1982), these are some of the essential functions of ethnography of education, which I used as part of my methodology:

- Describe the ways of living of a social group.
- Describe the overt, manifest, and explicit behaviors and values and tangible items of culture through participant observation.

- Identify specific cultural patterns and structural regularities within the processes of both continuity and change.
- Obtain holistic comparative studies of communities and schools as part of communities.

As a participant observer, the researcher is the instrument (Heath & Street, 2008).

What is really happening here in the field site I have chosen? This question asks us not just for a description of events and actions that people create, react to, assess, and learn but also for history and explanations informed by and leading to theories. (p. 31)

As I observed the routine practices of both first and third grades at the *E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu*, I became a participant in their daily activities. The more I learned about the children, the more I knew I had to keep observing.

**Positionality and tribal approval.** I entered the *aldeia* as the “outsider” (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000). Other researchers (Anthony-Stevens, 2013; Azuara, 2009) have struggled with this position; however, what makes this study unique is its focus on the socialization practices of these Indigenous children as valid forms of literacy. As mentioned previously, the Guarani people have been suffering for many years at the hands of European immigrants who have colonized Brazil and whose language, Portuguese, is the dominant language spoken through the country. The Guarani’s stories of struggle describe how this specific Indigenous group had to be resettled because the government wanted their rich lands. The Guarani are explicitly not open to people who want to learn their ways. I started this study with the Guarani’s attitude towards outsiders fully in mind. I used listening and observing as my main ethnographic instruments, and I learned from the *cacique* to listen before I spoke. I built a stronger relationship with the group because I spent three months observing at the bilingual school before collecting any data. During this time, I was able to immerse myself in a much deeper way in understanding the way

the reservation worked. I call this period “becoming a researcher.” Another important aspect of my positionality is that I am a native Portuguese speaker, which is the dominant language in Brazil and widely spoken at the reservation. Although I could communicate with many community members, I was still using ‘the other’ (Tassinari, 2011) language. One interesting aspect though was my skin color, as I blended into the community very well due to my dark brown skin. The children approached me easily and were comfortable with me, and many visitors thought I was indeed a member of the community.

It is also important to highlight one of the limitations of this study. My position as an outsider was one of them, and in particular the fact that I did not speak their language, Guarani, to understand their day to day conversations. Therefore, some of these rich examples of language and literacy practices were not documented as fully as I could have if I were bilingual in Guarani. The perspective I had to take then to analyze the data was through the eyes of a local Indigenous person who translated the audios and videos in Guarani for me. I contend that much more could have been gathered if I had been able to understand everything that happened in the classroom and as part of the dynamics in children’s interactions. In addition, the parents would have been more welcoming, and I could have observed these practices within the home context. However, even though I see the language barrier as a limitation, I was still able to capture many important language and literacy practices that support my conclusions of how these children become bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural individuals in their Indigenous community because the data was gathered and translated along with native bilingual speakers of the community.

Beyond understanding how this community works, it is also important to understand why I decided to learn about the Guarani. This Indigenous community is located just an hour north of my hometown in Brazil. For some time, I researched materials related to the field of

bilingualism and biliteracy in early childhood as it related to Indigenous communities in South America, but there was a lack of research in the field. Through a university professor, whom I knew for many years, I learned about the community and how they supported a bilingual Guarani-Portuguese school. I started connecting with the community in July 2013, by talking to teacher Eduardo, who passed away in October 2014 at only 30 years of age. He was one of the leaders of the community, the **kuaray** [sol or sun], and was highly involved with anything that related to the education of his people. When I first talked to him, he immediately asked his brother, the *cacique*, permission so I could collect data at their bilingual school. However, when I went back to the reservation in July 2014, my connection became more difficult because Eduardo had lost his status as a community member. Still, Eduardo contacted the *cacique* again and scheduled a meeting with him and the school principal. Eduardo's death in October 2014, period during which I was on site collecting data, was extremely saddening for the community and it involved understanding the cosmology and way of thinking of the Guarani people.

At this first meeting, I sat with Mr. Floriano da Silva, the *cacique*, and with Mrs. Eleana Silveira, the school principal. I took with me a consent form that I had drafted to help them understand the purpose of my research. The school principal, a white, middle-class woman, was an outsider to the community and had been working at the school for a few years. As I had foreseen, the *cacique* was very quiet and observed a lot of what I said. After explaining that I wanted to observe how the young kids learned their languages and how they learned to be part of two communities, the *cacique* decided I should observe both first and third grades, observing the teacher, Jéssica. Third grade met in the mornings while first grade met in the afternoons. Each of the classrooms also contained a bilingual monitor, who functioned as a bridge between the

two languages, Guarani and Portuguese. Thus, my observation context was decided by the *cacique* and the bilingual monitors since they determined the days I could observe at the school.

After obtaining the teachers' permission, I spent six months at the school, observing in each classroom three to four days per week (three months of only observations and three months of in-depth data collection). I collected data as a participant observer both in a first-grade classroom and a third-grade classroom. While I was there to conduct my study, I also participated actively in the classroom community by helping children to do their tasks and listening to the stories that they had to share. Because the biliterate and bilingual development of these children was very dynamic, I documented the children's everyday routines and practices across a variety of settings (e.g. classroom, P.E. classes, recess, etc). I wrote descriptive fieldnotes, photographed the children's activities, and collected audio and video samples of activities both inside and outside the classroom.

**Selecting the data sources.** The data collection focused on capturing the literacy practices developed by these children both inside and outside the classroom context. My data included:

1. Fieldnotes: I took detailed fieldnotes of each school visit. I visited each classroom three to four times a week over a period of three months. During each visit, I wrote down as much as I could about the literacy events and socialization practices in which children spoke both the Portuguese and Guarani languages. Next to each entry, I wrote down the time in the recorder to triangulate with the later transcription. At the end of the day I also asked the lead teacher if there was anything she had observed and wrote her ideas down to cross analyze with my notes.

2. Audio and video recordings: In order to triangulate the data collected, I made audio and video recordings of literacy events both inside and outside of the classroom setting. The recorder was usually placed on a desk where I sat everyday. Sometimes one of the children asked to “keep” the recorder and thus it was placed on one of their desks. Because I wanted to observe children in their natural behavior, I tried not to ask children to perform any specific tasks, but on some occasions it became inevitable such as when the P.E. teacher invited children to tell stories. Occasionally the children also wanted to “speak to the recorder” in order to tell stories or just to listen to their voice. I collected 36 audio recordings in the first grade and 41 audio recordings in the third grade. I also collected 25 video recordings.
3. Pictures of literacy events and socialization practices: According to Saville-Troike (2003), physical objects can aid in adding questions. Whenever possible, I took pictures of children’s interactions with text, peers, and the different environments in which these events occurred. I also took pictures of children’s literacy practices, such as writing and art work. These artifacts were usually kept by the children, so I was not supposed to document them beyond taking pictures.
4. Informal interviews: I also aided my observations by performing five informal, audio-recorded interviews. By interviewing the former *cacique* and the current *cacique*, I learned about the history of the community and the language ideologies that permeate their day-to-day lives. By interviewing the coordinator of the Guarani language classes and one of the bilingual monitors, who were also fathers of children in the bilingual school, I learned how they elaborated instruction in the Guarani language and also about their language beliefs as parents. By interviewing the lead teacher I observed, I learned

about her views on language and literacy and how she adapted the classroom for the Indigenous children. For all of these interviews, I had a basic set of questions; however, the conversations took different directions depending on the participants' experiences. These interviews are used throughout the dissertation to highlight the Indigenous view of children versus what I observed firsthand in the classroom and out in the community.

### **Data Analysis**

Sorting out as many connections of language and culture as possible across recurring and definable situations constitutes the ethnographer's job ... Ethnographers face perhaps their greatest challenge as they try to understand how cultural patterns support, deny, and change structures and uses of languages and multimodal literacies. (Heath & Street, 2008, p. 6)

Through the lens of sociocultural theory, this project envisioned understanding data yielded from the Tekoá Marangatu children's interactions both within and outside of the classroom context. The analysis consisted of several stages of review of multiple sources of data, beginning during data collection and transcription in order to include the Indigenous group's leaders (in this case the *cacique* and the teachers of the children involved) in reference checks during the analysis process. These reference checks happened in the form of informal interviews, where I checked my first observations of the children by asking key informants what it meant to be a child in that community. All interview transcriptions were transcribed verbatim (Seidman, 1998). These transcriptions are used both in the findings and discussion chapters to support my findings.

In order to analyze the data, I used Heath's (1982) notion of 'literacy events,' which is defined by the different ways children use language while they negotiate and construct meaning

through writing and the socialization practices of this specific Indigenous community, which includes their *modo de ser*, their local identity, and cultural practices. I analyzed the data following previous empirical studies on Indigenous and immigrant children's emergent literacies (Azulara, 2009; Reyes & Azulara, 2008) by focusing on specific domains where language was at the center of interactions, and I used narrative inquiry (Schaafsma & Vinz, 2011) as a method to describe how these domains played out at the school and community contexts. I used narrative inquiry as a way of humanizing my participants as part of a dynamic community. Freire (1970) asks why we go to school. He contends that schooling implies the liberation of an individual from the dominant forces; in this case, the Guarani people already pursued their own teachings but they opted to participate in a traditional schooling format in order to become part of the dominant society and to introduce their own socialization and literacy practices that came from home and community contexts into the school classroom, turning their children into capable and competent beings of both societies. I approached my data by telling the story of how the children introduced and shared their funds of knowledge (González et al., 2005) and literacy practices within the classroom context. Before that discussion, I first turn to an explanation of how I organized my data.

**Organizing the data.** The first step of organizing the data was making an inventory of fieldnotes, audio and video-recordings, and photographs of artifacts and literacy events. I collected a total of 150 pages of fieldnotes written in Portuguese, my native language. These fieldnotes were translated into English and code names were chosen for the participants. I made a list of topics that emerged from a preliminary analysis of the fieldnotes.

Next, I collected a total of 36 audio recordings in the first grade and 41 audio recordings in the third grade. These audio recordings were mostly recordings of the interactions within the

classroom context, which included the lead teacher, the bilingual monitors, and the children from both first and third grades. Due to the amount of voice recorded, specific passages from the audios in Portuguese were transcribed by me and specific passages from the audios in Guarani were transcribed by a native Guarani speaker. I also collected 25 video recordings, which underwent the same transcription process as the audios. These videos were collected within the classroom and also outside of the classroom, while children played at P.E. or during extracurricular activities. I purposefully translated specific excerpts into English to include in this dissertation. Where I saw fit, I used the original language from the video or audio recording – either Portuguese or Guarani – to give voice to the speaker in the event. I went back to the list of topics from the fieldnotes, and I added topics to it.

There are five audio recordings of informal interviews conducted with the former *cacique*, the current *cacique*, the bilingual language coordinator, one of the bilingual monitors, and the lead teacher. I transcribed these conversations since they were done in Portuguese. I also collected photos of literacy events and socialization practices, which matched the topics listed in the chart from the fieldnotes, audios, and videos.

**Reading the data for common themes.** Because I observed in two different classrooms, I first organized the data from the fieldnotes, audio and video recording transcriptions, and photographs into topics. I then analyzed the data collected from the different settings at another level, following procedures in previous studies (Azura, 2009; Reyes & Azura, 2008; Reyes, Alexandra, & Azura, 2007; Teale, 1986), where I organized the topics from the fieldnotes, audio and video recording transcriptions, and photographs by using open coding to find common themes in the realm of the children's bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural development and their socialization processes as they made sense of the world. Afterward, from the themed

transcriptions I selected specific literacy events and socialization practices to compose larger domain clusters (Azuara, 2009; Reyes & Azuara, 2008). A description for each of the domains can be seen below (Table 4.1).

*Table 4.1.* Domains of data analysis

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Description</b>
Daily Living Routines	Practices that are part of the socialization process of Indigenous children in the specific group; e.g., doing chores at home (cooking, washing clothes).
Values	Practices that are part of the cultural values, cosmology, and religion of Guarani people; e.g., respect as a main value for the community.
Non-Traditional Forms of Literacy	Literacy practices that involve more than the traditional view of literacy as reading and writing, e.g., dance, art, or games.
Content Teaching through Formal or Informal Instruction	Teaching of language and literacy through direct instruction in all content areas (Portuguese, history, science, geography, and math) and the Guarani language class.
Storying	Practices involving the telling of stories, either through reading aloud by the teacher or the children or by oral storytelling.
Peer Activities	Practices that involved a peer relationship, e.g., modeling by older/younger peers (peer guided), copying from peers, or adult/child interactions.
Translanguaging	Practices where children or adults used multiple modes of literacy to express their language abilities; e.g., word codeswitching (by non-Indigenous lead teacher or by bilingual monitor); pointing to words at the blackboard as they (children) copy in the notebook; or literal translation between Guarani and Portuguese by children.

These domains are composed of literacy events and socialization practices that highlight how language was used for different purposes by the participants in that instance. The seven domains I identified are the following: daily living routines, values, non-traditional forms of literacy, content teaching through formal/informal instruction, storying, peer activities, and translanguaging. In Appendix A, I identified each of the domains and gave examples of topics

and subtopics embedded in each. For the purpose of this study, only the domains from Tables 1, 2, 3, 6, and 7 were used in the description of findings.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the functions of language and literacy in how children are socialized to become bilingual, biliterate, and or bicultural individuals, I looked at each literacy event and socialization practice according to who initiated the interaction as well as what the individual role of the participant (s) was in that activity. Finally, I analyzed the language(s) used in relation to the participants, function, and context (see Appendix B for categories).

In summary, my purpose in this study was to examine what children can teach us, particularly how peer relationships influence (or not) the development of bilingual and biliterate young Indigenous children in the Tekoá Marangatu, Brazil and how the bilingual school supports or hinders this development for the Indigenous children. After coding the data for the specific domains, I provide a narrative of the major findings in chapter 5. I described my main findings, which are organized according to the different examples of socialization practices and literacy events, highlighted through examples of Guarani Indigenous children's practices, the role of translanguaging, and the role of peer relationships in the socialization processes of these children as they become bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural.

Through the use of narrative inquiry (Schaafsma & Vinz, 2011), I demonstrate how the role of translanguaging (García and Beardsmore, 2009) and the role that peers (Gillanders & Jiménez; 2004; Halliday, 2004; Moll, 2001) took in the socialization processes of these children are some of the important findings of this study. These children are part of a transforming reservation where the internet has changed in many ways the way of living of these Guarani individuals. I show how these children were able to shine in their respective classrooms even

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<sup>15</sup> While content teaching through formal or informal instruction (Table 4) and storying (Table 5) were visible findings, I discussed the data from looking at more hybrid forms of literacy with Portuguese and Guarani, and thus these domains did not fit my description because they represent more formal practices.

though the regular curriculum many times did not give them a chance to show their natural ability with their first language, Guarani. Formal literacy practices in the school setting were an important part of this study, but there were also many literacy events and socialization practices outside the school context that highlighted the broader definition of literacy as a social construct.

In chapter 6, I address the research questions by discussing how the children in this study were active participants of their bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural development as they navigated different contexts on and off the reservation. By also interviewing key members of the school, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, I was able to understand more in-depth the importance of maintaining these children's cultural heritage at the same time that they learned their native language. These adult participants were also active members of these children's learning development as they acted in the children's zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky used the term "zone of proximal development" to describe the "distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). In many instances the children in this study resorted to more capable peers to understand the worlds and contexts in which they lived. As they interacted with each other and with adults, children translanguaged across these multiple contexts as they brought their funds of knowledge (González et al., 2005) into the school setting. The role of the bilingual monitors in these children's language and literacy development is also of extreme importance as the monitors are the sole holders of the knowledge on the Guarani language and culture within the school context.

## Summary

In this chapter I provided the steps I took as a researcher in the methodology to collect data through ethnography as a participant observer and to analyze the data through narrating the bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural development of young Guarani children at Tekoá Marangatu. The classroom stories in addition to children's practices outside the school offer an account of the *modo de ser* [way of being] of the Guarani people and illuminate the role of peers and language in the lives of these young children. Being immersed in their routines has permitted me as the researcher "to come to understand the details of a people's experience from their point of view ... and gain a deeper appreciation on the amazing intricacies and, yet, coherence of people's experiences" (Seidman, 1998, p. 103). The next chapter is the description of my findings. The chapter describes the Indigenous socialization practices and literacy events I observed at the Tekoá Marangatu community. First, I explain the Indigenous socialization practices: Daily living routines, Indigenous ways of being or *modos de ser*, traditional Guarani and traditional non-Guarani forms of dance, and games and play. Second, I illustrate specific literacy events the children performed alone or in the presence of peers: Games and play in formal settings, pretend play and use of books, holistic ways of developing literacy, and writing. Last, I describe the role of translanguaging through knowledge of Guarani language and culture, code-switching, and language facilitation in the classrooms by both the non-Indigenous teacher and the bilingual monitors.

## CHAPTER 5: INDIGENOUS SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES AND LITERACY EVENTS

Stories lend us myriad ways to understand how children become bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural individuals in various societies. To demonstrate this process, this chapter is structured to give the reader parts and vignettes of the data collected during several months at the *Escola Indígena de Ensino Fundamental Tekoá Marangatu*. I highlighted specific passages to focus on emergent literacy events that showed patterns of language and literacy development in the socialization processes of the young Indigenous Mbya Guarani children at that reservation. Thus, I present a broader picture and dynamics of what I saw, experienced, and learned with the Indigenous community.

In this chapter, I adapt sociocultural theoretical lenses to explore the (bi)lingual, (bi)literate, or (bi)cultural experiences of the first- and third-grade children I observed. According to Vygotsky, researchers should relate bilingualism to concrete situations while studying children's development by taking into account the whole aggregate of social factors (e.g., personality, context) that influence the development of bilingualism. For Vygotsky, "Being bilingual must be studied in all its breadth and in all its depth as it affects the whole mental development of the child's personality taken as a whole" (as cited in Rieber, 1997, p. 259). While it is broadly accepted that literacy development starts before schooling in literate societies (Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1979; Y. Goodman, 1986, 1996; Haste, Woodward, & Burke, 1984; Teale & Sulzby, 1986; Tolchinsky, 2003), the assertion is still fragmented and limited in relation to young emergent bilingual Indigenous children, as we still know little about how literacy develops for this specific group of children (Dworin & Moll, 2006).

As described in chapter 3, as a social construct, literacy is shaped by the social context in which it is embedded (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, 2000; Street, 1997). My study is informed by studies of the socialization practices of various Indigenous peoples in Latin and South America (De la Piedra, 2006; De Souza, 2010; Luykx, 1989; Norbert, 2010; Tassinari, 2001b, 2007, 2011; Testa, 2008). The different roles that schooling and peers (children and adults alike) can play in the young Indigenous children's lives highlight the dynamic endeavor that compose the language and literacy development of the children in this study.

Researchers have analyzed the bilingual development of children from different angles. Bilingualism should be seen as a dynamic process, in which the person speaking two languages should be viewed as one individual using two evolving linguistic and cultural systems rather than as a monolingual speaker of two languages (Reyes, 2012). By using this dynamic view, we oppose the pervasive deficit view of bilingualism (García & Beardsmore, 2009; Grosjean, 2010; Luykx, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978). Meanwhile, the role of peers (either adults or children) in the development of bilingualism should not be underestimated. Parents' beliefs and practices regarding bilingualism are one of the factors that affect bilingualism in young children. Educators also play a great role in this development according to the support they give to children's multiple languages in the classroom (Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004; Halliday, 2004; Moll, 2001). Lastly, the use to which children put their languages is another important factor in the development of bilingualism. When a child translanguages, she is putting into practice various metalinguistic and metacognitive skills, which are very different from the ones that monolingual children possess (García & Beardsmore, 2009; Norbert, 2010). This body of literature shows that for children from any ethnic/economic/sociocultural background, literacy knowledge is mediated through their experiences in their home environment.

In this chapter, thus, I document the different literacy events (Heath, 1982) and the socialization practices that compose the (bi)lingual, (bi)literate, or (bi)cultural development of the young Indigenous children at Tekoá Marangatu. Many times, these two distinct concepts mesh in the lives of these children as they learn to be competent individuals of their evolving society. This process is very fluid and open to interpretation at many levels, and through my lenses as an emerging scholar in the fields of bilingualism and biliteracy for young Indigenous children, I describe the socialization processes and the bi(lingual), (bi)literate, and (bi)cultural development of the Indigenous children at Tekoá Marangatu.

### **Indigenous Socialization Practices**

In order to understand how the socialization practices performed in this Indigenous community affect the development of bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism in young Indigenous children, we need to understand how a true Guarani sees a child as part of an evolving system that is the Tekoá Marangatu reservation. I start this narrative with an excerpt of a conversation I had with *cacique* Floriano, where I prompted him to talk about his role within the community and with the children, how he sees the role of the child within and outside of school, and how the role of children has been changing throughout the years. I offer first his account in Portuguese, as it also portrays his struggle with mastering the mainstream language, and then I offer an English translation of the same excerpt.

