ASSESSMENT, LITERACY, AND IDENTITY IN THE NEW LATINO DIASPORA

by

MEREDITH CLAY MCCONNOCHIE

A dissertation submitted to the

Graduate School-New Brunswick

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Education

Written under the direction of

Ariana Mangual Figueroa

And approved by:

_____

_____

_____

_____

New Brunswick, NJ

May, 2017

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Assessment, Literacy, and Identity in the New Latino Diaspora

By Meredith Clay McConnochie

Dissertation Director:

Ariana Mangual Figueroa

This dissertation project represents a 2.5-year ethnographic study in a second-grade bilingual classroom and the homes of seven emergent bilingual children of Mexican-origin. This study examines how educational assessment policies shape the ways in which emergent bilingual children are socialized to express social and academic identities during literacy events. The data includes school-based artifacts such as assignments and benchmark assessments, over 200 hours of audio-recorded interactions during routine activities such as independent writing at school and homework completion at home, and informal interviews with administrators, teachers, Mexican-born mothers, and the focal children. The findings of the study show that elementary-school administrators and teachers implement classroom-based assessments and develop "pedagogical remedies" aimed at monitoring student progress and increasing student achievement on federal- and state-mandated tests of academic performance. Pedagogical remedies have two important features: first, they are informed by ideologies regarding effort and intelligence related to language learning; and second, they are enacted through classroom pedagogy and school language policy. The analysis specifically tracks the

ways in which teachers and emergent bilingual students, along with their peers and immigrant parents, interpret and implement pedagogical remedies such as homework assignments and peer groupings. As teachers, parents, and students interpreted and implemented pedagogical remedies during routine classroom and household activities, they socialized the second-grade emergent bilingual students to express identities as 'hard-working' and 'smart' students. These remedies were rooted in conflicting values of individualism and cooperation, ideologies that prioritize speed and the mechanics of written English literacy, and school language policies that position Spanish as an instructional tool but not a linguistic and academic goal. Seeking to fulfill teachers' expectations for performance on assessments, immigrant mothers drew upon bilingual resources to socialize children to develop test-taking behaviors during homework completion. Second-grade emergent bilingual students engaged meaningfully in peer helping routines by translating and giving bilingual directives, but resorted to copying English texts to insure accuracy when help was unavailable or denied. This study helps to identify how educational assessments and classroom-level interventions can limit or provide opportunities for meaningful teacher-student, peer-peer, and parent-child interactions. With the recent federal authorization of Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), states have been granted greater autonomy over assessment and accountability measures. This study can inform state-level educational policymakers, school administrators, and educators to make decisions about which assessments and interventions best support emergent bilinguals' language and literacy learning.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Research Problem

My ethnographic engagement in the homes of Smithtown residents began in the

spring of 2013 and continued for two years and six months. From March 2013 until

September 2015, I visited the homes of seven families and the second-grade bilingual

class at Warner Elementary School in Smithtown. All seven families included Mexico-

born parents with at least one child enrolled in Warner Elementary School. While the

children differed in birth-place and bilingual proficiency, all children communicated with

their parents in Spanish at home. Early in my study I conducted a pilot study to examine

how one Mexican-born mother and her US-born first-grade daughter socialized one

another during the completion of homework. As I conducted my second observation in

the Sanchez family home on one afternoon in March 2013, I watched as Mariela[1], a

Mexican-born mother interacted with her US-born six-year-old daughter, Sara, to assist

in the completion of Sara's first grade homework assignments. For one of her

assignments Sara was expected to read the book, *The Dot,* by Pete Reynolds. As Sara

worked to decode each word on the page, her mother monitored correspondence between

the book's written words and her daughter's oral speech. When she noticed a mistake,

Mariela corrected Sara by either accurately re-reading the word or phrase, or by stating

"no" to prompt Sara to correct herself. While I tried to remain a passive observer, on

numerous occasions Mariela solicited my help to insure her daughter's accuracy, turning

towards me to ask, "*¿cómo se pronuncia*?" (how is that pronounced?). But for the

majority of the time, I watched and reflected upon the alignment of Sara's reading

---

[1] To protect anonymity of participants all proper names have been given pseudonyms.

abilities with the early literacy skills I had been expected to teach my former kindergarten and first-grade students.

I noticed Sara could recognize letter sounds and letter clusters and could orally blend together various parts of words, only struggling when she came to longer words with more complicated spelling patterns. I noticed how she fluently identified challenging words such as "discovered," that require the decoding of multiple clusters (morphemes) and their corresponding sounds (phonemes). And I admired how Sara's intonation fluctuated as she read, reflecting the beginning and ends of words and sentences. Thus, considering the numerous abilities Sara demonstrated, it caught me by surprise when, upon finishing the book, Mariela turned to me to express her concern that, *"no está muy bien por primero"* (she's not very good for first grade). I intuitively began to reassure Mariela by naming some of the reading skills that Sara displayed and by attributing Sara's struggle with certain words as being difficult for first graders. But Mariela justified her claim by comparing Sara's abilities to her eldest daughter at the same age, and later revealed Sara's teacher had also described her as "*bajo*" (low).

This ethnographic vignette foreshadows three themes in the findings of my dissertation study: first, parent and child uptake of teacher-derived assessment discourses; second, testing and school language policies that prioritize mechanical written English over bilingualism and meaningful engagement; third, the co-construction of what I call *pedagogical remedies*. Pedagogical remedies are school-based interventions aimed at improving low performance on elementary school benchmark assessments. As this ethnographic vignette concludes, Mariela animated a teacher's report that Sara was a "low" reader. This utterance highlights the way in which the Mexican-born mothers and

elementary-aged children voiced teacher-derived discourses rooted in assessment policy during peer-peer and parent-child interactions. The study shows how assessment-based discourses circulated across the school and homes and informed the way in which teachers, mothers, and children socialized emergent bilingual children to participate during literacy events.

As Mariela listened to Sara read, she monitored and corrected Sara's accuracy and fluency while reading English texts. Mariela's concern for Sara's English reading fluency indexed testing and school language policies that consistently privileged mechanical written English literacy over meaningful engagement in academic content. In addition to emphasizing English reading fluency, I found that teachers, students, and parents consistently evaluated students' literacy development based upon the speed with which they accomplished written assignments and upon the physical representation of texts, including accuracy, neatness, and length. These evaluative practices constructed narrow definitions of intelligence, effort, and academic competency that excluded Spanish literacy, translation and brokering abilities, and engagement as criterion for identifying smart and hard-working students. Through the ways in which they praised or critiqued emergent bilingual children during routine interactions, teachers, parents, and children implicitly expressed language ideologies that reflected the district's transitional bilingual program and standardized testing policies at the federal and state, as well as the school and classroom levels.

Lastly, this ethnographic vignette reveals how Mariela adopted the role of tutor to assist Sara with reading and the completion of homework as a form of remedy for Sara's "low" status as a reader. Mariela's attempt to ameliorate Sara's "low" learner identity in

the home illuminates the way in which teachers, students, and parents co-constructed their social identities in the implementation of *pedagogical remedies,* such as peer grouping and homework, by socializing and interpreting assessment-related narratives that travelled across home and school settings. School-based narratives positioned student and parent 'effort' as a remedy for low performance on assessments, dismissed student and parent voices in the design of assessment and remedies, and masked the way in which policies marginalized Mexican families and emergent bilingual students from academic literacy events.

This dissertation examines how assessment policies shape the ways in which emergent bilingual children of Mexican-origin are socialized to participate in, and to express academic and social identities during classroom and household academic literacy events. The research has two foci. The first focus is on how administrators and teachers interpret standardized assessment policy as they develop and implement local, bottom up assessment policies at the school and classroom level. The second focus is on how teachers, Mexican emergent bilingual children, and immigrant parents enact, resist, and adapt assessment policies during academic literacy events. Specifically, this dissertation study explores the following research questions:

1. How do educational assessment policies shape the ways in which emergent bilingual students are socialized to participate in academic literacy events in their classrooms and homes?

2. How do teachers, Mexican-born parents, and emergent bilingual children interpret and carry out educational assessment policy during academic literacy events in their classrooms and at home?

3. What communicative behaviors and social roles do teachers, Mexican-born parents, and emergent bilingual children socialize one another to adopt as they implement educational assessment policies?

4. How do language policies and ideologies in a New Latino Diaspora context shape the ways in which assessment policies are enacted during academic literacy events?

To answer these questions, I ethnographically track the ways in which teachers, parents, and students interpret assessment artifacts, such as homework, classroom assignments, tests, and report cards, that travel across the home and school and play an integral role in teacher-student, student-student, and parent-child interactions. The purpose of this study is to provide greater understanding about the relationship between educational assessment policies, school language policies, and emergent bilingual children's literacy learning and academic identity in elementary school and at home. With the recent federal authorization of Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), which takes effect in 2017, states have been granted greater autonomy over assessment and accountability measures. This study has the potential to inform state-level educational policymakers and educators to make decisions about which assessments and interventions best support emergent bilinguals' language and literacy learning.

Key Terms

There are several key terms that are important for understanding this study—emergent bilinguals, assessment, and parent involvement. Each of the three terms represents a topic pertaining to young Latino students' learning in the United States for which there is an existing body of research. In this section, I provide definitions for each term and discuss the significance of this research for understanding supports and barriers

to young Latino students and families' engagement in literacy learning across home and school. Additionally, I discuss the ways in which this dissertation seeks to build upon our existing understanding of the topic.

Emergent bilinguals.

Throughout this study, I use the term emergent bilingual students to refer to Sara and other children learning to communicate in one or more languages in their homes while simultaneously learning to communicate in English in the school. Thus, I view all students as emergent bilinguals who are defined by the Census Bureau as children who speak a language other than English in the home (LOTEs). In the United States, these children represent approximately 22% of the total child population, the majority of whom speak Spanish in the home (Census Bureau, 2015). This definition differs slightly from García and Kleifgen's (2010) original definition of "emergent bilinguals," which refers to students classified as English Language Learners (ELLs) or Limited English proficient (LEP) in schools. García and Kleifgen (2010) use the label "bilinguals" for children who the school has classified as English proficient. However, I refer to all students who are learning to speak a non-dominant language in the home as "emergent bilinguals" to highlight that shared potential of students who speak a language other than English to continue expanding their bilingual repertoires. Additionally, I argue that, while school policies and teachers viewed English-proficient and ELL student populations distinctly, the Spanish-speaking parents and elementary-aged children in this study encountered similar standardizing assessment discourses, English-dominant language ideologies, and expectations for 'working-hard' to prevent or address academic difficulties.

In 2010, Latino children who were classified as limited English proficient in Kindergarten performed three quarters lower than white native- English speakers on 5th grade reading tests (Galindo, 2010). Latino children identified as English proficient in Kindergarten performed almost half of a standard deviation behind their native English-speaking peers. Non-native English speakers from families of the lowest socio-economic quintile performed two fifths of a standard deviation behind their native English-speaking peers. These statistics suggest that the educational system has continued to provide inadequate support for emergent bilingual children's learning. As explained by Garcia, Kleifgen, and Falchi (2008), research has shown that the schools of emergent bilingual children lack qualified teachers, sufficient resources, as well as programs and assessments designed to meet their specific needs. Yet, educational reform efforts tend to conceptualize the language and culture of emergent bilinguals as barriers to academic success. This view runs counter to research showing the cognitive, academic, and social benefits of bilingualism, and that demonstrates the effectiveness of programs and pedagogy that use the language and culture of students as a resource in the classroom (Bialystok, 2004; Cummins, 1979; 1981; Thomas & Collier, 1995; 1997).

Ethnographic studies have shown how the devaluing of bilingualism and biculturalism in schools can lead to the loss of linguistic and cultural resources (Gallo, Link, Allard, Wortham, & Mortimer, 2014; Valenzuela, 1999). In her seminal book, Valenzuela (1999) examines how a Texas high school's cultural practice of denigrating the Spanish language and Mexican culture created and sustained a *subtractive schooling* process. Building on this work, Gallo, Link, Allard, Wortham, & Mortimer (2014) examined explicit and implicit language ideologies in one New Latino Diaspora town.

They found that, while teachers and peers at the secondary school viewed Spanish as a problem and a barrier, the elementary school teachers viewed bilingualism as an asset. Informed by these bilingual ideologies, elementary school teachers viewed students as teachable and sought out strategies to assist them. Nonetheless, the elementary school practices did not have a policy or system in place to support children in the expansion of their bilingual repertoires. Consequently, the implicit language ideologies at the elementary school facilitated the "subtraction" of students' bilingual resources. The work of Gallo et al. (2014) show how language policies and practices in the school do not always support the explicit ideologies of teachers and students. In the opening vignette Mariela's use of bilingual resources to correct English reading fluency in the home reveals an implicit language ideology: one that positions English pronunciation as an academic and linguistic goal and Spanish as a medium of instruction. This dissertation builds upon research on emergent bilinguals by examining how assessment and school language policies shape the implicit language ideologies conveyed through routine academic literacy events in the home and the school.

Assessment.

Language education scholars have been critical of the use of standardized assessments to evaluate the progress of emergent bilingual students and have illuminated negative consequences of high-stakes standardized testing policies for the instruction that emergent bilingual students receive (Abedi, 2004; Menken, 2005; 2008; Shohamy, 2003; 2007; Wright, 2005). Of central concern is the validity of standardized tests as a measurement of academic progress, considering that language proficiency significantly impacts test performance. Abedi (2004) critiques assessment and accountability policies

outlined in the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB)—the 2002 reauthorization of the

Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). One primary concern is NCLB's

expectation that students in the Limited English Proficient subgroup will reach goals for

Annual Yearly Progress. These expectations have been shown to be unrealistic given the

instability of the Limited English Proficient subgroup and the inconsistency of Limited

English Proficient categorizations. One of the primary reasons for subgroup instability is

that Limited English Proficient students exit the subgroup as they develop English

proficiency. Consequently, those who remain in the Limited English Proficient subgroup

will have only reached the lowest level of English proficiency and, thus will perform

lower on standardized tests which require English knowledge.

      Drawing from data collected about assessment and accountability under NCLB

and state legislation in Arizona, Wright (2005) demonstrates how federal and state

policies accommodate, tolerate, or restrict the use of students' native-language for

instruction and assessment. He shows how accommodating policies regarding the

language of instruction and assessment may be nullified by other restrictive policies. Title

3 of NCLB, for example, permits the use of bilingual education programs and thus

explicitly accommodates native language use. However, other federal and state policies

nullify these accommodating policies by implicitly prioritizing English language

learning. Title 3, for example, privileges English by requiring states to develop Standards

and Proficiency examinations that evaluate English language development but do not

require states to evaluate proficiency in other world languages. Moreover, Title 1 of

NCLB further prioritizes English by holding schools accountable for the performance of

English Language Learners on standardized assessments of academic performance in English.

Menken (2005; 2008) shows how high-stakes standardized tests act as de facto *language education policy* at the school and classroom level. Language Education Policy *(LEP)* is defined as decisions about which, when, and by whom certain languages can be taught or used as a medium for instruction in schools (Shohamy, 2003; 2007). In the era of NCLB, marked by high-stakes standardized testing policy, teachers and educators have been left to decide how to meet expectations (Menken, 2005; 2008). As a result schools have developed local policies for language instruction with the goal of preparing students for tests. She argues that NCLB's prioritization of test performance ultimately leads to a decrease in the quality of education that students receive. Moreover, the frequency of standardized tests in English further devalues students' native languages. As explained by Menken (2008), "testing is a defining force in the daily lives of ELLs and the educators who serve them, and has created a context in which language is a liability for these students because the tests are mainly punitive in result" (p. 408).

Standardized tests have historically been used to sort students into academic trajectories based on their supposed intelligence (Koyama & Menken; 2003; Menken, 2008). Like other standardized assessments, intelligence tests hold cultural and linguistic biases, and are widely recognized as inappropriate measurements of emergent bilinguals' intelligence or academic potential (Artiles & Ortiz, 2002; Figueroa, 2004; Valdés & Figueroa, 1994; Valdés, 2003). The use of intelligence testing in schools has led to the overrepresentation of emergent bilinguals in Special Needs classrooms (Artiles & Ortiz, 2002) and the underrepresentation of ELLs in gifted and talented classrooms (Valdés,

2003). Acknowledging the narrow definitions of intelligence reflected in these tests, Valdés (2003) argues for new approaches for evaluating emergent bilingual children's intelligence. She draws on alternative theories of intelligence to highlight the ways in which child interpreters display intelligence as they make decisions about what and how to interpret across multiple contexts that vary by participant and setting. Yet despite research demonstrating their limitations and negative consequences for emergent bilinguals, high-stakes standardized testing of intelligence, as well as academic proficiency and growth continue to inform policy decisions in schools.

While research has highlighted the impact of standardized assessments on school level policies, a limited body of research has examined the impact of standardized assessments on learning as it unfolds in classrooms and homes. Further studies are needed to critically examine the impact of standardized assessments and other types of assessment on language learning that takes place inside and outside of schools (Menken, 2008; Shohamy, 2001; Shohamy, 2005). Seeking to fill this gap, this dissertation study seeks to contribute understanding of the way in which assessment policies, at the federal and state level as well as the school and classroom levels, impact routine academic activities. In the opening vignette, Mariela monitors, evaluates, and corrects English reading fluency during the completion of homework in the hope to improve Sara's academic status. This dissertation examines how teachers, students, and parents interpret high-stakes standardized test policy and implement local assessment policies by evaluating and attempting to remediate student behaviors during academic literacy practices. Informed by assessment policy, school education policy, and conflicting ideologies of individualism and cooperation, these evaluation practices restrict emergent

bilinguals' meaningful engagement in literacy and circulate narrow beliefs about intelligence.

Parent Involvement

Scholars have drawn on test scores to suggest the existence of an achievement gap between Anglo middle-class monolingual children and students of color and/or from low socioeconomic backgrounds (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016). Conceptualizing low test performance as the problem in schools, education reform policies tend to focus on remediating the behaviors of students and their parents in the home (Auerbach, 1995; Auerbach, 2002; Baquedano-López, Alexander, Hernandez, 2013; Gadsden, 1994; Valdés, 1996). In early childhood, parent involvement initiatives and family literacy programs tend to focus on strategies for encouraging parents to read with their children and assist their children with homework (Gadsden, 1994). In the opening vignette, Mariela demonstrated her understanding of school-based expectations for parent involvement by adopting a traditional cultural-model of parent as teacher or tutor. But in other instances Mariela and other Mexican mothers expressed concern about their ability to fulfill the role of tutor due to their limited English proficiency and/or work schedules. The mothers' concern highlights the problem with top-down interventions for improving the education of minoritized groups of students that lack sufficient input from students and families.

Concerned with the focus of educational reform efforts, Ladson-Billings (2007) re-conceptualizes the achievement gap as a historically-accumulated "educational debt" owed to students from linguistically, racially, or socio-economically marginalized groups that the United States education system has continued to fail. By conceptualizing the

problem as an educational debt, Ladson-Billings shifts focus to the socio-political processes that create educational difficulties for emergent bilinguals and other minoritized groups of students and families. Critical scholars have shown that reform policies that advocate for traditional models of parent involvement are based upon Anglo-middle class and monolingual norms for interactions in the home and community (Auerbach, 1995; Auerbach, 2002; Baquedano-López, Alexander, Hernandez, 2013; Gadsden, 1994; Valdés, 1996). These models of parent involvement overlook the widely-documented ways in which Latino families have historically supported their children's learning in culturally-specific ways (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992). Moreover, educational policies focused on changing family behaviors obscure the ways that schools constrain students' academic success and fail to address the economic and social needs of students, families, and communities (Baquedano-López et al., 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2006).

Ladson-Billings (2006) calls upon educators to shift the conversation about minoritized groups of students, arguing that education research "rarely provide(s) the kinds of remedies that help them to solve their problems (p. 3)." The design, implementation, and consequences of school-based remedies represent the central focus of this dissertation. Critical research has shown how standardized assessment policies, subtractive language policies, and traditional parent involvement programs are ineffective remedies that contribute to the systematic suppression of the language, culture, and knowledge of minoritized families in schools, and restrict students' academic trajectories. While these studies have drawn attention to the effects of remedies on school-level policies (e.g. classroom placements and school language policies), we know little about

the ways in which school-based remedies impact emergent bilingual children's learning during routine literacy activities in their classrooms and at home. Seeking to fill this gap, this dissertation examines how teachers, parents, and students negotiate and implement *pedagogical* remedies during routine academic literacy events across home and school. This dissertation shows how teachers, Mexican-born parents, and elementary-aged emergent bilingual children negotiate social and academic identities as they interpret assessment-related artifacts and discourses, and implement pedagogical remedies during routine literacy socialization practices.

Outline of the Dissertation

In Chapter Two, I discuss the theoretical assumptions of Language Socialization research and the ways in which an LS approach informs my research questions and processes of data collection and analysis. Chapter Three outlines the methodology of the study, including the setting, participants, participant recruitment process, researcher positionality, data collection and data analysis. Chapters Four through Six present the findings of the dissertation. Each chapter focuses on the relationship between assessment policies and one pedagogical remedy that teachers, parents, and children co-constructed in the school and at home. The analyses show how teachers, immigrant parents, and/or emergent bilingual students enacted assessment policy as they interpreted assessment discourses and artifacts and carried out three pedagogical remedies—homework assignments, peer groupings, and narratives about academic success and effort.

The findings chapters focus on interrelated themes of standardized assessment, the privilege granted to the mechanical written English in assessment and pedagogical remedies, conflicting values of individualism versus cooperation, and narrow definitions of intelligence and effort. In Chapter Four, I examine the ways in which two Mexican

mothers and their children develop homework completion routines as they attempt to confront or prevent low literacy-learner identities. This chapter has been accepted for publication at the Journal of Linguistics & Education. Chapter Five focuses on interactions between teachers and emergent bilingual students in a second-grade bilingual classroom as they make decisions about who, when, and how peers will help each other to complete classroom-based assessments. Chapter Six critically examines teacher narratives of student identity that position success as a measure of parents and students' hard-work on classroom and homework assignments. In Chapter Seven, I examine themes relating to assessment policies and interrelated beliefs about language, hard-work, and intelligence, which participants consistently indexed during classroom and household literacy events. I also discuss implications of the study for state educational policymakers, educators, and educational researchers.

CHAPTER TWO: Theoretical Framework

Language Socialization

A language socialization approach to the study of language and literacy learning is rooted in the fields of cultural and linguistic anthropology and language development (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Consequently, a language socialization approach integrates a focus on the acquisition of language structures with an ethnographic examination of the beliefs and values that organize social interactions within a cultural community. A language socialization approach examines how individuals learn *to use* language in ways deemed acceptable by the specific cultural community in which they seek membership, and how they learn to do so *through language* as community members interact in culturally specific ways to facilitate their language acquisition. In the following section I

outline the theoretical assumptions of an LS approach; those that have endured and those that have emerged in the field. I then discuss empirical contributions of LS research for understanding how Mexican children learn to engage in language and literacy practices across home and school.

Theoretical Assumptions of Language Socialization

One of the central assumptions of Language Socialization research is that individuals learn to use language in ways that align with culturally constructed definitions of communicative competence within the community to which they seek membership. This assumption derives from Dell Hymes' concept of communicative competence. Hymes (1971) challenged Chomsky's rigid definition of language competence, critiquing it for only considering grammatical correctness according to standard language use. Instead Hymes advocated for cross-cultural examinations of what it means to display communicative competence within a social context according to the cultural norms, beliefs, and values of the community. He defined communicative competence as the ability to interpret and display a variety of contextual cues linked to the setting, the activity, the event, the genre of the event, the participants involved, and the register, codes and modes used to convey a message.

Building on Hymes' work, an LS approach assumes that communicative competence is not only displayed, but also *learned* through interactive patterns that are culturally specific and variable across events and communities. Thus, LS research posits that individuals are socialized to use language in ways that are grounded in a community's ideologies, beliefs, values, and norms about language use and language acquisition. Socialization therefore supports the development of the cognitive skills

required for exhibiting communicative competence within the community in which an individual is born or seeks membership (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986). Seminal language socialization studies revealed how value-systems shape the way in which children acquire language. Ochs & Schieffelin's comparative analysis of language socialization in middle-class Anglo communities, Papua New Guinea, and Western Samoa illuminates contrasting value systems that prioritize values of cooperation or individualism and utilize child-centered or situation-centered learning approaches. In individualistic, and traditionally Anglo middle-class communities, children are socialized to demonstrate and praise one another's individual achievement for accomplishing tasks independently. By contrast, in societies like the Samoan village, community members acknowledge the contributions of multiple people in a collaborative process of task completion (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986). In child-centered communities, traditionally Anglo middle-class communities in the US, individuals change their registers to communicate with and socialize young children by attempting to infer the desires and needs of the child. In situation-centered communities, on the other hand, community and family members do not guess what a child wants, but rather socialize him or her to communicate in certain ways based on the situation.

While language socialization research assumes that social structures shape language socialization patterns, it also assumes that individuals are agents capable of sustaining or changing those patterns. Language socialization, thus, is bi-directional in the sense that individuals, including experts and novices, may resist socializing attempts and gradually alter social structures and relationships in a community. By conceptualizing language learning as a bi-directional interactive process, the founders of

Language Socialization challenge traditional conceptualizations of language acquisition as the transmission of knowledge from expert to novice (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2001). To recognize language learning as a bi-directional interactive socialization process is to identify experts and novices as knowledgeable and agentive individuals, each who possess a way of viewing and thinking about the world on account of biological and experiential differences. Thus, while language socialization scholars recognize the unequal distribution of power in the construction of what counts as legitimate language use, they view each person as an active interlocutor who accepts, rejects, expands on, or adapts their ways of interacting and thinking in response to another's utterance (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008).

By conceptualizing language learning as bi-directional and interactive, and participants as knowledgeable and agentive, LS scholars view language socialization practices as conduits for the reproduction, adaptation, or gradual change of individual and group language patterns (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). Garrett & Baquedano-López (2002) highlight the ways in which LS research contributes understanding of the ongoing process through which individuals negotiate their identities in relation to others. Rather than define a community of speakers and their language learning routines based on shared linguistic, ethnic, geographical or political traits, LS scholars show that individuals interpret ideas that circulate on multiple scales and negotiate a shared sense of community and in-group and out-group membership through interaction. Recognizing the dynamic process of socialization, LS research shows how individuals continue to socialize and be socialized across the entire span of their lifetime, as they interact with

others to navigate and alter the social-cultural systems through which they carry out their daily lives.

Indexicality

Language Socialization research, as well as the field of Linguistic Anthropology upon which it draws, recognizes discourse features to be "indexical" of culturally and socially constructed notions of communicative competency (Hymes, 1972). Ochs (1996) defines a linguistic index as "a structure (e.g. sentential voice, emphatic stress, diminutive affix) that is used variably from one situation to another and becomes conventionally associated with particular situational dimensions such that when the structure is used, the form invokes those situational dimensions" (p. 411). In other words, these linguistic structures or discourse features— "phonological and morphosyntactic constructions (pronunciations and grammar), the lexicon (the words used), speech-act types (such as an insult or a directive), conversational sequencing, genres (such as narratives), interruptions, overlaps, gaps, and turn length" (Ochs, 1986, p. 3)—point to the assumptions about how to participate competently in the event or activity. These assumptions may include ways for expressing thoughts and feelings, the roles that participants can and cannot play, and the social acts and activities that participants are trying to accomplish (Ochs, 1996). Discourse features serve as "communicative cues "(Gumperz, 1983) for participants to know how to competently convey their intended message.

In the previous section, I discussed how LS assumes that the beliefs and values of the community to which one seeks membership shape the way in which language is used and learned. But LS studies also recognize how the activities in which participants

engage, and the rules or social expectations for how to participate in the activity, are shaped by tacit values, ideologies, epistemologies held by members of a society (Ochs, 1996). As such, LS views the members of a society as "agents of culture" who construct their sense of self in that society through the language that they use (Ochs, 1996, p. 416). Each activity or event in which the members of a community participate, such as listening to a lecture, telling a story, writing a lab report, or acting in a play, are structured by social expectations about what discourse features can and cannot be used to display competency in that event. For example, while listening to a lecture, the teacher may constitute the only speaker, while the students do not interrupt or question the teacher. But while eating lunch, students may interrupt and critique one another. Yet, discourse features also index the "social identities", or the "social statuses, roles, positions, relationships, and institutional and other relevant community identities" (Ochs, 1986; Ochs, 1993, p. 288) that participants adopt. In the previous example, the social role and status of teacher, as opposed to student, determines the way in which an individual is expected to use discourse features. Discourse features also index norms for adopting affective stances (the type of feeling that an individual is expected to display) or epistemic stances (the degree of certainty an individual is expected to display) that vary based on the activity in which they engage or the social identities they express. If the social identity of a competent teacher is understood to depend on the adoption of an epistemic stance of certainty, a teacher will avoid the use of discourse features that index uncertainty, such as "I don't know."

Language socialization research examines the discourse features of routine activities in which one or more people are attempting to help one another to learn how to

understand or accomplish something (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Discourse features

employed during helping or learning activities may be distinct between the participants

depending upon the roles they are understood to play and whether they are believed to be

experts versus novices (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). A mother or teacher, for example,

may use certain language intended to socialize children to use language in a certain way.

But socialization routines are not only those of an adult expert socializing a child novice,

but may also involve adults socializing adults, children socializing children, children

socializing adults, or multiple adults or children socializing others (Schieffelin & Ochs,

1986). Of additional importance is the understanding that the individual or individuals

who are being socialized to interpret and produce discourse features in a certain way may

reject that socialization attempt (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). If an individual rejects the

assistance or advice of one another, participants then renegotiate a shared understanding

of the relationship between how and what discourse features align with certain activities,

social identities, stances, and communities. Kyratiz, Tang, & Toyman (2009), for

instance, show how paralinguistic cues signal shifts in social identities during pre-school

children's play interactions. In another example, the work of Lo (2009) demonstrates how

body gestures are indexical of forms of respect.

Studies of Language Socialization

Early studies in the fields of Language Socialization (LS) and Linguistic

Anthropology (LA) established several core assumptions about the contexts of language

and literacy practices. Importantly, they challenged traditional conceptualizations of

literacy as an objective set of cognitive capacities that individuals either possess or do not

possess (Hymes, 1971; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Instead, ethnographic studies

demonstrated how expectations and norms for literacy practices are socially, culturally, and historically constructed. Conceptualizing literacy as a social practice, they shifted analytical focus from examinations of individual literacy behaviors toward examinations of social structures as revealed through localized interactions and socio-linguistic expectations for literacy participation. Depending on the social context in which a literacy practice occurs, participants hold different expectations regarding the features of discourse that participants may use appropriately. These variable discourses features may include dialects, registers, or languages, use of written or oral language, gestural modes of communication, the content discussed, and pauses or other communicative behaviors that are used to regulate who can talk and at what moment (Au, 1980; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Heath, 1982; 1983; Hymes, 1971; Phillips, 1976; Rymes, 2009; Watson-Gegeo, 1992). Interlocutors rely on these expectations to know how to participate in routine interactions, and in turn, socialize others to participate appropriately according to shared local norms.

By examining literacy in schools, early anthropological research challenged assumptions held by educators and scholars that the cultural and linguistic background of minority students was inferior and deficient when compared to middle class white students who spoke dialects considered standard. Drawing from Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice, these studies demonstrated how class inequality is reproduced through educational systems, as educators value and reward only middle class normative language and literacy behaviors (Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2008, Bourdieu, 1977). Early anthropological studies of language and literacy revealed how minority families socialized their children to engage in oral and literate traditions in ways that reflected

their own community-wide values and beliefs (Au, 1980; Heath, 1982; 1983; Phillips, 1976).

In her foundational book, *Way with Words*, Shirley Brice Heath (1983) presented findings from an ethnographic study of language and literacy socialization in two mill town communities of low socio-economic background in the Piedmont Carolinas— Trackton, comprised of black families, and Roadville, comprised of white families. In an article published earlier based on the same data, Heath (1982) focused specifically on literacy events that she defined as "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interactive processes" (p. 50). Parents of Roadville children socialized their children to engage in "what-explanations" in which they identified and named things orally in their environment and in books and relayed factual narratives. Although these socialization patterns were similar to those found in school and mainstream families, Roadville patterns diverged from mainstream families because children were "not encouraged to move their understanding of books into other situational contexts or to apply it to their general knowledge of the world about them" (p. 177). Trackton children, on the other hand, were socialized to assert themselves into conversations with adults, through repetition of sounds and through attempts to entertain adults using creative storytelling. Heath's work was significant in that it confirmed Hymes' theory that communicative competence is culturally constructed, challenged representations of oral and literate traditions as dichotomous, and highlighted the rich linguistic traditions of minority families.

Pease-Alvarez & Vasquez (1994) examined turn-taking patterns and participation frameworks of literacy practices in the homes and schools of Mexican immigrant

families. In their homes, children fluidly shifted between social roles or social identities as translators for parents of written materials, interlocutors in conversations with their parents, tutors for their siblings as they learned to read and write, and participants in reading and writing activities in the home and library. But in classrooms children experienced little opportunity to talk because teachers controlled discussions. In addition, when children were given the opportunity to talk, they were restricted to forms of participation that involved the display of skills in isolation from meaningful activities. Pease-Alvarez & Vasquez's (1994) study contributed an understanding of the need for teachers and administrators to learn about children and their families, and to build upon what children already know about language and literacy.

New Models of Language and Literacy Socialization

While early studies of language and literacy events made significant contributions to our understanding of cultural variability across literacy practices, there are limitations to studies that focus on differences between home and school. By attributing the problems faced by minorities to cultural differences, early studies ran the risk of depicting minorities as homogeneous and portraying the influence of dominant institutional literacy paradigms as deterministic and unidirectional (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2008; Zentella, 1997). More recent examinations have paid closer attention to the dynamics of discourse— where teachers and students actively participate in the reconstruction, adaptation, or reinterpretation of literacy engagement norms and the macro and micro level structures that influence them. Garrett's (2008) outline of the central tenants of language socialization research reflects this shift, as he calls for studies that make analytical

comparisons across contexts (diverging by text, actors, setting, activity, etc.) and for discussions of both micro and macro significance of findings. Drawing from the work of Woolard (1998), language socialization studies that focus on language ideologies also reflect this methodological and conceptual shift as they examine the ideologies that participants reveal explicitly and implicitly through socialization practices. The ideologies derive from a variety of texts and actors and may originate from different settings and activities from those during which they are invoked.

Language Socialization and Mexican Children

Recent LS studies in the schools, homes, and communities of Mexican families have shown how macro and micro-level policies shape the way in which Mexican children are socialized to express social identities during everyday activities (Bhimji, 2005; García-Sánchez & Orellana, 2006; González, 2006; Kyratzis, Tang, & Koyman, 2009; Mangual Figueroa, 2011; Willett, 1995). These social identities are shaped by the values and beliefs inherent to the micro and macro communities to which they belong and to which they continue to seek membership. These communities may represent global or transnational social networks. In this section I focus specifically on studies that have contributed theoretical insights and new methodological approaches upon which this dissertation seeks to build. The work of Bhijmi (2005), for example, demonstrates how immigration policies influenced teasing routines for Los Angeles-based Mexican families. In one instance, the mother directed her daughter to tease her godmother by saying that "*la migra*" (the immigration police) was coming after her, which saliently marked their identities as immigrants. Bhijmi's work also highlights the active role of children in mediating routine interactions between other interlocutors and not portraying

the children as passive recipients of information about language and identity expression. Drawing on the work of Bhimji on children's role in socialization routines, this dissertation examines the active role of children in interpreting macro and micro-level policies during teacher-child, peer-peer, and parent-child interactions.

