

2015

“Tal Vez Sueña De Estas Cosas/ Maybe He Dreams Of These Things:” Envisioning Possibilities for Multilingual Learners in the Culturally Responsive Rural Classroom

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“TAL VEZ SUEÑA DE ESTAS COSAS/
MAYBE HE DREAMS OF THESE THINGS.”
ENVISIONING POSSIBILITIES FOR MULTILINGUAL LEARNERS IN THE
CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE RURAL CLASSROOM

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

Elementary Education

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2015

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my husband, Michael, who encouraged, supported, and sometimes nudged me along this long and arduous, but worthwhile journey. Thank you for believing in me. I cannot imagine how I could have done it without you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I want to express my deep gratitude to my original dissertation committee chair, Tasha Laman, who encouraged me to press on when I felt overwhelmed and wanted to quit. I was privileged to be one of your students and learned so much about myself as a writer with you as my mentor. Thank you for treating me like a colleague and helping me realize how much I have to offer the world as a teacher-researcher. One day I want to be just like you.

To Steve Thompson, who bravely accepted the chair position and agreed to take on a language and literacy student, you have helped me more than you can imagine. Suggesting that I “exhaust the research” by exploring reference lists of pivotal literature and examine those references until I had “saturated” them proved to be some of the most useful advice I have received at USC. To work with you at Hobcaw Barony was such an honor. I have admired you greatly ever since I realized that you were the “Plant-in-the-Jar” guy and enjoyed watching you practice what you preach in the classroom. You will never know how meaningful it was to me for you to say that I was a strong writer, but those words carried me through some of my darker moments during this process.

To Megan Burton, I am honored that you agreed to stay on as a committee member despite your move to Auburn University. Your positive words of encouragement after my faculty interview helped me decide to pursue this Ph.D. and reassured me that I could succeed. Thank you for guiding me throughout the early stages of this process and for helping me to navigate the unfamiliar structure of the doctoral program. Mostly,

thanks for remaining accessible to me even with hundreds of miles between us. Auburn is lucky to have you.

To Kara Brown and Christie Martin, I appreciate you both so much. You were quick to respond and give feedback each time I sent you something to read, regardless of the state or country in which you happened to be at the time. Your words of wisdom and critique of my work helped push my thinking to new levels. From the bottom of my heart, thank you for everything you have done for me.

To Elna Moses, words cannot express my gratitude for the support and direction you gave to me during all my years at USC. Your door was always open, you responded quickly to my emails and phone calls, and regardless of my questions, you always had the answers! USC will never be the same without you.

I will be forever grateful to my former students, Eduardo and Juan, and their families for opening up their homes, welcoming me into their lives, and allowing me the opportunity to learn so much from them. You will always have a very special place in my heart!

To all my family and friends who cheered me on and kept me in their prayers, thank you for being at just the right time and in just the right place when I needed you. You know who you are and exactly what I mean. I am blessed to have you in my life.

I wish to thank my father, Dave Spradley, who has been the ultimate role model in perseverance. You told me a long time ago that I was anything but ordinary and capable of doing anything. Even when I was unsure of myself, I knew that you had faith in me and loved me. You are the best dad a girl could ever ask for.

To my children, Charlie and Beth King, thank you for encouraging me to always press on and for not allowing me to feel guilty when I couldn't spend time with you when you came home to visit. You have always been my biggest fans. I love you more than words can say!

Lastly, I want to thank my awesome husband, Michael, for his undying devotion and support during these almost eight years since I began this doctoral journey. Thank you for allowing me the freedom to disappear for hours, days, and months on end without ever complaining while you ate fast food and became a bachelor in our home. For all the nights I felt inadequate and threatened to quit the whole thing, your words of encouragement gave me the strength to push through. Thanks for helping me maintain my sanity through it all. You are my best friend and I love you more than you will ever know.

ABSTRACT

Meeting the needs of multilingual learners is a growing concern for many classroom teachers across the nation as school-age populations in the United States continue to become more ethnically, culturally, and linguistically diverse. Teachers often have little understanding of diverse learners and frequently express misconceptions about these students and their cultures. The purpose of this qualitative multiple case study was to explore the social, cultural, and linguistic resources multilingual learners draw upon and the literacy practices they enact during reading and writing workshop when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented. This study also examined how culturally relevant (CR) texts and materials influenced multilingual learners' understanding of the reading and writing process. The study focused on two third and fourth-grade multilingual learners over the course of twelve weeks—six weeks during a summer enrichment program, followed by six-weeks of tutoring in their homes. Several theories informed this study including sociocultural theory, critical social theory, and second language acquisition theory.

Results show that models of literacy were alive in these multilingual learners' homes and their families were co-learners along with the participants. The participants used a variety of resources from their homes and communities to successfully navigate various social settings such as school. As the participants moved between their home environments and the community, they traveled in and out of their native language of Spanish (L1) and English (L2), fluidly accessing both languages, as if surrounded by

invisible, flexible bands of language. Pulling from their entire linguistic repertoire, the participants translanguaged between their L1 and L2 to accomplish many tasks. Frequently, the students assumed the roles of interpreters, translating for parents, teachers, and friends, allowing others access to their linguistic resources. Both participants also used their linguistic abilities to become gatekeepers, withholding information from others and situating themselves into a position of power. Using culturally relevant texts and materials enhanced the participants' learning in many ways. Utilizing CR texts and materials helped support the participants' identities as multilingual learners, increased their sense of agency and linguistic security, and enhanced their understanding of reading and writing process.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

As a beginning elementary teacher in the rural southeast, I had no training or experience teaching multilingual learners and had little access to bilingual resources. I remember very well the day the first multilingual learner walked into my classroom in 1997. Hearing a soft knock on the open classroom door, I stopped teaching and glanced up into the warm, dark, and worried eyes of six-year-old Adolfo. He stood beside the school principal, Mrs. Derrick, and his mother who was holding a small child on her hip. (All names are pseudonyms.)

“Boys and Girls,” Mrs. Derrick announced, “You have a new classmate.”

As the principal escorted Adolfo and his family into the room, I walked over to greet them. Adolfo looked around nervously as the other first graders stared.

“I’m glad you’re here, Adolfo,” I said smiling. “Let’s find a place for you to sit down.”

“He doesn’t speak English,” the principal whispered, handing me his registration form. Adolfo’s mother spoke to her son in Spanish as his eyes welled up with tears. A custodian walked in with a student desk and chair as the principal and Adolfo’s mother walked toward the door. As they headed out of the room, Mrs. Derrick forced a smile and said, “Please put him on Mrs. Lee’s bus. Have a wonderful day.”

Before I had a chance to respond, she pulled the door closed. I turned to look at Adolfo, not sure who felt more nervous as panic began to settle in. Despite 11 years of

experience teaching first grade, I had no idea how to meet the educational needs of the teary-eyed child standing before me, looking down at his shoes. I knew his full name, birth date, address, and phone number—but I did not know how to speak Spanish! I had no professional development to prepare me for this day nor did any of my undergraduate or graduate classes address teaching English language learners.

“How can I teach him if I can’t communicate with him?” I thought, feeling worried and overwhelmed.

Statement of the Problem

Unfortunately, most beginning teachers are just as unprepared today as I was back in 1997. Although nearly 40% of public school children are from culturally or linguistically diverse backgrounds (National Center for Education Statistics, 2003), less than 20% of pre-service teacher education programs require even one course in bilingual education (García & Kliefgen, 2010). Furthermore, only about one-third of these programs offer any practicum experience with multilingual learners (García & Kliefgen, 2010). When these teacher candidates reach the classroom, they are likely to teach bilingual students, but are not likely to receive much related professional development. For example, 43% of secondary teachers have multilingual learners in their classrooms (National Council Teachers of English, 2008) but only 13% of public school teachers have received more than eight hours of professional development related to bilingual education or teaching students from diverse backgrounds (García & Kleifgen, 2010).

Meeting the needs of multilingual learners is a growing concern for many classrooms teachers across the nation as the U.S. population continues to become more ethnically, linguistically and culturally diverse (Boals, 2010; Fairbain & Jones-Vo, 2010;

Miller & Endo, 2004). Teachers often have little understanding of diverse learners and frequently express misconceptions about these students and their cultures (Brandt, 2001; Campano, 2007; Espinosa, 2008; Holdaway, 1979). Home environments and parents' beliefs have tremendous influence on the literacy development of students (Gadsden, 1992); however, few classroom teachers utilize students' diverse cultures to enhance the curriculum (Campano, 2007; Miller & Endo, 2004). Instructional methods and strategies in most American classrooms today do not reflect the growing diversity of the student population, particularly in rural schools (Miller & Endo, 2004; Johnson & Anguiano, 2004; Nieto, 2006). As a nation, we tend to ignore how students' experiences, home environments, local community, school climate, and other societal dynamics impact students' success in school (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

Labeling English Language Learners

Definitions of English language learners, or ELLs, vary widely among scholars, educators, and policy makers (Gottlieb, 2006). The term, *English language learner*, or *ELL*, is commonly used to identify a student whose first language is not English and/or who comes from a home in which English is not the sole language (García & Kleifgen, 2010). The United States Department of Education (2002) identifies ELLs as “‘limited English proficient’ (LEP)”. Other entities label these students “*English Learners* (EL),...[and]...*culturally and linguistically diverse* (CLD)” (García & Kleifgen, 2010, p. 2). Yet, not all linguistically and culturally diverse students are English language learners. In fact, many students from diverse backgrounds are fluent English-speakers (Gottlieb, 2006; Pandya, 2011). Grouping students from diverse cultures, races, ethnicities, and linguistic backgrounds all together under the title of ELL indicates that

these learners are one large, single group when, in fact, their backgrounds, experiences, and concerns can be vastly different from one another, inside and outside of the classroom (Pandya, 2011). The enormous range of diversity reflected among the various ethnic and cultural groups living within the United States is complex, multifaceted, and growing exponentially (Araujo, 2009).

Labeling students ELLs, ELs, or LEP downplays the significance of the learning students are accomplishing in the other academic areas and emphasizes only the development of academic English (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Laman, 2013). Terms such as these suggest that diverse learners are deficient, lacking, or are somehow limited based solely on their English language skills. These labels do not recognize the importance of using home languages, cultures, and experiences—or the cultural capital—that children bring to school, which serve as strong foundations for learning (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003; Reyes, 2012).

Instead of using labels of deficit to describe students from diverse backgrounds, some researchers suggest calling English language learners *emergent bilinguals* (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Genishi & Dyson, 2009) or *multilingual learners* (Laman, 2013) in order to acknowledge the value of their potential bilingualism, or multilingualism. Identifying students as emergent bilinguals or multilingual learners acknowledges the learners' cultural capital as an educational resource and positions students as capable and competent of achieving goals alongside their monolingual peers. For this reason throughout this dissertation, I use the term multilingual learners to describe students who are currently labeled ELLs to emphasize the knowledge they do have and what they bring

with them from their home environments and other social groups (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Laman, 2013).

Changing Demographics of American Classrooms

Multilingual learners currently comprise the fastest growing group of minorities in the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2010). Between 1990 and 2008, the number of children in the U.S. who had at least one immigrant parent more than doubled (National Education Association Education Policy and Practice Department, 2008; U.S. Department of Education, 2011). The rising number of immigrants in America is reflected in the numbers of multilingual learners now entering public classrooms across the nation (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). Currently, one-fifth of American school students are immigrants or the children of immigrants, mostly of Latino or Hispanic descent (Zentella, 2005).

Throughout this study, the terms *Hispanic* and *Latino* are sometimes used interchangeably when the sources cited refer to these terms interchangeably. However, it is important to note that there are distinct differences in meaning between the two terms. *Hispanic* refers to someone who speaks Spanish or whose ancestors spoke Spanish. *Latino*, on the other hand, refers to the ancestral geographic location of someone from Latin America, Central America, South America, or the Caribbean. For the 2010 census, *Hispanic*, *Latino*, and *Spanish* were used interchangeably since census participants were asked to self-identify (United States Census Bureau, 2010). According to the United States Census Bureau (2010), “Origin can be viewed as the heritage, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their

arrival in the United States...People who identify their origin as Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino may be of any race.”

Contrary to popular belief, the majority of students classified as English language learners in American public schools are not immigrants, but in fact, are native-born United States citizens (National Education Association Education Policy and Practice Development, 2008). Seventy-six percent of multilingual learners in American elementary schools (NEA Education Policy and Practice Development, 2008) and 57% of adolescent multilingual learners were born in the United States (NEA Education Policy and Practice Development, 2008; U.S. Census, 2010).

Since 1980, the number of people living in the U.S. who speak languages other than English increased over 140% (Skinner, Wight, Aratani, Cooper, Thampi, 2010). These demographic changes in the U.S. population have direct implications in terms of the native languages spoken by K-12 students. While the total school-age population in the U.S. rose only 7.2% between 1998-1999 and 2008-2009 (Aud et al., 2013), the number of multilingual learners attending public schools grew 51%, from 3.5 million to 5.3 million (National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, 2011). This figure is expected to continue to climb by approximately 20% over the next 10 years, particularly the Hispanic population (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Zentella, 2005). Of the more than 55 million people in America whose native language is not English, over 70% are Spanish-speakers (Batalova & McHugh, 2010; Skinner, Wight, Aratani, Cooper, & Thampi, 2010). By 2015, the population of multilingual learners in the U.S. is projected to increase to 10 million (NEA Education Policy and Practice Development, 2008). By

2025, almost one out of every four students attending public schools will be a multilingual learner (NEA Education Policy and Practice Development, 2008).

Population Trends

More than 60% of the total ELL population is located in just six states—Arizona, California, Texas, New York, Florida, and Illinois (Hakuta, 2009). Nearly 80% of these multilingual learners are Spanish-speakers and most attend schools in large urban areas (Hakuta, 2009). However, many of the states with the fastest growth of multilingual learners are located in rural and small towns in the south and along the southeastern coast (Batalova & McHugh, 2010; Johnson, 2006). The fastest growing Hispanic/Latino counties in the United States are also located in the south (Wanier, 2004). Some southern states have seen increases of 300-400% in their multilingual learner populations and much of this recent growth has occurred in rural communities (Espinosa, 2008; García & Kliefgen, 2010; Johnson & Anguiano, 2004).

Rising Diversity in Rural South Carolina

South Carolina, a predominately rural state (National Rural Funders Collaborative, 2007), historically has had a population consisting of about 69% white, 28% African American, and 3% other races and ethnicities combined (State of South Carolina Department of Commerce Grants Administration, 2011). Yet, South Carolina's population is quickly becoming more diverse. In 1998, there were 3,077 multilingual learners enrolled in South Carolina's English to Speakers of other Languages (ESOL) programs (National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, 2010). By 2002, that number had more than doubled (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002; National Center for Education Statistics, 2003). Between 1998 and 2008, the population

of multilingual learners in South Carolina increased 827.8% (United States Department of Education, 2010). The emerging Latino population is driving much of this diversity (State of South Carolina Department of Commerce Grants Administration, 2011). Since 2000 the overall Hispanic population has grown over 500% (State of South Carolina Department of Commerce Grants Administration, 2011).

The situation is especially acute in poor, rural regions, which are less likely to have resources to handle the influx. While multilingual learners make up only 44.5% of South Carolina's total population (State of South Carolina Department of Commerce, 2011), they comprise 15% of all rural students in the state (Rural School and Community Trust, 2012). Currently, South Carolina ranks first in the nation in the percentage of growth for multilingual learners (Batalova & McHugh, 2010) and sixth for the highest percentage of rural students as compared to its total ELL population (The Rural School and Community Trust, 2012).

Purpose and Significance of the Study

The purpose of my study is to take an in-depth look at the social, cultural, and linguistic resources multilingual learners draw upon when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented within the rural classroom setting. Students' funds of knowledge are powerful resources, which can help inform my instruction. By implementing culturally responsive pedagogy and tapping into the resources students bring with them to school, I hope to better understand students' unique cultures, languages, and social identities and better meet their academic, social, and emotional needs.

Rapidly increasing numbers of multilingual learners attending U.S. schools highlight the importance of broadening the research regarding culturally diverse students,

particularly in rural areas (Arnold, Newman, Gaddy, & Dean, 2005; Payán & Nettles, 2008). Communities generally recognize the financial impact of multilingual learners and their families, however, there is a significant lack of funding and commitment to the education of these learners (The Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, 2004). Arnold, Newman, Gaddy, & Dean (2005) contended, “Almost no funding is available to conduct education research in specifically rural contexts” (p. 1). Policymakers seem inattentive to rural teachers’ educational concerns (Williams, 2012) and issues relating to rural education are frequently overlooked in national education policies (Lester, 2012). Perhaps few researchers have studied rural education because rural students represent only one-fifth of America’s total school population (National Center for Education Statistics, 2010). Yet, rural schools make up over one-half of the nation’s school districts (Lester, 2012). Considering the growing numbers of English language learners (García & Klieffen, 2010), particularly Latinos, migrating to rural communities, the need for more research in rural education is clear (Arnold, Newman, Gaddy, & Dean, 2005; Johnson & Anguiano, 2004).

Children from culturally diverse backgrounds, children of color, rural and poor students are often at higher risk of failing in school and in society than more affluent, European-American children (Verden, 2012). Students that attend rural schools, and their families, often face unique issues, which can negatively affect student learning, teaching, and family life (Christ & Wang, 2010; Lester, 2012; Lichter, 1997; McLeod & Nonnemaker, 2001; Murnane, 2007; Tickamyer & Duncan, 1990; Wight & Chau, 2009; Williams, 2012). Rural schools traditionally have a higher percentage of children living in poverty than urban and suburban areas, have high transient rates, and are less up-to-

date on educational reform (García & Kliefgen, 2010; Howley & Howley, 2006; Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Strange, 2009; Tickamyer & Duncan, 1990; United States Census Bureau, 2010). Rural households are often socially and spatially isolated from other families, have less access to resources such as healthcare, public transportation, public recreation facilities, libraries, internet, cable television, and cell phone service (Francis, 2009; Lester, 2012; Reardon, 2009; Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2013; Severson, 2011; Spas & Seekins, 1998; Tickamyer & Duncan, 1990). These issues are true across all racial and ethnic groups (Johnson, 2006).

Little research has been conducted about implementing culturally responsive pedagogy in the elementary classroom in general and rural classrooms in particular. My qualitative research study will help me to better understand my students' unique cultures, languages, and social identities, and help inform educators, scholars, and policymakers on how to better meet the educational needs of multilingual learners because this area is still not clearly understood (Boals, 2010).

Research Questions

This qualitative study investigated the literacy practices of multilingual learners in a public elementary school located in the rural southeastern U.S. Using sociocultural theory (Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978), critical social theory (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010) and second language acquisition theory (Cummins, 1979; Krashen, 1985) to build a theoretical framework, this study focused on the social, cultural, and linguistic resources multilingual learners draw upon during reading and writing workshop. The purpose of this study was to document the literacy practices that these learners enacted when their teacher purposefully implemented culturally responsive

pedagogy into reading and writing workshop. The study was guided by the following questions:

1. What social, cultural, and linguistic resources do multilingual learners draw upon when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented within the curriculum?
2. What literacy practices do multilingual learners enact during reading and writing workshop when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented?
3. In what ways do culturally relevant (CR) texts and materials influence multilingual learners' understanding of the reading and writing process?

Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the changing demographics of America's population, especially within our schools, explained the issues related to meeting the needs of the growing population of multilingual learners in the U.S., and clarified the need for more research on how implementing culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) might enhance the curriculum. The remainder of this dissertation is organized into the following five chapters. Chapter two explains the theoretical framework upon which the study is founded and focuses on reviewing the literature related to multilingual learners and their literacy development. Chapter three details the methodology, research design and context of the study. Chapter three also describes how the data were collected and analyzed. Chapter four explains the significant findings of the study. Chapter five includes a discussion of the implications, recommendations for further research, and new questions.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

As my second graders sat sprawled on the carpet, I began to read Jacqueline Woodson's (2001) *The Other Side*, a poignant story set in the 1950s, about an African American girl who pushes the structural boundaries of race by befriendng a neighboring white girl. Some of my students stared intently at E.B. Lewis' beautiful illustrations and listened. Others jotted down thoughts in their readers' response journals as I continued to read,

*"That summer, the fence that stretched
through our town seemed bigger.*

*We lived in a yellow house
on one side of it.*

White people lived on the other.

*And Mama said, 'Don't climb over
that fence when you play.'*

She said it wasn't safe." (n.p.)

When I finished the book, I grasped it warmly, folding my hands across my chest. I asked, "Thoughts? Wonderings? Connections? Who would like to share?"

Malachi (all proper names are pseudonyms), a chubby-faced African American boy, glanced down at what he had written, shook his head and replied, "My best friend,

Kevin, in Mrs. Dade's class is White. I don't want nobody telling me I can't be his friend. I'm glad I don't live in olden times when people cared what color you are."

I felt a lump rise in my throat and struggled with what to say. His words are evidence that many positive changes have occurred since the 1950s. In the 1950s, this elementary school was for Whites only. While Malachi's words give me hope that this generation's children are more tolerant of racial differences than generations before him, I wonder how long it will be before he realizes that we have not reached beyond the time and place where people care about race.

Reflecting upon Malachi's comment that he did not want to "live in olden times when people cared what color you are" implied that he felt safe to talk about racial differences within our classroom. As a teacher, I try to create a classroom climate, which allows students to explore their own understandings of racial, cultural, and ethnic differences. I want my students, particularly those from diverse cultures and backgrounds, to see their own lives reflected within the daily curriculum. My students and I routinely engage in critical conversations about the history of power and privilege in society. I look closely and carefully at the texts and materials I use with students, contemplate the topics to include in classroom discussions, and question the ways in which I open up space for my classroom to be more culturally relevant and responsive. Because culture and language learning are so closely interwoven (Brown, 2000), I leaned upon the tenets of sociocultural theory (Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978), critical social theory (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010), and second language acquisition theory (Cummins, 1979; Krashen, 1985) to construct my theoretical framework for this study.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework upon which this study builds is sociocultural theory (Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978), critical social theory (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010), and second language acquisition theory (Cummins, 1979; Krashen, 1985). In this section, I unpack each of these theories and explain how they informed my theoretical lens during this study. From a sociocultural perspective, literacy is more than a set of separate, disconnected skills (Moll & Greenberg, 1990). Literacy is the historically and culturally collected information and wisdom shared by individuals through participation with others in various social and cultural contexts including schools, families, churches, and local community (Heath, 1983/1999; Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Street, 1993). Although the school day is often divided into distinct subjects or academic areas, literacy occurs all day long as children listen, talk, read, and write in multiple contexts and with a variety of people. Therefore, for this research, I studied the participants in both the school setting and their home environments to gather a better understanding of the language and literacy alive within their daily lives.

Critical social theory is a historical framework that questions the ideological foundations of everyday social practices and examines participants' experiences and perspectives to create new understandings of those social practices and their purposes in society (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010). Every child within the classroom can potentially offer the group the opportunity to see and better understand the world from another person's unique perspective. Critical social theory acknowledges diverse viewpoints, interests, and needs and helped me remain critical of my teaching practices throughout the study as I worked with diverse learners.

Finally, second language acquisition theory binds together the theoretical structure upon which this research is constructed because the foci of my study are multilingual learners. Many teachers, administrators, scholars, and policy makers do not fully understand how first languages are learned (Cummins, 2000) and hold many misconceptions about multilingual learners and how second languages are acquired (Espinosa, 2008). Using second language acquisition theory as a theoretical construct helped shed new light on how the participants in this study used their languages to negotiate the many social spaces in their lives and how their languages supported their academic endeavors.

Sociocultural Theory

Lev Vygotsky, the father of sociocultural theory stated, “All humans are ‘born social’” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 5). From a sociocultural perspective, students bring unique perspectives into the daily life of the classroom and carry with them the cultural norms, values, and beliefs that they have collected from various social groups, which help them make sense of the world. Children learn language everyday as they are engaged in the daily activities of their lives (Dyson, 2001). Literacy grows from a child’s various social interactions within groups such as family, local community, ethnic and racial organizations, church, and school (Brandt, 2001; Brown, 2000; Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Campano, 2007; Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Larrotta & Serrano, 2011; Trent, Artiles, & Englert, 1998; Zentella, 2005). All children bring literacy practices from their home and community environments into the school setting. For example, students who are practicing Catholics may bring to school the literacy practices of reading from the *Bible*, memorizing rosary

prayers, and participating in mass at church. From a sociocultural perspective, literacy practices are the integrated experiences that involve listening, speaking, writing, and reading that occur naturally as we interact with others, including explicit as well as implicit incidents (Cushman, 1998; Gee, 2008; Heath, 1983/1999; Street, 1984/1995). Families may explicitly help children with homework and verbally express the importance of education or implicitly model reading for information while trying out a new recipe for dinner. Literacy practices are always social experiences in that engaging with others is what gives meaning to our interactions (Laman, 2013; Wohlwend, 2009).

Families' unique histories, traditions, beliefs and cultures are valuable resources that children bring with them to school and use to make meaning of their world (Gadsden, 1992; Laman, 2013). For example, students who help garden at home may bring to school knowledge of plant life cycles, the water cycle, and soil classification. A student whose mother is a nurse may know a great deal of medical terminology or have an understanding of how the body's systems function. This real world, first-hand knowledge about complex science concepts can help support students as they read academic material on these subjects while in the school setting. Lindfors (1999) maintained, "Whatever the community within which a child develops language, he will use it throughout life to carry out three fundamental, compelling human urges: to connect with others, to understand his world, and to reveal himself within it" (p. 2).

Literacy is not a solo achievement; it is always part of a larger system (Brandt, 2001; Moll, Sàez, Dworin, 2001). Children acquire language and literacy as they interact with others, as they manipulate and talk about ordinary objects, and negotiate routine, everyday places such as homes, classrooms, and churches. By engaging with others,

children learn how to join in conversations, how to behave in various social settings, and how to create and think on their own (Bernstein, 2010; Trent, Artiles, & Englert, 1998; Wohlwend, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978). Through their encounters with others, children gain access to many kinds of discourse as they learn the social practices, or the socially accepted, commonly acknowledged ways of doing things (Wohlwend, 2009).

Discourse. Simply put, discourse (with a lowercase d) is written or spoken communication—the everyday conversations, utterances, memos, and other casual communiqué that occur throughout the day. Yet, words are never neutral (Bakhtin, 1981). Every utterance is embedded with meaning and that meaning can change depending on the given context (Bakhtin, 1981). Our words are populated with meaning. Discourse (with a capital D) is much more than how we speak and what we say (Gee, 2008). Discourse includes the way we behave, how we interact, what we value, believe, and often what we choose to read and write (Gee, 2008).

Ultimately, big D Discourse is inextricably linked to identity. The tone in which one speaks, the facial expressions and body language one uses as well as the words one chooses *not* to say all communicate a great deal of information regarding cultural norms and individual identity. For example, silence can feel different in different situations and mean different things to people based on their prior experiences (Johnston, 2004). Gee adds, “It’s not just what you say or even just how you say it, it’s also *who* you are and *what* you’re doing while you say it” (p. 3).

Discourse functions to bring together as well as separate society (Gee, 2008). School and society are interdependent. In systems such as schools, social, cultural, and linguistic dynamics are always at play. Simple words, such as “I’m sorry” may convey

many different meanings. When expressed genuinely from one friend or coworker to another, “I’m sorry” can help form or solidify a relationship and break down barriers between two individuals. But, those same words, when spoken with sarcasm or in a disrespectful, insincere way can insult, injure, and damage relationships and perpetuate perceived social, cultural, or linguistic differences. How people use language can identify, influence, and change their relationships with one another as well as their status within the community (Corson, 1999).

Discourse teaches us who we are and what our place is in the world by transferring social knowledge, cultural beliefs, values, and rules (Corson, 2001; Gee, 2008). Although the school curriculum should be a social curriculum, the organizational structure of most schools—the rigid time schedules, rules, regulations, and policies on assessment and promotion—is far different from the more relaxed nature and organization of most families (Muschinske, 1976). Most discourses found in American schools are more closely aligned with the European-American, middle class culture than with the cultures of diverse, non-dominant communities (Brown, Souto-Manning, & Laman, 2010; Cushman, 1998; Gee, 1996; Heath, 1983; Howard, 2007; Johnston, 2004; Tenebaum & Ruck, 2007). A large amount of cultural knowledge, or cultural capital, can be amassed in social settings, not possible on the individual level (Freire, 2009).

Each language and discourse community has its own unique idioms, dialects, phrases, and unspoken gestures, which convey meaning (Brown, 2000). Therefore, when students do not know the cultural rules of Discourse within a social setting such as in school, they may become confused and distressed (Johnston, 2004). Many students failing in school today may be those children who are entering school without access to

the Discourse of school (Trent, Artiles, & Englert, 1998). In examining a classroom setting, studying the way in which discourse invites and excludes multilingual learners can help teachers better understand the culturally relevant discourse patterns which occur and how children learn school discourse.

Culture. While definitions of culture vary widely among researchers, loosely defined, culture is a compilation of the shared beliefs, principles, traditions, customs, behaviors, and languages of a people that set them apart from others and bind them as a group (Borofsky et al., 2001). Culture shapes the ideas we think, perceptions we hold, responses we give, how we dress, how we eat, and how we behave on a daily basis (Benson, 2003). Language is an indicator of culture and a resource that the members of a cultural community are always reinventing together (Ahearn, 2001). Language often determines which social groups we are allowed to access and identifies us as members or visitors, insiders or outsiders of social groups.

Status, or prestige, also plays a part in the role of culture in American schools. Many people believe that one culture is better than another and tend to favor their own culture over the cultures of others (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Kuper, 2009). Culture has a significant influence on how teachers perceive their students, how they interact with students, how they teach, and how students learn (Benson, 2003). Teachers often hold misconceptions of students' cultures if they are different from their own and view cultural differences as a hindrance, something requiring special accommodations instead of a useful asset (Gonzalez, 2005; Telléz, 2004). As a nation, we tend to ignore how powerful students' cultures are in their literacy development and their overall chances of success (Ladson-Billings, 2006). Historically, meeting the unique educational

needs of students of various cultures, ethnicities, linguistic, and racial backgrounds has not been given the focus of attention that it warrants (Nieto, 2006).

Funds of Knowledge. Each and every household is a learning environment in which the older members transmit knowledge—mindfully and inadvertently—to the other members of the household (Genzuk, 1999). Funds of knowledge are historically and culturally collected bits of wisdom and information shared between family members and households, which contribute to the children’s survival and well being (Moll et al., 1992; Moll & Greenberg, 1990). They are the social resources and tools made available to members of various social networks (Kelly, 2012). All students bring to school a wide range of educational, cultural, and linguistic experiences, and literacy practices, or funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992; Moll & Greenberg, 1990) that support their classroom learning (Echevarría, Vogt & Short, 2008; Johnson, 2010; Kea, Campbell-Whatley & Richards, 2006).

Students’ home environments and the beliefs of parents and other family members are the most influential and powerful piece of the literacy development puzzle (Gadsden, 1992). Many decisions teachers make can help build nurturing relationships with students and their families, can support students’ transition into the classroom and encourage success by slowly gaining students’ trust and parental support (Campano, 2007; García & Klieffen, 2010). The more teachers understand and appreciate students’ unique cultures, literacy practices, and life outside school walls, the more able they are to foster effective, authentic opportunities for communication, integrate students’ cultural and linguistic knowledge into the curriculum, and implement appropriate and meaningful instruction (Araujo, 2009; Echevarría, Vogt & Short, 2008; Fairbain & Jones-Vo, 2010).

Cultural capital. Language is the venue through which all subsequent learning about the world occurs (Corson, 2001). It is the means by which we learn. Through listening, speaking, reading, and writing we can acquire new knowledge about the world and pass on our knowledge to others. Cultural capital is the social knowledge, or information about social norms—such as the use of standard English, parenting expectations, and childcare practices—that an individual gathers from his various social experiences (Apple, 2000; Baker, 2011; Bordieu, 1990; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Lee, 2009). Individuals can use this cultural capital for further advancement and to gain access into institutions such as schools and government agencies (Apple, 2000; Baker, 2011; Bordieu, 1990; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Lee, 2009; Wulczyn, Smithgall, & Chen, 2009).

Cultural capital is a precious commodity that can generate wealth for some individuals allowing them more access to learning, entrance into political arenas, and elevated social status (Brandt, 2001). A large amount of cultural capital increases one's chances of success and can lead to more opportunities for advancement (Lee, 2009). For example, using academic English carries a great deal of cultural capital, as it is associated with upper to middle class socioeconomic status. D'Andrade (2002) asserts, "In a cultural world, an individual who knows very large amounts of information has an advantage over an individual who does not" (p. 227). Lack of cultural capital can keep others poor and disadvantaged (Brandt, 2001).

Educational policies and practices often legitimize certain groups' cultural capital while negating the cultural capital of other groups (Apple, 2000; Baker, 2011; Bordieu, 1990; Lee, 2009). For example, most reading materials offered to students as well as

most standardized assessments given in schools do not reflect the backgrounds and histories of diverse, non-dominant communities, which places students from diverse communities at a disadvantage compared to their White, English-speaking peers. Language education policies in the U.S. often validate social norms associated with academic English usage, upper- to middle-class socioeconomic status, and White, European-American values. Language and power are tightly tied to culture and woven into the fabric of the American school system.

Identity. There is no universally accepted definition of identity (Lee & Anderson, 2009). However, many post-modern researchers and theorists agree that identity is a socially-mediated construct that is intricately connected to language learning and literacy (Brandt, 2001; Gee, 2001; Laman, 2013; Lee & Anderson, 2009; Moje & Luke, 2009). From a sociocultural perspective, identity is how individuals perceive themselves within the world, how they relate to their self-perceptions as they change over time, and how they recognize potential for their identity to evolve in the future (Norton, 2000). How someone interprets and develops their identity depends upon their needs, their hopes, their expectations, and how they view their roles and statuses within certain social contexts. Identity is also affected by sociocultural and sociopolitical structures beyond an individual's control such as the perceptions, misconceptions, and interactions of others (Lee & Anderson, 2009).

Some researchers contend that identities are fluid, constantly fluctuating, and multi-faceted (Lee & Anderson, 2009; Moje & Luke, 2009). As individuals mature and change, their identities also evolve. People may take on different identities in different social settings and negotiate their identities based on their interactions within different

social groups (Lee & Anderson, 2009). Moje & Luke (2009) contend that the concept of multiplicity of identity, or plural identities, explains how one person may enact very different identities throughout any given day depending upon the social interactions in which they are involved. Gee (2001), however, argues that we each have a “core identity” (p. 39) within which the fundamental components are solid and do not change. Also, according to Gee (2001), although our core identity remains the same, we possess multiple facets within our identity that may become fluid based on specific circumstances. For example, a multilingual learner may be reluctant to answer aloud in class with his peers and appear to be resistance to speaking English. However, this same student on the playground may feel very comfortable speaking English with his friends or in a small group.

Language and literacy are intricately connected to identity (Laman, 2013). An individual’s first language (L1) and his understanding of literacy are very closely tied to his identity, his self-worth, and sense of well-being (Brandt, 2001). A multilingual learner’s understanding of his identity and how he identifies with his first language greatly affects how he interacts with others, how he learns, and how he teaches others, or passes on social knowledge (Baker, 2011; Lee & Anderson, 2009). A child’s L1 helps connect him to his culture and heritage, allows him to gain a significant amount of cultural capital, and helps him construct his identity (Brandt, 2001; Baker, 2000).

Moje & Luke (2009) explained five ways in which identities have been conceptualized throughout history as well as in recent research: (1) *identity as difference*, (2) *identity as sense of self, or subjectivity*, (3) *identity as mind or consciousness*, (4) *identity as narrative*, and (5) *identity as position*. Each of these perspectives investigates

identity as a social construct and in relation to language and literacy learning, or as “*literacy-and-identity studies*” (Moje & Luke, 2009, p. 416), because of the close connection between the concepts.

Identity as difference. The stance of *identity as difference* emphasizes how our racial, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural differences classify us into distinct groups and set us apart from one another. Identity-as-difference also pertains to group memberships, which we choose for ourselves such as clubs, cliques, and social organizations. From this point of view, the focus is upon the differences of the group as a whole rather than differences of the individual. Therefore, literacy practices are seen as group-specific and associated with being a member of certain racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, or other groups (Moje & Luke, 2009). Espinosa’s (2008) research suggests that one misconception of Latino families is that their culture does not value education as much as white families, which is a negative example of identity-as-difference. Heath’s (1983) work in *Ways with Words* illuminates how identifying with a certain group whose literacy practices are vastly different from the conventionally-accepted literacy practices enacted in the school setting can alter an individual’s learning experiences and opportunities.

Identity as sense of self, or subjectivity. The concept of *identity as sense of self, or subjectivity* is at the core of all identity studies (Moje & Luke, 2009). What is formation of self, what makes a person a person, or what sets humans apart from other animals are questions that philosophers have pondered for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. Thus, delving into the abundance of research on the topic of *identity as sense of self* is truly beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, the contrasting epistemologies of Erik Erikson (1994) and George Herbert Mead (1934) encapsulate

many of the perspectives on *identity as sense of self*. Erikson postulated that our identity develops in stages both individually and socially along a goal-directed continuum, and ultimately reaches an endpoint when we reach maturity and a stable sense of self. Mead (1934), on the other hand, believed that our formation of identity was completely unpredictable because it was solely dependent upon our interactions with others. Mead (1934) postulated that, although an individual has a sense of self, that self exists in relation to others with whom the individual interacts. Mead (1934) also posited that a crucial difference between humans and lower animals is our ability to produce language, which not only allows us to communicate with others, but talk to ourselves (Moje & Luke, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978). Talking to ourselves allows metacognition (Flavell, 1979), or the ability to think about our own thinking. We can reflect upon our actions, our attitudes, and the consequences of our responses to others. Thus, metacognition helps us formulate our identities and gain a sense of who we are.

Identity as mind or consciousness. The concept of *identity-as-mind*, or *consciousness* is in some ways similar to the idea of *identity-of-self* in that it is built upon the notion that as humans become engaged in thought about themselves, they become more aware of who they are as individuals and how they identify as members of social groups. Vygotsky (1978) and other sociocultural theorists postulated that humans use language and other linguistic tools to engage in continuous abstract thought processes, which shape our understanding of ourselves and bring about self-awareness. With each new activity, we are able to hone our language and linguistic tools to reach higher levels of mind, or consciousness (Moje & Luke, 2009). Vygotsky (1978) believed that

language and literacy are the tools by which human beings develop our minds and, thus, come into being.

Identity as narrative. From an *identity-as-narrative* perspective, “identities are stories we tell about ourselves” (Moje & Luke, 2009, p. 428). Identities manifest themselves as we communicate our day-to-day experiences, our emotions, and our thoughts, either orally or in writing. Sfard & Prusak (2005) asserted that each time an individual narrates a lived experience, he creates and recreates his own reality and shapes his sense of self, or identity. Mishler (2004) contended that it is within our daily interactions with others and in the retelling of our stories that our identities may shift and change, depending upon the retelling and our audience. Sharing stories about ourselves allows us to claim our present identity and actively construct future identities (Mishler, 2004).

Identity as position. How a person views his role, or status, within society, how he positions himself within various social groups, and whether he accepts or rejects the positions assigned to him by others greatly affects formation of identity. Holland & Leander (2004) argued that identities are like laminations—multiple layers of identity, overlapping histories—constructed from the various positions we hold. While these laminations seem stable, they are malleable and changeable representations of the power struggles that come into play within our lives. *Identity-as-position* acknowledges the significance that power and position play in our lives, focuses on the importance of discourse, and recognizes the ability of individuals to take up or resist certain identities (Moje & Luke, 2009).

Although each of Moje & Luke's (2009) conceptualizations of identity—*identity as difference*, *identity as sense of self*, *identity as mind*, *identity as narrative*, and *identity as position*—describes distinct views of how identity is constructed, these different metaphors do share overlapping features. For example, the *identity as self* metaphor most certainly intersects with *identity as narrative* as we tell our personal histories to others and then, reflect upon our own narrations and the reactions of others. Many scholars argue that modern research has only scratched the surface of understanding the mystery of how identities develop and to what extent language and literacy play a part in identity formation. However, the need for further literacy-and-identity research is clear (Moje & Luke, 2009; Sfard & Prusak, 2005).

Agency. Agency and identity are inextricably linked although scholars define agency in many different, and often conflicting, ways. According to Ahearn (2001), “Agency refers to the socioculturally mediated capacity to act” (p. 112). That is, agency is an individual's ability to act, to make choices, and to form decisions based upon his own sociocultural history, which includes the capacity to consider the outcomes of those decisions. However, agency is much more complex than deliberate acts of freewill, simple opposition, or resistance (Ahearn, 2001). In order to understand how agency plays out in day-to-day situations, one must take into account how great of an influence our cultural backgrounds have on the decisions we make as well as how powerful the intentional and unconscious motivations are that drive our decisions. For example, multilingual learners who come from cultures in which it is considered rude to make eye contact while they are being disciplined by a parent may struggle greatly in the school setting when a teacher demands that a student look at her while being reprimanded.

Acts of agency enable learners to reflect on past histories, take on different responsibilities, and speculate about the future. Acts of agency also allow individuals to build rapport with others, view the world from different perspectives, and make decisions based on their own personal motivations and backgrounds (Campano, 2007). Identity is a major influence on acts of agency because how an individual perceives himself, how he interprets his identity, often determines his ability to act in a particular circumstance.

Critical Social Theory

More than forty years ago, Freire (1970/1993) introduced critical theory in his work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as a way to understand the perspective of those, such as members of diverse, non-dominant communities, who have traditionally been oppressed or marginalized by various social structures (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Critical theorists explore issues relating to the apparent or hidden power struggles, which occur within society, and attempt to bring about major social changes (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Kuby, 2013; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Souto-Manning, 2013). All critical theories, including critical social theory, are participatory, pedagogical, and action-oriented at their cores and seek to transform society by correcting inequalities and injustices (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010).

Critical social theory is based on the following assumptions:

- some form of education (either formal or informal) and intervention are necessary in order to improve society or bring about change
- improvements or changes within society can only take place within the specific local contexts of those participants attempting to find a resolution to a specific concern

- diverse viewpoints, interests, and needs are acknowledged and emphasized
- the process of examination, analysis, and inquiry are as significant as the end result
- researchers are critical of themselves and their practices and continually reflect on how they might be creating or perpetuating oppressive relationships or structures
- success or quality of the research is determined by the ability to bring about effective change

Critical social theorists do not view theory and practice as separate from one another, but see theory realized through praxis, a way in which researchers can engage in theory through genuine, every day, real-life happenings. Critical social theory examines the relationships that people have within the social structures they encounter, brings to light the inequalities and injustices within that specific context, attempts to understand how people navigate the institutional systems within their everyday lives, and how their beliefs, perceptions, experiences, and actions can ultimately bring about change.

Literacy as social practice. Traditionally, literacy has been viewed as a defined set of skills, which is passed from teacher to student in a learning environment such as a school or from parent to child as a bedtime story is read. However, Gee (1991) and Street (1996) propose that rather than viewing literacy from a traditional approach, which centers upon the acquisition of skills, literacy should be viewed as social practice, which can vary from one context to another and from one culture to another. Implementing CRP into the classroom means viewing literacy as a social practice and helping students understand that language and literacy are laden with the authors' conceptions of

knowledge as well as their own interpretations, perceptions, and biases. Barton and Hamilton (1998) presented six propositions about the nature of literacy:

- Literacy is best understood as a set of social practices...inferred from events, which are mediated by written texts. [e.g., baking a pie from a recipe]
- There are different literacies associated with different domains of life. [e.g., film, cultural, computer, academic, and work place literacy]
- Literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies become more dominant, visible and influential than others. [e.g., family, religion, libraries, and education]
- Literacy practices are purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices. [e.g., cooking, caring for others, reading clubs, political participation, and membership in communities]
- Literacy is historically situated. [both culturally and individually]
- Literacy practices change, and new ones are frequently acquired through processes of informal learning and sense making [in specific vernacular and formal settings] (p.8).