*É que o papel do Cacique é cuidar de todas da comunidade, da aldeia. Quando a gente precisar alguma coisa lá de fora, como da educação, da saúde, da terra, é o cacique que tem que correr atrás. [...] Com as criança, o que as vezes eu faço é reunião pras crianças, pra... como é que as crianças deve viver aqui na aldeia pra não dar problema, essas coisa. Como por exemplo, a gente sempre consegue pra que as criança estudem*

*direitinho na escola, pra não fazer bagunça, pra obedecer os professores e também, a gente fala muito também sobre bebida alcóolica, pra que as criança não consumir essa bebida. Esse é o que falo sempre com as crianças, eu, os mais velhos também. [...] É... antigamente os pais falavam pras crianças pra, que antigamente não tinha escola, né?! [...] Era só casa de reza e assim de dia, o dia a dia das criança era ajudar os pais, capinar, trabalhar no redor de casa, a limpar, limpa a casa, lavar roupas. Mas assim, não é pesado, mas sempre fazia isso ajudando os pais. É... depois disso tem hora de brincar também, brinca fazendo armadilha, assim, brincando pra aprender a brinca assim, né?! E, e final da tarde, antigamente, to falando de antigamente, no final da tarde, eles levavam na casa de reza pra dançar a dança do **Xondaro**, a dança do guerreiro. [...] É, a gente dançava com crianças, né?! E brincava também peteca, que é nosso esporte guarani. [...] Mas atualmente, é, as crianças já estudam na escola e depois da aula eles brincam bola, pega-pega. [...] E também no verão eles brincam muito na água, no rio. Esse é o dia do, o dia a dia deles agora. [...] As vezes tem umas crianças que sempre vai também na casa de reza, mas não é todos né?! E tem uns que participa bastante, ele usa o cachimbo, dentro da casa de reza, final da tarde ou a noite, comecinho da noite. [...] É que antigamente a gente vivia mais tranquilo, porque não tinha ninguém pra incomodar a gente. A gente tava na nossa aldeia, não tinha fronteira pra nós. A gente vivia aqui, depois queria mudar, muda e tinha bastante terra. Mas agora é mais difícil assim pra nós. A gente passa mais dificuldade. Parece melhor, mas passamos mais dificuldade, bastante dificuldade. Agora a nossa vantagem é a escola, é a gente, as nossas criança pode estudar bastante pra que ajuda a gente, a aldeia, a comunidade. Essa é a nossa esperança agora, né?!*

It is the role of the chief to take care of all the community, of the village. When we need something from outside, such as education, health, land, it is the chief who has to look for it. [...] With the child, what I do sometimes is meeting with the kids, to ... how the children should live here in the village by not giving problems, these things. For example, we always tell to the child to study in school, not to fool around, to obey teachers and also, we talk about alcohol use and the child does not consume this drink. This is what I always discuss with the children, I, older people too. [...] It is ... before, the parents would speak to the children because we had no school, right?! [...] It was only the prayer house and so during the day, the day-to-day of a child was to help parents, weeding, working around the house, cleaning, cleaning the house, washing clothes. But so it was not hard, but always helping parents. It is ... after that they had time to play too, making traps, like playing to learn how to play like that, right?! And, late in the afternoon, before, like talking about the old days, in the late afternoon, they would take the children to the prayer house to dance the dance of *Xondaro*, the warrior dance. [...] Yes, we danced with children, right?! Also playing *peteca* (shuttlecock), which is our Guarani sport. [...] Yes, that. But today is, children now learn in school and after school they play ball, catch-up. [...] And also in the summer they play much in the water in the river. This is the day, the day-to-day of them now. [...] Sometimes there are some children who will also always be in the prayer house, but it is not all of them, right?! [...] And the ones who participate a lot, they use the pipe, inside the prayer house, late afternoon or evening, in the very beginning of the night. [...] In previous times, we lived more quietly because there was nobody to bother us. We were in our village; there was no border for us. We lived here, then wanted to change, changed and had enough land. But now it is more difficult for us

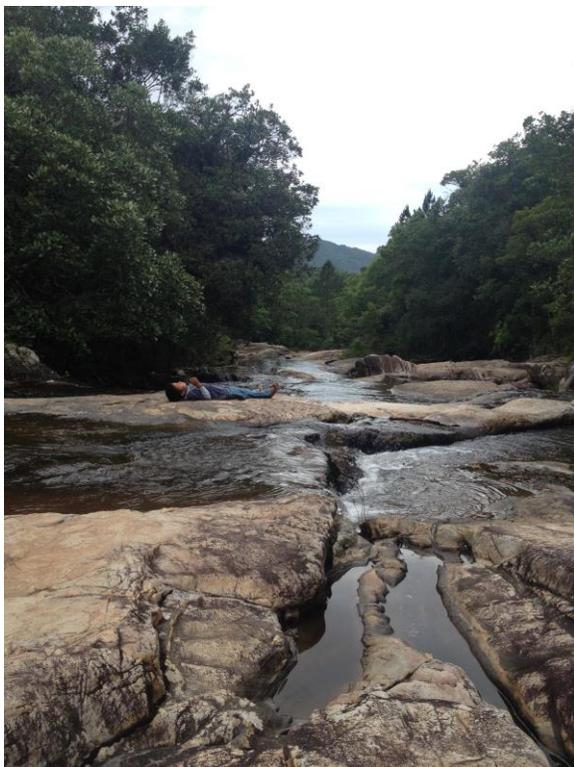
as well. We have more difficulty. It looks better, but we have more difficulty, very difficult. Now our advantage is the school, it is us; our children can study enough to help us, the village, and the community. This is our hope now, right?! (Floriano da Silva, personal communication, December 2, 2014)

This passage highlights many of the socialization practices that I will describe in this narrative, yet it also highlights how an adult sees the world of a child in this Guarani reservation. These socialization practices are divided in different subsections in my study in order to highlight the importance of analyzing each of them as unique parts of a rich community. However, even though these practices are divided into subsections, they are also part of an understanding of the Guarani *modo de ser* as a whole and they permeate each other in the examples shown below.

**Daily living routines.** I previously described the remote status of the reservation with its narrow and dirt roads, but also its beneficial location in the middle of a national forest. The waterfall that runs through the heart of the reservation has served for many years as a source of life and entertainment. In Figure 5.1, the waterfall is visible from the top, where the children and adults gather many times for eating, washing their clothes, getting water for the houses, or playing. Here, Bernardo, a first-grader, rests after a walk during the P.E. class.<sup>16</sup> In Figure 5.2, one sees a shallower part of the waterfall, where a mother washes clothes while her son, about two years of age, helps her.

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<sup>16</sup> P.E. in Brazil resembles the American P.E. in the sense that children play sports (individual or teams) as part of their physical activities twice a week for a period of 45 minutes. However, on the reservation, the class has been adapted to fit the *modo de ser* Guarani, and P.E., in addition to playing sports, includes traditional games (e.g. **toli-toli, mandio**), regular trips to the waterfall, and walks around the reservation. I use the term P.E., thus, in this adapted version of physical education to maintain its authenticity.



*Figure 5.1.* Bernardo at the waterfall; example of daily living routine.



*Figure 5.2.* Mother and son washing clothes; example of daily living routine.

These living routines greatly influenced how children socialized at the school setting. For instance, I documented through video an event of Fernanda and Virginia, two first-graders, twisting Fernanda's pants in the bathroom (Figure 5.3). We had gone to P.E. at the *pontinha* and as we arrived, Bernardo threw Fernanda in the water (still fully clothed). The *pontinha* is one of the shallower parts of the waterfall, where the younger children go to play (with or without adult supervision) almost daily during the hot days on the reservation. It is normal for children to strip almost naked to get in the water, and my presence never deterred them, even though I was an outsider. Children are used to stripping almost naked when swimming since clothing was introduced to Indigenous peoples in Brazil and is not part of Indigenous culture. Fernanda got out of the water, hung her pants on a tree, and kept playing as a normal activity out in nature.

When we arrived back to the school, the girls went to dress in the bathroom, and I noticed that Fernanda and Virginia were taking too long to come back to the classroom.



*Figure 5.3.* Daily living routine; washing clothes as a socialization practice

The girls were twisting Fernanda's pants, which were soaked wet, following the practices of other women on the reservation. Children, especially girls, are to help at home by washing clothes, among other activities. The teaching and learning of this process happened early in life, either from their mother, grandmother, or older siblings. I asked Fernanda and Virginia who taught them to do that, and they said *mamãe* (mother) and then **iuaijá** (mad). Later, showing the video to monitor Rafael, Virginia's dad, he told me that the girls said they needed to help so their mom would not be mad. They followed the expectations of fulfilling the roles adults have for these young children through their play. Rafael acted as a translator since the girls were speaking to each other in Guarani during the exchange and would only use Portuguese when

answering my questions. Teacher Jéssica also highlighted that she had seen Bernardo and Virginia, siblings, washing clothes outside the house, in a bucket with water brought from the waterfall. Figure 5.2 (above) also shows another younger child helping in the task. It was very enlightening to watch the dynamic between the boy and the mother. The boy took his pants off and started hitting them against the rocks to get the water out.<sup>17</sup> These different activities and the activities described in Appendix A (Table 1) performed both at home and at school are interconnected. They show how young children can internalize what is valued by their families and transpose that to a different context, the school setting. These examples of a daily living routine extend beyond the community borders because they involve children from a very young age learning from more capable peers how to care for their families.

**Indigenous ways of being or *modos de ser*.** As mentioned in Chapter 2, these Indigenous ways of being are characteristic to each Indigenous group, and the ones reported here pertain to the Tekoá Marangatu group. Sometimes they are tangible, but many times these ways of being are hard to define since they encompass many aspects of the Guarani culture, such as beliefs and cosmology. Respect was the main value shared by *cacique* Floriano in the opening excerpt of this chapter. Respect, in turn, is not always learned in an objective fashion in the school context (as will be seen in the following section). For instance, Anita and Gabriela were disturbing the third grade class, and Seu Mário (the shaman on the reservation) came to visit the classroom to give them a lesson, which was delivered in Guarani. When Seu Mário spoke, he did not direct his lecture to the children who were disturbing the class but to all children present in the classroom. He mentioned that **Nhanderu** [their God] was watching them, that they should respect the teachers, and that they should study to be someone in life.

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<sup>17</sup> It is important to know though, that after a certain age, boys are not to help in these types of chores anymore. The task of tending for the house and the family becomes the duty of girls while boys start to hunt or fish as their main activities.

Teacher Jéssica reported that it was very common for Seu Mário to come to class to talk to children because the elders see the school as a way for the children to become someone in life. For example, the non-Indigenous teachers had meetings every two months, called *conselho de classe*, regarding the academic development of the children. Teacher Jéssica emphasized that Dona Ana and Seu Mário were part of that meeting as members of a community committee. Seu Mário was the shaman for the reservation and Dona Ana holds status as his wife. On a particular week during a day that I was not at the school, they had the meeting for both first and third grades, and the children also participated in the meeting. Teacher Jéssica explained that Seu Mário gave lots of advice to the children, again using Guarani as his language of choice. When I asked Ricardo, a third grader, what Seu Mário was talking about, Ricardo said that he told the children not to get mad at things, to respect the teachers, and to study a lot.

This Indigenous way of living permeated many of the activities in the school context. On another day in the first grade classroom, Melissa was throwing a tantrum because she did not want to do the activities. She was mad at something and transferred her anger onto her books, which ended up on the floor. Dona Francisca was the only elder at school, and she tried to make Melissa raise her head from the desk, but that did not work. Dona Francisca went to call Seu Mário to come but he was downtown, so Dona Ana came in and Melissa got scared because Dona Ana was her grandma and Melissa thinks she is **iuaijá** (mad). Her position as an elder showed how the children respect the teaching of their own people, and even though Melissa moved quickly into doing the activity, Dona Ana stayed in the classroom to make sure everyone behaved.

Children's understanding of respect as a value is also important in describing their socialization practices. As one example, I had gone outside to talk to Valnéia and to observe

what people were doing around the community, and I left my recorder in the classroom. Teacher Jéssica reported that she said to Bernardo she was going to call *papai* (daddy) because he was misbehaving in class and did not want to do the activity. Virginia (Bernardo's sister) spoke up and tried to divert the attention by saying that Santa (another child from first grade; the daughter of Eduardo, the teacher who introduced me to the school) did not have a dad (her dad had passed away a few weeks before). Sabrina was really mad at Virginia for saying that, and she went off talking about it in Guarani. She really meant that Virginia had to respect Santa's feelings. It amazed me to see how such a subtle action by Virginia provoked Sabrina to apply all her knowledge of respect as it had been taught to her since she was born. Not only in this case, but in other instances, Sabrina and other children voiced or described their understandings of respect as a community value by bringing it into the classroom context.

How the young Indigenous children learned the difference between genders in their culture is also relevant. During a staff meeting concerned with preparing for a Christmas<sup>18</sup> celebration, all adult staff at the school, besides Dona Francisca, who was feeding the children in the kitchen, were in the *cacique's* room. Meanwhile in the kitchen Fernanda and Virginia were fighting, and Fernanda threw Virginia, who is two years younger than she and much smaller, onto the floor. The boys who witnessed the event decided to punish Fernanda for beating a younger girl, and once the adults found out what was happening, there was a lot of comotion. Monitor Bruno was extremely mad, speaking Guarani out loud, which was not his normal, calm character. One of the boys in the fight was his son, together with other boys from the second grade. Dona Francisca was also mad at the boys and scolded them for beating up a girl. Monitor Bruno was mad because he always helped during recess in the kitchen; however, because he was

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<sup>18</sup> Although Christmas is a non-Guarani celebration, as part of a bicultural community influenced by the school curriculum, the community celebrates the holiday with slight variations.

at the meeting, he failed to fulfill his duty (it is important to highlight that he did not agree with the celebration they were planning). Bruno took his son home in the middle of class, and I am not sure what happened. Sabrina, a first grader just like the other girls, was repeating the story in the classroom over and over, highlighting how even though Fernanda was wrong for hurting her younger peer, the boys had no business disrespecting Fernanda and beating her. Sabrina's perspective on respect demonstrates how children are socialized to this community value from birth. Sabrina's view of respect was also illustrated in a previous example when her friend's dad passed away, and Sabrina's use of oral stories manifests the importance of this value in her community.

Sometimes these ways of being and living were translated into more tangible cultural expressions. These practices are common knowledge to children, as are other practices such as the manipulation of sharp objects or the ability to use their hands. Children take part in the production of handcrafts, such as wooden animals, bows and arrows, or jewelry, which are sold as part of the income for some of the families on the reservation. This competence of manipulation of sharp objects, such as knives, was translated into the classroom through the activity of sharpening their pencils. Both children from first and third grades, and as I heard from other grades as well, sharpened their pencils over and over during class time. This activity resembled the work they did with handcrafts, but it was also a part of their socialization practices within the classroom.

Children loved to sharpen their pencils, and they could use up a pencil in two days. In first grade, monitor Bruno let the children sharpen their pencils on their own, but teacher Jéssica did not follow that practice. She compared the sharpener made of a razor in the classroom to the art that children have done since they were little by talking about their ability with both activities.

Adults served as role models in this activity, as in different instances I observed them producing handicrafts in one of the classrooms at the school. Some children also participated in the process, but many times they were more entertained by playing with the materials than helping their parents, such as in Figure 5.4. Figure 5.5 illustrates another activity done by the women on the reservation: making braids, yet another example of children producing with their hands and their ability to do that. These elements of Guarani culture made their way into many of the activities that the children performed inside and outside of the school setting. These elements inform us of the important role of socialization practices in the development of language and literacy for these Indigenous children, and they instruct us into thinking how these activities can be seen also as examples of literacy events.



*Figure 5.4.* Children play with bows and arrows in the corridor.



*Figure 5.5.* Children braid the researcher's hair during recess.

**Traditional Guarani and traditional non-Guarani forms of dance.** When observing the gendered play activities and other play-related activities that the children performed, I saw

the children navigating among the different worlds that they live in, the Guarani and the non-Guarani, mainstream society. For example, some traditional Brazilian celebrations were included as part of the curriculum, and the children learned about one of them, *São João*, by performing in class activities and out-of-class dance performances.

The school put together a celebration day for *São João*, which is a saint from the north of the country, and lots of people celebrate his life by dancing, eating traditional food, and gathering as communities throughout Brazil. On the reservation, they used the room, which was formerly the house of preschool, as the site for the dances and games. The whole community came down to watch the children dancing the *quadrilha*, which is a traditional non-Guarani group dance for the saint, and to eat hot dogs. I participated by helping with organizing the first- and third-grade dances, which resembled a very traditional Western choreography, while the older children mixed the traditional *São João* dance with Brazilian funk, which the elders did not understand much. However, such activities, like eating hot dogs and participating in traditional non-Guarani dances, are part of what being bicultural means in this group.

Traditional Guarani dancing, on the other hand, was performed by members of the Guarani community at the prayer house, as highlighted by *cacique* Floriano in the beginning of this chapter. Yet, sometimes the traditional dance group was invited to the school setting, such as when an outside school came to visit and learn about the Indigenous group. This school was from the city of Laguna and was the school I attended from elementary to high school. I knew three of the visiting children, one of the parents, and one of the teachers. One of the parents was the one who filmed the performance, which was structured to resemble the traditional dances done in the prayer house. The older children danced in a half circle while one of the adults

(male) played the guitar. They sang and stomped according to the rhythm of the song Tekoá Marangatu, which can be seen below.

**TEKOÁ MARANGATU, TEKOÁ MARANGATU**

**OREMA ROIKUAA VA'E KUE**

**PAVE'ÍN PEGUANRÃ, PAVE'ÍN PEGUANRÃ**

**YANKÃ TYRY PORÃ, YANKÃ TYRY PORÃ,**

**NHANDERU OIKUAA VA'E KUE**

**PAVE'IN PEGUANRÃ, PAVE'IN PEGUANRÃ**

**TEKOÁ MARANGATU, TEKOÁ MARANGATU** (Lyrics in the Guarani language)

WE DISCOVERED IT

FOR ALL OF US

RIVERS

NHANDERU LEFT

FOR ALL OF US

**TEKOÁ MARANGATU, TEKOÁ MARANGATU** (Bilingual monitor Fabiano, literal translation from Guarani into English)

The younger children from first grade stood on the wall, and they held hands and sang together and invited me to join them. The children were free to choose what they wanted to do, but what was striking was how much they resembled their role within the prayer house. In Chapter 2, I talked about how the children started to frequent the prayer house from a young age and usually were not part of the center activities, but they mingled in the corners and observed everything that was done. This day I was able to observe how this structure was imitated by the

children at the school setting: They did not join at the middle circle, but they still danced and stomped to the rhythm of the music as they stood against the wall.

This performance of a traditional dance was a socialization practice of this specific Indigenous group, and the children also in different instances sang the song during class activities. For example, children in the first grade were doing a math activity connected to folklore, in which they had to connect the dots for a drawing and then paint it. Sabrina started singing **Nhanderu mirim** and all the children followed her singing out loud. When children were doing a science activity painting the cycle of plants, they also sang the song out loud as a group, and teacher Jéssica recorded it. Dancing and singing were part of their socialization practices, and children were able to bring those activities into the school setting in various instances.

**Games and play.** The knowledge of gendered activities, mentioned previously, was also important during free play time outdoors. Usually after lunch (I had lunch with the non-Indigenous teachers every time I visited the school), I would sit outside of the school to observe what the children were doing in between classes. One day, I was sitting on the floor as children were playing outside. The children from first grade, Melissa, Juliana, Sabrina, and Santa were playing *mole/ duro*,<sup>19</sup> and they were only speaking in Guarani. Virginia, the youngest of all of the first-graders, stayed most of the time observing and sitting on my lap. Meanwhile, Fernanda and Janaina (sisters, first-graders) were following Kayane (a third-grader and older than them) everywhere. I asked what they were doing, and they said “Nothing,” but I knew from previous background that Kayane was starting to like boys and the girls were going towards the older group of boys. The boys were playing in two groups, one outside (younger) who sometimes

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<sup>19</sup> This is a game where there is one child who is the caller. She will yell out loud *mole*, which means children can move, or *duro*, which means that children have to stay as a statue. If any of them move, they are out of the game.

would participate in the first-graders' *mole/ duro* game and the other group (older) in the building next door, which is a round, wooden room that previously served as the preschool classroom but that now serves many purposes. There were also two teenaged girls hanging around on the bench outside of the room, and I asked them why they were not playing, to which they answered: “*Os meninos não gostam de meninas*” [the boys do not like girls].

This interaction showed the different ways that children were socialized in their Indigenous community. Younger children, up to around eight years of age, played with each other, while older children usually played separately according to their gender. Sometimes, younger siblings also followed older siblings when they were allowed. The language was also an important aspect of these interactions. The younger children primarily used Guarani, while the older children translanguaged between Guarani and Portuguese since a lot of their activities had to do with music and the internet. The internet was a new feature on the reservation and many of the teenagers had access to cell phones and downloaded videos of songs such as Brazilian funk. These teenagers listened to the music, learned the moves, and performed the dances for one another at the former pre-school room. The elders on the reservation complained that the internet is taking the children away from the traditional way of life. Most of the elders spoke with a sad tone when discussing the internet, which is different from the discourse of younger adults, who saw the school and the internet as ways to become competent bicultural citizens of the two worlds they live in—the reservation and the mainstream society.

During playtime in the classroom, the boys and girls from third grade were playing *vendinha*<sup>20</sup> [small market]. In this specific event, the role of gender was explicit because the boys performed a role of higher social status in the game. The boys were in a place of power as the managers of the store, which resembles their role as male within the Guarani community, as

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<sup>20</sup> *Vendinha* is what the community calls the little market located at the entrance of the reservation.

the ones who work outside of the home context. Also, this game shows their knowledge of activities which are not necessarily Guarani, and thus non-traditional in the Guarani sense.

Looking at games and play as a socialization practice has broadened my perspective of what children can do with language and literacy learning. For instance, Sabrina, Sielen, Melissa, Janaina, Juliana, Fernanda, Santa, and Virginia were playing at the end of the class outside the *postinho*<sup>21</sup> (Figure 5.6). **Toli-toli** is a game where children hold hands and sing a song until they “fall down.” The song goes: **Toli, toli, toli, quem mexeu, saiu** [Toli, toli, toli, the one who moves, gets out]. After they fall down, they have to freeze in a statue pose, and the first one who moves has to tag the other children until she tags everyone. The children were giving directions in Guarani to who should tag, while the bilingual monitor Bruno also directed them in the language.