In an ethnographic study of citizenship in a New Latino Diaspora in Pennsylvania, Mangual Figueroa (2011) revealed how mixed-status Mexican families socialized and were socialized to interpret the meaning of citizenship and to construct identities during Homework Completion Routines. She found that mothers and elementary-age children consistently positioned themselves in relation to their status as undocumented immigrants. In one mixed-status family, the undocumented boy, José, associated a citizenship grade on the report card with the distinct line upon which he stood in a medical clinic. The mother, Marta, socialized her son to do well and behave in school to avoid being sent back to Mexico, and she suggested she would authorize the teacher to send him. In the other family, the mother, Inés, socialized her son to connect the embarrassment of doing poorly in school with unskilled jobs afforded by her migrant identity that she felt embarrassed about. She connected her migrant identity to the importance of her son Pedro's success in US education (something that she could not obtain herself). Furthermore, Inés connected Pedro's undocumented status to the need for him to do well in school. Similar to the work of Bjimji, Mangual Figueroa tracks the relationship between macro and micro structures related to learning in contexts of migration for Mexican families— specifically national and local threats of deportation due to one's status and the silencing of talk about legal status in schools. This dissertation study builds on the work of Mangual Figueroa (2011) by focusing on socialization during

Homework Completion Routines (HCRs) to provide insight into the way that school documents get interpreted in the home. Seeking to build on Mangual Figueroa's (2011) work, Chapter Four examines how Mexican-born parents and emergent bilingual children draw upon assessment-related artifacts to inform how they socialize one another to express identities and construct literacy ideologies during HCRs.

García-Sánchez & Orellana (2006) examine "narratives-in-translation" during parent-teacher conferences. They found that teachers praised children for individual accomplishments and absolved them of blame for problems—actions that reflected traditional institutional ideologies about individualism. Yet during translation, adolescents positioned themselves as more responsible for problems and less praise-worthy than described by the teachers. Parents rearticulated their children's moral responsibility for causing and resolving problems. The findings demonstrate how a lack of understanding between immigrant parents, child translators, and their teachers about the expression of moral identities can lead to misunderstandings of the messages conveyed. Their work is also important in that it highlights the significance of events during which ideas from home and school communities come in contact with one another and require parents, children, and teachers to negotiate norms for communicating. Recognizing home-school communication as a site for identity negotiation, this dissertation study examines how parents, children, and teachers negotiate social and academic identities as they interpret narratives about academic success that travel across home and school settings. Chapter Six focuses directly on the ways teachers, parents, and children negotiated roles for implementing pedagogical remedies as they produced, shared, and interpreted narratives about academic success.

In a study of mostly Mexican children in pre-school Kyratzis, Tang, & Koyman (2009) examined how young children socialized one another to adopt social identities during play. The children used linguistic and paralinguistic contextualization cues to shift between frames of play activities, such as pretending to cook, and social identities, such as the roles of husband and wife. Their findings revealed how children clearly oriented one another to the contextual framework of interpretation, albeit not always through verbal language. Drawing on these findings, Kyratzis, Tang, & Koyman (2009) challenge the notion that working-class children are socialized through codes that provide less contextual cues and call attention to the significance of peer socialization for language learning. Chapter Five builds on Kyratzis, Tang, & Koyman's (2009) work on frames by examining how young bilingual children of Mexican-origin in a second-grade bilingual class socialize one another to construct frames during academic literacy events and express social and academic identities based on the frames they construct.

Conclusions

By adopting a language socialization approach, this study is grounded in the assumption that the meaning of language and literacy competency is socio-culturally constructed within a macro and micro context, is negotiated and adapted through a bi-directional socialization process, and is indexed by participants through discourse features during activities. Informed by these assumptions, this dissertation study examines how academic literacy events are organized by the *pedagogical remedies* that administrators and teachers construct in schools and classrooms, and that parents and children interpret and implement during peer-peer and parent-child interactions. Drawing on Heath's (1982) definition of literacy events, the study examines how teachers,

Mexican-born parents, and emergent bilingual children interpret and implement assessment policies and pedagogical remedies during academic literacy events. By using a language socialization approach, I draw attention to the links between federal and state level assessment policies, localized school and classroom-wide policies for assessing and designing pedagogical remedies, and the ideologies and identities that teachers, parents, and children express through language during academic literacy events. This dissertation study builds upon recent LS contributions by examining how homework (Mangual Figueroa, 2011), peer-peer interactions (Kyratzis, Tang, & Koyman's (2009), and narratives of academic identity (García-Sánchez & Orellana (2009) serve as pedagogical remedies and tools for socializing teachers, parents, and children to enact assessment policies during routine interactions.

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

Methodology: Organization of this Section

In this section I describe my methodological approach for data collection and analysis. I first discuss the methodological tenants of language socialization research and describe how they informed my data collection and analysis process. I then describe the focal district, school, and classroom in which I conducted the research project and the process of selecting a focal classroom, selecting and recruiting focal children and families, and collecting data in the elementary school and families' homes. In this chapter I provide an overview of the focal classroom and participants. I will share further details regarding the setting and participants within each findings chapter. After describing the data collection process, I analyze my positionality as researcher, *maestra* (teacher), and volunteer in homes and the school, and I discuss the ways in which my positionality

informs the analysis of the data. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the data analysis procedure.

Methodological Tenants of Language Socialization

Language socialization researchers use ethnographic methods to examine how individuals socialize one another to communicate competently within one or multiple communities. These methods include a longitudinal data collection process accomplished largely through participant observation and the systematic collection and analysis of multiple forms of data including artifacts, field notes, and video or audio-recordings of informal interviews and naturally-occurring events (Garrett, 2008; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). Through the triangulation of multiple forms of data collected during everyday events, the researcher seeks to gain insight into an "emic" or insider perspective of values, ideologies, and norms within a community (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). The language socialization scholar is also highly reflexive about the "etic" or outsider perspective through clear articulation and discussion of researcher positionality, the theoretical framework they are using, and the significance it holds on the analysis (Garrett, 2008). The data collection and analysis process inherent to a language socialization approach also facilitate the comparison of policies, circulating discourses, ideologies, and socialization practices across different events and settings (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Garrett, 2008). and illuminate the social contexts on micro and macro levels (Garrett, 2008; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002).

The goal of ethnographic methods is to produce ethnography, or a "written description of the social organization, social activities, symbolic and material resources,

and interpretive practices characteristic of a particular group of people" (Duranti, 1997, p. 85). Recognizing that the emic and etic perspectives about the social system of a group of people may be in conflict with one another, ethnographers seek to represent multiple perspectives from insiders and outsiders to the group. Ethnographers across disciplines engage in participant observation, gather multiple forms of data, and attempt to provide multiple perspectives. However, the large collection of video or audio-recordings is particularly important to linguistic anthropologists and language socialization scholars who seek to understand how communicative behaviors organize and are organized by social organizations and relationships.

Over the last couple of decades, language socialization scholars have challenged tendencies in ethnographic studies to impose etic perspectives and homogeneous conceptualizations of the speech and cultural communities in which individuals are learning to communicate effectively (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). Thus, a rigorous language socialization approach focuses analytical attention on the negotiation of meaning and a shared sense of community through the interactive activities in which individuals engage (Garrett, 2008; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). By studying the indexicality of discourse features, LS research gains further insight on the emic perspective of the communities to which the participants belong. Furthermore, language socialization scholars have re-articulated the importance of examining language-in-interaction. Language in use can reveal how individuals interpret and attribute meaning to the experiences, ideas, beliefs, and people to which they have been exposed in the past, present, and future. LS scholars in the last decade have discussed the implication of bi-directionality and indexicality for rigorous language socialization studies that do not

prescribe homogeneous conceptualizations of community and the social-context (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Garrett, 2008). To capture the dynamic, adaptive, and bi-directional processes of socialization, informative language socialization studies examine how individual and group language patterns are reproduced, adapted, or changed as new economic, political, and social purposes for language use emerge, and as new ideas and ways of thinking are circulated. Furthermore, language socialization studies examine variations of language socialization and not solely patterns (Ochs, 2008; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002), as well as what is expected and unexpected by participants and observers in an interaction (Garrett, 2008).

Adhering to these methodological tenants, recent scholars have examined the way in which language socialization practices evolve in multilingual diaspora communities. A focus on language socialization in context of immigration sheds light on the way in which individuals may be part of different language communities but the same speech community unified by a common political and social context (Baquedano-López & Mangual Figueroa, 2011). The work of García-Sanchez (2010), for example, analyzes how the use of non-standard Arabic dialect by Moroccan immigrant students was treated differently across two Arabic language schools in Spain—as either an error or a resource depending on teachers' views of Moroccan immigrants. Mangual Figueroa (2011) shows how children and parents from mixed-status families of Mexican-origin discussed the meaning of juridical citizenship as they interpreted school-based artifacts during homework completion routines. In addition to analyses of language socialization in diaspora, these scholars contribute understanding of the way that discourse features such

as error correction and artifacts index ideologies and policies in the broader community in which immigrants reside.

To understand the interactional context of socialization practices, language socialization scholars examine how indexical and semiotic resources are used to frame the context (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). Audio and video-recorded interactions serve as a primary source of data in the examination of paralinguistic, non-verbal, and verbal tools of socialization and communication (Garrett, 2008). In order to have sufficient amount of data, Garrett (2008) argues that a language socialization approach requires the collection of 75-100 hours of audio or video recording. The recordings are then used to create transcriptions of interactions and uncover patterns of language socialization to address research questions posed. A language socialization approach analyzes how language is used to socialize others to rely on sociolinguistic resources to know how to participate appropriately. These resources may include routine use or shifts in registers, codes, participation roles, status positions, or express social identities, genre, or expression of affective or epistemic stances (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986; Ochs, 1993; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986; Garrett, 2008; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). Conversation analysis transcription methods are also often used to analyze the structures of the interactional exchange, including participation structures and turn-taking patterns. By using conversation analysis transcription methods, language socialization researchers are able to examine how interlocutors build on each other's utterances to co-construct an understanding of the message conveyed.

Applying anthropology's reflexive tradition to examinations of the collection and representation of audio and video data, language socialization research also seeks to

acknowledge biases inherent in transcribing recordings. Language socialization scholars take into consideration the ways that author and reader biases shape interpretations of transcribed interactions. Given that in western cultures people read from left to right and top to bottom, communicative behaviors placed on the left and top of a transcription are often understood to be occurring prior those to the right and below. Transcriptions in which verbal and expert language forms are placed to the left and top of nonverbal, and that novices' language are problematic in that they inevitably reproduce the privilege granted to expert and verbal language (Ochs, 1979). To counteract biases while reading transcriptions, Ochs (1979) recommends that the nonverbal language be placed in a column to the left of verbal language, and novices' language be placed in a column to the left of experts' language. Rymes (2009) calls for transcriptions that capture the unique pronunciations and word choices of participants but cautions against biased transcripts that represent the speech of authority figures in standard English while representing the speech of subordinates with vernacular (despite the consistency with which vernacular is used by all).

Language socialization research is grounded in many of the same theoretical assumptions as the field of LA. In the fields of LS and LA, the activity or event is placed at the center of the analysis, and language or discourse features are viewed as indexical of the structures within the micro and macro contexts of the activity (Gee, 1991/2012; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986; Ochs, 1993). Consequently, the analytical tools offered by scholars of LS and LA may be compatible when examining the relationship between discourse features and the micro and macro contexts they seek to understand. To analyze each findings chapter, I integrate an LS approach with theoretical concepts grounded in LA, as

well as Sociolinguistics—the study of the ways in which language is used in social contexts (Gee, 1991)—and Ethnomethodology—the study of everyday activities (Garfinkel, 1967). Like the field of LS, Sociolinguistics and Ethnomethodology view discourse features as interrelated to, and indexical of, the social structures in society. Each conceptual theory offers a unique analytical tool that complements a language socialization approach to the study of language and literacy learning. Table 1 presents definitions for the theoretical concepts upon which I draw for different purposes for my analysis and discusses their relationship to language socialization research. These terms include frames (Rymes, 2009), breaches (Garfinkel, 1967), narratives (Ochs & Capps, 1996), figured worlds (Holland, 1998) and language ideologies (Woolard, 1998).

While each term is interrelated to the others, they have different implications for the unit of analysis. In this dissertation study, I use Woolard's (1998) definition of language ideologies as beliefs about language structures conveyed explicitly or implicitly through interactional routines. Gee (1991) defines ideologies similarly to Woolard's definition of language ideologies by explaining that ideologies are theories about "what words ought to mean and how things ought to be described and explained (p. 20)." Unlike Woolard, however, Gee's definition of ideologies does not distinguish between explicit or implicit ideologies. As explained by Gee (1991) "cultural models" and "figured worlds" and "frames" are informal theories about what is normal in a situation. He argues that these informal theories are "stored in our heads in the form of images, metaphors, and narratives" (p. 98). While Gee (1991) recognizes that that the terms, cultural models, figured worlds, and frames hold subtle distinctions, he refers to them as interchangeable for the purposes of his analyses. Yet in this study I draw on Rymes'

(2009) definition of frames—interactional and social contexts surrounding individual utterances—which, I argue, implies an important methodological distinction from that of figured worlds and cultural models. Inherent to this definition of frames is a focus on how the interactional norms for a routine activity can be indexical of social structures in macro context. While examinations of figured worlds and cultural models similarly seek to understand social structures in a macro context, they do not necessarily focus on how these social structures organize participation during everyday activities. Like studies of 'frames', analyses of breaches (conflicts) and narratives (story genres) similarly draw attention to the way in which specific discourse features index beliefs and values in micro and macro contexts.

Each findings chapter draws upon theories that relate to the pedagogical remedies that emerged thematically in my data. I examine the identification of breaches (Garfinkel, 1967) and figured worlds (Holland et al. 1998) in Chapter Four, frames in Chapter Five, and narratives (Ochs & Capps, 1996) in Chapter Six. My analytical choices reflect the language structures that emerged most prominently as tools for administering each pedagogical remedy. In Chapter Four, I examine how breaches served as a mechanism for socializing parents and children to adopt figured worlds. Chapter Five draws on Rymes' (2009) definition of frames to examine the relationship between the interactional rules for peer helping and language ideologies in the context of the school and classroom. In Chapter Six, I use Ochs & Capps' (1996) definition of narratives to examine narratives of academic identity and hard-work that were produced across home and school.

Table 1: Analytical Terms

Analytical Terms	Definition	Analytical Focus	Indexicality of Discourse Features:	Link to Language Socialization (LS)
Frames	Rymes (2009)- "the interactional and social contexts that surround individual utterances" (p. 194)	Discourse features during everyday activities	-Norms for participating in an activity -Beliefs about structure of time, space, and social relationships	LS examines *how* frames are learned
Breaches	Garfinkel (1967)- "conflicts or tensions" in an interaction	'Unacceptable' discourse features during everyday activities	-Norms for participating in an activity -Beliefs about structure of time, space, and social relationships	The identification of breaches represents a socializing action (other socializing actions include praising, modeling, directing, narrating)
Narratives	Ochs & Capps (1996)- tales that "situate narrators, protagonists, and listeners/readers at the nexus of morally organized, past, present, and possible experiences" (p. 22)	Discourse features of narratives	-Norms for storytelling -Beliefs about structure of time, space, and social relationships	Narratives represent a socializing genre
Figured Worlds	Holland (1998) "a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized,	Any discourse	- Beliefs about social structures and social relationships	LS shows *how* figured worlds are learned during everyday activities

	significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others" (p. 52)			
Language Ideologies	Woolard (1998)- beliefs about language structure and language use conveyed explicitly or implicitly	Any discourse	-Beliefs about *how* discourse features index social structures and relationships	LS examines how language ideologies are indexed and learned during everyday activities

Smithtown School District

This study was conducted in Smithtown school district, a town in New Jersey

with a total population of 12,052 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010)[2]. In 1980, only 4.6% of

residents reported being Hispanic or Latino and .2% identified as Mexican (U.S. Census

Bureau, 1980). However, over the last three decades, the Latino and Mexican population

grew substantially. As of 2010, 42.9% or a total of 5,167 residents in the town identified

as being Hispanic or Latino, and 29.6% or 3,565 residents identified as Mexican (U.S.

Census Bureau, 2010). Between 2009-2013, 36.5% of residents reported being foreign-

born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009-2013). Based on the rapid increase of Latino residents,

Smithtown represents a region that Wortham, Hamann, and Murillo (2002) refer to as the

New Latino Diaspora, as residents have only begun to construct systematic ways of

interacting with and talking about what it means to be, work with, employ, and educate

Latinos and immigrants. As Smithtown's student population has also shifted and risen,

tensions have mounted amongst school district employees and community residents

---

[2] To protect the anonymity of the participants, I cite the source of demographic information but do not provide direct links to websites that contain the name of the town, district, and school in which the study is conducted.

regarding who is responsible for addressing the overcrowding and underfunding of schools. While voters rejected a referendum proposed for school expansion, many non-voting immigrant parents supported the referendum. Appendix A provides details about the district and the community-led movement to acquire the funds needed to expand school facilities.

Smithtown School District is comprised of two elementary schools—Warner Elementary and Coral Elementary—and Smithtown intermediate school. Warner Elementary School shares a building with Smithtown Intermediate School and the District administration offices. Coral Elementary school is located on the other side of the town. All students from Coral and Warner elementary school attend Smithtown Intermediate School. Students at Smithtown Intermediate School then apply to specialized high schools in the Regional High School District. Each high school enrolls students from Smithtown as well as other surrounding towns. Smithtown School District offers an English as a Second Language (ESL) program and a Bilingual program to support students in the acquisition of English. By implementing these programs, Smithtown is compliant with New Jersey's Administrative code (N.J.A.C). 6A:15 that requires districts to create a bilingual program when there are more than 20 students with limited English proficiency per grade from a single language group, and to offer an ESL program when there are more than 10 students identified as limited in English. New Jersey's Bilingual Education Code aligns with expectations for English Language Learners that are outlined in Title 3 of NCLB, which states that schools must provide language instruction that is based on scientifically-based research. New Jersey's

Bilingual Education code was created through the Bilingual Education Act passed in 1974.

According to the district website, the goal of Smithtown's bilingual program is to use the home language of students identified as ELLs to support the acquisition of academic content while they simultaneously learn spoken and academic English. As ESL students transition through grade levels, bilingual teachers are expected to gradually use less Spanish in their classrooms. The school also offers an ESL pull-out services for students whom the school has not yet determined to be proficient in English. Parent approval is required for children to participate in either the bilingual or ESL program. The ESL and Bilingual programs are described in English and Spanish on the district's website. The Smithtown District superintendent, Mr. Tomatelli, explained that he had inherited the transitional bilingual program when he took over as superintendent. During an interview, the District's ESL/bilingual coordinator, however, provided a rationale for this transitional bilingual program model. While she supported bilingual development, she argued that the district's model was most appropriate for Smithtown, New Jersey because Smithtown was surrounded by predominately English speaking communities. She argued that, given the dominance of English speakers in surrounding areas, it was important to prioritize English learning in the district.

Title 3 also provides funding for additional services intended to support ESL students' learning. Smithtown district uses Title 3 funds to support the implementation of a bi-weekly afterschool program. The program was offered to ELL students whose teachers had identified them as students who would benefit from additional academic support. During the after-school program, teachers with various certification backgrounds

(not solely those certified as ESL/bilingual teachers) facilitated small group instruction in exchange for extra pay. Additionally, Smithtown School District used Title 3 funding to create a Parent Academy. During the 2014-2015 school year, ESL and bilingual teachers organized and facilitated parent academy workshops that focused on topics such as preparing your children for the PARCC and ACCESS tests, reading with your child at home, and enrolling your child in educational summer programs. While only parents with children enrolled in ESL or bilingual programs were formally invited to these meetings, the ESL/bilingual coordinator and teachers informally encouraged parents of ESL students to invite their friends, even if they did not have children enrolled in ESL/bilingual classrooms.

During the 2014-2015 academic year when this study was conducted, New Jersey began administering the Partnership for Assessment of College and Careers (PARCC) exam to fulfill NCLB's national requirement for states to annually evaluate students' academic development using a standardized assessment. Based on regulations established by the PARCC consortium, English Language Learners are permitted to take the PARCC mathematics examinations in their native language. The instructions of the language arts exam may be translated to students in their native language but the test must be taken in English. In addition to the PARCC examination, English Language Learners were also expected to take the ACCESS examination. New Jersey uses the ACCESS exam to monitor the language development of English Language Learners. Title 3 of NCLB requires states to adopt an English assessment for schools to use to evaluate English Language Development. During the Spring of 2015 when I visited Warner Elementary School, the emergent bilingual students in the second-grade bilingual class took the

PARCC and ACCESS tests. The Bilingual/ESL teachers expressed frustration, at times, about the loss of instruction time during the administration of these tests.

Warner Elementary School

All participating children in this study attended Warner elementary school. The total school enrollment reached 599 during the 2013-2014 school year: an increase of 40 students in 2 years (NJ School Performance, 2013-2014). In Warner Elementary, 68.6% of students are Hispanic, 19.9% are White, 9.3% are Black, and 1.5% are Asian, 0.3% are Pacific Islander, and 0.3% are two or more races (NJ School Performance, 2013-2014). Warner Elementary School is a public school that receives Title 1 funding based on the relatively low socio-economic status of children attending the school (District website). Of the total student population, 71% are entitled to free or reduced lunch (Public Schools K12, 2009-2010). Language surveys show that 60.1% of students speak Spanish in the home and 38.6% of students speak primarily English (NJ School Performance Report). In 2013-2014, there were 104 students (17.4%) who were categorized as Limited English Proficient (NJ School Performance Report). Warner and Coral elementary schools enroll students in pre-kindergarten through fifth-grade. During the 2014-2015 school year, there were four classes in each grade between pre-kindergarten until third grade—a bilingual class, a mainstream class, a self-contained class comprised of students with special needs, and an ESL class comprised of students pulled out for ESL services.

Participant Selection

My relationship with Smithtown residents began when I started to volunteer for the non-profit community organization, ALMA. I began to volunteer at ALMA as a student conducting an independent study with an anthropology professor serving as a

board-member for Alma. The independent study involved a practicum component for which I assisted in English classes and helped to organize a membership campaign. After completing the independent study, I then continued to volunteer as an English teacher. Through continued involvement with Alma, I developed relationships with community members that facilitated the recruitment of families for my dissertation study. For my preliminary research, which began in the Spring of 2013, I solicited assistance from board members who then introduced me to parents with children in Kindergarten or first grade at Warner Elementary school. First, I asked one of my beginner English students, Maria, to participate in my first pilot study of homework completion with her children Sara and Jess. While Maria and her daughter, Jess were born in Oaxaca, Mexico, Sara had been born in the United States. I do not describe Sara and her family in detail because the analysis for this dissertation does not focus on the data collected in Sara's home. However, the data that I collected about Sara and her family helped to inform the research questions and design of this dissertation study.

Additionally, I continued to track Sara's progress informally throughout the data collection process for this dissertation. On one occasion, Maria contacted me to ask me to write a letter testifying that she and her daughter Jess were good people and community members. She needed the letter for her daughter Jess's application for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program. On the night of a parent academy meeting at Warner Elementary School, I dropped off the letter and drove her to the parent meeting. On the route, Maria updated me that Sara continued to struggle in third-grade. Additionally, the second-grade bilingual teacher, Ms. Small also provided me with updates on Sara's progress. Ms. Small had been Sara's teacher during the previous

school-year and continued to tutor her during the 2014-2015 school year. She explained that Sara still needed tutoring to reach grade-level standards. Sara's continual academic struggles to meet grade-level standards over several years suggests that attempts to remedy low learner status—a central theme of this dissertation—are ongoing.

In the Spring 2014, I asked Alma board members to help identify two new families with children in Kindergarten or first grade. Bianca, an Alma board member and parent in the district, agreed to help. She introduced me to her friend, Karla Romero as she waited along with other parents in front of Warner Elementary School for dismissal. Alma's Director of the adult English Language Program, Laura introduced me to a new student, Frances Morales who would later attend my adult English classes. The Romero family included five members: Karla (mother), Gilberto (father), a two-year-old boy, Fernando, a seven-year-old boy, Óscar, and an eleven-year-old boy, Ricardo. Óscar was in first-grade when he began to participate in the preliminary study. Frances was born in Oaxaca and had two children, Angel and Ivan. The Morales family included four members: Frances (mother), Germán (father), a six-year-old son, Ivan, and an eight-year old son, Angel. Ivan was in Kindergarten and Angel was attending first grade at the same school during the 2013-2014 school year. While Óscar, Angel, and Ivan were not considered English Language Learners, they spoke primarily Spanish with their parents. I refer to these students as English proficient- emergent bilinguals because they were continuing to develop proficiency in English and Spanish. In Chapter Four, I describe the Romero and Morales families in greater depth.

To gain permission to collect data in the school, I developed connections with school staff at Smithtown school district. I first called and contacted Smithtown's

superintendent, Mr. Tomatelli with the help of a former employer at Rutgers who was a

friend and former classmate of Mr. Tomatelli. I then met with Mr. Tomatelli who later

presented and obtained approved for my research from the school board. The

superintendent then introduced me to the principal of the elementary school who, in turn,

introduced me to the second-grade bilingual teacher. Although I considered selecting

Óscar or Angel's second-grade class, the principal and second-grade teachers at Warner

Elementary School directed me to Ms. Small's second-grade bilingual class because I

specified that I was interested in "bilingual students." While Karla's and Frances'

children were bilingual children, neither Karla's nor Frances' children were enrolled in

the bilingual classroom. Based on the school staff's recommendation, I decided to focus

my research on the second-grade bilingual class. However, I continued to visit Karla's

and Frances' houses throughout the data collection process. Upon selecting the focal

class, I recruited the primary teacher and after-school teacher to participate. Although I

also invited the students' Spanish teacher to participate in the study, she declined the

offer due to her discomfort being observed. Consequently, I was unable to observe

students in a class at the school in which Spanish was the goal for instruction. During

Spanish class, I shadowed Ms. Small and spoke with her informally about her students.

With the assistance of Ms. Small, I then selected four focal children in the second-

grade bilingual class—Daniel, Romina, Juan, and Jessica. Ms. Small recommended that

they participate as focal students because they were struggling academically. She hoped

that I could offer them assistance with their assignments in the classroom and at home.

Based on the school classification system, all students in Ms. Small's class had been

designated as ELLs. However, to acknowledge the bilingual potential of these students, I

refer to these students as emergent bilinguals. This label differentiates them from the focal emergent bilingual students that the school deemed to be English proficient—Óscar, Angel, and Ivan, whom I refer to as English proficient- emergent bilinguals. After gaining consent for the focal children to participate, I recruited teachers, peers, parents, and siblings of the focal children. The goal of including these additional participants was to provide me with the opportunity to conduct a close analysis of interactions between focal children and those with whom they regularly interacted.

First, I recruited the second-grade bilingual teacher, Ms. Small, and the basic-skills teacher, Ms. Cara. Ms. Cara taught Daniel, Romina, Juan, and Jessica two days a week during the afterschool program. Ms. Cara was also Óscar's basic skill's teacher. The mothers, siblings, and peers of focal emergent bilingual children participated in the study during household visits. After gaining parental consent for the focal students to participate, I then obtained consent from the parents of the focal students' peers in the second-grade bilingual classroom. I later recruited the superintendent, district coordinator of the ESL/Bilingual program, two other ESL teachers, and Angel's second-grade self-contained teacher to participate in study by allowing me to interview them. School staff and peers of the focal emergent bilingual students participated in the study during Phase Two, which spanned a four-month period. The four focal emergent bilingual children participated in the study during Phase Two and Phase Three. During Phase Three, I visited the homes of all focal students, from June through September. Table 1 provides information about the focal children who participated in the study, including their family background and the time periods during which they participated in the study.

Table 2: [3]*Overview of Focal Students*

Focal Students	Óscar	Angel	Ivan	Daniel	Romina	Jessica	Juan
Student Birthplace	US	US	US	US	US	US	Mexico
Class for 2012-2013	Kinder-Mainstream	Kinder-1st Grade (Year 2 of Kinder)	Pre-Kindergarten	Kinder-Bilingual	Kinder-Bilingual	Kinder-Bilingual	School in Mexico
Class for 2013-2014	1st Grade Mainstream	1st Grade Mainstream	K-Mainstream	1st grade Bilingual	1st grade Bilingual	1st grade Bilingual	School in Mexico
Class for 2014-2015	2nd Grade Inclusion	2nd Grade Mainstream	1st grade Mainstream	2nd Grade Bilingual	2nd Grade Bilingual	2nd Grade Bilingual	2nd Grade Bilingual
Class for 2015-2016	3rd Grade Inclusion	3rd Grade Mainstream	2nd Grade Mainstream	2nd Grade Bilingual	3rd Grade Inclusion with ESL pull-out	3rd Grade Inclusion with ESL pull-out	3rd Grade Mainstream with ESL pull-out
Family Composition	Karla, mother Gilberto, father Ricardo, older brother Fernando, younger brother	Frances, mother Germán, father Ivan, younger brother	Frances, mother Germán, father Angel, older brother	Ana, mother Luis, Father Jessenia, older sister Selena, younger sister	Rosa, mother Miguel, father Jose, older brother Eduardo, younger brother	Daniela, mother Armando, older brother Doris and Edgar, Grand-parents	Sofia, mother Antonio, older brother Manuela, older sister Gilberto Jr, Baby brother

---

[3] Highlighted boxes indicate the class(es) and school year during which the focal child participated in the dissertation study.

					Flor, cousin		Gilberto, Step-father
Family Origin	Puebla, Mexico	Oaxaca, Mexico	Oaxaca, Mexico	Oaxaca, Mexico	Puebla, Mexico	Puebla, Mexico	Chiapas, Mexico Sonsonate, El Salvador (mother)
Years living in US as of Spring 2015	14 years	Father, Germán-13 years Mother, Frances-12 years	Father, Germán-13 years Mother, Frances-12 years	Father, Luis-15 years Mother, Ana-14 years	14 years	unknown	1 year

Data Collection

This study represents an ethnographic examination of language socialization, and thus adheres to the methodological tenants of language socialization research outlined by Garrett (2008): first, it was longitudinal; second, it involved the collection and analysis of a substantial body of audio or video-taped discourse; third, it involved a data collection process that occurred across multiple settings and contexts; and lastly, the analysis highlights micro and macro social factors that impact processes of language learning. The timeline in Table 2 presents the length of time for each phase of the data collection process, which spanned a total of two years and seven months. Phase 1 of data collection began with a series of pilot studies from March 2013 until August 2014 conducted in the homes of three families of Mexican origin—the Sanchez, Morales, and Romero family—each with one child who was enrolled, or had recently completed first grade at Warner Elementary school at the time of data collection. While the Sanchez family participated in

a pilot study during the Spring of 2013, the Romero and Morales families participated in

pilot studies during the Spring and Summer of 2014.

Table 2: Timeline of Key Events

Phase 1: Preliminary Fieldwork	Details	Dates
	Began to volunteer at Alma to teach adult English and assist with membership campaign	June 2012- present
	Pilot study of homework activities in the home of one family of Mexican-origin	February- May 2013
	Two-part pilot study of homework activities and family literacy activities in the homes of two families of Mexican-origin	February- August 2014
Gained School District Approval	Met with superintendent of Smithtown school district. Superintendent and board approved study	November- December 2014
Volunteer in school district	Begin volunteering in school district to build connections with teachers and staff members	January 2015
Phase 2: Primary Data Collection-	*School Visits*: Two days a week for the entire school-day *Home Visits:* One visit per month to each family	January- June 2015
Phase 3: Primary Data Collection	*Home Visits:* Two visits per month to each family	July-September 2015

During Phase 2 of data collection, I visited the homes and classrooms of four

emergent bilingual children from families of Mexican origin who were enrolled in the

same second-grade bilingual class. Phase 2 took place over a four-month period from

February through June 2015. During this period, I visited the school twice a week for a

total of 26 visits. On two days per week, I engaged in participant observation in Ms. Small's second-grade bilingual classroom. On one day per week, I stayed to observe the afterschool class with Ms. Cara. Additionally, I observed several parent meetings and informal meetings between Ms. Small and parents. Over the four-month period during which I visited the classroom, I also visited the home of each of the four emergent bilingual students on 3-4 occasions. As participant observer in the home and classrooms of four second-grade emergent bilingual students in the same class, I could track interpretations of the same or similar artifacts across two settings.

I collected multiple forms of data as an active participant observer in the school. Patton (1987) defines participant observation as a method of collecting data that involves "sharing as intimately as possible in the life and activities of the people" of a community to gain "an insider's view of what is happening" (p. 75). As a participant observer, I helped students to complete their assignments when students asked me for help or when Ms. Small requested that I help someone. While observing, I also recorded interactions during routine activities in Ms. Small's class, Ms. Cara's afterschool program, and the homes of the four emergent bilingual students. I triangulated my audio-recordings of participants during routine activities, writing field notes about what I observed, conducting and recording informal interviews with participants in these settings and taking photographs of the documents with which participants interacted. While I could not audio-record during parent meetings, I wrote about parent meetings in my field notes. Additionally, I conducted and recorded interviews with the superintendent, ESL/bilingual coordinator, second-grade bilingual teacher, two ESL teachers, Óscar's self-contained second-grade teacher, and Ms. Cara, the afterschool teacher.

In addition to school visits, Phase 2 also involved visits to the homes of focal students. I visited the homes of the second-grade emergent bilinguals—Daniel, Romina, Juan and Jessica—as well as the homes of the Romero and Morales families. During Phase 2, Óscar Romero was enrolled in the second-grade self-contained classroom and Angel was enrolled in the second-grade mainstream classroom. Angel's brother, Ivan was enrolled in the first-grade mainstream classroom. By continuing to visit the homes of Óscar, Angel, and Ivan on 16 days over the course of a year and a half, I longitudinally examined the evolution of socialization practices in the homes of the same three students. By including six Mexican families during Phase 2 of data collection, I could examine the consistency and variability of family socialization practices across the homes of several second-grade students enrolled at the same elementary school. During home visits, I audio-recorded interactions of children, parents, and myself as we worked to complete homework assignments and during informal interviews with the parents and children. I also took photos of homework assignments, school letters, and several pages of books that the participants read. I rarely took field notes while visiting families' homes because I was actively involved in helping the children with their homework. However, I wrote field notes about household visits on the evenings following the visits.

During Phase 3, I continued to make bi-monthly visits to the homes of all families from July 2015 through September 2015. The purpose of continued data collection in the summer was to spend more time in the homes of families than was possible during the school year. Additionally, I wanted to compare non-academic literacy activities with academic literacy activities such as homework completion. While I also collected data about non-school related literacy during the school year, homework completion

dominated the time I spent at home after school. For that reason, I hoped to observe non-school related literacy practices during the summer. However, I felt an obligation to continue offering my tutoring services to children as I had at the beginning of the study. Karla Romero and Frances Morales reported that my visits provided children an opportunity to engage in academic activities. Karla felt that Óscar spent too much time playing games on his I-pad and explained that he would refuse to read with her. Each time I arrived at the Morales home over the summer, Frances directed Angel and Ivan to take out the Math and Language Arts workbooks that they had been given by a retired teacher for whom the father was employed. Frances and I would help them complete assignments in the workbooks.

To fulfill what I felt to be the families' expectations for me to tutor, I brought books to the families' homes during the summer. Seeking to engage the children and families in the content of the books, I brought bilingual Spanish-English library books or English books that discussed topics related to immigration or Mexican history or culture. While reading these bilingual stories, family members and I took turns reading versions in both languages. Periodically as we read, I asked students and parents questions about multilingualism, translation, migration, and family traditions as they became relevant to the plot, setting, or topic of the book. In addition to asking questions while reading, I asked follow-up questions to clarify student and parent perspectives about the theories I had begun to generate through my preliminary analyses of the school-year data.

Phase 3 culminated with one final visit to families' homes in September. During this final visit, I observed and assisted family members as they read letters from the school and completed homework assignments and school forms. I also asked students and

their families questions about their transitions into new classrooms and a new school year. By tracking the progress of students into the new school year, I learned how students were adjusting to their new academic 'trajectories.' Daniel had been retained in the second-grade bilingual class for another year. Juan remained in the same bilingual/ESL academic track with most of his classmates from the second-grade bilingual class, and thus progressed to a third-grade ESL class that received pull-out and push-in ESL services. Romina and Jessica had been placed in a self-contained third grade class with Óscar. Jessica had been given an IEP based on her hearing loss. As explained by Ms. Small, although Romina and Jessica were considered ELL students, their special needs "trumped" their ELL status. They had been removed from their original bilingual/ESL academic track and placed in an inclusion classroom from which they would be pulled out to receive regular English instruction. While N.J.A.C. 6A:15 does not allow an ELL with a disability to be "exited" from ELL status unless found to be English proficient, there is no official policy regarding a student's assignment to a specific kind of language program. However, the parent must consent to the kind of language support provided.