Literacy is not simply, a technical neutral skill but a social construct, which is always embedded in people's conception of knowledge and their own identities (Street, 1996).

Critical literacy. Critical literacy shifts the main purpose of reading and writing from tasks to be accomplished to social activities within which students closely examine texts and interact with one another to bring about change in themselves. Critical literacy has four interrelated, interconnected dimensions, “(1) disrupting the commonplace, (2),

interrogating multiple viewpoints, (3) focusing on sociopolitical issues, and (4) taking action and promoting social justice” (Lewison, Flint, & Sluys, 2002, p. 382). Critical literacy pedagogy encourages students to read texts while keeping their own beliefs, personal histories and viewpoints in mind, and to question hidden agendas that authors may have. When curricula are designed from a critical perspective, paying close attention to issues that are important to one’s students, seizing opportunities to discuss injustice, inequality, and difference, and really getting to know who one’s students are inside and outside the classroom are key (Souto-Manning, 2013).

Disrupting the commonplace. Disrupting the commonplace involves bringing to light sociocultural, sociopolitical issues that have not traditionally been appropriate fodder for classroom discussions (Kuby, 2013). Teachers can use texts to “disrupt the commonplace” and view common, everyday characters, settings, and scenarios with a new, critical lens. For example, a teacher might broach the subject of injustice and inequality by asking students to analyze John Trumbull’s (1818) painting entitled *The Signing of the Declaration of Independence*, which depicts our founding fathers—all upper-class, Caucasian males—presenting the declaration to Congress, and posing the question, “Why don’t we see any women or people of color in this painting?” Opening up space for students to engage in critical conversations about their beliefs, opinions, and personal experiences can be an uncomfortable and tumultuous process for teachers. Yet, educators must continually reflect upon the decisions they make, rethink their practices, and strive to find varieties of ways to open up new possibilities for their students to explore their own thinking.

Interrogating multiple viewpoints. Bringing a critical literacy stance into the classroom must always begin with the teacher first “unpacking” her own history, beliefs, and personal experiences relating to the power struggles that occur within society. By first realizing how her sociocultural background influences her decisions and actions in the classroom, a teacher can begin to understand and interrogate multiple viewpoints and help her students do the same. Recently, on Columbus Day, in my own classroom, students were asked to read and discuss varying accounts of Columbus’s exploits on Hispaniola, an island located in the Caribbean. Some students read and discussed traditional accounts of Columbus’s exploration of the island. Other students, however, read and discussed accounts of Columbus’s visit from the indigenous people’s perspectives, the Taínos. A heated debate ensued about the impact Columbus had on the population of Hispaniola. The Taíno’s population is estimated to have been as high as a million people before the arrival of Columbus. However, Columbus and his men exploited the gold mines of the island and enslaved much of the Taíno population. According to a Yale University study (2010), most of the nation of Taíno was massacred, enslaved, or died of disease due to Columbus’s exploits, bringing the population down to only 32,000 in only 25 years. Encouraging students to interrogate multiple viewpoints is one way to bring about social change in today’s classrooms and communities.

Focusing on sociopolitical issues. Educators must allow students to become co-inquirers and journey together to better understand the intricate systems of privilege and power in society (Kuby, 2013). Discussing literacy from a critical perspective means examining texts, materials and Discourse that are often laden with power and identity struggles (Bemiss, Haas, Laman, Smith, & Stockdale, 2014). While many teachers are

apprehensive about broaching the subject of sociopolitical issues and injustice with students, by reflecting upon their pedagogical decisions, rethinking their practices and striving to find varieties of ways to open up new possibilities for their students to explore their own thinking, teachers can foster critical discussions within their classrooms (Bemiss et al., 2014).

Taking action and promoting social justice. Kuby (2013) suggested allowing students opportunities to generate their own modes of social action in a variety of ways. Painting, drawing, and role-playing can release tensions brought about by engaging in the critical literacy process (Kuby, 2013; Bemiss et al, 2104). Student-generated approaches to social action should be viewed as “productive resources” (Kuby, 2013, p. 108) and can help students internalize the issues at hand. Incorporating ways to take action and promote social justice can motivate both students and teachers to continue to raise their own levels of social consciousness (Bemiss et al., 2014).

Second Language Acquisition Theory

Learning to speak and use language is something that almost every child can do easily and naturally (Genishi & Dyson, 2009). Yet learning to speak is an amazing feat, the single-most complicated process and miraculous accomplishment a child can ever achieve (Cambourne, 1987; Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Holdaway, 1979). Still, learning language is an ability that is often taken for granted (Cambourne, 1987).

For many decades, scholars have explored how languages are learned and debated if second languages are learned in the same way as first languages (Brown, 2007; Chapman, 2000). There is no single, unified theory of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) upon which all scholars agree, and even deciding upon what SLA theory *is* creates

fodder for intense discussion (Brown, 2000). Noam Chomsky, an American linguist, contends that children are not *taught* how to talk but *acquire* language (Wood, 1998). Children *acquire* the grammar and structure of languages, including the vernaculars and colloquialisms of the particular group in which they are raised, subconsciously, implicitly, informally, and naturally over time as a result of their social interactions (Krashen, 1985; Payne, 2011).

Learning a language, on the other hand, is a conscious act that is not dependent upon the child's knowledge of the world but upon the meaningful communicative circumstances in which he is part (Krashen, 1985; Payne, 2011; Wood, 1998). Krashen (1985) contends that second language acquisition should parallel the way in which first languages develop in genuine, real-life circumstances. Second language acquisition is similar to first language acquisition in that it is intricately intertwined with the culture of the language being learned (Brown, 2000). Krashen (2011) states, "We acquire language in only one way...when we understand messages. That's it (n.p.)"

Literacy practices are the integrated, explicit and implicit experiences that involve listening, speaking, reading, and writing, which occur naturally as we interact with others. Literacy practices are the numerous communicative occurrences, which take place in various social settings and convey meaning. Literacy events are those occurrences in which conversation centers upon some form of writing (Heath, 1983/1999 (Goodman & Goodman, 1984). As children engage in literacy events, they begin to make sense of the form and function of written language by forming generalizations about the ways in which written language relates to oral language (Goodman, 1984).

Comprehensible Input. The key to language acquisition is making messages meaningful, or giving “comprehensible input” (Krashen, 2009, p. 7). Language is not acquired through repetitious grammar drills or rote exercises, but through meaningful interactions with others (Freeman & Freeman, 2003; Krashen, 2009). Meaning must be attached to language learning (Krashen, 2009). Learning a language ‘*is* learning how to mean’ (Goodman, 2001, p. 317). When students are engaged in authentic, meaningful language opportunities, they are much more likely to acquire language.

Language acquisition can be supported or delayed by those with whom we interact and by the circumstances surrounding our interactions (Cummins, 2009). When learners are comfortable in their surroundings, their “affective filters” (Krashen, 2009, p. 31) are low, which facilitates acquisition. Some factors that create low affective filters are low anxiety, high motivation, and self-confidence. Therefore, in order to support children’s language acquisition, teachers must create classroom environments, which lower students’ anxiety and structure instruction so students are motivated to succeed. When students are willing to take learning risks and are certain that they will not be ridiculed for mistakes or imperfections, their self-confidence increases and allows true language acquisition to take place. People use language to continually build and recreate various relationships together, which change over time and vary between social communities (Ahearn, 2001; Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003). “Attitudinal factors” (Krashen, 2009, p. 31) such as low affective filters, high motivation, and self-confidence support second language acquisition (Krashen, 2009).

Linguistic interdependence. The concept of linguistic interdependence explains how knowledge in a child’s first language (L1) is transferred during second language

(L2) acquisition (García & Kleifgen, 2010). The level at which a second language develops is to some extent dependent upon the level of competence in L1 that a learner has already achieved (Cummins, 1979). If children are already reading and writing in their L1, their ability to read and write in L2 will be greater because linguistic interdependence allows the L1 and L2 to strengthen each other (García & Kleifgen, 2010).

While a child's L1 need not be completely developed in order to introduce a second language, it should continue to be developed until it is firmly established. Cummins (2000) emphasizes, "The first language must not be abandoned before it is fully developed, whether the second language is introduced simultaneously or successively, early or late, in that process" (p. 25). What children learn in their L1, they can access and express in their L2, once they have developed enough proficiency in the second language (Freeman & Freeman, 2004).

Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP). A concept related to linguistic interdependence is Cummins' theory of common underlying proficiency (CUP), which postulates that the knowledge and academic skills that are learned in one language have the potential to be used to develop the second language (Cummins, 1979). There is a correlation between a student's proficiency in his L1 and his academic achievement in L2 (García & Kleifgen, 2010), which highlights the significance of encouraging students to continue to use their L1 to scaffold their learning in L2. Unfortunately, in most American schools, students are not encouraged to build proficiency in L1 along with their academic achievement in L2 because most public schools promote monolingual, English-only instruction.

Review of the Literature

In this literature review, I will explain cultural mismatch and discuss common misconceptions of diverse learners. I will review the research related to culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) and how it can be implemented into the classroom curriculum to help support multilingual learners. In order to better understand current language education policy, I will also review some of the historical background of U.S. language education policies specifically since the cultural revolution of the 1960s. In Appendix A, I will provide a timeline encapsulating the most significant language education legislation in American history.

Cultural Mismatch

Most classroom teachers have not had firsthand experience of diverse cultures and lack appreciation for students' home languages and backgrounds (Borman, 1998; Téllez, 2004). This may be due in part to the fact that 90% of American educators are White (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) and most attended colleges and universities staffed by predominantly White faculty members (Howard, 2007). When teachers' backgrounds differ greatly from students' backgrounds in ethnicity, class, culture, and language usage and when they have little understanding of ethnically and culturally diverse learners, cultural mismatch can occur (Holdaway, 1979; Brandt, 2001; Campano, 2007; Colombo, 2005). In fact, cultural mismatch is a recurring problem in classrooms across America as student populations continue to become more and more diverse. Gadsden, Davis, & Artiles (2009) cautioned, "Once an expectation is set, even if it is not accurate, we tend to act in ways that are consistent with that expectation" (p. vii).

Cultural mismatch can make the learning environment an uncomfortable place for students and teachers (Colombo, 2005). Teachers may often misinterpret behaviors (Espinosa, 2008), have lower expectations (Gadsden, Davis, & Artiles, 2009), and hold deficit perspectives of students from diverse communities (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012). When students are uncomfortable in the educational setting, their affective filters are high which can hinder language acquisition and the learning experience (Krashen, 2009). Teachers can lessen the negative effects of cultural mismatch or eliminate them completely by implementing culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) within their classrooms and becoming more culturally competent (Colombo, 2005; Kea, Campbell-Whatley & Richards, 2006; Nieto, 2006). Cultural competence, or “the ability to understand diverse perspectives and appropriately interact with members of other cultures in a variety of situations” (Colombo, 2005, p. 2), can reduce the negative impact of cultural mismatch, help enhance instruction for multilingual learners, and increase their chances for educational success. While current research has identified cultural mismatch and examined its negative effects on the classroom environment (Colombo, 2005; Zarate, 2007), more research is needed to explore ways to counteract the problem of cultural mismatch. This research study addresses how using CRP can decrease the effects of cultural mismatch and improve students’ success in the elementary classroom. This study also helps dispel some of the most commonly held misconceptions of multilingual learners and their families.

Common Misconceptions of Diverse Learners

Diverse cultures can be complex and are often misunderstood by teachers, administrators, and policy makers who view diversity in schools as a problem with which

to cope instead of resources on which to build (Berg, 2003; Campano, 2007; Colombo, 2005; Espinosa, 2008; Lee, 2009; Zentella, 2005). A commonly held misconception about second language acquisition is that a monolingual approach and total immersion are the best way for students to acquire English (Espinosa, 2008; Zentella, 2005). Some advocates of an English-only approach claim that learning two languages simultaneously can overwhelm, confuse, or delay children's acquisition of L2 and since schools do not have the capacity to provide instruction in all languages, they should provide all instruction in English-only (Espinosa, 2008). Second Language Acquisition Theory, however, disputes the English-only position arguing that students' young brains are malleable and can easily toggle back and forth between two languages at the same time (Cummins, 1979; Krashen, 2009).

Learning more than one language builds neurons and forms connections between language cognates, or words that share pronunciations, spellings, and meanings (Colorín Colorado, 2007). For example, 30-40% of all English words share a related word in Spanish like important (*importante*), problem (*problema*), and information (*información*) (Colorín Colorado, 2007). Therefore, multilingual learners can access a larger pool of linguistic resources than monolingual speakers since they can use cognates to bridge between their languages (Garcia, 2009). Bilingual language programs allow multilingual learners greater access to vocabulary and a broader understanding of the syntax and semantics of language in general (Cummins, 1979). Second languages are learned faster and more efficiently when at least some of the L1 is utilized during language instruction (Cummins, 1979).

Another commonly held misconception is that multilingual students show social and academic delays when they enter school (Espinosa, 2008). Yet, what appears to be a delay may actually be the child going through a “silent period” (Krashen, 2009) in which the student is unwilling or unable to communicate their understandings (Campano, 2007; García & Kliefggen, 2010; Krashen, 2009). Teachers’ misconceptions of students are often linked to cultural mismatch and teachers’ lack of cultural competence (Colombo, 2005).

Colombo (2005) and Zarate (2007) also found that teachers and schools often held misconceptions of the ways in which the parents of diverse learners involved themselves in their children’s education. Educators expected parents to be more involved in the academic aspects of their children’s lives such as attending parent conferences, driving children to extracurricular activities, and asking questions about homework (Zarate, 2007). Yet, some parents of multilingual learners defined parent involvement as being an active participant in the child’s life (e.g., teaching good morals and respect, providing advice and encouragement, keeping their child safe) (Zarate, 2007). The disparity between the schools’ expectations of parental involvement and the parents’ views of what it means to be involved points to the need for more research in this area (Colombo, 2005) and is one issue that this research study addresses.

Despite substantial research, which refutes current myths and misconceptions of diverse families, many teachers, administrators, and policymakers still advocate for English-only instruction and downplay the need for multicultural education in America’s schools (Campano, 2007; Espinosa, 2008; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Howard, 2007; Zentella, 2005). Developing culturally responsive pedagogy can help educators

understand students' unique cultures, languages, and social identities and recognize them as important sources of knowledge, not as problems (Campano, 2007). This research study helps reveal how students' cultures, languages, and social identities can become powerful resources in the CRP classroom.

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP)

Culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is an approach to teaching that incorporates attributes, characteristics, and knowledge from students' cultural backgrounds into the instructional strategies and course content in an effort to improve educational outcomes. Culturally responsive teachers display a supportive attitude toward culturally diverse students and validate their students' identities through their daily interactions and pedagogical choices (Colombo, 2005; Kea, Campbell-Whatley & Richards, 2006; Nieto, 2006; Richards, Brown, & Forde, 2006). CRP offers today's teachers the opportunity to use students' diverse social, cultural, and linguistic resources to enhance the learning experiences and improves chances of success for all students (Burton & Stockdale, 2015; Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012). However, how to use CRP in the classroom is not well-understood by most teachers and few teacher education programs incorporate CRP into their curriculum to help prepare prospective teachers for meeting the needs of diverse learners (Kea, Campbell-Whatley, & Richards, 2006).

Degrees of freedom. Teachers must work within a multitude of constraints every day. What teachers teach and how they structure classroom instruction are often dictated by educational policies, curriculum standards, testing mandates, class schedules, rules, and regulations. However, once their classroom doors are closed, teachers possess

certain “degrees of freedom” (Garcia & Kliefgen, 2010, p. ix), which allow them to make decisions based on what they deem best for their students in order to meet their individual educational needs. There are many ways teachers can begin to move towards implementing culturally responsive pedagogy. These “degrees of freedom” (Garcia & Kliefgen, 2010, p. ix) include making classroom instruction more culturally responsive and relevant on a daily basis.

Sociocultural consciousness. Implementing a culturally responsive pedagogy begins with teachers building a “sociocultural consciousness” (Kea, Campbell-Whatley & Richards, 2006, p. 124), which involves teachers first looking critically at their own sociocultural identities, their own positionality, attitudes, biases, and possible misconceptions. Teachers with sociocultural consciousness also purposefully explore their own beliefs and attitudes about traditional ways of teaching and learning, scrutinize how their attitudes and beliefs may shape the pedagogical decisions they make, and reflect upon how their beliefs may impact their classroom instruction. Implementing CRP into the classroom, however, does not mean a teacher must abandon her own beliefs. On the contrary, becoming a culturally responsive teacher means keeping one’s own cultural views in check while learning to appreciate and respect the beliefs of all students, particularly those who are members of non-dominant, diverse communities (Fairbain & Jones-Vo, 2010).

Culturally responsive teachers constantly work on “consciousness-raising” (Kuby, 2013, p. 3) and work to become more culturally competent, or more understanding of perceptions of students from non-dominant communities (Abt-Perkins & Gomez, 1993; Campano, 2007; Colombo, 2005; Kuby, 2013), which means having genuine respect for

students' cultures, languages, and identities and treating them accordingly (Nieto, 2006). Students' home environments and the beliefs of parents and other family members are the most influential and powerful piece of the literacy development puzzle (Gadsden, 1992). Implementing CRP requires making a concentrated effort to get to know students' families and gain a better understanding of their lives outside the school walls. Many decisions teachers make can help build nurturing relationships with students and their families, can help support students' transition into the classroom and encourage success by slowly gaining students' trust and parental support (Campano, 2007; García & Kliefgen, 2010). The more teachers understand and appreciate students' unique cultures, literacy practices, and their life outside of school, the more able they are to foster effective, authentic opportunities for communication and implement appropriate, meaningful, and culturally responsive instruction (Araujo, 2009; Echevarría, Vogt & Short, 2008; Fairbain & Jones-Vo, 2010).

Choosing culturally relevant texts and materials. Teachers can begin the process of implementing CRP by incorporating culturally relevant (CR) texts and materials within the curriculum, which represent a wide range of social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds so that students have opportunities to see their own lives reflected in the texts. CRP encourages students to question texts and materials when diverse backgrounds and viewpoints are misrepresented or not represented at all and empowers students to critically examine educational content and processes and make connections between their home environments, other social groups, and larger societal issues (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2006). Culturally responsive teachers create more culturally relevant classrooms by purposefully choosing meaningful,

culturally relevant instructional materials instead of assuming that state or district-recommended resources are best for their students (Echevarría, Vogt & Short, 2008; Fairbain & Jones-Vo, 2010).

Relinquishing sole control. Oftentimes, there are limited opportunities for students to interact in most traditional classroom settings because teachers tend to monopolize conversations and activities (Echevarría, Vogt & Short, 2008). Some diverse learners are hindered by the rigid structure and inflexibility of traditional classrooms (Gallego, Rueda & Moll, 2005). Teachers must be willing to relinquish sole control of classroom discussions and give diverse learners time and space to engage in meaningful classroom activities (Pandya, 2011). Teachers must also be mindful of the reciprocity of teaching and what they may learn from their students (Campano, 2007; Nieto, 2006).

Providing students with opportunities to demonstrate areas in which they are experts and asking them to lead a short lesson in class is one way that teachers can demonstrate reciprocity and relinquish sole control. Allowing students to choose which assignments they will complete, how they complete them, and with whom they will work is also a very effective way of giving students ownership of their own learning. By changing the structure of traditional classrooms and providing flexibility, culturally responsive teachers can establish classroom cultures that encourage reflection and communication. Language learning and literacy are fostered in classrooms that mimic the “real-life” experiences of how people learn in the real world where meaningful, authentic communication takes place (Mills, O’Keefe, & Jennings, 2004).

Revoicing. When implementing CRP, teachers can encourage more meaningful communication in the classroom by “revoicing” (Chapin, O’Connor, & Anderson, 2003,

p. 1), or restating what students say. Revoicing clarifies teachers' understanding of what students know, and gives students opportunities to verify that what the teachers said is what the child meant (Chapin et al., 2003). When students restate what classmates have said, revoicing becomes a scaffolding strategy, which allows students more time to process what is being discussed. In that way, revoicing may encourage multilingual learners to make more contributions in future conversations (Chapin et al., 2003). Asking one student to rephrase what another student has said allows students another chance to think about the topic of conversation, process the initial student's comment, and helps some students stay engaged in class discussions for longer periods of time (Chapin et al., 2003).

Current research suggests that by implementing CRP and creating classrooms in which cultural diversity and multilingualism are celebrated, all students' learning can be fostered (García & Klieffen, 2010; Campano, 2007; Zentella, 2005; Freeman & Freeman, 2004; Téllez, 2004; Fillmore & Snow, 2000). In order to build more culturally responsive classrooms, teachers must first look within themselves and evaluate their own notions of students' cultures, languages, and identities. They must genuinely seek to understand students' home lives and the literacy practices they bring with them into school. Moving toward implementing culturally responsive pedagogy means that teachers not only allow students' lives, backgrounds, and views to be reflected in the curricula, it means keeping abreast of current research and using that research to make on-going, informed decisions about pedagogy and instructional strategies. To implement CRP effectively, teachers must be able to articulate how and why they use CRP in their

classrooms to school administrators, parents, community members, and other stakeholders.

In addition, today's educators should have at least a basic understanding of the history of U.S. language education policies in order to better understand the need for more advocacy for culturally responsive pedagogy. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1954) proclaimed, "If we are to go forward, if we are to make this a better world in which we live, we've got to go back." In the following section, I will briefly discuss the sociopolitical context of United States language education policies and how they relate to the education of multilingual learners. In Appendix A, I have provided a much more thorough discussion of the historical context of American language education policies.

Language Education Policy

Understanding how U.S. language policies pertaining to the education of multilingual learners have evolved into what they are currently requires a step back into the history of such policies, particularly around the cultural revolution of the 1950s and 1960s. Throughout American history, the pendulum of language policy has swayed between waves of tolerance and indifference, deculturalization, forcible assimilation, and dismissal, particularly since the civil rights era (Baker, 2011; Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Crawford, 2007; Lyons, 1990; Orfield, 2000; Ovando, 2003; Wiley, 2007). Nowhere in American history has there ever been legislation passed which intended to *maintain* the language rights of minority communities (Crawford, 2007). Federal and state education policies designed to improve literacy in culturally and linguistically diverse families continue to be entangled in a web of on-going political debate, hampering possibilities of success, and impeding the very purposes for which they were intended (Garcia, 2011).

One of the most controversial issues still being debated is how schools continue to Americanize, or assimilate, their multilingual learners through monolingual education at the expense of students' academic development (Moll, 2010).

In the United States, federal and state language education policies typically follow the economic, political, and social climate within the country (Crawford, 2007; Kliebard, 2004; Ovando, 2003; Spring, 2005) and often drive daily classroom practices (Gee, 2008). Historically, the purpose and function of schools mirror the values and beliefs of the governing bodies, which oversee them (Spring, 2005). Whether actually written or merely implied, education policies are revealed through the daily practices and interactions of school administrators, teachers, staff, and students (Corson, 2001). Educational policies are lived each day when school administrators require teachers to emphasize certain aspects of a curriculum and deemphasize others and when teachers allow certain topics to be discussed, but shy away from those which are personally uncomfortable. Educational policies and classroom practices are never neutral (Apple, 2000).

Although America's population has always been diverse, diversity has not always been celebrated or accepted, particularly in the classroom (Nieto, 2006). Except for a short time early in America's history when some degree of tolerance toward cultural diversity existed (Ovando, 2003, p. 4), language education policies have supported monolingual, English-only education (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Wiley & Lukes, 1996) and encouraged deculturalization of diverse, or non-dominant communities, such as multilingual learners (Cole, 2005; Crawford, 2007; Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Spring, 2005). Diverse, or nondominant communities refer to, but are not limited to, peoples

from diverse cultures, races, ethnicities, social classes, and languages who have been, or are, underserved or marginalized by social institutions such as schools (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012).

Instead of encouraging students to maintain their native languages and use them as scaffolds to learn English, education policies in American schools have, for the most part, promoted the replacement of students' first languages with English and have underutilized students' native languages and cultures as resources in the classroom (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Gutiérrez, Morales, & Martinez, 2009; Ovando, 2003; Wiley & Lukes, 1996). From the earliest policies that displaced Native Americans and preserved the enslavement of African Americans to more recent immigration sanctions, "English-Only" initiatives, and high stakes testing (Baker, 2011; Kliebard, 2004; Kaestle, 1983; Pandya, 2011), our country's educational policies have promoted the literacy practices of White, middle-class families and attempted to standardize and "Americanize" students of diverse ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Spring, 2004).

Summary

For my theoretical framework, I drew upon sociocultural theory, critical social theory, and second language acquisition theory as I explored the variety of resources available to multilingual learners in the home and school setting and discovered the literacy practices they enacted in a third grade classroom. I also highlighted the salient features of culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) and described how implementing CRP can benefit not only multilingual learners, but *all* students in American classrooms. To better understand the growing need for more culturally responsive pedagogy, I also

delved into sociopolitical context of language education policy. In Appendix A, I offer an in-depth historical overview of language education policy over the course of American history.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

If I want my students to imagine a more just society, I must spend time teaching them how to find what's good as well as what's bad. My classroom provides a small space to help students not only construct a critique, but also to build a community that can laugh and share joy. (Christensen, 2007, p. 12)

This qualitative study investigates the literacy practices of two multilingual learners in a public elementary school located in the rural southeastern United States. Using sociocultural theory (Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978), critical social theory (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010) and second language acquisition theory (Cummins, 1979; Krashen, 1985) as a foundation, this study focuses on the social, cultural, and linguistic resources multilingual learners draw upon during reading and writing workshop. The purpose of this study is to document the literacy practices that these learners enact when their teacher purposefully implements culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) into reading and writing workshop. The study is guided by the following questions:

1. What social, cultural, and linguistic resources do multilingual learners draw upon when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented within the curriculum?

2. What literacy practices do multilingual learners enact during reading and writing workshop when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented?
3. In what ways do culturally relevant (CR) texts and materials influence multilingual learners' understanding of the reading and writing process?

Because I wanted to explore the resources available to multilingual learners' and their literacy practices in depth and develop rich, "thick descriptions" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 31) of students' lived experiences, I chose a multiple case study design for this qualitative research. I employed ethnographic methods for data collection as well as data analysis.

Research, whether formal or informal, is a thorough, diligent, systematic investigation to gather facts or information on a particular subject (Glesne, 2006). Qualitative research is a type of social investigation designed to get a better understanding of the specific contextualized socio-cultural-political experiences from the perspectives of those involved and to sometimes transform or change social environments (Glesne, 2006). Case studies typically focus on the social and cultural aspects of a group or organization, on narrow questions, detailed descriptions, and thorough analyses over a relatively short period of time (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Glesne, 2006; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). A well-written case study gives the reader a sense of seeing with vivid detail through the eyes of the participant, which may not be possible with more traditional research (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Conducting a case study, however, merely implies the subject that one will be studying rather than the methodology (Stake, 2006). A researcher may employ multiple methods and methodologies during a case

study (Glesne, 2006). The data collection methods I used included participant observation, fieldwork journal notes, student background data, student interest surveys, formal and informal student and parent interviews, photographs, documents, artifacts, memos, and audio transcripts. Because I was the students' former third grade teacher, I also revisited and analyzed reading and writing conference notes and work samples, which were collected as a normal part of my classroom procedures when the students were in my class. I used a constant comparative analysis method to analyze all the data, "continually comparing one unit of data with another in order to derive conceptual elements" (Merriam, 2002, p. 8).

This chapter describes the research design, introduces the context, and presents a timeline for this twelve-week study. The two primary settings are the rural elementary classroom, during a six-week, summer enrichment program and the participants' homes for six weeks following the summer enrichment program. Two elementary students—a third grade boy and a fourth grade boy—and their families are the central focus of the study. Schedules, procedures, and routines are described in detail. Data collection methods and data analysis are also explained and clarified. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion about the considerations for trustworthiness of the study.

Research Design

In this research project, I used a qualitative multiple case study design (Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Glesne, 2006). The participants were bound by the following characteristics: (a) students who had been identified as English Language Learners as outlined by the South Carolina English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) guidelines, (b) multilingual learners whose L1, which was Spanish, was spoken in the

home, (c) students who were participating in the summer enrichment program, (d) students who were familiar with the structure of reading and writing workshop, and (e) students with families with which I had prior relationships. I chose to study multilingual learners whose native language was Spanish because I was interested in learning more about the social, cultural, and linguistics these learners enact during reading and writing workshop. I was also interested in improving the learning experiences of these multilingual learners since the school has a very high Hispanic population.

I incorporated a photo essay project into the reading and writing workshop to encourage the participants to gain a better understanding of how they used language and literacy within their daily lives. They were given disposable cameras and asked to take photographs of people, places, things, and events they considered most important. After the film was developed, the students shared their photos with one another and wrote about their photos. Using Margaret Wise Brown's (1949) *The Important Book* as a mentor text, the students created their own "important" books by combining the photographs and narratives. Glesne (2006) points out that using photography to collect data can provide useful background information about the participants, give the research "density and permanence" (p. 63), and provide a unique perspective that the researcher may otherwise not capture, particularly when the photos are taken through the eyes of the participants themselves.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research, or fieldwork traditions, form one of the oldest methods of human inquiry, dating back to ancient Greek and Chinese civilizations, when scholars first began observing other human beings, reflecting on their actions, and interpreting

their behaviors (Preissle & Grant, 2004). Qualitative research is “an umbrella term” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 2) that incorporates a wide range of theories, philosophies, research designs and methodologies (Freeman et al., 2007). Some of the characteristics, which define qualitative research include:

- “Reality is socially constructed, complex, and ever-changing” (Glesne, 2006, p. 6).
- It is “naturalistic” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 2).
- Data are collected as rich “descriptions of people, places, and conversations, and not easily handled by statistical procedures” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 2).
- Its purpose is to contextualize, understand, and interpret the data (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Glesne, 2006).
- It seeks pluralism and complexity as it emerges and evolves (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Glesne, 2006).
- Hypotheses and theories may occur *as a result* of the research (Glesne, 2006; Lingard, Albert, & Levinson, 2008).

Qualitative research is open-ended and flexible (Freeman et al., 2007).

Hemmings (2006) states, “Although some ethnographers and qualitative researchers construct initial guiding questions before they begin their studies, most do not formulate testable hypotheses, nor do they rule out the pursuit of new research ventures that crop up along the way” (p. 12). Emergence and evolution are at the heart of qualitative research (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Glesne, 2006; Lingard, Albert, & Levinson, 2008).

The epistemological belief of qualitative researchers is, “What is ‘real’ becomes relative to the specific location and people involved” (Glesne, 2006, p. 6). We begin to understand what is real when we subjectively interact with participants and explore their perceptions (Glesne, 2006). Marshall & Rossman (2006) contended that qualitative research shares the following four assumptions: (a) Research “involves issues of power” (p. 5). (b) Research is “*authored*” (p. 5) by race, gender, class, and political orientation of the researcher. (c) An understanding of social identities such as race, gender, class, and political orientation is vital to understanding the experience of participants. (d) “*Traditional research has silenced members of oppressed and marginalized groups*” (p. 5).

A qualitative researcher, therefore, usually begins exploring an array of issues with an open mind and attempts to remain cognizant of the varying perspectives which may come into play (Glesne, 2006). Qualitative researchers do not try to condense varying interpretations to fit the norm (Glesne, 2006). Bogdan & Biklen (2007) stated, “All social relations are influenced by power that must be accounted for in analyzing informants’ interpretations of their own situations” (p. 33).

Qualitative research is quite complex. It is not linear and requires many different pedagogical approaches (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). It cuts across various disciplines, fields, and subjects and weaves together a variety of concepts and epistemological assumptions (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Qualitative researchers may conduct multiple types of fieldwork in order to observe participants’ behavior and events in their natural setting (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Fieldwork can be very frustrating (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) because it includes “multiple, overlapping labels” (Preissle & Grant, 2004, p. 163).

Ethnography. Ethnography and how ethnographers approach research varies, according to how they view reality, or where they fall along the realism-idealism continuum (Crotty, 1999). An absolute realist believes that social life has a concrete, uniform reality that is studied using empirical, or sensory, evidence. An absolute idealist believes that reality is a creation of the human mind, is internal, and is variable according to the mind trying to understand it (Preissle & Grant, 2004). Ethnographers and other qualitative researchers hold holistic views of social worlds (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

The term ethnography is often confused with both the way in which the researcher carries out the study and the product, which is created when social phenomena are described (Merriam, 2002). Researchers have conducted qualitative research for centuries, calling it “fieldwork” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 3). Ethnography is a form of fieldwork, but not all fieldwork is ethnography (Preissle & Grant, 2004). How data are collected is not what defines ethnography (Merriam, 2002). In order for qualitative research to be considered an ethnography, there must “a sociocultural interpretation of the data” (Merriam, 2002, p. 9). Ethnography is defined by the lens through which the researcher decides to interpret the data (Merriam, 2002).

Ethnographers are captivated by the complex social interactions of participants’ daily lives and by the meaning participants give to their experiences (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Ethnographers address very broad questions about the culture of individuals, systematically reflect on their research as it is conducted and keep comprehensive, written records of what they hear and observe (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Ethnographers work to remain aware of their own social identities, biases, and presuppositions and how these concepts may shape their studies (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Researchers must also decide how much of a participant they will be and determine how their interactions within the setting will affect the groups' behaviors (Preissle & Grant, 2004). Ethnographers may spend a year to several years (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Glesne, 2006; Marshall & Rossman, 2006) collecting data and analyzing their findings (Glesne, 2006). Developing rich, thick descriptions of students' lived experiences allows readers to live through the eyes of the participant and gives the reader the feeling of being a part of the story (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Context of the Study

The primary setting for this study is McLaughlin Elementary School¹, where I currently teach third grade. McLaughlin Elementary is located in a rural southeastern town in South Carolina, which has a total population of 4,379 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). It is a community dotted with turkey farms, hay fields, and clusters of mobile homes. At the center of town is a crossroads with railroad tracks, a caution light, convenience/feed and seed store, locally-owned gift shop, diner, church and post office. The area still looks very much the same as it did when I began my teaching career almost three decades ago—with the exception of, perhaps, more turkey farms and more mobile homes.

The median household income in the community is \$26,467 (United States Census Bureau, 2013). Because of the high percentage of students living in poverty who attend this school, it has been identified as Title I (National Center for Education

¹ All names are pseudonyms.

Statistics, 2012) and receives additional federal funding each year. Eighty percent of students at McLaughlin receive free or reduced lunch (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012). According to the current principal, the school has supplies and materials comparable to other schools in the same district.

The number of students receiving ESOL services increased from 118 to 327, or 177%, between 2007 and 2013 (*local community newspaper*, April 29, 2013). Although the rural town's total population of 4,379 is significantly smaller than a neighboring suburban town, whose population is 21,475, there are 265 Latinos living in the town in which McLaughlin is located and only 166 in the suburban town next to it (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The number of multilingual learners enrolled in South Carolina's school system varies widely between school districts and individual schools within each district (South Carolina State Department of Education, 2011a; South Carolina State Department of Education, 2011b). Many of the families settling in rural communities are of Latino descent (Johnson & Anguiano, 2004). Between 2000 and 2010, the nation-wide Hispanic/Latino population increased by 43% (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). In South Carolina during that same period, the Hispanic/Latino population increased almost 148% (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2011).

McLaughlin School was originally built in 1923 and served grades 1 through 11. Later, grade 12 was added. A detached gymnasium was built after World War II. McLaughlin School was demolished in 1976 to make way for the new 5K-6th grade McLaughlin Elementary School, which was constructed on the same site. Later, pre-kindergarten classes were added to serve 4-year-olds from the surrounding areas. Each year the early childhood program, which accepts four-year-old students based on

developmental delays, is at capacity and has a waiting list. To accommodate the ever-growing population, school facilities were renovated in 1993 and additional classrooms were added to the existing structure to replace dilapidated mobiles that lined the playground. In 2002, sixth grade students were transferred to a newly-built, nearby middle school, causing a temporary drop in student population and the loss of an assistant principal position. In 2007, the post-WWII gymnasium was razed, and a new multipurpose room/gymnasium, art room, and music room were added.

Throughout the years, the school has served as a hub for many community activities including rodeos, school carnivals, high school reunions, dances, and afterschool programs. It is a source of pride for community members. In May 2013, a school-wide 90th-year celebration was held. Many former McLaughlin High School graduates, previous school principals, and teachers attended the event.

At the 90th-year celebration, I had the opportunity to speak with the former principal who hired me in 1986 and who worked at McLaughlin from 1966 to 1989. According to this retired administrator, voluntary integration began in the school district in 1969. At that time, one African-American teacher and four African-American students from a neighboring all-Black school chose to transfer to McLaughlin. The principal stated that there were no racial issues or concerns that he could recall when mandatory integration was enforced the following year.

I also had the opportunity to speak with several former colleagues, including my first teaching partner, now in her eighties, who worked with me from 1986 to 1989. She was the first African-American teacher to transfer to McLaughlin from an all-Black school in 1969. Former students and teachers shared stories of winning basketball

championships when the school was a high school, of teachers adding wood to the furnace in the winter to keep the school heated, and about teachers driving the school bus to pick up students. The roots of McLaughlin School are deeply entrenched within the community and continue to bind community members together across generations.

Demographics

Over the past decade, the student population of McLaughlin Elementary School has steadily increased as more families, many of whom are multilingual learners, have migrated to the rural area. Currently, the school is operating with all of its classrooms occupied and many of them at capacity. As of December 2014, the school's student population was 438 and accommodated grades Pre-Kindergarten through fifth grade. Because of the projected increase in student population, an assistant principal's position has been added for the 2015-2016 school year and two mobile classrooms are scheduled to be moved to the site (*personal communication with current school principal*, December 14, 2014).

Presently, the ethnic breakdown of the school's student population is 59% White, or European-American, 25% Black, or African-American, 9% Latino/Hispanic, less than 1% Asian, and 5% Two or More Races (NCES, 2012). McLaughlin has the highest percentage of multilingual learners in the district, with 9%, or 38 students, enrolled in the English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) program (NCES, 2012). Of these students, thirty-four speak Spanish, two speak Urdu, and two speak Romanian (*personal communication with the school attendance secretary*, January 5, 2015).

Participants

I chose the participants for this study “*purposefully*” (Glesne, 2006, p. 34) for three main reasons: 1) They were multilingual learners whose L1 was spoken in the home, 2) They were already familiar with the structure of reading and writing workshop as they were my former students, and 3) I had already established a level of trust and rapport with the parents and felt comfortable asking to come into their homes.

There were 50 students enrolled in the afterschool and summer enrichment program, 26 girls and 24 boys. The ethnic breakdown of the afterschool student population was 48% White, or European-American, 30% Black, or African-American, 16% Latino/Hispanic, and 6% Two or More Races. There were 16 third graders, 16 fourth graders and 18 fifth graders. Comparing the demographic breakdown of the afterschool/summer enrichment program with the general school population reveals a much higher percentage of students classified as Black, Latino/Hispanic, or Mixed-race attending the afterschool program than in the regular school population.

The afterschool and summer enrichment programs are funded by a 3-year *Education and Economic Development Act (EEDA)* At-Risk Student Innovative Competitive grant, sponsored by the South Carolina Department of Education. Elementary students who were eligible to participate in the program were identified as “at-risk for being poorly prepared for the next level of study” (South Carolina Department of Education, 2013, p. 1) for one or more of the following reasons:

a) poor academic performance on the Palmetto Assessment of State Standards (PASS), classroom-related assessments related to state standards, or the *Measures of Academic Progress* (MAP).

b) behaviors or characteristics that were indicators in identifying students at risk of dropping out of school such as being over-age due to retention, truancy, showing lack of effort in academic work, a history of discipline problems, expressing feelings of being disconnected from the school environment, showing evidence of physical and/or emotional abuse, coming from a disadvantaged socioeconomic environment, living in a home that does not include at least one parent, or having limited proficiency in the English language.

Students participated in both the afterschool program and summer enrichment program at no cost to them. The program brochure disseminated to parents stated that students would receive lessons in reading and math as well as daily homework help, engage in a mixture of computer-based and hands-on learning activities, and participate in curriculum-based field trips and “Being There” experiences with guest speakers throughout the year. During the regular school year and during the summer program, bus transportation, snacks, and small meals were also provided at no cost to students. Students’ families were asked to commit to keeping their children enrolled in the program for the duration of the grant or until their children no longer attended the school. The *EEDA* grant expires in 2017.

Initially, I contacted five students, four males and one female, who met the research criteria listed above. However, three of the students dropped out of the summer enrichment program during the first week. Two of the afterschool participants’ parents agreed to allow their children—two Hispanic males, Eduardo and Juan—to be a part of the research study. Both boys were my former third grade students although they were not classmates. Eduardo had just completed third grade in my class as the summer

enrichment program began. Juan had just completed fourth grade, but had been in my classroom when he was a third grader. I had already established rapport with these two participants, knew their families, and had prior knowledge of the students' academic abilities.

Both students received varying degrees of ESOL services during the regular school year, according to guidelines set by the South Carolina State Department of Education. Eduardo scored in the advanced range on his most recent English Language Development Assessment (ELDA) and was only monitored periodically by the ESOL teacher. Juan, however, received ESOL services twice weekly for a total of 60 minutes during the regular school year. Both boys' language skills were assessed at the beginning and end of each school year using ELDA (*personal communication with the district ESOL teacher*, May 15, 2014).

Eduardo. Eduardo is a kind, quiet and very happy nine-year-old whose gets along well with his peers. He lives with his father, Victor, his mother, Luciana, and two older brothers—Alejandro, who is 13 and Diego, who is 16. Both of Eduardo's brothers also attended McLaughlin. I taught Diego, in third grade seven years ago, which is when I first became acquainted with the family. I remember Eduardo as a toddler. While Eduardo's parents were born in Mexico, their three children were born in the United States. Eduardo attended McLaughlin Elementary School for the first time as a four-year-old kindergartener.

Eduardo's family moved to the United States nearly 20 years ago to be closer to Luciana's parents, who now live with her sister, Carmina, just a few miles away. Luciana has three brothers who also live in South Carolina and two brothers who still live

in Mexico. Luciana works part-time cleaning houses with her sister. Eduardo's father works full-time in the horse industry, training and exercising horses for a local stable. He occasionally travels out of state with his job. Both of Eduardo's parents completed the equivalent of high school in Mexico.

Eduardo's mother, father, and Diego have visited Mexico twice in the past 15 years. Victor's family still lives in Mexico and Eduardo speaks often of wanting to visit them. However, Luciana stated that the family is financially unable to afford the trip back to their native country to visit their families. Eduardo does speak with his grandparents in Mexico on the telephone. Because his grandparents speak only Spanish, Eduardo and his brothers speak only Spanish with them.

Juan. The first time I met Juan was the first day of school registration the summer before he began third grade. I had volunteered to help and was assigned to the main a table in the hallway of the school. I noticed Juan standing in line beside his mother. I could hear his mother speaking Spanish to the woman beside her and wondered if they were new to the community since I did not recognize them. Another boy, much younger than Juan, peeked out from behind his mother's legs and occasionally swatted at Juan, playfully.

I spoke as they approached the table, "Hola! Mi nombre es Sra. Stockdale." (*Hello. My name is Mrs. Stockdale*). Juan smiled bashfully and his mother nodded, but neither said anything in response. The lady beside Juan's mother identified herself as his Aunt Jessica and introduced Juan, his mother, and his little brother, Mateo.