Figure 5.6. Children playing a traditional game, **toli-toli**.

Meanwhile, teacher Jéssica and I talked in Portuguese as we watched Virginia, who had stopped playing and joined us, trying to fool the girls to move from their statue poses. There

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<sup>21</sup> *Postinho* is the small health center located right outside of the school. There is a large grass area in front of it where children play and adults talk and hang out during different times of the day.

were also four other instances where I watched children playing the traditional game, and most of them were related to the P.E. class, but also when teacher Jéssica felt that the children were not producing, she would take them outside like in the example above, and the children had free choice in what they could play.

Another example of a traditional Guarani game is **mandio**. The game consisted of children sitting in a line on the floor, while they hugged each other. The first child held onto a pole while the others held the waist of the child in front of them. Two children stayed out of the line; one was the caller and the other was the doorman. Children tried to sit further in front of the line so they would not get taken out first. Children also did not want to be the caller and got mad if they had that position. The dynamics in the game were very interesting since children learned from older peers how the game worked. The following exchange happened between the doorman and the caller:

*“Quem tá ai”* (who is there)? – Doorman

*“Sou eu”* (it’s me)! – caller

*“O que você quer”* (what do you want)? – Doorman

*“Eu quero uma fruta”* (I want a fruit)! – caller

*“Qual você quer”* (which one do you want)? – Doorman (Saying to the **mandio** game)

Then, the caller chooses a fruit. By this time, each child in line has received the name of a fruit from the doorman, and they are waiting for the caller to pick their names. When the caller gets the name of a fruit which is in line, she goes on taking the children out of the line until she reaches the child with that name. The intent for the caller is to have everyone removed from the line while the intent for the children in line is to stay in the game by not leaving the line. Sometimes the players choose colors instead of fruits. The rules and guidelines for the game are

shared orally with the children (since this is a traditional Guarani game), and they learn by playing it over and over again. I observed them playing this game in P.E. many times.

Another recreation was playing in the waterfall, one of the most common activities performed by the children on the reservation, no matter what age. Adults also gathered around the waterfall in many instances, although different age groups used it for different purposes. One day during P.E., the children from first grade played different games while at the *pontinha* [shallow part of the waterfall]: Mateus and Janaina pretended they were alligators and chased after the other children; Sabrina and Sielen submerged themselves holding their noses and showed me how they could do it; they did a swimming competition; they played catch-up; they washed themselves and their hair with a soap that was there. They wanted to show me everything they were doing, and children copied each other as they played along for almost an hour.

This type of activity was repeated at other times when we went there, so the children could cool down, as they jumped, dived, played tag, and so on. Playing at the waterfall is, thus, a socialization practice at the reservation. I also observed Janaina and Fernanda twisting their bikinis after they got out of the water in different instances, just as Fernanda had done previously in the school bathroom. Also, it was common for children from other grades to mix in the play, just as in the example where Mateus, from first grade, came to school outside of his school time and went with the first-graders to the *pontinha*, showing them how to play as alligators. Yet many of the younger children also started the play, like Virginia in Figure 5.7 below. She was practicing her jumps while Gabriel, a third-grader, observed her from a nearby tree. It is important to note that children used both languages, Guarani and Portuguese, while playing at the *pontinha*, thus contributing to their emergent bilingual development.



*Figure 5.7.* Children's play at the waterfall; example of a daily socialization process.

### Literacy events

**Games and play in formal settings.** Throughout the various activities I documented that there is no border between what children see as play and what they actually do as play. While sometimes we, as adults, tend to try to categorize all of the literacy and language practices that children do, they simply go along with their lives learning how to make meaning of the world around them. For instance, children in the third grade had a routine play activity called *vendinha* [small market]. In this particular game, children imitated the little store market located on the reservation by using the little resources they had in class to set up shop. The language uses were also of great value, as they resorted to both oral Portuguese and Guarani to perform each one of their roles.

As can be seen in Figure 5.8, children on that day had an intricate set-up for their playtime. The third-graders were at the reading corner, and one can see Gabriel and Ricardo on the far right side acting as customer service people, and Mateus (with his back to the camera) had

a computer while Gabriela and Anita were buying things from the little store. They had books, ripped sheets of papers, fake money, a recording notebook, cut-out letters, and a book as a computer. The cut-out letters were part of a game that teacher Jéssica had played with the children in the Portuguese grammar class, where children had to find letters to make up words. These cut-out letters later served as choice for pretend play at different levels as will be seen in the examples shown here.



*Figure 5.8. Vendinha as a form of play and a literacy event.*

This type of play was also observed on other days, such as when Ricardo and Mateus were playing *vendinha* and had books as computers. They also used other books to copy information to the computer. The children started to negotiate by separating the fake money, and Mateus said, “You can come in,” pretending the other child was a customer. They also had a credit card (pretend), which Ricardo ran for Anita to buy the “book” (which was probably

another product but it was not my part to stop their play to ask). The boys were the salesmen, while Anita and Gabriela were customers, as in the example before. In addition to these examples, other examples of games and play in formal settings can be seen in Appendix A (Table 4).

**Pretend play and use of books.** Another important task that is part of the early socialization and learning process of these children is cooking. During a literacy event, Janaina and Fernanda were pretend cooking in the classroom during free time (Figure 5.9). They had a wood stove where they made fire by fanning it with a book, and they had some boxes with cut-out letters which was pretend food (rice, beans, pasta). Janaina also propped a book<sup>22</sup> against the wall, so it looked as if the girls were reading recipes. The use of a book also shows how they turned a socialization practice into a literacy event by pretend reading of their recipes from random pages. The girls made one type of food at a time, and when I asked them how they made the fire, Janaina showed me by rapidly moving the book she had in hand back and forth to make the fire stronger.

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<sup>22</sup> Most of the books found in the classroom context were Portuguese literary books. There were also books translated from English versions (e.g., *The Giving Tree*) and textbooks passed down from other years (e.g., math workbooks, science textbooks).



*Figure 5.9.* Cooking as daily living routine.

The girls also served food to their classmates who were playing in the reading corner. I asked Janaina and Fernanda how they knew how to cook, and they said they helped at their house. I was impressed with Janaina's ability to make the fire. Teacher Jéssica said that their mother was never home, and so they helped their grandmother a lot with the chores around the house. Janaina took a little "flask" with a drink and Sabrina and Bernardo pretended they were drinking it. In addition to the example highlighted here, in Appendix A, Tables 4 and 5 document other uses of books.

**Holistic ways of developing literacy.** Beyond children-initiated pretend play, the teacher also used cooking as a form of literacy in the classroom. In third grade during the Portuguese grammar class, the children learned about making a chocolate cake as part of a Brazilian folklore unit. The teacher wrote the recipe on the blackboard, and while the children

were copying it, teacher Jéssica talked about how Ricardo liked to cook. She saw him buying *canjica* (popular Brazilian dish) at the *vendinha* [small market]. I asked Ricardo what he liked to cook most and he said “Meat.” We then walked over to the kitchen to make a cake together, and the children were all eager to participate. They ran accross the hall and piled up around the table waiting their turn to put an ingredient in. Mateus kept singing throughout the activity, recalling a popular cooking song for any child in Brazil, not only for Indigenous children:

*Borboletinha*

*Tá na cozinha*

*Fazendo chocolate*

*Para a madrinha*

*O tico-tico, perna de pau*

*Olho de vidro*

*Nariz de pica-pau, pau pau*<sup>23</sup>

In the kitchen, Patricia (who is the mother of a first-grader) was preparing lunch, and she helped us locate the ingredients we needed. She mainly spoke Guarani, so Ricardo translated as we told her the ingredients in Portuguese. After mixing all of the ingredients, we put the cake in the oven and went back to the classroom to continue the lesson. During the chocolate cake cooking class, the children did an activity: Exploring the recipe, where they had to draw the ingredients needed to make the cake. Mateus drew a pot with the ingredients being mixed in it, and teacher Jéssica said his interpretation was wrong. She expected the children to draw each single ingredient separately, leaving little space for imagination. Mateus was upset and did not redo the activity. He started asking when they were going to eat the cake, and teacher Jéssica

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<sup>23</sup> This song is very popular all over Brazil, and even I sang it during my childhood. It translates as “Butterfly, is in the kitchen, making chocolate, to her godmother, the *tico-tico* (type of bird), wood-legged, glass-eyed, woodpecker nose, *pau pau* (it is an alliteration to rhyme with the previous sentence).

started talking about being patient. The lesson evolved into one of the biggest values represented in that community: Respect. The teacher brought the cake into the classroom and cut it into pieces. Each child was to respect each other's piece and only eat what was allocated to him or her. This lesson involved many aspects of literacy and language development because it cut across different contexts and disciplines.

The value, respect, was also observed in various interactions both in the first- and third-grade classrooms. In another class,<sup>24</sup> teacher Jéssica talked with the **kiringué** about what respect meant at school by asking open-ended questions, such as “What do you think respect means?” **Kiringué** is the word for children in Guarani. The teacher used the word most of the time when lecturing or calling the children's attention. Children responded to the teacher's prompting in different ways, such as do not push while in line, share the food, study, but most of them reflected on what other adults had told them about being respectful. They had a blank canvas to do four drawings on what respect meant to them, as the teacher connected the Indigenous value to literacy and language development through drawing. Santa's drawing (Figure 5.10) represented her understanding of respect. While in the previous example, Mateus was punished for having an open interpretation of the recipe drawing, in this case, Santa was free to choose what she wanted to represent as respect, as a value, which had multiple interpretations in the community.

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<sup>24</sup> The religion class is mandated by the Brazilian government in all elementary classrooms. The teacher has the freedom to choose what to teach, but basic values have to be taught as part of the curriculum.



*Figure 5.10.* Respect as a form of community value.

Teacher Jéssica used drawing in her class for many content-related activities, and sometimes she had a narrow vision, such as when she told Mateus to redo his drawing of the chocolate cake ingredients to fit her expectations, but other times she opened the class to broader views, such as when she took the children outside to draw plants in their natural environment.

Another example involving drawing happened when the teacher taught the children about the cycle of plants, and then we went outside so the children could look at plants and draw them (Figures 5.11 and 5.12). The figures show that beyond working independently, children also used each other as sources of knowledge. The girls preferred drawing flowers while the boys had multiple examples. Ricardo was sitting down on a stone the whole time we were out, focused. Gabriel drew a variety of plants, as seen in Figure 5.13.



*Figure 5.11.* Drawing plants in natural context.



*Figure 5.12.* Drawing individually and in group.

After the outdoor activity, children painted the drawings in a teacher-led activity that portrayed drawing as a form of literacy. In another instance, teacher Jéssica told the children that they were going to draw about the medium of communication to celebrate Children's Day, which happens on October 12 in Brazil. Children drew their favorite T.V. show, and while all the girls drew Woodpecker, Bernardo did the Fish and the Mermaid. Children had to both draw and paint in this teacher-initiated activity, as seen in Janaina's work in Figure 5.14.

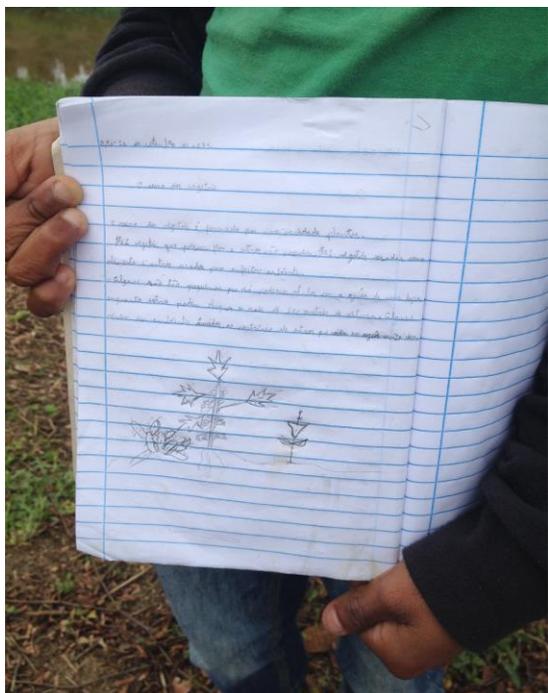


Figure 5.13. Gabriel's drawings of plants.



Figure 5.14. Janaina's drawing of favorite TV show.

Another example of children's understanding of play is seen in Figure 5.15, where Ricardo's drawing from Children's Day portrayed his favorite games (hide-and-seek with Mateus, Gabriel, and Kayane, and Ricardo reading on the bottom). In addition, throughout my visits to the first-grade classroom, the children drew some common themes in the back of my notebook. Once in a while they would come in, sit next to me, and draw if they were done with their activities or if they just wanted to do something other than the activity the teacher gave them. I usually asked them what they drew once they were done. Melissa and Sabrina drew water-related images, as seen in Figures 5.16 and 5.17.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The words written on the image are mine. As I listened to the children telling me their stories, I wrote them down both in Guarani and Portuguese.

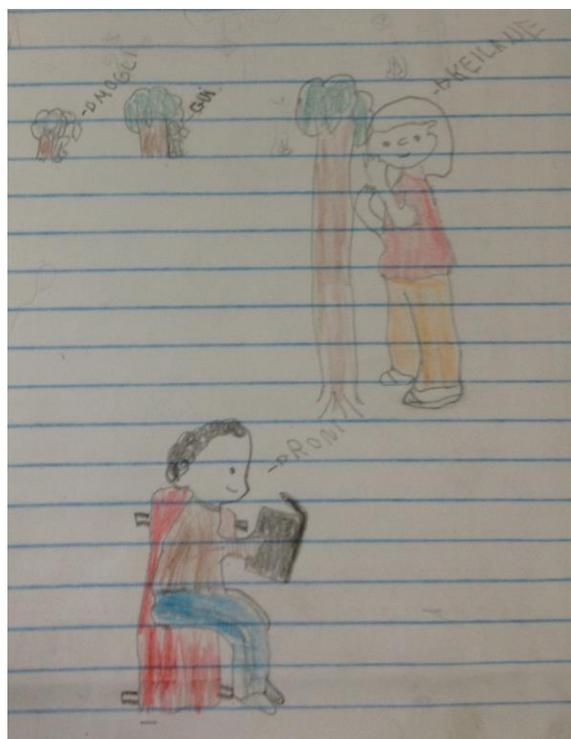


Figure 5.15. Ricardo's drawing of favorite games.

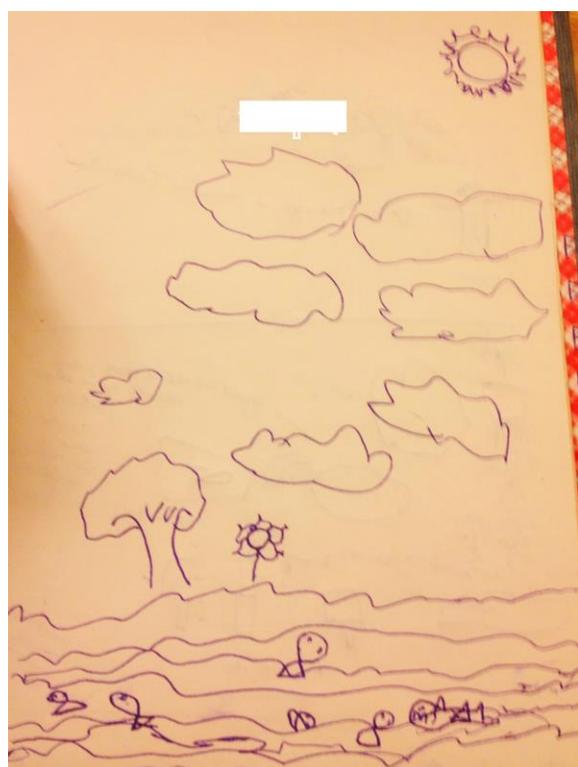


Figure 5.16. Melissa's portrait of her daily life in the reservation.

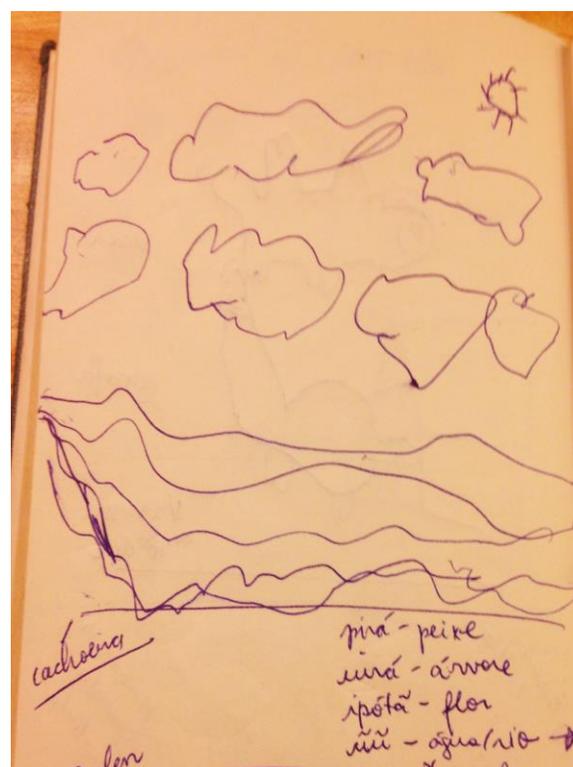


Figure 5.17. Sabrina's portrait of her view of the reservation.

Sabrina used the syllabic system (Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1979) to teach me the word **kuaraã** = sun and some of the other words I wrote down below the drawing. Bernardo drew two different times someone being rescued by a helicopter; from what I understood, he saw this event in a movie. These two instances were situated far apart in my observations (one happened in early October and the other in December), which shows the intensity with which he internalized the story (Figures 5.18 and 5.19).

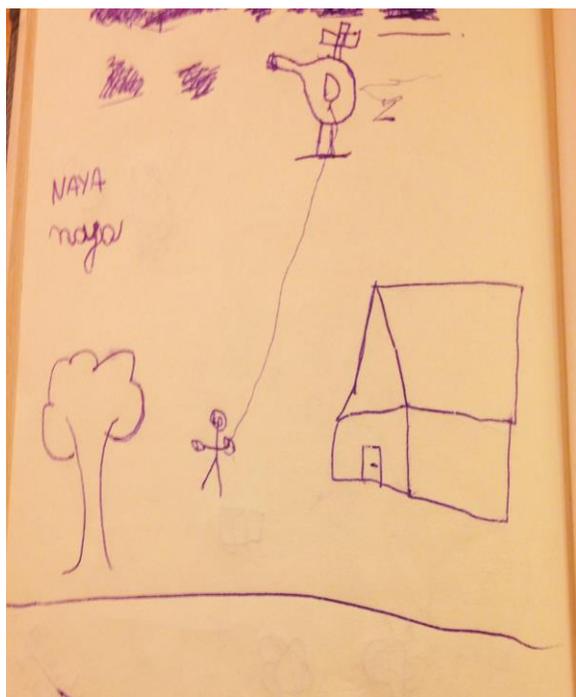


Figure 5.18. Bernardo's free drawings; October.

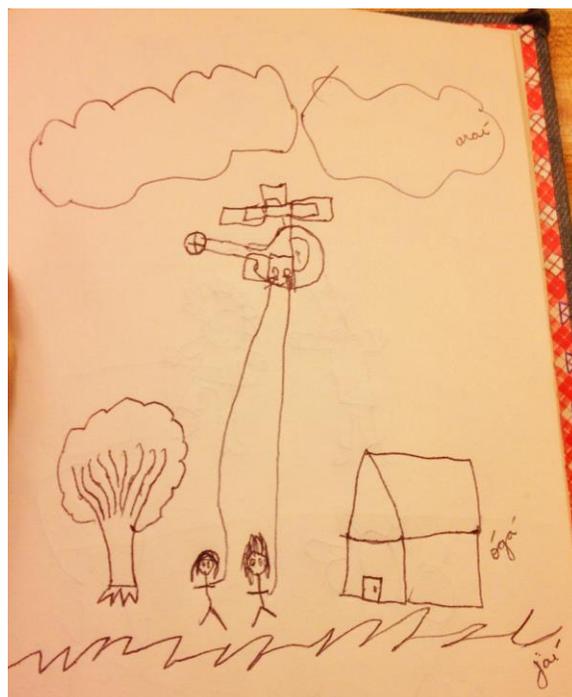


Figure 5.19. Bernardo's free drawings; December.

Janaina did two different drawings, the first one (Figure 5.20) in which she and her older brother were playing **toli-toli** in their house on a day that was not **acú** [hot], meaning that they could play at home and not need to go to the waterfall; the second one was a memory of her visit to a nearby town, Garopaba, where she saw the ocean for the first time (Figure 5.21). These drawings are examples of socialization activities that the children transformed into forms of literacy and language development on a daily basis during their time at the bilingual school.

Further, these drawings show how these socialization practices should be seen as forms of literacy as exemplified by many of the practices the children shared with me.