Positioning myself as a researcher.

As described in the previous section, I began getting to know families in this district through a community organization, ALMA. I became known as an ALMA volunteer serving in the capacity of an assistant English teacher for their adult English classes, an English conversation class facilitator, and an assistant for planning and implementing the organization's membership campaign. Additionally, many of the parents were aware that I previously taught Kindergarten and first grade and that I had

been helping in Ms. Small's classroom. To assist with the recruitment, Ms. Small introduced me to parents of LEP- emergent bilingual students as a teacher who could potentially serve as focal children. I believe it is important for me to recognize that my role of *"maestra"* (teacher) positioned me as an authority figure from the perspective of teachers as well as families, and thus a person to whom they should defer judgment and/or seek approval for their parenting, English language, and literacy abilities. Their concern for my approval may have impacted their participation in activities. However, my 'teacher' identity and relationship with Ms. Small granted me credibility as an academic tutor for their children and facilitated the process of garnering parental support and consent. In this way, Ms. Small and the mothers positioned me as a pedagogical remedy for 'low' performance on assessments and elicited my help to address concerns related to their children's academic and social development. By examining the moments and ways in which teachers, parents, and children positioned me as *maestra* (teacher) and a pedagogical remedy, I gained insight into the ways in which they conceptualized their needs and the problems with which they wanted assistance to solve.

In the classroom, Ms. Small viewed me as a fellow educator with whom she could exchange ideas and solicit support as an assistant teacher in her classroom. On occasion, she asked for my professional opinion about situations that arose. For example, as concern for Jessica's hearing arose, she asked for my opinion about selecting an audio device for Jessica to use in classrooms. In another instance, she asked for my interpretation of emails from her supervisor. During writing conferences, math class, and homework checks, Ms. Small asked me to evaluate students' assignments as they completed them. When she needed to use the restroom, she asked me to watch the class

or 'go over' something that she was working on. When a substitute was in the classroom, I conducted a couple of whole-class lessons that I designed to be culturally-sustaining reading or writing activities. Although it is not clear if Ms. Small altered her pedagogy or discourse while I was in the room, it was apparent that Ms. Small was aware of the audio-recorder and my presence. Several times she stated, "I hope that wasn't on audio" about something that her students said. She also indicated a desire to project an identity as a good teacher, as defined by the performance of lesson delivery, by reporting that I had "missed a good lesson." She indicated an interest in portraying herself as a kind teacher when she acknowledged that I might think she was "being mean" after yelling at a child and then provided a justification for her behavior.

In recognition of my position as "*maestra*" and researcher in the school and community, I looked for opportunities in which I could adopt roles of 'novice' or 'learner' by asking the parents, children, and teachers to teach me about their lives, their experiences, their countries, and their first or other languages and conducting member checks with teachers, parents, and children to extract their perspective on the central emerging themes in the data. While interacting with teachers and children at school, I attempted to shift the balance of power by asking them to enlist my support during classroom learning activities, and to orient me towards what they were supposed to be doing and saying at various times of day. I also shared information about my own experiences as a learner to establish a mutual exchange of knowledge between researcher and participants. By doing so I sought to make participants feel more comfortable in sharing information about their lives, experiences, and beliefs.

When interacting with the Spanish-dominant parents or children (like Juan and his siblings) at home, I tried to alter the power imbalance, and position family participants as more knowledgeable by highlighting my identity as a continual Spanish language learner. While reading English with children and their parents, I asked parents and children to identify the Spanish equivalent for words or phrases that I did not know. I believe my mutual engagement in learning a second language allowed the community members and me to sympathize with one another's challenges and develop a comfort level that facilitated open communication. On the other hand, as a non-native Spanish speaker, observing and speaking with families who primarily speak to me in Spanish, I did not always understand what they were saying or comprehend the significance of what the families were telling me. When these situations arose, I asked family members to clarify or explain what they said in another way.

Throughout the data collection process in the homes, I did not interfere with routine activities. However, I offered to assist children and families with any tasks with which they needed help. Several mothers asked me to translate between themselves and community members. For instance, Daniel's mother, Ana requested that I drive the family to medical offices including the optometrist, dentist, and physical therapist, and help to complete paperwork and translate between the family and office staff. In another example, Juan's mother, Sofia called me on the phone and requested that I explain to English-speaking staff at the court that she needed to obtain a marriage certificate for her upcoming wedding. Sofia also invited me to her wedding and solicited assistance to drive the family to the church. Óscar's mother, Karla, asked me to call and arrange a meeting with employees at the local Fire Hall, where she wanted to hold a celebration for her

children's baptism. Karla also asked me to help her complete a form sent from the school

district that asked her to confirm her son's enrollment in half-day Kindergarten. I view

the mothers' requests for assistance as indications that they had trusted me to help them,

and as evidence of the challenges that they faced as Spanish-speaking immigrants in an

English dominant New Latino Diaspora community.

Audio and video recording.

Throughout the study, I collected over 250 hours of audio and video-recordings.

To capture interactions during whole-class lessons and conversations between myself and

Ms. Small, I placed an audio-recorder on Ms. Small's desk. To record interactions

between students in the absence of adults, I placed recorders on the desks of the focal

children. The purpose of this decision was to capture talk from different groups of

students without distracting the students from their work. On two visits to the school, I

used a video-recorder to record whole-class lessons and seat-work. To video-record the

class, I placed the video camera in the corner of the room. In families' homes, I placed an

audio-recorder on the table next to me and recorded interactions between the family

members and myself. On one occasion in Romina's and Jessica's homes, I also placed a

video-recorder in the corner of the room. To minimize participant discomfort with the

recorder, I took the following steps: 1) spent time getting to know the focal children and

their families on several occasions before using the recorder, 2) gave children the

opportunity to play with the recorder by singing and talking into it, and then listening to

their voices on the recording, and 3) reminded participants that we could stop the

recording at any time.

Informal interviews.

As opportunities arose during observations or following observation sessions, I asked parents and children informal questions about their migratory experiences, homework completion, their routine language and literacy practices, and their experiences with the school. These informal interviews were designed to gain greater insight on the family members' historical background, perspectives about how they complete homework, use language and literacy, and how they perceived their roles during literacy practices. I also asked questions intended to gain understanding about the ways in which the families' historical backgrounds shaped their current lives and daily interactions. The interview questions were intended to elicit specific narratives about the participants' lives rather than general statements, and included open-ended questions that encouraged participants to do the majority of the talking (Weiss, R. 1994). Appendix B includes a list of interview questions for each participant. However, I also asked questions related to topics that emerged naturally during our conversations.

Fieldnotes and artifacts.

I wrote fieldnotes whenever possible during home and school visits. However, I typically was an active participant during the visits, and therefore usually was unable to write. For that reason, I primarily wrote and typed field notes after completing each visit. Fieldnotes were written based on suggestions made by Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw (2011), including real-time narration written with shifts between first person and third person to note what participants and I were doing, saying, and hearing. These narrations included what I heard including specific language from participants, and what I saw, such as objects around the room, physical descriptions of people's appearance and gestures, and

maps of the setting. During classroom visits, I noted the time when the class switched

activities to keep track of the duration of each activity. In addition, analytical notes were

included in parentheses to keep track of my thoughts about the observations in real time.

My notes focused primarily on the roles that participants played as they talked, gave

directives, identified errors, praised one another, and asked questions during literacy

activities. While taking notes, I also collected photographs of documents including

worksheets, books, classroom posters, student writing, drawings, and the focal students'

assessments. In families' homes, I took photos of the setting where we completed

homework, toys that the children showed to me, books that we read, letters to and from

the school, and homework assignments. Additionally, I reviewed the Smithtown school

district website, the NJ State Department of Education ESL/Bilingual Policies, and the

Common Core Standards and I gathered texts that Ms. Small projected on the Smart

board. Lastly, I collected articles relating to the referendum proposed for school district

expansion. Periodically throughout the study, the county newspaper published articles on

the district and community efforts to acquire funds needed to expand the overcrowded

school buildings. These articles included reports about Smithtown voters' rejection of a

referendum to expand schools and the district appeal to the state commissioner for bonds,

as well as an op-ed by a former graduate of Smithtown expressing concern for the racial

discrimination motivating the underfunding of a district largely populated by Latinos.

Member checks.

I conducted formal member checks (Creswell, 2013) with Romina, Daniel, and

Ms. Small. The goal of member checking is to involve participants in the analysis process

by asking them to evaluate the credibility of the researcher's interpretations. I scheduled

member checks after I had begun developing theories about the impact of school and classroom assessment policies on school discourse and participants' interpretations of assessments during literacy events. In June 2015, I asked Ms. Small to talk more about the validity, use, and consequences of assessments and literacy benchmarks. During this interview, I asked Ms. Small several follow-up questions including one in which I presented the Teachers' College Reading Levels grade-level benchmark assessments that she had shared with me and asked her to talk about whether she thought they were appropriate for English Language Learners. I asked this question because I had already begun to identify reading levels and grade-level benchmarks as a theme in discourse about academic progress and I felt that they were unreasonable expectations. During the member check, however, Ms. Small argued that she thought they were appropriate but instead believed that her students did not have good Kindergarten teachers.

In September of 2015, I conducted member checks with Daniel and Romina by playing two audio-recorded classroom conversations for Romina and Daniel and asking them questions relating to what they had heard. One conversation took place in the second-grade bilingual classroom during which Ms. Small scolded Daniel for not completing his homework assignment. The other conversation took place between Romina, Daniel, Juan, and Jessica during the after-school program. During this conversation, Romina translated words for Juan and Juan accused another student of being a "copiona" (a copy cat). These conversations were selected because they represented several emerging themes in the data—homework, translations, peer helping, and copying. After playing the recordings, I immediately asked the children what they were thinking and feeling while listening. I then asked them specific questions about

homework completion, translating, peer helping, copying, and accusations of copying. The purpose of conducting the child member-checks with recordings was to elicit the children's memories about their thoughts and feelings about the activity or action. While Ms. Small had already developed a meta-discourse about these activities that she expressed frequently during our informal conversations, I believed that it would be difficult for children in second-grade to think and talk about these activities without listening to an example conversation. For that reason, I used the audio-recordings for member checks with the children but not with Ms. Small.

Data Analysis

The coding and analysis for this study adhered to methodological standards for rigorous language socialization research, ethnographic research, and qualitative studies. I triangulated my audio and video data (Creswell & Miller, 2000) with field notes, policy documents from the school website or handouts distributed to families or teachers, and documents that family members, teachers, and children used (Merriam, 1998). In addition, I used rich, thick descriptions of the setting, participants, and methodological approach for data collection and analysis in order to allow for comparability and translatability of this study to other settings and populations (Creswell, 2013; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). I used a grounded theory approach to analyze the data by conducting three phases of coding—open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I also conducted informal interviews and formal member checks (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Creswell, 2013) throughout the analysis process and confirmed participants' interpretations. Finally, I collaborated with administrators, teachers, parents,

and children to carry out the study and to provide an analysis that is relevant to the concerns and goals of educators (Gutiérrez & Penuel, 2014).

To acquire external reliability, repeatability, external validity, and translatability in a qualitative study requires careful analysis of researcher positionality (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). Gaining a better understanding of my positionality depends on a number of techniques that I have mentioned in the researcher role section of this dissertation. First, I conducted member checks to confirm that participants agreed with my interpretations. In addition, I noted how participants introduced or described me, or my role, to others. By documenting how participants understood my social identity in the school or classroom, I gained insight into how participants viewed me as an insider or outsider and what impact these views had on the information they shared during interviews. I also documented how family members interacted with me in comparison to others throughout the course of the study. By doing so I gained a better understanding of how my role and involvement impacted participants' behaviors.

In the following section I outline the phases of my data analysis plan in more detail. To facilitate the data analysis process, I used Transana software to organize, code, analyze, and access the data files. Transana software supports the analysis of audio and video files by allowing the researcher to upload the files into an episode folder labeled by each visit. Additionally, Transana allowed me to transcribe the recording more quickly by using the keyboard to stop, start, and rewind, and to isolate and place segments of the audio-recording into collections that pertain to routine events. Transana also allows the researcher to code events by keywords and to access and listen to all the audio-recording segments with the same code, regardless of the audio-files from which they were

extracted. Then, the researcher can insert artifacts and fieldnotes into the same transcribed document.

Throughout the data collection process, I used Transana's tools to code the data using a grounded theory approach and proceeding through three phases of grounded theory coding (Coffee & Atkinson, 1996; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The open coding phase involves developing and identifying thematic codes that emerge from the data, but that are also related to the study's theoretical orientation and research questions (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). As this study is grounded in a language socialization approach, the open codes included language forms, discursive topics, stances, activities, and references to self and collective identities. The axial coding phase involves developing sub-categories that are subsumed by the open codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). During the axial coding stage, I created more sub-categories for language forms (i.e. directing, praising, and punishing) and discursive topics (i.e. academic status, homework, testing, and migration). The selective coding phase involves developing and organizing the data by analytic codes. These codes represent theoretical concepts and phenomenon that the data illuminates (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Throughout the open and axial coding stages, I periodically wrote analytical memos about the narratives that administrators, ESL/bilingual teachers, immigrant mothers, and emergent bilingual students shared about academic successes and challenges. These narratives emerged during informal interview conversations and everyday interactions in the classroom and homes of the focal students. During the selective coding phase, I identified analytical codes that represented activities during which participants used 'expert' language forms (i.e. directing, praising, and correcting) and referenced the behaviors of 'good' or 'bad' students. I identified two

activities that participants referenced as important activities for student academic
success—homework and peer helping. During these activities, I also noted ways that
participants implicitly conveyed their understandings of what behaviors signaled the
identity of 'good' or 'bad' students while using 'expert' language forms such as directing
and correcting. I also noted a key theme across participants' narratives about academic
success—the concept of effort.

Informed by my theoretical framework and research questions, Chapters 4 and 5
analyze the ways in which assessment policies structure two routine literacy events—
homework completion and peer helping—upon which teachers relied to remedy the low
performance of emergent bilinguals on assessments. Chapter 4 focuses on literacy
learning in the *homes* of two Mexican families—the Romero and Morales families. In
Chapter 5 I focus on literacy learning in the *elementary school* and *classrooms* of four
emergent bilinguals of Mexican-origin—Daniel, Romina, Jessica, and Juan. Chapter 6
tracks the ways in which ideologies about literacy learning *travel across the homes and
classrooms* of two emergent bilingual children of Mexican-origin—Daniel and Romina—
as teachers, parents, and children interpret assessments and produce narratives about
hard-work and academic success. In each chapter, I selected excerpts extracted from
interviews and routine activities that represented thematic ways in which the participants
talked about and enacted the pedagogical remedy.

CHAPTER FOUR: Dice que es Bajo (*She Says He's Low*)

Chapter Four examines the ways in which the Romero and Morales families
attempted to prevent or remedy "low" academic achievement in the home during the
spring of 2014. The participating children from these families—Óscar Romero, and

Angel and Ivan Morales—are English proficient- emergent bilinguals. In this chapter I

examine the conflicts, or breaches, that mothers and children identify in the home as they

talk about students' academic progress and interpret homework and progress reports. The

analysis shows how the identification and repair of breaches involved the negotiation of

literacy-learner identities and indexed standardized ideologies of literacy learning. I

demonstrate how the mothers and children take up school-derived standardizing

ideologies of literacy as they seek to repair breaches of learner identity during homework

completion. The remainder of this chapter reflects the structure of the article that has

been published at the Journal of Linguistics and Education.

Introduction

Conflicts emerge during interactions when interlocutors hold different

assumptions about how to participate appropriately in the activity in which they are

engaged. Garfinkel (1964) refers to these conflicts as breaches and suggests that

interlocutors negotiate rules for future interactions as they attempt to repair a breach. In

educational settings, the identification of a breach—or similarly, the correction of an

error—serves as a mechanism for socializing individuals to express certain identities and

ideologies (Baquedano-López, Solís, Kattan, 2005; Fader, 2008: García Sánchez, 2010;

García Sánchez & Orellana, 2009). New Literacy studies demonstrate how individuals'

assumptions about interactions are rooted in ideologies (Street, 1993; 2003) or figured

worlds—informal theories about the ways in which certain behaviors serve as symbols of

identity in a broader educational context (Holland, Lachichotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998;

Holland & Bartlett, 2002). By integrating ethnomethodological and figured worlds'

theories, this chapter aims to illustrate how breach-identifying interactions involve the

negotiation of identities in educational contexts. The analysis specifically focuses on the ways in which elementary-aged children from Mexican families are socialized to adopt figured worlds of literacy as their mothers identify and repair breaches pertaining to the expression of a competent learner identity. I call these conflicts *learner-identity breaches*, and I analyze the ways in which they are negotiated between children and their mothers during schooling activities that take place in the home. First, I review relevant theoretical contributions from New Literacy studies regarding figured worlds of literacy, empirical studies of socialization through breaches, and research on homework completion. I then provide a brief overview of the setting, participants, my role as researcher in the study, and the methodological approach we adopted for data collection and analysis. Next I provide an analysis of how children and their mothers socialized one another to construct figured worlds of literacy through breach-identifying interactions that took place in their home. This chapter concludes with a discussion of implications for researchers and educators working to support the literacy learning of young children by facilitating collaborative relationships between schools and Mexican families.

Background Research

New literacy studies and figured worlds of literacy.

Literacy learning has been widely recognized as a social and cultural practice accomplished through interactive patterns that vary across contexts. Ethnographic studies of literacy learning have demonstrated how differing patterns of literacy engagement and socialization between home and school can lead to the marginalization of students from minoritized groups from classroom literacy practices (Au, 1980; Heath, 1982; 1983;

Watson-Gegeo, 1992; Valdés, 1992).[4] However, New Literacy Studies (NLS) show that

the variability of out-of-school literacy does not need to be inherently conflictive within

schools; this tension is the consequence of narrow definitions of literacy conveyed

through traditional classroom pedagogy (Gee, 1991; 2010; Street, 1993). These studies

demonstrate that the marginalization of minoritized groups from classroom participation

can be attributed to circulating ideologies that equate the display of particular forms of

literacy with academic and societal success, while devaluing others in schooling contexts.

Adopting an ideological model of literacy, NLS scholars recognize how power

relations structure participation in literacy practices (Street, 1993; 2003; Gee,

1991/2010). Gee (1991/2010) explains that as people draw upon their own experiences

and the stories they hear, they develop cultural models or informal theories about what is

normal or typical in a given situation and who or what exemplifies normativity or

deviance. Holland et al. (1998) define these theories as figured worlds and explain that

individuals rely on them to interpret and project their sense of self within an interaction.

They explain that "figured worlds take shape within and grant shape to the coproduction

of activities, discourses, performances, and artifacts" (p. 51). An analytical focus on

individuals' figured worlds facilitates understanding of how individuals exert agency

through processes of self and collective identification (Holland, Lachichotte, Skinner, &

Cain, 1998; Gee, 2010).

Studies of figured worlds in schools draw upon Vygotsky's (1978) theories to

highlight the interconnectedness between learning and identity production (Urrietta,

---

[4] Following Teresa McCarty's model, I use the term "minoritized" to "convey the power relations and processes by which certain groups are socially, economically, and politically marginalized within the larger society" (2002, p. xv).

2007; Hatt, 2007; 2012; Rubin, 2007). Hatt (2012) demonstrates the ways in which teachers' use of "the stoplight[5]" and "Shoe Tyer's Club[6]" excluded African American children from low socio-economic backgrounds from classroom categorizations of smartness (p. 447). Additionally, Rubin (2007) shows how students learned to position themselves and their peers as low achieving students based on the "figured worlds of learning" constructed in their schools (p. 218). Within the figured worlds they produced, teachers and students equated smartness with the speedy completion of purposeless tasks (See also Hatt, 2007, for figured worlds of smartness and Urrietta, 2007, for figured worlds of social activism). When applied to schools, figured worlds' theories draw attention to the ways in which ideologies function to marginalize minoritized students.

An individual's figured worlds of literacy depends upon theories they have about what is "typical" in a community and how these notions shape their participation within literacy practices. Bartlett and Holland (2002) found that teachers in an adult literacy class in Brazil constructed "figured worlds of friendship" within which students actively participated in a supportive environment (p. 19). But as a result of previous experiences of "literacy shaming" in their community, students had learned to remain quiet in class in order to disguise what they did not know (p. 15). Thus, despite teachers' effort to engage in friendly conversations to elicit student participation rather than correct errors in a didactic way, the program was unable to help many students to overcome their experiencing of shaming outside of the program and to identify as "educated" people (p. 14).

---

[5] The "stoplight" is a classroom management strategy involving the use of green, red, and yellow symbols to evaluate and categorize student behavior.
[6] The "Shoe-Tyers Club" refers to the group of students who could tie their shoes independently.

In another study, Dagenais, Day, & Toohey (2006) found that teachers constructed contrasting figured worlds of literacy in a French immersion program as they talked about a child, Sara, who remained quiet in large group discussions. One teacher equated Sara's silence with the identity of a quiet person—an identity grounded in a figured world in which students develop at their own pace. In contrast, another teacher viewed Sara's silence as a marker of an academically struggling student, thus indexing a figured world in which competence was displayed through talkativeness with teachers. Dagenais and her co-authors link the teachers' discourse to broader ideologies that support or hinder the learning of multilingual students in educational settings. The present study builds on previous studies by examining not only *what* figured worlds of literacy Mexican families construct but also *how* they learn to do so through the report or identification of breaches pertaining to the expression of a competent learner identity.

Breaches and socialization in everyday activities.

Interactional sociolinguistics offers useful analytical tools for identifying how figured worlds are co-constructed through the identification and resolution of breaches. Studies of interaction demonstrate how institutionalized distributions of power manifest themselves in interactional patterns of turn-taking, as well as grammatical and lexical items (Garfinkel, 1964; Goffman, 1974; 1981; Gumperz, 1999; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Gumperz (1999) argues that the ways in which individuals participate in interactions are inextricable from power dynamics within institutions. By directing attention to "production format units" and "participant frameworks," Goffman (1981) reveals how individuals shift between certain participation roles linked to their social status (p. 226). Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974) demonstrate how a focus on "turn-

taking organization" illuminates the ways in which individuals make bids for, or allocate turns of talk in conversation (p. 696).

Research on interactional sociolinguistics shows that as individuals attempt to contribute to and interpret interactions during routine language and literacy practices, they rely on tacit understandings of the norms of participation that are available to them. The unspoken rules of interaction, and for whom they may apply in a given situation, reflect the social structures and organization of a society. As Garfinkel (1964) explains: "the expectancies that make up the attitude of everyday life are constitutive of the institutionalized common understandings of the practical every day organization and workings of society as it is seen 'from within'" (p. 249). However, Garfinkel argues that the norms for participation assumed by one person during an event may not be shared by all participants in an interaction. Conflicts may arise in everyday activities when one person attempts to participate in a way that their interlocutor does not expect. Garfinkel refers to these conflicts as "breaches" and demonstrates how, as people identify and repair breaches in everyday talk, they reveal and modify their expectations for interaction.

Baquedano-López, Solís, & Kattan (2005) demonstrate how teacher and student identification and resolution of breaches in an elementary science classroom facilitated pedagogical and social adaptations that became opportunities for meaningful discussion about academic content and cultural frames of reference. In this chapter, I adopt an analytical approach that draws on the theory of adaptation developed by Baquedano-López et al. (2005) to capture the dynamic and interactive process of learning through the identification and repair of breaches, and I find that breaches can be seen as generative

opportunities for change. I observe that breaches also can reproduce the ideologies and identities constructed in schools, building on the notion that "there is a relationship between talk and institutions in which social identities and knowledge are unequal and potentially reproducible" (Baquedano-López et al. 2005, p. 3). Informed by figured worlds theory, we conceptualize breaches as conflicts that pertain to the expression of identity. By focusing on breaches in identity (issuing from breaches in behavior) we examine how the evaluation of literacy practices within the domestic context of the home links up to institutional school-based ideologies about what it means to be a "good" learner or parent during academic literacy practices.

Homework completion.

The completion of homework is considered to be a significant routine learning event that may either support or impede the academic success of children (Corno, 2000; Cooper, Robinson, & Patall, 2006). The process of completing homework may have positive outcomes leading to the expansion of student knowledge and student ability to confront academic tasks, or negative consequences resulting in parent and student disengagement (Corno, 2000). Previous ethnographic studies have shown that homework completion is a socially and culturally constructed literacy practice in which family members construct and express their understanding of school literacy. Portilla (2013) examines the ways in which parents, teachers, and children interact with one another and interpret homework assignments in homes and first- and second-grade classrooms located in rural Mexico. She conceptualizes homework as a cultural object that is mobilized by material resources and social actions, travels across home and school settings, and facilitates the transmission of school culture into students' homes.

In a study of homework completion in Córdoba, Spain, LaCasa, Reina, & Alburquerque (2002) reveal how literacy engagement in homework completion is facilitated by the use of interactive scripts in which parents and children adopt roles that may be active or passive, directive or receptive, and oriented towards a goal of either the representation of knowledge through physical qualities or the production of meaning. They differentiate between a "mechanical approach" to homework that focuses on finishing the task according to the rules with a "pedagogical approach," oriented towards accomplishing a specific teaching goal, and the "shared recreation of the text" in which parent and child both express their ideas and opinions about the text (p. 48).

Drawing from data collected in a suburb of Sydney, Australia, White (2002) demonstrates how an imbalance of power between teachers and parents impacts homework literacy routines. She found that because schools expected parent participation in homework, parents came to view homework as an event upon which both their and their children's competency would be evaluated. Consequently, parents often adopted interactional patterns that mirrored those of the school, even when they resulted in conflict and relational strain with their children (White, 2002). The works of LaCasa et al. (2002) and White (2002) have made important contributions to the theorization of homework completion as a site of potential conflict within literacy socialization for middle-class families completing school tasks in the domestic space.

Few studies have examined the homework literacy practices of Mexican families residing in the US who draw upon different linguistic and cultural resources than Anglo middle-class families (Gónzalez, 1991; Moll, Neff, Amanti, Gónzalez, 1992; Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 1992). Important exceptions include the work of Gónzalez (1991) in

highlighting Mexican parents' active involvement in homework activities and the work of Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg (1992) in identifying the tensions produced by homework in one Mexican household. These studies highlight how homework impacts interactions between children and parents in the homes of Mexican families. Nonetheless, we know little about the figured worlds of literacy that shape the ways in which Mexican children and families participate in homework activities.

The small but growing literature on homework completion for Mexican families suggests that homework may be a uniquely significant activity for negotiating expectations within schools, home, and other community settings. During homework completion in Mexican households, families evoke broader socio-cultural and sociopolitical realities when making decisions about how to best support their children's education (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992). Through a study of mixed-status families of Mexican origin, Mangual Figueroa (2011) reveals how homework activities constituted a structured routine event, which she refers to as "Homework Completion Routines (HCRs)" (p. 263). During HCRs, families discussed and interpreted school-derived artifacts, monitored children's school progress, and linked the importance of academic success to their citizenship status and identities as immigrants. We have more to learn about how school-based literacy practices shape the ways in which children and their Mexican family members socialize one another to evaluate their own literacy behaviors during HCRs. This chapter, therefore, seeks to fill this gap through an examination of how members of Mexican families draw on school-derived discourse, artifacts, and ideologies about literacy as they identify and repair learner identity breaches during HCRs. Specifically, this study examines the following research questions: 1. How do

parents and children identify, interpret, and resolve breaches pertaining to the expression of competent learner identity? 2. How does the process of breach identification inform the socialization of learner identities and corresponding figured worlds of literacy?

Methodology

    Data collection.

This study of Homework Completion Routines (HCRs) draws from data I collected during a four-month study in the homes of two Mexican families. I recruited participants and collected data for this study. To begin the study, I recruited families with the help of a non-profit community organization that provides legal and educational services to immigrant families. I first became involved in the organization as a volunteer serving as an assistant teacher for the organization's adult English class and facilitating the organization's membership campaign. Upon finishing the English course, I continued to volunteer as a teacher for adult English classes. A snowball sampling method (Patton, 2005) was used to recruit families, relying on the assistance of a board member, Maria, and the English program director, Laura to introduce me to families with children in Kindergarten through second grade. [7] Maria introduced me to her friend, Karla, a mother of three children. At the time of the study, Karla had a two-year old child who had not yet begun school, and a child in first grade and fifth grade. Laura introduced me to a new English student, Frances, a mother of two children in Kindergarten and first grade. The study focuses on Karla's and Frances' families.

The data for this study include audio-recordings, field notes, and artifacts collected during twelve afternoon home visits in which I conducted brief informal interviews with

---

[7] All proper nouns are pseudonyms

family members and acted as participant observer during HCRs. Between February and June of 2014, the first author visited each family's home on six occasions for 1-2 hours each. During each visit, the family and I collaborated in HCRs and discussed the family's experiences with language, school, and homework completion during informal interviews. I took photos of every document sent home from the school and/or discussed during visits, including letters, report cards, and homework sheets, and the first several pages of the books that they read in her presence.

Participants and setting.

The participants of this study included members from the families mentioned above; who resided in the same Northeastern Latino Diaspora community. According to 2010 census data, 42.9% of residents in the town identified as being Hispanic or Latino. The percentage of residents over 5-years-old that did not speak English was reported to be 27.3%. All participating children in this study attended Kindergarten or first grade at Warner Elementary School. During the 2013-2014 school year, approximately 69% of students were Hispanic, 20% White, 9% Black, 1% Asian, .3% Pacific Islander, and .3% were two or more races. Approximately 60% of students spoke Spanish in the home. Warner Elementary School was considered a Title 1 School that contains an English as a Second Language (ESL) program and a bilingual program. However, based on the school's English proficiency assessment, the participating children were not considered LEP students and thus did not qualify for the district's ESL or bilingual programs. Thus, the children in the study attended classes in which they were instructed to use English to develop and display knowledge in academic content areas, as would monolingual English students.

The Romero family was comprised of five people: Karla (mother), Gilberto (father), a two-year-old boy, Fernando, a seven-year-old boy, Óscar, and an eleven-year-old boy, Ricardo. Both parents were born in Puebla, Mexico and had been living in the United States for thirteen years at the time of the study. All of the children were born in the United States. Karla and Gilberto could read, write, and speak in Spanish and communicated primarily through Spanish with their family. Fernando was just beginning to speak in Spanish. Óscar and Ricardo were learning to read and write in English in school, but communicated with their parents orally in Spanish. Karla and Óscar, who was in first grade at the time of the study, were the focal family members who participated in the study. However, Karla and Óscar also mentioned other family members during the discussions about school and HCRs. (See Table 3 for details about family members).

Table 3: Details about Family Members

The Romero and Morales Families

Romero Family	Morales Family
Karla, mother	Frances, mother
Gilberto, father	Germán, father
Ricardo, eldest son, 11 years old, 5th grade	Angel, eldest son, 8 years old, 1st grade
Óscar, middle son, 7 years old, 1st grade	Ivan, youngest son, 6 years old, Kindergarten
Fernando, youngest son, 2 years old	

The Morales family included four members: Frances (mother), Germán (father), a six-year-old son, Ivan, and an eight-year old son, Angel. Ivan was currently in Kindergarten, and Angel was attending first grade at the same school at the time of the study. Both of the parents were born in Oaxaca, Mexico. According to Frances, Germán

had migrated to the United States twelve years prior to the time of the study and Frances joined him the following year. Frances could read, write, and speak in Spanish and had begun to take classes in adult English literacy. She frequently attended the English class that I taught at the non-profit community organization. The father, Germán could read, write, and speak in both English and Spanish. Ivan and Angel were learning to read, write, and speak in English at school, while learning to communicate with their mother orally in Spanish. Frances, Ivan, and Angel were the focal participants in the study.

Researcher role in homes.

As participant observer in the two families' homes, I played an active role in the identification of and response to breaches. In the Romero family, I helped Óscar to read stories assigned for homework, while Karla watched or attended to Fernando in the other room. As reported by Óscar and Karla, I fulfilled the role that Óscar's older brother, Ricardo typically played when he arrived home in the late afternoon. During the completion of math and spelling worksheets, Karla frequently assisted Óscar. However, I helped Óscar with Math and Spelling homework if Karla needed to attend to Fernando or talk with a friend who often visited.

In the home of the Morales family, Frances, Angel, and Ivan sat together to complete all homework assignments. I provided help if any of the family members asked me a question or if she noticed an error that nobody else had noticed. During these visits, I conducted brief informal interviews with mothers that included questions about their children's academic progress and their experiences with teachers. These questions led the mothers to discuss teacher-reported breaches in academic progress. My role in the identification of and response to breaches will comprise a central part of the analysis.

Rather than bracketing my role by accounting for it solely in this section of the manuscript, I include it throughout the analysis and consider it an integral part of the ethnographic account (Mangual Figueroa, 2014). I argue that the analysis of the researcher's role provides important insight into the negotiation of figured worlds of literacy in the home. The families in the study first encountered and viewed me as "*la maestra*" ("the teacher"). Consequently, I recognize that my presence may have shaped the ways in which family members communicated in order to position themselves as "good" parents and learners. However, I argue that the data highlights the pressure that families felt to conform to school expectations for breach-identification and repair, which was only compounded by the presence of the researcher.

Data analyses.

To analyze the data, I first examined the types of breaches reported through mothers' narratives about their children's literacy learning in school, as well as breaches identified by mothers and children during HCRs. The analysis process followed the three phases of coding outlined by Strauss & Corbin (1990) that include open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. I first coded field notes and audio logs to identify thematic breaches identified by participants. Three categories emerged as the most common breach type—the child's academic progress, the pace of the child's completion of an assignment, and English reading. In the analysis that follows, I examine how breach-identifying interactions function as a means of socializing and negotiating figured worlds of literacy and corresponding learner identities. First, I examine how mothers recounted breaches within narratives of past communication with teachers. I then analyze the ways in which the mothers and children drew upon school-based figured worlds of literacy to identify

and repair breaches in real time during HCRs. The transcript symbols in the analysis follow the conventions of conversation analysis outlined by Schegloff (2007[8]). I used conversation analysis transcription methods to examine the details of interactional sequences that occurred as participants identified and responded to breaches within and across turns of talk during informal interviews and HCRs.

Mothers' Uptake of Learner Identity Breaches in School-based Narratives

During informal interviews about their children's schooling, both mothers in this study—Karla and Frances—identified and discussed breaches of academic progress reported by teachers during parent-teacher conferences. By re-articulating teacher-reported breaches, the mothers demonstrated a desire to understand the school-based figured worlds of literacy that the breaches invoked. They tended to revoice but not express their own opinions about the school-based figured worlds of literacy. Given the imbalance of institutional power between teachers and mothers, I argue that the mothers sought to fulfill school-based expectations for literacy engagement and help their children succeed academically by animating institutional discourse in their homes. In the Romero household, Karla reported numerous breaches in Óscar's academic progress identified by his teachers. During the 6 visits that I made to her home, Karla relayed 4 different breaches in Óscar's school progress—in reading, summarizing stories through writing,

---

[8] I use the following transcription conventions, noting that punctuation marks are used to communicate the social features of talk instead of the conventional rules of Spanish and English usage:

(.)	micropause	CAPS	especially loud talk
.	falling final intonation contour	°	Talk following it was quiet or soft
?	rising intonation	↑↓	sharper intonation rises or falls
::	prolongation of the preceding sound	(( ))	transcriber's description of events
_	stress or emphasis	› ‹	fast or rushed talk
[	a point of overlap onset	=	continuous utterance

handwriting, and subtracting. The transcribed excerpt below represents a conversation between Karla and myself on visit #2, in which Karla discussed a few of these breaches. At the very beginning of the visit Karla reported, *"dice la maestra que necesita mucho ayuda en la lectura* (the teacher says [he] needs a lot of help with reading)." I replied by asking Karla if the teacher had told her specifically with what Óscar needed help and Karla's response opens Excerpt 1.