"Juan will be in third grade this year," Jessica stated, "And this is Mateo. He will be in four-year-old kindergarten."

“Hi! Welcome to McLaughlin,” I responded, looking at Juan. “La escuela es muy bien! (*The school is very good*). I’m glad you are here. Yo hablo un poco español (*I speak a little Spanish*), but maybe if you’re in my class, you can teach me more!”

Jessica translated what I had said and both Juan and his mother laughed.

“I have been teaching him his colors,” Jessica announced.

“Really?” I replied. Then, turning to Juan, I asked “Como se dice ‘rojo’ in Inglés?” (*How do you say ‘red’ in English?*)

Proudly, Juan answered, “Red!”

“Excelente!” I exclaimed, clapping my hands. “I sure hope you are in my class, Juan! You are so smart!” Jessica translated and Juan smiled again. The next time I saw Juan was the first day of school when he walked into my third grade classroom.

Understandably, Juan was reluctant to participate on his first day in a new school. He did not speak English. Luckily, however, there were two other multilingual learners in the classroom, Christopher and Julieta, who also spoke Spanish. I quickly introduced Juan to them and asked him to sit beside Christopher so that he would be able to communicate with someone in his L1. I knew that for Juan to acquire English as a second language, he would need to use his first language to support his learning (Cummins, 1979; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Krashen, 2009). Krashen’s (2009) concept of comprehensible input asserts that for language learning to occur, meaning must be attached. Students must be engaged in activities that allow them to interact in authentic, meaningful ways. Throughout the first few months, I relied heavily on Christopher and Julieta to help me communicate with Juan.

I realized quickly that Juan was a very capable student. Because our online basal series is available in both English and Spanish, I was able to informally assess Juan's reading abilities during the first week of school using the English version, while he read aloud in Spanish. Although I only speak a little Spanish, the words and phrases I do know helped me communicate with Juan. Because Spanish is a phonetic language, I could follow along as Juan read aloud and verify what he was reading by listening to the online audio when needed. Juan could read in Spanish at or near grade level!

Juan was born in the western state of Nayarit, Mexico, approximately 20 miles from the Pacific coast of central Mexico. According to his parents, farming, growing tobacco, and fishing are a large part of the economy in their hometown. The family moved to the community surrounding McLaughlin because Juan's stepfather had a job opportunity to work with his brother-in-law, Jessica's husband. Juan lives with his mother, Maria, his stepfather, Miguel, his five-year-old half-brother, Mateo, and his half-sister, Jacqueline, who is now over a year old. Although mostly Spanish is spoken in the home, Juan stated he does speak some English to his younger brother and sister. Juan's Aunt Jessica, who also speaks English, lives nearby and, according to Juan, comes to his house almost every day. Juan's parents stated that they came to the United States because they wanted a better life for their children.

Timeline

The afterschool program began in January 2014 and continued as an extended-year summer enrichment program from June 2nd to July 11th, 2014. However, the school was closed June 30th through July 4th as it was a district-wide break. I obtained permission to conduct the study prior to the beginning of the summer enrichment program from the

district superintendent, school administrator, program director, and Institution Review Board (IRB).

This study took place during the six-week summer enrichment program, which met Mondays through Thursdays, and continued for six more weeks at the students' homes. I met with each student during the summer program three days a week, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. Wednesdays were designated as field trip days and I did not attend them. The summer program did not meet on Fridays. I also collaborated with the program director each week for peer review and debriefing.

I met with the participants one to two times a week from July 22, 2014 to August 26, 2014 at their homes. Each home visit typically lasted from 45 minutes to an hour and a half. I spent six weeks after the home visits were concluded member-checking and analyzing the data. Table 3.1 provides a timeline for data collection and analyses throughout the process.

Table 3.1

Time Line for Data Collection and Analysis

Week	Task	Frequency	Analysis
1	1. Obtain permission of school district, school administrator, program director and IRB 2. Visit summer school program and build rapport with students 3. Send letters of invitation 4. Get informed consent forms signed 5. Get assent forms signed 6. Collection of student data	Visit summer school enrichment program X3 Initial collaboration with summer enrichment program director X1	1. Field notes 2. Peer review
2	1. Field notes 2. Implement CRP within reading and writing workshop 3. Audio taping	Visit summer school enrichment program X 3	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing

Week	Task	Frequency	Analysis
	4. Student interest surveys 5. Student interviews 6. Home visits 7. Collection of students' writing portfolios and writing samples 8. Working within summer school enrichment program, assisting as needed 9. Collection of documents and artifacts	Initial home visits, interviews X2 Collaboration with summer enrichment program director X1	4. Transcribing interviews 5. Examination of themes 6. Cataloging students' writing samples, documents and artifacts 7. Peer review 8. Member checking
3	1. Field notes 2. Implement CRP within reading and writing workshop 3. Audio taping 4. Distribute cameras for photography project 5. Distribute parent letters regarding photography project 6. Collection of documents and artifacts 7. Working within summer school enrichment program, assisting as needed.	Visit summer school enrichment program X 3 Collaboration with summer enrichment program director X1	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, documents and artifacts 6. Peer review
4	1. Field notes 2. Implement CRP within reading and writing workshop 3. Audio taping 4. Collect cameras for photography project 5. Send film to be developed 6. Collection of documents and artifacts 7. Working within summer school enrichment program, assisting as needed. 8. Member checking with summer enrichment program director	Visit summer school enrichment program X 3 Collaboration with summer enrichment program director X1	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, documents and artifacts 6. Peer review
5	1. Field notes 2. Implement CRP within the reading and writing workshop 3. Audio taping 4. Distribute photographs to students, begin "working" book binder for each student to use for photography project 5. Collection of artifacts 6. Working within summer school enrichment program, assisting as needed. 7. Collection of documents and	Visit summer school enrichment program X 3 Collaboration with summer enrichment program director X1	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, photographs, documents and artifacts 6. Peer review

Week	Task	Frequency	Analysis
	artifacts 8. Member checking with summer enrichment program director		
6	1. Field notes 2. Implement CRP within the reading and writing workshop 3. Audio taping 4. Work on writing for book binder (photography project) 5. Collection of artifacts 6. Working within summer school enrichment program, assisting as needed. 7. Collection of documents and artifacts 8. Member checking with summer enrichment program director	Visit summer school enrichment program X 3 Collaboration with summer enrichment program director X1	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, photographs, documents and artifacts 6. Peer review
7	1. Field notes 2. Audio taping 3. Home visits 4. Individualized reading and writing conferences. 5. Working with students (photography binder) in writing workshop 6. Informal family interviews 7. Collection of documents and artifacts	Home visits X 2 Member-checking with participants and their families X2	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, photographs, documents and artifacts 6. Member-checking
8	1. Field notes 2. Audio taping 3. Home visits 4. Individualized reading and writing conferences. 5. Working with students (photography binder) in writing workshop 6. Informal family interviews	Home visits X 2 Member-checking with participants and their families X2	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, photographs, documents and artifacts 6. Member-checking
9	1. Field notes 2. Audio taping 3. Home visits 4. Individualized reading and writing conferences. 5. Working with students (photography binder) in writing workshop 6. Informal family interviews	Home visits X 2 Member-checking with participants and their families X2	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, photographs, documents and artifacts

Week	Task	Frequency	Analysis
			6. Member-checking
10	1. Field notes 2. Audio taping 3. Home visits 4. Individualized reading and writing conferences. 5. Working with students (photography binder) in writing workshop 6. Informal family interviews	Home visits X 2 Member-checking with participants and their families X2	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, photographs, documents and artifacts 6. Member-checking
11	1. Field notes 2. Audio taping 3. Home visits 4. Individualized reading and writing conferences. 5. Working with students (photography binder) in writing workshop 6. Informal family interviews	Home visits X 2 Member-checking with participants and their families X2	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, photographs, documents and artifacts 6. Member-checking
12	1. Field notes 2. Audio taping 3. Home visits 4. Individualized reading and writing conferences. 5. Completion of photography project in writing workshop 6. Follow-up informal family interviews 7. Follow-up informal student interviews	Home visits X 2 Member-checking with participants and their families X2	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, photographs, documents and artifacts 6. Member-checking
13-14	1. Member checking with students and families 2. Member checking with summer enrichment/afterschool program director	As needed As needed	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, photographs, documents and artifacts 6. Member-checking (as needed)

Week	Task	Frequency	Analysis
15-18	1. Member checking with students and families	As needed	1. Field notes 2. Transcribing audio tapes 3. Weekly memo writing 4. Continued examination of themes 5. Cataloging students' writing samples, photographs, documents and artifacts 6. Member-checking (as needed)

Schedules, Procedures, and Routines

The summer enrichment program employed three certified teachers, three teaching assistants, and a program director who was also a certified teacher. The program began each morning at 8:30 a.m. in the cafeteria where the students gathered for a light breakfast, which normally consisted of a muffin, or biscuit, fresh fruit, juice or milk. After breakfast, the students were divided by grade level, gender, and race into three heterogeneous groups. Each day students rotated through sessions of writing instruction, a computer-based reading and math program, and a “career-focused” activity time, which was required by the *EEDA*. A certified teacher and one teaching assistant taught during each instructional period. The teaching assistants supervised during lunch and recess. Certified teachers were expected to plan, run materials, and collaborate on lessons during the lunch and recess block. After lunch students participated in small group activities designed to develop social, emotional, and leadership skills. Before dismissal each day, staff and students would gather for a daily wrap-up activity during which students reviewed and discussed the events of the day. Table 3.2 provides an activity schedule set up by the summer enrichment program staff.

Table 3.2

Summer Enrichment Activity Schedule

Time	Activity	Location/Group	Lead By
8:30-9:00	Arrival/Breakfast/ Morning Warm-up	Cafeteria/Whole Group	All Staff
9:00-9:55	Writing/Reading Career Focus Math/Reading	Library/A Group Art Room/B Group Computer Lab/C Group	Teacher 1/TA 1 Teacher 2/TA 2 Teacher 3/TA 3
9:55-10:50	Writing/Reading Career Focus Math/Reading	Library/ C Group Art Room/A Group Computer Lab/ B Group	Teacher 1/TA 1 Teacher 2/TA 2 Teacher 3/TA 3
10:50-11:45	Writing/Reading Career Focus Math/Reading	Library/B Group Art Room/ C Group Computer Lab/A Group	Teacher 1/TA 1 Teacher 2/TA 2 Teacher 3/TA 3
11:45-12:30	Lunch/Recess	Cafeteria/Playground/ Whole Group	TA 1, TA 2, TA 3
12:30-1:20	Skill Building Activities/Daily Review	Cafeteria/Small Groups	All Staff
1:20-1:30	Dismissal	Bus Area/Car Riders' Circle	All Staff

The summer program's curriculum centered around three 2-week units of study: community, communication, and habitats. Each unit contained a career component as specified by the *EEDA* grant. Students researched and wrote about a topic, worked in small groups, and created a project for each unit. Unit projects included creating a vegetable garden in the school's outdoor classroom, making an oral presentation of a possible career choice, researching and working in small groups to make clay models and dioramas of their special animal and its habitat. Each Wednesday, students attended a field trip or participated in a "Being There" experience in which a guest speaker was invited to speak. Field trips included the local sheriff's office and government center, a television studio in a neighboring city, and a zoological and botanical garden, also located in a neighboring city.

Writing Workshop

People have been writing or, expressing their thoughts and ideas with written signs and symbols, in some form or another for over 5,000 years (Ancient History Encyclopedia, 2011). The act of writing whether one is writing a love letter, a grocery list, or a dissertation involves more than simply putting words onto paper or recording information. Writing is giving meaning, or significance, to those words (Calkins, 1994). Writing workshop is a very rigorous, structured learning approach to teaching writing that leans on the tenets of Vygotsky's apprenticeship principle in which young writers learn their skills by working alongside master writers (Fletcher & Portalupi, 2001). Writing workshop creates a learning environment in which the teacher is responsible for setting up the structure, or rituals of the writing workshop, but the students take ownership of their own writing and are responsible for it. The structure of writing workshop includes the mini-lesson, uninterrupted, independent writing time, and a sharing time, or "Author's Chair."

In this study, I implemented CRP throughout each component of writing workshop to encourage the participants to tap into all of the social, cultural, and linguistic resources they had available to them and provide them with authentic, meaningful, and varied writing opportunities (Serafini, 2006). Following are examples of how CRP was implemented within writing workshop during the summer enrichment program.

Mini-lesson. Many writing workshops begin with a short, 5-10 minute teacher-directed mini-lesson with the whole group, during which the teacher makes suggestions for writing. Often, the teacher will share a piece of her own writing, a piece of student writing, or a selection of literature to illustrate a particular form or purpose during the

mini-lesson. Mini-lessons often offer students strategies to try within their own writing and can serve to inspire students to attempt something new on their own.

Mini-lessons can also occur in the small group setting, which was the case during this research. Our mini-lessons often consisted of brief lessons on the writing process (gathering, developing, drafting, revising, editing, publishing), or on specific areas of writing that I had identified as something the students had not yet mastered. Sometimes I met with only Eduardo and Juan during small group mini-lessons. Other times, at the request of the program director, other multilingual learners who were not a part of the study joined the participants and me for writing workshop.

For one particular mini-lesson, as the students were preparing to plant a summer garden beside the school's outdoor classroom, I taught about drawing as a way to generate ideas. In a small group with six students, we used paper plates and crayons to draw our favorite foods and labeled them in both English and Spanish, when possible. We discussed how even the animals we eat rely on grains and how all foods can ultimately be linked back to some form of plant, which, in turn, relies on sunlight to make its own food. A lively conversation ensued as all of the students shared stories of how they helped with food preparation and their families' own gardens. When students shared stories of how their mothers and grandmothers prepared their favorite foods, I shared some of my own German heritage, explaining that Roladen and Spaetzle, two traditional German dishes were foods my own mother prepared for me when I was a child.

Uninterrupted, independent writing time. Uninterrupted, independent writing time is a crucial component of writing workshop (Calkins, 1994; Laman, 2013). Teachers should allot 35-45 minutes for uninterrupted writing time each and every day

(Fletcher & Portalupi, 2001). Most of the time spent in writing workshop—the very core of it—is spent on uninterrupted, independent writing. During this time, students are given the opportunity to “have-a-go” (Calkins, 1994) at writing, working on authentic pieces, which they have chosen. Allowing students to choose the writing on which they will work is critical because it encourages students to take ownership of their work and helps students develop agency.

During this study, the students gathered ideas for writing in notebooks and used writing folders as they developed drafts from their writing. Most of the writing they produced during writing workshop was on topics of their own choosing. However, due to the requirements of the summer enrichment program, the participants did occasionally use independent writing time to write about topics given to them by their summer enrichment program teachers. For example, Eduardo and Juan researched and wrote about their possible career choices and researched and wrote an informational piece about a particular animal and its habitat.

Writing conferences. During independent writing time, I moved about, holding writing conferences with individuals and small groups of students, depending on the size of the group. I discussed aspects of the students’ work and kept notes about each conference, even if the students with whom I conferenced were not a part of the study. I used the conference notes to guide my decisions about future mini-lessons, and geared these lessons to the students’ needs. In my own writing conference notebook, I kept a monthly calendar on which I wrote the names of students with whom I had already conferenced in order to see at a glance, with which students I still needed to meet. During the regular school year, when I have a larger group of students, I often set

appointments with them several days in advance so they are aware of when we will be meeting and have work ready to discuss. Setting appointment times was not necessary during the summer enrichment program as I never had more than six students at any given time during writing workshop.

One of the benefits of student-teacher writing conferences is the peripheral engagement that often takes place as other students listen in on conversations between the teacher and student as they become part of another student's conference. One-on-one conferences often morph into small group conversations, becoming mini-lessons and adding to the depth and purpose of each conference. Holding writing conferences allowed me to get an up-close-and-personal look at what each participant was doing in his writing and helped me plan more culturally responsive mini-lessons based on students' needs.

For example, while Eduardo was researching carpentry, which was his career choice, we visited the school library to look for books about carpentry and woodworking. There was only one outdated source available. After discussing the possibility of adding books about carpentry to the school library with the media specialist, I was able to purchase online a few age-appropriate books on carpentry and woodworking for my classroom library. Since the books arrived within a few days, Eduardo was able to use them as a resource for his summer enrichment project about carpentry as a career.

Sharing time, or "Author's Chair." Most writing workshops conclude with 10-20 minutes of sharing time, or "Author's Chair" (Fletcher & Portalupi, 2001, p. 13). During this part of writing workshop, students gather together again to share their own writing and receive feedback from their classmates and teacher. A student need not share

a completed piece of writing. A shared piece of writing may be at any stage of the writing process—prewriting, draft, revision, editing, or already published. Many teachers incorporate a “three pluses and a wish” (Leland, Lewison, & Harste, 2013, p. 200) strategy during Sharing Chair to encourage students to look for three positive aspects, or pluses, in a classmate’s piece of writing and one idea, or wish, for improvement. Using this strategy may help children recognize the strengths within other students’ writing rather than focus on any weaknesses, thus making writing a more positive and “do-able” experience for reluctant writers. The structure of writing workshop is designed so that students have time to determine the purpose of what they will write, time to accomplish the actual writing, and time to share their writing with others.

During the study, both Eduardo and Juan volunteered to talk about their writing with one another and sometimes chose to read their writing aloud. Then, the participants and I would ask questions about the writing to clarify any misunderstandings we had about the piece or make suggestions about adding on to the writing in some way. Sharing time was a powerful component of the writing workshop because oftentimes participants would share ideas that were not actually written down, giving additional insight into the students’ lives. In this way, “Author’s Chair” became a time during which the participants’ sociocultural backgrounds, beliefs, and funds of knowledge were revealed in a natural, non-threatening way.

Reading Workshop

Although scholars may not agree on the single, *best* method to teach reading to all students, many researchers recommend reading workshop as an organizational framework to bring authentic, meaningful, reading instruction into classrooms and

improve the literary experiences of all learners (Calkins, 2014; Serafini, 2006). Reading workshop is an approach to teaching reading that centers on changing the way in which readers think, talk, and write about what they read (Serafini, 2006). Calkins (2014) stated, “The reading workshop is deliberately kept simple and predictable...because it’s the work at hand that is so changing and complex.”

The structure of reading workshop is in many ways similar to writing workshop (Calkins, 2014). While there are specific components of reading workshop—read aloud, mini-lessons, independent reading, conferences with the teacher, and whole group sharing—the main focus is about creating space and time for students to engage with authentic, quality literature and express their ideas and interpretations within a community of readers who value their contributions (Serafini, 2006). From a sociocultural perspective, reading workshop encourages students to interpret the historical, political, and social issues they encounter in texts and consider how these issues impact their lives. In this study, I implemented CRP into the reading workshop and integrated a critical literacy stance in order to examine the Discourses occurring within the classroom and throughout the school (Campano, 2007; Wohlwend, 2009).

Read Aloud. One of the most important things a teacher can do to help increase her students’ chances of being successful at reading is read aloud to them each day (Trelease, 2013). When students gather together to listen to stories being read, a whole lot more is going on than simply listening to texts. Students are hearing what a fluent reader sounds like. They are learning new vocabulary words and phrases. They get the opportunity to enjoy reading for the simple pleasure it brings without having to worry

about sounding out words or trying to decipher words that are too hard for them to read themselves.

The teacher may ask the students to respond orally during the read aloud or turn to a neighbor and share an idea. Reading aloud to students gathered comfortably on a carpet should mimic the feeling of lap reading students may or may not have experienced with an adult at home. Read aloud time should be warm, inviting and non-threatening. Although read aloud is a component of reading workshop, the read aloud may occur at any time during the day. Teachers may choose to read aloud to students more than once each day, but reading aloud to students should be a must on every teacher's daily to-do list.

During the regular school year, I keep available a crate of CR texts, which are written in various languages, such as Spanish, German, French, Vietnamese, and Arabic. These are mostly picture books I have collected during the years through Scholastic Book Club orders, school book fairs, and through other sources. Some of the books are picture dictionaries. Many of the texts are bilingual. I often choose from these texts for daily read aloud and use them during the reading workshop as mentor texts. Students are also encouraged to choose from these books during independent reading time and are allowed to check them out to take home to their families.

Before the summer program began, I inventoried my classroom library and created a list of CR picture books and informational texts that could be used during read aloud during this study. For the purpose of this research, I limited my CR texts to those books and materials written in either Spanish and English, or solely Spanish. Eduardo

and Juan were also encouraged to check out books from the classroom library to read with their families at home during the research study.

Mini-lesson. Reading workshop most often begins with the teacher gathering students together for a mini-lesson during which she explicitly teaches skills and strategies to help students become proficient readers (Calkins, 2014). The mini-lesson should be brief, no more than 7-10 minutes in length. During the mini-lesson, the teacher usually models the skill or strategy she is teaching and then gives the students opportunities to try out the skills either alone or with a partner. To end the mini-lesson, the teacher encourages students to try specific reading strategies and sends them off to begin their independent reading.

Several mini-lessons during this study centered upon locating and discussing Spanish and English cognates in the bilingual texts that the students were reading during workshop. For example, after reading *Rubia and the Three Osos* (Middleton, 2010), Eduardo and Juan looked through the text again and found the following cognates: *la sopa* (the soup), *fabuloso* (fabulous), *platos* (plates), and *perfecto* (perfect). Krashen (2009) and García (2009) recommend that teachers explicitly teach students to look for cognates while reading to increase language acquisition because doing so makes the language input more comprehensible.

Independent reading. Before independent reading time begins, students should choose four to five books they are interested in reading. Ideally, each child will have his own book box or basket in which to keep his selected books so that the transition to independent reading time does not entail students searching for a book to read. One or two mini-lessons on how to choose “just right” books usually help students understand

how to select books that will sustain them through independent reading time. Once students have their books and are settled into their selected “reading spots” (Calkins, 2014), they read, read, read independently for longer and longer periods of time. Boushey & Moser (2006) recommend building stamina for reading by monitoring the amount of time students are able to stay engaged in reading and gradually increasing the number of minutes spent reading independently each day.

Students may respond to texts during independent reading time in a variety of ways, practicing the skills and strategies covered during mini-lessons. One student may jot down connections to other texts or interesting vocabulary words on sticky notes. Another student may respond to what he is reading in his reader’s response journal (RRJ) or draw a sketch of his favorite part of the story. The most crucial aspect of independent reading time is to allow an ample amount of time each day for students to be engaged in reading texts that they have chosen.

Each week during this study, Eduardo and Juan selected several books from the entire classroom library to read during independent reading time. The participants were encouraged to choose at least one bilingual book or a book written in Spanish to read with family members at home. Because of the abbreviated summer schedule, the participants read independently for only 15 to 20 minutes each day. Each week, the students chose new books for independent reading, or “free voluntary reading” (Krashen, 2004, n.p.). Initially, while the students read, I also read independently so as to model reading to self. However, I also used independent reading time to hold book talks, or reading conferences, with each student. Krashen (2004) contends that students, whether

they are multilingual or monolingual learners, who consistently read for pleasure often show greater success in reading, writing, vocabulary, and grammar.

Reading conferences. As students are reading independently, the teacher often moves about the room, observing what the children are doing, and stopping to conference with various children about their reading. The teacher may conference with individual children, pairs of students, or in small groups depending upon their particular needs. Sometimes a teacher may realize in the middle of the reading workshop that the students need a quick review or clarification about something, at which point the teacher will get the students' attention and spend a couple of minutes clearing up or reiterating something during a "mid-workshop teaching point" (Calkins, 2014). After this, the teacher will ask the students to continue their independent reading time until it is time for the whole group sharing time.

During the research study, holding reading conferences with only two to five students was considerably easier to manage than during the regular school year with a larger class. During the regular school year, conferencing with every child every day is simply not possible. For this reason, the reading conferences during the study occurred more frequently with each participant. I usually conferenced with Eduardo and Juan every day about their reading, which allowed me greater insight into their language and literacy abilities over a short period of time.

Sharing time. Sharing time is used to bring closure to the reading workshop and can be carried out in a variety of ways. The class may reconvene on the carpet as during the mini-lesson with several students sharing responses to what they read. Oftentimes the teacher may simply get the students attention and close the reading workshop by

extending what was taught during the mini-lesson or by sharing a piece of student work that illustrates a particular point. Frequently, a teacher may ask students or small groups to reread and respond to texts during sharing time. Sharing time may look very different from one day to the next during reading workshop but the essential component of sharing time is that students are actively engaged in discussing texts.

During this study, sharing time was often incorporated into the reading conference time as each student had ample time to share about what he was reading every day. Participants often chose to partner read during independent reading and worked together to respond to text during sharing time. One benefit of implementing CRP during the summer enrichment program was that each participant received much more individualized instruction as the student to teacher ration was 1:2. Participants also had more opportunity during the study to respond to text during reading conferences and sharing time than they would have in a classroom with more students.

Through a Child's Lens: Photo Essays in Reading and Writing Workshop

To help bring to light the social, cultural, and linguistic resources that were alive in Eduardo and Juan's home, I incorporated a photo essay project into the reading and writing workshop. Using a variety of children's magazines as mentor texts, the students and I discussed the most salient features of the magazine articles, including graphics, like the photos. We examined the way in which photographs were taken (i.e., bird's-eye-view, close-up) and discussed how the photos, along with words, helped to tell the stories. I explained to the students that for the project they would be taking photographs of important people, places, things, and events in their lives and using them to create a photo essay of their own.

During a mini-lesson, the participants and I generated a list of ideas they might use in their writing. As Eduardo and Juan made suggestions, I wrote them on an anchor chart. Initially the focal students named their immediate family members as the most important people in their lives, then, included grandparents, friends, and cousins. Later, they suggested that “me”, “police”, “bus driver,” and my name be added to the list. The students named important places at or near their homes, places they had already visited, and places they hoped to visit. Using an atlas, the boys searched for Mexico, Miami, and Hawaii on various maps and discussed the long car rides they had taken with their families to and from Mexico. As important “things” and “events” were added to the chart, a lively conversation ensued about gaming systems and their favorite video games. I posted the anchor chart (Figure 3.1) in the classroom and the participants referred to it during subsequent writing workshops.

During reading workshop the students and I read *The Important Book* by Margaret Wise Brown (1949) to generate more story ideas and talked about how the pattern in the text could be used to organize their writing about the photos. Both Eduardo and Juan were very enthusiastic about taking their cameras home and beginning the project. I distributed the cameras and the students were given one week to take their photos. After the film was processed, each student had over twenty photos to use for his photography essay project.

First, Eduardo and Juan sorted through their photos and put aside any that they did not want to share. Then, they sorted through the photos again and categorized them into important people, places, things, and events, talking about them and explaining why each one was important. Next, the students stored their photos in clear acetate sheets and

organized them in three-ring binders. Ultimately, the students used the photos to create their own important books.

<u>People</u>	<u>Places</u>	<u>Things</u>	<u>Events</u>
bus driver Mrs. Stockdale	police station	food	soccer
my mom	zoo	camera	birthdays
my dad	hospital	heart	football
family police	school	water	Christmas
brother	fire station	body	summer
sister	beach	air	classes
Grandma	Mexico	trees	field trips
Grandpa me	Miami	XBOX	Vacation
friends	Hawaii	PlayStation	
cousins	house	Pets	
teachers	on the bus	fish	
aunt uncle	my room	scorpion	
babies	outside	PS2	
		Pokemon cards	

Figure 3.1 Anchor Chart

The students' conversations, photographs, and written and oral narratives revealed a wealth of knowledge about a wide range of topics. These funds of knowledge were integral to the boys' families, their lives and their literacy practices, and contributed to their literate identities. Following is a table describing the photos as the students identified them.

Benefits of Implementing CRP in Writing and Reading Workshop

Implementing CRP within writing and reading workshop is beneficial to both monolingual and multilingual learners for many reasons. Firstly, using CRP allows young readers and writers from diverse communities the opportunity to see themselves reflected in texts, make connections to literature, and appreciate multiple viewpoints. At the same time, monolingual learners are able to gain a better understanding of the world

Table 3.3

Students' Photos

	Eduardo's Photos	Juan's Photos
People	Cousin Ricardo (2), Mom (2), Tia Carmina, Dad, me (2), Maria (2), my friend, Juan (2), bus driver	My friend/friends(2), teacher, friend/neighbor, bus driver, brother, Mateo, sister, Jacqueline
Places	Porch (2), garden, woods	Bedroom (2), yard
Things	Fruit, water, keys, dogs, soccer trophy, iPod, money, sky	PS2 games, Legos, Pokémon cards (2), iPod
Events	Gardening, helping care for my cousin, helping mom	Riding the bus, eating birthday cake, swimming with brother and dad, playing in the yard with friends, studying in my room

from the perspectives of diverse learners. For example, reading culturally relevant texts during teacher read aloud encourages children to discuss sociopolitical issues openly and honestly and engage in critical conversations about their own experiences. Secondly, CRP allows all students to find commonalities among themselves and encourages them to seek out ways in which differences such as culture, ethnicity, race, and language can bridge their understanding of one another. CRP also opens up space to discuss differences respectfully and with purpose (Laman, 2013). Furthermore, CRP gives all students the chance to carry on deliberate, meaningful conversations, to think more globally and to recognize how much we stand to gain by appreciating and respecting the rich diversity within our world.

Data Collection

Data collection began in early June 2014 and continued until the end of August 2014. I obtained permission to conduct the study from the district superintendent, school

administrator, program director, and Institution Review Board (IRB). I also obtained from the participants' parents, consent forms, which had been sent home in English (Appendix B) and Spanish (Appendix C). I read and discussed the assent forms (Appendix D) with the participants before data collection began, I collected student background data through student and parent surveys, the students' permanent records, and Pearson PowerSchool (Pearson Education, Inc., 2015), the school's online record-keeping website to better acquaint myself with each participant. This information helped me to better understand each student's particular background.

I spent the majority of the first day learning the summer enrichment program schedule, getting to know the students, assisting as needed, and building rapport with students and staff. In order to triangulate the findings and add validity to the study, I used multiple data-collection methods including participant observation, oral language and home language surveys, structured and semi-structured interviews with students and their families, and artifact and document collection. According to Glesne (2006), triangulation is more than simply combining different kinds of data; it is relating them and connecting them with one another to ensure that the research findings are valid.

I also used multiple sources of data to add to the richness and depth of the study. Sources of data included written and audio-recorded field notes, memos, audio recordings of interviews, audio recordings of reading and writing workshop, oral language and home language survey results, transcriptions of all audio recordings, writing samples, writers' notebooks, drawings, photographs taken by students, photographs taken by the researcher, and photographs taken by others, written communications with participants

and their families through notes and texts, and newspaper clippings, documents, and electronic information collected about the summer enrichment program.

Participant Observation

Throughout the study I was a participant observer. Gold (1958) identified four participant observation roles as the: 1) complete participant, 2) participant as observer, 3) observer as participant, and 4) complete observer. My level of participation ranged from passive to completely engaged within various activities (Glesne, 2006). At the end of each day during the summer program, I recorded my thoughts and questions in my fieldwork journal. Active participation had already been established as part of our normal classroom routine so interacting with Eduardo and Juan as a fellow reader, writer, listener, speaker, and learner was very natural to me. The boys seemed very comfortable with my role as participant observer.

Because I wanted to create an in-depth study of both participants, I interviewed each of them individually, worked with the two of them together, worked in small groups with their peers, observed during “in-between” times of the day such as lunch and recess, and visited their homes. I brought them together for reading and writing mini-lessons, conferences, and sharing times. I audio-taped each of our reading and writing workshop sessions so that I could analyze our interactions and conversations more deeply. Bogdan & Biklen stated, “If you want to understand the way people think about their world and how those definitions are formed, you need to get close to them, to hear them talk and observe them in their day-to-day lives” (p. 35).

When I began making home visits to work with the boys, I created an electronic fieldwork journal so that I could audio record my reflections as I traveled to and from

their homes. Since I live 30 minutes away from the participants, audio recording my thoughts during the drive to visit them gave me an opportunity to talk my way through my plans for the day. By audio recording immediately following the visits, I was able to capture my reflections immediately and get a clearer snapshot of my experiences.

Working with an Interpreter

Before the study began, I contacted a Spanish-speaking community member and hired her as an interpreter as I conducted parent interviews in the participants' homes. I reviewed the purpose of the study, the research design, and the IRB process with the interpreter, making sure she was fully aware of the importance of confidentiality as we worked with the participants' families. She agreed to keep any and all details of the research confidential.

The interpreter, who was in her thirties, was a former McLaughlin student and now had children of her own attending the school. I had taught her younger brother many years ago so she was an acquaintance of mine before the study began. Although she recognized Eduardo and Juan as students from the same school as the one her own children attended, she did not personally know them or their families prior to the study.

The interpreter was present at both parent interviews. She read and discussed the consent form in Spanish with the participants' parents, relayed their questions and concerns to me in English, and acted as a translator throughout the parent interview process. Shortly after the audiotaped parent interviews were transcribed, the interpreter met with me to review the transcripts and provided clarification on some occasions when I had questions.

Several weeks into the research, however, the interpreter decided to return to college and was unable to continue working as an interpreter with me. Therefore, after some consideration, I hired a Spanish-speaking part-time teaching assistant as a second interpreter. I again reviewed the purpose of the study, the research design, and the IRB process with this interpreter, making sure she was fully aware of the importance of confidentiality and she also agreed to keep any and all details of the research confidential.

To ensure accuracy of the Spanish translations, the interpreter and I met for several weeks after the data were collected to compare the written transcripts against the portions of the audiotapes in which Spanish was spoken. On several occasions she was able to further translate from Spanish to English bits of information that had been missed during the actual interviews. The second interpreter also helped to clarify some of the aspects of Mexican culture and the Catholic religion which the parents had discussed but about which I still had questions. The second interpreter was crucial in helping translate the work that Juan had done in Spanish. She assisted me and offered feedback during the study and at the conclusion of the project.

Language Surveys

At the beginning of the study, I distributed home language surveys in both English (Appendix E) and Spanish (Appendix F) to the participants' parents since I was unaware of the parents' reading proficiency in either language. I wanted to disseminate information about the study and begin collecting background data as early as possible. There were 13 questions on the home language survey. The participants' parents returned the completed surveys the first week of the summer program. The surveys

helped me refine interview questions. Students were asked oral and home language survey questions as part of their initial interviews (Appendix G).

Interviews

I explored the participants' understanding of literacy practices and investigated the social, cultural, and linguistic resources upon which they drew by interviewing each of the boys separately. The student interviews took approximately 20-30 minutes and were conducted at school during the first week of the summer program. I also formally interviewed the participants' parents with the help of an interpreter. The parent interviews lasted between one and two hours and took place at the participants' homes. All interviews were audio recorded and later, transcribed. During each of the interviews, I took notes in my fieldwork journal, leaving space along the margins for coding and afterthoughts.

Two interview protocols were developed for this study. The first protocol was the student version (Appendix H) and the second was the parent version in English (Appendix I) and Spanish (Appendix J). To begin each student interview, I read the assent script and discussed it with the participants to ensure that they fully understood the details of the study. First, I explained that I was “doing a research study about how children who speak another language use what they know to learn to read and write.” Then, I explained that “a research study is a way to learn more about people” or other things. Following is a list of the other details of the study that were discussed with the participants:

- 1) participation was voluntary and they could quit at any time;

- 2) participants would not be graded during the study and it would not affect their participation in the summer enrichment program;
- 3) I would be audio taping and taking notes;
- 4) all recordings and notes would only be viewed by me, someone transcribing the notes, or the interpreter;
- 5) I would be collecting artifacts and documents such as work samples and photographs;
- 6) the study and all conversations, recordings, transcripts, artifacts, and other documents were strictly confidential;
- 7) because we would be working in a school setting with other students and teachers, there was a risk that some of the participants' responses could be overheard by others during small groups;
- 8) interviews would be held in a private setting and would not be overheard;
- 9) I would be visiting their homes and continuing mini-lessons, conferences, and sharing time in both reading and writing;
- 10) they would not be paid for participation;
- 11) I hoped they would enjoy participating and benefit from learning something new, particularly about themselves.

The student interviews consisted of nine questions. I asked the students about things they liked about school and if there was anything they could change about school. I asked them to name areas in which they felt successful and areas in which they thought they could improve. I also asked what the students did when they did not understand their schoolwork while they were at school and while they were at home. Then, I asked

the students to tell me about their families, what they did for fun or leisure when they were not at school, and about their pets. I concluded the student interviews by asking them if they had any questions for me.

The parent interviews consisted of 13 questions about their child's experiences learning to talk, read, and write in their first language (L1) and a second language (L2). I conducted the parent interviews with an interpreter. I asked questions about the language most often spoken at home by the child, other family members, and friends, the reading materials available in the home, the parents' experiences reading to and with his/her child, helping with homework, and concerns about their child's learning. I also asked the parents if they were able to read and write in a second language and under what circumstances they did so, about the gender, age, and language experiences of their other children and other family members living in the home. I concluded the interviews with questions about the parents' own level of education and how long they had been living in the United States.

I conducted all interviews using questions I had prepared in advance and had previously discussed with the interpreter. Occasionally, I deviated from scheduled questions when a participant's particular responses lead me to other questions. At the end of each day as I reflected in my field journal notebook, I made connections between the data and formed new questions. I would informally interview the participants and their families when additional questions would crop up. As our relationships evolved during the course of the study, I gradually felt more comfortable asking more personal, in-depth questions; the participants spontaneously shared more personal, in-depth information about their lives.

Document and Artifact Collection

I collected many documents and artifacts during the course of this research. Data collection included written and audio-recorded fieldwork journal entries, memos, texts and other communications with participants and their family members, documents such as writing samples, drawings, and photographs taken by the students, by their families, and by me. Because both participants had been former students of mine in the third grade, I had copies of their writing notebooks and their writing portfolios, which are passed from grade level to grade level as the students advance. I also transcribed oral and home language surveys, structured and semi-structured interviews, and the audio recordings of my fieldwork journal.

I began a written fieldwork journal prior to the summer enrichment program to chronicle my thinking and planning processes. The journal was both descriptive and analytic (Glesne, 2006). Each day after working with students and their families, I used my fieldwork journal to record observations, capture my thoughts, and write down ideas as they came to me. The journal allowed me to describe the physical surroundings and details of each experience with the participants, and work through any assumptions, biases, feelings, and expectations I had. I also transcribed the audio-recorded fieldwork journal entries and added thoughts and reactions to what I had previously said. I kept researcher memos during the data collection phase of the study and made note of codes in the margins in my fieldwork journal as they appeared. In this way, coding during the data analysis process seemed more manageable. My fieldwork journal added rigor to the study as it served as an audit trail, providing additional data during the analysis (Merriam

et al, 2002). Table 3.3 offers an overview of the correlation between the research questions and the data sources.

Table 3.3

Research Questions and Corresponding Data Sources

Research Questions	Sources of Data
What social, cultural, and linguistic resources do multilingual learners draw upon when Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP) is implemented within the curriculum?	Student interviews Parent interviews Field notes Oral language surveys Student interest surveys Audio recordings of reading and writing workshop Student writing samples Photographs and artifacts
What literacy practices do multilingual learners enact during reading and writing workshop when Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP) is implemented?	Student interviews Parent Interviews Field Notes Student interest surveys Audio recordings of reading and writing workshop Student writing samples Photographs and artifacts
In what ways do culturally relevant texts influence multilingual learners' understanding of the reading and writing process?	Student interviews Field Notes Audio recordings of reading and writing workshop Student writing samples Parent Interviews

Data Analysis

Before the data were analyzed, I transcribed the oral language and home language surveys, the structured and semi-structured interviews with participants and the families, as well as the audio recordings of all reading and writing workshop sessions. As I read through all the data, I employed constant comparative analysis to generate theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Initially, I used open coding as I read and reread the data, looking for broad themes within the transcriptions. I picked apart the data and assigned sub codes to help further identify and categorize phenomena that were revealed. Rather than code the data sentence by sentence or paragraph by paragraph, I analyzed the context of the data in search of overarching meaning and for thick, rich descriptions of the participants' experiences. The broad categories were divided into smaller categories and I added examples of these themes within these subcategories. I continued constructing codes and subcodes, reanalyzing and expanding upon my theoretical framework to further tease apart the data. I then used axial coding to make connections between categories I had found and arranged them in new ways (Merriam et al., 2002).

The photos in this study were categorized into three groups: photos the participants took, photos the families shared, and photos that I took. I analyzed the photos that each participant took and the photos I took during the photography project much like I analyzed the written transcripts. First, I assigned codes of the broad themes that each photo revealed. Then, I created detailed lists of sub codes of all the people, places, objects, and events that I found in each picture and tallied the number of times I

observed each code. Again, I used axial coding to disaggregate the codes of each participant's photo and my own photos and then, looked to find links between them.

Because the families shared many of their own photos with me while I was in their homes, I could not analyze their photos as meticulously as I had the ones the participants had taken because I did not have prolonged access to them. Therefore, as soon as I returned home from the participants' houses, I recorded in my field notes journal as much as I could remember from the photos and analyzed that data, using constant comparative analysis, as I had previously done with the data from the other photographs.

Using cross-case analysis to help me assign and reassign subsequent codes, which pertained to similar concepts and created broader categories, I worked to further identify and categorize phenomena as they were revealed (Schwandt, 2007; Stake, 2006). I organized the data as I looked for the most salient and prominent themes. Because my focus was on capturing the lived experiences of the participants, I utilized narrative inquiry during the analysis to better understand the sequence and structure of the personal stories revealed to me by the participants (Grbich, 2007).

Narrative Inquiry

Simply put, narrative is a story told in a sequence—with a beginning, middle, and end—that describes events. In this research, narratives are the stories told by the participants and their families that depict snapshots of their lives as seen through their eyes, based on their own realities (Schwandt, 2007). Narratives can reveal personal experiences or entire personal histories. They are the way in which we make sense of our world and how we understand ourselves within it (Kramp, 2004). Researchers use

narrative inquiry to analyze and interpret the lived experiences of others who are telling the story (Kramp & Humphreys, 1993).

Unlike the narratives themselves, narrative inquiry has no definite beginning or ending points, no rules and regulations dictating one specific best mode or method (Kramp, 2004). There are many forms and styles of narrative research but there are no guidelines as to the best way to carry out an investigation (Grbich, 2007). Narrative inquiry can be a type of data collection and a type of data analysis (Schwandt, 2007). It is a mixture of interdisciplinary approaches involving a combination of traditional methods and innovative means of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting the stories that people tell about their own lives (Chase, 2005). Researchers using narrative inquiry as an approach assume that when people narrate stories about their lives, they create their own realities, giving order and meaning to their lived experiences (Kramp, 2004).

In this research, I used narrative inquiry as a data analysis technique to capture the lived experiences of the participants to better understand the meaning of their social actions within their situated contexts (Schwandt, 2007). Narrative inquiry helped me to connect the contexts of their unique situations with their experiences and understand how they assigned meaning in their lives (Kramp, 2004).

As simplistic as narrative inquiry may sound, narrative inquiry can be extremely complex (Andrews, Squire, & Tambokokou, 2008). Carrying out narrative inquiry can be a daunting task (Kramp, 2004). Researchers who focus on this genre believe that in so doing they will be able to discover the overlapping and sometimes opposing threads of meaning woven within the fabric of an individual's life story. Ultimately, narrative researchers interpret the stories generated by the participants, examine how each story

was organized, and how it developed so as to better understand an individual's history and bring about social change (Andrews, Squire, & Tambokokou, 2008). For example, in this research study the participants' writing was not always realistic or accurate, so it could not be analyzed for the factual information it contained. Instead, using narrative inquiry, I looked for the meaning embedded within the text and the authors' purposes for creating each piece of writing.