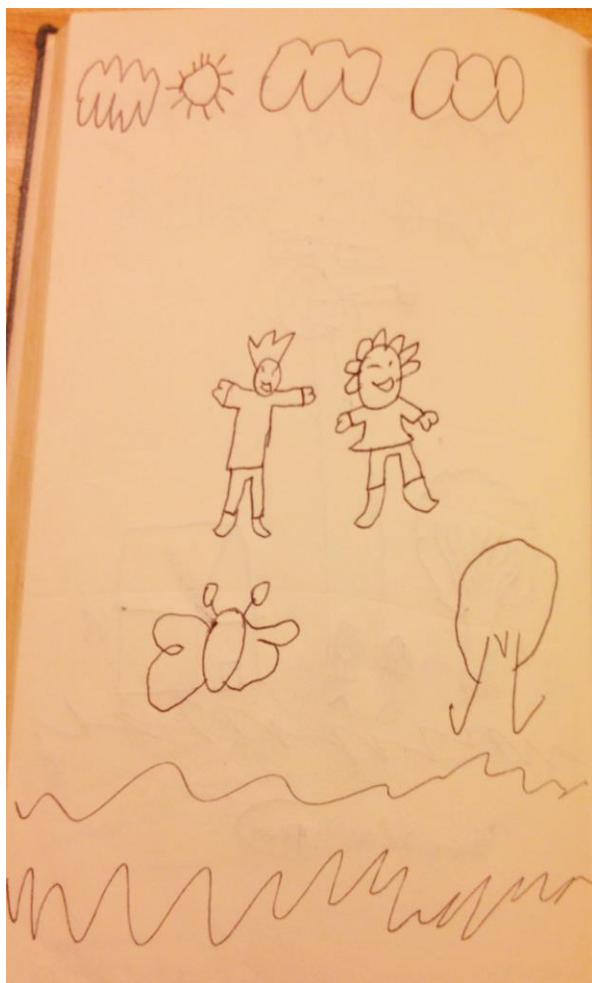


Figure 5.20. Janaina's drawing of her common play activities at home.



Figure 5.21. Janaina's drawing of her visit to the ocean with her family.

Children used drawing as a way of communicating in other instances, such as when Gustavo (Gabriel's nephew) came to the classroom. He was about three years old, and on that day, he just walked up to the classroom and wanted to participate. He sat on my lap the whole time. Mateus gave him a piece of paper with drawings of trucks, and Gustavo tried to copy them (Figure 5.22). Gustavo saw a caricature of a cartoon character (which monitor Fabiano drew for him) and he did a hand gesture as if it was from a *joguinho* [game]. He asked to *tintar* [which is

the word used in Portuguese by the children when they want to paint]. As he colored, he explained about all of the parts of the truck. He made a road connecting the car and the truck he had drawn (Figure 5.23).



*Figure 5.22.* Gustavo's drawing as a form of storytelling.



*Figure 5.23.* Gustavo's drawing of a police car and the road connecting it with the truck.

He said **juruá** which means “white person, non-Indigenous” and pointed to the car saying *polícia* [police]. He said that the police took the truck and showed it to me speaking in Guarani. Mateus came and drew a **pirá** [fish] for him, and Gustavo then drew a shark. Mateus then began to draw a shark and Gustavo kept saying something in Guarani to him, and I later learned that he wanted a bigger one. Ricardo drew him a **piraxu** [big fish, monster] and Gustavo copied it (Figure 5.24). Gustavo drew a gun to shoot the monsters, and after that he made a road and a person who had been run over. He was going back to the idea of the police car and getting the truck, which had run over the person. He mentioned the game again by pointing to his plot (Figure 5.25). Gustavo made lots of hand gestures as he was storying, and he was very creative

in how he translanguaged as he explained his story to me. He also code-switched many words from Guarani to Portuguese, but mostly spoke in Guarani. Mateus, Ricardo, and monitor Fabio helped me translate.



*Figure 5.24.* Ricardo modeling for Gustavo.



*Figure 5.25.* Gustavo's final drawing.

The older peers also acted as models since they drew examples of what Gustavo was trying to express. This also happened again in third grade but in a much different context. Children were learning about different traditional food consumed by Guarani people, and monitor Fabiano asked them which one was the main product planted and consumed by their people. Gabriel and Ricardo answered **avaxi** [corn] and then Gabriel went to the blackboard voluntarily to draw it. The other children followed him, as can be seen in Figure 5.26. In Figure 5.27, the girls copy the final product into their notebooks. All of this exchange happened in oral Guarani, and although monitor Fabiano was the one to question the children, this was a child-

initiated activity where Gabriel saw the need to visualize what that specific food meant to the children.



Figure 5.26. Gabriel's drawing of corn and corn products.



Figure 5.27. Girls copy the final product.

A last example is that of painting as a form of non-traditional literacy. One day we went to the *Mais Educação* classroom because the school was painting the first-grade classroom. Children were learning words with the syllables *va-ve-vi-vo-vu*, and in Portuguese class, they had to paint a drawing of a *vaca* [cow].<sup>26</sup> Flavia's daughter of about two years old was in there too and teacher Jéssica gave her a sheet to paint as well. Virginia and Bernardo volunteered to help her paint (Figure 5.28). Virginia showed the little girl how to paint on the sheet of paper. While they were doing that, they said some words in Guarani, such as **apũ** [here] by pointing to the place on the sheet where she had to paint. This teacher-led activity also led the younger children to model for a peer, which was very common during my observations both in first and third grades.

<sup>26</sup> The Portuguese class is similar to the language arts in English, which includes literature, reading, and writing Portuguese. Drawing and painting are naturally part of it.



Figure 5.28. Painting: peer-guided activity.

**Writing.** Virginia, although the youngest in class, served as a role model in other examples. One afternoon, the daughter of the language coordinator, who was five years old, stayed in class for the whole class period. She sat on a desk on her own and teacher Jéssica gave her a sheet of paper and a pencil to copy from the blackboard. Virginia, observing that she was doing something different than what the teacher had instructed, showed her how to do the activity from the blackboard (children had to complete the blank spaces in the words with *va-ve-vi-vo-vu*) by giving her another sheet of paper and showing her how to copy.

Virginia also learned from older peers. One day in class, I helped Sabrina, Janaina, and Juliana spell words with “ch.” After that, Bernardo came to help me, but he kept saying he did not know how to do it. Tainá helped Virginia and Santa to do the activity (Figure 5.29). Tainá is Valnélia’s daughter. She was adopted by the health care technician after she was abandoned by her Guarani family. Because she was born a twin, her parents had to choose the strongest one and left Tainá aside. She was originally from another reservation in the south, and Valnélia received her from her mother in her first years of life, when the mother was visiting the Tekoá

Marangatu. Before leaving, she left Tainá in Valnélia's hands. Valnélia, a non-Indigenous person, has raised Tainá since then, and even though her physical traits are of a Guarani, she has been socialized into Brazilian mainstream culture and only speaks Portuguese.



Figure 5.29. Peer-guided activity in a literacy event.

During the activity, Tainá asked teacher Jéssica how to spell a word when she did not know it. When she was working with Virginia, she wrote the words on the blackboard before Virginia copied them and read them out loud. In another teacher-led activity, teacher Jéssica had the children copy a text about the witch, *Caxuxa*. After that, she gave them some activities from the text, which were part of an activity sheet. Santa went around the classroom looking at Sabrina's activities and also picking up books. One of the activities was that children had to separate the words in the text by coloring in between the words. Santa also went to check on Juliana's work to see how she had done the task, and after that she left for the bathroom. When

Santa came back from the bathroom, and I told her to come to my desk, so I could explain the next activity to her, she preferred looking at her peers' activity to see how they were doing it, again. She then went back to her desk and did the other tasks on her own. She used her peers as a resource, like many of the other children did in many of the examples cited in this chapter. These children moved across different contexts and languages by using all the resources they had at hand, such as their peers. I now turn to a discussion of how I analyzed translanguaging in these contexts, where children moved between spaces with more ease than the adults around them.

### **Translanguaging: Moving between Different Contexts**

This section highlights the children's practices that were part of their development as bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural individuals, and it also highlights the role of bilingual monitors in the education of these children. I use different examples of socialization practices and literacy events to demonstrate how the children were able to move across contexts as they made sense of the world around them. In all of these teachings of writing, counting, and doing operations—all while doing translanguaging—children and adults resorted to Guarani or Portuguese depending on who the speaker was and what theme was discussed.

**Knowledge of Guarani language and culture.** One day in the third grade classroom, after finishing their math activities, Kayane and Ricardo went to play with puzzles in the reading corner. As Gabriel joined them, he started singing out loud the *barata* [cockroach] song from a poster hung in the literary line, which they had learned the previous day. He moved slowly across the back of the room, looking at the poster while he sang, and also skimming through a different poster on punctuation that they had also learned about the previous week. He moved back and forth between helping with the puzzle and reading the posters, and all along he kept

singing the song he had just learned. He was moving from one activity to the other smoothly, singing, playing, and reading aloud, which is characteristic for how the children behave in their daily routines.

Children never had a hard time moving from different activities in the different spaces they encountered inside and outside of the classroom, demonstrating their knowledge of their culture, values, religion, and cosmology. For example, one day teacher Jéssica was telling me that Anita's dad was the medicine man or **karai** in Guarani. Teacher Jéssica asked out loud what the word **karai** meant and Ricardo and Gabriel tried to find the meaning in Guarani. They talked to each other in Guarani as they tried to make sense of what it could mean in Portuguese, but they also were silent for a couple of seconds. Ricardo all of a sudden voiced out loud: "**Karai** – *encima do sol embaixo de Deus*" [over the sun, under God]. This translation went beyond code-switching as Ricardo had to truly understand what the role of the **karai** was in order to translate into Portuguese.

Meanwhile, in first grade in another instance, teacher Jéssica was teaching the children about legends in Brazilian folklore. When she asked the children if anyone knew what *Boi Tata* meant, Sabrina said *cobra fogo* [fire snake, as translated to Portuguese]. We were perplexed that she knew it because *Boi Tata* is a word combination derived from Guarani (**Mboi** = *cobra*; **Tata** = *fogo*), but we did not expect a seven-year-old to be able to make that connection. We were surprised because many of these children do not learn much Portuguese until they enter first grade, and this cross-textual analysis by Sabrina was an example of a competent bilingual first-grader. Teacher Jéssica made the title connection with the Guarani legend explaining that it came from the Guarani culture, but she did not go in-depth to make a comparison between the

Guarani legend and the Brazilian legend, which was a missed opportunity to help the children understand both worlds.

Children also made real-life connections to the texts they saw and heard in class. One day in first grade, I had a Guarani literacy book<sup>27</sup> that I borrowed to learn more about the Guarani way of life. Santa asked me what I was going to read, and I said “*Eu vou ler sobre o modo de vida Guarani*” [I am going to read about the Guarani way of life]; and then she said to me, “*Eu sou Guarani*” [I am Guarani]. Because I did not prompt her further, I cannot be sure if she identified as Indigenous or simply as Guarani. Even though these children live in a much more acculturated environment than their ancestors, they still possess a lot of knowledge of what it means to be Guarani, and they can translate that in different ways into the classroom setting. During a Portuguese grammar class, the children were doing a Portuguese activity where they had to separate the syllables in the following words:

*tijolo/ botão/ telefone/ tapete/ batata/ torta/ tomate/ tatu/ tartaruga.*

Sabrina, as usual, was speaking her thoughts out loud and connected the syllable “ru” from the word *tartaruga* to the Guarani word **erú** (which means to come here); she also connected the syllable “ti” for “Tiago.” Even though these connections were at the syllable level, she still translanguaged because she needed the knowledge of both languages in order to make such connections.

In another literacy event in first grade, I was reading aloud a book with Virginia as she was predicting words such as *lápiz* [pencil]. Bernardo saw that we were reading and brought me a science book. There was a figure of a snake and Virginia said *olha* [look] and pointed to it. Bernardo said **mboi** and I asked *cobra* [snake], with an intonation in voice as if I were asking

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<sup>27</sup> The title of the book is *Caderno Bilingue: Mbya Reko (Vida Guarani)* – meaning *Bilingual Notebook: Mbya Reko (Guarani Way of Life)*. This volume was based on a video titled **Mbya Reko** and written by a large group of Indigenous people from various reservations in the state of Santa Catarina.

them if I was correct in my pronunciation. Then I went to the next figure and said **pira-pire** (which meant “money,” and I was wrong because it was the figure of a fish – **pirá**). The children corrected me saying **pirá** [fish]. Virginia said out loud “pe-i-xe” [fish] in Portuguese, separating the word into syllables. Bernardo went ahead and said **jaeui**, and I said it was hard, and he repeated it. I said it aloud and asked if I was right (**jaeui**?). Virginia said “*sim*” [yes] in Portuguese. I then asked “*E esse?*” (and this one, pointing to the next image), and Bernardo said **tivi** [onça], and I repeated it. Virginia was saying *cobra* [snake] again in the background, and I tried to move on asking what else was there. “*E esse aqui o passarinho*” [and this one, the little bird]? Bernardo said “**guyra**.” I asked, “What about this one?” And he said, “*Não sei mais*” [I don’t know anymore]. I told him to flip the page to see if there was another one he knew. There was a figure of an alligator, and he said “*jacaré*” in Portuguese. And I asked “*jacaré?*” He said “*crocodilo*” [crocodile], giving me an alternative. I asked him how to say it in Guarani, and he said again “*jacaré*.” We stopped the reading because a bee came into the classroom. However, in this passage we can see that children went back and forth between the languages, trying to make sense of the images in the science book which was not a storybook but told me a lot about these children’s knowledge of animals, which is part of many Guarani narratives.

Children in third grade also demonstrated their knowledge of pronunciation of Guarani words through the literal translation between Guarani and Portuguese. Ricardo was teaching me some words in Guarani: **javyju** [good morning]; **nhade ka’araju** [good afternoon]; **aueté** [thank you]. The conversation started because teacher Jéssica was thanking (**aueté**) one of the students for bringing the sharpener back, and Ricardo said she was saying it wrong. Ricardo was very specific teaching it: **a-e-ue-te** (I prompted him to do in the syllabic method so I could hear each part of the word, but the other children kept saying it fast and as one word). Anita came up to

me and repeated the word **javyju**. Mateus said out loud *bom dia* [good morning] in Portuguese. Then Gabriel said **nhade ka'aruju** and Anita said *boa tarde* [good afternoon] in Portuguese as I was writing the words down and they checked for accuracy.

As I mentioned previously, throughout my visits the children drew some common themes in the back of my notebook. Once in a while they would come in, sit next to me, and draw if they were done with their activities or if they just wanted to do something other than the activity. I usually asked them what they had drawn once they were done. Bernardo came in and made a drawing, but he did not want to tell me about it. I told Sabrina that she had taught me some of the names in the drawings (she was looking through my notebook). I started saying them aloud in Guarani (**pirá, yvyra, uũ, kuaraã**). I asked her if I was right and she said **yvyra**, correcting my pronunciation. I then said **uu** and she made the sound again with a strong nasal intonation so I could repeat. She went on to correct me on **kuaraã** and the girls next to her kept repeating it and laughing. She corrected me with the right pronunciation. They asked me if they could draw, and Sabrina said *história* [story]. I told them Bernardo had already drawn one but he did not want to tell me what it was, and as he heard that, he joined the group. He said he did not know what he drew. Sabrina, Santa, and Melissa taught me the names of Bernardo's drawing in my notebook in Guarani when I asked him to tell me his story again (and if he had seen it in a movie). He said yes. Sabrina said "*Ele viu esse aqui é o juruá*" [He saw it, this one is the non-Indigenous man] and went on in Guarani telling the story of the drawing. When they said **oca**, they elongated the sound like oo-caa. When they taught me the words in Guarani, they did it by sounds and syllables just as they learned how to pronounce the words in Portuguese.

**Code-switching.** There were a lot of events, though, where translanguaging occurred at the level of code-switching. Sometimes the children did not call each other by the name, e.g.,

Gabriel would ask Anita something by calling her **kunhã** [girl] or girls called boys **ava’i** [boy].

In first grade, children were doing an activity in the Portuguese grammar class, where they had to complete the words with “l” or “h”:

*Ga \_\_\_inha/ \_\_\_ouco/ coe \_\_\_o/ mo \_\_\_o/ vio \_\_\_a/ mu \_\_\_her/ joe \_\_\_o/ espe \_\_\_o*

Teacher Bruno called Juliana’s attention and after that he called the attention of the rest of the class since he used for the girls the word **kunhã** [girl] in the middle of a Portuguese sentence. These examples show the children’s knowledge of the language but beyond that, we see how gender marks are very important in the organization of their community.

There was also the use of Portuguese words (school-related or play-related) during Guarani speech. We were talking about Vanessa having finished her notebook. She had to go to the secretary to ask for a new one, and it became an event in the classroom. Bernardo said something about it in Guarani, but used the word *caderno* (Portuguese) in his sentence to mention the notebook because it was a school-related word and he did not know the equivalent in Guarani. Some other words that the students used solely in Portuguese and that were school-related are *borracha* [eraser], *folhinha* [worksheet], *lápiz* [pencil], *faquinha* [handmade sharpener], as well as the names of content areas, like *ciências* [science] or *língua materna* – the latest being puzzling as they use the word during their Guarani language class when they are asking if they are supposed to get out their *Língua Materna* notebooks (instead of using the Guarani word for ‘*língua materna*’). As far as play-related words, the children did not know the word *senha* (password) in Guarani, so they used it in Portuguese while playing *vendinha* (little store), or they did not know the names of games such as *futebol* [soccer] or *pega-pega*, among others, so they used the Portuguese words.

Children also used different strategies to teach their peers the content at their hands, as already mentioned in some examples before. During a Portuguese grammar class, Sabrina taught Melissa how to write the word “*cuca*” by saying “C **a’e gui** U” where the word **a’e gui** means ‘and’ and it is one of the most used Guarani words. It is important to notice that besides using the Guarani language, Sabrina also used the syllabic method utilized by teacher Jéssica when teaching words in Portuguese. In another example, Melissa said “*Eu erreí, eu não fiz **petêi linha***” [I did it wrong, I did not leave a line] and walked away to get the eraser to redo her writing. Again, beyond the knowledge of the Guarani language, she showed her knowledge of text structure in Portuguese.

Meanwhile, teacher Jéssica many times used the word **a’e gui** in Guarani to teach the children, but she told me that she started using that word after she saw monitor Bruno using it with the children. Word code-switching by the lead teacher happened in different events, as it happened with monitor Bruno. Teacher Jéssica used words in Guarani to gain children’s attention, such as including **Mokôï risquinho** during her explanation of text structure in Portuguese. **Mokôï risquinho** means leaving two lines while copying from the blackboard. Teacher Jéssica also used numbers in Guarani during her talk in third grade. Children had a spelling test regarding accentuation marks in Portuguese. First, teacher Jéssica reviewed the punctuation marks, and Gabriel knew what all of them meant (. ! ? : - ). Teacher Jéssica had a list with the marks in the beginning of the test followed by a text that she read out loud (with the correct intonation), so the children could punctuate it. She directed the children: “*Você vai procurar no texto **mokôï** palavras com acento agudo e **petêi** palavra com acento circumflexo*” [“You will look for two words with acute accent and one word with circumflex accent in the text”]. The monitor should have helped but he was not in class, which was very common in third

grade, so the lead teacher many times had to resort to her small knowledge of Guarani words to aid the understanding of content in Portuguese for the children.

During the same spelling test, the children were having a hard time understanding what “beginning” and “end” of the sentence meant in Portuguese, as we were trying to tell them that the accentuation mark came either in the beginning or at the end of the sentence. Tarcísio, the Guarani language coordinator, came to the classroom to check on the children, and I asked him to translate the word “beginning” to tell the children that the mark came at the beginning of the sentence, and he patiently taught me how to say **onieperũ**. I used the word **onieperũ** with Kayane and Anita, and they understood that the mark came at the beginning of the sentence, and all of the other children observed and were able to do the test correctly.

Monitor Bruno many times also aided in the understanding by translating the instructions given in Portuguese into Guarani. Teacher Jéssica was copying a *cantiga* [rhyming song] for the *feira junina* on the blackboard. Meanwhile, the children were painting a *folhinha* [worksheet] related to the text. She read the text aloud, in the syllabic method, teaching how to say each word. Monitor Bruno said some words in Guarani explaining what they were supposed to do.

Teacher Jéssica then asked: *Quantas estrelas temos aqui* [how many stars are there]?

Teacher Bruno translated into Guarani.

The children answered: **Petêi pô de azul**. (**Petêi pô** means five in Guarani, *de azul* means of blue in Portuguese referring to the numbers of flags on the text.)

While monitor Bruno translanguaged at a higher level, the children still used their knowledge of numbers in Guarani to answer a mathematics question.

Even though *cacique* Floriano told me that there was no training for the monitors in the classroom, it was clear to me which ones of them were well prepared to fully aid children’s

development in the classroom. I will start with one literacy event I observed in the third grade classroom, as this was one of the only times I saw monitor Fabiano translanguaging in the classroom. Bilingual monitor Fabiano was teaching about some specific word roots in the Guarani language class: **A'ÿ ma jaexa tá terá onhembyrũ va'e MB, ND, NG, a'e gui NH** [We will learn to form words with MB, ND, NG, and NH].

Children then had to write examples of words for each root. Anita asked how to write a word and teacher Fabiano said “*com J de Janela*” (he used the Portuguese sound – with J for Janela). It was very common for the monitors to use the Portuguese consonant sounds to explain how to spell words in Guarani. This was one of the only events where I saw monitor Fabiano moving from one language to the other in the classroom.

