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Daily Activities and Routines: A Comparative Case Study of the Home Language and Literacy Environment of Spanish-Speaking Toddlers With and Without Older Siblings

Eugenia Crosby-Quinatoa

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DAILY ACTIVITIES AND ROUTINES: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF
THE HOME LANGUAGE AND LITERACY ENVIRONMENT OF SPANISH-
SPEAKING TODDLERS WITH AND WITHOUT OLDER SIBLINGS

by

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Dedication

This body of work would not have been possible without the love and encouragement of my friends and family who supported me throughout my doctoral program.

To my parents, Cathy and Butch

To my friends, Carl, Adriana, Nicoleta, Christian, Charley, Jamy Claire, Sarah, Lisa, and all of you dear to me

To the families in this study. Thank you for sharing your story.

Most of all, I dedicate this document to my husband, Patricio, who is my rock and heart, as well as to my boys, Byron and Simon, who are my inspiration.

Thank you for everything.

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I am particularly grateful to the four families who opened their home to me and took time out of their busy schedules to share their experiences and to make this project possible. And again, I must acknowledge the incredible support of my family. This dissertation was a team effort. Thank you for believing in me, encouraging me, nurturing me, and pushing me to succeed. I love you.

A sincere thank you to one and all.

It would not have been possible to complete this dissertation without the support.

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to identify malleable practices in the homes of Spanish-speaking toddlers prior to school enrollment. This was achieved by examining daily activities and routines and the role older siblings played in these interactions to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the home language and literacy environment and practices. Additionally, this study aimed to explore, through the narratives and responses of mothers, the home experiences, beliefs, values, and goals associated with toddlers' development, particularly early language and literacy. This study included four Spanish-speaking families with toddlers, two of which did not have an older sibling residing with them (Case 1) and two of which did (Case 2). This comparative case study employed qualitative and quantitative research methods to document toddlers' daily routines and language and literacy practices in the family environment. These practices and activities were examined using a sociocultural framework and activity theory, which guided the methodology and data analysis. Three primary findings included:

1. Families incorporated a variety of activities and practices, including digital-mediated interactions, to foster their toddler's development;
2. Cultural values and beliefs influenced the routines and events, including formal and informal language and literacy practices; and
3. There were slight differences in the activities and practices involving older siblings that fostered the toddlers' multilingual and biliteracy development.

The study contributes to early childhood and speech-language pathology fields' understanding of the home environment and cultural and social influences on family activities and practices of Spanish-speaking families, as well as their early language and literacy practices. According to these findings, understanding a family's routines and practices can provide crucial insight into the malleable resources used by families from diverse cultural and linguistic contexts to support toddlers' development. Using activity settings as the unit of analysis may also provide an ecologically valid method for understanding families' cultural values and beliefs, which influence the integration of these resources and the roles each family member plays in these activities and practices.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Latinos¹ are the United States' largest and fastest-growing minority population (Krogstad et al., 2022; Leavitt & Hess, 2019; Pew Research Center, 2022). In the past fifteen years, the Latino population in South Carolina (SC) has nearly tripled, becoming the third-fastest growth rate in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017).

Approximately 28% of public-school students are Hispanic (De Brey et al., 2019). Recent data shows a strong increase in enrollment in early education programs since 2007; however, only 1% of Latino children are enrolled in high-quality state preschool programs nationally (Child Trends Data Bank, 2019; Educational Trust Report, 2019), which are age-appropriate programs aligned with early learning standards dedicated to developing the whole child. In South Carolina, fewer than 1% of 3-year-old Latinos and 56% of 4-year-old Latinos are enrolled in preschool (ETR, 2019).