Excerpt 1[9]: Recounting "Low" Learner Narratives in the Home

1   Karla: *No (.) oh lo más cuando acaba de terminar la:: el cuento pregúntale*

2   *que lo que no entendió del cuento pero dice que necesita mucha ayuda*

3   *en la lectura porque es muy bajo muy bajo le dice que es muy bajo*

          No (.) oh mostly when he finishes reading the:: the story ask him what he

          did not understand of the story but she says that he needs a lot of help in

          reading because he is really low really low she says

4   Meredith: *Sí*↑

          Yes↑

5   Karla: *Me enseñaron los niveles*

          They taught me the levels

6   Meredith: *Sí:::*

          Ye:::s

7   Karla: *Dicen que es bajo*

          They say that he is low

---

[9] Translations preserve false starts, pauses, grammatical structures and choices of the variety of Spanish spoken by participants in real time.

8 Meredith: *Niveles↑niveles de libro↑*

Levels↑ book levels↑

9 Karla: *No (.) a donde él tenía que estar (.) dice que tiene que ser en el medio y*

10 *que está muy bajo (.) y dice que en la lectura y la escritura dicen que*

11 *escribe muy feo ((laughs))*

No (.) where he had to be (.) she says that he has to be in the middle and

that he is really low (.) and she says that in reading and writing they say

that he writes really ugly ((laughs))

12 Meredith: ((Laughs)) *La escritura en como formar las letras*

The writing in like how to make the letters

13 Karla: *Uh huh porque como acá* ((points to paper))

Uh huh because like here

14 Meredith: *Ah sí me dijo antes*

Ah yes you told me before

15 Karla: *Lo hizo grande como que fueron mayúsculas y es minúsculo*

He made them big like they were upper case and it's lower case

As Karla identified breaches in Óscar's academic progress in lines 1-3, line 7, and lines 9-11, she animated teacher discourse about her son's academic progress. Karla acknowledged the significance of school-based evaluations by introducing teacher assessments of competence without my prompting. In lines 1-3, Karla relayed the teacher's evaluation of Óscar's reading ability by saying, "she says he is very low." In line 10, Karla elaborated on this statement explaining that "he has to be in the middle and

he is really low." Through these statements, Karla revealed how the teacher, as well as a school-based hierarchical system of ranking student ability, shaped the figured world she constructed. She repeated a school-authored discourse that implied an objective measure of reading ability and a linear trajectory of reading development and a goal of being in the "middle" of the class. Through her narrative, she invoked a figured world of academic literacy within which a successful student performs *"in the middle"* of the class on literacy assessments. On lines 2-7, Karla introduced statements that, "he needs a lot of help" because "they taught me the levels" and "they say he is low." Thus, through her report of teacher-identified breaches Karla suggested that each student could be objectively compared to others along a standardized trajectory of reading development marked by "the levels." Furthermore, Karla indexed a school-based figured world of standardized literacy development that positioned Óscar as a "low" learner. The figured world of standardized literacy development she constructs parallels what Street (1984; 2003) refers to as an autonomous model of literacy, enacted through institutional discourse that obscures the ideological value applied to certain literacy skills by instead referring to a supposedly objective hierarchy of rating ability. By referencing reading level as an indicator of low academic status, Karla highlighted the role of school reading assessments and developmental benchmarks in constructing figured worlds of standardized literacy.

I identified similar school-based evaluative discourse in the Morales home as Frances talked about her children's school progress. Frances rarely reported breaches because Ivan and Angel were currently "doing well" in school at the time. However, when I asked about her experiences with teachers on visit #2, Frances shared a narrative about how

Angel was retained a year in Kindergarten due to a breach in reading progress and connected this experience to her ongoing concern about Ivan's reading development in Kindergarten. Excerpt 2 includes Frances' summary of the narrative that she shared when I asked for clarification.

Excerpt 2: Confronting "Low" Learner Status and Grade Retention

1 Frances: *Terminó el kinder normal un año supuestamente iba a pasar a primero*

2 *pero no era primero normal fue kinder primero (.) hace un año salió un*

3 *programa que si los niños no aprendieron a leer en kinder tuvieron que*

4 *quedar otra vez en kinder supuestamente por eso con Ivan estoy* ((takes a deep breath))

He finished normal Kindergarten and supposedly he was going to pass to first grade but it wasn't normal it was kindergarten first grade (.) a year ago a program started that if the children didn't learn to read in Kindergarten they had to remain another time in Kindergarten supposedly (.) for that reason with Ivan I am ((takes a deep breath))

5 Meredith: *Para que no::*

So that it doesn't:

6 Frances: *Sí pasa lo mismo*

Yes happen again

Of significance in this exchange is Frances' description of a school program created for "the children who didn't learn to read in Kindergarten." By doing so, Frances animated an evaluative discourse about reading and an expected reading trajectory authored by the school that outlined what children should be able to do in Kindergarten in

order to pass to the next grade. Because Angel was placed in an intermediary class, Frances suggested that he did not demonstrate the typical reading behavior of a Kindergarten student. The school served a primary role in creating a figured world of literacy that revolved around standardized tests and that sorted children into categories of normal and abnormal development. By rearticulating the school's categorization of "children who didn't learn to read in Kindergarten," Frances accepted the school assessment of reading competency as an objective measure (she did not, for example, describe them as children that the school _thinks_ could not read). Thus, like Karla, Frances represented a figured world of literacy in which success was measured along a standardized trajectory of reading development, and competent students as those who perform relatively high on literacy assessments and continue to the next academic grade. Later in our conversation she said that she would not have chosen this combined Kindergarten and First Grade class for him because "it's a lost year." Frances expressed anxiety over the possibility of Ivan's grade retention on lines 19-21 when she said, "that's why with Ivan I'm" and completed her sentence with a deep breath. On line 6, she then clarified that she feared it would "happen again," or that Ivan would be retained as Angel had been. In the following sections I demonstrate how breaches of academic progress reported in mothers' narratives are linked to the ways in which family members identified breaches at home during HCRs.

Socializing Learner Identities as Test-takers through Breaches of Pace

During the completion of homework, both mothers identified breaches that pertained to the speed with which their children were working to complete their homework. Close examination of the discourse surrounding breaches in pace suggests

that family members linked their beliefs about pace to students' performance on school literacy assessments. In the Romero family, Karla attributed Óscar's breach—sloppy penmanship—to the fast pace with which he was working and directed him to slow down so that he could write well. The transcribed excerpt below was extracted from a conversation between Karla, Óscar, and myself on visit #2. During this exchange, Óscar was completing a worksheet that prompted him to write spelling words in blank spaces to complete sentences.

Excerpt 3: Learning to Slow Down

1   Karla: *Ah chiqu̲i̲t̲o̲ (.) bien así (.)*

            Little (.) good like that

2   Óscar: ((Erases))

3   Karla: *Tienes que escribir solo adentro (.) a ver cómo puedes (.)*

            You have to write only inside (.) see how you can

4   Meredith: Sí

            Yes

5   Karla: ((Looking at Meredith)) *Lo hace muy rápido (.) por eso*

                        He does it really fast (.) because of that

6   Meredith: *Cuando lo hace despacio lo hace bien*

            When he does it slow he does it well

7   Karla: *Adentro (.) no te salgas (.4) Practica hijo para que hagas bien en tus*

8   *exámenes (.) bonito adentro (.) a ver (.) si tú vas despacio puedes escribir*

9   *bonito (.) si lo hace rápido no puede no se puede*

Inside (.) don't go out (.4) Practice child so that you do well on your

exams (.) pretty inside (.) see (.) if you go slowly you can write pretty (.) if

you do it fast you can't one can't

Karla initiated this exchange as she critiqued Óscar's first attempt to write a word in

the blank space, which lead Óscar to erase and try again. Through her identification of

the breach and subsequent socialization efforts, Karla constructed a figured world in

which a good writer slowed down in order to write nicely inside the lines. In her

statement on line 5, "he does it really fast (.) because of that)," Karla attributed Óscar's

breach of "ugly" writing to the fast pace with which he worked. On lines 1-2, 6, and 7-9,

Karla socialized Óscar to write slowly and to write inside the lines. Because Karla had

reported earlier in the visit that "the teacher says that he writes ugly" (Excerpt 1), in this

excerpt we can see how the teacher's belief likely influenced Karla's identification of

literacy breaches during HCRs. On line 7, Karla told Óscar, "practice son so that you do

well on your exams." In this statement, Karla suggests that the purpose of homework is to

prepare for performance on exams. In other words, Karla was socializing Óscar to

demonstrate a test-taker identity through his speed and handwriting. By doing so, Karla

revealed that the school played a role in shaping her evaluation of Óscar's literacy

competency and the figured world of standardized time regulation and literacy production

that she socialized Óscar to adopt.

In the Morales household, in contrast to socialization efforts to slow down made by

Karla, Frances frequently directed her children to "hurry up," "make progress," or "get

moving" when she believed they were not working fast enough to complete the task. The

following transcribed excerpt represents an interaction that exemplifies this routine

identification of and response to a breach in pace. The excerpt derives from an audio-recording produced as Ivan completed his math homework on visit #2.

Excerpt 4: Learning to Speed Up

1   Frances: Tú apúrate porque Angel ya ya escribió y leyó tú no haces nada (.) así que

2   avanzas porque-

Hurry up because Angel already already wrote and read and you aren't

doing anything (.) so hurry up because-

3   Ivan: He doesn't-

4   Frances: Please (.) avanza

Please (.) *hurry up*

5   Ivan: Yo hazo[10] una mas page (.) ya estoy finished

I do one more page (.) *I am already* finished

6   Frances: Pues entonces (.) avanza porque no vas a terminar hoy

Well then (.) make progress because you aren't going to finish today

7   Ivan: ((Makes noise with mouth)) okay

8   Frances: Ahora pues avanza

Now hurry up

9   Ivan: Voy al baño

I'm going to the bathroom

10 Frances: No no siéntate

No no sit down

11 Ivan: Ya sé que voy a lograrlo

---

[10] Hazo is presumably equivalent to hago (I do).

I know that I am going to finish it

12 Frances: No (.) please está mirando la maestra (.) la va a llamar a tu maestra

No (.) please the teacher is watching (.) she is going to call your teacher

In Excerpt 5, Frances continuously directed Ivan to move faster and to make progress on his math homework, signaling that he had made a breach in pace on the assigned task (on lines 1-2). She explained that his brother, Angel "already wrote and read and you aren't doing anything." With each utterance she expressed her belief that Ivan was not completing his homework at the rate of a competent student who progresses according to a rate of acceptable completion that can somehow be objectively defined. By articulating her belief, she produced a figured world of mechanized academic literacy in which the competent student steadily makes progress without taking breaks and, whereby quick task completion serves as the primary goal. By justifying the breach with a comparison to another figure—his brother, Angel—Frances implied that Angel's pace also shaped the figured world of standardized literacy that she was producing and socializing adopting Ivan to adopt.

However, Ivan invoked his own figured world on line 11, explaining that he didn't need to move so fast because "I already know that I am going to finish it." By doing so he associated competency in a task with a right to take a bathroom break and move slowly. The figured world invoked by Ivan depicted the inverse relationship of that represented by Karla, who associated a lack of competency with speed and a focus on the academic over the personal. To resolve the disagreement, Frances re-framed her rationale by arguing, "the teacher is watching (.) she is going to call your teacher" on line 12. Here, Frances attempted to persuade Ivan to work faster by calling attention to the fact that I—

"the teacher"—was watching the interaction and suggesting that I would call his teacher to report on his progress. Frances suggested that Ivan's teacher and I shared a view of literacy based on a standardized rate of literacy task completion that Ivan was not fulfilling. By aligning with the teacher and researcher, Frances indicated that the school played a role in her earlier identification of Ivan's breach of pace, shaping the figured world of standardized academic literacy she was adopting and socializing Ivan to construct.

Socializing Learner and Parent Identities through English Reading Breaches

During HCRs, parents and children also frequently identified breaches with regard to one another's English reading. In the Morales home, Frances, Angel, and Ivan identified breaches with regard to the pronunciation of written English words. Frances, the mother, regularly corrected Ivan while quizzing him to read Sight Word Flashcards (Figure 2). Ivan's school progress report (Figure 1) conveyed the significance placed on sight-word identification in the school. Frances initiated the flashcard routine as an extra homework-assignment to help Ivan improve on school reading assessments, in order to avoid his retention in school (a fear she expressed in Excerpt 2). Figure 2 includes an image of the Flash cards that Frances used to quiz Ivan. The following excerpt derives from the beginning of visit #1 to the Morales home.

Excerpt 5: Breaches and the Dismissal of Affect

1 Frances: Aquí?

              Here?

2 Ivan: He

3 Frances: No:: no

4 Ivan: Ha:ve

5 Frances: NO:: cómo dice aquí

           NO::: what does it say here

6 Ivan: No quiero

           I don't want to

7 Frances: No es que quiera (.) vamos muévete

           It's not about wanting (.) let's go move it

This exchange reveals how Frances quizzed Ivan to read the word 'home' correctly. Each time Ivan failed to accurately identify the word that matched the flash card, Frances expressed her frustration through the prolongation of 'o' in the word, "no::" on line 14 and by more loudly stating "NO::" on line 16. As the tension mounted, Ivan expressed on line 17 that he longer wanted to engage in the activity. But Frances rejected this idea, arguing that Ivan's desire was not important by continuing to quiz him. Thus, this exchange is important in that it highlights how Frances socialized Ivan to adopt two interrelated figured worlds of literacy. First, as Frances adopted a pedagogical approach to homework completion, she invoked a figured world in which competency involved the decoding of a standardized set of English words in isolation from meaningful context. Thus, the identity of a "good" student within a figured world of standardized academic literacy was interlinked to an English language identity. Analysis of Ivan's school progress report suggests that the figured world of standardized academic literacy derives from school assessment practices and her expressed concern about potential negative consequences like grade retention. Second, Frances socialized Ivan to adopt a figured world of literacy in which interests or desires, such as terminating activities or going to

the bathroom (see Section 5), are unimportant considerations for involvement. Within these figured worlds of literacy, she positioned herself as a tutor preparing Ivan for an English sight-word test and Ivan as a test-taker needing to suppress desires or frustrations in the pursuit of academic success.

English reading breaches were also frequently identified during another homework routine—spelling test practice in the Morales home. Spelling test practice began when the first-grader, Angel gave his mother a list of spelling words that she would read and he would write down in preparation for his weekly exam. Figure 3 displays the spelling words listed on the homework worksheet that Angel was assigned in conjunction with the task of practicing for his test. In this routine, Frances regularly became the transgressor of accurate English reading. The following interaction transpired several minutes after the former exchange revolving around sight-word practice. The weekly spelling word list included several verbs in their infinitive and past tense forms. The exchange began as Frances read the word, "plan" and "planned" from the top of the spelling list.

Excerpt 6: Breach of Parent Identity as English Reading Tutor

19 Frances: Plan

20 Angel: ¿Qué dijiste?

      What did you say?

21 Frances: Plan

22 Angel: What?

23 Frances: Planet

24 Angel: Oh wait dijiste

you said

25 Frances: Plan planet

26 Angel: ((Points at "planned" on spelling list)) eso no es PLANE:T

                      that's not PLANE::T

27 Frances: Cómo es?

              How is it?

28 Angel: ((Growns and erases))

29 Ivan: Yes

30 Angel: No puede leer

              You (formal) can't read

31 Frances: (to Ivan reading flashcards) No dice yes

                      That doesn't say yes

32 Angel: This is ↑PLAN empieza con ↑ESO

                  it begins with ↑THAT

33 Frances: Plan planet

34 Angel: *Eso no es ↑PLANET*

              That isn't ↑PLANET

35 Angel: It's plan and plan (.) ed

36 Angel: Plann (.) ed

During this activity, Frances and Angel socialized one another to participate in a spelling test rehearsal—another routine homework activity that depended largely on the ability to read, write, and pronounce written English words. The spelling test rehearsal routine resembles the flash card practice in that participants were evaluated solely upon

their knowledge of English orthography and phonology. The language and structure of the assignment, and the figured world of mechanical English literacy it invokes, are rooted in school policies of language education and classroom-based assessments that privilege the mechanics of written English over the production of meaning. But in this interaction, Angel—a child—played the role of identifying his mother's breaches in reading in English. He expressed frustration as his mother read the word "planned" as "planet" on line 14 and again on line 22 by saying "that's not ↑PLANET" and raising his voice to pronounce planet. He also accused his mother on line 18 of not knowing how to read. Through this accusation, Angel argued that his mother committed a breach of her expected identity as tutor by failing to recognize the correct pronunciation of English spelling words. In this inversion of roles, Frances attempted to position herself as a concerned parent, while Angel challenged his mother's legitimacy to fulfill this role on the basis of her English fluency. Taking up the role of expert in critiquing his mother, Angel demonstrated how institutionalized English privilege can shift the parent-child power dynamics during literacy practices when children reach higher levels of English proficiency than their parents. Angel's frustration about his mother's pronunciation highlights the tension surrounding this inversion of roles and raises questions about the potentially negative consequences that figured worlds of standardized English literacy can have on parent-child relationships.

Discussion

This article has examined how elementary-aged children from two Mexican families were socialized to adopt figured worlds of literacy through the identification and repair of learner breaches during HCRs. By sharing narratives of teacher-reported

breaches pertaining to academic status, the immigrant mothers invoked school-based

figured worlds of academic literacy in which competent students perform comparatively

high along a standardized hierarchical trajectory of literacy development. While Karla

relayed the numerous ways in which the teachers considered Óscar to be "low" and

articulated a goal of being *"en el medio"* ("in the middle"), Frances explained that

children who did not learn to "read" in Kindergarten would be retained. Additionally, as

family members attempted to repair or prevent breaches pertaining to academic status,

they adopted and socialized one another to adopt roles during HCRs that revolved around

test preparation. They enacted identities as test-taker and tutors to monitor breaches of

pace, neatness, and English fluency, rather than engage with the meaning of texts. As

tutors, mothers consistently drew upon school-derived discourse and artifacts to justify

the figured worlds of standardized and mechanical academic literacy that they socialized

their children to adopt. The mothers also participated in homework activities in ways that

resembled what LaCasa, Reina, & Alburquerque (2002) referred to as mechanical or

pedagogical approaches to involvement. They adopted mechanical approaches by

enforcing the completion of assignments and pedagogical approaches by seeking to repair

behaviors they associated with low performance on school assessments.

The mothers' narratives are significant because they reveal children's and

mothers' uptake of evaluative discourses based on standardization and autonomous

models. The circulation of this discourse—and its reproduction in the home—is troubling

in light of research showing that young bilingual children learn in cognitively, socially,

and culturally unique settings from those of Anglo middle class and monolingual peers

upon which standardized practices are based (Frede & Garcia, 2010; Heath, 1982/1983;

Genishi & Haas Dyson, 2009; Valdéz, 1992; Valdéz, 2004). Moreover, school

assignments functioned to reproduce "institutional legitimacy" (Urciuoli, 1996, p. 35) in

the home through breach identification and repair during homework completion routines.

By evaluating bilinguals' literacy practices as deficient in comparison to a monolingual

English norm, schools perpetuate what Flores & Rosa (2015) refer to as "raciolinguistic

ideologies," which "conflate certain racialized bodies with linguistic deficiency unrelated

to any objective linguistic practices" (p. 150). Moreover, these ideologies are reproduced

through a socially-constructed system of assessment that gains its very legitimacy

through hierarchies that obtain a veneer of objectivity through standardized assessments

(even though we know they are not valid or reliable (Abedi, 2004; Kieffer, Lesaux, &

Snow, 2006). As we have shown, these ideologies become figured worlds as they are

recounted and reproduced by parents and children in their homes.

By referring to language arts assessments and benchmarks during breach-

identifying interactions, the mothers and children revealed a link between raciolinguistic

ideologies, autonomous models of literacy, and the standardization of education

assessment policies. I argue that the test-driven homework assignments, progress reports

sent home by teachers displaying the results of testing, and teachers' communication with

parents about students' academic progress served as mechanisms for extending the reach

of educational assessment policies and "language education policies" in the domestic

space (Menken, 2008; Shohamy, 2003; 2007). Language education policies are decisions

about how, which, and when languages will be used or taught in schools; they gain

institutional power through practices such as assessment (Shohamy, 2003; 2007; Menken,

2008). In attempting to comply with school-based expectations for academic success, the

mothers reinforced school-based raciolinguistic ideologies and autonomous models of literacy that privileged mechanical written English literacy, even as they participated actively in their children's learning. While these academic literacy ideologies render family members' Mexican heritage and Spanish proficiencies irrelevant, the children and parents implicitly contradicted these ideologies by drawing upon multilingual resources as they sought to fulfill teachers' expectations during HCRs.

In an era marked by standardized testing, the extension of the school into the home through learner breaches may be particularly damaging to immigrant children for two reasons: first, by delegitimizing forms of communicating in homes that are not sanctioned by the school, and second, by restricting the ways in which parents and children interact with one another and, subsequently, decreasing opportunities for meaningful engagement in literacy practices. As noted by Warriner (2007), "one striking material consequence of this kind of constant monitoring of 'progress' through standardized testing is that, because certain literacies are valued at the expense of other types of literacies and literacy practices, students are actually not adequately prepared for the world beyond the classroom" (p. 320). This chapter suggests that mothers and their children learn to value English production and pronunciation at the expense of Spanish, when the latter is not considered a resource for academic learning and assessment in school.

The findings of this study also extend understanding of time socialization during routine interactions between parent and child (Wingard, 2007). While Wingard (2007) demonstrates how middle class families in her study negotiated time to plan and prioritize *across* activities, the present study demonstrates the way that two Mexican immigrant

families negotiated time *within* one particular household activity—HCRs. The analysis illustrates that the immigrant mothers and their children negotiated an acceptable pace for completing literacy tasks within the figured worlds of academic literacy they invoked. While Karla socialized Óscar to construct a figured world in which competency on tests depends on slow careful writing, Frances socialized Angel and Ivan to construct a figured world in which a competent student progresses through his work without taking a break. Yet the children also rejected the figured world of literacy that their mothers socialized them to adopt. In Ivan's case, he constructed a figured world of academic literacy in which his right to adopt a slow relaxed pace was dependent upon, and indexical of, his confidence in completing the assignment. The link that family members made between speed and competence suggests the need for continuing examinations of how time is negotiated and evaluated during home and school activities, as well as how it relates to the academic labels students are given in schools. Notably, Ivan also challenged his mother's authority with regard to an appropriate pace of homework completion; highlighting children's agency in the adoption of figured worlds of literacy and the reproduction of school-based evaluations of their own parents.

The exchange between Ivan and his mother, Frances also raises new questions about the relationship between breaches, affect, and learning. While Frances was socializing Ivan to express a learner identity as test-taker and prevent breaches in academic status, she dismissed the significance of Ivan's feelings about the flashcard routine. By framing a relaxed pace and the expression of affect as breaches, Frances suggested that individual desire should come second to the standardization of learning. It is also noteworthy that Ivan did not express disinterest in the activity until after his mother repeatedly identified

breaches in his reading. These findings suggest that the process of repairing learner identity breaches have the potential to elicit children's negative stances towards an activity. As shown by García Sánchez (2010), error correction, which resembles breach-identification with the goal of altering language use, may stigmatize certain forms of communication.

Through breach-identification in narratives and interactions during HCRs, these two Mexican families also highlighted the interconnectedness between parents' and learners' social identities. In their examination of social and moral identities through narratives-in-translation during parent-teacher conferences, García Sánchez & Orellana (2009) highlighted how parents, children, and teachers negotiated responsibility for the resolution of problems related to academic development. This study expands the work of García Sánchez & Orellana (2009) by demonstrating how family members may continue to negotiate roles for resolving academic issues in the home. In the Morales and Romero homes, mothers served as tutors or homework assistants responsible for addressing and preventing teacher-reported breaches of academic progress. But when homework and tests prioritize English reading fluency over meaningful engagement, the role of tutor is difficult for Spanish-speaking mothers to fulfill. As a result, school reliance on normative literacy benchmarks to identify breaches in academic progress privileges students of literate English speaking parents whose reading and pronunciation more closely resemble that of teachers. Homework assignments and tests whose completion requires English may disadvantage children with parents who do not feel comfortable reading and writing in English. As a result, I share concerns regarding educational equity when traditional school approaches to parent involvement expect that parents function as teachers who

implement language education policy and the standardization of learning with fidelity in their homes. This is especially disheartening since the "parents as teachers" trope has endured over time despite the fact that it actually disadvantages children from immigrant families from achieving 'academic success' (Baquedano-López, Alexander, & Hernandez, 2013).

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the ways in which academic labels regarding literacy and learning are taken up in the home as family members draw on them during their participation in homework routines. The findings suggest that immigrant parents work to align their home literacy practices with school expectations regarding homework so that they can prepare their children for school tasks and mitigate against negative academic consequences such as low test scores or retention in a grade. In so doing, they may socialize their children to privilege mechanical English literacy competency over meaningful bilingual interactions with family members and texts. Understanding the influence of teacher discourse on families' participation in homework activities can inform educators' decisions about the language and purposes of homework. I call for more research that explores which academic tasks may foster more authentic interactions with family and community members, where the joint meaning-making and multilingual cultural production that can arise from shared readings of texts proves to be more positive and productive than test-preparation activities.

This chapter also highlights a need for educational researchers and educators to reconsider the ways in which they communicate with immigrant families about the meaning and consequences of school evaluations. We suggest that educational

stakeholders have a responsibility to convey the limitations of standardized measures of

academic literacy competency to parents, teachers, and administrators while instead

prioritizing meaningful literacy engagement over mechanical test-taking practices. We

need to continue learning from immigrant parents about the many ways in which they

support their children's social, emotional, and intellectual growth—activities that often

remain outside the purview of school officials. Children and immigrant parents are

constantly co-constructing beliefs about literacy, language, and their own self-worth

across home and school setting. As researchers and educators, we are all implicated in the

propagation of ideologies that value or devalue the knowledge of immigrant families. It is

my hope that educational researchers, along with school administrators and teachers, can

work to create new interactive structures for parent-teacher communication that support

the development of figured worlds that do not reduce students to points on a rating scale.

Figure 1: Ivan's Progress Report

Figure 2: Flash Cards- Sight Words Level 1

Figure 3: Angel's Spelling Words and Worksheet on Visit #1
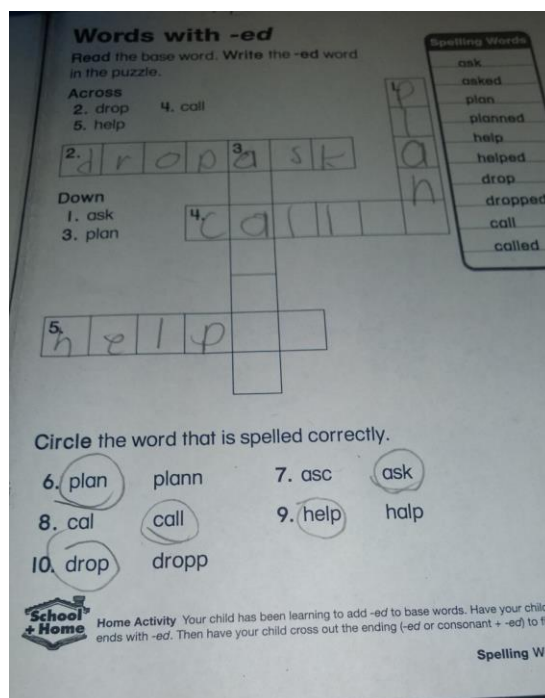
CHAPTER FIVE: Co-constructing Frames of Peer "Help" in a Second-Grade

Bilingual Class

Chapter Five examines the relationship between language ideologies, assessment, and the social and academic identities that students adopt during peer-helping routines in a second-grade bilingual class. This chapter focuses on interactions that took place between the teachers, Ms. Small or Ms. Cara, and the focal emergent bilingual students—Daniel, Romina, Juan, and Jessica. Drawing from data collected during the spring of 2015, I examine how Ms. Small used peer helping as a pedagogical remedy for slow or inaccurate completion of assignments. The findings show that the school-wide language ideologies, conveyed through school language policies and assessments, provided a

structure for the socialization of identities as 'smart helpers' and 'inattentive or lazy recipients of help' during peer helping routines.

Introduction

Studies have shown how young language learners socialize their peers to participate competently in classroom interactions based on socially and culturally-constructed assumptions (Willet, 1995; Kryatzis, Tang, and Koyman, 2009). Classroom activities are structured by assumptions about how teachers and students use communicative resources that to adopt interactional roles and express social identities. Rymes (2009) refers to these assumptions as *frames*— "interactional and social contexts surrounding individual utterances (p. 194)." A focus on frames draws attention to the ways in which interactional rules of an activity are shaped by macro level policies or discourses and ideologies about language, gender, race, among others, that circulate across larger scales outside of the setting in which the interaction takes place. In this chapter I focus on the way in which frames are shaped by *language ideologies*, or beliefs about language structure and language use, that circulate across entire communities and institutions through meta-discourse about language and through patterned ways of using language (Woolard, 1998). Seeking to understand the relationship between community-wide language ideologies and frames for peer helping, this chapter examines how second-grade emergent bilinguals from Mexican families interact with their teachers and peers to navigate language ideologies and co-construct frames for evaluating linguistic and academic competence. This chapter begins with a discussion of relevant background research on the socialization of young language learners, language ideologies in elementary school, and the use of "frames" as an analytical tool for examining identity

socialization in the classroom. Then, I describe the classroom setting and participants, as well as the process of collecting and analyzing artifacts and audio-recorded interactions extracted from the classroom. Next, I present and analyze the findings before concluding with a discussion of implications for policymakers and teachers.

Background Research

Socialization and learner identities.

Research on language and literacy socialization draws attention to the ways in which children interact with teachers, peers, and parents to learn how to participate appropriately during various activities. Expectations for interactions are shaped by the values and beliefs of the community to which the participants belong or seek membership, and the presumed social roles or social identities of individuals involved in the interaction. Studies of literacy socialization have focused on the complex process through which norms are constructed for interaction during literacy practices in schools and classrooms. Willett (1995) ethnographically examined socialization in a first grade English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom of an international school in the United States. In this study Willett focused on the relationship between gender, race and language socialization practices. He found that the girls demonstrated academic competency by assisting one another, while the boys demonstrated competency by shouting out answers in large group activities to demonstrate their independent ability to solve problems. Consequently, the three new girls cooperated to complete phonics activities in their seats, and thus required little assistance from teachers. The Mexican boy, by contrast, did not get assistance from other students as did the girls and came to be viewed by teachers as "needy" and struggling. Willet's study was important in that it

highlighted a link between gender ideologies and the socialization of academic identities for the newest four students in the classroom. Seeking to build on the work of Willett (1995) on peer helping, the present study seeks to understand how language ideologies and assessment policies shape the way that teachers and students co-construct frames for peer helping during classroom literacy activities.

In a study of mostly Mexican children in pre-school Kyratzis, Tang, & Koyman (2009) examined how young children socialized one another to adopt social identities during play. The children used linguistic and paralinguistic contextualization cues to shift between frames of play activities, such as pretending to cook, and social identities, such as the roles of husband and wife. Their findings revealed how children clearly oriented one another to the contextual framework of interpretation, albeit not always through verbal language. Drawing on these findings, Kyratzis, Tang, & Koyman (2009) challenge the notion that working-class children are socialized through codes that involve less contextual cues and call attention to the significance of peer socialization for language learning. The present study looks to build on Kyratzis et al. work on the young bilingual children's construction of frames by shifting focus from the settings of a pre-school classroom to a second-grade bilingual class and from play time to academic literacy events.

Language ideologies and young learners.

As explained by Woolard (1998), language ideologies refer to beliefs about language structure and language use that may be explicitly stated in meta-discourses or implicitly conveyed through practice, and are related to one's social position and the struggle to acquire or maintain power. While scholars differ in perspective regarding the

neutrality of ideologies and their intellectual or social nature, Woolard (1998) argues that language ideologies are "active" in the sense that they organize symbolic activities and are "effective" in the way that they have consequences for social relations and activities. Research in schools within multilingual contexts has highlighted differences of status granted to students' native-languages in language ideologies conveyed explicitly in discourses and implicitly through policies. Institutionalized ideologies that position one language as more valuable than another can be taken up in student discourse. When the acquisition of English is prioritized over students' native language in policies and discourses in schools, it may lead to the subtraction of students' multilingual resources (Gallo, Link, Allard, Wortham, & Mortimer, 2014; Valenzuela, 1999).

Gallo, Link, Allard, Wortham, & Mortimer (2014) examined language ideologies of emergent bilinguals from Mexican immigrant families, as well as teachers in a primary and secondary school in one New Latino Diaspora town. In the secondary school, teachers talked about Spanish as a barrier for their children to learn English and critiqued the use of Spanish in the school. But Mexican students in secondary school viewed speaking English as a sign that a student believed they were better than Mexicans. In the primary school teachers and children expressed ideologies about the importance of bilingualism and the potential for Mexican students to become bilingual. In classroom practices, these bilingual ideologies led elementary-school teachers to view students as teachable and then seek out strategies to assist them. Nonetheless, the elementary school did not have a policy or system in place that supported children to continue developing their bilingualism. Consequently, elementary school practices still contributed to the "subtraction" of students' bilingual resources. The research of Gallo et al. (2013) is

significant in that it suggests that language policies and practices in the school do not always support the explicit ideologies of teachers and students. Building on this work, the present study seeks to understand how implicit as well as explicit language ideologies impact the ways in which children construct frames for interacting during classroom literacy practices.

In a critical narrative analysis of Latino children in an after-school program, Souto-Manning (2013) found that native Spanish speaking children in second grade reiterated institutional discourses that framed their language backgrounds as deficient and their language abilities as in need of remedial support. However, the children did not simply reproduce institutional narratives suggesting they were incompetent. Instead, they exerted agency in constructing their own interpretation of competence by providing explanations of why they communicated differently than the native-English speakers. Souto-Manning's study is important in that it reveals that bilingual children begin receiving messages about what it means to be competent and incompetent during early childhood. The present study seeks to build on the work of Souto-Manning by examining how the notion of competency gets constructed not only through explicit discussions about it, but also through routine socialization practices. Informed by language socialization research, this chapter seeks to contribute greater understanding of how language ideologies shape the ways in which individuals are socialized to perform in peer helping activities.

Frames.

Rymes (2009) defines the term frames as "interactional and social contexts that surround each utterance within an interaction" (p. 194). She shows how individuals'

understandings of the frames in which they participate shape how they interpret and display their communicative competence in a situation (Rymes, 2009). The interactional context refers to the discursive features of an activity that structures and facilitates interaction (Rymes, 2009). The social context includes the ideologies, or beliefs about how people of certain social identities—including racial, linguistic, gender, academic, or more— are supposed to act, speak, and communicate (Rymes, 2009). Ideologies within the social context get taken up, adapted, and used to structure the interactional context. The frames that individuals construct and adapt determine how, who, and when individuals get portrayed as holding competent or incompetent social identities.

The term frames derives from Goffman's (1981) analysis of how "production format units" function to frame an utterance. Production format units refer to the roles played by participants, non-participants, and their ideologies to produce an utterance in an interaction. Production format units are comprised of three principal participation roles: the "animator" or speaker, the "author" or original creator of the utterance, and the "principal" or the group, institution, or individual whose belief is represented through the utterance. A different individual or group may play each role or the same individual or group may play all of the roles simultaneously. It is also notable that non-participants, or those not even present may play a role in the production of an utterance. In the following example, if a child named Sara says to her mother, "my teacher says cats are boring," then "Sara" acts as the animator, and "my teacher" serves as the original author and principal of the belief that cats are boring. Thus, the teacher may not even be present in the exchange, but nonetheless, plays an influential role in the production of the utterance.