**Language facilitation in the classroom.** While teacher Jéssica facilitated content through Portuguese and through code-switching words in Guarani to aid in understanding, the role of the bilingual monitor across languages was very important in the development of bilingualism for the young children. In the next examples I show some of the different ways that Bruno performed his role in the first-grade classroom. In the Portuguese class, the children had to do an activity where they had to combine the syllables and make up words:

*Me-la-do, mu-la, ma-ca-co, ma-mãe, mo-lho, mi-ma-do, me-do, mo-lha-do*

Sabrina asked monitor Bruno to look at what she was copying to check for accuracy. He explained it to her with the consonant sound in Portuguese but the explanation of how to do the activity was in Guarani. While in previous examples both the teacher and the monitor used Guarani numbers while explaining Portuguese content, the reverse occurred during a math class. Bilingual monitor Bruno was helping children individually while they were doing a math activity, where they had to think and solve the additions:

7+4, 8+8, 9+5, 7+7, 6+8, 9+3, 4+8, 5+5, 9+2, 5+6, 9+9, 6+6

While he explained, he used oral Guarani, but he used the numbers in Portuguese.

Another important role of monitor Bruno was that he was the father of one of the first-graders, Juliana. Sometimes he acted as the father, sometimes as the monitor, and sometimes as both. As the father, during a Portuguese class, the children had an activity where they had to complete the words with *Ma-Me-Mi-Mo-Mu-Mão*:

\_\_\_ia/ \_\_\_la/ \_\_\_nino/ ma \_\_\_/ \_\_\_eda/ \_\_\_sa/ \_\_\_lado/ \_\_\_lho/ \_\_\_to/ \_\_\_do

Juliana could not complete the word *mamão* (they have difficulty with the ~). Both the teacher and monitor Bruno tried to help Juliana (in both languages), but she was not focused. Her father got upset with her for not trying, and he moved on to help the next child without completing the activity with her. During another Portuguese class, the children had to rewrite the following words in cursive:

*SAPATO-SALADA-SALAME-SUCO-SAPECA-SOPA-SINO-SABONETE*

[Shoes, salad, salami, juice, sassy, soup, bell, soap]

Monitor Bruno helped Juliana to spell the word *salada* while she pointed to the support sheets on the blackboard which ones were the respective syllables in cursive, acting as the monitor as he also helped other children in the event. Monitor Bruno acted both as the father and monitor in a third Portuguese class, in which students had to read and separate the syllables in the words:

*faxina/ xerife/ bexiga/ xarope/ abacaxi/ peixe/ fuxico/ puxa*

[cleaning/ sheriff/ bladder/ syrup/ pineapple/ fish/ gossip/ pull]

Monitor Bruno said the instructions for the exercise in Guarani to Juliana, individually. He did not help any other child individually in that exercise, even though many of them had

more need for his help in scaffolding the exercise for them. He acted as the father in this case since he preferred to help his daughter at the expense of not helping other children, but he also acted as the monitor because he still used both languages to help her complete the task.

Bruno also facilitated Portuguese content through oral Guarani either individually or as a whole group in different literacy events. I list here the most important ones, as they highlight both the monitor and the children's ability to translanguage between the different language contexts. During a Portuguese class, Janaina had difficulty in relating the phoneme to the morpheme (e.g., *MUla-sem-cabeça*, how the MU sounded to how it is written). Monitor Bruno helped her in oral Guarani as Sabrina was pointing to the cheat sheet with the syllables *MA-ME-MI-MO-MU* that were hanging above the blackboard, and Sabrina said, "*MO-ran-go*." Even though she used a different syllable, MO instead of MU, she knew that would support Janaina in finding her answer by pointing to a neighbor syllable. Furthermore, monitor Bruno also facilitated the content through different ways of translanguaging. During an activity in Portuguese class, the students had to separate the syllables in the words:

*SAPATO-SALADA-SALAME-SUCO-SAPECA-SOPA-SINO-SABONETE*

[Shoes, salad, salami, juice, sassy, soup, bell, soap]

Monitor Bruno helped Virginia to copy in her notebook by holding her hand, and after he helped Bernardo by explaining the directions to the activity in Guarani to him. Bruno also moved from whole class to individual facilitation in some instances. The children were doing an activity where they had to add the letter H after the letter L and see what happened:

*bola/ vela/ ralo/ tela/ galo/ fila/ mola/ mala/ fala/ mole*

[ball/ candle/ drain/ screen/ rooster/ line/ bag/ speech/ soft]

They were learning about the compound consonant “LH” in Portuguese. Teacher Jéssica asked monitor Bruno to explain to Virginia how to do the activity in Guarani because Virginia did not understand the Portuguese explanation. She did not only answer everything but she also answered out loud, which was not common as she was the youngest in class and usually it took her a while to complete the activities. In another class the children had a text called *O Gato Molhado* [The Wet Cat]. Each child did an individual reading aloud with a teacher: Bernardo called for monitor Bruno; I read with Sabrina, Melissa, and Janaina; and teacher Jéssica read with Juliana, Fernanda, and Virginia. Teacher Jéssica continued by reading the activity for the text and monitor Bruno orally translated it to Guarani. He then moved to teach Sielen individually on how to do the activity, as she was a newcomer to class and was not very used to Portuguese due to her lack of schooling. Again, he was able to move from an individual space to whole group then back to helping individually.

Bruno not only translated in the Portuguese class but also in the math class. The children said the number families from 1-49 out loud, and then they moved on to do the activities in the textbook. Teacher Bruno translated teacher Jéssica’s question in a way that the children could understand, and everyone except for Virginia and Sielen were able to complete the activity individually, without any help.

### **Summary**

In this chapter I explored the ways in which children are socialized during literacy events and also how these Indigenous socialization processes permeate the school context. I learned that in most events adults and children negotiated meaning through a myriad of ways. The role of peers in providing contexts for (bi)lingual, (bi)literate, and bi(cultural) development is highlighted through multiple examples of both socialization practices translated to the school

environment and literacy events involving more academic content. As the children become competent and active agents of their own learning process, they translanguage through different worlds demonstrating their (bi)cultural development. The findings support the view that Indigenous ways of being and living are an integral part of these children's learning process and should not be left out of the discussion on their (bi)lingual and (bi)literate development, and in chapter 6 I will explore the findings further by connecting them to literature in the fields of bilingualism, biliteracy and Indigenous education.

## CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

### The Role of Socialization Practices

The first step to further our insights into Guarani socialization is to not view the Guarani culture and people as monolithic or homogeneous since there is a huge temporal and spatial heterogeneity that should be considered. In order to move forward with the discussion of how Guarani family and community socialization processes influence the ways in which young Guarani children make sense of the world within the school practices and context, we need to look at these practices from an Indigenous perspective. In chapter 2, I provided the description of the **tekó** and the **nhande reko**. The **tekó** is the expression of the body of knowledge, the basis of social life, which when implemented represents the Guarani **nhande reko**. **Reko**, among some of its meanings, can refer to circulation, which leads us to believe that the Guarani system is rooted in movement or circulation, expressed in the mobility among villages, which refers to the way life moves (Vasconcelos, 2011). Movement, the Guarani say, is a term that refers to the fact that they always end, sooner or later, returning to the same places they have experienced before.

*É que assim na aldeia eles são todo livre, mais nós temo que sabe que dentro da sala não é assim. Então as criança, ele não aprende ainda com isso. [...] Mas como primeiro ano são muito pequeno ainda, então eles pensa que pode como se fosse na casa, pode fora da escola, pensa que são assim, mai tão aprendendo ainda.*

It is that in the village [children] are all free, but we have to know that inside the classroom it is not that way. Then the children, they are still learning about it. But as in first grade they are still very small, so they think they can act like it is in the house, if you

can do that out of school, they think in the classroom it is the same way, but they are still learning. (Bilingual monitor Bruno, personal communication, December 1, 2014)

This movement was expressed through many different practices within the classroom, where the children resorted to their knowledge of freedom that comes from their Indigenous way of living. In the Guarani language, *nosso* [our] is the first-person plural possessive pronoun. The inclusive “our,” referred to as **nhande**, includes the speaker, and the other, called **ore**, excludes the speaker. So when the Guarani say **nhande reko**, they are referring to culture including the speaker and the term is thus rendered “our culture,” if the speaker and listener are Guarani. But the term to refer to the culture when the dialogue is with a non-Indigenous person is **tekó**, excluding the speaker, and the listener is usually a **jurua** [non-Indigenous] or belonging to another Indigenous group. These two terms have the same sense of culture, way of life, behavior, cosmology, etc., but **tekó** excludes the person to whom you talk, other than a Guarani. Therefore, respecting and following the Guarani way of describing and including speakers, I have followed their lead and use the term **tekó**. The way one talks tells a story, and it is connected to the **tekó** or *modo de ser* [way of being] of the individual or group, and in the next sections, I will explore how this **tekó** was represented throughout the language and literacy practices of the young Indigenous children at the *E.E.I.F. Tekoa Marangatu*.

**Indigenous ways of being.** The *modo de ser e viver* [ways of being and living] in this Indigenous community was intrinsically connected to how they see themselves as Guarani and how they have adapted to the ways of living on the reservation.

*Ser guarani? Ser guarani pra mim é respeitador da natureza, é ser guarani é indígena, é respeitado da natureza, da humanidade. É isso, eu acho que pra mim é assim, cada um tem o seu modo de pensar o meu como é ser guarani.*

To be Guarani? To be Guarani to me is to be respectful of nature, to be Guarani is *to be Indigenous* [emphasis added], respectful of nature, of humanity. That is it, I think for me it is this way, each person has its way of thinking and mine is *how to be* [emphasis added] Guarani. (Bilingual language coordinator Tarcísio, personal communication, November 27, 2015)

Tarcísio expresses the Guarani way of being in words that no outsider could describe. Being Guarani encompasses many aspects of their religion, way of thinking, and cosmology, and thus many times it is difficult to separate all of the aspects that compose the Guarani individual. José Benite Karai Tataendi contends that “Each Guarani community is a different country” due to the very different realities that each presents, including rules and different ways of living. This aspect of the reservations is related to the great mobility and wanderings essential to the understanding of the *Ser Guarani – Being Guarani* (Pissolato, 2006). The Tekoá Marangatu has some specific characteristics and one of the most prominent is the fact that they support the functioning of a bilingual Indigenous school.<sup>28</sup> This school and its practices have brought into the reservation many mainstream, non-Indigenous practices, which were foreign to the group; however, it also has strengthened their development, especially of their children, as bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural.

Schaden (1962) asserted that one of the fundamental aspects of the Guarani culture is the “respect for human personality and the notion that it develops free and independent in each individual, without possibility to interfere decisively in the process” (p. 67). Parents are dedicated to the healthy physical growth of the child, but not to impose knowledge on the child. One of the domains identified in the data analysis was *respeito* [respect] as a community value,

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<sup>28</sup> The role of the bilingual school in the language and literacy development of the children will be discussed further in the chapter.

and the concept was described at length in Chapter 5. While the elders lectured the children in times of distress in the classroom, they unknowingly were also supporting the children's language development. By talking about common understandings to the Guarani people, such as how to respect nature and humans around them, the elders used oral Guarani within the school environment, challenging the notion of Portuguese as the dominant language within the school setting.

Children also demonstrated their understanding of the concept of respect through oral Guarani. We observed Sabrina, who showed in two instances that she knew her peers were disrespecting each other by orally scolding them, just as the elders did when they went to the classroom. She challenged the original classroom structure where she initiated the conversation regarding the value both when Virginia mentioned that Santa did not have a dad (who had passed away a few weeks prior) and when the second-grade boys beat up Fernanda. The Guarani also recognize the autonomy of the child, which must be respected (Mello, 2006). While teacher Jéssica wanted to continue with her class in both instances, she allowed Sabrina to voice her concerns and understandings while she supported the use of oral Guarani in the classroom. However, even though teacher Jéssica showed support in this example, in many instances the teacher quickly tried to move students when they were conversing in Guarani during the Portuguese language class. The children's efforts to continue using oral Guarani resembled De la Piedra's (2006) study where elementary students resisted the oppression of their native language through writing in Quechua and through the use of Quechua as their peer language. Hornberger (1996) also explored the use of literacy as a counter-hegemonic instrument among Quechua speakers in Peru. As emergent bilinguals, the Guarani children in first grade frequently

used oral Guarani in most of their interactions in the classroom, countering the hegemonic Portuguese language practices.

While previous examples involved ways of thinking around the concept of respect, in other examples these Guarani ways of being were translated into more concrete forms. For example, the production of handcrafts by adults and children and how they translated these practices into the classroom context illustrate Guarani ways of being and living. While adults used the production of handcrafts as a form of financial income (Darella, 2004), some children also participated in the process, but many times they were more entertained by playing with the materials than helping their parents, such as in the photograph of children playing with bows and arrows. Another example is the production of wooden animals where the children helped carve the wood with the use of sharp objects. This practice is translated into the classroom through their constant use of the *faquinha* (handmade sharpener resembling a knife) to sharpen their pencils. All of these handcraft activities were usually done by the women in the reservation, just like some other forms of daily routines such as the washing of clothes and cooking. Janaina and Fernanda, both first-graders, brought these socialization practices into the classroom in different events where they were able to use these practices to aid in their development in their school context. All examples cited here, i.e., production of handcrafts, making of braids, washing clothes, and cooking, are part of the socialization practices of these young Indigenous children, and they efficiently brought these practices into the school setting, demonstrating their development as ‘bicultural individuals’ (Cohn, 2000a; Marqui, 2012; Reyes & Azuara, 2008).

In the Cochiti Pueblo, children are immersed in different learning experiences (Romero-Little, 2004). Halliday (1994) states that children learn language through the “doing” of language, such as by talking, listening, reading, and writing and that they “learn language

through language, referring to language in the construction of reality: how we use language to build up a picture of the world in which we live” (p. 13). Romero-Little exemplifies that children engage in learning through participation, e.g., when a 4-year-old Cochiti boy watching the buffalo dancers starts mimicking the adult dancers; in teaching by doing, e.g., when young girls help with bread-making in the Pueblo homes and are praised by their mothers; and in learning through engaged observation and teaching through the example of role modeling, e.g., when Cochiti children learn proper social behavior and discourse by observing, listening, and participating with adults. Children in the Tekoá Marangatu reservation engaged both in learning language through the doing of language (Halliday, 1994); for example, the young girls learned from their mother how to wash clothes and cook and also learned language through language (Halliday, 1994) as they observed dances in different rituals and ceremonies.

Traditional Guarani dances were formerly performed in the **opy** [prayer house]; however, with the evolving status of the reservation, some of these dances have been performed for the public. During the performance of the song Tekoá Marangatu during a school visit, the younger children from first-grade stood on the wall, and they held hands. They were free to choose what they wanted to do, but what was striking was how much they repeated their role within the prayer house. Oliveira (2004) observed the Guarani children’s participation in the “tradition valorization” process in the M’Biguaçu reservation in Santa Catarina. By studying the daily lives of these children, the author realized that they were at the center of a controlled contact policy with non-Indians, through their participation in school activities, in the **opy**, and in the children's choir. In Chapter 2, I discussed about how the children started to frequent the **opy** from an young age; usually they were not part of the center activities but they gathered in the corners and observed everything that took place. One day I was able to observe how this

structure was imitated by the children in the school setting: They did not join the middle circle, but they still danced and stomped to the rhythm of the music as they stood against the wall.

While the children used oral Guarani supporting the use of their first language in the school setting, they also showed their role as members of this bicultural community by performing to the **juruá** group as agents of their own socialization process (Cohn, 2000a; Fernandes, 1946; Schaden, 1945; Seeger, Da Matta, & Viveiros de Castro, 1979). In addition, children were at the center of a controlled contact policy with non-Indians (Oliveira, 2004) through their participation in school activities, in this case exemplified by the performance of traditional dances.

Children become competent members (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) of their society as they socialize into the language and practices of their day-to-day lives. As children brought their funds of knowledge (González et al, 2005) into the school setting by using them in language and literacy practices, for example in the practice of traditional Guarani dances, the production of handcrafts, or pretend play through washing clothes or cooking, they demonstrated their understanding of the Guarani *modo de ser*. These understandings also came in the form of gender relationships. In Chapter 5, I described the intricate system children used during their daily routines and play on the reservation. Their groups were organized according to gender and according to age, resembling in many aspects the organization of the Hopi village, Hotavilla, during Dennis' (1940) study many years ago and the Aymara society configuration in Luykx's (1989) study. Children were aware of their social position within the community as they engaged in different play activities, for instance when the third-grade children played *vendinha* [small market] in the classroom and usually the boys were in the positions of power in comparison to the girls always being the customer service. The boys had control not only of the money market but also they orally instructed the girls on how they should be playing. While this

type of play also develops these children as (bi)lingual individuals, it goes beyond language to incorporate Guarani social organization into the children's play.

The previous example showed how boys and girls internalize and appropriate their culture and traditions (Rogoff, 1990). It also demonstrates how the world of these children was constantly permeated by bilingual practices. To further understand how bilingualism impacts the lives of young children, we should consider bilingualism to be a dynamic endeavor, not a static one (Vygotsky, 1978). According to Vygotsky, researchers should relate bilingualism to concrete situations while studying children's development by taking into account the whole aggregate of social factors (e.g., personality, context) that influence the development of bilingualism. Children moved from oral Guarani into oral Portuguese during the same play activities as they communicated to each other their roles and expectations during play, which was highly influenced by their gender and age in the play group. For instance, both in the traditional Guarani games of **toli-toli** and the **mandio**, children used the Portuguese versions of the sayings, but when they negotiated who would tag or who would be the caller, they consistently used oral Guarani. The same happened during their playtime at the waterfall. This constant movement of languages, characteristic of the Guarani people, highlights their status as a linguistically and culturally rich Indigenous group. As I continue exploring the aggregate of social factors that play into these children's bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural development, it is important to highlight the role of peers, which I discuss in the next section.

### **The Role of Peer Interactions Enacted through Socialization Practices and Literacy Events**

In the previous section, the examples highlighted children's agency (Cohn, 2005a; Marqui, 2012; Mello, 2006; Tassinari, 2011) in choosing in what ways to adapt to the environments around them. Through the performance of both literacy events and socialization

practices in the presence of peers, children were able to further develop in their language and literacy development. Even though I did not name many of the previous examples in the first section of this chapter as peer activities—where children socialized through different peer interactions—we were able to see how children used their peers in different ways to accomplish the tasks at hand. They interacted with other children, with adults, and with the environment around them to make meaning of specific literacy- and language-related practices. In this section, I will continue highlighting these practices through examples of both socialization practices and literacy events with an emphasis on analyzing the peer interaction and children's agency and initiative as they engaged in these events.

**Group versus individual learning.** Modeling by older peers happened at different levels, either with child-child interactions or with adult-child interactions. An example was when teacher Jéssica taught the children how to understand the difference between odd and even numbers through oral Portuguese. Meanwhile, the children tested their knowledge on odd and even numbers by doing an activity (which was to be done individually), but they relied on each other by going from desk to desk and checking on their peers' work. The term "assembly-line tradition" (Rogoff, 2003; Rogoff et al., 2007) characterizes the structure of the activities performed during the Portuguese and math classes at the bilingual school. In this system, children performed unchallenging drills as part of their literacy activities, which are decontextualized from the functional and social uses of reading and writing. Within this structure, one would expect that the children sit and perform their tasks in a very formal manner. However, as mentioned previously, children are free to circulate almost anywhere they want. They are not bound by classroom walls, making this a well-known example of a socialization practice, and many of the non-Indigenous teachers were used to this configuration.

If we compare the bilingual school to traditional, mainstream schools in Brazil, we find the opposite configuration. Most mainstream Brazilian classrooms have desks in single-file rows, and children must sit in a manner that does not disrupt class, which means not getting up when they are not called. However, regardless of this spatial structure (mobility), there are some remarkable structures –desks, paper boards, books that are similar to mainstream schools in Brazil and elsewhere in Western countries. This configuration was not usual in the classrooms I observed because children used their peers as sources of knowledge to complete almost any task, for example in the math class cited above. Bilingual monitor Bruno stated that “*Eu acho que junto aprende mais rápido*” (I think that they learn faster together) (Bilingual monitor Bruno, personal communication, December 1, 2014). Monitor Bruno saw the importance of peers in the children’s language and literacy development, and teacher Jéssica supported this classroom configuration by allowing the children to use each other as resources. The teacher and the monitor gave autonomy to the children by allowing them to be responsible for their actions and their consequences, which is exemplified by Tassinari & Cohn (2009) as pertinent to Indigenous communities in Brazil. The children’s reliance on peers also allowed for their Indigenous ways of being to be part of the classroom setting.

Within the gender relationships, sometimes, younger siblings would also follow older siblings when they were allowed. In addition, language was an important aspect of these interactions, where the younger children primarily used Guarani, while the older children moved between Guarani and Portuguese, as a lot of their activities had to do with music and the internet. During the *São João* dance performance and during other play-related activities, I observed how the younger children imitated their older peers by using Brazilian funk as a common musical choice. While the older peers understood the lyrics on a deeper level, the younger children still

did not fully assimilate the true meaning of the songs (which were sung in Brazilian Portuguese). The children used the genre for its rhythm, for the easiness with which they could dance (another characteristic of their socialization process). Here, both the mainstream world and the Guarani world were interwoven, and the children demonstrated their role as bicultural beings by combining both worlds.

Whereas play was unstructured in many of the previous examples, in some examples children brought in their funds of knowledge in a much more structured fashion. The concept of funds of knowledge is important here. Funds of knowledge have been defined as the historically accumulated knowledge, skills, and social networks that allow a family to obtain social or material resources (González et al., 2005; Moll, Vélez-Ibañez, & Greenberg, 1990; Moll et al., 1992). On the other hand, as De la Piedra (2004) observed in a Quechua community in Peru, these literacy funds of knowledge also form part of the distributed knowledge of the community. Two examples from the children's play events are of importance here: first, when the children in first grade were playing *vendinha* [small market] during regular class time; and second, when Janaina and Fernanda were cooking in their pretend play in first grade.