Literacy outcomes for Latino children are significantly lower than those of their same age peers (Lonigan, Farver, et al., 2013; Leavitt & Hess, 2019; NCES, 2022). Despite early enrollment, the educational disparities of Latino students are evident and documented (Goodrich & Lonigan, 2018; Lonigan, Farver, et al., 2013). By preschool, Latino children score significantly lower on measures of language, reading and writing, and math in English when compared to same age peers from other racial and ethnic backgrounds (De Brey et al., 2019; NCES, 2022; Winsler et al., 2014). Consistent with

¹ The working definition in this proposal aligns with the institutional uses of the data sources. For example, NCES and the U.S. Census use the term Hispanic, and the Child Trends Data Bank and Educational Trust report use Latino and Hispanic/Latino.

these early trends, Spanish-speaking children are likely to experience long-term academic disadvantages (e.g., Bornstein et al., 2006). Which is exacerbated by the fact that, 60% of Spanish-speaking children are not starting school until age five (Cabrera & Hennigar, 2019; Educational Trust Report, 2019). Therefore, attention must turn to the home environment and early language and literacy practices influencing the academic readiness of Spanish-speaking children before school enrollment.

Children's early language and emergent literacy development share a complex affiliation with their social and cultural worlds. In this, toddlers develop early language and literacy skills through participation in the multiple daily practices specific to their home culture (Heath, 1983; Martini & Sénéchal, 2012; Rogoff, Dahl, & Callanan, 2018; Rogoff, Mistry, Göncü, & Mosier, 1993). These cultural practices are informed by the cultural community's beliefs, values, and norms, like children's participation in everyday conversations (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). In culturally, linguistically, and economically diverse families, the home environment and language and literacy experiences of children are deeply rooted in social and cultural frameworks, often differing from those found in schools and White, middle-class households. Thus, when researching early home language and literacy practices, predetermined frameworks from a single culture are inherently biased and likely to miss and misunderstand opportunities within these families.

The importance of families in supporting language and literacy learning has long been recognized (Compton-Lilly, 2003; Gallimore, Weisner, Kaufman, & Bemheimer, 1989; Heath, 1982; Purcell-Gates, 1996; Taylor, 1993). Studies of the home environment of Latino families document rich, diverse traditions of language and literacy practices integrated

in children's daily routine engagement as well as distinct variability in these practices influenced by historical, cultural, and social patterns unique to the family's sociocultural home setting (e.g., Heath, 1982, 1983; Purcell-Gates, 1996; Taylor, 1993; Teale, 1986). Bal & Trainor (2016) call for identifying malleable conditions and practices in the home culture which could be addressed by observing daily activities. As such, newer studies exploring these family daily home activities is paramount in equipping educators and speech-language pathologists in supporting Spanish-speaking families, in culturally responsive frameworks, to ensure the academic success of all children.

Franquiz and Ortiz (2012) remind us, “the social and cultural environments in which children are reared provide the foundation for language and literacy development” (253). Consequently, the findings of this study will contribute to understanding the home environment of Spanish-speaking toddlers prior to school enrollment that leads to opportunities for more culturally-responsive collaborations with families to support their toddler’s academic readiness and success.

Aims of the Study

The long-term goal of the proposed study is to develop a culturally responsive family literacy model that can be tailored to provide effective parent training to support the school readiness skills of toddlers from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, subsequently leading to greater opportunities for academic success. This study sought to identify malleable practices in the home by exploring daily activities and routines, as well as the role of older siblings in these engagements, in order to better understand the language and literacy practices of Spanish-speaking toddler prior to school enrollment. The result of this study serves as a foundational step towards the long-term aim.

Research Questions

The principal questions guiding this study include:

1. What are the daily activities/routines of Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?
 - a. To what extent do these daily activities and routines vary in families with and without an older sibling?
 - b. How do the features of these daily activities and routines vary in families with and without an older sibling?
2. How does the language and literacy environment of Spanish-speaking toddlers vary prior to school enrollment?
3. What are the early language and literacy practices of Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?
 - a. To what extent do these early language and literacy practices vary in families with and without an older sibling?
 - b. How do the features of these early language and literacy practices vary in families with and without an older sibling?