An analysis of production format units is important in that it reveals how ideologies that may derive from and permeate social contexts external to the activity get taken up in the negotiation of frames for micro interactions. But Rymes (2009) also describes how other discourse features index the way in which participants understand the frames in which they are interacting. Drawing from the work of LA and LS scholars, she demonstrates how participation structures of an activity, including the number of participants and the sequence of participant talk (Phillips, 1976), such as the use of pronouns, word choices, and other discourse features, also constitute "framing resources" (Rymes, 2009; p. 193). Framing resources refer to the discourse features used by participants that invoke a certain frame, or understanding of the interactional and social context. In turn, the frame that participants invoke will inform their participation within it. Seeking to build on previous research on young emergent bilinguals and identity socialization, this study examines two questions: 1) How do teachers and second-grade emergent bilingual students interact to navigate language ideologies and co-construct frames for evaluating academic and linguistic competency? 2) How do teachers and second-grade emergent bilingual students learn to position students during peer helping routines?

Methodology

    Data collection.

The data was collected at Warner elementary school in Smithtown school district in New Jersey. Wortham, Murillo, and Hamann (2002) refer to New Jersey as part of the Latino diaspora because of the long history of Latinos residing in the state. However, the town of Smithtown has only recently, over the last several decades, experienced an influx

of Latino immigrants. For that reason, I conceptualize Smithtown as part of the New Latino Diaspora. At Warner Elementary, 68.6% of students are Hispanic (NJ School Performance, 2013-2014). Language surveys show that 60.1% of students speak Spanish in the home and 38.6% of students speak primarily English (NJ School Performance Report). Warner elementary school receives Title 1 funding based on the relatively low socio-economic status of children attending the school (District website). Of the total student population, 71% are entitled to free or reduced lunch (Public Schools K12, 2009-2010). In 2013-2014, there were 104 students (17.4%) who were categorized as Limited English Proficient (NJ School Performance Report).

I acted as a participant observer in the classes of the second-grade emergent bilingual students including Ms. Small's class during the Language Arts and Math instructional period within the regular school-day and Ms. Cara's class during the after-school program. The principal of Warner elementary school, along with other second-grade teachers recommended that I choose Ms. Small's second-grade bilingual class as my focal classroom after I expressed an interest in studying bilingual students. When I explained to Ms. Small that I would like to shadow four children in the school and the home, she suggested that I recruit the children whom she viewed as struggling in her classroom. She recommended four students—Romina, Daniel, Juan, and Jessica—who were also attending the after-school program. This afterschool program was offered to emergent bilingual students whom teachers had identified as doing poorly in class. These four students met with Ms. Cara in afterschool, along with an additional student—Abby.

The data for this chapter was collected over a four-month period from February-June 2015. During school visits, I engaged in participant observation in Ms. Small's

classroom during regular school hours. On Tuesdays, I spent the entire school day in Ms.

Small's classroom from 8am until 3pm. On Thursdays, I spent half of the day with Ms.

Small, from 12pm until 3pm and followed the focal students to Ms. Cara's classroom for

the after-school program. After school on Thursdays, I went to the home of 1 or 2 focal

students. While in the classrooms of Ms. Small and Ms. Cara, I collected or took photos

of teachers' lesson charts and student work, and I audio-recorded interactions between

teachers, students, and myself. I placed an audio-recorder on the desk of each focal

student or between the focal students when they were sitting next to one another or across

from one another. Additionally, I periodically facilitated brief informal interviews with

teachers while the children were working. On several occasions, Ms. Small volunteered

her opinions or thoughts with me without my prompting. At the end of the site visit, I

typed field notes about the events of the day.

Setting.

In Ms. Small's classroom, students' desks were arranged in clusters of four. Each

cluster consisted of one pair of students facing another pair of students to facilitate peer

talk during collaborative activities. Figure 4 displays students working at one cluster of

four desks. The exception to this arrangement were two desks that Ms. Small arranged

near one another and the teacher's desk but isolated from other students. She referred to

these desks as "no-neighbor-land" and explained that these students had been placed in

no-neighbor-land because of their behavior issues including a tendency to distract their

classmates or neglect to complete their homework. Around the classroom, Ms. Small

displayed posters that she had created for classroom lessons and lists of Language Arts

and Math-related problem-solving strategies, such as how to pick out 'just right' books,

how to decode words in your book, and how to subtract. On the dry erase board in the

front of the room, Ms. Small allotted space for the Homework Agenda. Each day, Ms.

Small directed one student to write the homework agenda. Students then copied the

assignment into their homework agendas.

Figure 4: Cluster of Desks

Ms. Small used the Teachers College' Readers and Writers Workshop Model for

conducting Language Arts lessons. As explained by Ms. Small, the Workshop Model and

pedagogical approach she used differed from other teachers in the school who relied on

the use of Basal readers. However, Ms. Small and administrators explained that all

teachers were being trained to use the Workshop model and would be expected to

gradually incorporate aspects of the model into their Language Arts lessons. Ms. Small

also included a spelling routine that involved sorting words based on spelling patterns.

Additionally, she retrieved lesson plans and worksheets from the online website

"Teachers Helping Teachers." She used these resources to plan and implement Language

Arts lessons. During lessons, Ms. Small translated words into Spanish to provide definitions to students of new vocabulary words. She also code-switched periodically throughout the school day to refer to commonplace objects, such as 'basura' (trash), and sang or played songs in English and Spanish during breaks. The official language policy listed on the district website states that students in the bilingual program will receive academic material in their native language until students have received proficiency in English. Nonetheless, there is not an official policy regarding when and how Spanish may be used in the classroom.

Routine classroom-based assessments included weekly spelling tests, math tests, homework assignments, Fountas & Pinnell reading benchmark assessment given approximately every three months, ongoing evaluations of students' participation during classroom lessons, assignments during independent or collaborative seat-work, drafts and final essays composed in writing workshop, as well as "free writes" that Ms. Small used as her benchmark writing assessment. Periodically throughout the day, the ESL teacher, Ms. Dara, visited Ms. Small's classroom and they informally discussed daily and weekly challenges with students, the afterschool program that Ms. Small organized and for which Ms. Dara served as a tutor, and the parent academy that they collaborated to plan and facilitate along with the first-grade bilingual teacher and the bilingual/ESL district coordinator. By observing, participating in, and recording these discussions, I gained further insight into the culture of Warner school from the perspective of these two teachers.

Participants.

Ms. Small was an Anglo teacher who was born in the United States and had developed Spanish proficiency through time spent abroad. She had taught in bilingual programs in several schools across the state of New Jersey, as well as in other states prior to teaching in Smithtown. Ms. Cara was an Anglo monolingual English speaker who worked as a Basics Skills teacher in several classrooms during the regular school day and worked as a tutor for the after-school program offered to the ELL students. She had worked previously in pre-school but this was her first year as a Basic Skills teachers in Smithtown. Daniel, Romina, Juan, and Jessica were the focal students for this study of peer helping routines in the classroom. All four students were enrolled in Ms. Small's second-grade bilingual class during the 2014-2015 academic school year. This chapter also focuses on several other students in Ms. Small's class: Gregoria, Eduardo, Ben, Kenny, Jennifer. Ms. Small considered these students to be performing better than the focal students in the class based on benchmark level assessments. They frequently played helping roles in the classroom.

Ms. Small expressed various concerns about each of the focal student's development. Ms. Small viewed Daniel and Romina's supposedly 'slow' academic progress as attributable to a lack of effort. Daniel's family is from Oaxaca, Mexico, and Romina's family is from Puebla, Mexico. Ms. Small's suggested a variety of possible explanations for Daniel's 'deficiency' including a lack of maturity, intelligence, and/or effort. On his most recent report card, Ms. Small had chosen the comment "needs to put in more effort" for each subject-area using the electronic system of completing report cards. Although Ms. Small often scolded Daniel for failing to complete his homework assignments, she praised him when she noticed that he helped his classmates. As she had

with Daniel, Ms. Small also expressed concern with Romina's academic progress. On the comments for her progress report, she suggested that Romina was not trying hard enough or that she did not pay attention. During informal conversations, Ms. Small periodically suggested that Daniel's or Romina's parents did not put enough effort into their children.

Juan and Jessica were the other two focal children in Ms. Small's second-grade bilingual classroom. In contrast with Daniel and Romina, Ms. Small did not question Juan's and Jessica's effort but rather attributed their difficulties to other problems—Juan had only been living in the country for eight months and Jessica was being evaluated for hearing loss. Juan was born in Chiapas, Mexico to a mother from El Salvador and a biological father from Mexico. However, as reported by Sofia and the children, the family had left the biological father because he had been abusive. Juan felt most comfortable in Spanish, and primarily spoke Spanish with his peers at his seat. Jessica also participated in the study as a focal student from Ms. Small's second-grade bilingual classroom. Jessica's parents had migrated from Puebla, Mexico. Of additional concern to Ms. Small and Jessica's mother was the psychological trauma that Jessica had suffered from the sudden death of her father during the previous year.

Data analysis.

Following the grounded theory procedure outlined by Strauss & Corbin (1990), I coded in three phases- open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. To generate ideas for the open coding process, I took field notes and wrote analytical memos about emerging themes that I had noted as a participant observer. The topic of 'helping' continued to emerge as a theme in classroom discourse. In field notes, I began writing about moments when teachers directed students to help one another and when students

asked the teacher if they could help. I later conducted a formal open coding process during which I marked explicit references in teachers' and students' talk about helping. Additionally, I noted student and teacher talk about copying, which they frequently positioned as a negative behavior during seat-work. I then coded instances when participants used the words of copying or helping, as well as instances when students were acting as experts or engaging in what I refer to as helping behavior by explaining directions (brokering), directing, translating, and demonstrating. These types of helping behaviors represented axial codes. I also created open codes for assessments or evaluations and divided these codes into sub-categories including informal evaluations during interactions such as praising, scolding, as well as standardized assessments, informal classroom-based assessments. I coded for assessment to direct the analysis toward the research question regarding the role of assessments on the socialization of identities during academic literacy events. During the final stage of coding, I developed selective or analytic codes for helping and copying.

Language ideologies and assessment

Throughout this chapter I focus on data chapter during a Writer's Workshop unit on non-fiction writing. The various excerpts I analyze represent interactions during which the students were composing non-fiction chapter books based on topics of their choosing. This unit involved drafting, receiving feedback from Ms. Small, revising, and producing a final copy. Table 4 shows an outline of the writing phases and Figure 5 presents Romina's final copy of Chapter 2 of her non-fiction book about dogs. During classroom seat-work, the students worked at their desk clusters while Ms. Small remained at her teacher's desk. When each student believed that they had finished the assignment, they

raised their hand and waited for Ms. Small to call him/her to the teacher's desk. Once

they had been called up to the teacher's desk, Ms. Small evaluated their assignment.

Figure 6 displays an image of the classroom during writing workshop when students

lined up to conference with Ms. Small about their writing. The following excerpt

exemplifies the routine interactions that transpired during the independent writing and

teacher-student conferencing. This exchange took place during classroom visit #7 on

March 31st during independent writing. The excerpt begins with Ms. Small reviewing a

student's writing and then transitions to a conversation with me about students' language

development.

Excerpt 1: Writing Conferencing and Assessment

1 Ms. Small: (To student) Next cats can be scared of water. After, cat-

2   Does that make sense? What word should be in here? After

3   a cat?   (To Meredith) You know I think if you look at

4   Krashen and what they are saying about these kids

5   developing. I think Krashen needs to go back if I were him

6   and revise this theory. Because these children are being

7   born here in this country. So there's no proficiency

8   anymore in Spanish and there's no proficiency in English.

9   If there's no dominancy in L1 or L2, what pedagogy do

10   you use as a foundation? And that doesn't matter what

11   district are you in

12 Meredith: Yeah yeah that's true. Do they get their Spanish level tested

13   here?

14 Ms. Small: Not their Spanish. Just the ACCESS test. Its focus is on English.

15 Meredith: Yeah I almost wonder what is their Spanish level

This exchange is significant in the way that Ms. Small provided feedback to students about their writing—asking them to think about what makes sense and identifying when they were missing a word. On lines 1 and 2 of this excerpt, Ms. Small engaged in a form of classroom-based formative assessment that involved a less standardized process of evaluating students than the other ways she regularly assessed students (such as through spelling tests and reading benchmark tests). The excerpt also shows how Ms. Small asked the student if what they had written made sense and then informed the student that they had been missing the definite article 'a' in front of the word 'cat' (lines 1 and 2). It is important to note that for a student to be able to self-correct, as intended by the prompts, "Does this make sense?" and "What is missing?" requires English knowledge about the use of definite articles in English. Furthermore, Ms. Small allows little time for the student to reflect on the error before providing the answer. Through informal formative assessment during writing conferencing, Ms. Small indexed a language ideology that positions English grammar as the linguistic goal. She also invoked a frame for helping students denoted by the question "does that make sense" and by directing students which words to write in English.

Table 4: Writers' Workshop Stages

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4
Drafting Chapters	Conferencing and receiving feedback from Ms. Small	Editing and Revising Chapters	Copying Final Drafts and Drawing Illustrations

Figure 5: Romina's Final Draft of Chapter 2
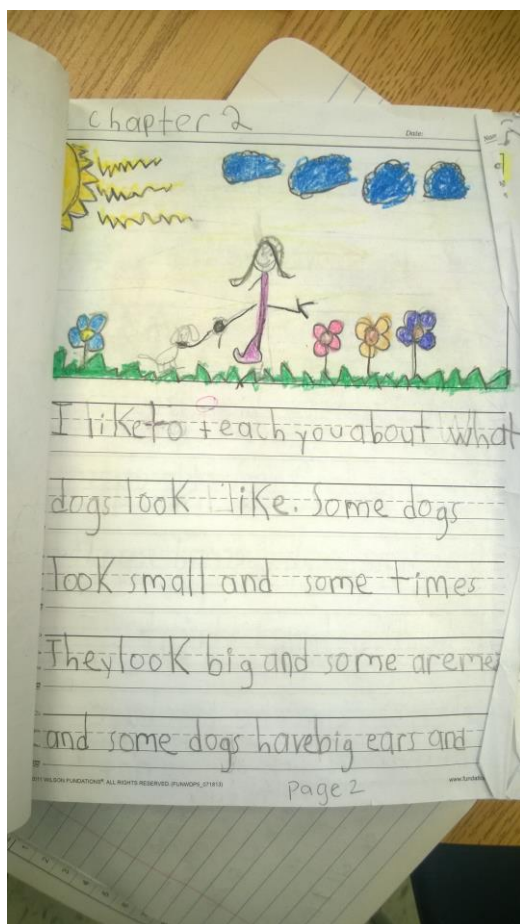
Ms. Small also revealed her beliefs about students' linguistic proficiency during this exchange. She argued that Krashen needed to update his theory, presumably referring to his theory of underlying proficiency that posits that cognitive development in one's first language is transferable to a second language. She then explained that she does not find the theory useful for selecting the best pedagogy for these students because "there is no proficiency" in Spanish or English. Through this statement, she constructed a frame for evaluating language proficiency that informs her pedagogy. However, it is also noteworthy that there are several flaws in her logic about students' proficiencies. First, she assumes that her students lacked proficiency in Spanish despite the omission of evidence for this claim. I attempted to draw attention to the presumption behind her statement by asking her to clarify if there was an assessment for Spanish. Second, even if

students lacked proficiency in Spanish in any form of assessment, their deficiency cannot be attributed automatically to "being born in this country." This explanation for low Spanish proficiency overlooks the role of the language program—whether Spanish proficiency is taught or not—in shaping student proficiencies. By ignoring the lack of school support for the development of academic Spanish proficiency, Ms. Small implies that parents are held responsible for their children's limited Spanish proficiencies. I include this excerpt because it provides insight into the way in which teachers make informal, as well as formal assessments rooted in English-dominant language ideologies that inform their academic and linguistic goals (e.g. improving written English grammar) as well as their pedagogy (e.g. correcting English grammar). Alternatively, in this scenario Ms. Small might have drawn a comparison to Spanish-English grammar rules if she had believed her students to be proficient in Spanish.

The second piece of data focuses largely on language ideologies that privilege independence and speed. It also shows how Ms. Small socialized children to adopt these language ideologies through formative assessment. During a writing conference, Ms. Small regularly evaluated students' writing. After Romina submitted her writing, she said in a loud voice:

1 Ms. Small: (to Romina) who helped you? did you do that by yourself or did

2   Ms. B help you? you know why I'm giving you a hug? all by

3   yourself? not only that? did you see the clock? is it pretty good?

First, we see again that English was prioritized because the assignment is in English. But this excerpt also shows how Ms. Small socialized Romina and other students to value independence by asking if she had done it "by herself" and speed by

asking "did you see the clock?" Lastly, what is significant about these language ideologies is that that they are rooted in the transitional bilingual program that prioritizes English, as well as assessment policies that evaluate students' English but do not evaluate Spanish literacy. In adherence of NCLB's requirement to assess and monitor English language learning, New Jersey requires emergent bilingual students to take the ACCESS test. During the 2014-2015 school year, New Jersey began using the PARCC examination to assess academic knowledge, fulfilling expectations outlined in NCLB to administer a standardized assessment of academic proficiency. Seeking to support students to progress on these standardized measures of English, the administrators and teachers had developed school and classroom level policies of formative and summative classroom-based assessments of reading and writing. On classroom-based assessments such as spelling tests and the Fountas & Pinell reading benchmark assessment, students were evaluated based upon their independent display of phonological awareness. On the PARCC and ACCESS exams students are evaluated based on what they can do by themselves. On the PARCC, there are time limits for answering the test questions. While English Language Learners may be given additional time, the existence of a time limit indexes a state-wide language ideology that values speed in the completion of written assignments. Thus, Ms. Small constructed frames for evaluating linguistic and academic competency during independent writing that indexed language ideologies that value speed, independence, and written English.

Teacher Socialization of Peer Helping Frame

When students did not fulfill Ms. Small's expectations for speed or grammatically correct English grammar during independent writing, she directed other students to help

their peers. Peer helping thus became a pedagogical remedy for 'low' performance on classroom-based formative assessments of writing. To facilitate peer helping, Ms. Small arranged desks in clusters of four with two students facing the other two students. Nonetheless, students did not only help those who were seated at the same cluster of seats. Rather, they were expected to find somebody to help around the classroom when they had finished assignments. The following excerpt demonstrates the process of initiating the peer helping routine. The excerpt was extracted from an audio-recorded interaction between students, Ms. Small, and myself during independent writing during class visit #7 on March 31st.

Excerpt 2: Structuring Peer Helping

15 Ms. Small: You're not gonna help?

16 Gregoria: It's getting crazy. I'm helping a lot of people

17 Ms. Small: Well then pick one person

18 Gregoria: I can't. a lot of people are telling me to help them.

19 Ms. Small: Pick one person.

20 Gregoria: He's on Chapter 2

21 Ms. Small: Well then help Juan. Eduardo can help Jessica. Oh there

22   you go. Jazzy J and Major D. woo hoo. Should we have

23   Ben help Jennifer?

24 Students: Yeah:::

25 Ms. Small: Oh you're safe Jennifer cause he's not even finished.

Through this excerpt, Ms. Small socialized students to adopt roles of helpers and recipients of help. There are several noteworthy parts of this excerpt—first, the

enthusiasm that Ms. Small generates about helping by asking students if one student should help another student, which leads to cheering "yeah" (line 23). The students' immediate enthusiastic response to Ms. Small's question of whether Ben should help Jennifer (line 22) suggests that the "helping" routine had already been established as a meaningful activity. This exchange also reveals Ms. Small's role in establishing peer helping as a routine practice and in initiating peer helping frames as a pedagogical remedy. In lines 15-16 and lines 21 and 22, she positioned specific children as remedies for the incompletion of assignments. By doing so, she placed pressure on children to select recipients of help and gave them the responsibility for insuring that the other student's assignment would be completed. Through this role assignment procedure, Ms. Small stripped students of their agency regarding when students could receive and who could assume the role of helper.

This exchange also draws attention to the meaning attributed to the role of recipient of help. Generally, those students who were recipients of help were those who were the relatively slowest to finish. Ms. Small highlights this pattern in line 25, when she acknowledged that the student she had selected as a 'helper' had not yet finished. Of course, the students with the most advanced levels of written English literacy proficiency were typically the ones who would help because they were better able to complete assignments quickly. Through assignments of the prestigious helper role, Ms. Small indexed assessment policies and interrelated school and classroom language ideologies that privilege English and speed. Nonetheless, it is also important to draw attention to Gregoria's statement on line 18 that "a lot of people are asking me for help." This statement, and the frequency of student requests for help in the data, suggests that

students generally did not avoid asking their peers for help. This finding contrasts with Willett's (1995) findings from the first-grade ESL classroom that suggested that the boys did not ask their peers for help.

Teacher and Student Co-constructions of Peer Helping Frames

After assigning or adopting helping roles, students then proceeded to assist each other in various ways with writing at their seats. While students adhered to Ms. Small's expectations for completing English assignments during peer helping, the children used Spanish in a variety of ways during interactions that involved Juan. The language ideologies conveyed through interactions with Juan did not align fully with language ideologies articulated in official language policies or assessments. I have selected several excerpts that highlight the children's practice of code-switching between English and Spanish during peer helping routines for purposes of sharing and requesting materials, translating, directing one another, and accusing one another of copying.

The first example derives from an interaction that occurred on a day that Ms. Small was absent. On this day, class visit #10 on April 23rd, the students worked to finish their non-fiction books. By this point, several students had finished their books, which included a title page, table of contexts, glossary, index, and several subcategories about their topics. I chose those this example to illustrate how Daniel and Juan constructed frames for peer helping in the absence of Ms. Small, who would typically direct and structure helping routines. Throughout the class period on visit #10, students who had finished could be heard asking "can I help?" to the substitute or myself. While I helped Jessica, Juan helped Daniel to complete his writing at the desks across from us. The

following exchange begins as Juan walks over to Daniel to help him write the chapter

titles in the Table of Contents.

Excerpt 3: Code-switching, breaches, and directives

1 Daniel: What do I have to do?

2 Juan: How to give the dog a bath. how to gi::ve. Esto (*this*) no no

make sense. How how to give

3 Daniel: How to <u>give</u> a dog a bath

4 Juan: Escríbelo:: ((7 seconds))

Write it

5 Kenny: Are you copying

6 Un-id: You have to write all this. ((12 seconds))

7 Juan: Chapter two. (2 seconds) Chapter two.

8   de que se trató este chapter?

what is this chapter about?

9 Daniel: Dice que- hizo-

It says that- he did-

((several minutes later at 37:40))

10 Juan: How a dog eats- a dog eats- que decías esto.

what did this say.

11 Daniel: Dice que como- como perros coma. Como perros coma

It says that how- how dogs eat. How dogs eat.

There are several aspects of this exchange that are noteworthy. It begins with Juan

reading what Daniel had written for the title of his chapter. He codeswitched from

Spanish, which he used for the word 'esto' (this) to English in order to say 'no make sense.' This codeswitch for the phrase 'make sense' reflects the language that Ms. Small used when conferencing with students about their writing in Excerpt 1. Juan's repetition of Ms. Small's evaluative discourse demonstrates how students pick up conferencing language from teachers and use it when helping peers. Juan, therefore, demonstrated how he had learned to evaluate his peers linguistic and academic competency based on the teacher's approach to conducting formative writing assessment. Juan then switched back to Spanish to direct Daniel to write the words for the table of contents- escríbelo (line 3). This directive highlights the procedural nature of the activity—that in fact, involved copying the words from his titles onto the table of contents page.

The accusation of copying also highlights a theme in this data. On line 4, Kenny asked Daniel "Are you copying?" an accusation that occurred frequently in peer to peer interactions when students asked each other this question or labeled one another 'copiona (copy-cat)' Although it is unclear what prompted Kenny to ask this question, the act of questioning points to ambiguity regarding the act of helping and copying in this classroom. While students helped their peers by providing answers to questions or directed their peers to write specific words on their page, they also accused their peers of copying if they believed he/she had reproduced another students' text without permission to do so. This routine accusation of copying signaled a departure from, or breach of, the expected norms for peer helping frames.

The switching between English and Spanish also illuminates a common practice during peer-peer interactions involving Juan. On lines 6 and 7, Juan read Daniel's page as 'chapter two" and asked Daniel what chapter two was about in Spanish "*de que es trató*

este chapter (what is this chapter about)", and Juan eventually translated the title of his chapter, como perros coma (how dogs eat). As they participated in this exchange, they each displayed their respective English and Spanish proficiencies. While Daniel's utterance is not entirely a grammatically correct phrase ('coma' should be written as 'comen'), he was successful in conveying his intended meaning to Juan. Their bilingual interactions are noteworthy for three primary reasons. First, the students' ability to communicate using Spanish and English challenges Ms. Small's characterization of these students as having no proficiency in English and Spanish. Second, this exchange demonstrates how Daniel and Juan practiced using their non-dominant language by participating in helping routines with a peer who was dominant in a different language than their own. Third, the excerpt is also noteworthy because Daniel's mother, Ana, had expressed concern that Daniel's limited Spanish proficiency restricted his parents' ability to communicating effectively with him at home (Chapter six includes an analysis of Ana's reports about Daniel's Spanish proficiency). The structure of this interaction, which the students initiated in the absence of Ms. Small, demonstrates how peer-peer collaborations can support the maintenance and growth of students' bilingual proficiencies.

The next example of peer helping derives from an interaction that occurred in the after school program with Ms. Cara. During the after-school program, Ms. Cara routinely taught the second-grade bilingual students new sight words. She pronounced a word, asked the students how to spell a word, wrote each word on a dry erase board, asked students the meaning, and then asked each child to create a sentence that she then wrote on the board. She then gave each student their own paper and asked them to copy the

sentence and draw a picture that would accompany the word. Ms. Cara encouraged

students to help one another during her lessons by saying "Can somebody help him/her?"

when a child did not answer correctly or did not respond. Children also helped one

another by voluntarily translating occasionally between Juan and Ms. Cara, who did not

know Spanish. During Visit #8 on April 14th, the following exchange occurred while

students drew pictures.

Excerpt 4: Code-switching and Directing during the After-school Program

1 Juan: Rabbit? Un ratón? Un conejo?

               A mouse? A Rabbit?

2 Romina: Oh si un conejo (.) Rabbit. (.) Daniel you forgot to copy this one.

               Oh yes a rabbit.

3 Daniel: Look at me.

4 Juan: Green.

5 Romina: Brown you need brown?

6 Daniel: You wanta use another one

7 Romina: This one is ( ). They're big

8 Daniel: That's your bathtub

9 Romina: This is my

10 Juan: Donde está el green? Green?

               Where is the green?

11 Romina: Green?

In this excerpt we see that frames for helping during afterschool involved

codeswitching and translation when Juan is the speaker or specified recipient of an

utterance. In line 1, Juan elicited help to identify how to pronounce the word for "conejo" in English and Romina correctly helped him on line 2 when she said "oh si conejo. rabbit." It is also noteworthy how the children switched between English and Spanish to facilitated the sharing of crayons. Here, helping frames were initiated by a student asking for specific kinds of help. On line 10, Juan asked the question "donde está? "(where is*)"* in Spanish but then stated the color "green" in English. Helping frames that involved the exchange of materials did not involve the teacher. Thus, recipients of help during these types of helping frames did not relate do the pace with which students worked. We also see in this exchange how Romina identified a breach that Daniel had made by forgetting to copy something. By reminding Daniel of the teacher's instructions to copy the example sentences from the board, Romina highlighted the way in which the permissibility of copying varies across classroom context.

Ms. Small was responsible for organizing the after-school program. For that reason, she filled in for after-school teachers when they were absent. On several occasions, Ms. Small led Ms. Cara's afterschool lesson. When Ms. Small was leading, she typically picked a book for students to read as class using the "popcorn method." The popcorn method refers to the reading routine whereby each student takes turns reading out loud. While they read, Ms. Small periodically stopped students to make comments, praise, identify breaches, and ask questions. The following exchange took place on May 19th during the afterschool program on school visit #17. The exchange begins with Ms. Small complimenting Abby on the way she appropriately used a rising tone at the end of the sentence when she read.

Excerpt 5: Ms. Small models how to broker in English

1 Ms. Small:	K- I liked how you went up↑ cause you were asking what
2 Abby:	Question
3 Ms. Small:	So when you ask a question your voice has to go up↑
4 Ms. Small:	k Juan you're up↑ you're up↑
5 Juan:	The swing-
6 Ms. Small:	Wha::↑
5 Romina:	No estamos allí Juan estamos aquí
	We aren't there Juan we are here
6 Ms. Small:	English English English (.2) tell him down over here

This excerpt begins with Ms. Small praising Abby for her intonation while reading and asking her the question of why she used a rising intonation—or why her voice went up (line 2). This question had a "known-answer" and forms part of a typical sequence of Initiation-Response-Evaluation in traditional classroom discourse (Cazden, 2001). This discourse is distinguishable from everyday talk outside of a classroom where you would not ask a question to which you already knew the answer. Thus, this discourse represents 'quiz' like routine, ending with teacher evaluation. Particularly significant in this exchange is the way in which Romina responded to Juan's reading of the wrong page by immediately telling him in Spanish where they were (Estamos aquí on line 5). This highlights her tendency, as well as many students' tendency to explain directions in Spanish to Juan. Of additional importance is the way that Ms. Small then corrected Romina's form of helping on line 6 by saying "English English English" and by directing her to say "down over here." Ms. Small's correction of the way in which Romina was helping led to the negotiation of language ideologies for peer helping frames. While

Romina positioned Spanish as a medium of instruction, Ms. Small suggested that English should be used. Romina's use of Spanish to direct Juan aligns with the way in which Ms. Small tended to use Spanish to help Juan during the regular school day, as well as with the expectation outlined in the school's transitional bilingual program. Yet, Ms. Small revealed that she held different language ideologies for teacher helping routines than for peer helping routines (English should be used). This excerpt shows how teachers and student negotiated peer helping frames based on explicit and implicit language ideologies made available through school and classroom-level policies and discourses.

Learner Identities and Peer Helping Frames

These next excerpts present student narratives about helping in which they discuss the attributes of those who adopt certain roles during classroom interactions—as helpers and recipients of help. In September of the following school year, I sought to elicit Daniel's and Romina's perspectives regarding some of the thematic topics that I had begun to note during my preliminary analyses. These topics included peer helping, translation, homework, and copying. To conduct the member check, I selected two audio-recordings in which participants referenced or engaged in these themes, and then played the audio-recordings for Romina and Daniel to elicit their perspectives about the interaction to which they listened. In this section, I share students' perspectives about the audio recording produced during the after-school (excerpt 8) when Romina confirmed the translation of 'el conejo' (rabbit). I played these recordings for Romina on September 22nd (visit #9 to Romina's house) and for Daniel on September 29th (visit #12 to Daniel's house). The following excerpt begins after I noted that Romina had helped Juan to translate the word rabbit and told her that I had noticed that the students helped each

other during class. This excerpt begins after Romina answered 'yes' to my question of whether she liked helping.

Excerpt 6: Identifying Recipient of Help as Inattentive

1 Meredith: What did you like- what did you like about helping?

2 Romina: Like Jessica wanted help but she wasn't paying attention

3   And I would be like Jessica pay attention.

4   And she wouldn't listen to me. And then Jessica would be

5   would be like Romina why are you not helping me and I was

6   was like because you're not paying at attention

Romina's talk about helping in this exchange is noteworthy for several reasons. First, Romina responded to my question regarding what she liked about helping with a narrative about refusing to help Jessica (lines 2-6). Her response did not answer my question and instead appeared to expand or qualify her previous affirmation that she liked helping. On line 2, she first established that Jessica wanted help but "wasn't paying attention." She then went on to explain how she directed Jessica to pay attention (line 3) but she "wouldn't listen" to her (line 4). Then Jessica questioned why she was not helping her (line 5), which suggests that Jessica considered Romina's refusal to help as a breach of participation within the frame for peer helping in which she was operating. But Romina explained that she provided Jessica with a rationale for refusing to help her—that Jessica had committed a breach during whole class literacy events by not focusing. Her narrative suggests that she specifically refused to help Jessica because she had noticed that she was not paying attention, even when Romina had reminded her (lines 4-6). This explanation invokes a belief that one's right to receive help is contingent upon the extent

that they have demonstrated attentiveness during lessons. Romina's explanation for refusing to help is also noteworthy in that it aligned with Ms. Small's evaluation of Romina on her progress report (see Chapter Six), that stated that she "needs to be more attentive," and similarly, "needs to put in more effort." Her rationale for refusing to help also indexes the classroom practice modeled by Ms. Small that involved choosing when (and when not) to help students based upon evaluations of the student's perceived effort. Accusations of copying, for instance, during seat-work served as critiques of a lack in student effort (This topic of effort will be discussed further in Chapter Six). On September 29th, I visited Daniel's house and played the same two recordings for Daniel that I had played for Romina. After playing the recording from the after-school program, I began to ask Daniel questions about helping and receiving help. I initiated the following exchange by asking if Daniel liked when people helped him.

Excerpt 7: Identifying Helpers as Intelligent

1	Meredith:	Did you like when people helped you?
2	Daniel:	No one helped me. I did it by myself
3	Meredith:	You did it by yourself?
4	Daniel:	Not always when I did my math I did it by myself but I didn't
5		finish it
6	Meredith:	What happened if you didn't finish it
7	Daniel:	If you don't finish it someone has to help you
8	Meredith:	Did someone help you
9	Daniel:	If you go to the rug you have to do it all by yourself
10	Meredith:	Did you like if people liked to help you

11	Daniel:	Kind of because I wanted to do it by myself
12	Meredith:	Did you like to help other people?
13	Daniel:	Yeah
14	Meredith:	Why?
15	Daniel:	I forgot. Oh I like helping Kenny, Eduardo, no not Eduardo
16		he's smart.

In this exchange, Daniel responded to my question of whether he liked when people helped him by suggesting that my question was irrelevant because—no one helped (him) and (he) did it by (him)self (line 2). When I repeated his answer in line 3 by asking if he did it by himself he responded "not always" and explained that he did it by himself in Math. Daniel talked about doing the work himself in several utterances (lines 2, 4, and 11). While on lines 2 and 4 he talked about doing it himself, on line 11 he explained that did not like to receive help all the time because he liked to do it by himself. Through these comments, Daniel invoked a frame in which being the recipient of help was not desirable and working by oneself was preferred. Then he explained the procedure for helping in the classroom—if you did not finish, then you had to get help. The tacit assumption behind this statement is that if you did not finish within a certain time frame, then you needed to get help. This statement indexes a frame of helping within which the helper vs. the recipient of help depends upon the speed with which you work in comparison to your peers. The value placed on the pace of task completion aligns with the emphasis that Frances placed on the speed of homework completion in Chapter Four. Also noteworthy are Daniel's statements on lines 15 and 16, where he talks about when he likes to help and starts to name friends that he liked to help. He corrected himself after

saying Eduardo with the statement, "no not Eduardo because he is smart." With this statement, Daniel implied that he would not be able to help people who are "smart." This implication that helpers are smart also suggests, conversely, that recipients of help are not smart: invoking a frame in which helpers are positioned as intelligent and recipients of help are viewed as unintelligent.

Discussion

Chapter Five demonstrates the ways in which Ms. Small used peer grouping and the assignment of "helpers" as a pedagogical remedy for students' slow or inaccurate completion of assignments. The analysis reveals how Ms. Small's assessment practices constructed literacy frames whereby evaluating academic and linguistic competency was marked by written English, speed, and independence. Based upon these markers of competency, she then used peer helping as a remedy for slow completion of assignments. By selecting students as helpers who completed written English artifacts quickly and accurately, Ms. Small invoked helping frames that were structured by assessment-driven language ideologies that privilege English knowledge, speed, and independence. As the second-grade bilingual children sought to help their peers in ways that would fulfill Ms. Small's expectations, they co-constructed peer helping frames by directing peers to complete artifacts that displayed proper Standard English and followed the teachers' instructions. These directives implicitly conveyed language ideologies rooted in classroom-based assessment practices that, in turn, structured the social identities that students could acquire as helpers and recipients of help and led to the circulation of beliefs about intelligence, hard-work, and the merits of help. By positioning students as

unintelligent or lazy when they were recipients of help, the students indexed individualistic ideologies.