In the first example, children imitated the little store market located on the reservation by using the few resources they had in class to set up shop. The language uses are also of great value, as children used both oral Portuguese and Guarani to perform each of their roles. The boys had an intricate set-up for their small market, with fake money, cut-out letters used as coins, books as products, a recording book, and paper boxes as computers. This first example supports the children's bilingual and biliterate development since they used multiple forms of literacy and language to interact with each other. Other studies (Reyes, 2006; Reyes, Azuara, & Alexandra, 2007; Reyes & Azuara, 2008) support this finding and they show that with culturally and

linguistically diverse children, in this case the Indigenous children, language and literacy development can take multiple paths.

In the second example, Janaina and Fernanda had a wood stove where they made fire by fanning it with a book, and they had some boxes with cut-out letters, which was pretend food (rice, beans, pasta). Janaina also propped a book against the wall where they were looking at recipes. The use of a book also shows how they turned a socialization practice into a literacy event by pretending to read their recipes from random pages. While in previous times the children at the reservation did not have access to electricity, today they spend more time watching T.V. shows and cartoons. In another literacy event, Janaina drew the Woodpecker cartoon as her favorite T.V. show during a Children's Day drawing activity. Meanwhile, in the previous example she had a book propped against a wall to indicate she was reading a recipe, which is another event we can speculate she watched from a T.V. show. Bilingual monitor Bruno explained that

*Que as vezes tem assim um livrinho que são, as vezes eles vê no televisão, daquilo ali sai um livrinho. Então eles comentam muito, mais como são primeiro ano, são pequeno ainda, não fala muito ainda portuguei, então comenta mais em guarani. É tipo: Branca de Neve, eles veja na tv assistindo, ai depois vê o livrinho da Branca de Neve, então comenta só em guarani ainda.*

Sometimes there are some books, sometimes they see them on television, what comes out of the television show is a book. Then they talk a lot about it, but because they are in first grade, they are still small, they do not speak much Portuguese yet, then they comment more in Guarani. It's like, Snow White, they see it in T.V., then they see the book of

Snow White, but still they only comment in Guarani. (Personal communication, December 1, 2014)

This excerpt offers a multitude of interpretations for both the biliterate and bilingual development of these young Indigenous children. In the monitor's perspective, children bring in their knowledge of what they saw in the television, within the home context, just like Janaina did, and use it in multiple forms in the classroom. Azuara and Reyes (2011) contend that "children contest, adapt, and redefine practices from the varying contexts in which they interact" (p. 188). While Janaina was using a storybook written in Portuguese in her pretend play, she used oral Guarani to interact with her sibling, Fernanda, and with her classmates as she shared the food she was cooking. Siblings, according to De la Piedra and Romo (2003), have a strong influence on young children because of the mutual knowledge they might share with them, and that mutual knowledge aids in the language socialization process of a young child. These siblings also act as "mediators of literacy." Mediators of literacy are described by De la Piedra and Romo (2003) as "participants who have literacy skills in the code being used" (p. 49). They do not only read or write the message of a text, but also interpret its meaning in the social context in which the text occurs by actively constructing the literacy event. In this case, and in other cases in the field, children acted as mediators of literacy (De la Piedra, 2006; De la Piedra & Romo, 2003; Valdés, 1996; Volk & De Acosta, 2004) or as visible mediators (Romero-Little, 2004). Furthermore, the horizontal transmission of knowledge from child to child described by Codonho (2007) in her research of Galibi-Marworno Indigenous children in Amapá, Brazil, was also present in the interactions among the children I observed, where children learned from other children and not only from adults.

**Peer modeling and teacher-like behavior.** Just as Janaina brought into her drawing other elements of her socialization practices, children used drawing as a way of communicating in other instances, such as in the example of Gustavo, who drew a story of a police car apprehending a truck. With regards to early literacy development, a long history of research suggests that the process of using and coming to understand text does not only encompass learning how to read and write (see Neuman & Dickinson, 2001), rather this process encompasses an intricate interplay of social, cultural, and linguistic practices characteristic of a particular community or context (DaSilva Iddings & McCafferty, 2011; González et al., 2005; Reyes & Azuara, 2008) leading to new insights about “ways with language,” as well as “ways with printed words” (Gee, 2002, p. 323).

According to Ferreiro and Teberosky (1979), there are several phases for emergent literacy, and drawing is one of the initial stages. Through his drawing, Gustavo was very creative, and he brought in many elements that he observed in his day-to-day life, such as the police car, the monsters in the stories of elders, and so on. He made lots of hand gestures as he was storying, and he moved from one drawing to the next as he explained his story to me. He also code-switched many words from Guarani to Portuguese, but mostly spoke in Guarani. The older peers also acted as models, as they drew examples of what Gustavo was trying to express. Ricardo and Mateus would ask Gustavo about the drawing in Guarani and then translate what he was trying to say into Portuguese. Gillanders and Jiménez (2004) refute the deficit view of families from low socioeconomic backgrounds as lacking the skills to help their children succeed in school. The authors report their findings by observing literacy events where children participate in a process of “guided participation” (Rogoff, 1990) with adults. The facilitation of

knowledge by older peers in the exchange between Gustavo, Mateus, and Ricardo can be called “guided participation.”

In guided participation (Rogoff, 1990), children actively engage with other peers in order to construct meaning in specific “literacy events” (Heath, 1982). While Vygotsky (1978) focused on peers as the adults in children’s lives when referring to the “zone of proximal development” (p. 86), in the various studies reviewed in Chapter 3 and elsewhere, children participated in social networks of peers (e.g., siblings, schoolmates, cousins) and adults as they became bilingual and biliterate in two languages (Azuara & Reyes, 2011; De la Piedra, 2006; De la Piedra & Romo, 2003; Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004; Kenner, 2004; Moll et al., 2001; Reyes, 2006; Reyes & Azuara, 2008; Romero-Little, 2004; Volk & De Acosta, 2004), thus their peers were more than only the adults in their lives, and as such I include children as peers in my analysis.

This facilitation by peers also happened again in third grade but in a much different context, during a Guarani language class. Children were learning about different traditional food consumed by Guarani people, and monitor Fabiano asked them which one was the main product planted and consumed by their people. Gabriel and Ricardo answered **avaxi** [corn] and then Gabriel went to the blackboard voluntarily to draw it. All of this exchange happened in oral Guarani, and although monitor Fabiano was the one to question the children, this was a child-initiated activity where Gabriel saw the need to visualize what that specific food meant to the children and the other girls followed him by copying the drawings into their notebooks. Gabriel acted as a literacy mediator (De la Piedra, 2006; De la Piedra & Romo, 2003; Romero-Little, 2004); in addition, the hybrid literacy practices performed by the children served as resources for

the development of bilingual and biliterate practices in the context of the bilingual classroom (Azuara & Reyes, 2011; De la Piedra, 2006; Grosjean, 2010).

Peer-guided activities also happened in first grade. Virginia and Bernardo volunteered to help a two-year-old girl paint during a Portuguese class. As they helped her, they said some words in Guarani, such as **apũ** [here] by pointing to the place in the sheet where she had to paint, and they would look at the teacher to make sure they were teaching the girl in the correct way. This teacher-led activity also led the younger children to model to a peer, which was very common during my observations both in first and third grades. Virginia, although the youngest in first grade, also acted as a role model when a preschooler visited the classroom, and she showed her how to copy the Portuguese activities. Virginia would hold the girl's hand to form the words, just like teacher Jéssica and monitor Bruno exercised with her. While she wrote the words in Portuguese, she spoke Guarani to explain her process.

Similarly, Virginia also learned from older peers. One day in class I helped Sabrina, Janaina, and Juliana spell the words with “ch.” Tainá, an 11-year-old Indigenous girl raised by a non-Indigenous person, helped Virginia and Santa to do the activity. During the activity, Tainá would ask teacher Jéssica how to spell a word when she did not know it. When she was working with Virginia, she wrote the words on the blackboard before Virginia copied them and read them out loud. This activity involved many levels of peer interactions as well as children and adults performing teacher-like behaviors. As in Reyes and Azuara's (2008) study, children imitated the role of teachers by teaching and sharing with their peers how to do specific activities in school-related practices. Amongst the strategies used to support literacy learning, Long et al. (2007) found that peers helped the Spanish monolinguals by “providing demonstrations through side-by-side reading, translating and clarifying, enacting cultural roles through sociodramatic play,

and teachers' celebration of multilingual abilities" (p. 208). The role of peers in this study was extremely important. As the three participants tried to make sense of a new language, English, their peers supported them by using hybrid literacy practices, such as mimicking, gesturing, drawing, and so on. Emergent bilingual children do not only make sense of the world by themselves, but they also count on support from their peers, just like the children I observed, who made sense of multimodal forms of language and literacy by relying both on adults and other children.

Whereas the previous examples focused on the (bi)lingual and (bi)literate development of the children, there were also examples of children's bicultural development in different literacy events. Santa's drawing of the concept of respect in the religion class highlighted the important role of this value in her community. Although the activity was teacher-led, Santa was open to multiple interpretations of what the concept represented to her. Bauer and Gort (2012) state that for purposeful and authentic meaning-making to happen, a constructivist lens should see the learner as an active participant, while a sociocultural framework will see children using their context to learn about the world around them. In the case of emergent biliteracy, children are actually using two linguistic and cultural worlds to make sense of the world around them with the help of their peers, family, neighbors, teachers, and so on. Santa demonstrated signs of emergent biliteracy and of her development as a bicultural member of her Indigenous group when she decided to focus on activities which the elders spoke of as demonstrations of respect, thus relying on her cultural funds of knowledge and on the elders as more capable peers. Given the interactions between a learner and her or his surrounding context, learning also emerges as a mediated and situated activity. From this standpoint, then, the physical, social, and symbolic context in which learners are engaged are at the core of this broad understanding of learning as a

sociocultural practice (Vygotsky, 1977, 1987, 2004). The role of social interactions is crucial in understanding how more competent peers can not only influence students' roles in the school setting but also how they can contribute to the students' literacy and language development in different contexts, as seen throughout this section.

### **The Role of Translanguaging**

This section highlights the children's practices that were part of their development as bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural individuals, and it also highlights the role of bilingual monitors in the education of these children. García and Beardsmore (2009) describe the concept of translanguaging or how bilinguals engage in multiple discursive practices in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds as "an approach to bilingualism that is centered, not on language as has often been the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable" (p. 44).

Translanguaging goes beyond code-switching but can also include it. As García and Kleifgen (2010) state, "Educators who understand the power of translanguaging encourage emergent bilinguals to use their home languages to think, reflect, and extend their inner speech" (p. 63). By looking at the practices and uses that bilingual children employ with their languages, we revise our thinking from looking at language structure and to instead honoring the benefits that bilingual practices can bring to emergent bilingual and biliterate children.

As language mediates learning, the flexible use of bilingual practices, or translanguaging, mediates learning for bilingual learners. It refutes the notion of a "true bilingual" (Váldes, 2003) or a balanced bilingual (Grosjean, 2010), where one can keep two languages separate. It challenges monolingual bias (García & Beardsmore, 2009; García, 2012), which frames translanguaging from a deficit perspective. Researchers who propose the concept of translanguaging or similar terms, such as polylinguaging, heteroglossia, codemeshing, and

translingual practice (see Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012, p. 649), argue that translanguaging “better captures the sociolinguistic realities of everyday life” (García & Wei, 2014, p. 29). One of the advantages of translanguaging is the support for a deeper understanding of subject matter through the use of Vygotsky’s ZPD and crosslinguistic transfer (Baker, 2006). If students do not understand the language they are being taught in, it will be next to impossible to construct meaning and learn meaningfully. Using the full range of bilingual meaning-making resources, including translanguaging, expands thinking and understanding. It gives teachers and students opportunities to build on their strengths and to acknowledge and use a full range of linguistic practices to improve teaching and learning. This expanded view of translanguaging connects to my findings because children used many resources in order to understand the language around them. Examples of these resources include the following: using contextual cues to do well in tests; using their peers for language clarification working in their multiple ZPDs; and using drawing to further their literacy and language development.

**Translanguaging through drawing.** With this translanguage framework in mind, I turn to discussing how children translanguaged through many of the activities in and outside of the classroom setting. I analyzed activities to define if they represented literacy events or socialization practices, and to determine who initiated the interactions (Azuara, 2009; Reyes & Azuara, 2008), as well as the theme within the activity. I started with examples of children’s drawings in the context of the classroom, where they used my notebook as a resource to talk about their activities on the reservation. This activity was child-initiated since the children were the ones who asked me to draw in my notebook. However, I also directed the children to tell me what the drawing represented, so this part of the interaction was adult-initiated.

There were several drawings that were meaningful for my analysis. First, Melissa and Sabrina drew water-related images. Sabrina used the syllabic system (Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1979) to teach me the word **kuaraã** = sun and some of the other words I wrote down below the drawing (as seen in Chapter 5). Second, Bernardo had two drawings representing someone being rescued by a helicopter, which he saw in a movie. His consistent use of the same example shows how he internalized (Rogoff, 1990) the event. Last, Janaina did two different drawings, the first one in which she and her older brother were playing **toli-toli** in their house on a day that was not **aku** [hot], meaning that they could play at home and not need to go to the waterfall; the second one was a memory of her visit to a nearby town, Garopaba, where she saw the ocean for the first time. These drawings are examples of socialization activities that the children transformed into forms of literacy and language development on a daily basis during their time at the bilingual school. Further, they show how these socialization practices should be seen as forms of literacy (Marqui, 2012) as exemplified by many of the practices the children shared with me. These examples also show how children can use different forms of language and literacy to describe their experiences or funds of knowledge. The children translanguaged by drawing about their experiences and further by storying orally about them either through Guarani or Portuguese.

During all of the events observed, the children used both languages to tell me what their drawings represented. These examples support a view of emergent bilingualism and emergent biliteracy that are aided by the bicultural understandings of the children. Children's stories and the dynamics of cultural, social, and institutional contexts are intrinsically related to literacy (Moll et al., 2001). Janaina did not only talk about her life on the reservation but she also brought in her experience of a visit outside of her community. Sabrina excelled in using her language abilities not only explaining her own drawings but also by discussing her peers'

drawings, moving from Guarani to Portuguese with ease. In De la Piedra's (2006) study, teachers used the syllabic methods to teach Spanish to the Indigenous children, just like teacher Jéssica used to teach Portuguese. Sabrina also demonstrated her knowledge of language by teaching me, a non-Guarani speaker, how to properly spell the words in Guarani through the Portuguese syllabic system (Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1979), which showed not only her bilingual knowledge but also her bicultural understanding of my position as an outsider. This knowledge, in turn, supports her emergent biliterate (Reyes, 2006) development as well. Because translanguaging happened at different levels in this language community, this process supports Reyes' view of emergent biliteracy, where there is a "dynamic development of concepts and expertise for thinking, listening, speaking, reading, and writing in two languages" (p. 269). Furthermore, these examples show the children's versatility in understanding reading, writing, and other forms of literacy.

**Knowledge of Guarani language and culture.** While bilingual and biliterate children have access to two linguistic and cultural systems, Indigenous children "not only have access to two literate worlds but they also have access to two different ways of defining and using literacy according to its purposes and context of use" (De la Piedra, 2006, p. 385). Children in different instances used their knowledge of the Guarani language and culture to facilitate content both for the researcher and for teacher Jéssica. These examples support the children's emergent development as bicultural individuals since they use both languages to communicate in different contexts.

For example, when Ricardo translated **karai** as *encima do sol embaixo de Deus* (Portuguese—over the sun, under God). This translation went beyond code-switching because Ricardo had to truly understand what the role of the **karai** was in order to translate that into

Portuguese. Sabrina also used her knowledge of Guarani culture to translate the name of the Brazilian legend *Boi Tata*. When teacher Jéssica asked the children if anyone knew what *Boi Tata* meant, Sabrina said *cobra fogo* [fire snake, as translated to Portuguese]. Teacher Jéssica and I were perplexed that she knew this term because *Boi Tata* is a word combination derived from Guarani (**Mboi** = *cobra*; **Tata** = *fogo*), but we did not expect a seven-year-old to be able to make that connection since she had only started to learn formal Portuguese as a first-grader.

Santa also expressed her knowledge of Guarani culture when she said to me, “*Eu sou Guarani*” [I am Guarani]. Because I did not prompt her further, I cannot be sure if she identified as Indigenous or simply as Guarani. Even though they live in a much more acculturated environment than their ancestors, these children still possess a lot of knowledge about what it means to be Guarani, and they can translate that knowledge in different ways into the classroom setting, just as Santa did. This knowledge is also demonstrated by their understanding of the animals. In those examples, the children exceeded the literal translation of words by applying their knowledge of Guarani ways of being through oral Guarani. These interactions support both these children’s bilingual and bicultural development since the children used not only language but also their own funds of knowledge (González et al., 2005) to act as agents (Cohn, 2005a; Marqui, 2012; Mello, 2006; Tassinari, 2011) of their own learning development. These examples demonstrate how these children are in the process of becoming bicultural (Nicholas, 2009) as they develop their emergent bilingual competencies (Reyes, 2006).

Children in the third grade also demonstrated their knowledge of pronunciation of Guarani words through the literal translation between Guarani and Portuguese. Ricardo was teaching me some words in Guarani, such as **jaujo** [good morning], **nhadecarujo** [good afternoon], and **aueté** [thank you], and throughout the exchange both Gabriel and Anita also

joined in to provide the pronunciation in Guarani or the translation in Portuguese. In the first grade, Bernardo saw that Virginia and I were reading and brought me a science book. There was a figure of a snake and Virginia said *olha* [look] and pointed to it. From that exchange I learned about seven different names of animals in Guarani. The children used the images of the animals to orally teach them to me in Guarani. As I repeated the words in Guarani, I also said the word in Portuguese in a questioning intonation to prompt the children to tell me if I was correct. They did not repeat the Portuguese word, but they used the Guarani word for the animal to continue telling me the story of the book through the images of the animals. The context in which children were inserted in these events influenced the way that they used language (Grosjean, 2010), for example the fact that they saw me as an outsider who was trying to learn their language. In the third grade, the children were able to move from Portuguese to Guarani easily because their language abilities differed from the children in first grade, who were in the earlier phases of emergent bilingualism (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Grosjean, 2010; Reyes, 2006). In these examples, we also see how the children were not the sum of two monolinguals (García & Beardsmore, 2009; Grosjean, 1997; Luykx, 2003; Ramanathan, 2002; Rogoff, 2003; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) since they used multiple ways of thinking, reflecting, and extending their inner speech (García & Beardsmore, 2009) to construct the flexible use of their bilingual practices.

**Code-switching.** Whereas in the previous section I use the larger term translanguaging to refer to some of the (bi)lingual practices of the children in the classroom, in this section I refer to more specific word-by-word code-switching examples in the classroom. One example was when children did not call each other by the name; for example, Gabriel would ask Anita something by calling her **kunhã** [girl] or girls called boys **ava'í** [boy]. This interaction also illustrates the children's understanding of Guarani ways of being since children were expected to

call each other either by their Guarani names or by **kunhã** or **ava'í**. These examples indicate that bilingualism should be seen as a dynamic process, where the individual speaking two languages is not seen as a monolingual speaker of two languages but as the user of two evolving linguistic and cultural systems. By using this dynamic view (Grosjean, 2010), we are opposing the pervasive deficit view of bilingualism (García & Beardsmore, 2009; Grosjean, 2010; Luykx, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978), and thus understanding that when a child code-switches, she is using these multiple linguistic and cultural systems to produce an understanding of the context around her.

This dynamic bilingualism happened through the use of Portuguese words (school-related or play-related) during Guarani speech. Some words that the children used solely in Portuguese and were school-related are *caderno* [notebook], *borracha* [eraser], *folhinha* [worksheet], *lápiz* [pencil], *faquinha* [handmade sharpener], as well as the names of content areas, such as *ciências* [science] or *língua materna*. As far as play-related words, the children did not know the word *senha* [password] in Guarani, so they used it in Portuguese while playing *vendinha* [little store], or they did not know the names of games such as *futebol* [soccer] or *pega-pega*, among others, so they used the Portuguese words. Although not explicit, an understanding among the Indigenous people in this group indicates that some words introduced by the school do not have literal translations into Guarani. At the same time as they understand the concepts behind these words, children are also using their resources as bicultural individuals to make sense of the world around them, in this case by ‘adapting’ (Vasconcelos, 2011) to the use of non-Indigenous words, Portuguese school and play-related words.

Children also used different strategies to teach content to their peers, such as when Sabrina taught Melissa how to write the word *cuca* by saying “C a’**e** **gui** U,” where the word **a’**e****

**gui** means **and**, a frequently used word in Guarani. This format of teaching was used often by teacher Jéssica when teaching Portuguese to the children, by using the syllabic method and using the Guarani word **a'e gui** to connect the letters in the syllables. In another example, Melissa said “*eu errei, eu não fiz **petêi** linha*” [I did it wrong, I did not leave a line] and walked away to get the eraser to redo her writing. She demonstrated, beyond the knowledge of the Guarani language, her knowledge of text structure in Portuguese, which was continually taught by teacher Jéssica. Word code-switching by the lead teacher happened in different events; word code-switching also happened with monitor Bruno. Teacher Jéssica used words in Guarani to gain children’s attention, such as including **Mokôï risquinho** during her explanation of text structure in Portuguese. **Mokôï risquinho** means leaving two lines while copying from the blackboard. Teacher Jéssica also employed numbers in Guarani in instances such as a history test, when teacher Jéssica said, “*Você vai procurar no texto **mokôï** palavras com acento agudo e **petêi** palavra com acento circumflexo*” [you will look for two words with acute accent and one word with circumflex accent in the text].