Trustworthiness

Research validity, or trustworthiness is "one set of criteria [used] for judging the quality or goodness of qualitative inquiry" (Schwandt, 2007, p. 299). Validity ensures that the researcher's interpretations of a participant's understanding of a particular phenomenon actually match reality, or what actually happened (Merriam et al., 2002). According to Creswell (1998) there are eight procedures researchers can use to verify the trustworthiness of research studies: 1) prolonged engagement and persistent observation, 2) triangulation, 3) peer review and debriefing, 4) negative case analysis, 5) clarification of researcher bias, 6) member checking, 7) rich, thick descriptions, and 8) external audit (pp. 201-203). In this research study, I employed prolonged engagement and persistent observation, triangulation, peer review and debriefing, clarification of researcher bias, member checking, and rich, thick descriptions.

Prolonged engagement and persistent observation. This research took place from June to August 2014. However, I chose the participants because they had been former third grade students in my classroom. Before the research study began, I had already spent an entire school year with each of the boys, building trust and learning about them. I became an active member of Eduardo's and Juan's reading, writing, and

learning experiences and watched each of them grow as readers and writers in our classroom community. I had already spent time with them engaged in the reading and writing workshop and was already known to them as someone who supported their multilingual learning development. I had already established relationships with the participants and their families, earned their trust, and built rapport. Having rapport with these students was an essential part of our relationship and was something that took time and prolonged engagement to obtain. Glesne (2006) defines rapport as “a distance-reducing, anxiety-quieting, trust-building mechanism that primarily serves the interest of the researcher” (p. 110). Creswell (1998) states that prolonged engagement and persistent observation are necessary components of a quality research as they give strength and validity to the study.

Triangulation. Originally, triangulation referred to using three points on a map to ascertain a certain location (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). In qualitative studies, triangulation is a procedure used to ensure that the criterion of trustworthiness has been met (Schwandt, 2007). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) and Schwandt (2007) identified four types of triangulation that researchers can utilize to add strength to qualitative research and confirm internal validity—multiple investigators, multiply theoretical perspectives, multiple sources of data, or multiple methods. Triangulation is embedded within this research study. As I analyzed the data I did so using three theoretical perspectives—sociocultural theory, critical social theory, and Second Language Acquisition Theory. Rather than relying on one method or technique to analyze the data, I used many data collection methods. The data collection methods I employed included participant observation, fieldwork journal notes, student background data, student interest surveys,

formal and informal student and parent interviews, photographs, documents, artifacts, memos, and audio transcripts. I also used the following multiple sources of data: fieldwork journal notes, student data, surveys, photographs, documents, and audio transcripts. Triangulation strengthened the findings of this research by increasing the trustworthiness and validity of the study.

Peer review and debriefing. Peer review, or peer debriefing, is yet another way to add trustworthiness to a research study (Merriam et al., 2002). Peer debriefing is a process through which the researcher solicits the reactions of a trusted, knowledgeable colleague about various aspects of a study (Schwandt, 2007). Essentially, the colleague acts as a sounding board for the researcher as he or she shares ideas, asks advice or relates an ethical or political problem that the researcher may have encountered. In this research study, I chose to debrief with the program director who was a veteran teacher and former teaching partner. I valued her professional opinions and knew that I could trust her to be open and honest with her comments. As I “talked my way through the data”, shared my fieldwork journal notes, and summarized the broad themes I saw emerging, the program director listened carefully, offered suggestions, and gave valuable input about her interpretation of the data. We met once each week during the summer enrichment program to debrief.

I also debriefed with both interpreters as we compared the audiotapes and written transcripts. Both of these individuals help clarify various misunderstandings I had about some of the conversations, which occurred in the participants’ homes. They also answered additional questions as they arose about Mexican culture, customs, and language and helped bring new insight into my analyses. The program director and the

interpreters offered me new perspectives concerning the data and added strength to the study through “consensual validation” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 222).

Clarification of researcher bias. Since the researcher is a human instrument for data collection, one issue that must always be considered during qualitative research is bias (Merriam et al, 2002). Merriam et al. (2002) warned that research bias can affect all phases of the research process from participant selection to “the subsequent generalizability of the findings” (p. 147). Glesne (2006) suggested that researchers confront bias by reflecting upon their own subjectivity and by remaining conscious of it throughout the research. Peshkin (1988) stated, “Researchers should systematically seek out their subjectivity, not retrospectively when the data have been collected and the analysis is complete, but while the research is actively in progress” (p. 17).

I realized at the beginning of the study that I was engaging in research that had emerged from my own personal interest in the topic of Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP). As a multilingual learner, I held my own existing views of how second languages were acquired. Due to the long-term relationships with the participants and their families when I was their classroom teacher, I knew I held certain perceptions of the participants. Because of this, I explored my feelings of bias in my fieldwork journal, reflecting upon my subjectivity throughout the study. To remain aware of how my biases might influence my interpretation of the data, I created codes relating to my assumptions and discussed my feelings of bias with the program director at our weekly peer debriefs as issues arose. Peshkin (1988) declared that researchers belong “in the subjective underbrush of our own research experience” (p. 20), continually taming their own subjectivity.

Member checking. Member checking is an important procedure used in qualitative research that involves obtaining feedback about the researcher's findings from the participants themselves (Schwandt, 2007). It is one more opportunity to add to the validity of the study by allowing the participants to add to, accept or correct the findings. Member checking also allows participants to express any concerns they have about what has been written about them and choose not to have some or all of the findings published. According to Schwandt (2007), during member checking the researcher "must stand apart from the world he or she is studies" (p. 188) and allow the participant the opportunity to take ownership of the words written about him or her. Along with adding validity to the study, member checking is the honorable and courteous thing to do for participants who have allowed the researcher into their lives (Schwandt, 2007).

I began member checking with the participants and their families when I began my home visits during Week 2 of the study. During the initial home visit, with the help of an interpreter, I summarized and reviewed my findings up to that point and asked the participants and their parents to comment on them. For example, working with Eduardo in the regular classroom, he and I often read and discussed bilingual books during reading conferences. Although he would occasionally volunteer to read aloud in Spanish to me, we most commonly discussed cognates and small phrases in Spanish that were similar to English. I did not ask him to read aloud for me in Spanish. He had told me that his mother read aloud to him at home in Spanish, which he said he understood. During one of my home visits, I asked Eduardo's mother how well she thought Eduardo was reading in Spanish. She looked at me with surprise, stating that none of her children could read in Spanish. Because I am not a Spanish-speaker, I had assumed that Eduardo was

reading in Spanish along with his mother, but that was not the case. Member checking was critical throughout this research as it allowed me to ensure that I was representing the participants, their families, and their ideas accurately (Glesne, 2006).

Rich, thick descriptions. Geertz (1973) asserts, “Ethnography is thick description” (pp. 9-10). However, what exactly constitutes *thick* description, as opposed to *thin*, is a topic which is still debated today (Schwandt, 2007). Generating rich, thick descriptions is more than merely accumulating mounds of important details. While thick descriptions can begin with transcription and other forms of collected data, it is the researcher’s interpretation of the circumstances, the meanings, and motivations attached to the data that turn the act of recording, or transcribing, into thick descriptions (Schwandt, 2007). Transcription is not merely recording the way things are. Rather, transcription and other forms of data collection must be contextualized in order for the data to yield to analysis (Schwandt, 2007). It is through the researcher’s interpretation, as opposed to the recording of details, which make descriptions rich and thick. I was able to provide thick, rich details throughout this research study because I meticulously poured over the data, including the photographs, cross-referenced what I thought the participants said with what was actually written on the transcriptions, and drew upon my prolonged engagement with the participants and their families.

The Role of the Researcher

As I began this research, I positioned myself as both a teacher-as-researcher and a teacher-as-learner because I realized how researchers place themselves within their research affects all other aspects of the study. My research is autobiographical and personal as well as professional in nature because I have spent my entire career—over 28

years—as a teacher in this same school and community. I was very familiar with the school and community’s physical layout and was already immersed in the social setting when the research began. I was also familiar with the participants and their families because I was the participants’ third grade teacher. Naturally, I brought my personal experiences, background knowledge of the students, their families, the school, and the community into the research as well. It would have been impossible to do otherwise.

Drawing Upon My Own Bilingual Experiences. I was raised in a bi-lingual home in which my parents spoke both English and German. English, however, was my first and primary language until I was five. Learning German as a second language did not become a priority for me, or even something my parents encouraged, until my family realized we would be moving overseas to follow my father, an Army officer, who was stationed in Kaiserslautern, Germany.

Learning to speak German became critical for me because it was the only way I could communicate with my German grandparents, other relatives, and German-speaking friends. It was something I wanted very much to do and something I worked at to learn. But, I was not immersed in the German language. My first language, English, was a scaffold my parents and I used to build a foundation for my second language. Being able to ask my mother questions about German words and phrases in my native language helped support my language learning in a way that immersion could not have accomplished. Using English while I learned German allowed me to get detailed explanations when I was confused. When my mom or dad gave me feedback in English, it was specific and clear and usually in English or a mixture of English and German.

Using my first language to support the learning of my second language is how I learned to speak German quickly and naturally.

Because of my firsthand experience learning to speak a second language, I recognized the importance of encouraging students to use their L1 to support their L2 learning as this study began. I also recognized the importance of using multilingual learners' social, cultural, and linguistic knowledge to enhance the curriculum. My bilingual background helped to form the theoretical framework of this study and influenced the way in which I approached my role as a researcher.

Drawing Upon My Own Teaching Experiences. As I began this research, I joyfully embraced learning from multiple viewpoints and was comfortable working with diverse students, but such would not have been the case nearly 30 years ago from the perspective of a white, middle-class, novice teacher who knew nothing about working in this particular rural area or with multilingual learners. Had this study been conducted nearly 30 years ago when I began my teaching career, my theoretical framework, approach to this study, and perceptions of the participants and their families would have been radically different.

As a new teacher right out of college, I had never heard of McLaughlin Elementary, a small K-6 school located in rural Jonesboro, South Carolina. When I was assigned there, I planned on using this initial teaching placement as a “foot in the door” of the school district until I could secure what I considered a “better” teaching position at a more affluent school closer to my home. Across the nation, high-poverty, rural schools have higher teacher attrition rates than more affluent, urban and suburban schools, struggle to keep highly qualified, experienced teachers and suffer the most detrimental

effects from high teacher attrition (Aud et. al, 2011; South Carolina Center for Educator Recruitment, Retention, and Advancement, 2008). In South Carolina, the teacher attrition rate can be as high as 40-50% (South Carolina Center for Educator Recruitment, Retention, and Advancement, 2008).

As a first-year teacher from outside the community, I held many misconceptions, as many outsiders do, of rural students' language abilities and their literacy practices (Borman, 1998; Colombo, 2005; Espinosa, 2008; Téllez, 2004; Zentella, 2005). My preconceived notions about rural students included images of poor, academically challenged, often-barefooted children who spoke in long, southern drawls. These preconceived notions certainly did not include images of children from diverse, multicultural backgrounds (Espinosa, 2008; Téllez, 2004; Zentella, 2005). Despite being taught in my preservice classes that I should hold high expectations of *all* students, I am ashamed to admit that I began my teaching career with low expectations that my rural students could actually be successful readers and writers. After all, research suggests that children from low socio-economic communities are often hindered in school by their lack of experiences prior to entering the classroom (Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

However, as I began looking closely and listening carefully to how my students responded during reading and writing workshop, what they said and did during conversations throughout the day, and when I built rapport with them and their families, a huge paradigm shift occurred in my own thinking. I discovered that my students' had a plethora of specific cultural, ethnic, and linguistic knowledge, or funds of knowledge, (Leland & Harste, 1994) that were very unique.

Throughout the years, my students' stories of rural life have been rich with details about shoeing and riding horses, rebuilding car motors, driving tractors, barrel-racing, competing in rodeos, and traveling in 18-wheelers with working parents during summer vacations. As multilingual learners and their families migrated into the area and the student population grew increasingly diverse, my students' stories began to include accounts of helping a big sister get ready for her *Quinceañera*, family celebrations on *Día de Los Muertos*, baby Jesus baked in *Rosca de reyes*, Skyping with *Bunica* in Romania, and attending a family reunion in Pakistan. My students do *not* lack experiences prior to entering the classroom! The literacy practices present in these families and the "funds of knowledge" (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Moll et. al, 1992), which they bring with them into the classroom, help support their daily classroom learning (Johnson, 2010).

Instead of continuing to view my students' abilities from a deficit-based perspective and through a very ethnocentric lens, I began to realize how much home literacy practices and funds of knowledge help to support instruction, and how diversity can be used as an asset in the classroom. I gained an immense respect and appreciation for the resources that my students bring from their homes and other social groups into our classroom each day.

I knew as the study began that my own theories of second language acquisition, my own experiences working with multilingual students, and how I believed CRP should be implemented might not correlate with what I discovered through the research. I had to remain cognizant that I might encounter tension as I collected and analyzed the data. Yet, having worked towards this dissertation research for seven years, taking classes, conducting smaller studies, and "learning the ropes" as a researcher, I was able to remain

aware of the possibility that my subjectivity could get in the way of objectively interpreting the data. I guarded against my own subjectivity interfering with my research by acknowledging that bias did exist and that it would not be possible to remove it completely from the data collection or data analysis processes. Instead, I embraced the opportunity to challenge my own theoretical underpinnings and tackled this research from a teacher-as-learner perspective.

Summary

This qualitative study was designed to examine the literacy practices of multilingual learners and the social, cultural, and linguistic resources upon which they draw during reading and writing workshop when CRP is implemented. This study also investigated ways that culturally relevant texts and materials influence multilingual learners' understanding of the reading and writing process. Data were collected through participant observation, surveys, interviews, documents, photographs, and artifacts. I used ethnographic methods to both organize and analyze the data, employing constant comparative analysis to generate broad themes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). During the analysis phase, I looked across the data collected and created tables and charts as I began to refine the emerging themes. As themes and patterns emerged, I utilized narrative inquiry during the analysis to better understand the sequence and structure of the stories revealed to me by the participants (Grbich, 2007) and sociocultural theory, critical social theory, and second language acquisition theory as lenses to view the various aspects of literacy at work and play with the multilingual learners' lives. My findings are presented in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

The purpose of this multiple case study was to investigate the literacy practices of two multilingual learners and what, if any, social, cultural, and linguistic resources they draw upon when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is purposefully implemented into the reading and writing workshop. The two focal students—Eduardo and Juan—worked together in small groups and individually with me in the summer school setting. They worked individually with me in the home setting among their family members as well.

During the parent interviews, an interpreter translated my questions into Spanish for the parents and relayed the parents' responses to me in English. Several times during the study, the interpreter and I reviewed the written transcripts along with the audio recordings from the other home visits so that she could translate all the Spanish into English. Therefore, rather than include the transcriptions in Spanish, I have written the parents' responses in English as translated to me through the interpreter and indicated the translation by italicizing the text. When I did quote the parents directly in Spanish, I italicized the English translations to make the reading easier to understand.

This chapter is organized around the broad themes and common threads that emerged as I analyzed the data. Rich, detailed descriptions of the two focal students offer a glimpse into each participant's life and describe who they are as dynamic listeners, speakers, readers, and writers. Using the stories they conveyed about their interactions at home, in school, and within the local community and the photographs they shared of

important people, places, things, and events, I gained a better understanding of the resources upon which they drew and how literacy took shape within their lives.

Because I was the participants' former third grade teacher, I had, as a natural part of my teaching, taken reading and writing conference notes, collected writing samples, and already knew Eduardo and Juan. I found myself within a cyclical process of wonder and discovery, marvel and unearthing as I analyzed the data. Many times, I reflected upon my favorite poem, Frost's (1920) *The Road Not Taken*, because I was unsure of which way to proceed. At those times, I reached back to my theoretical framework for guidance and relied heavily upon that structure to help me continue. Specifically, I sought to understand:

1. What social, cultural, and linguistic resources do multilingual learners draw upon when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented within the curriculum?
2. What literacy practices do multilingual learners enact during reading and writing workshop when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented?
3. In what ways do culturally relevant texts and materials influence multilingual learners' understandings of the reading and writing process?

Social, Cultural, and Linguistic Resources of Multilingual Learners

Home environments and families' beliefs are the most influential and powerful component of students' language and literacy development, yet these aspects are often underappreciated by teachers and underutilized in classrooms (Gadsden, 1992). Many teachers are searching for ways to improve communications between the school and the homes of their culturally and linguistically diverse students and increase family

involvement (Araujo, 2009). Because I wanted to create and implement culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP), I needed to gain a better understanding of Eduardo and Juan's home environments, the social, cultural, and linguistic resources from which they drew, and the language and literacy alive in their homes. Therefore, in addition to working with the focal students in the school setting, I entered their homes and engaged with them and their families in their own familiar surroundings. Here are my findings.

Multilingual Homes Teeming with Language, Literacy and Laughter

As I entered the homes of Eduardo and Juan, I discovered that they were teeming with language, literacy—and laughter. Some of the literacy practices I observed mirrored school practices such as when Eduardo's family asked him questions about the texts we were reading or when Juan's mother asked him to rewrite something she thought was messy. Other literacy practices I noticed related more to the specific funds of knowledge that each child gathered within his home environment. Throughout all the language and literacy, which filled Eduardo and Juan's homes, I continually noted the light-hearted, relaxed atmosphere within which the learning took place. After each and every home visit as I coded the written transcripts, I repeatedly coded evidence of "laughter", "chuckling" and "giggling." Unlike most schools, which function under the pressure of mandated standardized assessments and rigorous language education policies, these participants' home environments provided a relaxed, comfortable atmosphere, which helped to lower their affective filters and encouraged meaningful communication.

Like most children in a literate society, Eduardo and Juan became aware of literacy long before they started school from listening to others, engaging in spoken and written language, and from watching others use language. Drawing upon the social,

cultural, and linguistic resources available to them in their homes and within their communities, these students amassed a wide range of knowledge, which has helped them navigate successfully through various institutional settings, such as school. Both Eduardo and Juan spoke Spanish as their first language and still speak mostly Spanish at home with their families. They used varying degrees of English, depending upon with whom they spoke and where their conversations occurred. Eduardo and Juan's families showed support for, and interest in, their children's language and literacy development in many ways. The following sections provide a glimpse into each learner's life and offer some examples of how language and literacy flowed through their homes.

A Snapshot of Eduardo and his family. Nine-year-old Eduardo lives with his father, Victor, his mother, Luciana, and two older brothers, Alejandro and Diego, who are in middle school and high school, respectively. When Eduardo's parents moved to the United States almost 20 years ago, they both spoke very little English. They settled in the community to be closer to Luciana's parents and siblings who also live nearby. When Luciana's father died several years ago, her mother moved in with her sister, Carmina. Two of Luciana's brothers and all of Victor's family still reside in Mexico and speak Spanish. Victor calls his family in Mexico almost every week.

Eduardo and his brothers were born in the United States. Their first language is Spanish. Luciana stated that Eduardo began speaking Spanish when he was about 10 months old, saying words like Mama, *aqua (water)*, and *Coca (Coke)*. Luciana said, "En español, gorditas palabras (*in Spanish, short words*).” According to his mother, Eduardo started learning English from watching cartoons at home when he was a toddler. He formally began learning English in the four-year-old kindergarten program at school.

By the time Eduardo entered my third grade classroom, he spoke English fluently and read near, or at, grade level. He enjoyed reading independently and read on a regular basis without prompting. He often chose graphic novels from series like *The Adventures of Captain Underpants* (Pilkey, 1997) and *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* (Kinney, 2007), which offered many illustrations to support the text. Frequently, he also chose poetry books and read with a partner. His favorite poetry included selections from the *You Read to Me, I'll Read to You* series by Mary Ann Hoberman (2006) and any Shel Silverstein books. At the beginning of the school year, Eduardo's mother, Luciana expressed concern that she could not help her son with his reading as much as she would like. At my suggestion, Eduardo began regularly checking out bilingual books from the classroom library and the school library so that he and his mother could read together in both English and Spanish. Unfortunately, the bilingual selection in my classroom library was limited to 10 or 15 Spanish titles. While the school library offered considerably more Spanish titles, Eduardo and his mother had read most of the ones of interest to him by the end of the school year. As this study began, Eduardo had completed the third grade, scored advanced on the English Language Development Assessment (ELDA) and was reading at, or near, third grade level.

Eduardo's writing was full of examples of the social, cultural, and linguistic resources he used to generate story ideas. In addition to stories about his grandmother, going to the beach and the lake with his family, and monsters, he talked and wrote about a trip he had taken to Mexico with his uncle and how much he hoped to go back. During a writing conference about his piece entitled *Going to Mexico*, Eduardo talked about listening to his Uncle Sergio tell stories about how he got to America and revealed the

significance of these stories by mentioning them three separate times within the same piece.

Eduardo wrote, “I like going to Mexico to exercise and to talk to my uncle about how he got here.” Later, he wrote, “Another reason I love going to Mexico is to talk to my uncle about how he got here.” When Eduardo read his story aloud, he read, “He tells me lots of fun stories about when,” and, then, finished the sentence with “[when] he got here” even though he had not written those words.

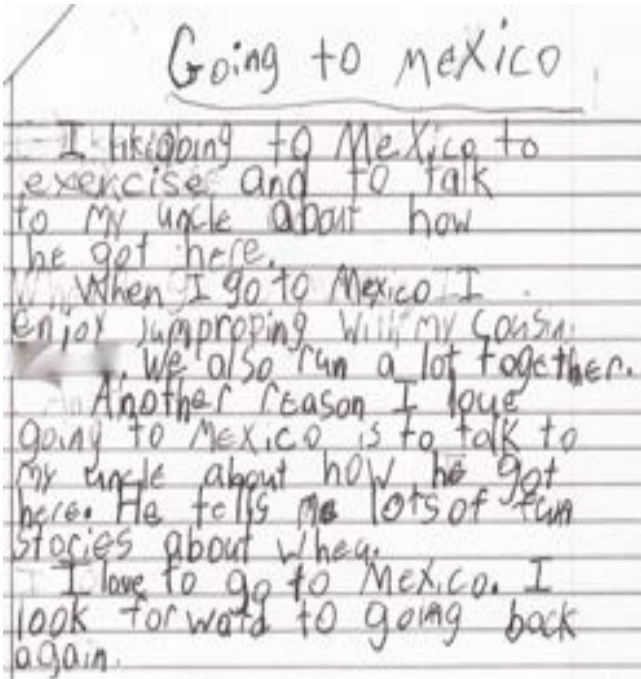


Figure 4.1. Going to Mexico. I like going to Mexico to exercise and to talk to my uncle about how he got here. When I go to Mexico I enjoy jump roping with my cousin. We also run a lot together. Another reason I love going to Mexico is to talk to my uncle about how he got here. He tells me lots of fun stories about when. I love to go to Mexico. I look forward to going back again.

Eduardo seemed reluctant, however, to talk about the specifics of his trip when we conferenced about this piece of writing. He focused more upon his uncle’s jokes. As Eduardo talked about his uncle, Juan listened and then shared some of his own memories,

including a story about his grandfather telling him jokes when he was young. When Juan shared his recollections of telling jokes with his grandfather, the conversation changed from a discussion about Eduardo's trip to the topic of jokes.

Mrs. S.: What a wonderful story, Eduardo! I didn't know you went to Mexico.

When did that happen?

Eduardo: I don't remember...a long time ago.

Mrs. S.: Was it during the summer?

Eduardo: Maybe. Yeah, I think so, maybe.

Mrs. S.: Did you fly in an airplane or drive in a car?

Eduardo: We drove.

Mrs. S.: That was a very long trip, wasn't it?

Eduardo: Yeah. My Uncle Sergio made us laugh. He tells jokes and makes us laugh.

Juan: My grandpa, he tells jokes to me. He always tells jokes when I was little.

Eduardo: I bought a joke book at the book fair. (June 16, 2014)

Later, Eduardo wrote a joke in his writer's notebook.

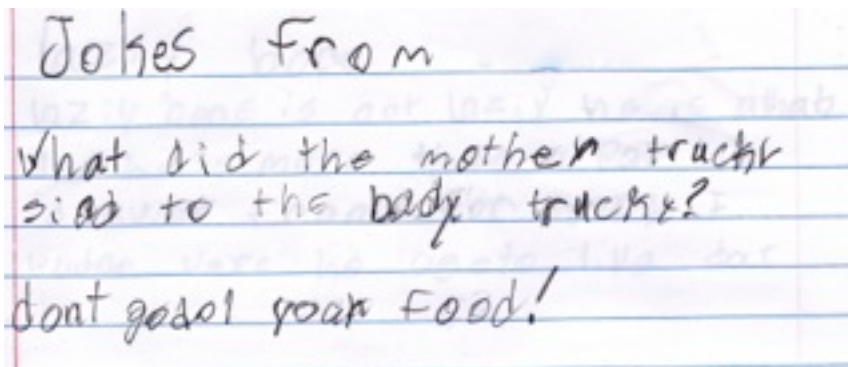


Figure 4.2. Jokes from [Eduardo] "what did the mother trucky siad to the bady trucky?" "dont godol your food!" [What did the mother turkey say to the baby turkey? Don't gobble your food!]

Another story Eduardo wrote was about a family vacation to the beach. In it, he recalled, step-by-step, the activities they had done. The story included a great many details of his adventure with his family, including unloading their belongings, putting on bathing suits, playing tag in the ocean, eating watermelon, and playing tag with his cousins. Eduardo wrote a much more developed story about going to the beach than going to Mexico.

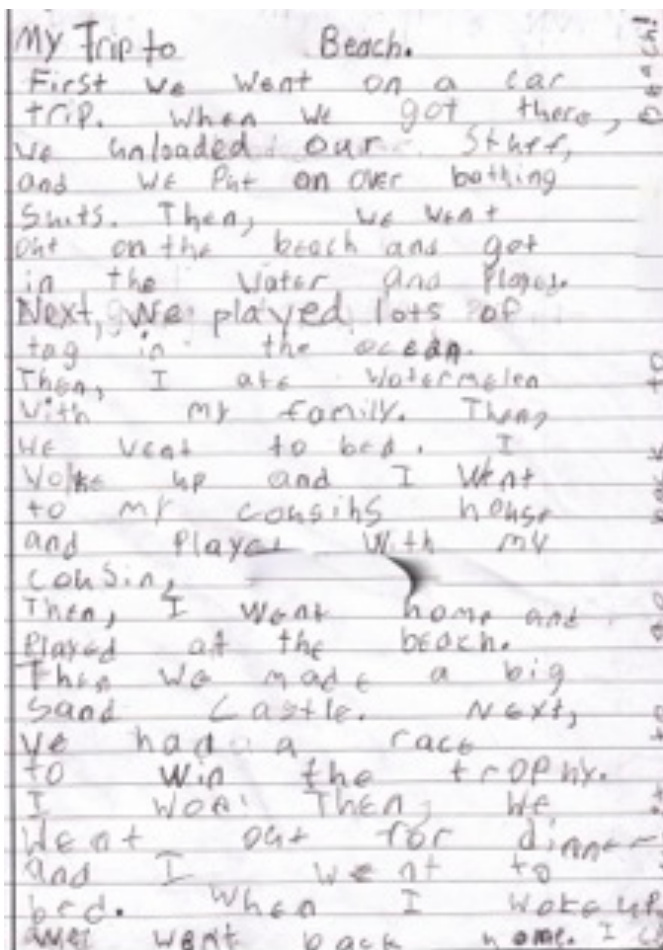


Figure 4.3. My Trip to [the] Beach. First we went on a car trip. When we got there, we unloaded our stuff, and we put on our bathing suits. Then, we went out on the beach and got in the water and played. Next, we played lots of tag in the ocean. Then, I ate watermelon with my family. Then, we went to bed. I woke up and I went to my cousins house and played with my cousin, [name]. Then, I went home and played at the beach. Then, we made a big sand castle. Next, we had a race to win the trophy. I won! Then,

we went out for dinner and I went to bed. When I woke up we went back home. I can't wait to go back to [the] beach!

In a parent interview with Eduardo's mother, I mentioned Eduardo's story entitled *Going to Mexico*.

Mrs. S.: Eduardo wrote about going to Mexico.

Luciana: *No, he never visited Mexico. He does want to go.*

Mrs. S.: [looking at Eduardo] I thought you wrote about Mexico. [Eduardo shakes his head, no.]

Mrs. S.: Oh, I thought you did.

Luciana: *Only Diego went. Two times!*

Mrs. S.: [speaking to Eduardo] Because you talk about wanting to visit an uncle.

Eduardo: Yes.

Mrs. S.: Wow. I thought you said you'd already been.

Luciana: *Maybe he dreams of these things. He has a big imagination.*

Mrs. S.: [speaking to Diego who has walked into the room] So, you've been to Mexico with your mom?

Diego: Oh, not with my mom, I went with my, um, uncle. You know Sergio?

Mrs. S.: Torres?

Diego: Yeah. I went with him. He's my uncle. [Although I did not teach Sergio, I remember him as a student at McLaughlin many years ago.]

Mrs. S.: Cool! I didn't know that.

Diego: But, he hasn't gone (looking at Eduardo).

Mrs. S.: Well, that's a lot of money. A lot of money.

Diego: Well, we don't go on a plane. We go in a car.

Mrs. S.: Still, that's a lot of time.

Diego: Yeah. (July 15, 2014)

I did not want to dispute what Eduardo said in front of his mother, but I knew that he had written about a trip to Mexico since we had conferenced about it. Knowing that he had not actually gone on the trip, however, revealed to me why the story lacked the same detail as his story about the beach, which he had experienced. Eduardo had used the stories he heard his brother tell about trips to Mexico and his experiences with his Uncle Sergio who he saw at family gatherings as a resource to create his story. Family histories are often carried from one generation to the next through stories in order to preserve cultural histories and traditions and to help children of newer generations gain a sense of the family's past, and so it seemed to be in Eduardo's writing about Mexico.

A Snapshot of Juan and his family. When Juan and his mother, Maria, stepfather, Miguel, and younger brother, Mateo, moved from Mexico to the United States shortly before he began third grade, no one in his family spoke English. Maria stated in the parent survey that Juan began saying small words in Spanish around the age of one and was expressing what he wanted to say by the time he was two years old. Juan had gone to preschool in his hometown in Mexico and completed the second grade before his family moved to South Carolina. He had done well in school academically, but, according to his mother, he would often get in trouble for talking too much and not paying attention.

Although Juan spoke almost no English when he entered third grade, he was already able to read and write in Spanish. He participated in our classroom activities listening, speaking in his L1 with two other multilingual learners, Julieta and Christopher,

and reading and writing in Spanish. Because I know very little Spanish, when I conferenced with Juan, I used short simple phrases and a lot of gestures. Julieta, Christopher, and Juan frequently worked together in small groups, sometimes with monolingual students, reading bilingual texts and writing together in the language of their choice. Sometimes, I would ask Julieta or Christopher to tell me in English about their conversations, but I was mindful about asking them to translate for me too often. My main focus was to encourage Juan to read, write, and discuss in the language that he knew, give him opportunities to be successful, and time to adjust to his new environment.

Juan did not speak any English until the spring of third grade. Knowing that multilingual learners may go through a “silent period” (Krashen, 2009, p. 26) when they are acquiring a second language, I did not ask Juan to speak English. I knew that when he was ready he would attempt it on his own.

One day while the class was reading independently, a monolingual, English-dominant student shared with Juan a Spanish curse word she had recently learned. He loudly replied, SHUT UP!” That was Juan’s first English phrase and the end of his silent period. From that point on, he began saying other phrases such as “I go bathroom?” or “Bye-bye!” as he left in the afternoon.

Every day Juan engaged in our classroom activities, listening, speaking, reading, and writing alongside his monolingual and multilingual peers. Whatever activities I asked the class to do, he usually attempted. On a few occasions, Juan would say, “No puedo hacer eso!” (I can’t do that) or “No entiendo” (I don’t understand) to which I would reply, “Si, en Español” (Yes, in Spanish!), encouraging him to work in his L1. In

February, I received the following valentine from Juan. I was touched at the emotion he expressed in it and flattered that he had compared me to family.

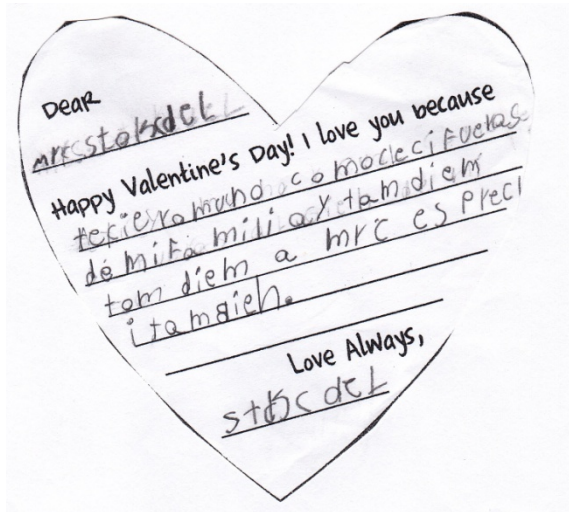


Figure 4.4 Valentine. *[Dear] Mrs. Stockdale [Happy Valentine's Day! I love you because] I love you so much like if you were my family and also Mr. C is special, too. [Love always,] Stockdale*

Unfortunately, my efforts to encourage Juan to read and write in Spanish were not always well received by other faculty and staff members within the school. Juan's ESOL teacher became very upset one particular day when she entered the classroom and saw that I had written something in Spanish for Juan on the board. As part of our morning routine, I asked the students to answer yes/no questions using clothespins on a t-chart. The students would place their clothespins on the left or right side of a poster board t-chart to indicate their response. For example, I might post the question: "Did you ride the bus to school this morning?" Using translation software, I would translate the question into Spanish so that Juan could participate in the activity. Knowing that the translation software was not always one hundred percent accurate, I asked Juan to read the question to me each day and made sure that he understood. My main objective was to allow him

to grasp the meaning of the question so that he could participate with the other students.

Figure 4.5 is an example of one t-chart.

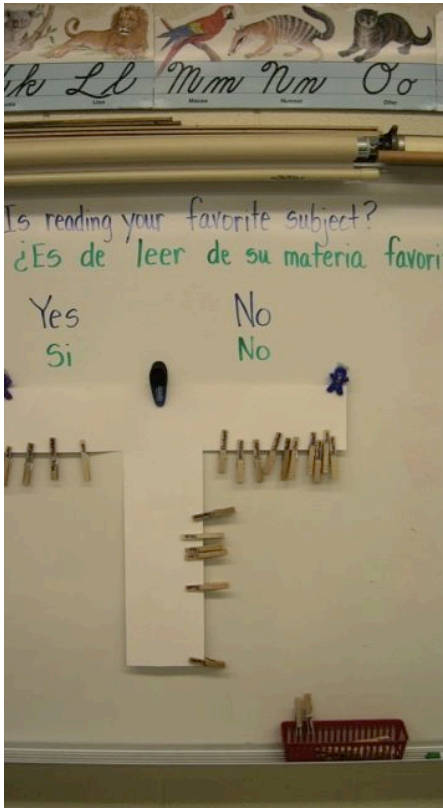


Figure 4.5. T Chart With Clothespins - *Is reading your favorite subject?*

The ESOL teacher expressed her concern that I had written something in Spanish on the whiteboard and was encouraging Juan and my other multilingual learners to use Spanish instead of English. She stated, “You can’t do that. You’re not certified to teach Spanish. Besides, that’s not correct.” I was stunned. Although I continued CRP practices in my classroom, I was less apt to share what I was doing with other teachers in my building for fear of being reprimanded for using a multilingual approach.

As this study began, Juan had completed the fourth grade, had increased his ELDA scores from Pre-functional (Level 1) to Beginning/Intermediate (Level 2/Level 3),

and was speaking English on a daily basis. He was the weatherman and Spanish expert on the school's morning news show, reading the weather forecast in English each morning and modeling simple Spanish words and phrases.

Both Eduardo and Juan's home environment's supported the participants' language and literacy development and promoted their children's academic success in numerous ways. Both families modeled literacy throughout their day-to-day routines and activities. They encouraged their children to speak, read, and write in both Spanish and English. In addition, Eduardo and Juan's families positioned themselves as multilingual learners, strove to improve their own language skills and displayed determination and perseverance while working toward their own goals. Furthermore, I noted the presence of laughter and its positive effects on the learning environment within these participants' homes.

Families modeling literacy. Eduardo's home environment provided him with many opportunities to engage in language and literacy in both his L1 and L2. His parents modeled reading and writing in the home and held high expectations for all of their children. Luciana stated during the parent interview that she read the newspaper and many of the bills in English. There were stacks of mail and an assortment of papers on the kitchen table. Pointing to them, Luciana said, *"There will be one or two words, maybe, that I do not know, but I make do. I grasp it by this word or that word that I do know. Then, I know what it says."*

Luciana enjoyed reading short novels in Spanish for pleasure. She also read *The Bible* in Spanish aloud each morning and at night to Eduardo during the family's prayer times. On the refrigerator was a hand-written copy of *Oracion al Espiritu Santo*, or

Prayer to the Holy Spirit. Other items on the refrigerator also revealed some of the family's literacy practices including a Mother's Day card with a message written in Spanish from Luciana's sister, an ink drawing signed by Luciana, several school photos of the children, a school newsletter, and a postcard reminder for a doctor's visit.

Juan's parents also emphasized the importance of literacy to their son and modeled reading and writing throughout their daily routines. Maria enjoyed reading in Spanish, especially cookbooks, and often surprised her family with new dishes that they had not yet tried. She read magazines occasionally when she was looking for advice on child rearing. Maria stated that she looked through the mail and read through the newspaper, even though she could not read much English, to find out what is going on in the community, "*whether it's good or bad.*"

Maria explained how she helped her son with his homework during a parent interview.

Mrs. S.: How do you help him with his homework?

Maria: *I try to help as much as I can even though sometime I don't understand it since I don't speak the language. He explains it to me how they explained it in school, what they talked about in school and then I catch on. I'll teach him and then talk to him in Spanish about it. But, if he's not able to translate what they talked about, then I can't. That's the only way I can help. What I like most is that when he translates in Spanish, I try to help him the best way as possible.*

(July 16, 2014)

Maria added that although Juan knew a lot of English, when she asked him to explain something from his homework, he sometimes struggled because he could not remember what he had learned in class.

Families encouraging bilingualism/biliteracy. Luciana helped Eduardo most often with his homework because her husband frequently worked late. She required her son to complete all of his homework and to read at home. Luciana read the bilingual books in Spanish that Eduardo brought home from school and asked him to read them in English. However, she shared that when she tried to read aloud in English her sons sometimes made fun of her. When Luciana was not able to help Eduardo with his work, she asked her older sons to help him. During the parent interview, Luciana expressed frustration over not being able to help her son, *“I think he’s doing good at school, but sometimes he gets mad when I correct him, you know, about his studies. It’s hard and he has to work at it.”* Luciana said she would help Eduardo more if she had more materials in both Spanish and English.

Luciana stated that none of her boys were able to read in Spanish. However, her older son, Diego, disagreed saying, “I’m taking Spanish now so I can read in Spanish a little bit. But, I kind of mess up.” Eduardo added, “I can read a little, but I don’t read much.” Luciana chuckled at the boys’ comments and shook her head saying, *“They don’t read good in Spanish. They’re learning to read and write in Spanish. I want them to learn.”*

During the parent interview, I asked Luciana how she thought schools could help multilingual learners and their families.

Mrs. S.: How do think teachers and the school can help students like Eduardo, and even the big boys, do better in school?

Luciana: *Give them Spanish class for thirty minutes who already speak Spanish so they learn it.*

Mrs. S.: Do you mean teaching the children Spanish?

Luciana: *Yes. And we would do a class there and like, just for an hour teach them Spanish.* (June 15, 2014)

About three years ago, the media specialist at the school met regularly with a group of Spanish-speaking mothers on a monthly basis. To encourage using bilingual texts in the classroom and to help instill an appreciation for learning a second language, the media specialist asked these mothers to volunteer in various classrooms to read aloud in Spanish and play games like Spanish number bingo. However, when the media specialist retired, the program ended. During the parent interview, Luciana mentioned that she enjoyed volunteering at the school and suggested starting up the bilingual learning program again at the school because it was one way she could be actively involved.

Last May, when Eduardo was in my third grade class, Luciana and approximately 10 other Hispanic mothers, including Juan's mother, Maria, prepared food, made decorations, and helped organize the school's Cinco de Mayo celebration. These parent volunteers were in charge of several activities throughout the large, school-wide festival. All of the classes cycled through various learning stations, which were set up in the schools' multipurpose room, and learned about various aspects of Mexican history and culture. As my third grade class visited the learning centers, I noticed the way in which

my multilingual students engaged in the activities, enthusiastically speaking Spanish with their mothers and friends. Eduardo helped explain about some of the food to his peers as we sampled it and enjoyed being a class expert during the presentations.

Juan's parents, Maria and Miguel, also provided many opportunities for their son to read and write in both languages at home. Maria stated she believed reading is a good hobby and that reading will make Juan learn more. She said that Juan liked to read about animals and animated characters. When I asked Juan if he had his own books at home, he proudly said, "Yeah, want to see them?" He went into his bedroom and presented a stack of hardback books, which I recognized as books he had received the previous year through a state-wide, literacy program. Only one of the books was bilingual, however. Maria stated that when Juan read in English, she sat with him, looked at the pictures, and listened. If Juan read in Spanish like when he read the *Bible*, or bilingual library books, Maria read with him. They often talked in Spanish about what he read, and Maria enjoyed when her son told her things she did not know.

According to the survey, Juan's parents encouraged him to read in both Spanish and English at least one hour every day. During the parent interview, Miguel confirmed that he required his stepson to speak, read, and write in both Spanish and English so that Juan could maintain both languages as he gets older. Miguel stated during the parent interview that he read aloud in Spanish to Juan, particularly *The Bible*. However, Miguel stated that Juan could be reluctant to practice his reading and do his homework. Miguel shared, "*Sometimes he'll complain about it, but I still make him read.*" Juan expressed his stepfather's sentiment about the importance of preserving both his L1 and his L2 when I interviewed him at school.

Mrs. S.: Do you ever read in Spanish at home?

Juan: I read both because my dad say I gotta read both because if I only read in English, I forget the Spanish. He say if I read Spanish, then I forget the English.

(June 12, 2014)

By encouraging their son to read and write in both Spanish and English, Juan's parents supported bilingualism and encourage biliteracy in their home. During the parent interview, Maria got very emotional and started crying. According to the interpreter, Maria was just very happy that I was taking an interest in her son and was willing to come to her home and help him. She expressed frustration about not being able to read most of the papers that came home from the school and found it extremely difficult to understand what was said when someone from the school called her home. Juan's stepfather added, *"They send a lot of papers home in English and we don't know how to read it. They don't tell him what it is and he can't translate it. They call and we don't even know what to say because we can't speak English and they can't speak Spanish. We get a lot of things from school in English, like his class page and his homework sheet. We need it in Spanish so we can keep up with our son."*

Families positioning themselves as multilingual learners. During the study, Eduardo's mother, Luciana, actively assumed the role of a multilingual learner in various ways. Firstly, she read along with Eduardo when he read aloud in English, sometimes silently mouthing the words, other times, openly reading along as if decoding words with her son. Secondly, Luciana spoke more and more English to me as the study progressed. Initially, she spoke very little English, and mostly observed when Eduardo and I worked. As Luciana became more comfortable with me, she became more confident in her

linguistic abilities and her affective filter lowered (Krashen, 1985). She used more English, translanguaged between her L1 and L2, and relied less on someone to interpret for her. Occasionally, she would even respond to a comment in English before anyone had a chance to translate. For example, once when Eduardo and I worked to put together a game of *MouseTrap*TM, his mother and brother, Alejandro, joined us. Many times during the conversation, Luciana acknowledged that she understood the conversation and answered aloud in English. Here is an example of one of those conversations:

Eduardo: Wait, it has numbers!