In other ways, students co-constructed helping frames that conveyed contrasting language ideologies to those articulated by Ms. Small and her classroom assessment policies. To help their peers, the students regularly drew upon bilingual resources to direct each other in Spanish and English and to translate the teachers' instructions from Spanish to English. By codeswitching to help their peers, the students indexed district language policies that position Spanish as a resource in bilingual classrooms to support children's acquisition of English and academic content. Ms. Small's use of Spanish in the classroom also reflected this policy in that she defined words in Spanish for all students and periodically explained directions to Juan in Spanish. These findings indicate that "help" is framed by and indexes district-wide ideologies of individualism, mechanized literacy, and English prioritization that position Spanish as a medium of instruction rather than a linguistic goal. These ideologies are rooted in language programming policies and educational assessment policies instituted in multiple levels of government-from federal and state to district, school, and classroom levels. More specifically, the findings show how federal and state educational assessment policies that require the assessment of English, or that are given in English, can lead teachers and students to conflate English proficiency with linguistic proficiency. Moreover, as children participate in peer helping frames based on their understandings of teachers' methods of evaluating assignments, they carried out Language Education Policy (LEP) that valued mechanical written English literacy.

Nonetheless, students and Ms. Small held different understandings about the language students should use when helping their peers. The amount and frequency of Spanish utterances used in helping frames was negotiated by teachers and students. While Ms. Small suggested that they should use English with one another, the students used both English and Spanish to accomplish their goals. In the absence of teacher involvement to structure the groupings or the language used, Daniel and Juan engaged in translanguaging (García & Wei, 2013) as they switched between English and Spanish to discuss the organization of a non-fiction book including the index and table of contents. While this translanguaging activity was not directed by Ms. Small, research has shown how translanguaging—a language practice that involves the use multiple languages to accomplish an academic task—can be used purposefully by teachers' purposefully to support engagement in the classroom (García & Wei, 2013; Hornberger & Link, 2012).

This example of translanguaging also illustrates the way in which school and classroom assessment policies that focus on the assessment of completed artifacts can miss the opportunity to examine the linguistic and academic knowledge that students demonstrate that they have acquired or lack, as they participate in peer-peer interactions. Artifact assessment, as opposed to interaction assessment, prioritizes the finished product rather than meaningful engagement, which in turn can make children feel pressure to copy or to be given the accurate answer. Moreover, assessment policies that prioritize individual performance on tests over group performance of achievement of goals have the effect of schools conveying ideologies of individualism and overshadows the importance of collaboration.

These findings also show how the socialization of peer helping roles is interconnected to the socialization of identities as smart/un-intelligent or attentive/inattentive. Thus, while peer helping can be effective for helping students to complete tasks accurately, it is important for teachers to be attentive to the identities of helpers or recipients of help and consider how these participation roles have consequences for learning and the construction of learner identities. When students are given answers to fulfill teacher's expectations, they may be thwarted from obtaining the help or scaffolding they need to develop their understanding about a given concept. Lastly, the peer helping routine shows how only those students who accurately completed assignments in English would be positioned as helpers, and in turn, as smart. When we teach children to associate intelligence with roles dependent upon English literacy proficiency, accuracy, and speed, we restrict the students who are able to view themselves and others as intelligent.

The data presented in this chapter also revealed a lack of student power in evaluations of what they know or do not know. Ms. Small assigned students to help other students who had not yet finished their assignment, even if it was not requested. While conferencing with students, the question "Does that make sense" appears as a prompt for students to evaluate their own work. But the conference does not provide specific feedback for students that would support self-assessment. Furthermore, when teachers or peers give students the answers, students are given little support to review their own work. Recognizing the power of tests, Shohamy (2001) advocates for critical language testing that involves examining the purposes and consequences of tests. She also calls for democratic approaches that "share the power" of interpreting tests by creating dialogues

with test-takers about the tests and eliciting their perspectives about assessment tools. The goal of a demographic approach to assessment is to empower students to play an active role in monitoring progress and engaging oneself in learning. Portfolios, self-assessment, and projects are examples of assessments that support the use of a democratic approach to assessment. Shohamy (2001) also calls on administrators and teachers to encourage test-takers to question tests and their uses for classroom placements, to allow test-takers to refuse tests, to request alternative assessments, and to create a shared discourse for talking about tests.

Conclusion

This study suggests the need for educational assessment policies and language programs that reframe multilingualism, meaningful engagement, and collaboration as educational objectives and indicators of academic potential. Further research is needed to examine how macro and micro-level policies contribute to the framing of linguistic and academic competency in classrooms. Future studies may examine how peer-helping frames are constructed in dual language programs where Spanish is positioned as a goal, or in programs with more restrictive language policies that prohibit the use of Spanish as a medium of instruction. For educators and education policymakers, this research demonstrates the need to develop a variety of opportunities to engage as helpers in ways that require different kinds of expertise and knowledge. The chapter also suggests the need for educators to facilitate conversations with students about language ideologies associated with helping and to discuss when it is useful to use students' first language and when it might hinder opportunities to practice the new language. The findings suggest the need for all educational stakeholders to explore ways of effectively evaluating the diverse

forms of linguistic and academic competence that are exhibited during peer helping activities and other classroom routines.

CHAPTER SIX: Learning to "Echar Ganas en la Escuela"/Try Hard in School

Chapter Six examines the way in which the second-grade teacher, Ms. Small, emergent bilingual students, and their Mexican-born mothers negotiated social identities in the remediation of "low performance" in school. The data analyzed in this chapter was collected in the second-grade bilingual class and the homes of two emergent bilingual students, Romina and Daniel. The analysis shows how Ms. Small attempted to remediate low learner status by socializing children and parents to adopt ideologies about individualism and normative models of parent involvement through narrations about "effort." Ms. Small associated student and parent effort with student performance on assessments and the submission of homework. Parents and children shared narratives about the ways they sought to express hard-working identities by adopting roles in the implementation of pedagogical remedies. Yet, parents and child roles were restricted by English-dominant ideologies and the suppression of their voices in assessment and intervention.

Introduction

Over the last several decades, ethnographic research has continued to shift the narrative of Latino student identity. In the 1990s, ethnographic research sought to counter educational reform policies and discourses that positioned students' backgrounds as barriers to academic success. Through examinations of learning in the homes and communities, these studies highlighted the diverse forms of linguistic and cultural support that Latino families provide to children involvement and which are overlooked in

traditional models of parent involvement (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Moll et al., 1992; Pease-Alvarez & Vasquez, 1994; Valdés, 1996; Velez-Ibanez & Greenberg, 1992; Zentella, 1997). These studies were important for producing a narrative that positioned parents and students as knowledgeable and for calling on schools and educators to utilize diverse forms of household knowledge as resources for learning in the classroom. Yet this strength-based literature had the effect of portraying Latino students and families as homogeneous and of treating the home-school relationship as a partnership developed by teachers in the school. Seeking to offer a more nuanced understanding of Latino student identity and family-school relationships, ethnographic studies in the 2000s highlighted the multiplicity of identities that students possess, the circulation of ideologies across multiple settings, and the fluidity within which students, teachers, and parents shift between academic and social identities during interactions (García-Sánchez & Orellana, 2006; Orellana, 2009). Most recently, studies have highlighted how macro-level policies render certain identities of Latino students and parents as visible and or invisible during interactions (Mangual Figueroa, 2011).

Seeking to build on this understanding of the links between macro policies and the dynamics of identity negotiation, this chapter examines the relationship between macro and micro-level assessment policies and narratives of academic and social identities in school and at home. The analysis explores how academic and social identities are negotiated as teachers, emergent bilingual students, and Mexican-born parents use narrative as a tool for developing, interpreting, and implementing pedagogical remedies designed to improve low performance on assessments. The chapter begins with a discussion of background research on narrations of Latino student and parent identity

across home-school settings and narratives as a tool for socialization. I then discuss the

methodological approach I used for collecting and analyzing the data examined in this

chapter. Subsequently, I examine teacher, student, and parents' narratives about learner

identity and effort. The chapter then analyzes the significance of the findings in the

discussion before concluding with suggestions of implications for practice and future

research.

Background Research

   Parenting Ideologies.

   Critical scholars have shown how traditional models of parent involvement are

based on Anglo middle class norms and ignore the ideological nature of parenting

practices. Although reform efforts tend to frame parent involvement as a neutral and

objective concept, an extensive body of language socialization research has shown how

ideologies shape parent-child interactions. In their seminal work, Ochs & Schieffelin

(1986) compare the ways in which Anglo middle-class parents socialized their young

children to use language with those of Kaluhi parents in Papua New Guinea and those of

parents in Western Samoa. They demonstrate how Anglo middle class mothers used a

baby-talk register to engage their children as conversation partners in dyadic participation

structures. As children made sounds, the Anglo mothers made inferences about what they

believed the infants were trying to convey; invoking a child-centered ideology for raising

children whereby the parents attempt to adapt the situation to the child.

   By contrast, in Kaluhi and Western Samoan parents held a situation-centered

ideology for raising children to use language. In other words, the mothers socialized their

children to adapt to the situation at hand. The mothers did not treat their children as

conversation partners in dyadic participation structures, but rather involved their children in triadic conversations between the mother, parent, and an older child or adult with whom they interact. In Kaluhi societies, for instance, the mothers held the infant facing outward, altering the tone of their voice to mimic an infant and modelling how to communicate with younger children who approached them. This Kaluhi form of socialization—through triadic structures that focused on modelling language—was indexical to the Kaluhi belief that infants did not yet know anything (and therefore could not participate in an exchange as conversation partners). Through these comparative analyses, the work of Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) illuminated the cultural variability and ideological structure of parent-child interactions.

Student and Parent Identities.

Research on Latino families illuminated how ideologies and values shape child-rearing in Latino homes and communities. These studies have highlighted the ways in which Mexican families provide social, emotional, and interactional support for children's academic success (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Moll et al.,1992). The Funds of Knowledge research project drew attention to the knowledge and expertise that parents acquired through their jobs, the social networks developed by Mexican families that help them survive and thrive in the United States, the apprenticeship opportunities parents offered to children by involving them in domestic tasks, and the autonomy parents gave to children to try things out on their own (Gonzalez, 2005; Moll et al.,1992). The work of Zentella (1997) on bilingualism and codeswitching amongst Puerto Ricans in New York City highlighted the grammatical knowledge required for adhering to codeswitching rules and illuminated the linguistic and cultural knowledge of Puerto Rican families. These

studies were important for demonstrating positive values and ideologies that shape language and cultural practices in Latino families' homes and communities. Yet, by focusing on unifying positive traits this research had the effect of portraying the identities of Latinos, Mexicans, or Puerto Ricans as homogeneous.

More recently, studies have shown how children's and parents' identities get negotiated through interactions at points of intersection between home and school, including Homework Completion Routines (HCRs) (Mangual Figueroa, 2011) and parent-teacher conferences (García-Sánchez & Orellana, 2006). In Mangual Figueroa's (2011) study of HCRs, she demonstrates how children and parents in mixed-status families constructed understandings of the significance of their citizenship status and immigrant identities as they interpreted school-derived artifacts such as report cards on which a grade is given for citizenship. Orellana's (2009) research on immigrant children who broker for their parents demonstrates the way that children take on various social roles and identities through which they learn about practical skills. Through this work, Orellana (2009) shows how language ideologies and beliefs about childhood impact the way in which children's roles in their homes and communities, including those of interpretation, are viewed in schools and communities.

García-Sánchez & Orellana (2006) examined "narratives-in-translation" during parent-teacher conferences. They found that teachers praised children for individual accomplishments and absolved them of blame for problems—actions that reflected traditional institutional ideologies about individualism. Yet during translation, children positioned themselves as more responsible for problems and less praise-worthy than described by the teachers. Parents rearticulated their children's moral responsibility for

causing and resolving problems. The findings demonstrate how a lack of understanding between immigrant parents, child translators, and their teachers about the expression of moral identities can lead to misunderstandings of the messages conveyed. Their work also highlights the significance of events during which ideas from home and school communities come in contact with one another and require parents, children, and teachers to negotiate norms for communicating. In recognition of the importance of home-school intersections, this chapter examines how parents' and children's roles in education are negotiated as narratives travel across home and school settings and get interpreted during activities such as homework completion routines, parent-teacher conferences, and family literacy events.

Narratives and socialization.

Language socialization research highlights the interrelation between language learning and social identities. As defined by Ochs (1986), social identities include "social statuses, roles, positions, relationships, and institutional and other relevant community identities that one may attempt to claim or assign in the course of social life" (p. 288). Speakers express social identities through the social actions or goal-oriented behaviors they take, and the stances or attitudes they adopt towards ideas. Individuals may also socialize others to adopt certain social identities; an effort that may be accepted, rejected or adapted. An individual, for example, may portray his or her identity as a teacher by directing students to be quiet during an assembly. In this example, the teacher expresses her own identity while simultaneously socializing students to equate the student role with silence. Yet, students may reject the link between the student identity and quietness and continue whispering to classmates when the teacher is not looking. Through analysis of

language use, we can infer the ways in which interlocutors rely on linguistic or behavior cues to interpret and express identities. Communities are unified through their shared understandings about the ways in which language structures symbolize identities. These shared understandings are interrelated to community-wide beliefs, ideologies, and values. Narratives serve as one mechanism through which communities socialize individuals to use and interpret language and identities, and to acquire interrelated beliefs and values.

Narratives represent one genre of discourse through which interlocutors attempt to construct their social identities and those of others (Ochs & Capps, 1996). Ochs & Capps (1996) explain that narratives present "versions of reality (p. 21)" in which a sense of self is related to past, present, and future experiences. There are five aspects of narratives through which identities are constructed: temporality; point of view; boundaries of self; narrative asymmetries, and narrative resistance. Temporality refers to the order with which events are perceived to have happened, a sense of causality between events, and a relationship between past, present, and future events. The narrative's point of view encompasses the beliefs and feelings about the actions, events, and people portrayed in the narrative. To analyze the boundaries of self that a speaker presents, I examine the ways in which the narrative reveals unification or separateness between the speaker and the other individuals or groups discussed. Narrative asymmetries refer to inconsistencies in accounts of what happened and the degree to which different perspectives are referenced or validated. Finally, narratives may represent a form of resistance to dominant narratives about an individual or group of people. In this chapter, I draw on a language socialization theories to examine how narratives about students' identities index the consistencies and inconsistencies with which teachers, children, and parents imagine

their social and academic identities in the home-school literacy socialization process, and the temporality of children's academic status as "low" learners. This chapter examines the following research questions: 1. How do teachers, Mexican-born mothers, and emergent bilingual children use narratives as a tool for constructing pedagogical remedies? 2. How do they represent their social identities in the implementation of pedagogical remedies?

Methodology

Data collection.

The data analyzed in this chapter was collected through participant observation in the classrooms of the second-grade-bilingual class at Warner Elementary School and the homes of Daniel and Romina. I visited the school on 26 days between February and June of 2015. I visited Daniel's home on twelve occasions from March until September. During three of these visits, I drove and accompanied the family to the radiologist, optometrist, and dentist. From my household visits, I learned about Daniel's family background and routines at home. I visited Romina's house on nine occasions from March until September 2015. During visits to the classrooms and homes, I audio-recorded interactions between participants and myself during routine activities and informal interviews. I also wrote field notes during the day as a moment arose and collected photos or copies of artifacts that the participants talked about. These artifacts included curricular documents, written assignments, progress reports, and books.

I was an active participant in classrooms and homes. During visits to the school I sat on the side of Ms. Small's desk because Ms. Small felt that if I sat near the students they would constantly ask for my help and would not try to accomplish tasks by

themselves. However, I occasionally walked around to the students' desks, took photos of the documents students were reading and writing and asked students what they were doing. While I sat at Ms. Small's desk, Ms. Small occasionally directed students to submit work to me for review. Ms. Small also talked to me periodically throughout the day about her plans, schedule, and thoughts about students' progress. The thoughts she shared were often presented in the form of narratives about events. In the homes of Daniel and Romina I took on the role of tutor to assist children with their homework because Ms. Small had positioned me and my ability to tutor as a remedy for their children's low achievement. With each child, I helped them read books and complete assignments in the same ways I used to work with individual students as a teacher—providing scaffolds to "sound out" the phonemes in the words of texts, asking them questions about the books, and modeling strategies for solving math problems. While Daniel's mother, Ana tended to sit next to Daniel and me while we worked. Periodically throughout the visit, I asked Daniel's mother informal questions about her experiences in Mexico, the children's schooling and the completion of homework. Romina's mother, Rosa typically attended to domestic chores during my visits. However, I asked her on several visits to answer some questions about the same topics I discussed with Ana.

Setting and participants.

The data analyzed in this chapter was collected in homes and an elementary school located in a Northeastern New Latino Diaspora town I refer to as [11]Smithtown school district. In Smithtown, 42.9% of residents in the town identified as being Hispanic or Latino, and 32% identified as foreign born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). From 1980-

---

[11] All names of schools, districts, towns, and people are pseudonyms.

2010, the population of Hispanic residents in Smithtown increased from 4.6% to 42.9% (U.S. Census Bureau, 1980; 2010). The majority of incoming residents originated from Mexico; the population of Mexican residents rose from .2% to 29.6% of the total population. Based on the rapid increase of Latino residents, Smithtown represents a region that Wortham, Hamann, and Murillo (2002) refer to as the New Latino Diaspora, where residents have only begun to construct systematic ways of interacting with and talking about what it means to be, work with, employ, and educate Latinos and immigrants. The recent demographic change contrasts with Latino Diasporas in which Latinos have resided for centuries. In Warner Elementary school 65% of students are Hispanic, 23% White, 11% Black, and 1% Asian. Warner Elementary School is considered a Title 1 School that contains an English as a Second Language (ESL) program and a Bilingual Program. Of the total student population, 71% are entitled to free or reduced lunch (Public Schools K12, 2009-2010). The creation of these programs aligns with district policy that states that the school must offer a bilingual program when more than 20 students are LEP students and an ESL program for more than 10 LEP students.

The focal participants in this chapter include the second-grade bilingual teacher, Ms. Small, emergent bilingual students, Daniel and Romina, and the mothers of Daniel and Romina—Ana and Rosa, respectively. There are five members of Daniel's family. Daniel is the middle child in his family. He has an older sister, Jessenia and a younger sister, Serena, who also participated in the study. While Daniel and his siblings were born in the United States, his parents were born in Oaxaca, Mexico. His mother, Ana, picked up the children at school and walked with them home before preparing dinner. Daniel's

father worked during the day. For that reason, I rarely saw Daniel's father because I visited the house after school. While the parents and children spoke to one another in Spanish, the siblings primarily spoke to one another in English. Daniel reported that he asked Jessenia for help when he could not read a word in his homework or in books. According to Daniel, he knew "a little bit" of Spanish. As explained by Ana, Daniel did not always understand her when she spoke to him in Spanish. Daniel was a student in Ms. Small's second-grade bilingual class during the 2014-2015 academic school year. Ms. Small frequently shared her concern about Daniel's academic progress, citing various explanations including his maturity level, intelligence, and lack of effort. On his most recent report card, Ms. Small had written "needs to put in more effort" in the comments section corresponding with all subject areas. Although Ms. Small often scolded Daniel for failing to complete his homework assignments, she praised him when she noticed that he helped his classmates. On one day, for example, Ms. Small called attention to the way Daniel directed Juan to the correct page of his notebook. Daniel was retained at the end of the school year and spent a second year in the second-grade bilingual classroom.

Romina lived with her parents, Rosa and Miguel, along with her older brother, Jose, in middle school, one-year old brother, Eduardo, and cousin, Flor, who was enrolled in fifth grade at Coral Elementary School during the 2014-2015 school year. Flor lived with Romina's family because her parents had been deported to Mexico. Romina's parents immigrated from Puebla, Mexico. On one day, Romina told me that she was born in Mexico. However, Rosa later clarified that Romina was born in the United States. In contrast with Daniel, I noted that Romina appeared comfortable speaking Spanish with her parents at home. She also expressed excitement to read the English-Spanish bilingual

books which I had picked out from the library and demonstrated an ability to translate the Spanish words that she heard me read. Romina was another student in Ms. Small's second-grade bilingual classroom. As she had with Daniel, Ms. Small expressed concern with Romina's academic progress and suggested that Romina did not try hard enough or that she did not pay attention. On several occasions, I noted Ms. Small scolding Romina for talking too much to her peers. Romina was pulled out of class for speech lessons once a week. There were several contentious meetings between Romina's parents, Rosa and Miguel, and Ms. Small regarding Romina's academic progress. As the data will show, Ms. Small questioned Romina's parents concern for their children and their children's education. Meanwhile, Romina's mother felt that Ms. Small was labeling some of Romina's behaviors as problems when she did not believe that they were problems. Romina was placed into the third-grade self-contained class because of continued reading difficulties and diagnostic testing that suggested she had a poor short term memory.

Data analysis.

As in the other chapters, I used a grounded theory approach for coding, including open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. During the first round of open coding the classroom data, I identified "effort" as a discursive theme that emerged during routine interactions and on school literacy assessment artifacts including standardized reading tests, writing, and homework. During the axial coding stage, I noted that teachers, parents, and children linked homework, language, intelligence, parenting, helping, and independence to the display of effort in narratives about academic success. Narratives of effort, therefore, became a selective code for the analysis. While Ms. Small explicitly positioned effort as a remedy for students' improvement in her narratives, parents and

children shared narratives that did not necessarily explicitly reference effort, but that pointed to ways they sought to improve achievement through the actions they adopted in the home.

Teacher Narratives of Effort

Ms. Small viewed students as low learners if they had been performing relatively poorly on standardized reading assessments, math examinations, and "free-writes" in comparison to their peers or if they did not meet grade-level benchmark criterion. In her narratives, she consistently linked low performance with a lack of student or parent effort. One way in which Ms. Small narrated the significance of effort and students' identities as hard-workers in the comments she selected on school progress reports. Figure 4 displays Romina's and Daniel's school progress reports for March 2015.

Figure 6: School Progress Reports

Romina

Code	Comments	
Math 2	116	Nec. practicar materia de matematica basica
	48	Mucho descuido en su trabajo
Reading 2	53	Necesita poner mas esfuerzo
	55	Necesita ser mas atento
Work Habits 2	53	Necesita poner mas esfuerzo
	48	Mucho descuido en su trabajo
Writing 2	53	Necesita poner mas esfuerzo

Needs to practice basic math material
Is very careless in his work

Needs to put in more effort
Needs to be more attentive

Needs to put in more effort
Is very careless in her work

Needs to put in more effort

Daniel

Math 2	Nec. practicar materia de matematica basica Mucho descuido en su trabajo	Needs to practice basic math material Is very careless in his work
Reading 2	Necesita poner mas esfuerzo Tiene mal actitud hacia la clase	**Needs to put in more effort** Has a bad attitude towards class
Work Habits 2	Necesita poner mas esfuerzo Necesita ser mas atento	**Needs to put in more effort** Needs to be more alert
Writing 2	Necesita poner mas esfuerzo	**Needs to put in more effort**

As indicated by the range of codes visible on the image of Romina's school progress report, the district had developed a set of predetermined possible comments that teachers could select to evaluate students on progress reports. Students in this second-grade class were evaluated in Math, Reading, Work Habits, and Writing. On her comments on Daniel and Romina's school progress reports, Ms. Small stated that each student needed "to put in more effort" in reading, writing, and work habits. By selecting these comments, Ms. Small suggested students had failed to display effort during academic literacy events and constructed a narrative in which the individual student is responsible for literacy development. This narrative was shaped by school-wide assessment policies that include the process of selecting comments such as "needs to put in more effort" on student progress reports. While Ms. Small did not list any specific skills or knowledge related to reading and writing with which they needed help, she reported in informal interviews that Romina and Daniel had performed very low on reading and writing benchmark tests. Thus, through her declaration that students had lacked effort, she provided a rationale for students' low achievement on classroom-based reading and writing assessments. The narrative produced through student progress reports are also important in that they are sent directly to parents. In this way, the narrative

communicated in the school progress report served as a pedagogical remedy and a tool for socializing parents to adopt responsibility for remediation.

In addition to the narratives conveyed through school progress reports, Ms. Small told narratives about learner identity during informal interviews and routine classroom activities. Periodically throughout the school day, Ms. Small expressed frustration about what she had perceived to be a lack of effort on behalf of parents. The following example narrative was extracted from an audio-recording on visit #7 on March 31 in which Ms. Small talked about her frustration with Romina's parents. Throughout this day, Ms. Small brought up the topic of Romina's parents on several occasions during informal conversations. Her talk on this day proceeded a recent meeting with Romina's parents, the speech therapist from whom Romina had been regularly receiving services, and the school's guidance counselor. The purpose of the meeting had been to discuss the possibility of referring Romina for special services. Excerpt 1 took place as students worked on writing at their desk.

Excerpt 1: Describing Romina as an Unloved Child

1   I've been trying to build up her self-esteem cause the guidance counselor

2   was saying to me- we were having a conversation about Romina- I don't

3   know what you see- but we see her as an unloved child. We see- they may

4   be giving her time but it's negative attention today. Her father spent all

5   this time saying I'm this and I'm that. I've done nothing but build your

6   daughter up. You showed me you can do it. That's a big difference

7   and not showing it. So (the speech therapist) said it's their parenting skills.

8   They had the baby. The baby was crying and she just turned around and

9 gave the baby the bottle without even looking at him and they just shuffled

10 the baby back and forth, not interacting with him, not touching him. So my

11 thought is that Romina didn't get any attention either as a baby.

In this excerpt, Ms. Small argued that she had been working hard to support Romina by "build(ing) up her self-esteem" (line 15) and "building her up" (line 5). With this statement, Ms. Small produced a narrative about literacy development in which the teacher (or perhaps adults in general) has the responsibility to support literacy development by building self-esteem and emphasizing that children are capable. She contrasted these examples of positive attention with what she described as the "negative attention" (line 3) that she believed Romina was receiving from her father; a claim she justified by saying "he spent all this time saying I'm this and I'm that" (line 4). Here Ms. Small indicated that the father had been critiquing her and then offered a counter-narrative to his critiques by explaining "I have done nothing but build your child up. You showed me you can do it" (lines 5 and 6). In this statement, Ms. Small suggested that she was exerting effort into supporting their child's development by telling her she can succeed. By positioning Romina's father as the problem because he had voiced discontent, Ms. Small's narrative invoked an ideology about parent involvement and literacy learning in which the ideal parent adopts a deferential role in decisions about children's progress.

On lines 8 and 9, Ms. Small then extended the narrative, and justified her belief about her parents by describing the way in which the parents were not looking at or interacting with Romina's younger baby brother during the parent-teacher meeting. Furthermore, she concluded that Romina may have not received attention as a baby. Ms.

Small returned to this claim later in the day by saying, "she really I have to say is a self-made learner which breaks my heart because imagine if (the parents) just put a little bit of effort into her imagine how ((voice trails off))." By creating this narrative of the 'self-made learner,' Ms. Small positioned literacy development as dependent upon an objectified form of parent "effort." On lines 6-10, Ms. Small invoked a definition of effort based on certain kinds of parent-child interactions and demonstrated how teachers may informally evaluate based on the ways in which parents participate in parent-teacher meetings. This evaluation is noteworthy for two primary reasons. First, it is plausible that the parents did not engage with the baby during the meeting in order to devote full attention to the school staff and the topic of their daughter's progress. Second, Ms. Small's evaluation of Romina's parents is rooted in parenting and language ideologies regarding when and how one should appropriately talk to children. As discussed previously, parent treatment of children as conversational partners is not universal across cultural groups (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986).

On the same day as the meeting and informal conversations with me, presented above (visit #7), Ms. Small referenced Romina's parents while she conferenced with students about their non-fiction books during Writers Workshop. As was typical when students were writing at their seats, Ms. Small conferenced with students individually as they completed a page or chapter of writing and praised or critiqued students' work. While did she not consistently evaluate students' effort or intelligence during the writing conferencing routine, on this day she connected Romina's writing to her effort and intelligence. The excerpt begins after Ms. Small had acknowledged that she was pleased

that Romina had completed her writing independently, quickly, and accurately. She made the following statement in a loud voice audible to the entire class.

Excerpt 2: Intelligence and Hard Work

1   I think your mommy and daddy are full of bunk because I think you are such a

2   smarty smarty and I think that you can do anything you put your mind to. You

3   proved mom and dad wrong. ((Turns to the class)) You can give her an applause.

4   Now if Daniel would work that hard what a happy woman I would be.

In this statement, Ms. Small produced a narrative about Romina's success that indexed individualistic ideologies by portraying her success as a consequence of individual effort or "put(ting) your mind to. By claiming that Romina "proved mom and dad wrong," Ms. Small suggested that Romina's parents did not believe that she was smart enough to succeed in school. Yet, I did not find any evidence in the data suggesting that Romina's parents did not believe she was smart. As I will discuss further in subsequent sections, Romina's parents described ways in which they emphasized the importance of hard-work for academic success and explained that they thought Ms. Small believed that Romina had a problem but they did not believe that there was anything wrong with Romina. Ms. Small also linked students' success to individual hard work in a statement by expressing her desire for Daniel to "work that hard" (line 4). Through this statement, Ms. Small implicitly positioned Daniel as a lazy student, which aligned with his progress report evaluation. Similarly, on a different day, Ms. Small denied him assistance, explaining that he was "just being lazy." Ms. Smart's narrative is also noteworthy in that she represented intelligence and effort as the only plausible explanations for student difficulties and suggested that her demands for 'hard-work' were

based on a belief in Romina's intelligence. This narrative of literacy learner identity invokes ideologies about literacy learning that suggest that *individuals* (rather than collectives) are held responsible for academic successes and failures.

Ms. Small also socialized students to complete their homework through narratives that linked test performance to students' effort in homework. Two homework-related classroom events produced narratives about the importance of homework—the morning review of homework and the writing of the homework agenda. At the beginning of the school day, Ms. Small called students up to her desk to review their homework assignments. Students then formed a line alongside her desk and talked to one another quietly while waiting to have their homework evaluated. While interacting with each child, Ms. Small confirmed that they had completed the homework assignment sufficiently. If students did not complete their homework assignments, she required students to complete the assignment during recess. By punishing students for failure to complete the assignment, she positioned them as individually responsible.

One of the daily homework assignments that Ms. Small assigned was the "Reading Response Journal"—a one-page summary about a book they read at home. To scaffold students in the completion of the assignment, Ms. Small had provided students with a list of questions that they should answer including the characters, setting, and the important events at the beginning, middle, and end of the story. When she first initiated the assignment, she allowed some students to answer the questions using phrases rather than complete sentences. During our informal conversations, she explained that she had started to give this assignment because students had been performing poorly on the comprehension questions on the Fountas & Pinnell benchmark reading assessments. The

Reading Response Journal, therefore, served as a pedagogical remedy for students' low

performance on reading assessments. On Visit #9, Ms. Small lectured students after she

had discovered during the morning review of homework that several students had failed

to complete the reading response journal. The following excerpt presents Ms. Small's

lecture on Visit #9 during the morning review of homework.

Excerpt 3: Homework and Reading Benchmark tests

1 Ms. Small: [12]I want everyone to stop a minute and look. Do you remember I

2   told everyone you have to leave second-grade on an M next week? Mr.

3   Tomatelli wants all of the teachers to start testing you all on where

4   your reading level is (.) I'm gonna be honest. Nelly can I share your

5   level? Nelly was on an H (.) when Nelly is doing her response journal

6   Nelly is writing and writing and writing. I know when I test Nelly next

7   week I bet Nelly will be able to get to a K or an L (.) I'm not doing this

8   because I want you to have a lot of homework(.) I'm doing this because

9   one of the things we need to work on is we have to retell the story (.)

10   We have to remember the details of the story.

This lecture provides an example of one way that Ms. Small attempted to remedy

students' low performance on reading tests by socializing students to view reading

progress as a reflection of individual student effort displayed through "writing and

---

[12] I use the following transcription conventions, noting that punctuation marks are used to communicate the social features of talk instead of the conventional rules of Spanish and English usage:

(.)   micropause
.   falling final intonation contour
?   rising intonation
(( ))   transcriber's description of events

writing and writing" in the response journal as Nelly had been doing (line 6). But it is important to point out that this discourse omits a discussion of the kinds of support or knowledge that may be necessary for some students to complete this homework assignment. Nonetheless, on lines 1-3, Ms. Small connected the importance of working hard on homework to the Running Records reading level tests and to a goal of reading at a level M as mandated by the superintendent. By drawing a link between effort in homework and performance on reading benchmark assessments, Ms. Small revealed how assessment policies shaped the narrative of literacy learning development that she constructed. Figures 7 and 8 display the artifacts to which Ms. Small refers—the Fountas & Pinnell Running Record and the Columbia Teachers College Reading and Writing Project Benchmark Reading Levels and Marking Period Assessment. Ms. Small had highlighted the benchmarks for second grade in September and November. The goal of an M reading level by June—that Mr. Tomatelli had requested—is aligned with a predicted score of 3 out of 4 on the ELA, English Language Arts Exam—the standardized reading test in NY. The school's reliance on this benchmark as a measure of achievement is noteworthy because the predicted outcome is undoubtedly based on models of monolingual language and literacy development and, therefore, it is questionable whether the benchmarks and predicted scores are appropriate for bilingual learners like those in this class. By linking the superintendent's mandate of test score to the homework assignment she designed as a pedagogical remedy, Ms. Small reveals the way in which the pressure of assessment and accountability measures get transmitted from administrators to teachers, and then from teachers to children.

Figure 7: Fountas & Pinnell Running Record

			E			S
E	SC	M	S	V	M	

Check the reading behaviors you notice the child using. These notes may not determine the reader's independent reading level, but will inform your teaching:

□ Notices errors and cross-checks with unused sources of information.

□ Monitors for all sources of information: checks to make sure what has been read makes sense, sounds right, and looks right.

□ Uses internal parts of words—with beginnings and endings.

□ Tracks print with eyes and uses finger only at points of difficulty.

□ Begins to read with phrasing rather than word-by-word.

Running Record: *Record the reader's miscues (or errors) above the words as he or she reads. Later, analyze and code miscues with MSV.*

Pg. 2: I like to sing songs.

Pg. 3: My sister likes to listen to music. *used pic*

Pg. 4: I like to play make believe. *+T*

Pg. 5: My sister likes to study her rocks. *works*

Pg. 6: I like to make noise when I play. *much*

Pg. 7: My sister likes to be quiet.

Pg. 8: I like to make a mess in our room.

Pg. 9: My sister likes to keep things neat. *not*

Pg. 10: I like to listen to stories. *sisters sc*

Pg. 11: My sister likes to read stories.

Pg. 12: I love my sister.

Total miscues including self-corrected: _____

Self-corrections: _____

Miscues reader did not self-correct: _____

Accuracy Rate: Circle the number of miscues the reader did not self-correct.

100%	99%	97%	96%	93%	92%	
0 miscues	1 miscue	2 miscues	3 miscues	4-5 miscues	6 miscues	mi

96%-100% accuracy is necessary to determine the reader's independent reading level
Try a lower level text if the reader made 4 or more miscues.

Figure 8: Benchmark Reading Levels and Marking Period Assessments

Narratives of Effort in Romina's Home

While Ms. Small positioned student and parent effort as an objective quality measurable by assessments and the submission of homework assignments, students and parents challenged this simplified notion of effort by narrating their attempts to fulfill Ms. Small's expectations for homework. Romina and Daniel, and their respective Mexican-born mothers, Ana and Rosa, told narratives in which they described the difficulty surrounding the completion of homework and the strategies they used for completing, or supporting the completion of, homework. When I visited in Rosa's household with Romina and her mother, Rosa generally attended to household chores while I sat with Romina and, occasionally, her cousin, Flor. Rosa periodically stopped by the table in order to ask if there was sufficient light to illuminate the table and to offer me a snack or bottle of water. Although I had told Romina and Flor that I could help with homework, after several visits Flor started removing herself from the homework table. Romina later told me that her mother had asked Flor to leave us alone because I was there to help Romina.