Statement of the Problem

Early language and literacy development initiates well before academic enrollment and is influenced by multiple sociocultural contextual variables (e.g., Heath, 1983; Taylor, 1985; Teale & Sulzby, 1986; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). These foundational skills contribute to later literacy, which in turn predicts school outcomes (Lonigan et al., 2013; Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002; Snow, Burns, & Griffin, 1998). Toddlers develop early language and literacy skills through participation in the routine

practices of their daily life (Bracken & Fischel, 2008; Rogoff et al., 1993; Weisner et al., 1997). In recent studies with Spanish-speaking children, the early home language and literacy practices have been found to have a critical impact on the children's language and literacy development (Farver et al., 2013; Goodrich et al., 2021; Hammer, Miccio, Wagstaff, 2014; Lonigan et al., 2013; Wood, Fitton, & Rodriguez, 2016); however, the importance of specific activities and involvement from various family members are insufficiently understood. To facilitate the identification of malleable factors in the home that may be addressed through early intervention to better support the language and school readiness skills of Spanish-speaking toddlers, there is a critical need to investigate the daily home activities (Cycyk, 2021; Harkness & Super, 2020; Rogoff et al., 2018), and related roles within Spanish-speaking Latino families (Kibler et al., 2020).

Research suggests that siblings influence the everyday practices of Latino families (Howe et al., 2005; Kibler et al., 2020). Specifically, older siblings play an important role in the home educational environments of Spanish-speaking toddlers (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; de la Piedra & Romo, 2003). Research documents varying roles held within the family system, most often serving as the “in-between” facilitators for families (Gutiérrez & Arzubiaga, 2012; Kibler et al., 2020; Orellana & Reynolds, 2008) and facilitators of school practices (Kibler et al., 2016; Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, 2003; Segal et al., 2017). The proposed research seeks to better understand the older siblings' roles in the daily activities with young Spanish-speaking toddlers and the influence of sibling participation on toddlers' early language and literacy development.

Early literacy and language practices are not universally applicable or malleable for all families. Home practices are shaped by historical cultural influences (Rogoff et al.,

2014; Purcell-Gates, 2004); therefore, this study aims to integrate a grassroots culturally responsive exploration nested within an additive cultural framework to explore daily activities of families within a local community context. Context matters, and children's development occurs in a complex context, consisting of a mix of interpenetrated ecological and cultural factors that challenge even the most sophisticated and richly funded research designs. Given these complex parameters, multiple exploration methods will provide a more diverse collection of data, allowing a more authentic understanding of the families' lived experiences. (Weisner, 2014; Yoshikawa, Weisner, Kalil, & Way, 2008). Reading is a foundational component of school readiness and an important indicator of later academic achievement. Further, family home reading practices have been identified as a key predictor of children's reading and language development during the school years. However, the focus on family activities and routines and the influence these have on toddlers' language and literacy development has not been readily explored. As such, the role of siblings in-home reading practices and facilitating younger siblings' language development is not as well-established. This is a critical gap in the literature focused on Spanish-speaking families, particularly considering research demonstrating the influence of the family and the specific ecological and sociocultural contexts on children's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Weisner, 2002).

Purpose of the Study

This study seeks to explore the daily activities and routines in the homes of four Latino families residing in an urban, Latino community situated in the southern United States. Multiple methods of data collection will occur over two months, ranging from qualitative and quantitative tools, to understand the influences of context and culture on

language and literacy practices in the homes of toddlers before enrolling in a school environment. Ethnographic tools (Heath & Street, 2008), semi-structured interviews, photo-elicitation interviews, participant observations, and quantitative questionnaires will be used to explore the daily activities and routines toddlers experience daily in the home environment. The methodology selected for this study will allow for the exploration of ecological and cultural influences on the toddlers' early language and literacy practices and the role of older siblings in this environment. The data from all measures and instruments will explore the five features of activity settings² (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993)

Further, this study will provide a multilevel contribution to the field of early language and literacy development by exploring: 1) authentic language and literacy practices through the lens of daily activities experienced in Latino families, 2) the influence of older siblings in daily activities within the cultural context of the home environment, and 3) providing a base phase to the cultural adaptation of a participatory family literacy enrichment program (Domenech- Rodriguez, Baumann, & Schwartz, 2011).