Alejandro: All right. This is number two. This is three.

Eduardo: Wait, wait, wait, wait!

Alejandro: Isn't that number three?

Luciana: This is six. No?

Eduardo: Try the other one. Not that way, this way.

Alejandro: I tried that! It should fit. Well, maybe it's this way. I don't know.

Eduardo: That doesn't go there.

Mrs. S.: Wonder if it goes...can it go under it?

Alejandro: Maybe it could. Can it go here?

Luciana: Yeah. *Where does this go, Son?*

Eduardo: This should be something over here. [pause] Put that man over there.

This is hard. (August 15, 2014)

To help improve her English, Luciana attended weekly Rosetta StoneTM classes during the school year with approximately 10 other Spanish-speaking mothers. The two-hour class was offered at school once a week and was free to students' parents. Childcare

was also available at no charge. Luciana usually rode with her sister, Carmina, or got a ride with a family friend. Since the family has only one car, which Eduardo's father uses for work, Luciana would often rely on others to drive her to school for various functions. Despite transportation issues, Luciana was very active at school and attended many school events such as Back-to-School nights, festivals, and parent-teacher conferences. Luciana usually attended school events with her sister or another family member so they could help translate.

I asked Luciana how she thought teachers and schools could help parents of multilingual learners. She responded that she wanted more opportunities to learn English.

Mrs. S.: How about helping the parents? Is there some way we could help you?

Luciana: *We don't know English and we need to learn English.*

Mrs. S.: Do you think Rosetta Stone™ has helped at all?

Luciana: *Uh-huh. But, we only go once a week. I don't study at home. I'm hard-headed.* [laughing]

Mrs. S.: You don't do Rosetta Stone™ at home?

Luciana: *I can't do it at home. I don't know the password.*

Mrs. S.: It's the same password as at school.

Luciana: *They haven't given me that. I need the website.*

Mrs. S.: I don't understand. It's the same as when you log on at school.

Luciana: *At the school they said we couldn't have them because we didn't have a license. Only the school has a license.*

Mrs. S.: Let me check on that. I don't understand why you can't use it from home. (June 15, 2014)

After inquiring with our current media specialist about the Rosetta Stone™ program, I discovered that the participants were not able to access it from home because of licensing restrictions. So, I suggested to our administrator that we make the program available anytime during school hours and she agreed. Parents were informed that they were welcome to use our school computers to access Rosetta Stone™ at anytime during school hours, however no childcare would be provided except during the designated Rosetta Stone™ class times. Since she learned that she could go at anytime during the school day, Luciana and other Hispanic mothers go to the school several times a week to use the Rosetta Stone™ program. Luciana helped support her children's L1 and L2 literacy development by modeling literacy in her home, encouraging her children to work toward biliteracy/bilingualism, and by positioning herself as a learner showing determination and perseverance as she worked to improve her own language skills.

When Juan was in fourth grade Maria signed up for and attended several Rosetta Stone™ classes with Eduardo's mom. However, because Juan's sister, Jacqueline, was not yet a toddler, bringing her to school for childcare was not possible. Because options for childcare were limited since they had few family members living nearby and few close friends they trusted with their children, Maria dropped out of the Rosetta Stone™ class. Now that Juan is a fifth grader and Jacqueline is walking, Maria has started attending Rosetta Stone™ classes again at school once a week, which demonstrates the importance she places on language and literacy for herself and her children.

Families laughing together. Each time I visited Eduardo and Juan, their families welcomed me warmly into their homes. They had cleared a place at the kitchen table to provide a workspace for the participants and me. I was always offered refreshments. The atmosphere was noticeably relaxed and comfortable. There was a jovial spirit among the participants and they frequently joked with one another and with me.

As I reflected upon each home visit and coded the audio recordings that I had transcribed, I began to realize how often laughter enveloped the language and literacy events occurring within the home, particularly when we discussed old photos or photos the participants had taken for the photo essay project. Curious about the concept that laughter might be a distinguishing feature between students' home environments and the school setting, I began coding for the words "laugh," "laughs," "laughing," and "laughter" and looked for examples in the transcripts. I found many examples throughout the research.

At the parent interview in Eduardo's home, the following example illustrates how laughter naturally became a part of the conversation within this family:

Mrs. S.: Eduardo says you are a very good cook.

Luciana: *(Mom laughs and rubs Eduardo's belly lovingly.) Yeah, you can tell he likes it. (laughing)*

(Eduardo giggles and playfully pushes his mother's hand away from his stomach.)

(July 15, 2014)

Later, during the same home visit, Eduardo and I discussed the photographs he planned to use for his *Important Book*. One of the photos that Eduardo took showed his

mother glancing at the camera with a surprised expression on her face. She had not expected him to take her picture. When Eduardo pulled the photo from an envelope in his writing folder and showed it to her, he began laughing. He tried to put it in the pile with the photos to use for his Important Book. His mother objected, saying, “*What’s wrong with it? Don’t put it there.*” Eduardo continued to laugh, acting as if he would add it to his book. Then, his mother and brother began laughing, too. As the family laughed, I began to laugh as well.

The presence of laughter was also evident when I visited Juan’s home. During one of those visits, Juan and I began discussing the photos he had taken for his photo essay project. As we talked about the pictures of his family in their swimming pool, his mother, Maria, and brother, Mateo, gathered around the kitchen table. The following conversation occurred:

Mrs. S.: Tell me about this one.

Juan: Uh...the pool where we used to have.

Mrs. S.: So that’s another one? That’s another way you have fun. You swim in the pool. (*Family laughs at photo.*)

Maria: *They were seeing who could hold their breath the longest. (Mom laughs.)*

Mrs. S.: Who won?

Maria: *Nobody! (Everyone laughs.)* (July 16, 2014)

I was so intrigued with the idea of laughter being a significant part of the literacy learning within these homes that I analyzed all of the home visit transcripts for codes relating to laughter and found examples of it each and every time I visited the

participants. In addition, I chose three transcriptions from my home visits (from the beginning, middle, and end of the study) with each participant, tallied the number of times I coded “laugh”, laughs”, “laughing”, or “laughter” and created a frequency count table to note the pattern in the data. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 provide the data.

Table 4.1

Frequency Count Table (Eduardo)

Codes	Home Visit 1	Home Visit 2	Home Visit 3
Laugh	6	4	1
Laughs	9	18	22
Laughing	24	15	15
Laughter	4	7	1
Total	43	44	39

Table 4.2

Frequency Count Table (Juan)

Codes	Home Visit 1	Home Visit 2	Home Visit 3
Laugh	2	13	0
Laughs	22	60	7
Laughing	9	26	7
Laughter	9	4	0
Total	42	133	14

Laughter was always present when I worked with these students in their homes and proved to be a distinguishing feature within their home environments. The cheerful climate within the home helped to lower the participants' affective filters and, thus, helped support their literacy learning. Vlieghe, Simons, and Masschelein (2009) contended that laughter "abolishes all cultural, social, pedagogical, or political distinctions that man constructs ... [and is]...a communizing and equalizing experience" (p.208). Many times as the participants, their families, and I laughed and learned together, the families turned the literacy activities into family literacy events.

Families turning literacy into a family event. Each time I visited Eduardo and Juan's homes, their families promoted their children's academic success by showing support for, and interest in, the children's language and literacy development. Family members served as constant resources for the participants. Parents and siblings often turned our reading and writing conferences into family literacy events by gathering around the table while we worked together, discussing texts, sharing ideas during writing conferences, and joining us when we played a game. Unlike school practices that often focus on independent work, competition, and individual effort (Johnson & Johnson, 1999), these families' literacy practices were more social and collaborative. They included people chiming in, supporting the participants' reading or writing, and urging them along. Sometimes family members became directly involved in our activities and other times they merely stayed in close proximity, listening, interjecting comments, and asking questions. When I left assignments to be completed, the participants' parents and other family members helped to make sure that the work was done before I returned.

In Eduardo's home. At Eduardo's home, he and I worked together at a small, laminated table in the kitchen, adjacent to the living room. Luciana would usually join us at the table or sit nearby reading a book. Occasionally, she would interject a question or comment, even when I thought she was not listening. To some degree, Luciana would always involve herself in whatever Eduardo and I were doing.

Sometimes, Luciana would follow along as Eduardo read in English, correcting him in Spanish if she could, or telling him to speak louder. During writing, Luciana would tell Eduardo to erase and rewrite something he had written. She complained when he was writing too sloppily, was not staying on the lines, or was not leaving enough space between his words. She would often scrutinize his work when he read his own writing aloud, proofreading for capital letters and punctuation. Eduardo's mother was very particular about his penmanship. She would tap his paper when she found an error and remind him in Spanish to correct it. Although Luciana struggled to read Eduardo's writing, she could and did help him with his handwriting and some conventions, which is something she could accomplish without having to know exactly what the text said. Luciana, stated, *"I want you to help my son write better because he doesn't know how."*

Eduardo's older brothers also became active participants of our reading and writing conferences by joining in on our discussions or offering personal connections to the texts. For example, while Eduardo was reading a book about soccer, we began discussing the names of various kicks. When Eduardo read about a bicycle kick, which according to the text is complicated and dangerous, I asked him if he had ever seen anyone do that particular move. Eduardo answered that he had not. From the living

room, Alejandro offered, “I have...on TV. You're supposed to look like, half like a back flip. Like you land on your head. It's bad.”

Later, as Eduardo read about different types of soccer equipment, Alejandro got up from the couch and joined us at the table to look at the book with us.

Mrs. S.: So, you read that flexible shoes are important in soccer, right? Why do you think having flexible shoes is important?

Eduardo: ‘Cause you might kick it hard and your ankle would hurt.

Mrs. S.: Okay. You want your shoes to bend and be flexible.

Alejandro: But, *why* does shoes need to be flexible?

Eduardo: Um...[5-second pause]. I don't know.

Alejandro: ‘Cause they've got to move around and move their feet. When something's flexible, it's moving a lot. (August 5, 2014)

Alejandro joined the conversation about the book, even questioning Eduardo as if he were the teacher. I wondered if he did this naturally because he regularly helped Eduardo with his schoolwork. Although Luciana was sitting beside Eduardo, she did not say anything when Alejandro stepped in. She seemed pleased that Alejandro was helping his brother and was involved in the conversation. Within Eduardo's household, literacy was a family event.

In Juan's home. When I visited Juan's home, Maria sometimes took her younger children into her bedroom and entertained them so that Juan and I could work quietly. Most of the time, however, she occupied the younger children in the living room nearby. She routinely asked questions about what we were doing and made comments in Spanish to Juan. Sometimes she offered help when asked.

As Juan sorted through the photos he had taken for his photography project, his mother and younger brother, Mateo, joined us at the kitchen table. Juan held up a photo of himself eating cake. Mateo yelled, “That’s my birthday!” There was much conversation in Spanish about Mateo’s birthday celebration as well as the other photos—Juan’s sister, his friends, his bus driver, his favorite toys, and playing in the swimming pool with his stepdad. Maria got up from the table and disappeared into the bedroom while Juan and I continued to discuss what he planned to write.

A few moments later Maria reappeared with a handful of photographs from Juan’s childhood in Mexico. There were photos of Juan at birthday parties, his christening, with former teachers and classmates, riding a donkey, with a new haircut, and with his dog. Juan explained each photo to me, translating parts of the conversation in Spanish and English for his mother and me. When Maria sheepishly revealed a photo of a chubby-faced child about nine months old, Juan laughed loudly, “Oh, no! She’s going to show you why she calls me ‘Gordo!’”

I knew that “Gordo” was a nickname that Maria used for Juan. When he was in my third grade class, he sometimes wrote “Gordo” on his papers. Because of this, I, too often called him Gordo. Puffing up his cheeks, Juan laughed, “That’s me! See why they call me ‘Gordo’?” Looking at the photo of the plump, rosy-cheeked child, I made the connection. I did not realize that “Gordo” means fat or chubby in Spanish. I had no idea that I was calling one of my students “fat!”

“Oh, no. I’m sorry, Juan. I didn’t know what ‘Gordo’ meant.” I apologized.

“It’s okay” he grinned, “I like it.”

As evidenced by the examples above, Eduardo and Juan's families are important social, cultural, and linguistic resources for their children. These families support their children's language and literacy development in many ways. Both families modeled varying degrees of biliteracy in their daily lives, involved themselves in their children's learning activities and helped them with homework, often using Spanish to support their children's learning in English. These parents also encouraged their children to use both languages for speaking, reading, and writing, and explicitly talked about the importance of maintaining both of their languages. They positioned themselves as multilingual learners and modeled determination and perseverance as they worked to improve their own language skills. Laughter always became a natural part of the learning during every home visit and was a distinct characteristic of the participants' home environments.

Furthermore, each time I entered the students' homes, their families turned the literacy activities into family literacy events, which not only helped support their children's literacy development, but also added to the depth and breadth of this research, revealing the immense range of social, cultural, and linguistic resources available to these participants. The language and literacy surrounding Eduardo and Juan helped fill their metaphorical backpacks with a wide-range of social, cultural, and linguistic resources, which the participants carried with them in order to successfully navigate the school setting. In the following section, I will uncover some of the participants' wealth of knowledge revealed to me during the course of this study.

Unpacking Multilingual Learners' Funds of Knowledge. In all households, older family members transmit social, cultural, and linguistic bits of information, or funds of knowledge, to younger generations, which children carry with them like metaphorical

backpacks and use to navigate in social institutions like schools. In this study, Eduardo and Juan possessed a wealth of knowledge about a wide-range of topics, which they gathered from the social, cultural, and linguistic resources within their homes and communities and accessed to find success during reading and writing workshop. The participants used the wisdom and information collected from their households as social resources and tools in various social settings. Using the participants' interviews, surveys, oral and written narratives, and their photographs of important people, places, events, and things, I discovered a great deal about the funds of knowledge they possess. In this section, I unpack the funds of knowledge alive in both participants' homes and explain how this information came to bear on the curriculum that I offered in the classroom.

As I entered these students' homes and engaged with their families, there were many times in which the lines between teacher and learner blurred. As I relinquished sole control, the participants and their families positioned themselves as experts and we traded roles as teacher and learner, allowing me to see into their lives in a way that would not have been possible from the traditional stance/lens of a teacher. Learning with and from the boys and their families allowed me to view them as experts in their fields and gave me a new perspective as I planned and implemented CRP within my reading and writing instruction.

Eduardo and Juan used their funds of knowledge to initiate and extend conversations, make connections to texts they read, and as fodder for writing ideas. I found myself enthralled with the depth of social, cultural, and linguistic knowledge that Eduardo, Juan, and their families shared with me. Eduardo and his family taught me about nopales, or edible cacti, how to make fruit water, about a traditional fifteenth

birthday party or *quinceañera*, about Maria, the Lady of Guadalupe, about carpentry, and about a traditional Mexican family game called *Loteria*. Juan and his family educated me on how to make jelly from Hawthorn berries and the canning process, about the importance of a child's third birthday, or *La Presentación*, about fishing, swimming, and taking care of younger siblings. Both participants shared their knowledge of gardening and food preparation, about family celebrations and special occasions like *Dia de los Muertos*, what they knew about soccer and games they played with their families.

The participants' funds of knowledge were an integral part of their cultures and their lives and contributed to their literate identities. Eduardo and Juan became more confident about our topics of discussion, more animated during our conversations, and anxious to continue our conferences. Bringing the students' funds of knowledge into the CRP reading and writing workshop allowed me to gain a new perspective of the wonderfully rich, cultural and linguistic resources the students accessed and used to find success.

Some of the topics the boys discussed and wrote about included gardening and food preparation, family celebrations and special occasions, soccer, playing games with family, carpentry, and taking care of younger family members. Although there were common threads of knowledge, which the participants shared, there were also areas of expertise, which were unique to each of the participants. Figure 4.6 is a Venn diagram comparing and contrasting Eduardo and Juan's funds of knowledge.

Gardening and food preparation. Eduardo and Juan possessed a wealth of knowledge about gardening, helping in the yard, and food preparation. Many times during reading and writing workshop, they shared bits of cultural wisdom as they talked

and wrote. Conversations and activities often centered upon what the participants had learned from their families about gardening, planting flowers, making flowerbeds, preparing meals, and canning preserves. The topic of gardening and growing food was the subject of many small group and individual conferences. Several of Eduardo's project photos related to the subject of gardening. Juan shared in detail how he helped his mother make haw jelly, of which I had never heard.

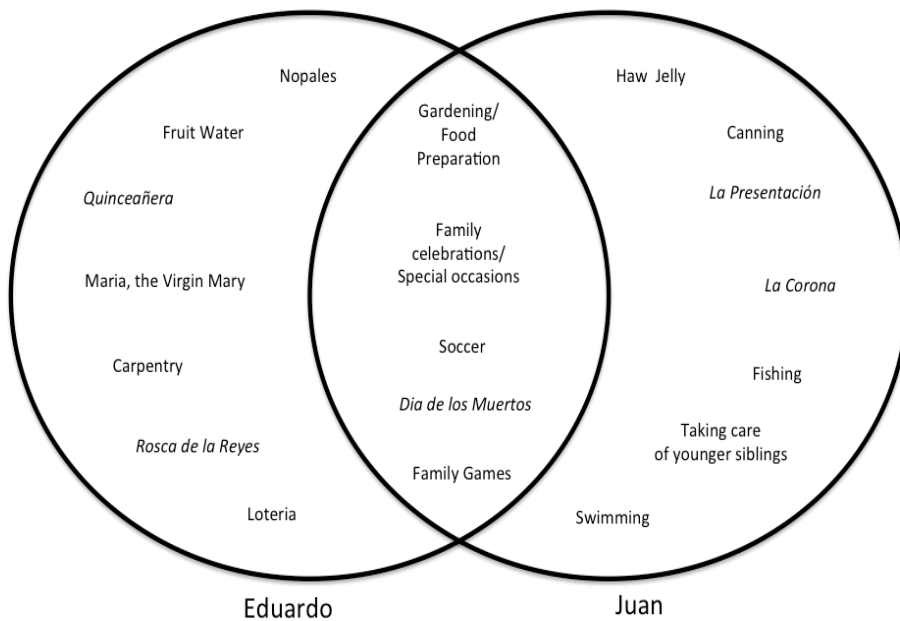


Figure 4.6. Venn Diagram of Funds of Knowledge

After reading a book about the harvesting of the cocoa bean in Mexico, the participants shared information about their own families' gardens and some of the foods they liked best.

Eduardo: Sunflowers.

Mrs. S.: Sunflowers or sunflowers seeds?

Eduardo: Yeah. Seeds. The sunflower you don't eat. You eat the seeds, 'cause that's like eating petals and stuff.

Mrs. S.: Uh-huh. Do you have sunflowers growing?

Eduardo: No, I think my dad told me they're dried. We had them.

Mrs. S.: The sunflowers?

Eduardo: One week we had two and then we had like thirteen!

Mrs. S.: Do you have other things growing in your garden, too?

Eduardo: Um, pickles and corn.

Mrs. S.: Now, pickles come from another fruit, or vegetable, well, fruit, before they get pickled.

Juan: Cucumbers!

Mrs. S.: *Si! Como se dice cucumbers in español?* (How do you say cucumbers in Spanish?)

Juan: Pepinos.

Eduardo: My dad told me before. You put them in this kind of juice.

Mrs. S.: Vinegar.

Eduardo: Yeah. (June 3, 2014)

Nopales and fruit water. Eduardo's home was located about four miles from the school near the end of a long dirt road with approximately 20 other homes. The road was quite difficult to navigate because of very large ruts and deep sand. Upon entering Eduardo's yard, there was a large fenced-in garden on the left, overflowing with various plants such as tomatoes, cucumbers, and peppers. Muscadine vines grew across wires attached between two trees. There were many cacti growing between the rows of the other plants. I was curious if the cactus plants had been planted or if they were wild.

Mrs. S.: I noticed cactus in your garden.

Eduardo: Uh-huh.

Mrs. S.: Your mom grew them on purpose?

Eduardo: She makes food from them.

Mrs. S.: She makes food from them?

Eduardo: She has to take off the pointy things.

Mrs. S.: I've heard of that before but I've never seen it. What do you do after you take the pointy things off?

Eduardo: You eat it. You cut it and eat it. But, I don't like it.

Mrs. S.: Oh? You don't cook it?

Eduardo: You can. You can put in a pot with water.

Mrs. S.: Oh, I didn't know that.

I had assumed that cacti had to be cooked in order to be eaten, but according to Eduardo, it could also be eaten raw. When I researched how to prepare and eat cacti, I learned that they are called *nopales* and are a staple of the Mexican culture (Pravel, 2012). According to Pravel (2012), eating nopales helps to lower cholesterol and blood sugar. Eduardo's knowledge of using cacti as a food positioned him as the expert and me as the learner. Although he was sometimes shy and reluctant to volunteer answers in class, as the expert in this conversation, he spoke with confidence. He was eager to share with me what he knew.

During writing workshop, Eduardo identified *las frutas* (fruit) as something important in his life and took a picture of a bowl of assorted fruit, which was on his kitchen table. He wrote, "The important thing about *las frutas* is they give you vitamins. My favorite fruit is kiwi. I also like apples and pineapple. My mom keeps them in a

bowl. We grow some in our garden like grapes, watermelon, and strawberries. But, the important thing about *las frutas* is they give you vitamins.” Eduardo’s cultural knowledge reveals that he understands that there are health benefits to eating fruit. Below is the picture he took:



Figure 4.7. Eduardo’s Photo of Las Frutas

Each time I visited Eduardo’s home, Luciana and her children were always very hospitable, offering me homegrown fruits, vegetables, or flavored water she had made with blended fruit and sugar. While Eduardo and I conferenced about his photography essay, his mother asked him to offer me some freshly picked Muscadines from their garden. Her son, Diego, came into the kitchen to make himself a snack as we began talking.

Luciana: [speaking to Eduardo] *Ask her if she wants some grapes.*

Eduardo: You want, um, grapes? We have grapes.

Mrs. S.: They look delicious. Where did you get those?

Eduardo: We grew them.

Diego: We grew them.

Mrs. S.: You grew them?

Eduardo: Yeah.

Mrs. S.: I would love some. Just a little. I don't want much. I just want to try them.

Eduardo: We got a lot of them.

Mrs. S.: How sweet!

Diego: You want to taste the water? We make water out of that.

Mrs. S.: No way! I would love to, if you don't mind.

Luciana: *Give her some.*

Diego: Get some. Go ahead. [handing me a plastic bag]

Luciana: *Tell her to get a lot.*

Eduardo: Mom said take a lot because we have a lot and, like, no one likes them.

Mrs. S.: Okay, I'll take a few more. [Diego laughs.] Okay, that's plenty.

Diego: That's what's left over from making water.

Mrs. S.: [sampling the grapes] These are good!

Eduardo: But, don't eat the seeds.

Mrs. S.: All right. [Diego laughs.] I'll spit them out. [Luciana hands me a napkin.]

Diego: She said for you to get some more. [Diego hands me a paper cup filled with ice-cold homemade grape water.] (August 15, 2014)

On a subsequent visit to Eduardo's home, I asked about how the grape water was made. Again, Eduardo was eager to teach me and anxious to talk about the fruit water. Yet because he was not quite sure how to answer all of my questions, he employed the

help of his mother to supply the information he needed and acted as an interpreter so that we could communicate. Eduardo's cultural knowledge of fruit and his linguistic ability to translate in both English and Spanish positioned him once again as an expert and me as a learner.

Mrs. S.: That grape water was so delicious! I was going to ask her how she made it. Do you know?

Eduardo: I'll ask her.

Mrs. S.: I've never had that before. Does she make that a lot?

Eduardo: Not really. We're growing them so she's waiting for a bunch of them to grow so we can do some more.

Mrs. S.: Do some more water?

Eduardo: It takes a lot to make it. So, we're waiting for a lot to come out.

Mrs. S.: Got it.

Eduardo: You want to know how my mom makes the grape juice?

Mrs. S.: Yes. It was so good.

Eduardo: Mamá! [yelling in Spanish to his mother who is in the other room.

Luciana walks into the kitchen. Eduardo speaks to her in Spanish and Luciana responds in Spanish. Eduardo translates.] She says she puts it in a blender, then she put it in the... [Luciana holds up a colander and demonstrates how she pushes grapes into it.]

Mrs. S.: A strainer, okay.

Luciana: [speaking English] And soda and water and ... [picks up a bag of sugar]

Mrs. S.: And sugar and water. Just how much ever you want?

[Luciana responds in Spanish.]

Eduardo: She said she gets three scoops of that.

Mrs. S.: Ah, no wonder it was so good! [laughing] It had a lot of sugar.

Eduardo: It's a big glass holder.

Mrs. S.: A pitcher.

Eduardo: Yeah.

Mrs. S.: Thank you for that. I like it. It was very good. I'll have to try it.

Eduardo: The lemonade is better.

Mrs. S.: Ah, okay. I never thought that. We use lemonade, orange...

Luciana: [Speaking English] Watermelon.

Mrs. S.: You make watermelon water?

Luciana: [Speaking English] Alejandro no like it.

Mrs. S.: [speaking to Alejandro who is reading in the living room] You don't like watermelon water?

Alejandro: No. Strawberry.

Luciana: Strawberry. (August 19, 2014)

In Eduardo's backyard, there were several outbuildings such as barns and sheds, which appeared to hold gardening equipment and pieces of lumber. There were also empty coops and pens, which looked as if they once held small livestock. Eduardo and his brothers talked about helping their father build the raised flowerbeds in the yard for their mother because she loved to grow flowers. One of Eduardo's photos (Figure 4.8) showed his father standing in front of one of the flowerbeds he had helped him build.

Haw Jelly. Before school dismissed for the summer, Juan presented me with a jar of haw jelly (Figure 4.9) and explained that it was a thank-you gift from his mother. I was very flattered by the gesture, especially since it had been a year since Juan was in my class and I had not yet started working with him in the summer program. Because I had never heard of haw jelly I researched it to find out the ingredients from which it was made.



Figure 4.8. Photo of Eduardo's father in front of flowerbed



Figure 4.9. Photo of haw jelly

I found that haw jelly is made from the berries of the Hawthorn bush, or tree, which often grows wild in thickets, and is indigenous to the southeastern United States (United States Department of Agriculture, 2006). When I interviewed Juan at the beginning of the study, he explained that he had helped his stepfather pick the berries, which were growing wild on the side of the road, and that he had to wear blue jeans to keep from getting his legs scratched. His cultural knowledge and firsthand experiences picking the berries on the side of the road gave him information about the Hawthorn bush that I did not know.

As he explained the process of gathering the berries with his father and helping his mother prepare the jelly, Juan moved into the position of expert and I assumed the role of the learner. He stated he did not particularly like the way the berries tasted, but said, “I like them when they already in the jelly.” Juan explained how his mother had gotten really hot water and cooked the berries. He said that she had also “cooked the jars.” He continued to describe the canning process, even stating that his mother had “put the berries in a towel and juice dropped out.” When I worked with him at his home, I saw many canning jars of jelly on top of the refrigerator. I asked Juan if that was haw jelly he had helped make. He replied that it was and attempted to give me yet another jar.

Juan’s firsthand knowledge of how food goes from the tree to the table was a valuable resource, upon which he drew during the summer enrichment program when he studied life cycles and food chains. Gathering berries with his stepfather and watching his mother can fruit gave him a broader understanding of where food actually comes from, how it is processed and prepared, and using safety precautions throughout various steps of the process (wearing long pants, watching out for snakes, “cooking the jars” to

sanitize them). This example also illustrates Juan's level of responsibility in the home. He is the oldest of three children and often helps his parents with many chores and tasks.

Family celebrations and special occasions. Both of the focal students' and their families talked about the many celebrations they observed throughout the year, which commemorated special events like christenings, birthdays, weddings, and religious holidays. The importance of these special occasions was obvious in the many photos arranged within their homes and shared by the families, apparent in the participants' conversations and writing, and revealed within the photos the participants took for the photography project. These family celebrations and traditions serve as tremendous resources which Eduardo and Juan used to connect their lives to their reading and writing in powerful ways.

Quinceañera: Fifteenth Birthday. The subject of having a *quinceañera*, or fifteenth birthday celebration, arose at Eduardo's home during the parent interview with Luciana. As the family about talked the various photos displayed around their home, Eduardo showed me a photo of his cousin at her *quinceañera* wearing a very ornate dress.

Eduardo: That's my cousin, Jasmine.

Diego: You remember her?

Mrs. S.: Oh, wow! How pretty! Yeah.

Eduardo: She had a *quinceañera*.

Diego: That was three years ago. She's eighteen now.

Mrs. S.: She's eighteen! [looking at Luciana] I know you have boys, but the fifteenth, the *quinceañera*, do the boys...?

Luciana: *No, the boys are optional. It's just whatever the person thinks. I didn't have one.*

Mrs. S.: No?

Luciana: *In my case, I didn't have the money. In Mexico you've got to have money to have one. They throw a big, huge party.*

Mrs. S.: So, even a girl can say, "I don't...it's okay." Or maybe her family can't afford it?

Luciana: Yeah. (July 15, 2014)

La Presentación: Third birthday. As Maria sat at the kitchen table sharing family photos, many of them depicted Juan's birthdays throughout the years. There were photos of children gathered around a large cube-shaped balloon piñata, Juan riding a donkey, and one of him wearing a dark suit. Maria stated that because she thought birthdays were very important, she still had Mateo's birthday banner hanging in the kitchen, although his birthday had been two weeks earlier. Juan had asked his mother to take a photo of him eating Mateo's cake and wrote about it in his own *Important Book*.



Figure 4.10. Juan eating birthday cake

He wrote, “The important thing about my brother’s birthday cake was eating the cake. We sang *Happy Birthday*. He opened the presents and we play with the presents. But, the important thing about my brother’s birthday was eating the cake.” Juan talked about the homemade star piñata his mother made for Mateo’s party, although he did not mention it in his writing. He expressed his excitement about his mother making another piñata, “He’s [She’s] going to make another one. You can come to my little sister’s party!” (Juan frequently confused personal pronouns, using “he” for both males and females.)

Maria explained about the importance of a child’s third birthday in the Mexican culture as we looked through family photos.

Mrs. S.: [looking at a photo of Juan wearing a suit] What is happening here?

Maria: *It’s his third birthday. It’s called The Presentation (La Presentación).*

Boys wear a tux or a suit. Girls wear a fancy, poofy dress. You take them to church and present them to the family, friends, to everybody. You get them a godfather or godmother.

Mrs. S.: *So, the three-year-old party is really big?*

Maria: *Uh-huh. Yeah, at church. You go up there and you get your blessing. You get the Holy Water on you and get your blessings, and you get presented. You have your little crown and your little bouquet, and the boys in their suits. The girls in their dresses. That’s how we do it.*

Día de los Muertos. Both of the focal students were familiar with Dia de los Muertos, or the Day of the Dead, which is celebrated on November 2nd. We read a book about the holiday in reading workshop and had discussed it. While reading an

informational text about Mexico, the focal students and I had the following conversation:

Eduardo: This one reminds me of in Mexico because my mom and my grandma used to make these [pointing to a picture of clay bowls]

Mrs. S.: Your mom used to make these in Mexico?

Eduardo: Yes.

Mrs. S.: Wow, you watched them make them?

Eduardo: No. She brung some from Mexico so she told me about it.

Juan: Look at this. [laughing and pointing to a page] Right here. The thing you put around right here.

Mrs. S.: The, like necklace of flowers?

Juan: Yeah, my mom used to make those.

Mrs. S.: I know in Hawaii they call them *leis*. But, I don't know what they call them in Mexico.

Juan: Crowns. La corona. [*the crown*]

Mrs. S.: Oh, you put them on your head?

Juan: You just put them where the person die.

Mrs. S.: You put them on the grave?

Juan: Yeah.

Mrs. S.: And what do you do that for?

Juan: It's for remember the people that die.

Mrs. S.: Okay. Is it on a certain day or is it just when you want to?

Juan: It's on a certain day.

Eduardo: That's like this one 'cause it's like the same picture.

Juan: Dia de los Muertos. (*The Day of the Dead*)

Eduardo: Dia de los Muertos. (*The Day of the Dead*) (August 28, 2015)

Eduardo talked about putting out food and flowers for his family members on the Day of the Dead, but did not talk about going to the cemetery as we had read about in the book. During the parent interview, Eduardo's mother stated that she and her family did not celebrate Dia de los Muertos at the cemetery. Luciana said, "*We have prayers for the dead, and put out calendars, food, like candy and fruit, for our loved ones and flowers, like marigolds.*"

Roscos de la Reyes. When Eduardo was in my third grade class, he talked about celebrating *Rosca de la Reyes* with his family. During the parent interview, I asked Luciana about her family celebrations.

Mrs. S.: In class, we talked about Rosca de la Reyes...

Luciana: *Three Kings Bread.*

Mrs. S.: So you celebrate it? [Luciana nods.] When is it?

Luciana: *The sixth of January*

Mrs. S.: What happens if you get the baby Jesus?

Luciana: *Sometimes there are three babies. Sometimes six. Whoever gets the baby Jesus doll in their piece of bread has to cook a dish on February 2nd for Día de la Candelaria. There's a celebration at church. People put out babies, the Christ child, in the manger. Sometimes they put a lot of babies in the manger and the babies are blessed. We eat. It's a big festival.*

Mrs. S.: What other holidays do you celebrate?

Luciana: *There are so many. On the twelfth of December, we celebrate the Virgin*

Mary, or Guadalupe's birthday. It's the same thing. We do the rosary prayers.

And then, Posadas is nine days before Christmas. (July 15, 2014)

Maria. Eduardo's family members are avid church-goers and attend mass on Sunday afternoons at a Catholic church in a nearing town. The priest presents the message in Spanish during Sunday afternoon service. I asked Eduardo about his experiences in church.

Mrs. S.: Do you read anything at church?

Eduardo: Um, not really. My mom opens the Bible.

Mrs. S.: Do you sing?

Eduardo: No. My mom, she sings. I don't know what they're singing.

(June 23, 2014)

Above one table in the living room were two large pictures of Our Lady of Guadalupe, who Eduardo called Maria. The Lady of Guadalupe, or Maria, was a central topic in several conversations with Eduardo and his family. Several strands of Christmas lights adorned one of the framed pictures. On a table underneath the pictures of Guadalupe were many candles, an open Bible, and smaller pictures of her. Eduardo took photos of the memorial to Guadalupe (Maria) (Figure 4.11) and wrote the following: "The important thing about Maria is she's the Mother of God. I pray to her every night. She protects us and gives us food. But, the important thing about Maria is she's the Mother of God."

When Eduardo shared with me his photos and writing about Guadalupe (Maria), I asked him if she was also Mary, who I knew as the mother of Jesus. Eduardo's mother offered a response, mixing Spanish and English, "Si! Is the same. Maria es de madre de

Dios y la madre de Jesus.” (*Yes! Is the same. Maria is the mother of God and the mother of Jesus.*)

When I researched Our Lady of Guadalupe, I discovered that Maria is a national symbol of Mexico and holds a revered place in the Mexican culture and history (Encyclopedia Britanica, 2015; Sacred Destinations, 2015). There is a basilica, or cathedral, in her honor in Mexico City, which was named the most visited Catholic destination in the world (Sacred Destinations, 2015.) Knowing the extent to which Maria, or Guadalupe, is valued in the Mexican culture helped me to realize her significance to Eduardo and his family and shed new light on his knowledge of Mexican culture and history.



Figure 4.11. Eduardo’s photo of Guadalupe (Maria), the Patron Saint of Mexico, with Alejandro’s soccer trophy in the foreground

Soccer. During reading workshop, Eduardo and Juan often read bilingual texts relating to their areas of interest. Soccer, or *fútbol*, was a frequent topic for reading and a major topic of discussion during the study, particularly since the 2014 FIFA World Cup

was being played. Many times while soccer was discussed, I took on the role of learner and the participants assumed the roles of experts as they explained aspects of the game, discussed their favorite teams and players and answered my questions. When Eduardo and I read a book that introduced the acronym FIFA, which stands for Fédération Internationale de Football Association, I mispronounced the term. Eduardo, the expert, quickly modeled the correct pronunciation for me, the learner.

Mrs. S.: So this is actually written in Spanish. [reading]

Internationale...(international)

E: [sounding out]...de Fútbol...

L: de Fútbol Association. So, some of it's ... [pause] and that's where we get

F/ɪ/FA, right? [I pronounced FIFA with a long i sound.]

E: FIFA...FIFA (/fi:fə/)

Later as Eduardo continued to read, I asked him about the types of penalties in a soccer game.

Mrs. S.: What happens when you're in trouble? Do they hold up cards?

Eduardo: Yes, um, like the yellow card is like a warning and a red card is like a person getting switched out.

Mrs. S.: So, what are some things you can get in trouble for?

Eduardo: Slide-tackling.

Mrs. S.: Slide-tackling? Is that what you said? So, how do you slide tackle?

Eduardo: It's when you, um, like a drive but you use the leg to hit the person and that can hurt them. (August 5, 2014)

After reading a bilingual text entitled, *Lionel Messi* by Jose Maria Obregon (PowerKids Press, 2009) about the famous soccer player, the participants and I had the following discussion:

Mrs. S.: Are you watching the World Cup on TV now?

Juan: Yeah.

Mrs. S.: I was watching Australia.

Juan: Australia.

Mrs. S.: And Brazil? But, I didn't finish. Who won?

Eduardo: Brazil.

Juan: Yeah.

Mrs. S.: Ah, is that who you wanted to win?

Eduardo: [laughing] Yeah! It's Brazil and Mexico right now?

Juan: Yeah, Mexico win!

Mrs. S.: They played already?

Eduardo: They're gonna play.

Juan: Mexico is gonna win!

Eduardo: I think Mexico's gonna lose because Mexico lost versus Brazil two times. (June 16, 2014)

Both participants seemed to enjoy teaching me about soccer and frequently shared their knowledge of the game with me. They also held very strong opinions about their favorite teams and players.

Mrs. S.: So, do you have any favorite players?

Eduardo: Uh...

Juan: Chicharito.

Eduardo: Chicharito.

Mrs. S.: What's his name?

Juan: Chicharito.

Mrs. S.: Chi-cha-rito?

Juan: Yeah.

Eduardo: Ochoa.

Juan: I don't know him.

Eduardo: The goalie of Mexico.

Juan: Huh?

Mrs. S.: Oh, you don't know his name?

Eduardo: Ochoa.

Mrs. S.: Oh, he's the goalie?

Eduardo: Yeah, Ochoa is the goalie. They never made a goal on him since he was the...

Juan: best one?

Eduardo: Yeah. No one made a goal on him.

Juan: Yeah.

Mrs. S.: Do you know when the game is?

Eduardo: I think it's today.

Juan: Yeah.

Eduardo: I think it's today or tomorrow.

Juan: It was...no...

Mrs. S.: So, who should I pull for, Brazil or Mexico?

Eduardo: I don't know.

Mrs. S.: Who are you pulling for?

Eduardo and Juan [loudly, in unison]: Mexico! (June 16, 2014)

Eduardo shared a story about his uncle going to a soccer game dressed in a Histeria mask. Histeria is the stage name of a Mexican wrestler who is known for the samurai-type mask he wears during wrestling matches.

Mrs. S.: Have you ever been to a soccer game...that's not, that's not little kids?

Eduardo: No. My cousin went to the game, Julio.

Juan: My uncle went.

Mrs. S.: To a real soccer game of like, professionals?

Eduardo: Yeah, he was wearing Histeria's mask.

Mrs. S.: He was wearing what?

Eduardo: Histeria, this wrestler guy.

Mrs. S.: He wore it into the game? [Eduardo & Juan laugh.]

Mrs. S.: Could you not ... you couldn't see his face? [Eduardo & Juan continue laughing.]

Eduardo: I saw him, he was...

Mrs. S.: It was like wrestler make-up?

Eduardo: No, it was like a mask.

Mrs. S.: Right.

Eduardo And he, like, “Ahhh!” He was letting his string on his hands. [Eduardo mimics his uncle, shaking his head and playing with imaginary strings on the mask.]

Mrs. S.: That’s funny.

Edgar: [inaudible] And the mask was covering...and when Brazil won, he was like, “Aww!” He didn’t know what to do. (June 16, 2014)

Watching soccer games on television was a family event at Eduardo’s house. He talked about the light-hearted bets his brother Diego and father made during the games.

Mrs. S.: Who watches soccer at your house?

Edgar: Uh, my dad, me, Diego. Alejandro’s not really...

Mrs. S.: Alejandro’s not really...

Edgar: He’s not watching the whole time.

Mrs. S.: Okay.

Edgar: And whoever loses, my dad and Diego makes bets about who’s gonna win. They have to do the thing. Last time, it was Mexico versus Brazil, I don’t know, and Brazil won. My dad had to drink a whole bottle of soda. He was laughing and drinking and I didn’t know how. [Mrs. S. chuckles] (June 23, 2014)

When Germany defeated Argentina to win the 2014 Fifa World Cup championship, Eduardo’s brother Diego initiated a conversation with me about the match. Luciana also good-naturedly joked with Eduardo and shared her opinions about who she thought was best.

Diego: How about the World Cup?

Mrs. S.: Yeah, I know! My nephew has gone crazy on Facebook. I can't hear enough about Germany! [lots of laughter]

Diego: Yeah, he likes fútbol?

Mrs. S.: Oh, yeah! [looking between Eduardo and Diego] So, who are your favorite soccer teams?

Diego: Mexico!

Eduardo: Uh...Mexico...Brazil...

Luciana: Argggg! [*making a disagreeable sound*]

Mrs. S.: [looking at Luciana] You don't like Brazil?

Luciana: No, no, no. [shaking her finger at Eduardo and laughing]

Eduardo: And Argentina.

Luciana: Okay.

Mrs. S.: So, Mexico, you think is one, and then Brazil, and then Argentina. In that order? [Eduardo nods his head.] (July 15, 2014)

Family games. Both Eduardo and Juan talked and wrote about playing games with their families. Eduardo's family enjoyed playing card games and board games while Juan's family played inside with electronic games and building blocks, and outside playing soccer, basketball, baseball, and swimming. Juan and his stepfather also enjoyed fishing together. The participants amassed a great deal of social, cultural, and linguistic knowledge as they played these various games. Negotiating the rules or limits of games, learning how to take turns, and exhibiting good sportsmanship are all important life lessons that these participants practiced as they engaged in play with their families.

Lotería. In the following conversation, Eduardo taught me about a traditional Mexican game called Lotería, which is similar to Bingo. Then, his mother added more information and clarified some of my misunderstandings.

Mrs. S.: What kind of games do you play?

Eduardo: This card game, you have to get quarters to play, and, um, you have beans in your hand and um, there's like cards and if you have that picture on your board you can put rice on it, and whoever gets, um, like Bingo...

Mrs. S.: Oh, okay. So it's like a Bingo game?

Eduardo: Whoever gets, um, one, in a straight row, um, wins, and they get all the quarters.

Mrs. S.: How cool! Does that game have a name? Do you know what the name of it is?

Eduardo: They sell it in the store. But, I don't know.

Mrs. S.: Do you know what store?

Eduardo: There's a Mexican store near the place where the cars gets fixed.

Mrs. S.: Oh, that's awesome. Well, you taught me something right there. I'm going to have to see if I can look up that game. I want to write, wait a minute, so it's a game with quarters, and you said, it's like Bingo. And if you get five in a row, you get the quarters?

Eduardo: Yes.

Mrs. S.: Do you lay the quarters on the board?