Goodman et al. (1979) support the use of the term “biliteracy” (instead of using the simple term “reading”) in order to stress the interrelatedness of reading and writing. Pérez and Torres-Guzmán (1996) use the term “biliteracy” to express “the acquisition and learning of the decoding and encoding of and around print using two linguistic and cultural systems in order to convey messages in a variety of contexts” (p. 54). These definitions of emergent biliteracy help us understand the processes young children engage in when learning two languages simultaneously and demonstrate how children like Sabrina and Melissa can connect to Portuguese text through both oral Portuguese and Guarani in order to make sense of the content at hand. As these Guarani children “learn the decoding and encoding of and around print using

two linguistic and cultural systems,” they also “convey messages in a variety of contexts,” in this case, the understanding of Portuguese grammar.

The children achieved this biliteracy by using code-switching and by performing teacher-like behaviors, as shown through the examples of code-switching by teacher Jéssica. As these children developed as bilingual and biliterate individuals, they used multiple resources around them. In Kenner’s (2004) study, the children transferred knowledge from their L1 to their L2 by using environmental and cognitive cues to become biliterate. In the case of the children in this study, they did the opposite, by using knowledge of their L2 to inform their development of their L1. Thus, in understanding these children’s language and literacy development, there is not a fine line in describing how they became bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural. Children used multiple resources as they translanguaged among the different contexts around them, by using their peers, the elders, other adults in their lives, the environment, and their knowledge of Guarani ways of being to inform their language and literacy development. In addition, the bilingual school and the bilingual monitors also had a great impact on this development, and as such, I turn in the last section of this chapter to a description of these important aspects of the children’s socialization processes and language and literacy development.

### **The Role of the Bilingual School in Supporting the Development of Bilingualism, Biliteracy, and Biculturalism**

The enactment of the Federal Constitution in 1988 and the adoption of the new Law of Directives and Bases of National Education in 1996 resulted in an extensive redesign of the Brazilian education system. One of the main reasons for this change was that Indigenous education gradually began to have different prerogatives than the national education system. For the first time in the history of Brazil, the Constitution recognized Indigenous cultural diversity

and set different rights for Indigenous peoples. Among those rights was the right to schooling in their mother tongues and the use of their own learning processes.

Under the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional* from December 20, 1996, all Indigenous schools in Brazil are guaranteed access to bilingual education and to any resources to guarantee that children learn the national language, Portuguese, but these bilingual schools can develop and use the Indigenous students' maternal language, in this case Guarani, in the school context. In this legal scenario, contemporary Indigenous schools are defined as "differentiated," "bilingual," and "intercultural" (Tassinari & Cohn, 2009). Each Indigenous community is guaranteed the freedom to define their pedagogical and curricular projects, which, however, must be recognized by the Ministry of Education to ensure that students graduate to continue their studies. Under this legislation, the *E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu* delegated weekly Guarani language classes that last 45 minutes, from first through fifth grade (once a week). Until 2013, these classes were also taught from sixth through eighth grade, but a review by the government assessed that the Guarani language classes were not needed in the upper grades, so the school changed its curriculum to fit the new law. Besides the language classes, Guarani can be freely spoken in any environment within or outside of the classroom context. Each of the elementary classrooms has one bilingual monitor who supports the teacher in delivering the content from the national curriculum. The monitor is also responsible for teaching the Guarani language class.

Testa (2008) studied the Mbya Guarani in different villages in the South and Southeast regions of Brazil for seven years and points to the need to re-conceptualize orality and writing as important aspects within a wider group of processes of production, acquisition, and transmission of knowledge in these groups. Testa states that from her research, education is conceived in a wide sense that cannot be reduced to schooling. Schooling is a significant part of what

Indigenous scholars in the U. S. and in Brazil have been trying to contextualize in the face of years of colonization. Understanding the role that the school played in the Tekoá Marangatu community has been a key aspect of this study. As a political construct, everything that happened in the community had to go through the school, where the *cacique* spent most of his day as part of the administration. As their bilingual leader, the *cacique* wrestled with the various power dynamics that play a role within this political environment, dynamics which were reminiscent of years of struggle with early colonization by the Spanish and Portuguese in Brazil.

Before moving on to understanding how the bilingual school worked, it is important to contextualize how schooling happened in earlier times on the reservation. Prior to the advent of the school in 2002, children learned about the Guarani ways of being in the **opy** [prayer house].

As the *cacique* stated:

*É... antigamente os pais falavam pras crianças pra, que antigamente não tinha escola, né?! [...] Era só casa de reza e assim de dia, o dia a dia das criança era ajudar os pais, capinar, trabalhar no redor de casa, a limpar, limpa a casa, lavar roupas. Mas assim, não é pesado, mas sempre fazia isso ajudando os pais. É... depois disso tem hora de brincar também, brinca fazendo armadilha, assim, brincando pra aprender a brinca assim, né?! E, e final da tarde, antigamente, to falando de antigamente, no final da tarde, eles levavam na casa de reza pra dançar a dança do **Xondaro**, a dança do guerreiro. [...] É, a gente dançava com crianças, né?! E brincava também **peteca**, que é nosso esporte guarani. [...] Mas atualmente, é, as crianças já estudam na escola e depois da aula eles brincam bola, pega-pega. [...] E também no verão eles brincam muito na água, no rio. Esse é o dia do, o dia a dia deles agora.*

It is ... before the parents would speak to the children because we had no school, right?! [...] It was only the prayer house and so during the day, the day-to-day of a child was to help parents, weeding, working around the house, cleaning, cleaning the house, washing clothes. But so it was not difficult, but it always helped the parents. It is ... after that they had time to play too, making traps, like playing to learn how to play like that, right?! And, late in the afternoon, before, like talking about the old days, in the late afternoon, they would take the children to the prayer house to dance the dance of **Xondaro**, the warrior dance. [...] Yes, we danced with children, right?! Also playing *peteca* [shuttlecock], which is our Guarani sport. [...] Yes, that. But today is, children now learn in school and after school they play ball, catch-up. [...] And also in the summer they play much in the water in the river. This is the day, the day-to-day of them now. (Floriano da Silva, personal communication, December 2, 2014)

*Cacique* Floriano explained, from his **nhande reko**, what schooling meant for the Indigenous children on the reservation in previous years. He also alluded to the changes that have been occurring in the children's daily activities with the advent of the school. The school has brought many mainstream practices into the reservation, and the presence of non-Indigenous teachers is one of them. All of the non-Indigenous teachers are from a white, either low- or middle-income background. In this sense, these non-Indigenous teachers are considered outsiders to the community even though some of them have been working at the school for more than eight years. Each elementary classroom has one teacher for all subjects (Portuguese, math, geography, history, and science) in addition to an arts teacher and a P.E. teacher and the bilingual monitor. All of these elements, the bilingual monitors, the elders who work on the community committee, the non-Indigenous teachers, the *cacique*, the non-Indigenous principal, and so on

aggregate a complex string of factors that influence how the bilingual school is preparing the children to become competent bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural citizens of their community.

**The role of the bilingual monitor.** In chapter 5, I described how the bilingual monitor, Bruno, used many resources as he translanguaged to help children in first grade understand the mainstream curriculum content. In some examples, he used oral Guarani while teaching how to spell words in the Portuguese class, and as he presented the words, he sounded them out with the Portuguese intonation. In another example, Bruno was helping children individually while they were doing a math activity, and while he used oral Guarani to teach the concept, he used the numbers in Portuguese. Teacher Jéssica did the reverse practice, by using Guarani numbers during the use of oral Portuguese. Another important role of monitor Bruno was that he was the father of one of the first graders, Juliana. Sometimes he played his role as the father, sometimes as the monitor, and sometimes as both. I showed three examples where Bruno acted in the three roles, using both languages as resources to aid in Juliana's understanding of content.

Bruno also facilitated Portuguese content through oral Guarani either individually or as a whole group in different literacy events. I highlighted the most important ones since they emphasized both the monitor and the children's ability to translanguage between the different language contexts (additional examples can be seen in Appendix A, Table 7). I showed how Sabrina used contextual cues to help Juliana sound out words in the Portuguese class during Bruno's attempts to teach his daughter and how Bruno physically helped Virginia write in Portuguese while explaining the content in oral Guarani. In addition, in many of the examples, Bruno "translated" (into Guarani) the instructions of activities both in the Portuguese and math classes as teacher Jéssica explained orally in Portuguese. In regards to the way he "translated"

during the classes, Bruno had a very dynamic view of his role as a bilingual monitor, which was influenced by his own experiencing growing up bilingually:

*Sim, eu trabalho só assim, porque não adianta a professora passa e já traduzi tudo, conta tudo, que isso já vo ta ajudando eles aprende mais rápido, então melhor só explica. Porque vão ter que sabe eles próprio memo. [...] Eu aprendi sozinho mesmo.[...] É porque eu era, quando eu estudava lá em Rio Grande do Sul, que lá não tinha intérprete e era tudo não indígena. Ai como eu não sabia, eu tive que pensa, pensa. Depois eu perguntava apenas uma vez só assim pra professora. que ele não dizia que palavra certa. Ai fiquei pensando, pensando, ai assim eu aprendi.*

Yes, I work this way, because it is not good that the teacher says something and I translate word by word, share everything she says, because this way I will already be helping them learn faster than it is best to **only explain** because they will know on their own this way. [...] I learned on my own. [...] It's because when I was, when I studied there in Rio Grande do Sul [as a child], there was no interpreter and it was all non-Indigenous. And because I did not know [much Portuguese], I had to think, think. Then I would ask the teacher only once [if I was correct]. He did not say word by word. Then I was thinking, thinking, and then I learned. (Personal communication, December 1, 2014)

There are multiple layers in the excerpt above. Bruno used multiple ways of understanding the context around him at school as a child since his teachers were all non-Indigenous. He learned how to better translate from one language to the other by thinking hard about the concepts he was being taught, and he has used this strategy, of explaining through the way that children think, to help the first-graders in understanding the content both in the Portuguese and math classes. Although Bruno had a strategy for how to teach the children in

order to ensure they continue becoming bilingual, the monitors at the bilingual school did not receive any formal training in pedagogical practices that would benefit the bilingual and biliterate development of the children. Former *cacique*, Augusto, had an enlightening perspective on the children's language practices and the role of the bilingual monitors:

*É, na verdade, sem o guarani, mas essas crianças já estão meio atrapalhadas assim, já misturam muito assim. É bem dizer assim: quando fala em guarani, já não fala bem direito, então tem que ensina de novo pra ver se fala bem mesmo em guarani verdadeiro, né?! [...] Mas estão aprendendo. E aprendem em português também na mesma hora.*

It is, in fact, without the Guarani, but these children are already confused, they already mix both languages. It is like that: when they speak in Guarani, they no longer speak it well, then [we] have to teach again to see if they talk in real Guarani, right?! [...] But they are learning. And they are learning in Portuguese also at the same time. (Personal communication, October 17, 2014)

Seu Augusto speaks both to language loss (Guarani) and to how he sees the monitors as role models for the “real Guarani” language. Whereas Bruno participated and engaged the children in learning both languages in the first grade, Fabiano rarely supported the children in the third grade. Even though Fabiano taught his weekly Guarani language classes and used only oral and written Guarani during that class, most of his activities were modeled after the mainstream curriculum. In addition, throughout the whole duration of my observations, I only recorded six instances where Fabiano used oral Guarani during the regular classes to aid in the children's understanding of content. In fact, many times, he was even absent during class period, and I was not able to conduct an informal interview with him regarding his role as a bilingual monitor.

This disparity between the two approaches taken by the educators and monitors represents the lack of training offered from local supervisors and also a lack of instruction from federal authorities. The processes of teaching and learning, one of the precepts of the new national Indigenous education policy, have proved to be the most difficult to incorporate into school experiences (Marqui, 2012). In fact, there is little understanding of these processes and a lack of material on the processes of teaching and learning that emphasize the importance of the production of cultural ways of being, which is extremely important in Indigenous groups (Seeger, Da Matta, & Viveiros de Castro, 1979). The lack of understanding and materials is worsened because pedagogical references to teaching practices and proposals are forged in mainstream schools, which are Western, urban, and aimed at an audience from a literate environment (Sobrinho, 2010; Marqui, 2012). An effective approach to Indigenous education should take into account how these children already possess the resources to become competent bicultural individuals and build on their strengths (González et al., 2005), rather than separating teaching and learning into “mainstream” or “Indigenous” dichotomies.

The notion of “differentiated” education is also distinctly valued by Indigenous people. While some people make use of this prerogative to develop educational programs that barely remind us of a conventional view of “school” (Gallois, 2001), there are situations where the Indians seek precisely the more traditional school models, criticizing, and sometimes not without reason, the “differentiated” education policy as a lower quality policy which maintains Indigenous people in a state of isolation, ignorance, and inferiority. These different views mirror the perspectives of the monitors in the bilingual school. While the school has a bilingual coordinator whose role is to support the school in developing curriculum, materials, and

instruction to support the children's bilingual and biliterate development, the coordinator's lack of training impedes his success.

While the findings of this study support the view that Indigenous ways of being and living are an integral part of these children's learning process and should not be left out of the discussion on their (bi)lingual, (bi)literate, or (bi)cultural development, the findings leave room into affirming that the bilingual school fully supports this development. Bruno, both as a member of the community and as a bilingual monitor, used the resources he could find to support the children. Teacher Jéssica also used strategies that allowed the children to use multiple modes of literacy, language, and socialization practices in the classroom; however, she still struggled with having to follow a mandated mainstream curriculum, which also happened in the study by Sobrinho (2010) and Marqui (2012). Fabiano, on the other hand, while still part of the community, did not show any efforts in helping the children maintain their native language beyond what was required of him in the role of monitor. These different realities of the teachers in the children's lives demonstrate that despite the efforts made towards helping the children becoming bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural, there is still much room for improvement.

### **Summary of Main Points**

- The *modo de ser e viver* in this Indigenous community was intrinsically connected to how they saw themselves as Guarani and how they have adapted to the ways of living on the reservation. Being Guarani encompassed many aspects of their religion, ways of thinking, cosmology and so on, and thus many times it was difficult to separate all of the aspects that composed the Guarani individual.
- One of the socialization practice domains identified in the data analysis was *respeito* [respect] as a community value, and the concept was seen throughout the discussion as a

central understanding to the Guarani *modo de ser* [way of being]. This socialization practice was used by both elders and children through oral Guarani and through challenging the notion of Portuguese as the dominant language within the school setting.

- Children's local funds of knowledge demonstrated how they were able to apply their socialization practices in the school setting by using them in language and literacy practices, for example in the practice of traditional Guarani dances, the production of handicrafts, or pretend play through washing clothes or cooking.
- These understandings also applied to gender relationships portrayed in the intricate system children used during their daily routines and in play on the reservation. Children moved from oral Guarani into oral Portuguese during the same play activities, as they communicated to each other their roles and expectations during play, which was highly influenced by their gender and age in the play group and supported their bilingual development.
- The role of peer interactions was crucial in the bilingual and biliterate development of the children. Modeling by older peers happened at different levels, either with peer interactions or with adult-child interactions, as children acted as "mediators of literacy." Siblings in this community also acted as "mediators of literacy." Last, children performed peer modeling and teacher-like behaviors in several of the examples cited. Children imitated the role of teachers by teaching and sharing with their peers how to do specific activities in school-related practices.
- The findings of this study support the view that Indigenous ways of being and living are an integral part of these children's learning process and should not be left out of the discussion on their (bi)lingual, (bi)literate, or (bi)cultural development; however, the

findings also leave room into affirming that the bilingual school is not fully supporting this development as well.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

### Summary

This dissertation emerged from my desire, as a novice in the fields of bilingualism and biliteracy within Indigenous communities, to understand how these different fields can come together to better understand how a young Indigenous child can develop as a bilingual, bicultural, and biliterate citizen of her many worlds. While it is broadly accepted that literacy development starts before schooling in literate societies (Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1979; Goodman, 1986, 1996; Haste, Woodward, & Burke, 1984; Sulzby & Teale, 1996; Tolchinsky, 2003), the assertion is still fragmented and limited in relation to young emergent bilingual Indigenous children, as we still know little about how literacy develops for this specific group of children (Dworin & Moll, 2006). This study supported in many ways the findings of other studies which describe Indigenous communities as primarily oral societies; however, it also supported the view that young Indigenous children are emergent bilingual and biliterate individuals. Through analyzing both socialization practices and literacy events in the Tekoá Marangatu, I documented these children's emergent bilingual and biliterate practices contributing to the field of bilingualism and biliteracy for young Indigenous children. In addition, I also documented how these children and the community members around them have adapted to the introduction of the bilingual school by becoming bicultural individuals.

*I: Tu és um pouco mais novo, o que tu achas, o que é ser guarani para ti?*

*B: Ser guarani pra mim, como diz brasileiros tem orgulho de ser brasileiro, então eu tenho orgulho de guarani também. Eu gosto de ser guarani memo. Pra mim é tudo, né?!*

I: You are a little younger, what do you think, what does it mean to be Guarani to you?

B: To be Guarani to me, as Brazilians, we are proud to be Brazilians, so I have pride in being Guarani too. I like being Guarani. It is everything for me! (Bilingual monitor Bruno, personal communication, December 1, 2014)

This powerful exchange highlights both the depth with which Guarani people see themselves and their struggle to connect that understanding and ways of being into the Portuguese language. The Guarani *modo de ser* permeated many of the activities performed by the children and the adults in this study. As competent and active participants of their community, children used their ways of being and living to engage in multiple literacy events within the school setting. However, it was impossible to separate the specific practices that children performed from this broad understanding of *Ser Guarani*. *Ser Guarani*, in the words of the bilingual language coordinator, Tarcísio, meant to be respectful of all living things around him. Bruno, on the other side, explained his pride in being part of the group; yet he used a popular Brazilian saying, “*Orgulho de ser Brasileiro*” (Proud to be Brazilian), to express his Indigenous epistemology. These examples demonstrate the influence of the non-Indigenous world on the Tekoá Marangatu reservation, but Bruno also demonstrates his competency as a bicultural citizen as he explained his **tekó** to a non-Indigenous person, adapting both to my presence as the researcher and to the fact that he had to explain his Indigenous epistemology in the Portuguese language. In turn, the children in this study also demonstrated different levels of biculturalism as they navigated the different contexts presented to them, both inside and outside of the classroom.

The purpose of this dissertation study was to explore the role of Indigenous children’s socialization processes in the development of bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism within the bilingual school environment and how the bilingual school influences the development of the

Guarani language. Chapter 1 was an introduction to the context of the study and the purpose behind it. Chapter 2 included an in depth description of the Guarani people and their community, starting with an ethnographic review; the group's way of life and religious practices; a brief review of the dislocation of Guarani groups on the coast of the state of Santa Catarina, Brazil; the research site, the Tekoá Marangatu reservation; and an analysis of contemporary Indigenous education in Brazil.

My theoretical framework was influenced by the idea that literacy is a social construct, where language is seen as a cultural practice and learning emerges as a mediated and situated activity. Thus, Chapter 3 was divided in three parts: First, I looked at the role of bilingualism and biliteracy in the lives of Indigenous children by exploring the definitions and uses of both bilingualism and biliteracy; second, I looked at how children socialize in different cultures, focusing primarily on Latino, Indigenous, and U.S. (EuroAmerican/U.S. White middle-class) children by analyzing case studies which spotlight the socialization processes that children go through not only on the home setting but also the community and school settings; and third, I treated the research on Indigenous children socialization theory within the Brazilian context separately. This chapter laid the foundation for my discussion of findings.

Chapter 4 described my methodology and data analysis. The research questions I explored focused on how the Guarani family and community socialization practices were or were not reflected in the school context, in addition to how these practices influenced the bilingual, biliterate and bicultural development of the young Indigenous children in this community. I used qualitative tools to document the everyday literacy practices of both first- and third-grade classrooms in the *Escola Indígena de Ensino Fundamental Tekoá Marangatu*. These everyday literacy and socialization practices findings were detailed in Chapter 5,. The chapter described

the Indigenous socialization practices and literacy events I observed at the Tekoá Marangatu community. First, I analyzed and described the Indigenous socialization practices that were more salient in their day-to-day practice: Indigenous ways of being or *modos de ser*, daily living routines, traditional Guarani and traditional non-Guarani forms of dance, and games and play. Second, I illustrated specific literacy events the children performed alone or in the presence of peers: Games and play in formal settings, pretend play and use of books, holistic ways of developing literacy, and writing. Last, I describe the role of translanguaging through knowledge of Guarani language and culture, code-switching, and language facilitation in the classrooms by both the non-Indigenous teacher and the bilingual monitors.

In the first section of my discussion, in Chapter 6, I highlighted the different socialization practices that supported the bilingual, biliterate, or bicultural development of the children. Santa's description of *Ser Guarani* represents the mobility and freedom (Marqui, 2012; Tassinari, 2011) with which children are allowed to act in this Indigenous group. The concept of respect, which according to Schaden (1962) is characteristic of this society, also emphasized the autonomy (Cohn, 2000a; Mello, 2006; Tassinari, 2011) of the children in demonstrating their own understanding of the world. Through the lectures of elders, children internalized (Rogoff, 1990) the meaning of the value and voiced their understanding of it in different events. In addition, all throughout these activities, children used oral Guarani as a resource to confront the dominant language, just like the children in De la Piedra's (2006) and Hornberger's (1996) studies of Quechua language practices.