The task of helping Romina to complete homework was an arduous task, especially when Romina was writing her Reader's Response journal. The primary reason for the difficulty of the task was that Romina asked me to spell many of the words that she wanted to write in order to insure accuracy. As I felt obligated to fulfill the role of tutor that the families expected, I modeled strategies for segmenting the phonemes of each word and asked her to identify the letter groups that matched that sound. However, in her narrative about homework completion Romina explained that, when I was not present, she completed the reading response journal by copying the book text into her journal. I

focus on this excerpt because it presents Romina's narrative about her attempt to fulfill Ms. Small's expectation for displaying effort through the completion of homework. The excerpt begins as Romina lifted her head and began to talk about the response journal assignment.

Excerpt 4: Copying Homework Texts

1 Romina: You know in the response journal I have the same books (.) but I

2   copy it

3 Meredith: You copy the books

4 Romina: No I copy what I write

5 Meredith: The whole thing? You'll have to show me

6 Romina: But it's lo::ng

((Rosa finishes math and spelling and removes response journal from backpack))

7 Meredith: Now what's next?

8 Romina: My response journal. my last last homework.

9 Meredith: Reading response journal (.) can you show me how you normally

10   pick a book

11 Romina: Yeah (.) I copy it all (.) This is all the same things (.) This is the

12   same this is the same this one is different

13 Meredith: I want to be princess

14 Romina: Yeah this one this one ((hitting page))

15 Meredith: So you are saying they are they are different books

16 Romina: No they are the same book

17 Meredith: The same book (.) the same exact book?

18	Rachel:	Yep but the teacher doesn't get mad
19	Meredith:	You should change it up though because you want to get better at
20		reading you can do it sometimes if she doesn't mind but you should
21		switch it up
22	Romina:	Yeah she did a happy face (.) and a check.

In this excerpt, Romina explained how she completed her homework assignment by copying the words of the same book on different days. Figure 9 shows Romina's response journals #23 and #24, which corroborate Romina's claims. Journal entries #23 and #24 are almost identical reproductions of the words in the book, "Say Please" by Virginia Austin. It is also noteworthy that Romina justified the act of copying by explaining that her teacher "doesn't get mad" (line 18) and that "she did a happy face (.) and a check" (line 22) in her homework agenda page. Through these justifications Romina revealed that she relied on the teacher's feedback during the morning review of homework to determine what was, and was not acceptable. Romina interpreted the happy face and check as a symbol that her presentation of the response journal functioned to express an identity as a good student. Given that Ms. Small viewed homework as a symbol of student effort, the happy face and check served as methods of validating student effort. On the morning that Romina had narrated to me, the filled page of writing had sufficed as a signal to Ms. Small that Romina had worked hard on her homework. Nonetheless, on another occasion, Ms. Small had noticed that Romina had copied the text of a book and chastised her for doing so.

As demonstrated in Chapter Five, the act of copying text in Ms. Small's class was viewed variably across context and activity. In some instances, Ms. Small and Ms. Cara

asked students specifically to copy the words from a text they presented onto the students' own pages. By writing the words from a book onto her response journal, Romina engaged in a similar activity as she was directed to do in class. Thus, it is understandable that Romina would be unsure whether this was an acceptable approach to completing the assignment. It is also noteworthy that Juan regularly copied the words of his books to complete the response journal but was never critiqued for it. Considering that he was a beginner English learner, it would have been very difficult for him to write a response journal without copying the text. However, given the difficulty I observed that Romina had with writing, the response journal was also a very challenging task for Romina. Therefore, it is not surprising that Romina had copied the text when she did not have help to spell words. Yet Ms. Small evaluated students' efforts universally, despite the differences in the ease with which students could complete the assignment depending on their written English literacy proficiency.

Figure 9: Romina's Reading responses
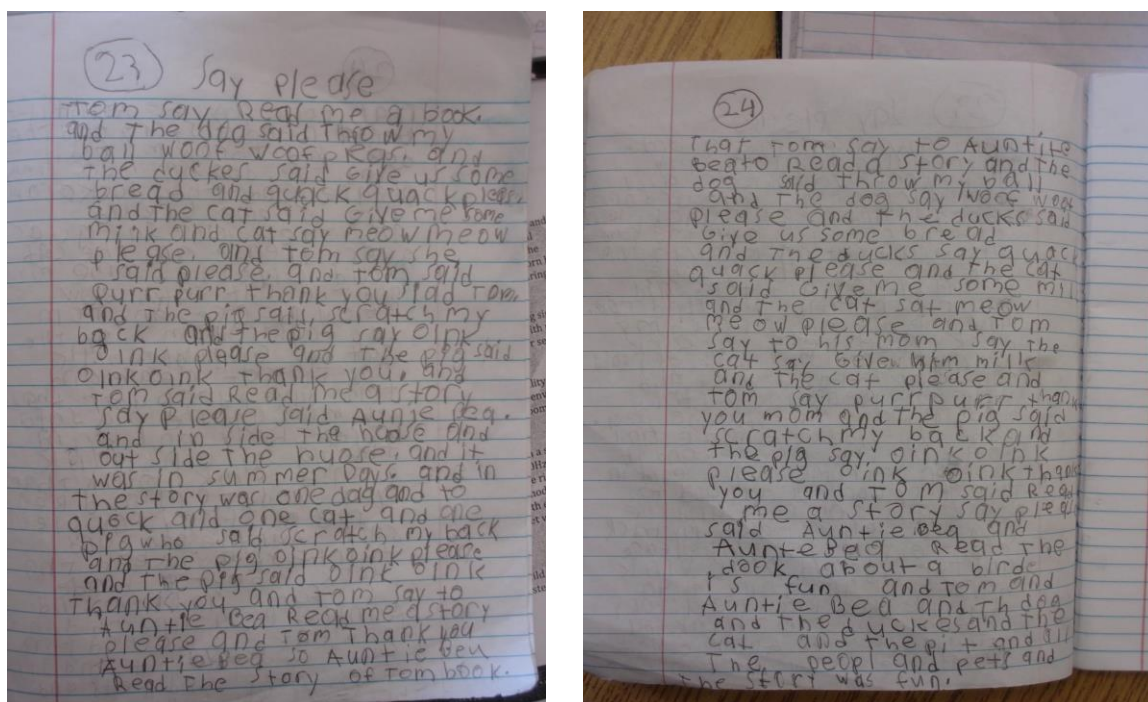
Romina's mother, Rosa, talked about Romina's progress and explained how she

emphasized to Romina the importance of working hard in school. Her narratives revealed

the way in which she and Romina's father were, in fact, exerting effort to support

Romina's school work and academic progress. On visit #3 to Romina's house, Rosa

approached Romina and me while we worked to complete her response journal. As she

approached, Romina asked me to share that she had received a perfect score on a recent

spelling test. Rosa responded to this report in the following way.

Excerpt 5*:* Rewarding Romina for performance on tests

1   Rosa   Échale más ganas (.) el papa dice si no le echa-

                She is working harder (.) her father says if she doesn't work hard

2   No te voy a dar tu cumpleaños. dice porque

                I'm not going to give you your birthday. he says because

3   No lo pones- todos los años quiere vestirse de princesa de todo y luego-

	You don't put- every year she wants to dress like a princess of
4	*everything and*
5	Le dice te lo hago pero tú también cúmplame con la tarea la escuela (.)
	then- He says to her I'll do it for you but you also have to achieve for
	me with homework school (.)
6	Obedece
	Obey

One line 1, Rosa provided a rationale for Romina's newfound success on a spelling test by declaring that she is working harder. By constructing a narrative of effort to describe Romina's improvement and high test performance, Rosa suggested that academic success is a reflection of individual effort. This narrative of a hard-working student aligns with that of Ms. Small. However, Rosa then offered a counter-narrative of parent effort for that produced by Ms. Small. Without explicitly using the word effort, on lines 11-14 Rosa described her and her husband's attempts to motivate Romina by threatening to cancel her birthday party if she failed to do well in school.

Narratives of Effort in Daniel's Home

Daniel's mother, Ana, explained that Daniel typically completed homework by himself because she did not understand English. She directed him to complete his assignments and sometimes asked his older sister to review his homework for correctness. Daniel shared that he asked his older sister if he did not understand the word in a book. Ana explained that she directed Daniel to complete his homework and lectured Daniel about the importance of learning, but then stepped aside to do other domestic chores. On other days Daniel's uncle watched over him after school while his mother

attended to chores outside of the home. Thus, Daniel was expected to be responsible for his homework but there was not an adult who consistently checked that he had completed the assignment as outlined in the homework agenda. On informal interview data collected during visit #2 on April 8th, Daniel explained why he does not always do his homework.

Excerpt 6: Scheduling Homework and Play

1 Meredith: Daniel porque no siempre haces tu tarea?

              Daniel why don't you always do your homework?

2 Daniel: Sometimes I don't wanta do it I just wanta go outside.

3 Meredith: I see but your friends must do their homework too right?

4 Daniel: Yeah but they say they do it at night.

5 Meredith: They do it at night? So why don't you do it at night?

6 Daniel: My mom doesn't want to (.) cause then I sleep (.)

7 Meredith: At night?

8 Daniel: But I try to do it

I initiated this exchange by identifying a literacy learner breach that Ms. Small had identified in school—not completing his homework—and asked him to provide a rationale for the breach. Daniel explained on line 2 that sometimes he does not do his homework because he wants to play with friends outside and cannot do homework at the same time as his friends because his mother wants him to sleep at that time. Through his narrative, Daniel constructed a narrative of homework literacy that involved sacrificing time to play with his friends. His narrative also indicates that completing homework involves the negotiation of an afternoon schedule. Nonetheless, Daniel suggests that he

"tries" to do it (line 8), indicating that he views the completion of homework as an activity that depends upon his effort.

During interviews, Ana talked about the way in which she attempted to encourage Daniel to work hard in school. In a meeting about his progress, she told Ms. Small and me about the way she lectures Daniel about the importance of learning by asking him if he wanted to go back to Mexico or have a job like his dad. When Daniel says no, she says "asi que tienes que aprender (you have to learn)." At my visit to his home on April 8th, Ana said the following about Daniel's academic progress and the way she lectures him about studying.

Excerpt 7: Hard-work, Jobs, and Immigration

1 Ana: Yo no entiendo porque no está en el nivel de segundo porque

          I don't understand why he isn't at the second grade level because

2   prácticamente (.) porque él sabe (.) solo que- no sé

          practically (.) because he knows (.) It's only that- I don't know

3   si no quiere hacerlo (.) no sé que está pasando con el (.)

          if he doesn't want to do it (.) I don't know what is happening with him

4   le digo tienes que estudiar lo digo (.) para que cuando estés grande

          (.) I say to him *that you have to study (.) so that when you are big*

5   puedes tener un buen trabajo

          you can have a good job

On line 1 of this excerpt, Ana explained that she does not understand why Daniel is not at a second-grade level. As discussed in Chapter Four, Ana's reference to not being "at a second-grade level" derives from a teacher-reported learner breach, which indexed a

frame in which students develop along a standardized model of development. She also

suggested that she doesn't understand because "he knows" and wonders "if he doesn't

want to." While Ana does not specify what Daniel might not want to do, she is

presumably indicating that he may lack motivation. This belief that he lacks motivation

aligns with Daniel's reports of wanting to play and not do homework. At the end of the

narrative Ana explains that she lectures him about the importance of studying for

obtaining a good job. Here, Ana gave an example of how she attempts to motivate Daniel

by constructing a narrative about employment as dependent on studying, which

presumably requires individual effort. Later, Ana explained the steps she is trying to take

to help him improve and described the linguistic barriers for doing so. The excerpt below

presents this explanation.

Excerpt 8*:* Hard-work and Student Breaches of Spanish

6 Ana: Ahora estoy pensando mandarlo a las clases de verano- para que él- a

          Now I am thinking of sending him to summer classes- so that he- to see

7   ver si con ese remedio pasa al tercer grado (.) él sabe (.) lo que pasa (.)

          If with that remedy he passes to third grade (.) he knows (.) what's happening

8   *(.)* es que aquí podemos enseñar a leer y todo pero es que no

          (.) is that here we can learn to read and everything but it's that he doesn't

9   nos comprende muy bien en español (.) se dificulta mucho en el español

          understand us very well in Spanish (.) He has a very difficult time

10   (.) nos diga que es eso- que dijiste (.) luego me dice pero como yo no

          He says to us that-what did you say? (.) later he says to me but how I

11   sé también no sé como ayudarle- necesita alguien que sepa español

don't know also I don't know how to help him- he needs someone that

12   e inglés para que él sepa *knows Spanish and English so that he can know*

Through her narrative, Ana highlighted her attempts and struggles to help Daniel at home. First, Ana revealed that she is considering enrolling Daniel in summer school with the hope that he can pass to third grade (line 6 and 7). She also reported that "he knows" and suggested that a problem that they are having at home is Daniel's difficulty in understanding his parents in Spanish (line 8). She reiterated this point on line 8 when she said that that he has a very difficult time in Spanish and giving an example of Daniel asking "what did you say" (line 10). Additionally, she expressed her concern that she does not know how to help him (line 11), which indicates her understanding that she is expected to assist in remediating a breach of academic progress but views herself as incapable of doing so. Later in the conversation, she explained that Daniel tries to speak to his parents in Spanish but does not speak well and concluded that "if can't understand me he's not going to progress at all." Ana's narrative complicates the notion of effort by demonstrating how the forms of effort she exhibits are limited by her and Daniel's lack of proficiency in their respective dominant languages. Moreover, by identifying a breach in Daniel's Spanish abilities, Ana produced a narrative of academic literacy learning in which effort and progress are thwarted by Daniel's inability to communicate with one's parents' effectively in their native language.

This student breach of Spanish proficiency is important because it suggests that the language education policy—conveyed through classroom and homework in English, assessments in English, and a transitional bilingual program in which Spanish is used as a medium of instruction not as a goal—is shifting languages practices in the home. Ms.

Small and the ESL/bilingual coordinator argued that it was the choice and responsibility of the parents to teach or maintain their children's Spanish abilities, given the language program model in the district. However, the idea that parents have the "choice" to maintain their children's native language overlooks the amount of pressure that the language program places on learning English and the little time that English homework allows for children to focus on maintaining their Spanish. A lack of opportunity to maintain and develop Spanish literacy may lead to the 'fracturing' of Spanish literacy skills (Velez-Greenberg, 1992) and the loss of students' first language abilities (Wong Fillmore, 1991). Moreover, parents are limited in their capacity to adopt other parenting models of effort in academic literacy, such as that of moral lecturer through the sharing of "*consejos* (advice)" (Valdes, 1996) if they and their children cannot understand what they are saying. This language loss can have negative consequences for families and society (Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Discussion

This chapter has examined how Ms. Small interpreted students' performance on classroom-based assessments and sought to remedy students' "low" performance by conveying to students and parents the importance of working hard. Through narratives of student success, Ms. Small constructed and socialized emergent bilinguals to construct literacy ideologies of competency according to which success was dependent upon an objectified notion of effort and intelligence. The analysis also demonstrated how two second grade emergent bilingual students and their mothers interpreted assessments and teacher-derived narratives of hard-work in the home. This narrative of effort perpetuated

ideologies about individualism and masked the kinds of support that students and parents needed to engage meaningfully in academic literacy events.

The narratives revealed that participants evaluated effort based upon student performance on standardized tests, the accuracy and length of written homework and classroom assignments, and the independence with which one completed assignments. Within these narratives, teachers positioned children who failed to complete artifacts as either lazy, or culturally deprived by unsupportive or lazy parents. Ms. Small also positioned a lack of intelligence as an alternative rationale to a lack of effort. This narrative represents intelligence as a singular construct that could be objectively measured that links to traditional theories of intelligence. Traditional intelligence theories and tests have been widely challenged, particularly for their biases against minoritized groups of students who tend to do relatively poorly on standardized tests of intelligence (Valdés, 2003). Yet the knowledge and skills required for emergent bilingual students to interpret align with criterion of intelligence and giftedness according to several alternative theories of intelligence (Valdés, 2003).

Parents and children resisted labels as 'low' or 'lazy students by finding ways to display identities as hard-workers within school-based narratives of student and parent effort—students by copying texts and parents by telling narratives of the ways in which they support their children's learning. Children demonstrated their effort to attempt to fulfill teacher's expectations through copying book texts or sacrificing time to play with friends. Parents exerted effort in their children's schooling by lecturing their children about the importance of working hard in school, rewarding or punishing children for not obeying their teachers, and asking older siblings to help children with assignments.

However, they also expressed the difficulty they had with fulfilling expectations of working with their children with homework and helping their children to improve at home because the texts were in English.

I argue that narratives that position effort as a remedy for low achievement serve as a mechanism for suppressing children's and parents' voices in processes of assessment and intervention. By placing blame on individual parents and children, narratives of effort obscure the role of standardized assessment, language education policies and other discriminatory policies that contribute to the marginalization of diverse students and families. As Shohamy (2003) argues, the "voices of diverse groups in multicultural societies" (p. 7) are important for the implementation of a democratic approaches to assessment that counter the institutional power that tests can wield. A democratic approach to assessment involves "monitor(ing) and limit(ing) the uses of tools for those in power, especially those with the potential for exclusion and discrimination." (p. 7). The findings of this study suggest that democratic approaches to assessment must also involve critical examinations of the way in which pedagogical remedies are designed.

Conclusion

For educators, this study suggests the need for teachers to elicit students' and parents input in the design of pedagogical remedies. The findings also call upon education policymakers to critically evaluate processes of assessment and to establish policies that support the implementation of democratic processes of assessment in schools. Further research is needed to identify barriers and supports for the creation of events that facilitate a conversation between teachers, students, and parents about criteria for evaluating academic performance. Emergent bilinguals' learning requires a mutual

exchange of ideas about meaningful engagement in academic activities that encourages self-reflection and solicitations for help based on thoughtful evaluation of what one does and does not understand.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusion

This dissertation study examined how teachers, Mexican-born parents, and emergent bilingual students enact assessment policies as they design, interpret, and implement pedagogical remedies. Pedagogical remedies are school-based interventions carried out during routine academic literacy events and aimed at improving emergent bilinguals' performance on assessments. The findings showed how teachers design and implement pedagogical remedies that facilitate the circulation of assessment-related discourses across home and school settings. Ethnographic evidence from the focal children's homes demonstrated the uptake of assessment-related discourses during parent-child and peer-peer interactions. Additionally, the analysis demonstrated how teachers, parents, and children negotiate identities relating to hard-work and intelligence as they produce narratives about academic success and participate in homework completion and peer helping routines. This interrelated process of assessment and remedy shapes, and is shaped by, community-wide ideologies about language learning, parenting, intelligence, hard-work, individualism, and cooperation.

Through analysis of the socio-cultural, socio-political context through which various actors transformed assessments into pedagogical remedies in Smithtown, this study problematizes two primary aspects of the school context that restricted emergent bilingual students and Mexican-origin families' participation and identification during academic literacy events. First, the findings show how testing and school language

policies that prioritize mechanical English fluency over meaningful engagement in activities convey and contribute to the circulation of narrow-views of intelligence. Second, the findings highlight the negative consequences of remedies aimed at improving student performance on norm-referenced standardized tests and on reaching normative benchmarks. By conceptualizing student performance on standardized tests as the goal, these pedagogical remedies led to the devaluing of meaningful engagement in academic content, bilingual development, and cooperative stances toward literacy activities. This cycle of assessment and remedy in Smithtown maintained English-privilege and circulated ideologies about individualism that discourage cooperation, disadvantage emergent bilingual children, and marginalize immigrant families.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 examine the ways in which teachers, Mexican-born parents, and emergent bilingual children co-constructed routines for implementing pedagogical remedies in their classrooms and homes. Chapter 4 demonstrated the way in which two Mexican-born mothers animated standardizing school-based discourse that positioned children as "low" readers and socialized their children during homework to develop mechanical English literacy behaviors with a goal of improving student test performance. Chapter 5 shows how teachers and children in a second-grade bilingual classroom navigated classroom-based assessments and language ideologies to co-construct peer helping frames aimed at addressing slow or inaccurate completion of assignments. These frames limited student identification as smart or hard-working students. Chapter 6 reveals how the second-grade bilingual teacher, Ms. Small, two emergent bilingual children, and their mothers negotiated ideologies about hard work as they produced narratives about academic success.

Building on the work of Shohamy (2003; 2007) and Menken (2006; 2008), this

dissertation has shown how the design, interpretation, and implementation of assessment

policy serves as a mechanism for carrying out language policy. Recognizing the

intersection between assessment and language policies, in this concluding chapter I

discuss the implications of this study for educational professionals that act as

policymakers within different layers of what Ricento & Hornberger (1996) call the

"Language Planning and Policy (LPP) onion." As conceptualized by Ricento &

Hornberger (1996) each layer of the LPP onion—national, institutional, and

interpersonal—is comprised of various professionals and processes that interact with one

another in the implementation of English Language Teaching (ELT). They explain that

within each layer there are "characteristic patterns of discourse, reflecting goals, values,

and institutional or personal identities" (p. 409). Yet patterns of discourse in each layer

may be divergent from one another, creating conflict and ambiguity about policy and how

it translates into practice. Drawing from this onion metaphor, I examine how this study

can inform policymakers at the federal and state levels (national layer), district and

school levels (institutional layer), and classroom levels (interpersonal layer). I discuss

implications for three agents of policy: State Boards of Education as they interpret and

implement the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA); administrators at the district and

school levels as they interpret federal and state policies and develop local policies; and

educators as they interpret federal, state, and school policies and communicate regularly

with emergent bilingual children and immigrant families. In light of the ways in which

various actors enact assessment policies and other types of language policies, I conclude

with a discussion of the study's implications for future research relating to emergent

bilinguals, assessment, and parent involvement.

Federal and State Level Policies- National Layer

As explained by Ricento & Hornberger (1996), the federal government shapes

language planning and policy because they have the power to "regulate behavior through

laws" (p. 415). I analyze the implications of this study for state policymakers in the

United States in consideration of the legislative authority that has been recently granted

to state governments by the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA). During the 2017-2018

school year, ESSA will officially replace the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) as the

federal law governing public schools serving students in K-12. The overarching change

initiated by ESSA is the transfer of power over accountability plans from the federal

government to the states (Biegel, Kim & Welner, 2016).

There are several ways in which ESSA creates an opportunity for state-level

agents to develop language, assessment, and intervention policies that support

administrators and educators in addressing the diverse linguistic and academic needs of

emergent bilingual students. ESSA grants to states the opportunity to create their own

accountability plans that track academic growth using a valid academic indicator that

"allows meaningful differentiation in school performance" (p. 2) and that include a non-

academic indicator of school quality such as student engagement (Biegel, Kim & Welner,

2016). The findings of this study demonstrated the ways in which standardized

assessments and benchmarks based upon monolingual norms put pressure on teachers,

students, and parents to prepare students to develop test taking skills. Rather than focus

on standardized benchmarks based on norm-referenced tests, this study calls upon states

to use criterion-referenced assessments (and not norm-referenced assessments) to provide administrators and teachers with specific information regarding the types of academic and linguistic knowledge upon which students struggled (Popham, 2014). Moreover, states are recommended to pilot and encourage the use of formative assessments including portfolio and performance assessments, which are known to be more easily adaptable for emergent bilinguals (Alvarez, Ananda, Walqui, Sato, & Rabinowitz, 2014). State support for school implementation of portfolio and performance assessments can also help track emergent bilingual students' progress during their first year of enrollment, during which time ESSA allows them to be excluded from standardized assessments.

ESSA also offers flexibility to states in developing language, assessment, and intervention policies that support emergent bilinguals' engagement in learning. As state accountability plans now require a measure of school's quality of education, such as school climate or student or teacher engagement, this study's findings encourage state agents to develop methods of tracking student engagement in multilingual interactions with teachers and peers. Like NCLB, ESSA prioritizes English proficiency over other language proficiencies by requiring the creation of standards for English proficiency and obligating states to develop assessments to measure proficiency in English but not in other languages. Yet ESSA also maintains NCLB's flexibility in the kinds of "effective" language education programs that schools create and identifies that positive outcomes may result from programs that "foster bilingualism" and "maintain cultural connections and communication with family members" (U.S. Department of Education, 2016, p. 20). This study demonstrated the ways in which district and elementary school's language policies led educators, parents, and children to convey English-dominant and

monolingual ideologies that dismissed the value of students' multilingual and

multicultural backgrounds and underutilized their cultural background as a tool for

engagement in learning. In light of this finding, as well as ESSA's flexibility in language

programming and explicit recognition of the value of bilingualism, this study encourages

states to incentivize programs such as dual language programs and other programs that

treat students' home language as a goal and as a resource for engagement at school and at

home. Additionally, ESSA also allows states to develop their own plans of intervention.

This study recommends that states take advantage of their autonomy to encourage

interventions that support multilingual learners. For example, states may provide

financial support and offer professional development aimed at developing strength-based

pedagogy that builds upon the knowledge of minoritized groups of students and families.

States also have the autonomy to incentivize language policies that seek to expand and

not restrict students' multilingual communicative repertoires. Lastly, the ESSA requires

that parents or community organizations be involved at state level planning. By eliciting

the input of parents, state agents can learn about community-based needs and ideas for

intervention that may be otherwise invisible to administrators, educators and state

policymakers.

School Level Policies- the Institutional Layer

As schools and other institutions interpret federal and state language policies, they

create localized socio-cultural systems and discourses that convey district and school-

wide values and ideologies about language (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Recognizing

the agentive role that administrators play in interpreting assessment and other language

policies and establishing local norms for assessment and intervention, the findings of this

study encourage administrators to reflect and improve upon the effectiveness of district and school policies for supporting emergent bilinguals' learning. Given the pressures that teachers, Mexican-born parents, and emergent bilinguals students felt to meet benchmarks for fear of the consequences, this study suggests the need for schools to re-evaluate procedures for referring students for special education services and retaining students to insure they do not rely heavily on these benchmarks. As demonstrated by this study, these benchmarks are based on monolingual trajectories of literacy development that may lead teachers and parents to prioritize the acquisition of mechanical behaviors and test preparation over engagement in academic topics using multilingual codes. To create more effective assessment policies that support emergent bilinguals' learning, administrators are encouraged to develop school-wide policies of performance and portfolio assessments that aim to expand students' multilingual and multicultural repertoires for decoding, interpreting, and composing texts.

The findings also illustrated the way that school-based discourses related to standardized assessment impacted parents and students' understandings about intelligence and hard-work. While this study finds that standardized assessment policies are problematic for their role in perpetuating narrow definitions of intelligence in schools, it is important to acknowledge that the ESSA requires that states use a standardized assessment to track academic growth. Recognizing that states will continue to use standardized assessments as measures of academic growth, this study suggests the need for administrators to establish norms for communicating with students and parents about the limitations of standardized assessments and benchmarks. Administrators have the capacity to establish expectations for teachers to discuss the limitations of standardized

assessments and benchmarks for evaluating academic knowledge, language proficiencies, and intelligence. They are also encouraged to describe alternative methods the schools use for tracking academic and language progress in ways that provide a more comprehensive depiction of children's learning.

Lastly, this study suggests the need for schools to change the ways in which administrators and teachers communicate with students and parents about pedagogical remedies for addressing academic concerns. This study demonstrated how school staff socialized emergent bilingual student and immigrant parents to adopt roles in repairing 'breaches' of learner identity without eliciting the input of students and parents. Consequently, students resorted to copying texts to insure accuracy while Spanish-speaking mothers withdrew from homework activities that required English or focused on mechanical literacy behaviors. Without an understanding of student and parent knowledge, values, and needs, schools may assign roles and tasks to students and parents that prevent meaningful interactions. These findings suggest the need for school administrators to work with teachers to facilitate mutual exchanges of beliefs, knowledge, and ideas about the diverse ways in which teachers, parents, and children are working hard to learn or to support student learning. The study also suggests the need to construct remedies for addressing any academic issues in ways that build upon the strengths of immigrant families. To alter patterns of discourse about immigrant families, administrators may find it beneficial to organize professional development workshops aimed at deconstructing teachers' assumptions about immigrant families and at preparing teachers to utilize pedagogical techniques or remedies that support academic learning and cultural maintenance. Examples of these kinds of pedagogical techniques include:

engaging students in translanguaging to interpret and produce texts for different purposes

(García & Wei, 2014), prioritizing the goal of understanding students' experiences and

"accompanying" them on their academic journeys (Sepúlveda, 2012) and identifying

ways that students' funds of knowledge (González, Moll, Amanti, 2006) can be

incorporated into curricular studies. The aim of these teaching methods is to implement

culturally-sustaining pedagogy that integrates cultural and institutional knowledge and

does not force students to abandon their cultural identity in pursuit of academic success

(Paris, 2012).

Classroom Level Policies- the Interpersonal Layer

Ricento & Hornberger (1996) conceptualize educators and classroom practices as

the center of the policy onion and view educators as the primary forces of change. This

study highlighted the important role that teachers play in framing the kinds of knowledge

that are valued in the classroom during teacher-student, peer-peer, and parent-child

interactions. By recording and analyzing classroom discourse as Rymes (2009)

recommends, teachers can reflect on their role in eliciting or suppressing certain kinds of

knowledge as they informally evaluate students during interactions. Alvarez, Ananda,

Walqui, Sato, & Rabinowitz (2014) encourage the use of formatively assessing emergent

bilingual students during interaction through pre-planned and "on the fly" evaluations of

student participation. By highlighting the relationship between teacher and student

language use during interactions, this study suggests the need for teachers to formatively

assess their own language choices in conjunction with their assessments of students'

contributions. Additionally, this study highlighted the important role that peers play in

formative evaluation and socialization during peer helping routines. To facilitate

productive peer helping routines, teachers are encouraged to model and role play interactions in which peers assist one another to think about academic content rather than to encourage rapidly identifying correct answers.

The study also suggests the need for more careful attention to the purpose, structure, and language required for homework assignments. The analysis shows how teachers and parents viewed homework as a form of remedy for low achievement on reading benchmark assessments. This purpose for homework assignments, as well as the demands for English proficiency that the assignments required, put pressure on emergent bilingual students and Spanish-speaking parents to complete assignments in English that they did not feel adequately prepared to complete. When homework becomes a method for increasing school-like interactions and for carrying out language education policies in the home, it may contribute to the subtraction of students and families' linguistic and cultural resources. To support culturally-sustaining pedagogy, teachers may alternatively use homework as an opportunity to encourage students to bring household and community artifacts into the classroom. I argue that homework could be used more productively in immigrant communities as a tool for inviting household and community-based knowledge into classrooms and not transmitting school-based forms of knowledge into homes.

Lastly, the study draws attention to the role that teachers play in communicating with teachers and administrators about assessments and pedagogical remedies. As teachers talk with emergent bilingual students and immigrant parents, they are encouraged to invite parents and students' perspectives regarding the types of help that they would like and their concerns about children's development and the school and

classroom environment. Creating a school context that values the input of students and parents requires the elimination of discourses about effort that frame families as the problem and that obfuscate the responsibility of educational policies for the improvement of emergent bilinguals' education. Participatory research projects led by parents have the potential to transfer power to parents to develop plans for identifying and resolving educational concerns, as conceptualized by families (Dyrness, 2009; Fuentes, 2013).

Implications for Education Researchers

In this section I discuss empirical, theoretical, and methodological contributions of this study that can inform future research on emergent bilinguals, assessment, and parent involvement. I begin by examining how this research expands our understanding of language ideologies and emergent bilinguals, arguing for further examinations of the link between ideologies of race and language. Then I discuss how this study's contribution of the concept of pedagogical remedy can inform future research on structures that support or restrict engagement in homework and peer helping. Lastly, I suggest how future studies of parent involvement may build on this dissertation by exploring how parents, students, and teachers negotiate interrelated ideologies of hard-work, intelligence, and parent-involvement across transnational borders.

Emergent bilinguals

Building on previous studies about emergent bilingual students, this study has demonstrated how assessment policy impacts emergent bilingual students' academic and linguistic trajectories and identification as students. This study examined the educational experiences across seven Mexican-origin families that included families comprised of some children that the school categorized as English proficient (in chapter four) and

others as ELLs (in chapter six). The findings showed that the Mexican-origin mothers in this study expressed similar concerns about their children's 'low' academic status and their ability to help their children because they lacked English proficiency. The data also showed that, despite these concerns, the families consistently used multilingual and multicultural resources to attempt to fulfill teachers' expectations or to develop their own strategies to support learning. These similarities raise questions about the consequences of disaggregating students into subgroups of Limited English Proficient (LEP) versus English Proficient (EP). Abedi (2004) argues that the disaggregation of LEP and EP students in NCLB made it difficult to track and hold schools accountable for the long-term academic progress of LEP students if they are re-classified upon achieving English proficiency. Like Abedi, this study concerns the long-term supports that schools provide to students who speak a language other than English in the home. But rather than focus on the improvement of federal and state accountability measures, my concern lays primarily with the implications of these labels for the kinds of language programs and pedagogical remedies developed in schools and classrooms. This study suggests that students who speak a language other than English in the home—who I define as emergent bilinguals—similarly acquire multilingual and multicultural knowledge in the home and would benefit from many of the same types of academic and linguistic support in schools. In light of these findings, I argue for policymakers on all levels to conceptualize all students as emergent bilinguals who speak a language other than English in the home and to advocate for the same kinds of programs and pedagogy regardless of students' levels of English proficiency.

By highlighting the ways in which assessment policies can lead to the marginalization of immigrant families irrespective of their levels of English proficiency, this study suggests that assessment policies can serve as a mechanism for producing "raciolinguistic ideologies." As described in chapter four, Flores & Rosa (2015) use the term raciolinguistic ideologies to illuminate the conflation of "certain racialized bodies with linguistic deficiency unrelated to any objective linguistic practices" (p. 150). The authors argue that the standardization of language, which this study shows to be greatly impacted by standardized assessment, is a racializing process. When applying a raciolinguistic framework for analyzing literacy practices, the identification of Latino parent and student 'breaches' may be linked to ideologies of race in the community. Future studies are encouraged to explore the ways in which assessment policies, as well as informal evaluations of emergent bilinguals that manifest as breaches during literacy practices, may be related to racial ideologies that circulate in schools and society at large.

Assessment

One of the central findings of this dissertation study is that teachers, immigrant parents, and emergent bilingual students implement assessment policies by creating and carrying out pedagogical remedies during classroom and household routines. Further research is needed to uncover the ways that district and school assessment and language policies support or hinder teachers, parents, and students in utilizing the multilingual and multicultural resources of emergent bilinguals and immigrant parents as resources for engagement. By highlighting the agentive role that teachers play in the transformation of assessment into pedagogical remedy, this study calls for future studies that explore effective methods that teacher-educators can use to prepare pre-service and in-service

teachers to engage students meaningfully in activities, rather than to remedy low achievement on tests. Lastly, this study holds implications for the ways in which researchers may embrace the role of pedagogical remedy or other kinds of remedies to simultaneously learn about and advocate for the participants in their studies.

The findings of this study illuminated the relationship between policies of assessment and language and the ways in which teachers, parents, and children negotiated expert-novice roles during the implementation of pedagogical remedies. In each of the findings chapters of this dissertation study, teachers, students and parents continuously shifted between roles of experts and novices. Particularly noteworthy is the way in which children switched between roles as experts or novices during peer helping routines and the completion of homework. These expert-novice role changes suggest that power in schools is not prescribed by social categories but rather is negotiated by teachers, parents, and children during interactions. Future studies, therefore, may examine the ways in which certain social and interactional structures facilitate the transfer of power to students and parents and the consequences of these power shifts for learning and identification.