Eduardo: No, you put them in the middle.

Mrs. S.: Oh, in the middle? And how many quarters is it?

Eduardo: One quarter.

Mrs. S.: So, every game is one quarter?

Eduardo: Yes.

(June 24, 2014)

Later I asked Luciana about the game and she supplied more information about it.

Mrs. S.: Eduardo talked about a family game. [Looking towards Eduardo]. You might need to tell her...like Bingo, but with quarters?

Eduardo: When you get quarters...

Luciana: *He gets the money and we use coins to do it. We use quarters. It's Lotería, like Bingo.*

Lisa: Ah! So is it, you bought it at the Mexican store?

Luciana: *Yeah. But, the game is very old. There are cards like la calavera (the skeleton), la botella (the bottle), like that, and el catrín (the gentleman)...*

Eduardo: That's like my dog. He's Catrín.

Luciana: *You win, you win the money.*

(July 15, 2014)

Luciana described a few of the Lotería playing cards and explained that it was a very old game. When I researched it, I found that Lotería, which means lottery in Spanish, originated in Italy as early as the 1400s and was brought to Mexico from Europe in the late 1700s (Museum of Latin American Art, 2013). Since that time, Lotería has become a tradition in most Mexican households and is played throughout the country. Unlike Bingo, Lotería is not played by calling out of numbers. Rather, the caller makes up riddles about the playing card characters and the players cover the characters that match the descriptions. Sharing the tradition of playing Lotería is one way Eduardo's

parents have passed along some of their knowledge of Mexico's history to their sons and helped preserve their cultural heritage.

The discussion with Luciana about Lotería also helped clear up a misunderstanding that I had about Eduardo's dog's name. Earlier in the study when Eduardo had written about his dog, Catrín, I asked him to tell me more about *her*. He corrected me saying that Catrín was a boy. I assumed that Catrín was a derivative of Catherine and was surprised that the dog was male. When Luciana mentioned *the gentleman* playing card in the Lotería game, Eduardo added, "That's like my dog. He's Catrín." It was not until later while working with the interpreter that I realized that Eduardo dog's name meant "gentleman." Recently while shopping in a local discount store, I found a Lotería game and purchased it for my classroom. Because of my new understandings of the tradition of Lotería, I wanted to add it to my CRP classroom materials and use it with my students in the future.



Figure 4.12. Photo of Eduardo with his dogs, Catrín and Princess

Play. Juan talked and wrote about a variety of games and play during this study such as the importance of his Legos, his Playstation games, and his Pokèmon card collection. When he was in third grade, he often brought Pokèmon cards to school and played with them at recess with the other third graders. Long before Juan could speak English, his knowledge of Pokèmon cards helped him form relationships with his grade-alike peers and bridged the language differences between them. They also became a source of conflict if the cards were traded and not returned to the rightful owners. Several times I had to rely on my other multilingual learners to help Juan translate his side of the story when playground disputes erupted so that issues could be resolved.

Although bringing Pokèmon cards to school was frowned upon by the school administration, I asked for permission to allow my students to trade them when I noticed them reading and talking about the information printed on the cards. I believed that being able to exchange the cards was beneficial to all of my students because their high interest in the subject matter motivated them to read text with a high difficulty level. In addition, playing with Pokèmon cards afforded Juan opportunities to interact with his peers in a non-threatening way.

Juan also talked about playing outside in his yard with his family and friends. In his *Important Book*, he took the following pictures and wrote “The important thing about my yard is that I play in there. Sometimes I play baseball with my dad. Sometimes I play soccer with my friends. I used to get in my swimming pool but we ripped it. But, the important thing about my yard is I play there.”



Figure 4.13. Juan's photo of his yard.

Juan wrote about his swimming pool, "The important thing about my swimming pool is that it is fun. My whole family plays in there. We swim. We splash and throw water. We see who can stay under water longer. But, the important thing about my swimming pool is it is fun."



Figure 4.14. Photo of Juan in his swimming pool playing with his stepfather and brother

Although both participants shared similar funds of knowledge like gardening, family celebrations/special occasions, and soccer, many areas of their expertise were very different from one another. Eduardo loved to talk and write about carpentry. Juan, who

was the oldest of three children, was an expert at helping take care of his younger siblings. Following is a discussion of each participant's unique funds of knowledge.

Carpentry. When Eduardo talked about becoming a carpenter, there was excitement in his voice. He stated that he hoped to become a carpenter when he grew up because he was good at using hammers and other tools and because he enjoyed working outside. Eduardo was particularly proud of helping his father and uncle build their new back porch. He proudly displayed several photos of the back porch (Figure 4.15) and wrote about his love of carpentry in his writer's notebook (Figure 4.16).

In his writer's notebook Eduardo wrote, "I what to follow has ways" (I want to follow his ways) revealing how importance it is that he follow in his grandfather's footsteps and carry on the family tradition of carpentry. The knowledge of the age-old craft of carpentry has been handed down from generation to generation, from Eduardo's grandfather to his father, and now, to him. Carpentry as a fund of knowledge has long and deep cultural roots within this family.



Figure 4.15. Eduardo's photo of his back porch

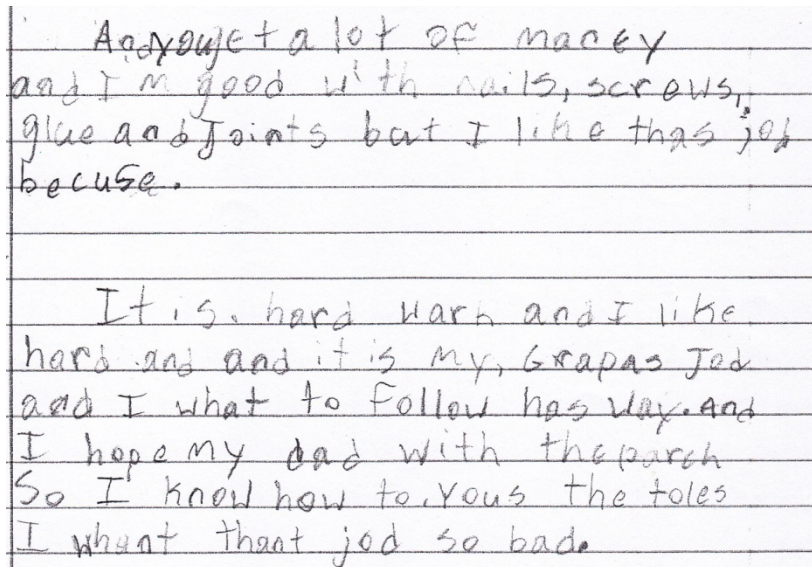


Figure 4.16. Eduardo's Writing Sample. *And you get a lot of money and I'm good with nails, screws, glue and Joints but I like thas [this] [job] becuse [because]. It is hard wark [work] and I like hard and and it is my, Grapas Jod [job] and I what to follow has way. And I hope [helped] my dad with the porch So I know how to. Yous [use] the toles [tools] I want thant jod [want that job] so bad.*

Taking care of younger siblings. Being the oldest of three children, Juan assumed some of the responsibility for tending to his younger brother, Mateo, and sister, Jacqueline, who are six and almost two, respectively. Jacqueline was born in the United States when Juan was in fourth grade. One the few occasions when Juan's mother would go into another room or answer a phone call, Juan naturally assumed the role as caretaker of his younger siblings and directed his attention to them. His sister's picture was the first one Juan chose to write about in his *Important Book*. He wrote, "The important thing about Jacqueline is she's my only sister. She's a baby. She's a girl. She pulls my hair. She plays with us. But, the important thing about Jacqueline is she's my only sister." During the parent interview, I asked Juan to read what he'd written about his sister and, after he did, his mother replied, "*I thought that was sweet. I've never heard him say something like that before.* [laughing] *That's sweet.* (July 16, 2014)



Figure 4.17. Juan's Photo of Jacqueline

On another occasion, while working with Juan at his home, his mother left the room to gather family photos. Juan got up from the table, pulled his sister's walker over to him, and sat back down in a kitchen chair. The baby began to laugh. The following conversation took place:

Mrs. S.: I like her bow in her hair. Pretty. Does she laugh a lot?

Juan: Yeah. [Jacqueline makes babbling noises. Juan pushes a toy closer to her and the toy begins to play the song, "*Oh, Susanna.*"] He'll say, "Come here" and he'll say, "Quiet." (Juan routinely confuses the pronouns *she* and *he*.)

Mrs. S.: Yeah? Cool!

Juan [speaking to his sister]: Little bebé. [Laughing]

[Maria enters the room holding family photos.]

Mrs. S.: [speaking to Jacqueline] What a cutie! Yeah. You're so pretty. How many teeth does she have? A mouthful. A lot of teeth.

Maria: Ocho. (*eight*)

Juan: Ocho...eight.

L: Wow. Cool.

Juan: They come four in back. (July 22, 2014)

By entering Eduardo and Juan's homes and interacting with their families, I discovered a wealth of social, cultural, and linguistic knowledge as I assumed the role of the learner and encouraged the participants to accept the role of experts. Leaving behind the traditional role as a teacher gave me new insight into the lives of these students and their families and gave me a fresh outlook on how to best plan and implement CRP within my reading and writing instruction.

Literacy Practices of Multilingual Learners

Eduardo and Juan were very aware of their speaking, reading, and writing abilities in both Spanish and English and used both languages for a variety of purposes. As the participants moved across multiple spaces and contexts, they drew upon a variety of social, cultural, and linguistic resources, and often translanguaged (Garcia, 2009), seamlessly alternating between Spanish and English to accomplish many tasks. Translanguaging was an integral part of both participants' daily experiences. Garcia (2009) stated that it is impossible to live within a multilingual family or community and not translanguage.

The participants used translanguaging as a speaking, writing, and reading tool to better understand the world around them and to navigate within the various social settings in which they were a part. Eduardo and Juan also used translanguaging as an interpreting tool when they translated for others and as a gatekeeping tool when they purposefully used their linguistic abilities to withhold information. As Eduardo and Juan talked about the various places they used language within the community, they each described circumstances in which their L1 and L2 seemed to expand and contract around

them depending on the level of the relationship with whom they were speaking. The more personal the space, for example, like at home or with family, the more likely the participants were to speak their L1. As they moved away from their homes and home cultures, and as they interacted with non-family members, the more English the participants used. Over and over again, the participants' social, cultural, and linguistic resources seemed to envelope them within flexible, overlapping bands of concentric language circles, which delineated their choice of language based on their proximity to their home cultures.

Translanguaging

Initially as I began analyzing the data, I used “language mixing” as a code because I saw so much use of both L1 and L2 by the participants. However, as I looked more closely at the research of Arnberg (1987) and Baker (2011) on language mixing, I realized that language mixing was not what I was observing with these participants and their families. Language mixing implies that a multilingual learner separates his L1 and L2 into two distinct caches and accesses each one independently from the other.

Eduardo and Juan moved seamlessly between both Spanish and English, or translanguaged, accessing all of their linguistic resources as if pulling from one language reservoir (García, 2009). Velasco & García (2014) do not consider the languages of multilingual learners “separate linguistic systems” (p. 8) but contend that as multilingual learners translanguage, they draw from one linguistic pool.

As I began to conceptualize García's (2009) idea of translanguaging, I envisioned an actual community swimming pool and used it as a metaphor to better understand how translanguaging worked within the daily lives of multilingual learners. Every

individual's linguistic pool is a different size, shape, depth, and dimension. All of the sociocultural factors, which make us unique, contribute to the construction of our linguistic pools. Yet, our languages are just as fluid as the water within those pools. Therefore, the dimensions of our linguistic reservoirs grow and change throughout the many seasons of our lives and as we change as learners.

Using the pool metaphor to think about translanguageing, I also drew upon Vygotsky's notion of apprenticeship and learning from more knowledgeable others. As we are learning to swim, just as when we are learning to language, we often need assistance to guide us through the process. In other words, we need someone to hold us afloat as we learn to dog paddle. Some of us feel safer in the shallow waters and have not ventured out as far as others. Some of us feel more confident in our language abilities and plunge in head first, unafraid.

Leaning on the tenets of Krashen (2009), I thought about how his concept of affective filter tied in so succinctly with the pool metaphor and García's (2009) concept of translanguageing. According to Krashen (2009), we learn best when our anxiety levels are low, our motivation is high, and when we feel confident in our linguistic abilities. Therefore, when our affective filters are low, we feel safe and relaxed. Oftentimes, at a community pool, we are relaxed and our stress levels are low. We are highly motivated to interact with others and simply have fun. Creating an atmosphere in which children feel safe, are relaxed, and are highly motivated is conducive to second language acquisition (Krashen, 2009).

Furthermore, using the pool metaphor allowed me to consider how Cummins' (1979) model of linguistic interdependence also comes into play during translanguageing.

The notion of linguistic interdependence states that multilingual learners can transfer what they know from their L1 to their L2, much like new swimmers use what they have learned while in the shallow waters to navigate their way through the deeper waters. Multilingual learners use translanguaging to negotiate new understandings, create meaning in their lives, and invite others into their social worlds (Garcia, 2009; Velasco & García, 2014). I observed translanguaging many times throughout this study.

Translanguaging as a speaking tool. During the student interview with Eduardo, I asked him whether English or Spanish was his first language. He replied he did not know. Later in the same interview when I asked him to recall some of his earliest school memories, he related a story that showed how he translanguaged as a young child.

Mrs. S: What do you remember about four-year-old kindergarten? Do you remember what language or languages you were speaking?

Eduardo: I don't really...I mixed Spanish with English.

Mrs. S: We'll let Mama tell us for sure. But, I'm guessing...if your parents were speaking Spanish, you probably learned Spanish first.

Eduardo: Yeah, I think so. In 4K, I was copying people when they were talking.

I copied them. I didn't really know what they were saying. (June 23, 2014)

Although Eduardo did not initially realize that Spanish was his first language, as he talked about his experiences in school, he became aware that as a four-year-old, he copied what other children said in English without knowing what they were saying. Eduardo's mother, Luciana, later confirmed during an interview that her son's first language was, in fact, Spanish.

When I asked Luciana what language(s) she used to speak to Eduardo, she replied, “Español. Todos. (Spanish. Totally).” When I inquired about the language(s) Eduardo used to speak to her, Luciana responded, “*When I talk in Spanish, he answers me back in Spanish. But, if he can’t, if he can’t say it, if he doesn’t understand how to say it in Spanish, he talks back to me in English. Sometimes he doesn’t answer me.*” Although Eduardo used both languages to communicate with his mother, sometimes he chose not to speak at all.

Translanguaging as a writing tool. Another example of Eduardo’s translanguaging occurred as he read through one of his rough drafts. He had used both English and Spanish in his writing but was unaware that he had done so until I questioned him about it.

Eduardo: [reading] We grow some in our garden like grapes, watermelons, and strawberries. But, the important thing about *las frutas* is they give you vitamins.

Mrs. S.: And the reason you decided to do *las frutas en español* (the fruits in Spanish) is because of the books you read in part English and part Spanish?

Eduardo: I didn’t even stop right there. I forgot I was reading in Spanish. I thought it was English there. (August 26, 2014)

Eduardo was surprised when I questioned him about why he wrote *las frutas* in Spanish instead of English. He did not realize that he had written in Spanish at all, nor did he notice that he had used both languages when he read aloud. Since Eduardo had done some of his writing independently, I was curious if his mother had helped him and if he had written *las frutas* because they were talking about the fruit in Spanish as he

wrote. However, when I asked Eduardo if anyone had helped him complete his work, he stated that he had done it on his own.

Translanguaging as a reading tool. On another occasion when Eduardo was reading aloud, his mother followed along mouthing the words silently. When he struggled with a word, Luciana supplied it for him in Spanish. This example highlights how effortlessly Eduardo moved between English and Spanish and drew from his linguistic repertoire with ease.

Eduardo: [reading] The important thing about *las frutas* (the fruit) is they give you vitamins. My...f-fav-...

Mom: *Favorito*

Eduardo: Favorite fruit is kiwi. I also like apples and pina...pine...p-

Mom: *Piñas*

Eduardo: Pineapples. My mom keeps them in a bowl. (August 26, 2014)

When Eduardo stumbled on the words “favorite” and pineapple” which he had written in English, his mother supplied the cognates in Spanish. Eduardo then repeated the words aloud in English and continued reading. Using cognates can increase language acquisition by making the language input more comprehensible even if the meaning and form between the cognates are not exact (Krashen, 2009). Both of Eduardo’s languages—English and Spanish—remained activated during the listening, speaking, reading, and writing process (Velasco & García, 2014). Eduardo’s ability to translanguage illustrates how he naturally utilized both languages to listen, speak, read, and write, even when he produced only in his L2.

Interpreting as a translinguaging practice. Juan moved between Spanish and English throughout his normal day and routinely switched between languages depending upon the person with whom he was speaking. During an interview, Juan shared some of his language experiences at home and within the community. He stated that he spoke mostly Spanish and some English at home with his family. Many times while I was at his home I relied on Juan to translate information to his mother and relay her questions and comments back to me. Juan realized how his linguistic abilities positioned him as an interpreter at home. He also noted how friends at school often asked him to teach them words in Spanish and English.

Mrs. S.: Which language do you speak most often at home?

Juan: Spani—both!

Mrs. S.: Both? You speak both?

Juan: Yeah, sometimes with my dad.

Mrs. S.: What language does your mom speak most?

Juan: Spanish.

Mrs. S.: Does she speak any English?

Juan: Not every single time.

Mrs. S.: What languages do you speak with your little brother and sister?

Juan: Um...both!

[Later in the same interview]

Mrs. S.: When you go to stores and you see people in the store, do you speak English, Spanish, or both?

Juan: If it's a family person, I speak just Spanish. If it's my friend, I speak both.

If it's a person, just a person, I speak English.

Mrs. S.: When you go to church do you speak English or Spanish?

Juan: Inside, I speak Spanish. With my friends outside, I speak English, both.

Mrs. S.: What about at school?

Juan: Um, I speak Spanish not when they is, when they are like my family people, I just speak Spanish to them. But, friends, I don't know. Sometimes, when they're Americans and they don't know how to speak Spanish, sometimes they ask me questions, and I say, "That's it." And then, I speak Spanish. Um, English and Spanish with friends because they ask me to speak words and tell me to speak Spanish and English. (June 12, 2014)

When the boys read bilingual texts together, they were very aware of their linguistic abilities in both English and Spanish. They used their linguistic knowledge to assume the role of teacher and expert when opportunities presented themselves. Eduardo preferred to read in English and Juan preferred to read in Spanish—the languages that each participant first learned to read. As the boys choral read text together or discussed their reading and writing, they often helped one another in either language. If one of them struggled with a word or phrase or if I asked questions about the Spanish text, the students would often supply the words in whichever language was needed.

As we read about a well-known soccer player from Argentina and talked about the text, the participants toggled between English and Spanish. While reading in Spanish, Juan substituted the word for "twenty" in English. Later, while talking about the text, Eduardo made a direct translation for "World Cup," saying "Copa del Munda" in Spanish.

Juan [reading]: [Inserted Se] Ese año, Messi ayudó a la selección de Argentina a ganar el Mundial sub-*twenty*, veinte. Esta es la Copa del Mundo para jugadores menores de veinte años. Messi fue el mejor jugador de la copa.

That same year, Messi helped the Argentinean soccer team win the U-20 World Cup. This is the World Cup for players under the age of 20. Messi was named the best player in the cup (PowerKids Press, 2009, p. 14)

Mrs. S.: So, because Messi was so young he was playing in *that* cup?

Eduardo: Copa.

Juan: Yeah, but he win the...I don't know how he calls it in English.

Mrs. S.: What is it in Spanish?

Juan: Uh...Copa del Mundo.

Mrs. S.: Copa del Mundo?

Eduardo: Cup of the world.

Mrs. S.: Oh! Cup of the world. *Mundo* is world?

Juan: Yeah. (June 16, 2014)

Eduardo and Juan had many opportunities to use both English and Spanish away from the home in a variety of social settings. Most of the time, the participants seemed to accept their roles as interpreters voluntarily and with no complaints. However, I found that both participants did on occasion willingly withhold information from their parents or me and acted as gatekeepers rather than interpreters.

Gatekeeping as a translanguaging practice. Within social settings in which mainly English was spoken or when the participants' parents needed to communicate with monolingual, English-dominant speakers, the focal students took on the roles of

interpreters, transmitting essential knowledge from Spanish to English. However, on occasion, Eduardo and Juan withheld information from their parents and me, assuming the position of gatekeepers instead of interpreters.

During a writing conference, for example, Eduardo showed me a picture he had taken of his brother's soccer trophy. He explained that the photo was important because his brother, Alejandro, had made a goal during a soccer game and received the trophy as recognition. His mother kept repeating something in Spanish, but Eduardo ignored her. Finally, as his mother became emphatic, I asked, "What is she saying?"

Eduardo replied, "She saying, 'Tell her about *your* soccer. She doesn't know. Tell her!'" Eduardo reluctantly explained that he was a defender on his soccer team and had played soccer for several years. He described how he practiced dribbling the soccer ball with his feet, staying in bounds, and not getting any penalties. He also shared that he wore a number nine jersey, which began a discussion about how players' jersey numbers indicate which position they play on their teams. Eduardo, who is often reluctant to speak, benefitted from his mother's involvement in his literacy activities because she helped him extend his talk, something he frequently did not do without coaxing. By involving herself within our discussion and insisting her son share more specifics about his soccer experiences, Luciana became an active part of the writing conference, offering Eduardo more opportunities to generate meaningful talk. However, until I specifically asked Eduardo to tell me what his mother was saying, he ignored her demands and acted as a gatekeeper.

Later when I reviewed the audiotapes against the written transcripts with an interpreter, the interpreter pointed out several other occasions when Luciana had asked

Eduardo in Spanish to tell me something, but he did not do so. For instance, his mother stated in Spanish, *“That’s your cousin. Tell her that’s your cousin,”* but Eduardo ignored his mother’s request. His older brother, Alejandro, who was sitting nearby, actually shared the information about his cousin as his mother had asked. Because I could not understand what Luciana was saying to her son in Spanish, I was completely unaware that she was encouraging him to elaborate during the writing conference until I had reviewed the audiotape much later. In this example, Eduardo used his ability to speak English to garner cultural capital and, instead of acting as an interpreter as his mother requested, he chose to become a gatekeeper and keep silent, putting himself in a position of power, choosing which information would or would not be relayed between us.

Juan also took on the role of gatekeeper on some occasions if he did not want to discuss the work he had written in Spanish. Because I was unable to read in Spanish, Juan assumed the position of gatekeeper and refused to interpret his work for me. During writing workshop, I asked Juan to conference with me about a piece of writing (Figure 4.18) he had produced in third grade. He seemed almost embarrassed that I asked him to look back at his previous work, which he had written in Spanish, before he learned to write in English. He was very reluctant to work with me and, ultimately, refused to do what I asked.

Mrs. S.: I want you to look at some of your old work from a long time ago. Tell me, want to go through there and tell me what you see? [Juan flips through notebook.] Do you remember any of it?

Juan: Um, uhn-uh.

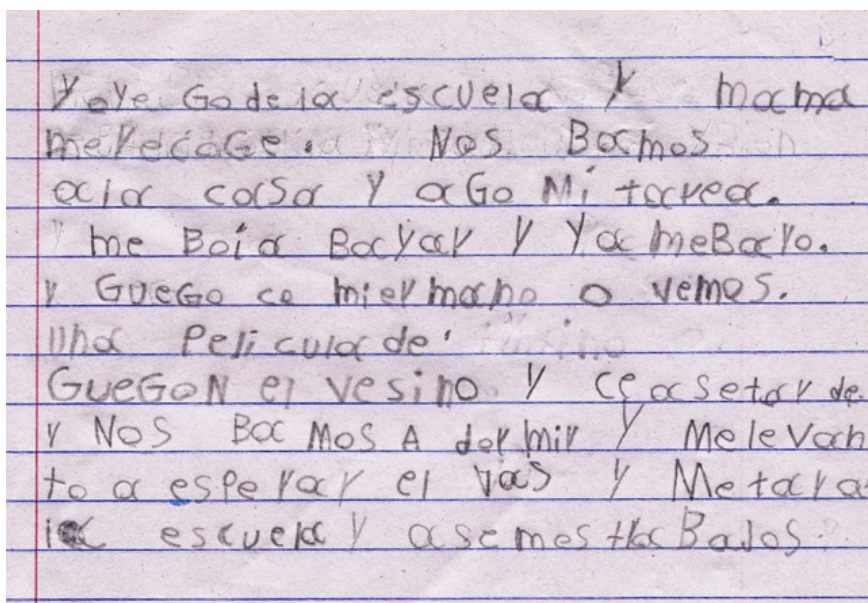


Figure 4.18. Juan's writing. *I came from school and my mom picked me up. We went home and I do my homework. I was going to take a shower and so I took a shower. I play with my brother or we watch some movies. We play with the neighbors and it gets late so we go to sleep. I wake up and wait for the bus, and it takes me to school and I get off the bus.*

Mrs. S.: You don't remember? [pointing at text and reading aloud] Something about *escuela* (school), your *mama*, and your *casa* (house). *Mi tarea?* (My homework).

Juan: I don't know. I don't remember it.

Mrs. S.: I think this was your...you don't want to look at it? You don't care?

Juan: That one I know. [pointing to another piece of writing]

Mrs. S.: What?

Juan: I got...we break that car.

Mrs. S.: Who?

Juan: Mateo.

Mrs. S.: Mateo broke it?

Juan: Yeah.

Mrs. S.: Was that the big car or a little toy car?

Juan: Little toy car. [laughing]...remote control car.

Mrs. S.: Ah, remote control car. Um, it says, “el año pasado.” Was this at Christmas time? [noticing Juan’s drawing of Santa Claus on the page]

Juan: Yeah. [groaning] Ahhh, I don’t want to! (July 22, 2014)

Both Eduardo and Juan pulled from their linguistic repertoire, seamlessly using both Spanish and English, to construct meaning in their lives, make sense of their world, and navigate the social spaces in which they live. Sometimes they used their linguistic knowledge to help interpret for others. In some social situations, the participants became gatekeepers and chose *not* to accept the role of interpreter. Whatever the case, each of the students moved in and out of the L1 and L2 throughout their regular daily routines, using translanguaging as a literacy practice to navigate and make sense of their multilingual worlds.

Flexible, Overlapping Bands of Language

As I thought about the data and analyzed the contexts in which Eduardo and Juan used translanguaging as a tool to construct meaning in their lives, I envisioned flexible, often overlapping bands of language encircling each of the participants. As the boys talked about the various places they used language within the community, I visualized how they moved in and out of their languages and how their languages moved with them from place to place. Both participants spoke mostly Spanish inside their homes with their immediate families. Yet, when they played outside with friends, both students were more likely to use English. During separate interviews and work sessions, each

participant revealed that the farther away they traveled from their home environments and families, the less Spanish, or L1, they used.

For example, Eduardo stated that inside his house he spoke mostly Spanish, but when he played outside with a neighboring cousin, they spoke mostly English, even though his cousin's first language was also Spanish. Juan stated that he liked to play American football and baseball in the yard with his neighborhood friends, and when he did, he and his friends spoke almost entirely English to one another. However, when Juan's family joined them in the yard to play, he moved between English and Spanish. As Eduardo and Juan traveled away from their homes either on the school bus, out to eat with their families, or to the doctor, they used varying degrees of English as the bands of language surrounding them expanded and contracted. I developed several models of the participants' language usage in and around their homes and community to help me better understand how the participants translanguaged between their L1 and L2 within these spaces.

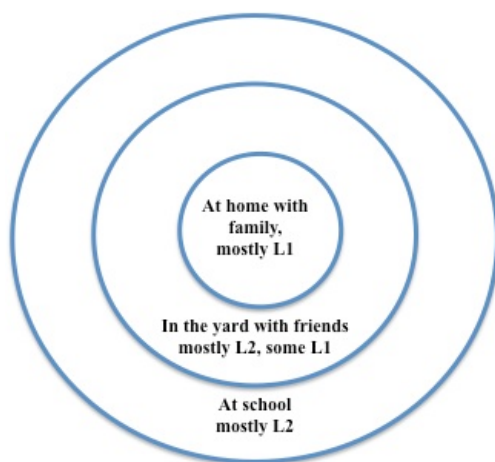


Figure 4.19. Language Use at Home

Thinking about Krashen's (2009) concept of affective filter and knowing how a low affective filter positively influences language acquisition, I considered how the participants' affective filters impacted their language choices within these flexible, overlapping bands. Again using the metaphor of translanguaging as a community pool, I began to see these bands of language as fluid, rippling waves of language that ebbed and flowed, or pushed and pulled, as the participants moved in and out of various social contexts and accessed resources from within their linguistic pool. The lower the participants' affective filters, the more elastic these bands of language seemed to become and the more translanguaging that took place. This concept of flexible bands, or waves, of language was also evident as the participants described their language use at school and at church.

Throughout the regular school day, both Eduardo and Juan indicated that they spoke almost solely English inside the building. However, when the boys played outside at recess and during the afterschool program, they spoke some Spanish with other multilingual learners. Considering how current language education policies mandate an English-only approach within American classrooms, I was not surprised to see how language education policies had manifested themselves within the participants' every day school life. Within the context of the classroom and within the confines of school walls, the bands of language surrounding the participants seemed more rigid. Therefore, Eduardo and Juan used mostly L1, or English, inside the school and translanguaged less often. As the participants left the school building and entered the playground, they used some L2, or Spanish, and translanguaged more often. As they traveled even farther away from the school, for example, if a parent picked them up, they used more of their

L2 and less L1. The following figure is a model, which represents the participants' language use at school.

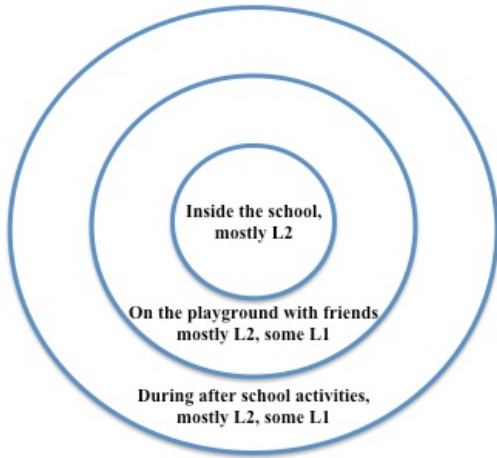


Figure 4.20. Language Use at School

Eduardo and Juan also talked about using only Spanish *inside* the church and using English and Spanish *outside* the church when they played with friends. The physical walls of the church building, like the physical walls of the school building, seemed to define the boundaries for which language was most appropriate. Within the church, Spanish was the dominant language. Once outside, however, translanguaging between Spanish and English was a more acceptable literacy practice.

In the following conversation, Eduardo talked about his language use during and after Catholic mass, which was conducted by a Spanish-dominant priest.

Mrs. S.: So when you go to church, do you speak mostly Spanish or...?

Eduardo: Yes. Spanish, inside the church.

Mrs. S.: Most of the people there speak Spanish?

Eduardo: Yeah, all of them do, all of them do.

Mrs. S.: And so the priest...?

Eduardo: Spanish. He talks a little bit English, too.

Mrs. S.: Do you ever speak English at church?

Eduardo: Yeah, but, outside with my friends, we speak mostly English. (June 23, 2014)

I developed the following model to represent the participants' language use in and around their churches.

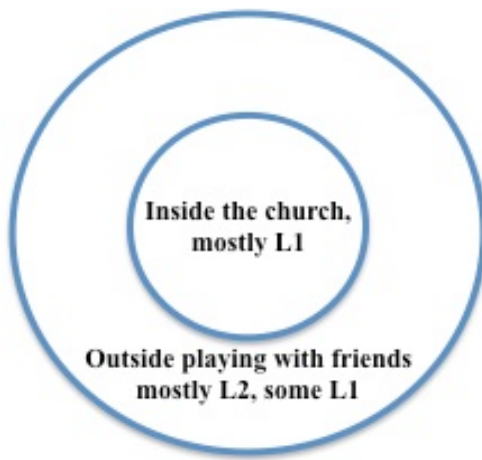


Figure 4.21. Language Use at Church

As I reflected again upon Krashen's (2009) notion of affective filter in relation to these overlapping, flexible bands of language, I noted that the elasticity of the bands seemed to depend upon the participants' social contexts and the level of their affective filters within these contexts. At times, such as within the school building and at church, the participants' bands of language seemed to be more taut, the students' affective filters were higher and there was more tension to stay within the language boundaries placed upon them. Within the home, while the participants were more likely to use Spanish (L1), both Eduardo and Juan noted that they routinely translanguaged with their family members, especially their siblings, and used both languages on a regular basis. Within

the home, the participants' bands of language were more flexible, their affective filters were lower, and there was less pressure to use one language over another.

As Eduardo's mother, Luciana, stated, *"When I talk in Spanish, he answers me back in Spanish. But, if he can't, if he can't say it, if he doesn't understand how to say it in Spanish, he talks back to me in English."* When I asked Juan which language was most often spoken at home, he replied, "Spani—both!...Sometimes with my dad. "

As the participants moved away from the nuclei of their home environments and engaged in conversations with non-family members, the more English (L2) they used. As if enveloped within flexible, overlapping bands of language, Eduardo and Juan accessed both Spanish and English with varying degrees of proficiency, choosing which language to use based on the proficiency of the other members of their social groups, the purpose of their communication, and the expectations placed upon them from within each particular social context. Developing models of the participants' language use around their homes and within the community and visualizing how they accessed their social, cultural, and linguistic resources within overlapping, flexible, and often fluid bands of language helped me to better understand how these participants translanguage between their L1 and L2 and how literacy took shape in their lives.

Reading and Writing in the Culturally Responsive Classroom

During the course of this study, creating and implementing CRP within my teaching was an on-going process, which began with getting to know Eduardo and Juan as the dynamic individuals that they are. Understanding more about their home environments, meeting their families, and learning about their areas of interest and expertise, allowed me to better plan culturally responsive instruction that engaged them

and heightened their motivation to read and write. Encouraging the participants to speak, read, and write in the language of their choice and honoring their home languages helped maximize their communication and helped the participants develop linguistic identity, linguistic agency, and linguistic security.

Linguistic Identity, Linguistic Agency, and Linguistic Security

From a sociocultural perspective, identity is the way in which an individual perceives himself within the world and how he recognizes the potential for his identity to change over time (Norton, 2000). Findings in this study indicate that Eduardo and Juan both identified themselves as multilingual learners and recognized that their linguistic identities were fluid as they translanguaged and moved in and out of various social situations. Each participant assumed different linguistic identities throughout the day depending upon their different social groups and their purpose of communication. Agency is our ability to act, to assert power, and to make decisions based on how we perceive ourselves, how we interpret our identity, and our own unique sociocultural backgrounds. Agency also includes the capacity to determine the consequences of one's decisions and allows individuals to view the world from different perspectives. Eduardo and Juan's linguistic identity as capable multilingual learners helped them develop linguistic agency as they acted as interpreters for their families, friends, and other community members on many occasions. However, both participants' also demonstrated linguistic agency when they acted as gatekeepers of their language. Eduardo occasionally ignored his mother's requests to translate for her into English, demonstrating how he conceptualized his identity as a gatekeeper. While Juan did not refuse to translate for his mother, he did refuse to read aloud for me in Spanish. Since I

am not able to read in Spanish, I could not decode his writing, which required us to move on to another activity in which he was more interested. The participants' multilingual identities as interpreters and gatekeepers put them in positions of power, which helped to foster their linguistic security.

Linguistic security is a person's ability to act with confidence based on his/her own interpretation of his/her language and literacy abilities. Linguistic security allows individuals to participate in social settings, even when they may not be able to speak, read, or write fluently in the language that is being spoken. According to Garcia (2009), multilingual learners who are not allowed to use their home languages in the classroom often display linguistic uncertainty or insecurity, remaining silent at school rather than risking participation before they are able to speak fluently. This lack of confidence and heightened anxiety may result in a lack of participation and lack of effort on the part of the multilingual learner. Because Eduardo and Juan were encouraged in our CRP classroom to use all the language tools available to them in their linguistic repertoire, they exhibited linguistic security and new understandings of the reading and writing process.

Eduardo. Eduardo's early school memories include confusion and uncertainty about language and learning. He remembers repeating what his peers were saying in English, but not understanding what he was saying. Due to his supportive home environment, which encouraged language and literacy in both Spanish and English, Eduardo gradually developed linguistic security and repositioned himself as a capable multilingual learner within the CRP classroom.

During the regular school year, Eduardo chose to read bilingual texts from the school and classroom libraries and we conferenced on these texts many times. When I modeled writing my New Years' resolutions during a mini-lesson one day, Eduardo wrote and published his own News Years' resolutions. The writing sample in Figure 4.22 gives evidence of his linguistic security and his understanding of his own language and literacy abilities.

Eduardo's understanding of reading and writing was that literacy was something that would help him move to the next grade level. He wrote that in order to pass his grades, he needed to study more, which highlights the importance he places on education. He also noted that he wanted to get better at speaking Spanish and English so that he could "talk better" to his mother. This passage shows how Eduardo identified himself as a multilingual learner who is still moving along on his language and literacy journey. Eduardo already possessed linguistic security and had confidence in his ability to speak both Spanish and English, but wants to get "better."

Becoming a better reader was also important to Eduardo. When I asked him during the student interview if he knew how to read in Spanish, he replied, "I can read a little, but I don't read much." His mother, Luciana, later confirmed that her sons were learning to read in Spanish, "*They don't read good in Spanish. They're learning to read and write in Spanish. I want them to learn.*" Through his written and oral responses, Eduardo demonstrated that he understood that reading and writing were abilities that he could continue to develop and which gave him power in his life—the power to move from grade level to grade level and the power to communicate more clearly with important people in his life, namely his mother.

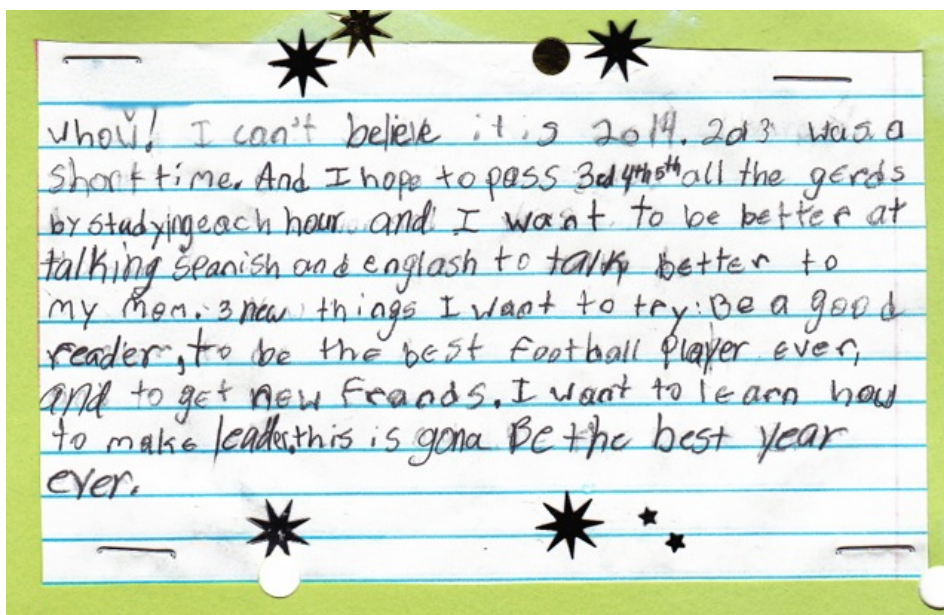


Figure 4.22. Eduardo's New Year's Resolutions. *Wow! I can't believe it is 2014. 2013 was a short time. And I hope to pass 3rd 4th and 5th all the gerds [grades] by studying each hour and I want to be better at talking Spanish and English [English] to talk better to my mom. 3 new things I want to try: Be a good reader, to be the best football player ever, and to get new friends [friends]. I want to learn how to make leader. this is gona Be the best year ever.*

Juan. When Juan began third grade, he spoke, read, and wrote solely in Spanish. Because there were two other Spanish-speaking students in the room Juan was able to discuss his work with them and participate in all of our classroom activities, although he was sometimes reluctant to complete his written work. Initially, Juan attempted to avoid completing assignments because he could not complete them in English. He would shake his head and say, “No puedo” (*I can't*). To which I would reply, “Si. Yes, you can, en español (*In Spanish*). When he realized that I expected him to complete his work in Spanish and that I held the same expectations for him as his classmates, Juan became a much more active participant. Encouraging Juan to speak, read, and write in his L1 so that he could participate with his peers in the reading and writing workshop helped him

develop his linguistic identity as a capable multilingual learner and allowed him to enact linguistic agency in a variety of ways as he took part in classroom activities.

After I read aloud *Bedtime for Frances* in English by Russell Hoban (1988) to the whole class, I asked the students to work in small groups to retell the story. Juan worked with other multilingual learners to discuss the text and summarize the story using the picture clues. Then, all of the students wrote about their bedtime experiences in response to the readings. Figures 4.23 and 4.24 are two examples of writing that Juan produced which demonstrate how he developed linguistic security within the CRP classroom.

Although Juan did not speak, read, or write English fluently, which was the dominant language in the classroom, his speaking, reading and writing experiences were meaningful to him because he was encouraged to use his L1. Juan thrived alongside his monolingual peers long before he learned to speak English because he drew upon all of the linguistic resources available to him and viewed himself as a capable student and an emerging multilingual learner. His linguistic agency allowed him to act with confidence because he was secure in his own language and literacy abilities in Spanish, and thus, allowed him to contribute during classroom activities. Because Juan possessed linguistic security, he understood reading and writing to be something he could do just like any other person in the classroom.

As Juan's linguistic security increased, his oral and written comments displayed new understandings of the reading and writing process. During this study, Juan asked his mother to take a picture of him working at a small desk in his bedroom. He used the photo in his *Important Book*. He wrote about the significance of being bilingual and

revealed his understanding of the power that reading and writing in two languages held in his life.

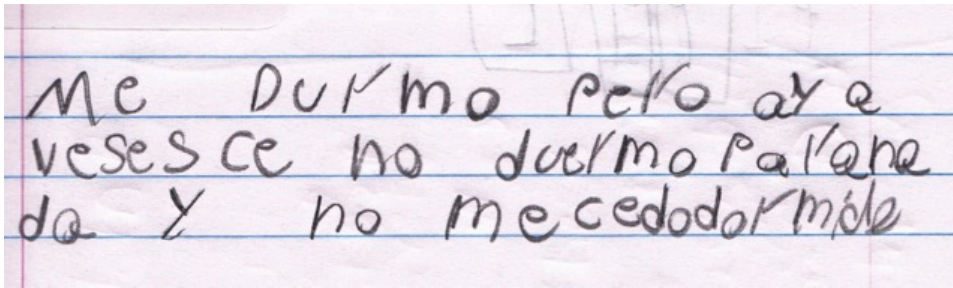


Figure 4.23. Juan's Response to *Bedtime for Frances* (Part 1) I go to sleep but sometimes I can't sleep but then I get sleepy but then I can't stay asleep.