Children's funds of knowledge (González et al., 2005) also had their place in the classroom. As De la Piedra (2004) observed in a Quechua community in Peru, literacy funds of knowledge also formed part of the distributed knowledge of the community. Thus, in my study,

I identified the socialization practices that the children in this Indigenous community brought into the classroom from their cultural capital knowledge that they learn from their families and community. For example, their knowledge of gender roles and how they adapted that into their play was an important trait of their interactions (Dennis, 1940; Luykx, 1989). These gendered activities, in turn, were strongly permeated by bilingual practices. Children were able to move across languages, Portuguese and Guarani, again representing the movement and mobility characteristic of Guarani communities. In addition, these language choices were also affected by different factors in the children's immediate environment (Vygotsky, 1978), such as their language abilities, context, personalities, and the dynamics with peer relationships.

In the second part of the analysis, I documented how peer interactions were an essential aspect of learning for the children. Children interacted with each other, with adults, and with the environment around them (Pereira, 2004c) to make meaning of specific language and literacy related practices. These peer interactions took different forms, such as through modeling by older peers (i.e. child/child or child/adult); through the knowledge of gender relationships (either in the unstructured or structured play, children knew their role as peers depending on their gender); or through the horizontal sharing of knowledge with siblings or peers. I adopted the concept of mediators of literacy (De la Piedra & Romo, 2003), which are described as “participants who have literacy skills in the code being used” (p. 49) to highlight that diverse children use many resources to aid in their emergent bilingual and biliterate development. They did not only read or write the message of texts, but they helped their peers in learning language through translanguaging, in learning literacy-related content through formal and informal play-related activities, and in learning about their role within socialization practices. Children did that

by interpreting meaning in the social context in which these different types of learning occurred and by actively constructing the literacy event through engaging with their peers.

Children constructed meaning together and collaboratively as they went through different literacy events, for example in the different drawing activities where Gustavo relied on his older peers to build his story or when Gabriel modeled the drawing of corn to the girls in the classroom. According to Ferreiro and Teberosky (1979), there are several phases of emergent literacy development, and drawing is one of the initial stages as children make meaning of their print world. In the examples provided through this dissertation, we observed the development of emergent bilingualism and biliteracy, as the children used both oral Guarani and Portuguese in addition to drawing to construct their knowledge and make meaning of their world. I also observed how a child could perform at different levels, such as apprentice or role model (Kenner, 2004). For example, Virginia was able to participate in different peer-guided activities: first, as the role model in the painting activity; second, by physically helping the preschooler writing in the Portuguese class; and third, as the apprentice where she learned how to spell words with Tainá. In these three examples, the child performed teacher-like behaviors in school-related activities (Azuara, 2009; Reyes & Azuara, 2008). Furthermore, these activities also support the bilingual and biliterate development of the children, and they demonstrate that while using both oral Guarani and Portuguese, Indigenous children can move across contexts to build their own understanding of the world.

In the third section I explored the concept of translanguaging. From the translanguaging framework, I borrowed from different researchers (Baker, 2006; García & Beardsmore, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2010; García & Wei, 2014; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012; Norbert, 2010) to describe the concept as including different bilingual and biliterate practices, such as thinking in a

language and orally reflecting in another; moving across texts in different languages; drawing and orally explaining a story; reading in one language and writing in another; discussing in one language and writing in another; using the body to express thoughts in the absence of language; or using both languages flexibly in microalternation, or code-switching. This expanded definition of translanguaging is necessary given the *oral bilingual* practices characteristic of the Tekoá Marangatu Indigenous community I observed in Santa Catarina, Brazil.

In chapter 6, I documented different practices where the children translanguaged as they transformed socialization practices into literacy events in the classroom setting. For instance, the children through both oral Guarani and oral Portuguese explained their drawings in my notebook, portraying their daily routines. In this case, the children's biliterate and bilingual development was aided by their bicultural understandings and linguistic resources used to describe their drawings and the drawings of their peers. In other example, Gabriel moved across different spaces, as he sang the cockroach song while he read posters on Portuguese grammar and played puzzles with his peers in a very fluid performance of translanguaging. I also identified examples where children had to use their knowledge of the Guarani language and culture in order to translate words in the classroom setting, which differed from the word-by-word code-switching used as resources by the children, the teacher, and the bilingual monitor. While bilingual and biliterate children have access to two linguistic and cultural systems, Indigenous children "not only have access to two literate worlds but they also have access to two different ways of defining and using literacy according to its purposes and context of use" (De la Piedra, 2006, p. 385). In sum, these examples also aid in the understanding of translanguaging as a rich resource that these Indigenous children used in order to support their development as bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural individuals.

The last part of my findings highlighted the role of the bilingual school in supporting the language and literacy learning of the children. We observed different ways in which the school is indeed supporting the children's bilingual and biliteracy development. For example, the school has adapted their P.E. classes by bringing in traditional games and play into the curriculum; the bilingual monitor, Bruno, explicated activities with the resources at hand to further the children's language and literacy development; and teacher Jéssica also allowed for the use of oral Guarani during her classes and used Guarani to aid in the children's understanding. However, there were some practices that still hindered the full support of the school, such as the lack of preparation of their bilingual language coordinator and the bilingual monitors. This lack of preparation happened, as specified, because neither the local nor the federal authorities understood how to apply the legislation that obliges the Indigenous schools to teach Indigenous children through Indigenous ways of learning. Many of these Indigenous schools, then, fall short of their roles by following mainstream curriculum structures without adapting to the young Indigenous children's needs. These schools struggle, like the teachers in Marqui's (2012) study, with how to adapt the concept of differentiated education into the Indigenous school, invariably hindering the use of Guarani learning and teaching processes in the school setting.

### **Implications**

**For theory.** As a novice researcher in the field of Indigenous education and bilingualism and biliteracy, I saw the significance of expanding various definitions pertaining to these fields. Even though we know that qualitative research is not generalized, there are still some points that are helpful for us to understand the context of Indigenous, diverse learners by comparing the Indigenous group I researched in Brazil to other Indigenous and minority/diverse groups around the world. My research questions were used as the lenses to analyze the data, thus I decided to

focus on the socialization processes of these children due to a lack of understanding, in general, of how these practices could be recognized as parts of the literacy development of young Indigenous children. These non-traditional, holistic forms of literacy helps us, educators, go beyond the definition of literacy as reading and writing and invite us to acknowledge that in a world full of diverse learners, we need to adapt our frameworks to further understand how these children live and learn.

This study supported in many ways the findings of other studies which describe Indigenous communities as primarily oral societies (Dennis, 1940; Luykx, 1989; Romero-Little, 2004); however, it also supported the view that young Indigenous children are emergent bilingual and biliterate individuals. In addition, there were some examples of literacy events which were particular to this study, for example when children demonstrated their knowledge of gender relationships and used language accordingly to who they were interacting with and where this interaction happened. *Translanguaging* was part of these young children's bilingual and biliterate practices. Some examples include: thinking in a language and orally reflecting in another; moving across texts in different languages; drawing and orally explaining a story; reading in one language and writing in another; discussing in one language and writing in another; or using both languages flexibly in microalternation, or code-switching. Thus, the expanded definition of translanguaging is necessary given the oral bilingual practices characteristic of the Tekoá Marangatu Indigenous community I observed in Santa Catarina, Brazil. The findings of this study support the view that Indigenous ways of being and living are an integral part of these children's learning process and should not be left out of the discussion on their (bi)lingual, (bi)literate, or (bi)cultural development.

**The Indigenous bilingual school and teacher-preparation.**

*A escola entrou na comunidade como um corpo estranho, que ninguém conhecia. Quem a estava colocando sabia o que queria, mas os índios não sabiam, hoje os os índios ainda não sabem pra que serve a escola. E esse é o problema. A escola entra na comunidade e se apossa dela, tornando-se dona da comunidade, e não a comunidade dona da escola. Agora, nós índios, estamos começando a discutir a questão.*

The school entered the community as foreign body, which no one knew. The individual who was putting it there knew what he wanted, but the Indians did not know. Today the Indians still do not know what is the purpose of the school. That is the problem. The school enters the community and takes possession of it, becoming the owner of the community, and not the community as the owner of the school. Now, we Indians, are starting to discuss this question. (Kaiagang as cited in Freire, 2004, p. 28)

This quote, which started this dissertation, demonstrates in many ways how the bilingual school has changed the lives of the Tekoá Marangatu community. However, it also highlights the efforts that Indigenous people in Brazil have put into making the school a place for hope for their children. It is important to highlight the complexity and oppression present in the view of schooling for Indigenous people. This complexity is connected to the power domain in Hornberger's (1989) and Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester's (2000) "continua of biliteracy." Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) state that "the more their learning contexts allow learners to draw on all points of the continua, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development" (p. 96). In this case, when we look at the development of biliteracy for Indigenous children, oral language is emphasized in the home context. However, at the *E.E.I.F. Tekoá Marangatu*, written language was reinforced through the Indigenous bilingual program, so the

children drew from the two ends of the continua, both oral and written, aiding in the children's biliterate and bilingual development. This study contributes to the complexity of the power relations specified in the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000), further contributing to the field of bilingualism and biliteracy for Indigenous children.

As a father in the community, Tarcísio expresses his view of teaching the Guarani language and culture in the school setting:

*Aham, é importante porque a língua, pra continuar a tradição pro futuro, paz né? Porque desde criança eu vou ensina a minha filha a conhece a tradição, a língua, a crença, pra que futuramente ela educa como eu eduquei ela. Pra que ela educa as filhas ou os filhos né? [...] Pra continuar tipo como os outro dice, passagem de geração em geração.*

Yeah, it is important because of the language, to continue the tradition for the future, you know [to bring] peace? Because since she is a child I will teach my daughter to know the tradition, language, beliefs, so that she can teach in the future just as I educated her. So she educates her daughters or children right? [...] To continue like people say, in passing from generation to generation. (Bilingual language coordinator, Tarcísio, personal communication, November 27, 2015)

The contribution that the members of the **tekoá** make to our understanding of how young Guarani children learn is a significant and transformative benefit of this study. Tarcísio exemplifies his role as a community member at the same time that he places the child as active participants (Cohn, 2005a; Marqui, 2012; Mello, 2006; Tassinari, 2011) in a dynamic and fluid system of sharing knowledge deeply contributing to their own bilingualism, biliteracy, and

biculturalism. By delineating the different ways in which children learn in this community, we can add to the body of knowledge about how young Indigenous children learn in different communities. The findings from this study and its participants also add to the understanding about how the school can do a better job of supporting the development of bilingualism and furthering the educational development of this community and other Indigenous communities around the world, but particularly to the Brazilian context. By considering the local indigenous funds of knowledge and local literacies, teachers can develop cultural specific curriculum activities, and engage families as part of the school community. The study also can inform local and higher education authorities on how to better prepare teachers to work with Indigenous children.

According to Romero-Little (2006), “Today Indigenous peoples worldwide are deconstructing Western paradigms, including the classic constructs of literacy connected to alphabet systems, and articulating and constructing their own distinct paradigms based on Indigenous epistemologies and rooted in self-determination and social justice” (p. 399). By constructing this new knowledge with the Indigenous children, this study also empowers Indigenous communities to continue including their own epistemologies in more formal settings like the school, places that before were not seen as suitable for their valuable ways of being (in the eyes of the Western paradigm). The constant transformation of this reservation has been reshaping the social structures and activities they perform on a daily basis, yielding new forms of literacy. Even though Portuguese is the dominant language in the school context, both adults and children use Guarani as a way to escape the homogenization almost required by the outside world. If fostered, the Guarani language can take a much larger part within the school context and thus further these children’s biliterate and bilingual development. There are many ways in

which teachers can accomplish this goal, but developing training for bilingual interpreters is easily one of the first steps to help children become bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural individuals in their Indigenous communities.

Another educational implication is that the findings also point to the importance of improving the bilingual school system in order to fully support this bilingual development as well. These findings will not only benefit students of language but also many other educators from around the world who have sought to find holistic ways of understand language and literacy and also researchers of Indigenous groups who still know little about how the members of these groups develop as bilingual, biliterate and bicultural individuals.

### **Conclusion**

The preparation of teachers, being them Indigenous or non-Indigenous, must take into account these non-traditional, holistic ways of seeing language and literacy development. It is only by preparing teachers to work with diverse learners and by including these learners' funds of knowledge into the curriculum that we will start to honor these diverse processes in more academic contexts. As mentioned before, the findings of this study support the view that Indigenous ways of being and living are an integral part of these children's learning process and should not be left out of the discussion on their (bi)lingual, (bi)literate, or (bi)cultural development; however, the findings also point to the importance of improving the bilingual school system in order to fully support this bilingual development as well. Thus, this dissertation study invites us, researchers in the field of early bilingualism and biliteracy, to continue research in this area. Particularly, we still know little about what literacy and biliteracy development looks like in Indigenous communities. With studies like this one, we can start to open a

discussion of these rich literacy and language practices that are part of Indigenous communities and children's everyday activities.

## APPENDIX A

## DESCRIPTION OF THEMES UNDER THE SPECIFIC DOMAINS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Table 1. Daily living routines

<b>Domain: Daily living routines</b>	
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Home	Washing pants in the bathroom – modeling after a home literacy practice
	Cooking a chocolate cake – modeling after teacher
	Modeling of daily activity by crawling: imitating a baby
	Braiding
	Cooking (pretend play)
	Drawing of favorite TV show
Community	Free circulation in the reservation translated to school context
	Drawing to understand Guarani concepts in the Guarani language class; planting
	Swimming at <i>pontinha</i> as regular activity
	Planting trees for the day of the tree (planting part of community literacy). Science - Using environment to learn science concept
	P.E. – walking around the reservation is something they do every day
	Arrow and Bow shooting
	Sharpening the pencil; similar activity to that of cutting wood animals (handcraft)
	Production of handcrafts in the school context

Table 2. Values

<b>Domain: Values</b>	
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Community/home value (respect) taught in school context	Drawing of the concept of respect by first grader
	Lecture by elders on the importance of the value
	Gender differences within the value
	Understanding of respect by young children
Self-perception – warrior	First-grader understanding of what it means to be Guarani
Protecting the culture	Prohibition of entrance to the <i>casa de reza</i> (praying house) to outsiders by young children
Religiosity	Retelling of stories from Guarani religion
Perceptions of teaching: non-Indigenous versus Indigenous people	Children’s understandings of language knowledge by Indigenous versus non-Indigenous teachers

Table 3. Non-traditional forms of literacy

<b>Domain: Non-traditional forms of literacy</b>	
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Dance/ song as a form of literacy	Performance of traditional Guarani dance for visiting school
	<i>Festa Junina</i> – Non-Indigenous traditional celebration in Brazil
	Chanting during class time
	Singing during class time
	Stomping to rhythm while performing various tasks in class
Drawing/ art as a form of literacy	Drawing of the concept of respect
	Folklore – use of traditional Brazilian folklore in the form of art and drawing
	Science- drawing the cycle of plants – Using environment to learn science concept
	Pre-schooler concept of storying developed through drawing
	Children’s day drawing: Child’s representation of community literacy activity through drawing
	Copying from peers during drawing/ art
	Drawing of favorite TV show: home literacy practice
	Drawing to understand Guarani concepts in the Guarani language class
	Perspective of drawing by non-Indigenous teacher
Game/ play as a form of literacy	Playing tag in the classroom
	Memory cards matching
	<i>Toli-toli</i> ; Traditional game as a form of literacy
	<i>Mandio</i> , traditional game as a form of literacy
	Swimming at <i>pontinha</i> (shallower part of the waterfall) as a community literacy practice
	Soccer practice; traditional Brazilian game as form of literacy
	Homemade Card game used to develop math concepts
	Use of textbook as game board
	Forming words from the “hanger” game
	Learning math through a card game
	Connection of games with media

Table 4. Content teaching through formal/informal instruction

<b>Domain: Content teaching through formal/informal instruction</b>	
<i>Content Area</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Math	Math teaching/ modeling by teacher and read aloud of numbers by children
	<i>Vendinha</i> (playing little store) Learning math through hands-on activity; Difference between free play and structured play
	Cooking a chocolate cake - measuring the ingredients
	Math concepts through modeling: games
	Connecting school content with real life events – Bingo
	Use of body as resource for math (counting numbers with fingers and toes)
	Portuguese
Portuguese exam: Use of contextual cues to complete tasks, copying from peers	
Use of counting syllables as strategy for completing Portuguese activity	
Use of syllable cheat sheets as resources to complete Portuguese activity	
Use of contextual cues as strategy to complete Portuguese activity	
Teaching of accentuation marks in Portuguese: children's oral connections to content by providing examples	
Teaching of gender marks in Portuguese	
Teaching about the articles by modeling by teacher	
<i>Caça-palavras</i> : Learning Portuguese through games	
Word root matching game	
Book handling instructions	
Teaching Portuguese individually; Modeling	
Bilingual monitor teaching Portuguese through Guarani; Modeling	
History	Decoding text; intertextuality
	History exam; Formal evaluation of development
Geography	Geography (community data analysis of basic services provided in the reservation); Math (counting the numbers of people/houses served); Community literacy (community

	members had to recall what they know about reservation)
Science	Science- the cycle of plants - Using environment to learn science concept
	Knowledge of animals: community literacy practice
Guarani Language Class	Teaching of Guarani content through Portuguese grammar structure
	Guarani grammar for older children

Table 5. Storying

<b>Domain: Storying</b>	
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Oral storytelling	Pre-schooler development of the concept of storying through drawing
	Comic strip production of the ice-cream story: oral retelling of stories by children
	Story presentation - Oral storytelling about favorite things to do on a Sunday, home literacy practice
	Use of illustrations to tell stories
	Play with words as strategy to understand content
Read aloud by teacher	End-of-day story reading
	Read aloud; child dramatization of text
Read aloud by teacher and children	Read aloud of activities to verify accuracy
Read aloud by children	Individual read aloud by children
	Children observe as older peer reads
	Read aloud as decoding text
	Read aloud as a group activity
	Random read aloud; textbooks used as storybooks
	Read aloud using fingers to follow text
	Read aloud by children; peer; using fingers to follow images
	Read aloud as strategy for correcting mistakes
Read aloud as strategy for understanding text	

Table 6. Peer activities

<b>Domain: Peer activities</b>	
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Modeling by older peers/ peer-guided activity	Pre-schooler concept of storying through drawing: older peer and bilingual monitor facilitate storytelling
	Modeling of Portuguese grammar by lead teacher
	Group work: Modeling by lead teacher
	Help with writing by older peer
	Drawing/ writing by a pre-schooler: Early concepts of print
	Pre-school child follows a peer guided painting activity: Modeling by first graders
	Science – collage about animals: Third graders following each other’s examples
Copying from peers	Drawing/art as a literacy activity: First graders group work in Portuguese class
	Drawing of favorite TV show – home literacy practice used as example by all children in first grade
	Swimming at <i>pontinha</i> : First graders copy each other games/ play
	Copying from books
	Individual math activity versus Math <i>folhinha</i> group execution
	Name writing by first grader and peer copying
	Checking on peers’ work as strategy

Table 7. Translanguaging

<b>Domain: Translanguaging</b>		
<i>Topic</i>		<i>Examples</i>
Knowledge of Guarani language and culture	Understanding of culture	Literal translation between Guarani and Portuguese by children
	Knowledge of pronunciation of Guarani words	Literal translation between Guarani and Portuguese by children
	Knowledge of pronunciation/meaning of Guarani words	Literal translation between Guarani and Portuguese by children; teaching of specific words; storytelling
	Non-Indigenous teacher uses monitor/children as translators	Literal translation between Guarani and Portuguese by children; teaching of specific words; storytelling
Code-switching	Word code-switching by bilingual monitor	Use of Guarani words to aid in understanding
	Word code-switching by non-Indigenous lead teacher	Use of Guarani words to aid in understanding
	Word code-switching by child	Use of Portuguese words (school-related) during Guarani speech
		Use of Portuguese words (play-related) during Guarani speech
		Knowledge of gender relationships
Language facilitation	Knowledge of pronunciation of Portuguese words	Bilingual monitor uses consonant/vowel sounds in Portuguese but explains content in Guarani
	Code-switching by monitor	Bilingual monitor uses numbers in Portuguese but explains content in Guarani
	Bilingual monitor versus father role	Father: Individual help with Portuguese activity
		Monitor: Group explanation of activity instead of individual
		Both: Tentative explanation of activity followed by frustration with non-success
	Bilingual monitor facilitates Portuguese content through oral Guarani	Whole group
Individual		
Understanding images through speaking about them	Science textbook used as a storybook	
Strategy for understanding text	Pointing to words at the blackboard as they (children) copy in the notebook	

APPENDIX B  
CODING CATEGORIES<sup>29</sup>

Abbreviation	Definition
<b>Language used during literacy events</b>	
P	Portuguese
G	Guarani
TL	Translanguaging
Pt-P	Portuguese text – oral Portuguese
Pt-P/G	Portuguese text – oral Portuguese and Guarani
Gt-G	Guarani text – oral Guarani
Gt-G/P	Guarani text – oral Guarani and Portuguese
Bt-P	Bilingual text – oral Portuguese
Bt-CS	Bilingual text – oral code-switching
<b>Participants</b>	
CDI-CI	Child directly involved, child-initiated activity
CDI-AI	Child directly involved, adult-initiated activity
CDI-OI	Child directly involved, sibling- or peer-initiated activity
CO-A	Child observes adult engaging in the activity
CO-OI	Child observes siblings or peers engaged in the activity
CO-AO	Child observes adult engaged with other emergent literate person
CPNDI	Child present but not directly observing or participating in literacy event

<sup>29</sup> Adapted from Azuara, 2009; Reyes & Azuara, 2008; Reyes, Alexandra, & Azuara, 2007; & Teale, 1986.

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