Supporting teachers in the design of culturally-sustaining pedagogical remedies requires teacher education programs and professional development that effectively prepare them to appropriately create and interpret the assessments given to emergent bilingual. Further studies are needed to examine how teacher education programs may effectively prepare pre-service teachers to use assessments in ways that support culturally-sustaining pedagogy. Recognizing the role that teachers' ideologies about parent involvement, hard-work, intelligence and language learning impacted the design of pedagogical remedies, this study implies the need to examine approaches in teacher

education programs for deconstructing teachers' normative beliefs that position immigrant families as deficient. Given the impact that involvement in family literacy programs can have on altering teacher beliefs about immigrant families (Mangual Figueroa, Suh, Byrnes, 2015), future studies may examine how teacher involvement in family literacy programs with immigrant families may support teachers' beliefs about emergent bilinguals, immigrant families, and their roles in remediation.

Based upon analysis of my positionality in the implementation of pedagogical remedies, this study also has methodological implications for ethnographic researchers. Throughout the course of this study, teachers, parents, and children positioned me in various ways, during classroom and household activities, as a pedagogical remedy for low achievement. In a way, I created this role for myself from the onset by offering my help as a benefit for their consent to participate in the study. The purpose of positioning myself in this way was to gain access to home and school settings and to develop a reciprocal relationship between researcher and families as is expected and required for conducting ethnographic research. But when it became apparent that academic support was what was most required, I was initially hesitant to become actively involved as a tutor during activities and in thus potentially altering the activities that I was interested in studying. Yet I found that by allowing teachers, parents, and children to assign me the role of tutor, I learned when they felt they needed help and the kinds of remedies they believed that they required. Analysis of my own role during interactions provided insight into the ideologies that shaped the moments in which participants privileged me and positioned me as an expert, tutor, and remedy in social spaces. Recognizing how my own identity became a tool for data collection and analysis, this study encourages

ethnographic researchers to inquire about the kinds of assistance that participants would like them to provide and to embrace a researcher-as-remedy identity.

Parent involvement

Critical scholars problematize traditional models of parent involvement that adopt a top-down approach to the remediation of emergent bilinguals and other marginalized learners and that ascribe roles to parents without understanding their values, assets, and needs. Building on this notion of parent involvement as a remedy, this study has demonstrated how parents and children's roles in the remediation of 'low' learner identity is negotiated across home and school. The analysis demonstrates how schools and home are not dichotomous entities, but rather are in constant communication with one another as discourses travel between the school and the home. As parents, teachers, and students interpreted assessment-related artifacts and discourses that traveled across settings, they developed norms for evaluating and communicating with one another. Recognizing the interconnectedness of literacy learning across home and school, further research may explore how teachers, parents, and children may better communicate about learning. This study calls for research to explore effective approaches for creating multidirectional lines of communication between school staff and families. Building on the work of García Sanchez & Orellana (2006) on parent teacher conferences, further studies may explore how not only student identities but also parent identities and roles in children's education are negotiated during parent-teacher conferences and other parenting events that involve teachers and parents.

This dissertation study also illuminated how the negotiation of parent and student identities is shaped by interrelated ideologies of parent involvement, intelligence, hard-

work, and language learning. While teachers, parents, and students indexed these ideologies in their narratives, we know little about the broader macro context in which they are constructing these ideologies and identities. A growing body of research has explored how the ideologies and identities of immigrant students and families are constructed across transnational spaces (Abu El-Haj, 2009; Abu El-Haj & Bonet, 2011; Gallo & Hornberger, 2017). Further research is needed to explore the ways in which ideologies about parent involvement, intelligence, hard-work, and language learning are constructed in parents and students' countries of origin, as well as how immigrant parents' and students' ideologies continue to evolve across transnational borders.

Lastly, this study highlights several ways in which the Mexican immigrant parents in this study acted as advocates for their children and sought to support their children's academic and social growth. Throughout the course of the study, the mothers sought to help their children by inviting me into their homes to tutor and eliciting my assistance to communicate with educators, doctors, dentists, and counselors of the children about their concerns and needs. In their homes, the mothers demonstrated and talked about ways they supported their children's education by giving moral lectures about the importance of school, assisting with homework and incorporating a flash-card routine to improve learning, and eliciting the assistance of older siblings to help their younger siblings with homework. These various types of parental effort in supporting their children's education demonstrated the mothers' desire and resourcefulness in utilizing their social network to address their children's academic, social, physical, and psychological needs. Yet parents also identified limited English proficiency and a lack of citizenship status as barriers to advocacy. We need to continue to examine both how parents' advocate for their

children's needs and the social and interactional structures that restrict or invite their advocacy. We are all implicated in the studies we conduct, the narratives we produce, and the kinds of support we provide to emergent bilinguals and immigrant families.

References

Abedi, J. (2004). The No Child Left Behind Act and English Language Learners: Assessment and accountability issues: *Educational Researcher*, 33(1), 4-14.

Abu El-Haj, T. Becoming citizens in an era of globalization and transnational migration. *Theory into Practice*, 48(4), 274-282.

Abu El-Haj, T. & Bonet, S. (2011), Education, Citizenship, and the Politics of Belonging: Youth from Muslim: Youth from Muslim Transnational Communities and the "War on Terror". *Review of Research in Education*, 35(1) 29-59.

Alvarez, L., Ananda, S., Walqui, A., Sato, E., & Rabinowitz, S. (2014). Focusing formative assessment on the needs of English language learners. San Francisco: WestEd.

Artiles, A. & Ortiz, A. (Eds.). (2002) *English language learners with special needs: Identification, assessment, and instruction*. Washington, DC, and McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems Co., Inc.

Auerbach, E.R (1989). Toward a Socio-Contextual Approach to Family Literacy. *Harvard Educational Review*, 59(2), 165-181.

Auerbach, E. (1995). Deconstructing the discourse of strengths in family literacy. *Journal of Reading Behavior*, 27(4), 643-661.

Auerbach, E. (2002). (Ed). Community Partnerships. Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages. Alexandria, VA: TESOL.

Au, K. H. P. (1980). Participation Structures in a Reading Lesson with Hawaiian Children: Analysis of a Culturally Appropriate Instructional Event. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly,* 11(2), 91-115.

Baquedano-López, P., Solís, J., Kattan, S. (2005). Adaptation: The language of classroom learning. *Linguistics and Education*, 16(1), 1-26.

Baquedano-López, P. Alexander, R.A. & Hernandez, S. (2013). Equity Issues in Parental and Community Involvement in Schools: What Teacher Educators Need to Know. *Review of Research in Education*, 37, 149-182.

Baquedano-López, P. & Kattan, S. (2008). Language Socialization in Schools. In P.A Duff and N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*. (Vol. 8). (pp. 161- 173). New York, NY: Springer.

Baquedano-López, P & Mangual Figueroa, A. (2012). Language Socialization and Immigration. In Alessandro Duranti, Elinor Ochs, & Bambi B. Schieffelin (Eds). *The Handbook of Language Socialization*. Blackwell Publishing.

Bartlett, L. & Holland, D. (2002). Theorizing the space of literacy practices. *Ways of Knowing Journal*, 2(1), 10-22.

Bartlett, L., & Holland, D. (2002). Theorizing the space of literacy practices. *Ways of Knowing Journal,* 2(1): 10-22.

Bhimji, F. (2005). Language Socialization with directives in two Mexican immigrant families in South Central Los Angeles. In A. C. Zentella (Ed.), *Building on Strength: Language and literacy in Latino families and communities.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Bialystok, E. (2004). Language and literacy development. In Bhatia, T. K., & Ritchie, W. C. (Eds.) The handbook of bilingualism (pp. 577-601). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Biegel, S., Kim, R. & Welner, K. (2016). Update on the Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965: No Child Left Behind Act

replaced with Every Student Succeeds Act. In *Education and the Law*, 4th Ed. West Academic Publishing.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Coffee, A. & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making sense of qualitative data: Complementary research strategies.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Cooper, H., Robinson, J. C., & Patall, E. A. (2006). Does homework improve academic achievement? A synthesis of research, 1987–2003. *Review of educational research*, *76*(1), 1-62.

Corno, L. (2000). Looking at homework differently. *The Elementary School Journal*, 529-548.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Creswell, J. W. & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into practice*, 39(3), 124-130.

Cummins, J. (1979). Cognitive/academic language proficiency, linguistic interdependence, the optimum age question, and some other matters. *Working Papers on Bilingualism,* 19, 121-129.

Cummins, J. (1981). *Bilingualism & minority language children*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Dagenais, D. Day, E. & Toohey, K. (2006). A multilingual child's literacy practices and contrasting identities in the figured worlds of French immersion classrooms. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 9(2), 205- 218.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1992). School matters in the Mexican-American home: Socializing children to education. *American Educational Research Journal*, 29(3), 495- 513.

Duranti, A. (1997). Ethnographic Methods. *In Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 84-12). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dyrness, A. (2009). Cultural Exclusion and critique in the era of good intentions: Using participatory research to transform parent roles in urban school reform. *Social Justice*, 36(4), 36-53.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Fader, A. (2008). Reading Jewish signs: The socialization of multilingual literacies among Hasidic women and girls in Brooklyn, New York. *Text & Talk-An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse Communication Studies,* 28(5), 621-641.

Farr, M. & Barajas, E. D. (2005). Chapter 3. Mexicanos in Chicago: Language Ideology and Identity. In A. C. Zentella (Ed.). *Building on Strength: Language and literacy in Latino families and communities.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Fuentes, E.H. (2013). Political mothering: Latina and African American mothers in the struggle for educational justice. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 44(3), 304-319.

Gadsden, V. (1994). Understanding Family Literacy: Conceptual Issues Facing the Field. Philadelphia, PA: National Center on Adult Literacy.

Galindo, C. (2010). English Language Learners' Math and Reading Achievement Trajectories. In E.E. Garcia & E.C. Frede. (Eds.). *Young English Language Learners: Current research and emerging directions for practice and policy*. (pp. 42-58). New York: Teachers College Press.

Gallo, S. & Hornberger, N. (2017). Immigration Policy as Family language policy: Mexican immigrant children and families in search of biliteracy. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 1-14.

García, O. Kleifgen, J. A. & Falchi, L. (2008). From English Language Learners to Emergent Bilinguals. Equity Matters. Research Review. No. 1. *Campaign for Educational Equity, Teachers College, Columbia University.*

García, O. Kleifgen, J. A. (2010). *Educating emergent bilinguals: Policies, programs, and practices for English language learners*. Teachers College Press.

García-Sánchez, I. M. (2010). The politics of Arabic language education: Moroccan immigrant children's language socialization into ethnic and religious identities. *Linguistics and Education,* 21(3), 171-196.

Garcia, E.E. & Frede, E.C. (2010). Overview and Introduction. In E.E. Garcia & E.C. Frede. (Eds.). *Young English Language Learners: Current research and emerging directions for practice and policy*. (pp. 42-58). New York: Teachers College Press.

García, E. & Frede, E. C. (Eds.) (2010). *Young English Language Learners: Current Research and Emerging Directions for Practice and Policy.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

García Sánchez, I. (2010). The politics of Arabic language education: Moroccan immigrant children's language socialization into ethnic and religious identities. *Linguistics and Education*, 21(3), 171-196.

García Sánchez, I. & Orellana, M. (2006). The Construction of Moral and Social Identity in Immigrant Children's Narratives-in-Translation. *Linguistics and Education,* 17(3), 209-239.

García, O. & Wei, L. (2014). Translanguaging, Bilingualism, and Bilingual Education. In W. Wright, S. Boun, & O. García (Eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingual and Multilingual Education*. (223-240) UK: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Garfinkel, H. (1964). Studies of the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities. *Social Problems,* 11(3), 225-250.

Gallo, S., Link, H., Allard, E. Wortham, S. & Mortimer, K. (2014). Conflicting ideologies of Mexican immigrant English across levels of schooling. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 8(2), 124-140.

Garcia, O. & Kleifgen, J. (2010). *Educating emergent bilinguals: Policies, programs, and practices for English language learners*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Garrett, P. B. & Baquedano-López, P. (2002). Language socialization: Reproduction and continuity, transformation and change. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 339-361.

Garrett, P. (2008). Researching Language Socialization. In K. King and N.H. Hornberger (Eds). Encyclopedia of Language and Education, 2nd Edition, Volume 10: *Research Methods in Language and Education*, 189-201.

Gee, J. P. (1991/2012). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses*. New York: Routledge.

Genishi, C. & Dyson, A. H. (2009). *Children, language, and literacy: Diverse learners in diverse times*. Teachers College Press.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

González, M. Moll, L. Amanti, C. (2006). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities, and classrooms*. Routledge.

González, N. (2006). *I am my Language: Discourses of women and children in the borderlands*. Arizona: University of Arizona Press.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gumperz, J.J & Gumperz, J. (1983). *Language and Social Identity, Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. (1999). On interactional sociolinguistic method. In C. Roberts and S. Sarangi. (Eds.), *Talk, Work and Institutional Order: Discourse in Medical, Mediation, and Management Settings*.Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hatt, B. (2007). Street smarts vs. book smarts: The figured world of smartness in the lives of marginalized, urban youth. *The Urban Review*, *39*(2), 145-166.

Hatt, B. (2012). Smartness as a cultural practice in schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, *49*(3), 438-460.

Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms.* Cambridge University Press.

Holland, D., Lachichotte, W., Skinner, D., and Cain, C. (1998). *Identity and agency in cultural worlds.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Heath, S. B. (1982). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. *Language in society*, *11*(01), 49-76.

Heath, S.B. (1983). *Way with words: Language, Life and work in communities*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hymes, D. (1968). Toward Ethnographies of Communication. *American Anthropologist*, 66(6), 1-34.

Hymes, D. (1971). On Communicative Competence. (Vol. 35). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Holland, D., Lachichotte, W., Skinner, D., and Cain, C. (1998). *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kieffer, M., Lesaux, N., & Snow, C. (2006). Promises and Pitfalls: Implications of No Child Left Behind for Assessing, and Serving English Language Learners. Presented at: *Key Reforms Under the No Child Left Behind Act: The Civil Rights Perspective.* Berkeley, CA: University of California, Berkeley. https://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/NCLB_ELLs_Final.pdf. Accessed January 30, 2016.

Kyratzis, A., Tang, Y.T., & Koyman, S.B. (2009). Codes, code-switching, and context: Style and footing in peer group bilingual play. *Multilingua- Journal of Cross-cultural and Interlanguage Communication, 28(*2-3), 265-290.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2007). Pushing past the achievement gap: An essay on the language of deficit. The *Journal of Negro Education*, 316-323.

LeCompte, M. D. & Goetz, J. P. (1982). Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research. *Review of Educational Research,* 52(1), 31-60.

Lopez, N. (2003). Hopeful Girls, Troubled Boys: Race and gender disparity in urban education. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Books, Inc.

Lukose, R. A. (2007). The difference that diaspora makes: Thinking through the anthropology of immigrant education in the United States. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *38*(4), 405-418.

LaCasa, P., Reina, A., & Alburquerque, M. (2002). Adults and children share literacy practices: The case of homework. *Linguistics and Education*, *13*(1), 39-64.

Mangual Figueroa, A. (2011). Citizenship and education in the homework completion routine. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 42(3), 263-280.

Mangual Figueroa, M. Suh, S., Byrnes, M (2015). Co-constructing beliefs about parent Involvement: Reflections and rehearsals in a family literacy program. *Linguistics and Education*, 31, 44-58.

McCarty, T. L. (2002). *A place to be Navajo: Rough Rock and the struggle for self-determination in indigenous schooling*. Routledge.

McConnochie, M. & Mangual Figueroa, A. (2017). "Dice que es Bajo" ("She says he's low"): Negotiating Breaches of Learner Identity in Two Mexican Families. *Linguistics and Education*, 38, 68-78.

Menken, K. (2006). Teaching to the test: How No Child Left Behind impacts language policy, curriculum, and instruction for English language learners. Bilingual Research Journal, 30 (20), 521-546.

Menken, K. (2008). *English learners left behind: Standardized testing as language policy*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education. Revised and Expanded from "Case Study Research in Education." San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Moll, L.C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into practice*, 31(2), 132-141.

National Center for Education Statistics. 2016. *NAEP Long-Term Trend Assessments*. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/ltt/

Ochs, E. (1979). Transcription as Theory. *Developmental pragmatics,* 43-72.

Ochs, E., & Capps, L. (1996). Narrating the self. *Annual review of anthropology*, 19-43.

Ochs, E. (1993). Constructing social identity: A language socialization perspective. *Research on language and Social Interaction*, *26*(3), 287-306.

Ochs, E. (1996). Linguistic Resources for Socializing Humanity. In John J. Gumperz & Stephen C. Levinson (Ed.). *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. (p. 407-437). Cambridge: Cambridge Press.

Ochs, E. & Schieffelin, B. (2001). Language acquisition and socialization: Three developmental stories and their implications. *Linguistic anthropology: A reader,* 263-301.

Ochs, E. & Schieffelin, B. (2008). Language socialization: An historical overview. In P. Duff. & N.H. Hornberger. (Eds). *Encyclopedia of Language and Education.* (2nd ed). (pp. 2580- 2594). United States: Springer.

Orellana, M. F. (2001). The work kids do: Mexican and Central American immigrant children's contributions to households and schools in California. *Harvard Educational Review*, *71*(3), 366- 390.

Orellana, M. F. (2009). *Translating childhoods: Immigrant youth, language, and culture*. Piscataway, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Paris, D. (2012). Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy: A Needed change in stance, terminology, and practice. *Educational researcher,* 41(3), 93-97.

Patton, M. Q. (1987). *How to Use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pease-Alvarez, C. & Vasquez, O. (1994). Language socialization in ethnic minority communities. In F. Genesee (Ed.). Educating Second Language Children: The Whole Child: The Whole Curriculum, The Whole Community (pp. 82-102). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Phillips, S. U. (1976). Some Sources of Cultural Variability in the Regulation of Talk. *Language in Society,* 5(1), 81-95.

Poole, D. (1998). The messiness of language socialization in reading groups: Participation in and resistance to the values of essayist literacy. *Linguistics and Education*, 19(4), 378- 403.

Popham, W.J. (2014). Classroom Assessment: What Teachers Need to Know. (7th Ed.) Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Portilla, M. (2013). Maneras en que transita la tarea escolar del aula hacia el hogar. *Papeles de Trabajo sobre Cultura, Educación, y Desarrollo Humano*, 9(1), 1-15.

Public Schools K12. (2009-2010). Retrieved at http://publicschoolsk12.com/

Ricento, T. & Hornberger, N. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language policy and the ELT professional. *Tesol Quarterly*, 30 (3), 401-427.

Rubin, B. C. (2007). Learner identity amid figured worlds: Constructing (in) competence at an urban high school. *The Urban Review*, *39*(2), 217-249.

Rymes, B. (2009). *Classroom discourse analysis: A tool for critical reflection*. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press Inc.

Rymes, B. (2010). Classroom discourse analysis: A focus on communicative repertoires. In N. H. Hornberger & S. L. McKay (Eds). *Sociolinguistics and language education.* (pp. 528- 546). New York: Multilingual Matters.

Sánchez, I. G., & Orellana, M. F. (2006). The construction of moral and social identity in immigrant children's narratives-in-translation. *Linguistics and education*, *17*(3), 209-239.

Sepúlveda, E. (2012). Toward a Pedagogy of Acompañamiento: Mexican migrant youth writing from the underside of modernity. *Harvard Educational Review*, 81(3), 550-573.

Schieffelin, B.B., & Ochs, E. (1986). Language socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 15(1), 163-191.

Shohamy, E. (2003). Implications of language education policies for language study in schools and universities. *The Modern Language Journal*, 87(2), 278-286.

Shohamy, E. (2007). Language tests as language policy tools. *Assessment in Education*, 14(1), 117-130.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. M. (1990). *Grounded theory procedures and techniques.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Street, B. (1984). *Literacy in Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: CUP

Street, B. V. (Ed.). (1993). *Cross-cultural approaches to literacy* (Vol. 23). Cambridge University Press.

Street, B. (2003). What's new in New Literacy Studies: Critical approaches to literacy in theory and practice. *Issues in Comparative Education*, 5(2), 77-91.

Souto-Manning, M. (2013). Competence as linguistic alignment: Linguistic diversities, affinity groups, and the politics of educational success. *Linguistics and Education*, 24(3), 305-315.

Thomas, M. & Collier, V. (1997). School effectiveness for language minority students. Washington DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, George Washington University, Center for the Study of Language and Education.

Urciuoli, B. (1996). *Exposing prejudice: Puerto Rican experiences of language, race and class*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Urrieta Jr, L. (2007). Identity production in figured worlds: How some Mexican Americans become Chicana/o activist educators. *The Urban Review*, *39*(2), 117-144.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2013). *American Community Survey* [Data file]. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/2012/tables/12s0236.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. (2013). Age and Nativity of own children under 18 years in families and subfamilies by number and nativity of parents. *American Community Survey* [Data file]. Retrieved from http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_13_5YR_B05009&prodType=table

U.S. Census Bureau. (1980). *Census Bureau of Population and Housing* [Data file]. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html

U.S. Census Bureau. (2009-2013). *American Community Survey* [Data file]. Retrieved from http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/searchresults.xhtml?refresh=t

U.S. Census Bureau. (2009-2013). *American Community survey* [Data file]. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/2012/tables/12s0236.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). *Census Bureau of Population and Housing* [Data file]. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html

U.S. Department of Education. (2016). Non-Regulatory Guidance: English Learners and Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), as amended by the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA). Retrieved from https://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/essa/

Valdéz, G. (1992). Bilingual Minorities and Language Issues in Writing. *Written Communication*, 9, 85-136.

Valdés, G. & Figueroa, R. (1994). *Bilingualism and testing: A special case of bias*. Ablex Publishing.

Valdéz, G. (1996). Con Respeto: Bridging the distances between culturally diverse families and schools: An Ethnographic Portrait. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Valdes, G. (2003). *Expanding definitions of giftedness: The case of young interpreters from immigrant communities*. Routledge.

Valdéz, G. (2004). Between support and marginalization: The development of academic language in linguistic minority children. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 7(2-3), 102-132.

Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive Schooling: U.S.- Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Vélez-Ibáñez, C. G. & Greenberg, J. (1992). Formation and transformation of funds of knowledge among U.S. Mexican households. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly,* 23(4), 313-335.

Villenas, S. (2002). Reinventing educación in new Latino communities: Pedagogies of change and continuity in North Carolina. *Education in the new Latino diaspora: Policy and the politics of identity*, 17-35.

Warriner, D. S. (2008). "It's just the nature of the beast": Re-imagining the literacies of schooling in adult ESL education. *Linguistics and Education*, *18*(3), 305-324.

Watson-Gegeo. K. A. & Gegeo. D. W. (1992). Schooling, Knowledge, and Power: Social Transformation in the Solomon Islands. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 23(1), 10-29.

Weiss, R. (1994). *Learning from strangers. The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies.* New York, NY: The Free Press.

White, N. L. (2002). Discourses of Power: An analysis of homework events. *Linguistics and Education,* 13(1), 89-135.

Willett, J. (1995). Becoming First Graders in an L2: An Ethnographic study of L2 Socialization. *TESOL Quarterly,* 29(3), 473-503.

Wingard, L. (2007). Constructing time and prioritizing activities in interaction. *Discourse & Society,* 18(1), 75-91.

Woolard, K. (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In B. B. Schieffelin, K.A. Woolard., & P.V. (Eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory,* 16. United States: Oxford University Press.

Wong Fillmore, L. (2000). Loss of Family Languages: Should educators be concerned. *Theory into Practice*, 39(4). 203-210.

Wortham, S. E. F., Murillo Jr, E. G., & Hamann, E. T. (Eds.). (2002). *Education in the new Latino diaspora: Policy and the politics of identity* (Vol. 2). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Wortham, S. (2002). Gender and School Success in the Latino Diaspora. In Wortham, S. E. F., Murillo Jr, E. G., & Hamann, E. T. (Eds.). (2002). *Education in the new Latino diaspora: Policy and the politics of identity* (Vol. 2). (pp. 117-142). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Wortham, S., Mortimer, K., & Allard, E. (2009). Mexicans as Model Minorities in the New Latino Diaspora. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly,* 40(4), 388-404.

Wortham, S. (2006). *Learning Identity. The joint emergence of social identification and academic identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, W. (2005). English Language Learners Left Behind in Arizona: The Nullification of Accommodations in the Intersection of federal and State Policies. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 29(1), 1-30.

Zentella, C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Appendix A

Referendum and Campaign for School Expansion

As a wave of immigrants have continued to move into Smithtown, student enrollment in the district has also drastically increased. In 2015, the district reported enrolling 600 students over the recommended capacity. Exacerbating the problem, in 2010 the state governor imposed a flat funding rate, which prevented Smithtown from receiving additional state funding despite the dramatic increase of student enrollment. In September and December of 2014, the Board of Education and Superintendent proposed a referendum which asked voters to support the construction of additional classroom space. Many Smithtown residents and parents of Smithtown with whom I talked expressed support of the expansion but lacked the citizenship papers required to vote. However, voters rejected the referendum on both occasions, citing objections to housing tax increase and a lack of desire to fund the education of children from immigrant families.

Upon failure to pass the referendum, the Superintendent and Board of Education appealed to the State Department of Education and Commissioner of Education, asking for bonds that would allow them to pay the cost of constructing new buildings. Meanwhile, the Smithtown Superintendent, Board of Education, the County's Latino Coalition, and the non-profit organization, Alma collaborated to launch an advocacy campaign for which they gathered written letters of support for the referendum. One of the primary goals of the campaign was to allow residents who were unable to vote to express their opinion to the Commissioner of Education. Several parents and students who participated in my study contributed letters of support for the referendum. During one of my household visits, I helped the children compose these letters. In response to the Board of Education's request, local hearings were scheduled for which all Smithtown

residents were invited to express their opinion about the referendum. Several months after the hearings were completed, a judge ruled that the state should overturn voters' decision in December 2015 and authorize the bonds for school expansion. By 2016, the bonds and expansion had been approved. Nonetheless, during the time of the study— from 2013-2015—the school continued to experience substantial overcrowding.

Smithtown school district took a number of actions to cope with overcrowding. They moved the Kindergarten classes to a separate building on the other side of town, partitioned the library using portable dividers to create space for English as a Second Language (ESL) classes and basics skills instruction, and arranged for the Intermediate School students and Elementary School students to share the cafeteria and gymnasium. From the perspectives of the ESL teachers at Warner Elementary School, a lack of classroom space was problematic for two primary reasons: 1. Their classroom sizes were too large to attend to the needs of ESL students, and 2. The library classroom space was too noisy and distracting for students to concentrate, given the lack of walls to divide the designated instruction areas in the library. From the perspective of parents and elementary-aged children, sharing the cafeteria and gymnasium with intermediate school students was a safety hazard due to the difference in size and strength between elementary and intermediate school students and a lack of caution on the part of the intermediate school students.

Appendix B

Interview Questions

My interviews followed Patton (1990)'s recommendations for an informal interview

guide. Following this procedure, I asked the following pre-prepared questions listed

below, in addition to other related questions as they emerged naturally during the

scheduled interview and each observation session.

Ms. Small

Ask about why Sara was changed to so many different classrooms last year

What are the reasons that you use Spanish in the classroom on a daily basis?

What are some things that your students are good at? What are some things that your

students struggle with? (Ask these questions about focal students and compare to other

students)

I noticed that you take the time to teach students to help each other in the classroom and

that students really love when they have the opportunity to help someone else.

Can you tell me how you have taught them how to help each other?

What are some times during the day when you routinely ask each other to help one

another?

When are some moments when you don't want students to help each other?

I also noticed that you incorporate routines so students give compliments to each other

for doing a good job, I'm assuming to keep them motivated and keep a positive

classroom environment. Can you tell me some of the other ways you make your students

feel comfortable?

I also know you mentioned how there is often not enough time for everything you want to do and I can see that with testing for example your time is taken way from instruction. What are some of the things that you wish you could do more of but you feel that you don't have enough time to do?

I would like to hear more about the parent academy.

a. Why did you decide to get involved with it?

b. How do you decide what to talk about?

c. How do you decide what activities to do?

d. What requirements do you have for it based on title 1?

e. What are some of the ways that you see parents helping their children succeed in school?

f. What are some of the ways you expect parents to help with homework?

g. What do you see as the importance of homework?

One of the things that really interests me about children's learning is the evaluation process and the impact of various evaluations. Can you tell me about how you decide whether you think a child should: a) exit the bilingual program b) be retained another year? c) being evaluated for special needs? d) What do you see are the advantages and disadvantages of each? e) What roles to parents play in making these decisions?

What do you feel like teachers outside of the bilingual program don't understand about your students? What about administrators?

What do you think the differences are between students who are still in the bilingual program by 2nd grade and those who have exited?

 I am also interested in the teacher evaluations because I think they impact how children are evaluated. What are the most important things you do for your students? What do you feel like parents don't understand about what you do? What do you feel like administrators don't understand about your work as a teacher? What are some things that administrator evaluations don't capture about what you do on a daily basis?

Ms. Dara- ESL teacher of Juan's older siblings

First can you tell me a little bit about your background in the school district?

I would like to understand more about the parent academy.

   a. Why did you decide to get involved with it?

   b. How do you decide what to talk about?

   c. How do you decide what activities to do?

   d. What requirements do you have for it based on title 1?

What are the most important things you do for your students?

What do you feel like parents don't understand about what you do?

What do you feel like administrators don't understand about your work as a teacher?

Is there anything you feel that teacher evaluations don't capture about what you do on a daily basis?

What are some positive things about working in this school?

What are some challenges to working in this school?

What are some of the things that you wish you could do more of but you feel that you don't have enough time to do?

What are some things that your students are good at? What are some things that your students struggle with?

What are some things that Manuela is good at? What does she struggle with?

What are your impressions of Manuela's, Juan, and Antonio's family?

What resources do you use to plan and implement instruction?

What resources to you use to evaluate students?

I also know you mentioned how there is often not enough time for everything you want to do and I can see that with testing for example your time is taken way from instruction. What are some of the things that you wish you could do more of but you feel that you don't have enough time to do?

What are some of the ways that you communicate with parents? For what reasons?

What are some of the ways that you see parents helping their children succeed in school?

What are some of the ways you expect parents to help with homework?

What do you see as the importance of homework?

How do you decide what to assign for homework?

What do you think the differences are between students who are still in the bilingual program/esl program by 2nd grade or 3rd grade and those who have exited?

One of the things that really interests me about children's learning is the evaluation process and the impact of various evaluations. Can you tell me about how you decide whether you think a child should: a) be retained another year? c) being evaluated for special needs?

What do you see are the advantages and disadvantages of each placement decision?

What roles to parents play in making these placement decisions?

<u>Ms. Barry (second-grade self-contained teacher)</u>

First can you tell me about your background in the school district?

What are some things that your students are good at? What are some things that your students struggle with?

What are some things that Óscar is good at? What are some things that he struggles with?

What resources do you use to plan for teaching?

What resources do you use to evaluate students?

What are some of the ways that you communicate with parents? For what reasons?

What are some of the ways that you see parents helping their children succeed in school?

What are some of the ways you expect parents to help with homework?

What do you see as the importance of homework?

How do you decide what to assign for homework?

What are some positive things about working in this school?

What are some challenges to working in this school?

What are some of the things that you wish you could do more of but you feel that you don't have enough time to do?

One of the things that really interests me about children's learning is the evaluation process and the impact of various evaluations. Can you tell me about how you decide whether you think a child should: a) be retained another year? c) being evaluated for special needs?

What do you see are the advantages and disadvantages of each?

What roles to parents play in making these decisions?

Ms. Cara

First can you tell me about your background in the school district?

What changes have you noticed?

What are some positive things about working in this school?

What are some challenges to working in this school?

What are some things that the focal students are good at? (and ask about each individually) What are some things that your students struggle with?

How do you decide what to teach the students each week?

In what ways do you communicate with the classroom teachers in the program about the progress of students before, during, and after the after-school program?

Ms. Cruz- ESL/Bilingual Program District Coordinator

Can you tell me about your background in the school district?

How was the school district changed over the past 10 years or so?

What are the main goals of the language program?

What is your role in running the language program?

What is working well with the language program?

What is not working well?

What would you like to happen to improve language learning in the district?

What do you see the difference to be between the two schools, PAE and FLC?

In what ways does the curriculum and assessment process for the bilingual/esl program

correspond with the non-language related programs?

What is the purpose of the parent academy?

What is your role in implementing the parent academy?

What requirements exist for implementation of the parent academy?

What changes are you trying to make?

In what ways would you like to improve family-school relationships?

What do you see as the importance of homework?

Are there any policies related to homework?

I'm really interested in the PAARC and ACCESS exam.

Can you share a copy of the ACCESS test and any evaluation guidance sheet?

Can you share a copy of the PAARC test rubric?

Mr. Tomatelli- Superintendent

First, can you tell me about your background working in the district?

What changes have been made recently?

What are some of the best things/things that are working well in the district?

What are the challenges?

What are some changes you are in the process of making?

What changes would you like to make if possible but have not figured out how to do so?

I know you have a lot of partnerships with community organizations. Can you tell me

about them? How are they important?

I know you recently worked hard to try to pass a referendum for more space that failed.

Can you give me an overview of what the goal was of the referendum?

How would you describe the public sentiment about the referendum?

In what ways did you try to change public sentiment and advocate for this referendum?

What goals do you have for the bilingual/esl programs?

Are there any changes you want to make to the program?

What would you like to do in order to improve school-family relationships?

What else do I need to know about the school district from your perspective?

Mothers

How is this homework similar to other homework assignments?

What is easy for your child when you completing their homework?

 Probe- Why is it easy?

What do you think is difficult for your child when completing homework?

 Probe- why do you think it is difficult?

How do you know what your child is supposed to do for homework?

How does your child know what she/he is supposed to do for homework?

How would you compare the homework your child gets for homework to the homework you received as a child?

How would you compare the process of completing homework with the process of completing homework when you were a child?

What expectations do you think the school has for your child's homework completion?

Tell me about a time that homework was really difficult for your child to complete.

Tell me about an assignment that your child really liked completing.

What else do you want me to know about homework that we haven't talked about?

Clarifying background info

What pre-school did___ (child) go to?

How long have you been in the country?

When did___ (child) start learning English?

In depth questions

What goals do you have for your children in using English and Spanish? (and indigenous language)

Why is Spanish important to your children?

Why is English important for your children?

How has communication with _____ (child) changed since he/she started school?

What activities did you do with ___ (child) before starting school that you don't do anymore?

What activities do you do with___ (child) now that you didn't used to do before he/she started school?

Interviews in the home with focal children

What homework did you assign last night?

How is this homework similar to other homework assignments?

What is easy for students when completing their homework?

   Probe- Why is it easy?

What do you think is difficult for students when completing homework?

Probe- why do you think it is difficult?

How do children know what they are supposed to do for homework?

How do think your students complete their homework? Where do they complete it?

 (If mention of parents or others as helpers) How do parents/siblings/etc know what to do to support homework completion?

How would you compare the process of completing homework with the process of completing homework when you were a child?

What expectations do you have for homework completion?

Tell me about a time that homework was really difficult for students to complete.

Tell me about an assignment that your students really liked completing.

Is there anything else you want to tell me about homework in your class or in the school?

 Member-check questions for children

Clip from afterschool 4-14-15—min 38- 45

What do you think about that tape from afterschool?

Does this remind you of anything else that happened in school?

How did you feel in afterschool?

What does copiona mean to you? Is that something you always try to avoid? How do you know when someone is copying you?

What is the difference between copying and helping?

When else do your classmates and friends tell you they don't like something you are doing?

When else do your classmate and friends say they like what you are doing?

Romina- How do you feel when you are translating for Josue? How do you feel when you

Daniel- How do you feel when you are speaking in Spanish? When you said "you got me" what did you mean by that?

Clip from end of day talking about homework—3-31-15- 1:34-1:39

How did that make you feel listening to that again?

I noticed how Ms. Small often paired people up to help each other. How did you feel when you helped someone else?

How did you feel when someone helped you?

What did you think when you heard Ms. Small talking about how Damien didn't do his homework? What were you feeling?

Was there any time that you didn't do your homework and got in trouble?

Why do you think kids sometimes don't do their homework?