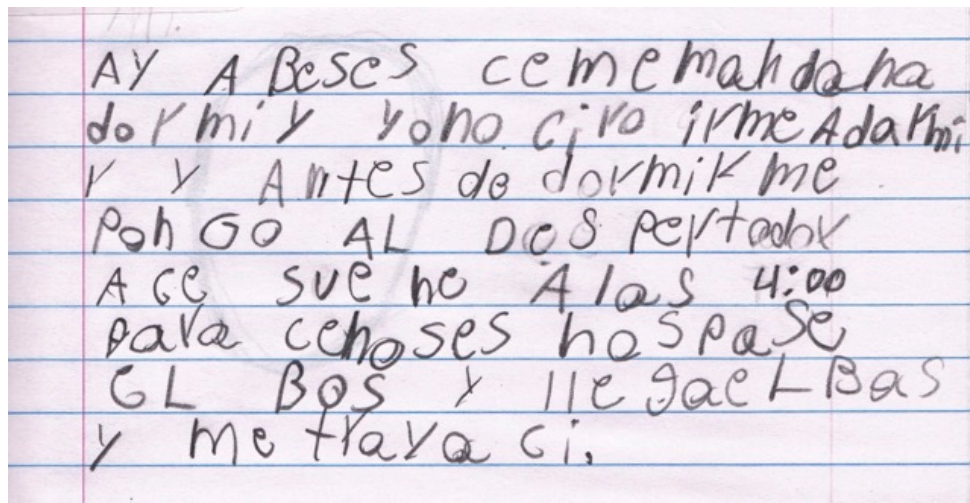


Figure 4.24. Juan's Response to *Bedtime for Frances* (Part 2) Sometimes they tell me to go to sleep but I don't want to go to sleep. Before I go to sleep I set my alarm clock so it can go off at 4:00 a.m. so that we won't miss the bus, so the bus come and brings me here.

He wrote, "The important thing about me is that I speak two languages. I like to study reading and writing sometimes. I can read and write in both languages-Spanish and English. Sometimes I help my mom and dad understand what other people say when we go to Wal-Mart and restaurants. But, the important thing about me is that I speak two languages."



Figure 4.25. Photo of Juan studying

During a reading conference with Eduardo and Juan, I asked them about their thoughts on being multilingual learners. Here is an excerpt from that conversation:

Mrs. S.: Is it better to speak two languages? What do you think?

Juan: Yeah, because you can get better jobs when you grow up?

Eduardo: I think, yes, because there's like a person who speaks a different language, you know what he's talking about.

Mrs. S.: True.

Eduardo: So, you don't have to go get a person and tell you what he said.

Juan: You can talk for people. (August 26, 2014)

The focal students' writing samples and comments are evidence of how encouraging students to speak, read, and write in the language(s) of their choice and

using CRP texts and materials can increase students' sense of linguistic identity, influence multilingual learners' acts of linguistic agency, and help learners develop linguistic security. Eduardo and Juan's unique understandings of the reading and writing process are powerful testimonies to how multilingual learners can develop linguistic security and find success within CRP classrooms alongside their monolingual peers and how implementing CRP can help multilingual learners see their social, cultural, and linguistic resources as the valuable social and cultural capital that they are.

Summary

In this chapter, I unpacked the social, cultural, and linguistic resources of the focal students in this study, examined the literacy practices these multilingual learners enacted during reading and writing workshop when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) was implemented, and discussed the ways in which culturally relevant texts and materials influenced these multilingual learners' understandings of the reading and writing process. It is clear that Eduardo and Juan drew upon many social, cultural, and linguistic resources available to them in their homes and within their communities and amassed a plethora of knowledge, which helped them successfully negotiate various social spaces such as a school. Both focal students translanguage between Spanish and English seamlessly, to construct meaning in their lives, to navigate the social spaces in which they live, and to invite others to share in their social worlds. Laughter played an important role in these participants' language learning within their homes as it helped to lower their affective filters and encouraged language acquisition. Sometimes Eduardo and Juan used their linguistic knowledge to help others by interpreting. Other times, the participants acted as gatekeepers, withholding certain information. Throughout the study, as the participants

and I exchanged roles as learners and experts, I used what I learned from them to guide me as I built and implemented CRP within the classroom. Examining the participants' understandings of the reading and writing process helped elucidate how multilingual learners develop linguistic identity, enact linguistic agency, and demonstrate linguistic security to find success within CRP classrooms alongside their monolingual peers. In the following chapter, I will discuss the significance of my findings and the implications they carry for educators, administrators, and policy makers. I will also make recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPLICATIONS

“Teachers cannot hope to begin to understand who sits before them unless they can connect with the families and communities from which their children come. To do that it is vital that teachers and teacher educators explore their own beliefs and attitudes about non-white and non-middle-class people”

(Delpit, 2006, p. 179)

The purpose of this qualitative multiple case study was to explore the knowledge that multilingual learners gather from their home environments and use in the school setting when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented within the curriculum. This study also examined the literacy practices multilingual learners enact within the reading and writing workshop and how culturally relevant texts and materials influence these multilingual learners’ understandings of the reading and writing process. The study focused on third grade students during a six-week summer enrichment program, followed by six-weeks of tutoring in their homes. The following questions guided my study: 1) What social, cultural, and linguistic resources do multilingual learners draw upon when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented within the curriculum? 2) What literacy practices do multilingual learners enact during reading and writing workshop when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented? 3) In what ways do culturally relevant texts and materials influence multilingual learners’ understanding of the reading and writing process?

Social, Cultural, and Linguistic Resources of Multilingual Learners

Findings from this study reveal that these multilingual learners drew upon a wide range of social, cultural, and linguistic resources available to them in their homes and communities. The students' families supported their children's language and literacy development in a variety of ways. Laughter was a significant feature observed in the participants' homes. The presence of laughter helped to create a relaxed, comfortable learning environment and helped lower Eduardo and Juan's affective filters, which, in turn, encouraged language acquisition. The participants used their funds of knowledge to position themselves as experts in many areas as we exchanged the roles of experts and learners throughout the study. These participants translanguaged (Garcia, 2009), or moved effortlessly between their L1 and L2, pulling from their entire linguistic repertoire to accomplish many tasks. As the focal students moved between their home environments and various social settings within the community, they traveled in and out of their L1 and L2, fluidly accessing one or both languages, as if invisible, overlapping and flexible bands of language surrounded them. Frequently, the students assumed the role of interpreter, translating for parents, teachers, and friends, allowing others access to their linguistic resources. Occasionally, however, both participants used their linguistic abilities to become gatekeepers, withholding information from others and situating themselves into positions of power. The participants' understanding of the reading and writing process and their ability to read and write in two languages helped them develop their linguistic identities as capable multilingual learners. The participants enacted linguistic agency and demonstrated linguistic security alongside their monolingual, English-dominant peers within the CRP classroom.

Several theories informed this study including sociocultural theory (Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978), critical social theory (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010; Freire, 2009), and second language acquisition theory (Cummins, 1979; Krashen, 2009; Moll & González, 1994). My findings emerged from the intricate relationship between my research questions, my theoretical framework, and the categories I identified in the data. In this chapter, I will discuss the findings that were presented in chapter four and share the implications that this study holds for educators, school administrators, policy makers, and other stakeholders. I will also make recommendations for further research that explores issues related to implementing culturally responsive pedagogy within today's ever-changing classrooms.

Multilingual Homes Teeming with Language, Literacy and Laughter

The data revealed that Eduardo and Juan's homes were alive with language, literacy, and laughter as these students' families supported their children's language and literacy development in a variety of ways. The participants' families modeled literacy in their everyday lives, encouraged their children to speak, read, and write in both languages, and demonstrated the importance of language and literacy by working to improve their own language skills. Eduardo and Juan's home environments provided a jovial, relaxed atmosphere, which helped to lower the boys' affective filters and thus, encouraged meaningful communication in their L1 and L2. Both families placed a great deal of emphasis on education, set high expectations for their children, and were committed to maintaining their native language, Spanish, while improving their second language, English. The focal students used the social, cultural, and linguistic resources

they garnered from their home environments in very real and practical ways to navigate within many other social settings such as schools.

Families modeling literacy. In both of the participants' families, parents and other family members read for pleasure. Eduardo's mother, Luciana, was an avid reader and read mostly in Spanish. She enjoyed reading short novels and read the *Bible* twice daily during prayer times. Eduardo's older brother, Alejandro, and their mother often read silently on the sofa in the living room as Eduardo and I worked together in the kitchen. Juan's mother, Maria, also enjoyed reading in Spanish for pleasure, often reading the *Bible*, cookbooks and magazines. Out of necessity, both mothers read the newspaper, mail, bills, school newsletters, and homework assignment sheets in English to glean important information and to keep abreast of school and community functions. School materials were rarely, if ever, sent home in Spanish.

The items posted on the refrigerator in Eduardo's home revealed many of the literacy practices of his family. The cards, letters, and mementos like drawings and photos, revealed how literacy is used to keep open lines of communication with others and showed how loved ones' memories were honored and their stories passed to younger generations. The school newsletter and doctor's reminder postcard signified the necessity of language and literacy in their daily lives and how the family used written messages to remind them of important commitments like school functions and doctor's appointments.

Luciana read with her son regularly during nightly prayer time, helped with homework, and listened while he read aloud in English. Maria enjoyed listening to her son read aloud and believed that reading was a good hobby to have. When Eduardo and Juan brought bilingual books home from school, both mothers would read the books in

Spanish and listened as their sons read them aloud in English. When Eduardo and Juan read English-only texts, Luciana and Maria still listened to their sons read, asked them to translate the texts into Spanish, and enjoyed talking about the reading. Juan kept a collection of books in his bedroom and eagerly showed them to me on one of my home visits. Although only one of the books was bilingual, his mother, Maria, shared how her son would often read aloud in English, interpret the texts in Spanish, and teach her about whatever he was learning. Luciana and Maria, as well as other family members, were integrally involved in the participants' learning activities and modeled that literacy was important to them in many ways. The focal students read for pleasure and also recognized the importance of reading for information to complete necessary tasks.

The findings from this study regarding family literacy practices are congruent with the research of many scholars such as Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis (2012). Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis (2012) found that oftentimes literacy practices are not consciously passed between family members but are transferred with little awareness or mindfulness through the social processes of daily life within the home. Eduardo and Juan's families conveyed powerful messages about literacy both explicitly while helping with homework and while reading with their children as well as inexplicitly while reading for pleasure, paying bills, writing out greeting cards, and singing at church.

Historically, school literacy and family literacy scholarship have been viewed in very dichotomous ways, as "good or bad", "acceptable or unacceptable." Traditionally, literacy programs have been designed to help bring culturally, ethnically, or linguistically diverse families' literacy practices up to par with the expectations defined by the social institution of school. Schools often encourage parents to bring more school like practices

into their homes. Usually these literacy practices reflect the practices of White, middle-class families. Oftentimes, families are judged as poor parents if their literacy practices do not match those of middle class European-Americans. These deficit-based ideologies position multilingual learners as lacking language and literacy skills and do not recognize the richness that diverse students can bring into the classroom from their homes.

Both participants' homes were replete with rich literacy practices. Their parents and other family members read for pleasure, read for information, read to and with the children, and listened to their children read. They accomplished all this in both Spanish and English. Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis (2012) suggested incorporating a funds of knowledge approach, which honors the knowledge that students bring from home, and implementing culturally relevant pedagogy into the classroom, which encourages students to make connections between their cultural and linguistic heritages, their school experiences, and larger global issues.

Families encouraging bilingualism/biliteracy. In both households, the boys' parents stressed the importance of maintaining their native language, Spanish, and improving their second language, English. Eduardo's mother, Luciana, stated that she wanted her sons to continue to not only speak Spanish, but also learn to read and write in Spanish as well. Eduardo's older brother, Diego, was enrolled in a high school Spanish class to improve his reading and writing in his L1. Because Juan was already a strong reader and writer in Spanish, his parents feared that his abilities to read and write in Spanish would decrease as he became more proficient in his English if he did not continue to read and write in both languages. Juan confirmed his parents' concerns, stating, "My dad say [sic] I gotta read both because if I only read in English, I forget the

Spanish. He say [sic] if I read in Spanish, then I forget the English.” Both boys’ parents encouraged their children to continue learning Spanish along with English because they recognize the importance of bilingualism and want their children to be equally proficient in both languages. These examples also highlight the parents’ concern over their children losing their native language, and thus, part of their cultural and linguistic identities.

Eduardo and Juan’s parents also held high expectations for their children. Luciana frequently helped support Eduardo’s writing by making him redo work that she deemed sloppy, requiring him to make corrections as she supervised. When she needed assistance with Eduardo’s work, Luciana employed the help of her older sons. As older siblings, Alejandro and Diego were expected to help their younger brother with his assignments. Luciana often supervised as the older boys worked with their brother and injected questions and comments if she did not agree with what they were doing or if she did not understand something. Juan’s parents expressed concern that he did not pay attention in school and that he was sometimes reluctant to complete his homework at home. Juan’s stepfather, Miguel, stated, *“Sometimes he’ll complain about it, but I still make him read.”*

An overwhelming amount of research supports bilingual and biliterate education and the benefits of bilingualism are quite clear (Baker, 2011; Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Campano, 2007; Corson, 2001; Delpit, 2006; Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Kleigen, 2010; Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Gutiérrez, Morales, & Martinez, 2009; Lee & Anderson, 2009; Pavri et al., 2005; Valencia, 1969; Zentella, 2005). Throughout the world, bilingualism is the norm not the exception. According to Garcia (2009), bilingual students stand a much better chance of being successful in the quickly-changing

global economy of the 21st Century. Not only are multilingual learners better prepared to face the challenges of the future, diverse learners have a greater pool of resources, such as a larger linguistic repertoire, upon which to draw as they face the challenges of day-to-day experiences. Honoring students' home languages and cultures in the classroom can help foster students' identities as multi-faceted, multicultural individuals and encourage them to take a more active role in learning, which can ultimately influence their future achievement.

Garcia (2009) examined the complex nature of “*linguaging*” (p.1) within bilingual environments and challenged the notion of a “one-size-fits-all” curriculum. Standardization of language in schools has become a goal of education, yet the findings of Garcia's (2009) study indicate that restricting students to only one standard language may drastically limit their communicative potential and restrict their educational possibilities. Teachers and schools must re-conceptualize the traditional ways of educating diverse 21st Century learners and reexamine how to meet the needs of these learners and their families.

In the current study, Eduardo and Juan's families encourage bilingualism and biliteracy within their households. The participants' parents openly expressed their desire for their children to learn English as well as maintain their home language. Eduardo and Juan's parents saw bilingualism and biliteracy as a strength that would benefit their children in the future and recognized the value of preserving their Mexican culture, heritage, and their native language while they integrated into American society. Juan realized the advantages of being bilingual when he stated that he thought it was better to speak two languages “because you can get better jobs when you grow up” and “you can

talk for people.” Eduardo commented that being bilingual was beneficial because “there’s like a person who speaks a different language, you know what he’s talking about, so, you don’t have to go get a person and tell you what he said.”

Eduardo, Juan, and their families realize that they live in a society in which speaking English gives one more advantage over someone who does not speak English. Speaking the dominant language allows the participants greater access to resources and important information, makes navigating social situations easier, and gives them the freedom to make more informed decisions. Moreover, these participants recognize that being bilingual has the potential to alter the hidden power struggles, which often occur within society, and can benefit someone to an even greater extent than someone who speaks only English.

Families positioning themselves as multilingual learners. Luciana and Maria, as well as other family members, positioned themselves as learners in many ways. Not only did they involve themselves in their participants’ schoolwork and require them to read at home, both mothers noted that they enjoyed learning from their sons. As already mentioned, Luciana and Maria listened to their sons read in English and asked them to talk about what they read. Luciana became very engaged as Eduardo read aloud in English, often mouthing the words silently or reading softly along with him. These two mothers also worked to hone their own English language skills by attending weekly Rosetta Stone™ classes at the school. Although Luciana worked cleaning houses and Maria tended to Juan’s younger sister, Jacqueline, during the day, both of these parents made time to attend afternoon classes in order to improve their English. By the end of this study, Luciana was completing her second year of Rosetta Stone™ classes; Maria

had returned to take classes, too, bringing her daughter, Jacqueline, since she was now old enough to stay in the school-provided daycare.

During the study, both Luciana and Maria had expressed concern over not being able to help their children more with their schoolwork. By positioning themselves as multilingual learners and opening themselves up to new language learning experiences, Luciana and Maria not only reified their commitment to becoming bilingual, but demonstrated determination and perseverance for their children. These mothers recognized that mastering standard English could afford them a great deal of cultural capital, allow them more opportunities for advancement, and give them greater access to social institutions like schools.

Families laughing together. Each time I visited Eduardo and Juan, the atmosphere in their homes was relaxed, comfortable, and cheerful. Throughout the study, I found laughter within the participants' homes to be a prevalent feature. For example, Eduardo's mother good-naturedly joked with her son about his love of her home-cooked meals. Eduardo laughed at a candid photo of his mother he had taken unexpectedly. Juan's family laughed together as they reminisced about the games they played in the swimming pool and when Juan's baby sister, Jacqueline, cooed and babbled loudly. At times, the laughter within both homes seemed contagious as family members and I joined in and laughed with one another.

The communal laughter, which occurred sporadically as I worked with the participants, seemed to contribute to the relaxed and cheerful climate within the home and encouraged the participants' to lower their affective filters. The finding of laughter as an important feature of a learning environment is consistent with the research of

Vlieghe, Simons, and Masschelein (2009) who state, “The experience of shared laughter should be taken at face value, because—in itself—common laughter has a profound pedagogical significance” (p. 205).

Laughter allows us to open up to one another and creates a sense of togetherness. In addition, laughter establishes a feeling of equality among the group members laughing together (Vlieghe, Simons, & Masschelein, 2009). Unlike the often tense, rigid structure of the school setting, the participants’ relaxed home environments, which were filled with laughter, helped to lower the students’ affective filters and provided an atmosphere that was conducive for authentic, meaningful language learning.

Espinosa’s (2008) research suggested that one misconception of Latino/Hispanic families is that their culture does not value education as much as White families. However, findings from this study dispel this misconception as the two focal students’ families played a very active role in their children’s education and showed how much they valued language and literacy in a variety of ways. Eduardo and Juan’s families modeled literacy in the home and conveyed the importance of literacy in both mindful and subconscious ways. They also encouraged their children to maintain both Spanish and English and assumed the role of multilingual learners themselves, demonstrating determination, and perseverance. Laughter played a significant role in lowering the participants’ affective filters and helped create a relaxed environment, which helped foster language acquisition and literacy.

Families turning literacy into a family event. Eduardo and Juan’s parents and siblings often showed support for the participants’ language and literacy development by becoming resources as I worked with the students in their homes. Each time I visited,

family members became a part of the tutoring sessions and turned them into family literacy events. These families positioned themselves as active participants by listening intently, asking and answering questions, interjecting comments, and clarifying the participants' statements. Luciana, Alejandro, and Diego frequently corrected Eduardo if he answered incorrectly or answered for him if he did not respond. Luciana repeatedly reminded Eduardo that he needed to speak louder and more clearly. Maria frequently asked Juan to repeat what I had said in Spanish. She also asked him to translate messages to me so that she could join our conversations. Many times Maria simply observed what Juan and I were doing, asked her son questions about his work and talked to Juan in Spanish to make suggestions.

Both families opened up their homes and graciously welcomed me into their worlds, sharing stories, family photos, and family histories. Because of the families' added input, my conversations with the participants were richer, more detailed, and much more interesting. By turning our literacy activities into family literacy events, the focal students gained more opportunities to talk and write about a greater range of topics, many of which I knew little about, adding depth to each reading and writing session. Interactions with the participants along with their families helped me to better understand who Eduardo and Juan were as unique individuals and helped create a warmer, more conducive learning environment.

The findings from this study regarding the ways in which culturally and linguistically diverse families support their children's academic success are congruent with the findings of Araujo (2009) and Garcia (2009) among other scholars. Araujo (2009) examined ways that teachers and schools strengthen communication with

culturally and linguistically diverse families, encourage family involvement, and promote student success. Ajaujo's (2009) research confirmed that families of diverse learners help support their children's language and literacy in traditional and nontraditional ways. Some traditional ways parents often help their children in school include assisting with homework, volunteering, and attending parent-teacher meetings. Ajaujo's (2009) work pointed out, however, that parent involvement can also mean instilling family values, making sure children are clean and well-fed, reading with them and to them, and making sure they get enough sleep. In this study, Eduardo and Juan's family members became very active participants in the children's learning within the home. The students' families became a part of each reading and writing conference, naturally positioning themselves as co-teachers and co-learners, and turning literacy into a family event. This study expands on Ajaujo's (2009) notion of parent involvement by showing how multilingual families encourage their children to draw upon all of the language resources available to them, model various types of literacy, provide a relaxed, comfortable home environment for their children, encourage bilingualism and biliteracy, position themselves as multilingual learners, and turn literacy into a family event.

From the present findings, I drew upon the tenets of sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978) to examine the language and literacy opportunities alive within the home environments and other social settings of the participants. From a sociocultural perspective, Eduardo and Juan constructed knowledge through a variety of cognitive apprenticeships as they interacted with "knowledgeable 'informants'" (Moll & Gonzalez, 1994, p. 440) such as family members, friends, neighbors, classmates, and teachers. The participants' home environments offered them many opportunities to construct useful

knowledge every day through their many interactions and cognitive apprenticeships with older, more knowledgeable family members. From these many apprenticeships, Eduardo and Juan gathered an abundance of social, cultural, and linguistic resources.

Unpacking multilingual learners' funds of knowledge. Findings from this study are consistent with Ajaujo (2009) who found that incorporating funds of knowledge into the curriculum and practicing culturally relevant teaching are effective strategies for supporting multilingual learners and their families in the school setting. Findings regarding the social, cultural, and linguistic resources of diverse families and how these families support their children's academic success are congruent with the findings of Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez (1992) and Gonzalez, Moll, and Amanti (2005). In their studies, Moll et al. (1992) and Gonzalez et al. (2005) found that the homes of multilingual learners contained an abundance of cultural and linguistic resources that were transferred from older family members to younger generations and could potentially be utilized in the classroom for academic success. These researchers noted that children in diverse households were not passive spectators of language and literacy events as they occurred, but active, engaged participants. In my study, Eduardo and Juan seemed much more actively engaged in our literacy activities when they were talking about those topics of which they had prior knowledge, especially if they considered themselves experts in the subject. Repositioning Eduardo and Juan as experts created an authentic co-learning environment in which the participants and I frequently traded roles as experts within the reading and writing workshop, which proved to be effective in supporting the students' language and literacy learning. These findings counter the narrative that often views children of diverse families from a deficit perspective (Garcia, 2009).

Literacy Practices of Multilingual Learners

Eduardo and Juan were very aware of their linguistic abilities in both Spanish and English and used their L1 and L2 to accomplish many tasks. Within the various social contexts in which the participants engaged, they drew upon the many social, cultural, and linguistic resources they had acquired. Eduardo and Juan often translanguaged between Spanish and English when speaking, writing, and reading. They also used translanguaging to assume positions of power as they interpreted for others and acted as gatekeepers, withholding information. As the participants translanguaged they seemed to move in and out of flexible, overlapping bands of language depending upon their social contexts and purpose of their communication. Using the metaphor of translanguaging as a community pool and visualizing fluid bands, or waves, of language within that pool helped me to better understand how Eduardo and Juan's literacy practices took shape within their lives.

Translanguaging

The data from this study reveal that Eduardo and Juan translanguaged (Garcia, 2009), or moved fluidly between Spanish and English, drawing from their linguistic repertoire, many times throughout their normal, everyday routines. During translanguaging, multilingual learners access all of their linguistic resources to negotiate social settings, create new understandings, and interact with others (Baker, 2011; Garcia, 2009). The two focal students moved so seamlessly between both languages within their linguistic pools that oftentimes they were unaware when they had translanguaged, just as children might swim from the shallow end to the deep end of an actual pool without realizing it. Eduardo and Juan used translanguaging as a literacy tool when speaking,

reading, and writing. These students translanguaged during reading and writing workshop to help one another and to translate for their families and friends. On occasion, both Eduardo and Juan chose to purposefully withhold information from their parents or teacher and used translanguaging as a gatekeeping tool.

Using Krashen's (2009) concept of "comprehensible input" (p.7) and Cummins' (1979) theories of linguistic interdependence and common underlying proficiency (CUP) allowed me to explore the opportunities and challenges that were unique to these participants as they translanguaged. The idea of comprehensible input recognizes that meaning must be attached to language and that students are much more likely to acquire language when they are engaged in authentic language opportunities. Translanguaging was a key to the participants' success in the reading and writing workshop because it allowed them to access both languages in their pool of resources, instead of limiting them to only one language base.

Cummins (1979) concepts of linguistic interdependence and common underlying principle (CUP) are closely related. The theory of linguistic interdependence postulates that the level to which a second language is acquired depends to some degree upon how competent the learner already is in L1. The concept of CUP proposes that the knowledge and academic skills learned in L1 can potentially be used to support the multilingual learner's L2 (Cummins, 1979). Drawing upon Cummins' theories helped me to better understand how Eduardo and Juan were able to thrive among their monolingual peers in the CRP classroom.

The findings in this study are congruent with Velasco and Garcia's (2014) research that states that translanguaging goes a step beyond Cummins' (1979) theories of

linguistic interdependence and common underlying proficiency because, according to Velasco and Garcia (2014), a multilingual learner does not truly have an L1 and L2, but one whole linguistic repertoire. Because Juan could already read and write in Spanish when he began third grade, he participated in class by listening to texts read in English, but read and discussed texts in Spanish with his multilingual peers. He also responded by writing in Spanish. During translanguaging, a multilingual learner will often have input in one language and output in another. If I had used a monolingual approach and discouraged Juan from using his L1, as is the case in most classrooms, I would have severely limited his ability to make meaning of the language and literacy events going on in the classroom. Because of the comprehensible input that Juan received during reading and writing workshop and because he was encouraged to produce in his L1, his language experiences in the classroom were meaningful and genuine.

When Eduardo and Juan took photos of important people, places, things, and events in their lives as part of the photography project, they were highly engaged and interested in discussing, writing about, and sharing what they had written. They discussed their writing in both English and Spanish because there were multiple conversations happening with their families and me. Juan wrote in only English but Eduardo wrote some of his work in Spanish, substituting *las frutas* (the fruit) in his *Important Book*. Later when I asked him about this, he stated that he did not realize any of his work was in Spanish. Translanguaging allowed these multilingual learners to draw upon their broader linguistic repertoires, plug in a cognate when needed, toggle between languages, and continue with their thinking, rather than interrupting their thought to

search for words in one certain language. By translanguaging, both of the participants' languages strengthened the other as they engaged in various social interactions.

Flexible, Overlapping Bands of Language

As Eduardo and Juan moved across multiple spaces and contexts such as home, church, and school, their social, cultural, and linguistic resources appeared to envelope them within flexible bands of concentric language circles, which expanded and contracted based on their proximity to their home language, or L1. Developing visual models of how the participants translanguaged helped me to recognize that Eduardo and Juan's languages were constantly moving with them throughout the day. Their L1 and L2 were not situated in separate spaces even when the social institutions, like school, in which the participants were physically located, dictated one language over the other. At all times, these multilingual learners carried their languages along with them and accessed both languages wherever they went. Sometimes within certain social contexts, such as at home, the participants' bands of language seemed more fluid and flexible. In other settings such as at school and church, Eduardo and Juan's bands of language seemed more rigid and bound by the constraints of the institutional setting.

These findings challenge the argument that supports an English-only approach to language education and dispel the myth that learning more than one language simultaneously confuses or overwhelms the learner (Espinosa, 2008). The findings of this research are consistent with Garcia's (2009) work that posits that language systems are fluid, fluctuating social and cognitive actions that are acquired through various interactions with others. Language is not a static, autonomous structure that can be taught or acquired linearly (Garcia, 2009). Nor can L1 and L2 be separated, or removed

from the individual, based on the domain, or social environment, within which a multilingual learner is situated. In this research, Eduardo and Juan's L1 and L2 expanded and contracted, and often overlapped, as their social interactions changed. These students accessed both languages with varying degrees of proficiency based on the purpose of their communication, the proficiency of the other members of their social groups, and the boundaries of their particular social contexts. Translanguaging was a literacy practice that Eduardo and Juan used to build proficiency in their L1 along with their academic proficiency in L2.

Linguistic Identity, Linguistic Agency, and Linguistic Security

Although both participants had been my former third grade students, I entered this study anxious to learn more about whom Eduardo and Juan were as individuals and was eager to discover how using culturally relevant texts and materials influenced their understandings about the reading and writing process. Entering their home environments, getting to know their families, and learning about their areas of interests, helped me to better plan and implement CRP into my classroom instruction. Findings from this study reveal that both focal students demonstrated acts of agency based upon their own sociocultural identities as capable multilingual learners. The participants enacted linguistic agency as they interpreted for others and acted as gatekeepers of information. Eduardo and Juan exhibited linguistic security as they spoke, read, and wrote in both their L1 and L2, and revealed new understandings of the reading and writing process in the CRP classroom.

These findings are consistent with the findings of Garcia (2009) who discovered that when multilingual learners are allowed to access their home languages in the school

setting, they go through shorter silent periods, exhibit more confidence, and demonstrate lower anxiety levels than students who are denied the ability to use their home languages. Linguistic security allows a multilingual learner to act with confidence about his own language and literacy abilities and enact agency in social settings. Eduardo demonstrated linguistic security when he wrote that he aspired to be a better reader and speaker in both Spanish and English so that he could communicate more easily with his mother. Eduardo also understood literacy to be a process that would help move him to the next grade level and help him pass subsequent grades in the future.

Eduardo positioned himself as a capable multilingual learner still moving along a learning continuum, but also recognized that his ability to speak more than one language gave him a position of power when his mother asked him to translate. Eduardo acted as both an interpreter and a gatekeeper during reading and writing workshop when his mother was present. Sometimes he would willingly translate to keep communication open between his mother and me. Other times, he ignored her requests to translate and became a gatekeeper of information. Eduardo saw speaking, reading, and writing in two languages as processes that allowed him access to more resources and as ways to control his social environment.

At the beginning of third grade, Juan was already an established reader and writer in his native language of Spanish and felt secure in his reading and writing abilities. Because he was able to participate in classroom activities using his L1, Juan positioned himself as a competent multilingual learner who could read and write just like his monolingual English-dominant peers. He demonstrated his linguistic security by

working alongside other third graders, reading bilingual texts, responding in Spanish, and when he was ready using English.

Juan demonstrated the significance he placed on being a multilingual learner when he wrote, “The important thing about me is that I speak two languages...I can read and write in both languages—Spanish and English. Sometimes I help my mom and dad understand what other people say when we go to Wal-Mart and restaurants.” He also noted that being bilingual would afford him greater opportunities for employment in the future because he could “talk for people.” Juan’s understanding of the reading and writing process was that being able to communicate in more than one language was a powerful and useful accomplishment in his life.

Implications

This study contributes to a new understanding of how implementing culturally responsive pedagogy into today’s diverse classrooms can reduce or eliminate cultural mismatch, improve instruction for multilingual learners and increase multilingual learners’ chances for success. Much of the current research that has focused on implementing culturally responsive pedagogy has not been conducted in both the school setting and in the home environment. Therefore, this study provides new insights into the resources upon which multilingual learners may draw when reading and writing in multiple settings. In addition, this research adds to the growing body of knowledge regarding translanguaging as a literacy practice and provides new awareness into the ways in which multilingual learners move between social contexts such as home, school, and church.

I divided the implications section of this chapter into two separate parts. Firstly, I will discuss the implications for educators and school administrators. Secondly, I will discuss the implications for policy makers and other stakeholders. I will also make recommendations for further research that explores issues related to implementing culturally responsive pedagogy within today's ever-changing classrooms.

Implications for Educators and School Administrators

The first implication for practice supported by these findings is that multilingual learners' home environments are alive with language and literacy, which students can use in very real and practical ways to navigate social settings such as schools. Students' home environments provide rich resources for learning that are just too valuable to continue to ignore. While home visits may not be possible or even recommended for all teachers, implementing CRP into the classroom can create learning environments which acknowledge and honor students' cultures and home languages and allow educators access to students' social, cultural, and linguistic resources for use in the school setting.

Implementing culturally responsive pedagogy begins first with the teacher. Teachers should begin implementing CRP by taking a closer look at their own sociocultural histories, beliefs, and personal experiences, particularly those experiences that relate to the power struggles which can take place within society (Kuby, 2013). Teachers should explore their own cultures and backgrounds and reflect upon how their sociocultural backgrounds and beliefs influence the decisions they make in the classroom. Sometimes teachers may have feelings of uneasiness or discomfort about bringing critical issues of injustice and inequality into the classroom or may be reluctant to admit that they do not understand a student's home practices or beliefs. Acknowledging feelings of

uneasiness is often the first step teachers must take towards creating a classroom where diversity is truly welcomed. Feeling apprehensive about broaching certain subjects with students is a natural part of bringing CRP into the classroom and all the more reason to do so. Teaching from a stance of acknowledgement, acceptance, and curiosity can open up classroom space in which diverse cultures and languages are recognized and celebrated.

The findings of this study suggest that in order to discover the wealth of knowledge that culturally and linguistically diverse students bring into the school setting, teachers implementing culturally responsive pedagogy must reexamine their roles as experts in the classroom and allow students to become co-inquirers along the learning journey. This means that teachers must sometimes relinquish sole control of classroom activities and allow students to take more responsibility for their instruction. Giving students choices, encouraging students to assume the role of experts and allowing them to take the lead in classroom discussion, stepping back from the center of focus and becoming more comfortable with wait-time are a few ways that teachers can begin to uncover their students' hidden potential. The more teachers know about their students, the more they can understand and appreciate their cultures, and the more teachers can integrate students' unique funds of knowledge into the culturally responsive curriculum (Araujo, 2009; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2008).

Teachers can respect students' home languages and cultures by encouraging them to speak, read, and write in their native languages, and by displaying an attitude of support toward cultural diversity. Even in school settings, which dictate an English-only approach, teachers always have certain "degrees of freedom" (Garcia & Klieffen, 2010,

p. ix) once their classroom doors are closed, which allow them to make decisions based upon the individual needs of their diverse learners and do what they deem best for their students. During reading workshop, teachers can incorporate culturally relevant texts and materials, including bilingual texts, which represent students' diverse backgrounds and interests. By choosing a variety of CRP texts and materials, teachers can also help bring multiple viewpoints into classroom discussions and create opportunities to talk about the voices that are often silenced in traditional literature.

Writing workshop is built upon the tenets that students should write for authentic purposes, make their own choices in writing, have varied writing opportunities, and uninterrupted writing time. Therefore, writing workshop also fits well within a culturally responsive pedagogy. If a multilingual learner enters the classroom able to read and write in his L1, he is severely limited when he is required to use only English, especially if he knows no English at all. Teachers should allow multilingual learners to read and write in their L1 as they build proficiency in their L2.

Since the physical ability to visit every student's home is not possible, teachers can open up a more welcoming space and invite children's home cultures into the classroom by incorporating a photography essay project similar into the writing workshop. Teachers can distribute disposable or digital cameras to students or simply invite students to bring in favorite photos of important people, places, things, and events in their lives and then, work independently, collaboratively in pairs, or share their photos with the whole class. During writing workshop, students may choose to reveal aspects of their home cultures through their photographs and writing that they may not otherwise share.

Another implication for practice supported by this research is that multilingual learners' homes provide relaxed, comfortable learning environments that are often filled with laughter. Laughter has "profound pedagogical significance" (Vlieghe, Simons, & Masschelein, 2009) and helps to lower students' affective filters, which encourages language acquisition and learning (Krashen, 2009). Knowing the important effect that laughter and a relaxed, comfortable learning environment has upon the affective filters of students, teachers must work to create a more light-hearted, jovial atmosphere in their classrooms that more closely mirror the home environment, despite the political pressures placed upon them to push students to achieve on standardized tests. The findings of this study suggest that by building rapport with students and creating a comfortable classroom climate that helps lower students' affective filters, while still maintaining high expectations of them, teachers can help multilingual learners reach their learning potential.

School administrators can move their schools forward towards becoming more culturally responsive and significantly increase their diverse students' chances for success in many ways. By keeping abreast of the most current research on multilingual education, opening up dialogue in faculty and staff meetings about the latest trends in language education policy, and offering teachers professional development opportunities which address how to best meet the needs of diverse students and their families, school administrators have the potential to create positive changes and a school-wide atmosphere that recognizes and celebrates diversity as a strength.

Educators and school administrators should understand that multilingual learners' families often support their children's language and literacy development in a variety of

ways. Therefore, teachers and educators must move away from the traditional, deficit-based views of how diverse families *ought* to support their children's learning and accept the ways in which they actually *do*. In Eduardo's home, his mother, Luciana, modeled reading as a leisure activity and encouraged her children to read for pleasure. She also asked Eduardo to listen and follow along as she read the *Bible* in Spanish during evening prayer times. Juan's mother, Maria, modeled reading cookbooks and magazines. Juan's stepfather required him to read aloud in both English and Spanish. In many ways, the participants' families helped foster their children's language and literacy development.

However, both Eduardo and Juan's families also struggled to help the participants with schoolwork, which was in English. Sometimes Eduardo's older brothers were able to help him. In Juan's household, if his parents could not help him with his assignments, which were written in English, the assignments were not completed. Recognizing the need for texts and materials to be sent home in more than one language is another implication for practice revealed by this study's findings.

Teachers can help support the needs of diverse students and increase parental involvement in many ways. They can 1) encourage students to check out bilingual reading materials from their school libraries, 2) begin building classroom libraries which include texts in a variety of languages and which represent diverse cultures, and 3) explore ways to access online reading materials which are available in languages other than English. Since many reading series adopted by school districts now offer bilingual versions online, teachers should make sure that parents have access to these bilingual resources at home.

School administrators can encourage school-wide incorporation of culturally relevant texts and materials by asking teachers to review their classroom libraries and media specialists to survey their school libraries to determine if their bilingual resources are sufficient to meet the needs of the school's diverse population. Another way in which school libraries can better support the needs of diverse students is to create a parent resources section within the media center, which includes texts and materials in various languages for parent checkout. In this study, both participants' mothers attended weekly language classes at the school but stated that access to language resources was limited. An implication for practice supported by these findings is that the parents of diverse students often aspire to become more proficient in English along with their children, but may lack the resources to do so. Because school administrators are responsible for maintaining the school budget, they are often aware of funding sources, which may not be apparent to teachers, which could be used to obtain culturally relevant resources for students and their families.

Both participants' mothers noted that reading school newsletters, forms, flyers, and homework assignments was very difficult for them. Teachers and school administrators can help strengthen communication between schools and home in a variety of ways. For informal communications like reminders, notes home, and general purposes, educators can take advantage of free translation software that is currently available online such as Googletranslate (Google, n.d.), BingTranslator (Microsoft, 2015), and BabelFish (The Babel Fish Corporation, 2014). Although these websites are not foolproof translation methods, they do offer quick and easy ways to make meaningful contact with the families of linguistically diverse students. Since 100% of all elementary

schools have some access to the Internet (Lester, 2012), all schools have some capacity to provide some communication in students' native languages. For example, all school districts in South Carolina, and most across the nation, have some type of translation software and/or translation services available with which to translate essential information in students' native languages (South Carolina State Department of Education, 2011b).

For more formal communications such as field trip permission forms, medical data, and registration documents, many school districts subscribe to translation services such as TransAct (TransACT Communications, Inc., 2014) which offers a collection of district and school forms, notices and letters in many different languages. Educators and school administrators should check to see if translation services are available within their school districts to help improve communication between school and home.

Teachers and school administrators working with diverse populations must be cognizant of the powerful way in which translanguaging, or seamlessly moving between L1 and L2, takes shape in the lives of multilingual learners. Garcia (2009) points out that language is not something that people *have* but something people *do*. Multilingual learners naturally pull from their one fluid, linguistic pool of language, not from two separate, static language constructs. Therefore, teachers should incorporate the use of cognates into the curriculum to help make the multilingual learners' language input comprehensible and to help show the connections between students' languages (Krashen, 2009). According to Krashen (2009), studying cognates helps speed up the rate of language acquisition.

Garcia (2009) states that translanguaging is something that happens every day in multilingual families and communities. Therefore, one implication of this study's findings is that teachers should create classrooms that more closely mimic students' home environments by encouraging multilingual learners to translanguage while at school. Teachers who are multilingual could naturally use their L1 and L2 throughout the day, whether or not the languages they speak are the same as their students. Teachers who do not speak a second language should be willing to "play with language" throughout the day by searching for cognates within a variety of texts used in the classroom, by asking their multilingual learners to teach them words or phrases in their native language, by accessing literature and songs online in different languages, and by making a genuine attempt to learn a second language to better understand the struggles of their multilingual learners. Translanguaging could be taught intentionally as a literacy practice to help support both multilingual and monolingual, English-dominant learners. Findings from this study indicate that translanguaging is a literacy practice that should also be incorporated in the CRP classroom every day.

As student populations in America grow more and more diverse, this country's teachers, whose populations remains around 90% white and middle-class, are struggling to find common ground with their students. In classrooms across the United States, educators are teaching students whose backgrounds differ greatly from their own. Many teachers do not have first-hand experience working with students from diverse cultures and lack appreciation for students' home languages and backgrounds (Campano, 2007; Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; García, 2009; Kuby, 2013; Nieto, 2006; Téllez, 2004). This disparity between teacher and student backgrounds can cause cultural

mismatch, heighten students' and teachers' anxieties, lead to uncomfortable learning environments and hinder language acquisition. Implementing culturally responsive pedagogy into today's diverse classrooms can have many positive outcomes. CRP can reduce or eliminate entirely the negative effects of cultural mismatch, improve instruction for multilingual learners and increase multilingual learners' chances for success (Campano, 2007; Colombo, 2005; Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Delpit, 2006; Espinosa, 2008; García, 2009; García & Kleigen, 2010; Kea, Campbell-Whatley & Richards, 2006; Krashen, 2009; Kuby, 2013; Laman, 2013; Nieto, 2006; Zentella, 2005).

Implications for Policymakers

Current language education policies put into place to improve literacy for diverse students continue to be mired in a web of political debate. One of the most controversial issues still being argued today is how much, if any, of a student's home language is appropriate for classroom use. Most language education policies, even in bilingual programs, advocate an English-only approach, setting English as the target language, and 100% English acquisition as the goal (Garcia, 2009). These federal and state education policies filter down into school districts, into schools, and ultimately affect classroom instruction. Yet, it makes no sense to take away multilingual learners' first languages when they enter school, replace them with English, and years later when these learners start high school, offer their own languages back to them for credit in foreign language classes. An individual cannot be separated from his language, even when he is not allowed to produce in his L1 (Garcia, 2009). Policymakers must understand that discouraging or restricting a multilingual learner's use of his native language does not accelerate L2 acquisition.

For policymakers advocating English-only language education policies, or total immersion, I challenge them to visit a foreign country where English is not spoken, spend a year there and see how much of the language they “grasp.” Without someone explaining in English what basic words and phrases mean, it is doubtful that they will be very successful in just one year or even two. Yet, U.S. language education policies often place these types of unrealistic demands on multilingual learners. For example, in May 2015, when Juan was a fifth grader, after only living in the United States for less than two years, he was given the ACT ® Aspire ™ state-wide assessment in writing, English, reading, and math as well as the South Carolina Palmetto Assessment of State Standards (SCPASS) in science and social studies with no testing accommodations such as extended time other than a Spanish-English dictionary.

Cummins (1979) and many other scholars maintain that meaning must be attached to language in order for it to be acquired. Educators should be allowed to encourage multilingual learners to access their L1 while they acquire English if they expect students to be successful. Therefore, policymakers must put multilingual education into place within American schools.

If federal and state policymakers better understood how Cummins’ (1979) concepts of linguistic interdependence and common underlying principle take shape in the lives of multilingual learners and actually play out in the classroom, perhaps they would advocate for language education policy that promotes the maintenance of students’ home languages along with their acquisition of English. Policymakers should realize that the level at which a child’s second language develops is to some extent dependent upon his level of competence in L1 (Cummins, 1979). What a child learns in his L1, he can

access and express in his L2, when he has developed enough proficiency in his second language (Cummins, 1979; Freeman & Freeman, 2004). Findings from this study indicate that multilingual learners move fluidly between their L1 and L2, translanguage as they travel between various social contexts. Multilingual learners carry their languages with them and move in and out of them like invisible, flexible, and often overlapping bands of language. A multilingual learner's languages support and strengthen one another and are an integral part of who the learner is in all social contexts.

Therefore, policymakers need to adopt a broader, less traditional definition of literacy, which includes “language” as something we do, not something we have (Garcia, 2009). So as to better prepare our growing population of diverse learners for their global future, language education policies must be put into place that call for the implementation of culturally responsive pedagogy. Findings from this study, as well as a wealth of other research, indicate that implementing culturally responsive pedagogy encourages multilingual learners to use all of their social, cultural, and linguistic resources, honors multilingual learners' home languages, promotes a multilingual approach to language and literacy in the schools, and helps build an appreciation for and acceptance of diversity (Cummins, 1979; Freeman & Freeman, 2004; Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Kleifgen, 2010; Krashen, 2009).

Recommendations for Further Research

This study expands our understandings of the social, cultural, and linguistic resources upon which multilingual learners draw and the literacy practices they enact when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented within the reading and writing workshop. This study also sheds light upon the ways in which culturally relevant

texts and materials influence multilingual learners' understandings of the reading and writing process. This study adds to the growing body of research regarding the rich fabric of language and literacy woven into the daily lives of multilingual learners who often struggle to navigate the intricate systems of power and privilege in society, yet whose stories and experiences hold the potential to change the way in which mainstream America views its language education policies as it attempts to educate its ever-increasing, diverse population.

This research included two case studies—two elementary-aged multilingual males—over a period of twelve-weeks, in both the school setting and in the participants' homes. While the length of the study was sufficient to investigate the research questions, it was not possible to study the focal students as they transitioned into their prospective grade-level classrooms to explore the long-term effects of CRP and using CR texts and materials. More longitudinal research is needed to explore how implementing CRP and using CR texts and materials with multilingual learners influences their social and academic success in the classroom. There is still much work to be done in the way of exploring how CRP can be used to engage multilingual learners in meaningful, authentic ways.

Understanding how significant translanguaging was in the daily lives of this study's participants highlights the urgent need for more research on how multilingual learners use translanguaging as a literacy practice to negotiate their social settings. As in most schools around the nation, the teachers in the school setting where this study took place were unfamiliar with translanguaging, how to implement CRP, and how to use CR texts and materials. Considering that cultural mismatch is a recurrent problem in

American classrooms, subsequent research should also include an exploration of what happens in the classroom when teachers move away from a traditional stance of language and literacy, implement CRP, and adopt a multilingual, multicultural approach to teaching. Finally, reflecting upon the ways in which the focal students' families helped support their children's language and literacy and how they persevered as language learners themselves, more research must be conducted on how schools and other social institutions can better support the learning needs of multilingual families and better involve them in the school environment, which has historically excluded them.

Conclusion

During this study, as I interacted with Eduardo and Juan in the school setting and got to know them and their families in their home environments, I gained a greater appreciation and deeper respect for the powerful way in which their diverse backgrounds and cultural resources supported their language and literacy learning. Both of the focal students' homes were rich with social, cultural, and linguistic resources that provided the students with a wealth of knowledge that positioned them as experts and me as a learner. I was genuinely humbled by how the students and their families welcomed me into their homes, opened up their lives to me, and taught me so much about subjects that I did not know.

I was encouraged to see how much the students' families actively participated in the boys' learning activities, how their parents supported the children's identities as multilingual learners, and how they stressed the maintenance of their home language, Spanish. The parents' commitment to learn English speaks to the importance they place on multilingual education and how these multilingual parents want to support their

children's academic learning. I was also surprised to see how much translanguaging occurred throughout the participants' daily lives and the extent to which they used translanguaging as a literacy practice to accomplish both informal and academic tasks.

Findings from this study indicate that multilingual learners draw upon a broad range of social, cultural, and linguistic resources found in their homes and communities. Findings also indicate that multilingual learners' families support their children's language and literacy development in many ways. On the basis of this study, teachers can support multilingual learners' academic success by incorporating students' funds of knowledge and opening space in the classroom to allow diverse learners to position themselves as experts. Findings from this study prompt questions about how translanguaging as a literacy practice might be recognized as a resource and used to help multilingual learners find social and academic in the classroom. Finally, the findings from this study prompt questions about the possibilities that implementing culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) hold in the future of educating our nation's growing population of diverse learners and the potential it has to transform language education in this country.

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APPENDIX A

Deficit Thinking

Deficit thinking is a model of instruction used for students from diverse, or nondominant communities, which emphasizes what children do not know and what they do not have (Johnson & Anguiano, 2004; Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 1992). Deficit-based ideologies often position multilingual learners and “others” as lacking an interest in learning and language, lacking high order thinking skills, or as emotionally unstable and undisciplined (Gallego, Rueda & Moll, 2005; Larotta & Serrano, 2012). Deficit thinking does not recognize the richness that diverse students can bring into the classroom (Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Moll, 2004). An investigation into the history of U.S. language policies and practices reveals the prevalence and persistence of deficit-based notions about members of culturally or ethnically diverse communities, such as multilingual learners (Gonzalez, 2005; Kliebard, 2004; Trent, Artiles, & Englert, 1998).

Xenophobia. The roots of deficit thinking are deeply entrenched in American history (Menchacha, 1997; Trent, Artiles, & Englert, 1998) and its seeds have often been sown by xenophobia—the fear of foreigners or hostility towards people different from oneself (Snell, 2003). Since the massive influx of Europeans in the late 1800s until present day, each wave of immigration has generated “Anglo-Saxon nationalism” (Tatalovich, 1995, p. 64), a surge of nativism (Banks, 2005, Higham, 2002), and “a demand for Americanization,” (Baker, 2011, p. 185). Throughout history, schools in the U.S. have helped to “Americanize” or enculturate students of diverse ethnic and cultural

backgrounds by systematically replacing their languages and diverse cultures with the dominant language, English, and the dominant white culture (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Spring, 2005). Cole (2005) contended that the American educational system continues to be a “form of institutionalized enculturation” (p. 198).

Nativism. Nativism is a hard-to-define, sometimes shifting hostility toward foreigners, which is often based on fear, misconceptions, and intolerance of cultural differences (Daniels, 1995; Higham, 2002; Snell, 2003). Each time the U.S. population grows increasingly diverse, immigrants are blamed for an onslaught of social, political, and economic problems (Butterfield, 2000; Daniels, 2008; Spring, 2005). Nativist sentiments toward multilingual learners and their cultural practices are based on the ethnocentric belief that there is only one possible way to look at the world (Banks, 2005; Blair, 2005; Higham, 2002).

Ethnocentricity. Ethnocentricity is a conceptual lens through which white researchers view race and racism when they do not fully understand the many ways in which racism permeates our daily lives (Blair, 2005). Traditionally, race and ethnicity have been viewed from a conceptual framework of ethnocentricity (Fallace, 2010). Pillow (2003) confirmed that in the beginning of our country’s history, the topic of race was absent from research because researchers felt no need to include the discussion of racism and racialization in their work. Missing from most of the scholarly discourse in our country’s early history is the acknowledgement of race as a significant issue (Pillow, 2003).

Linguicism. Linguicism is a type of prejudice or discrimination, similar to racism, based on the concept that one’s language is inherently superior to another

(Garcia, Freeman, Freeman, & Stockdale, 2014; Wiley & Lukes, 1996). Much like other types of prejudice or discrimination based on race or ethnicity, linguicism also produces an unequal distribution of power (Crawford, 2007; Wiley & Lukes, 1996; Talmy, 2009). Language policies are often clouded by politics centering upon ethnic and racial issues (Garcia et al., 2014; Wiley & Lukes, 1996).

Modernism. From the turn of the 20th century to the Civil Rights movement, most scholars in education, the humanities, and the social sciences grounded their work in modernism, conducting research in universities and laboratory settings (Horn, 2002; Kliebard, 2004). Modernism applies a scientific approach about natural phenomena to social phenomena such as language acquisition, learning, and human behavior (Corson, 2001). Modernism holds to absolute truths, claims to be completely objective, and attempts to use science to prove cause-and-effect relationships (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Corson, 2001; Gee, 2008). From a modernist perspective, learning is a linear process (Corson, 2001) that can be systematically, scientifically measured using a standard, “one size fits all” approach (Fosnot, 1996; Spring, 2005).

Modernism attributes low achievement to faults within the individual and inherited characteristics within the family and/or community (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Gallego, Rueda & Moll, 2005; Trent, Artiles, & Englert, 1998). Home languages, literacy practices, and diverse cultures are often seen as the causes of financial and social problems that need fixing (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Lee, 2009). Modernism also assumes that all members of a group, such as an ethnic group, share the same personal knowledge, have the same abilities and interests, and experience the same issues (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003).

All theories of modernism—including positivism, behaviorism, maturationism, and essentialism—are deficit-based learning models (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Corson, 2001; Fosnot, 1996; Gee, 2008; Gutiérrez, Morales, & Martinez, 2009; Kliebard, 2004). Since the late 1800s until present day modernist theories have greatly influenced federal and state language education policies, which have perpetuated deficit-based notions about multilingual learners and other members of non-dominant communities (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Kliebard, 2004). These deficit-based ideologies have resulted in deficit-based educational policies and practices being played out in classrooms across the nation (Baker, 2011; Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Garcia, 2011; Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003; Humes, 2006; Kliebard, 2004).

Expanding Role of the Federal Government

With the launch of Sputnik by The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1957, which signaled the failure of U.S. schools (Horn, 2002), influential government officials, congressmen, and other policy makers began blaming classroom teachers, university professors, and other professional educators for watering down the curriculum and criticized them for not preparing American youth to compete with their global counterparts (Anderson, 1973; Kliebard, 2004; Spring, 2005). The success of Sputnik and the Cold War arms race against the Soviet Union caused great concern to revise the curriculum and establish control over students' educational programs (Spring, 2005). The federal government began expanding its role in education and exerting more control over students' educational programs (Kliebard, 2004; Spring, 2005). Achieving excellence has been the central theme of educational reform since the late 1950s (Horn, 2002). The federal government's increasing involvement in and control of educational matters such

as revision of curriculum and emphasis on standardized testing is a trend which still continues today as evidenced by federal initiatives like Race to the Top (U.S. Department of Education, 2014) and the push for Common Core Standards (CCSS), (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2014). Frank Serafini confirms, “We cannot forget that the CCSS are political, as well as economic manifestos. The CCSS emphasize they do not directly dictate instructional approaches, however the creators of the CCSS have provided publishing guidelines for the creation of resource materials which will influence (control) teaching. The CCSS documents will be defined primarily by the assessments” (Serafini, 2014, p. 4).

In the late 1950s, United States entered a “restrictive period” (Ovando, 2003, p. 6) of language education policy during which many educators and policy makers believed that learners were responsible for adapting to the American way of life and fitting into society (Ovando, 2003). Schools were not expected to adapt to students. Language education policies during this restrictive period were contradictory and confusing (Wiley & Lukes, 1996). In 1958 Congress passed the *National Defense Education Act*, or *NDEA*, which mandated a more structured curriculum (Spring, 2005), began standardized testing of almost all public school students, and marked the first time that the federal government authorized massive funding for public educational reform across all levels (Jolly, 2009). While the *NDEA* set aside monies for science, math, and foreign language instruction and encouraged foreign language instruction for monolingual learners preparing for college, it mandated English-only instruction for multilingual learners, causing the gradual loss of their native languages, or L1 (Jolly, 2009; Kliebard, 2004; Wiley & Lukes, 1996). Although the *NDEA* did create a more positive attitude toward languages other than

English and encouraged foreign language learning in schools (Baker, 2011), it did not address educating multilingual learners (García & Kleifgen, 2010). Multilingual learners received the same education as their monolingual peers, which was “sink or swim” (García & Kleifgen, 2010, p. 24), or “submersion” (Ovando, 2003, p. 6).

Submersion, sink or swim. Submersion, or sink or swim programs, were the most prevalent method of educating multilingual learners (García & Kleifgen, 2010) before the 1970s. In this subtractive or reductive approach, all students, regardless of grade level, receive one hundred percent of all educational services in English (García & Kleifgen, 2010) with the goal being to replace students’ native languages with English. In submersion programs, multilingual students are taught alongside monolingual peers in regular education classes with no special accommodations, special services, or any use of multilingual learners’ home languages provided (García & Kleifgen, 2010, p. 24). Reforms to include language education for multilingual learners were still many years away (Crawford, 2007; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Lyons, 1990).

Multilingual learners’ lack of proficiency in English in submersion programs is often viewed as a lack of academic ability or intellectual aptitude (Cummins, 1979). Deficit-based ideologies of cultural practices do not consider the importance that societal differences and social interactions play in the process of learning (Lee, 2009; Lee & Anderson, 2009). Restrictive, deficit-based approaches to language education are still used in many regions of the United States today, particularly in states that have passed English-only language policies (García & Kleifgen, 2010).

High stakes standardized testing. Despite the fact that renowned biochemists have proven that individuals are unique down to their DNA (National Human Genome

Research Institute, 2012), American education policies have throughout our history tried to standardize people, placing more and more emphasis on assessment and achievement (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Genishi & Dyson, 2009, Pandya, 2011). Many researchers and policy makers contend that the main goal of schools today is to prepare students to do well on standardized, high stakes assessments (González, 2004; Pandya, 2011). Beliefs about the need for more standardized testing and an overemphasis on assessment literacy and learning through quantitative measures are notions of modernism still found in current language education policies and in most schools today (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; Fosnot, 1996; Gutiérrez, Morales & Martinez, 2009).

Ability grouping. Intelligence (IQ) tests, which were originally designed in the early 1900s for the nation's military, have been used to verify innate intellectual differences between races, ethnicities, and social classes (Lee, 2009). Versions of IQ tests such as the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) and the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, created for use in schools, are currently still being used to determine students' abilities and to establish placement in special education and remedial classes (Baker, 2011; Benson, 2003; Spring, 2005; Trent, Artiles, & Englert, 1998). From a modernist perspective, categorizing individuals based on behaviors and abilities helps teachers better anticipate children's classroom performance and prepare for instruction (Gallego, Rueda & Moll, 2005; Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003). Most educators consider ability grouping, special education programs, remedial classes, and academic tracking a way to meet students' individual needs (Spring, 2005). However, grouping students by ability perpetuates racial and ethnic stereotypes of deficits based solely on the label of the group (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003). Gee (2008) argues, "Once in a lower track...a child

almost always stays there, and eventually behaves in ways that appear to validate the track the child is in” (p. 60).

Segregation

From the 1700s to the Civil Rights Movement, racial segregation was a socially accepted practice in American schools and colleges, which denied multilingual learners and peoples of color equal access to education (Campano, 2007; Garcia, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Spring, 2005). Traditionally, African Americans and many other minority groups have faced overt racism in public schools and other institutions. During much of the 20th century across the United States, segregation dominated every aspect of social and educational policies and dictated how members of diverse communities could live out their lives (Moll, 2010). Historically, federal and state educational policies have often supported deficit-based practice of segregation in U.S. public schools (Bordieu, 1990; Moll, 2010) and many federal and state court decisions also supported the practice of segregation (Casas, 2006).

Lum v. Rice. In 1927, J.H. Nutt, a principal at a local all-white elementary school in Mississippi, told Martha Lum, a nine-year-old Chinese girl, that she could not attend the school because she was Chinese (Casas, 2006). Her father, Gong Lum, took the school district to court on the grounds that the black school did not offer as many days of instruction as the all-white school his daughter wished to attend (Casas, 2006). Lum claimed that the citizenship clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits the state from denying persons within its jurisdiction equal protection of the law, gave his daughter the right to attend the school (Casas, 2006).

Initially, Lum was successful because no school existed within the district specifically for Chinese children (Casas, 2006). However, when school officials appealed to the Mississippi State Supreme Court, the higher court reversed the circuit court decision stating, “a member of the Mongolian or Yellow race could not be classified as White, and therefore, needed to attend a school designated for Blacks” (Casas, 2006, p. 86). *Lum v. Rice* established “Black” meant “all races other than White” (Lee, 2009, p. 65). Therefore, Mexican Americans, American Indians, Asian Americans, and other minority students were often schooled together because they were not considered white (Spring, 2005).

The *Lum v. Rice* case was only one in a series of legal disputes over rights, citizenship, and equal access to public institutions (Lee, 2009). Racial segregation, controversial Jim Crow laws, and discriminatory language policies often slowed attempts to offer all children equal access to education (Spring, 2005). Spring (2005) states, “Issues of segregation and language would continue to haunt American education into the twenty-first century” (p. 202).

Méndez v. Westminster. In 1946, school officials in the California, denied enrollment to three Méndez children because they were “too dark-skinned, and...[had a] Spanish surname” (Moll, 2010, p. 451). The children’s parents and four other families filed a class-action lawsuit against the school district (Moll, 2010). The United States District Court ruled that by segregating Mexican American students, the school district had, in fact, violated both the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and state law (Moll, 2010). The *Méndez v. Westminster* case was “the first successful constitutional challenge to segregation in the United States” (Moll, 2010, p. 451).

Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education. Although the Civil War brought a legal end to America's system of racial oppression and slavery (Orfield, 2000), most Native Americans, African Americans, and Mexican Americans were still prohibited from enjoying many of the same rights and privileges as white Americans (Banks, 2002). During the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s, African Americans, other minority groups, and their supporters worked to end segregation in public schools (Trent, Artiles, & Englert, 1998). In 1954, the landmark case *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education* overturned the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision and legally ended segregation in public schools, deeming "separate but equal" unconstitutional (Cozzens, 1998).

The *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education* ruling, however, accomplished little more than a moral victory for minority students (Yosso, Parker, Solórzano, & Lynn, 2004) because it provided black students with only theoretical access to white schools; it did not dissolve the system of segregation (Orfield, 2000). The legislation also did not prevent the harsh racism, which played out in the every day lives of peoples of color as they attempted to enter desegregated American schools (Heath, 1983) and other institutions (Campano, 2007; Garcia, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2010).

Segregation remained a very real and persistent problem in American education particularly in the south (Orfield, 2000). With little to no power at the local and state levels, African Americans and other minorities sought help from the federal government in the 1950s (Spring, 2005) to put an end to the discriminatory practices and policies of the Jim Crow Era and to actualize the equal rights they had been promised in the *Brown v. Board of Topeka* decision (Jones, 2006). Discriminatory educational policies

continued “officially or unofficially, until the 1960s” (Crawford, 2007, p. 5). The struggle for civil rights was far from over (Spring, 2005).

A Cultural Revolution

The Civil Rights Movement awakened a critical consciousness, or “*conscientização*” (Freire, 2009, p. 35). The cultural genocide and other horrors of World War II brought the discussion of human rights into the global arena (Suárez & Bromley, 2012) and was a rude awakening for many scholars and policymakers in the United States (Ovando, 2003). Gradually by the 1960s, anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, linguists, and other scholars attempted to replace deficit-based, restrictive ideologies with postmodern asset-based ideological orientations about diversity (Casas, 2006; Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012; González, 2004; Jiménez, 2000; Moll, 2004; Zentella, 2005). In contrast to modernism, postmodern scholars viewed language and learning as social, collaborative, and mutually beneficial (Trent, Artiles, & Englert, 1998). As the Civil Rights Movement gained momentum, the federal government’s control over education policies began to expand as well (Jones, 2006; Spring, 2005). Federal legislation and significant court rulings during the 1960s changed the face of American education, particularly for students from diverse communities and marked a cultural revolution (Casas, 2006; González, 2004; Spring, 2005).

Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968. When Congress passed *Title VI of the Civil Rights Act* in 1964 it was “the most significant attempt in American history to ensure racial equity in America” (Horn, 2002, p. 45) and probably had more influence on American educational policies and practices than any other federal law (Orfield, 2000). *The Civil Rights Act* outlawed any type of discrimination based on skin color, race, or

country of origin in federal programs and during activities in which schools or agencies received federal funding (Garcia et al., 2014; Smiley & Salsberry, 2007), ending racial segregation and beginning a “minority rights revolution” (Skrentny, 2002, p. 2).

The Civil Rights Act empowered the federal government to tie federal monies to the civil rights initiative and authorized the government to withhold funding from school districts, which refused to comply (Horn, 2002). While the legislation did not specifically address issues relating to language discrimination, it did establish many of legal rights for members of diverse, nondominant communities, which are still in place today (Crawford, 2007). *The Civil Rights Act* also helped bring about improvements in immigration laws and a revitalization of language instruction in languages other than English (Ovando, 2003). *The Civil Rights Act of 1968* helped open up even more venues of opportunity for members of diverse communities (McClain, 2000, p. x). It ultimately lead to other laws for minority groups including voters’ rights, equal access to facilities, equal employment opportunities, women’s rights, rights for the disabled, and language programs for multilingual learners (Skrentny, 2002).

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. In 1965, the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)* became the most significant and powerful influence on federal education policy to date (García & Kleifgen, 2010). This legislation created a federal compensatory education program, which poured monies into a number of programs designed to improve literacy rates of low-income students in American schools (Guilfoyle, 2006; Horn, 2002; Kliebard, 2004). *ESEA* attempted to counteract the financial discrepancies that existed between socio-economic classes (Baker, 2011). Although education policy changes in the 1960s were based on providing equal

opportunity, the ideological orientations of many scholars and policymakers were still ones of deficit (Lee, 2009). Dominant ideologies about language learning and diversity did not consider how socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, gender, and language influence the way a learner speaks, behaves, and believes or how significant a learner's intrinsic motivations could be (Cummins, 1979; Wood, 1998; Zentella, 2005).

Bilingual Education Act of 1968. *Title VII of the ESEA, or the Bilingual Education Act* (García & Kleifgen, 2010), authorized support of bilingual education programs (NCES, 2003) and was officially recognized the educational needs of multilingual learners, or “students with limited English speaking ability (LESA)” (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988, p. 1). The *Bilingual Education Act (BEA)* was originally designed to help low-income, Spanish-speaking students acquire English quickly, but it did not mandate bilingual education (Baker, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2010). The legislation provided funding for school districts that chose to establish language programs for its economically disadvantaged, Spanish-speaking students, but merely recommended teaching students in Spanish and encouraged multicultural awareness (Baker, 2011; Guilfoyle, 2006; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). The *BEA* was significant because it formally recognized that multilingual learners could receive special educational services solely for the purpose of language development (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988).

Office of Civil Rights Memorandum of 1970. The Office of Civil Rights (OCR) issued a memorandum in 1970 outlining all school districts' basic responsibilities to multilingual learners (Smiley & Salsberry, 2007). According to Smiley & Salsberry (2007), these four responsibilities 1) obligated school districts to open up their instructional programs to multilingual learners who were unable to speak and understand

the English language in order to remedy language discrepancies, 2) prevented school districts from placing multilingual learners in special education classes based solely on their language abilities and prevented them from denying multilingual learners access to college preparatory classes, 3) required school districts to design instructional programs that met students' language development needs without ability tracking, and 4) required schools districts to notify parents of multilingual learners of school activities in a language they could understand.

Lau v. Nichols (1974). *Lau v. Nichols* became the “most consequential language-rights decision to date” (Crawford, 2007, p. 9), establishing that language-learning programs for multilingual learners were necessary in order to guarantee equal access to education (Baker, 2011). This decision informed school districts of the required steps to take to remedy the language disparities for their multilingual learners English (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988) and reaffirmed multilingual learners' right to a quality education.

The case began in 1970 when the families of 13 Chinese students filed a class-action lawsuit against the San Francisco School District charging that it had violated the *Fourteenth Amendment* and the *Civil Rights Act* by instructing their children in English, a language that they could not understand (Baker, 2011). The school district argued that offering instruction in English to Chinese-speaking students was not discriminatory (Crawford, 2007). The district court and the appeals court sided with the school district noting that schools were only required to provide for Chinese-speaking students what their English-speaking classmates received (Spring, 2005). However, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled,

There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. (Crawford, 2007, p. 9)

Lau v. Nichols reaffirmed that “all students, regardless of native language, have the right to receive a quality education” (Smiley & Salsberry, 2007, p. 9).

Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974. *The Equal Educational Opportunities Act (EEOA)*, or *Title II of the Educational Amendments Act of 1974* was designed to protect multilingual learners linguicism, or “linguistic discrimination” (Pandya, 2011, p. 68). This legislation formerly applied, or codified the *Lau v. Nichols* ruling to all students in all school districts and required schools, whether they received federal funding or not, to put into place ways in which to tackle the language barriers that were preventing the equal participation of students in instructional programs (Baker, 2011; Crawford, 2007; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). The *EEOA* mandates, “No state shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin” (Smiley & Salsberry, 2007, p. 9).

Lau Remedies. The Lau Remedies were a set of quickly written recommendations issued by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR), which provided assistance in creating English language programs and ensured that school districts complied with laws outlined in the *Bilingual Education Act* (Baker, 2011; Crawford, 2007; Stewner-

Manzanares, 1988). The remedies recognized that multilingual learners needed instruction specifically designed for second language learners, specialized classes to improve their English, and some type of instruction in their L1 (Baker, 2011). The OCR negotiated terms with schools districts, particularly in the southwestern states, which were not offering native-language instruction to their multilingual learners and continued as though bilingual education was not required (Crawford, 2007). Without them, many school districts would have been reluctant to attempt bilingual education at all (Crawford, 2007).

For a short time under the Lau Remedies, bilingual education emerged as a significant component in American schools (Crawford, 2007; Valencia, 1969). Since the 1970s, federal civil rights legislation and subsequent federal case law have mandated that all states identify English language learners and required that schools accommodate them (García & Kleifgen, 2010). The Lau Remedies are the closest the federal government has ever come to a mandating bilingual education (Crawford, 2007).

Bilingual Education Act of 1974. The *Bilingual Education Act* was amended in 1974 because the original version of the law was very vague, and participation in bilingual programs was completely voluntary (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). The 1974 amendment outlined the definition of bilingual education as a program and provided instruction in both English and the native language of the multilingual learner (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). Its reauthorization included Native American languages, “Eskimo languages” (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988, p. 4), and *all* multilingual learners, regardless of socioeconomic status (García & Kleifgen, 2010). The main emphasis during this minority rights revolution was to make sure that multilingual learners who needed

bilingual education programs were getting them (García & Kleifgen, 2010). How these programs were carried out, however, was left entirely to the discretion of the schools (García & Kleifgen, 2010).

A Discursive Turn for Language Education

For the first time in U.S. history, federal language programs were developed to address the needs of students from diverse, or nondominant communities, such as multilingual learners (Ovando, 2003, p. 8). For a short while, ideas about social, ethnic, cultural, and racial differences were viewed as resources, not deficits (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005). This paradigm shift in research and theory marked “a discursive turn” (González, 2004, p. 22) for language education and language education policies.

Bilingualism/Multilingualism. The benefits of bilingualism and dual-language programs are clear (Bankston & Khou, 1995; Campano, 2007; García & Kliefgen, 2011; Pandya, 2011). An overwhelming body of research supports bilingual and biliterate education (Baker, 2011; Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Campano, 2007; Corson, 2001; Delpit, 2006; Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Gutiérrez, Morales, & Martinez, 2009; Lee & Anderson, 2009; Pavri et al., 2005; Valencia, 1969; Zentella, 2005). Bilingual/Multilingual education has been embraced worldwide as a way to successfully meet the unique cultural and linguistic needs of multilingual learners and prepare children for a global future (Baker, 2011; Reyes, 2012; Valencia, 1969).

Bilingual/multilingual education, which honors students’ home languages and family histories, helps foster positive self-identities, which, in turn, encourages multilingual learners to take a more active role in learning (Bankston & Khou, 1995; Pandya, 2011). Multilingual students who can read and write in their native language(s)

also have a greater identification with their ethnic group, which positively influences them toward higher educational goals (Bankston & Khou, 1995).

ESL pull out/push in. In both pull out and push in programs, teachers who are certified in English as a Second Language (ESL) provide additional instruction to multilingual learners to supplement the instruction they are receiving in the regular classroom (García & Kleifgen, 2010). Although some support may be provided in the students' native languages, 90-100% of ESL instruction is provided in English in this kind of program (García & Kleifgen, 2010). These approaches vary based on whether the ESL teacher pulls the student out of the regular classroom or stays in the regular classroom to work with the student for 30-45 minutes. The pull out program is basically “submersion plus ESL” (García & Kleifgen, 2010, p. 26).

Sheltered instruction, or structured immersion. Sheltered instruction, also called “*sheltered English* or *content-based ESL*” (García & Kleifgen, 2010, p. 24), is an approach used with multilingual learners which focuses on learning necessary academic content while simultaneously learning English (Echevarría, Vogt, & Short, 2008). In sheltered instruction classrooms, which may include multilingual learners as well as native English speakers, certified ESL teachers scaffold students in a variety of ways, integrating language development within content-based learning (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Smiley & Salsberry, 2007). Sheltered instruction emphasizes making grade-level content accessible to multilingual learners while working to develop their mastery of the English language (Smiley & Salsberry, 2007).

Developmental, or late exit bilingual education. In developmental, or late exit bilingual education programs both the native language, or L1, and second language, or

L2, of the students are used for instruction (Smiley & Salsberry, 2007). Initially, about 90% of the students' L1 is used (García & Kleifgen, 2010). Instruction in L1 gradually decreases to about 50% or less by fourth grade (García & Kleifgen, 2010). ESL Teachers use the multilingual learners' L1 skills to develop and expand students' L2 skills to help them reach proficiency in both languages (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Smiley & Salsberry, 2007, p. 214). Biliteracy and bilingualism are the goals (García & Kleifgen, 2010) of developmental bilingual programs.

A Return to Deficit Thinking

What began during the minority rights revolution of the 1960s as a measure to encourage appreciation of linguistic and cultural diversity shifted again in the mid- to late 1970s to transitional bilingual education or early exit bilingual education (Baker, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2010, p. 24; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). There was a return to deficit-based notions about multilingual learners. By the early 1980s, the focus on language learning changed direction again in support of English-only programs (García & Kleifgen, 2010). The national consensus was to use the home language as a temporary transition to English (Baker, 2011). The focus of instructional programs for multilingual learners shifted from one of development of L1 to gradual replacement of L1 with English, or transitional bilingual education.

In transitional bilingual education, or the early exit approach, as the multilingual learner becomes more proficient in English, less and less of his L1 is used until he is able to exit into mainstream education (García & Kleifgen, 2010). The amount of L1 instruction and the length of time multilingual learners remain in programs vary between school districts (Smiley & Salsberry, 2007). Although early exit, or transitional bilingual

education is an instructional approach in which subjects are taught in both L1 and L2 (Smiley & Salsberry, 2007), the main goal of this approach is English proficiency without allowing the learner to fall behind academically (García & Kleifgen, 2010).

Understanding the long history of deficit thinking reflected in American language education policies sheds light on how these policies have evolved into what they are today. Federal and state education policies aimed at improving literacy for multilingual learners continue to promote a monolingual approach instead of encouraging multilingual/multicultural education and advocating for maintenance of students' native languages (García & Kleifgen, 2010; Gutiérrez, Morales, & Martinez, 2009; Ovando, 2003). If educators, researchers, and policymakers ever hope to help the increasing numbers of diverse learners in America's school system reach their highest potential, language education policies must be put into place that accept and celebrate the diversity that is alive and growing in classrooms today.

APPENDIX B

Consent Form in English

Study Title: Using Culturally Responsive Materials with Multilingual Learners

Dear Parents or Guardians of _____,

As some of you may know, I am a third teacher at McLaughlin Elementary School in Jonesboro, South Carolina as well as a graduate student in the Elementary Education Department at the University of South Carolina. I am conducting a research study as part of the requirements of my degree in Elementary Education, I would like to invite you and your child, _____ to participate in the study because a language other than English is spoken in your home.

The purpose of this study is to examine the social, cultural, and linguistic resources which multilingual learners draw upon when culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is implemented in the rural elementary classroom setting and document the ways in which culturally relevant texts and materials inform multilingual learners' understanding of the reading and writing process. I am studying how culturally responsive texts and materials inform multilingual learners' understandings of the reading and writing process. The study also aims to discover how implementing culturally responsive pedagogy into the reading and writing workshop might help inform a teacher's understanding of her multilingual learners.

If you decide to allow your child to participate, I will be working with your child during the summer enrichment/tutoring program offered at McLaughlin Elementary School from June 2nd-July 11th. I will also continue offering tutoring from June 22nd through August 26th. You and your child will be asked to talk about how you use reading and writing in your home and in other social settings. You will also be asked to complete language surveys and to meet with me for an interview about your reading, writing, and language practices.

I will be audiotaping small group instruction, activities and interviews so that I can accurately reflect on what is discussed. The tapes will be reviewed by me (and possibly an interpreter) so that I can transcribe and analyze them. They will not be used for any other purposes.

You may feel uncomfortable answering some of the questions. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not wish to. Although you probably won't benefit directly from participating in this study, I hope that teachers and students in the

community/society in general will benefit by better understanding how to meet the learning needs of children who speak (or whose families speak) more than one language.

Participation is confidential. Study information will be kept in a secure location at the University of South Carolina. The results of the study may be published or presented at professional meetings, but your identity will not be revealed. Others in the small group will hear what your child says, and it is possible that they could tell someone else. Because we will be talking in class, I cannot promise that what your child says will remain completely private, but I will ask that all other students respect the privacy of everyone in the group.

Taking part in the study is your decision. You and your child do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. You and your child may also quit being in the study at any time or decide not to answer any questions you are not comfortable answering. Participation, non-participation or withdrawal will not affect your child's ability to participate in the summer program in any way. If you begin the study and later decide to withdraw, your child will still remain in the summer enrichment program.

I will be happy to answer any questions you have about the study. You may contact me at 803-427-3550 or lstockdale@sc.rr.com or contact my faculty advisor, Tasha Laman at 803-777-2595 or laman@mailbox.sc.edu if you have study related questions or problems. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Office of Research Compliance at the University of South Carolina at 803-777-7095.

Thank you for your consideration. If you would like to participate, please open the attached survey packet and begin completing the study materials. When you are done, please return the information to McLaughlin Elementary School or please contact me at the number listed below to discuss participating. I will call you within the next week to see whether you and your child are willing to participate.

With kind regards,

Evelyn (Lisa) S. Stockdale
54 Willbrook Drive
Lugoff, South Carolina, 29078
(803) 427-3550
lstockdale@sc.rr.com

I have read (or had read to me) the content of this consent form and were encouraged to ask questions. I received answers to my questions. I give / do not give (please circle) my consent for my child to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form for my records and future reference.

Firma de Padres

Fecha

Nombre del niño

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact:

Thomas Coggins
Office of Research Compliance
University of South Carolina
Columbia, SC 29208
Phone (803) 777-7095

APPENDIX C

Consent Form in Spanish

Título del estudio : El uso de materiales culturalmente receptiva con Aprendices multilingüe

Estimados padres de familia o tutores de _____,

Como algunos de ustedes saben , soy una maestra de tercer en la Escuela Primaria McLaughlin en Jonesboro, Carolina del Sur, así como un estudiante graduado en el Departamento de Educación Primaria en la Universidad de Carolina del Sur. Estoy realizando un estudio de investigación como parte de los requisitos de mi licenciatura en Educación Primaria, me gustaría invitar a usted y su hijo, _____ a participar en el estudio debido a un idioma distinto del Inglés se habla en su hogar.

El propósito de este estudio es examinar los recursos sociales, culturales y lingüísticos que los alumnos plurilingües utilizar cuando la pedagogía culturalmente sensible (PCR) se lleva a cabo en el salón de clases de primaria rural y documentar las formas en que los textos y materiales culturalmente pertinentes informan estudiantes multilingües la comprensión del proceso de la lectura y la escritura. Estoy estudiando cómo culturalmente textos y materiales sensibles informan de entender el proceso de lectura y escritura de los alumnos plurilingües. El estudio también tiene como objetivo descubrir cómo la implementación de la pedagogía culturalmente sensible en el taller de lectura y escritura pueden ayudar a informar a la comprensión de un profesor de sus alumnos multilingües.

Si usted decide permitir que su hijo participe, voy a trabajar con su hijo durante el programa de enriquecimiento de verano / tutoría ofrecido en la Escuela Primaria Midway de 2 junio-11 julio . También voy a seguir ofreciendo tutoría en grupos pequeños de 22 de junio al 26 de agosto. Usted y su hijo tendrán que hablar de cómo se utiliza la lectura y la escritura en su casa y en otros entornos sociales. También se le pedirá que complete encuestas lingüísticas y reunirse conmigo para una entrevista acerca de su lectura, la escritura y las prácticas del lenguaje.

Voy a cintas de audio y grabación en vídeo de instrucción en grupos pequeños, actividades y entrevistas para que pueda reflejar con precisión en lo que se discute . Las cintas sólo serán revisadas por mí para que yo pueda transcribir y analizarlos. Ellos no serán utilizados para ningún otro propósito.

Usted puede sentirse incómodo responder algunas de las preguntas. Usted no tiene que responder a cualquier pregunta que usted no desea. Aunque es probable que no se

beneficiará directamente de la participación en este estudio , espero que los profesores y estudiantes en la comunidad / sociedad en general se beneficiarán de una mejor comprensión de cómo satisfacer las necesidades de aprendizaje de los niños que hablan (o cuyas familias hablan) más de un idioma.

La participación es confidencial. Información del estudio se mantiene en un lugar seguro en la Universidad de Carolina del Sur. Los resultados del estudio podrán ser publicados o presentados en professional reuniones , pero su identidad no será revelada. Otros en el grupo pequeño se escucha lo que dice su hijo , y es posible que puedan decirle a otra persona. Porque vamos a estar hablando en clase, no puedo prometer que lo que dice su niño permanecerá totalmente privado, pero voy a pedir que todos los otros estudiantes respetan la privacidad de todos en el grupo.

La participación en el estudio es su decisión. Usted y su niño no tiene que participar en este estudio si no quieres. Usted y su hijo también puede dejar de participar en el estudio en cualquier momento o decidir no responder a cualquier pregunta que usted no está cómodo respondiendo . La participación , la no participación o retiro no afectará a la capacidad de su hijo para participar en el programa de verano de ninguna manera. Si comienza el estudio y más tarde decide retirarse , su hijo aún permanecerá en el programa de enriquecimiento de verano.

Estaré encantado de responder a cualquier pregunta que tenga sobre el estudio. Puede ponerse en contacto conmigo en 803-427-3550 o lstockdale@sc.rr.com o comuníquese con mi consejero de la facultad , Tasha Laman al 803-777-2595 o laman@mailbox.sc.edu si tiene preguntas relacionadas con el estudio o problemas. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante en la investigación , puede comunicarse con la Oficina de Cumplimiento de Investigación de la Universidad de Carolina del Sur en 803-777-7095.

Gracias por su consideración. Si desea participar, por favor abra el paquete encuesta adjunta y empezar a completar el material de estudio . Cuando haya terminado , por favor devolver la información a la Escuela Primaria McLaughlin o póngase en contacto conmigo en el número que se indica abajo para hablar sobre la participación . Te llamaré dentro de la próxima semana para ver si usted y su hijo está dispuesto a participar.

Con un cordial saludo,

Evelyn (Lisa) S. Stockdale
54 Willbrook Drive
Lugoff, Carolina del Sur, 29078
(803) 427-3550
lstockdale@sc.rr.com

He leído (o que se me ha leído) el contenido de este formulario de consentimiento y se han animado a hacer preguntas. He recibido respuestas a mis preguntas. Doy / no dan (por favor circule) mi consentimiento para que mi hijo participe en este estudio. He recibido (o recibirá) una copia de este formulario para mi archivo y referencias futuras.

Firma de Padres

Fecha

Nombre del niño

APPENDIX D

Assent Script

Assent Script for Evelyn (Lisa) S. Stockdale regarding using culturally responsive texts and materials with multilingual learners

Researcher: My name is Lisa Stockdale. I am a teacher at McLaughlin Elementary School and a doctoral student at USC. Many of you have seen me in my classroom working with third grade students. I am interested in learning more about how children who speak another language or whose families speak another language use what they know to learn to read and write. This summer I am going to work with you in the summer enrichment program at school to help you during reading and writing time. Sometimes I will audiotape you so that I can go back and listen to what you said and did during reading and writing time. If you do not want to be part of this study, that is okay with me and the other teachers. No one will be upset with you if you don't want to be part of the study. We will still learn about reading and writing together.

Do you have any questions?

Is there anyone who doesn't want to participate?

APPENDIX E

Home Language Survey in English

HOME LANGUAGE SURVEY-ENGLISH

Name of Student: _____
(Last Name, First Name, Middle Name)

Date of Birth: _____ Gender: _____ Age: _____
(month/day/year)

Grade Level Last Attended: _____

School: _____

Teacher Name: _____

Directions to Parents and Guardians:

This information will be used for a research study entitled PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE PEDAGOGY WITH RURAL MULTILINGUAL LEARNERS IN A SOUTHEASTERN US ELEMENTARY SCHOOL to better align teaching practices with students' unique learning needs so that they may find more success in school.

As parents or guardians, your cooperation is requested but, is not required. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Please respond to each of the four questions listed below as accurately as possible. For each question, write the name(s) of the language(s) that apply in the space provided. Please do not leave any question unanswered.

1. Which language did your child learn when he/she first began to talk?
2. Which language does your child most frequently speak at home?
3. Which language do you (the parents or guardians) most frequently use when speaking with your child?
4. Which language is most often spoken by adults in the home?
(parents, guardians, grandparents, or any other adults)

Please sign and date this form in the spaces provided below, then return this form to school.

Signature of Parent or Guardian

Date

APPENDIX F

Home Language Survey in Spanish

Cuestionario para Padres y Tutores

Nombre del estudiante:

_____ (Apellido, Nombre, Segundo Nombre)

Fecha de nacimiento: _____ Género: _____ Edad: _____

_____ (mes día año)

Grado Última asistió: _____

Escuela: _____

Nombre Del Maestro: _____

Dado que ustedes son los padres o tutores, por favor respondan a cada una de las siguientes cuatro preguntas con la mayor exactitud posible. Por favor no dejen ninguna pregunta sin contestar.

1. ¿Qué idioma aprendió su hijo cuando empezó a hablar?
2. ¿En qué idioma habla más frecuentemente su hijo en el hogar?
3. ¿En qué idioma le habla usted (padre de familia o tutor) más frecuentemente a su hijo?
4. ¿En qué idioma hablan más frecuentemente los adultos en el hogar?
(padres, tutores, abuelos o cualquier otro adulto)

Por favor firme y feche este formulario en los espacios provistos a continuación, luego entréguele el formulario a la maestra de su hijo.

Gracias por su colaboración.
Sra. Stockdale

APPENDIX G

Student Oral and Home Language Survey

Oral and Home Language Use Survey

Directions: I'm going to ask you which language(s) you use around your home, neighborhood, and school. Tell me if you use your first (or native) language (L1), _____, or English (L2), or both with the people and in the places I name.

	First, or Native Language (L1)	Second Language (L2)	Both Languages (L1 + L2)	Not Applicable
<i>Around Your Home</i>				
With parents or guardians				
With grandparents				
With your brothers and sisters				
With other relatives who live with you				
With caregivers (if any)				
With neighbors				
With friends				
<i>Around Your Neighborhood</i>				
At the store				
At the doctor's office, clinic, or emergency room				
At church				
Outside, as in a park or ball field				
At a restaurant or fast food place				
<i>Around Your School</i>				
On the playground or outside				
In P.E., music, or art class				
In the lunchroom				
In the halls				
During free time				