Theoretical Framework

This thesis employs two theoretical frameworks in the study of the daily activities of Latino toddlers in the home context: Vygotsky's sociocultural theory (1987) and Gallimore and colleagues' (1993) ecocultural theory. These theories focus on the social and cultural nature of development—specifically, early literacy and language development. The focus will be on the dynamic features of daily activities to better

² The five features of activity settings include: participants, cultural values and beliefs, types of activities, individual purpose and goals, and social scripts (Farver, 1999; Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weiser, 1993).

understand the cultural influences on home and family interactions related to toddlers' emergent literacy and early language development. Culture is a blueprint on how one engages in the world—a dynamic, intricate plan of existence nested in sociocultural contexts molded over time by a “repertoire” of experiences and negotiations in relationship with others (Orellana & Reynolds, 2008; Rogoff et al., 2017). Thus, this study seeks to better understand the dynamic influences of daily activities through a multiple lens perspective, ranging from the individual participants to the deeply rooted social and cultural beliefs and motives influencing hybrid family relationships and interactions.

Sociocultural Theory

This study is positioned with the understanding that human behavior, such as cognition and learning, is socially and culturally situated (Vygotsky, 1987). Further, learning and development is complex, authentic, and reciprocal while inseparable from its context (Rogoff et al, 1993). As such, all children begin their educational career as seasoned participants in dynamic language and literacy practices rooted in the communities of their home culture. Goldenberg and colleagues (1993), in their study of Latino families, found considerable variability in daily activities influenced by an array of elements. More specifically, early language and literacy practices were influenced by the cultural variations unique to home sociocultural contexts (Gonzalez et al., 2019; Heath, 1983; Reese & Gallimore, 2000). With this notion, I believe that every student, parent, and family have valuable resources that should be capitalized upon and integrated into academic and therapy practices (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 2005).

Sociocultural theory asserts that culture is a way of progressing through life, guiding how the world is viewed, and how individuals behave and interact. Parents of all cultures do their utmost to facilitate their children's development to become competent members of their community and are guided by their own cultural values and beliefs. As situated practices (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Street, 2003), language and literacy experiences are highly constrained by the social context in which they are enacted, differing from one cultural background to another, one family to another (Rogoff, Dahl, & Callahan, 2018). These hybrid, dynamic identities guide individual and family engagement in multiple practices that are culturally inherited while co-created by individuals within the interactions (Hammer, Sawyer, & Cychk, 2018; Gutiérrez & Arzubiaga, 2012). Thus, children's early language and literacy experiences are shaped by collaborative engagements nested in unique cultural contexts. While at the same time, Spanish-speaking children in the United States are raised in a home context varying from the environment they will enter when they start school while the presence of an older sibling further negotiates this space and practices (Kibler, Palacios, Paulick, & Hill, 2020).

Ecocultural Theory

The second framework that will be used is Gallimore and colleagues' (1993) activity settings framework derived from ecocultural theory (Weisner, 1984). Historically, the activity settings framework has a strong research foundation shaping the theoretical model of children development (Leontév, 1981; Rogoff, 2003; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Vygotsky, 1978). Families' daily practices (i.e., their activity settings) are shaped by the family's ecological and cultural circumstances and have a direct

influence on the home context of children's language and literacy learning (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993). As such, Gallimore and colleagues' (1993) activity settings framework, as the central unit of exploration, provides a constructive method for identifying the culturally diverse contexts of toddlers' daily language and literacy learning experiences within their home environments. Ecocultural theory marries the ecological environment of the individual with their culture, the meanings, beliefs, values, and conventional practices learned and shared by members of a community.

Ecocultural theory positions the daily living routines, or "activity settings," as the critical units of analysis. This study seeks to understand what families identify as important in their daily life practices and comprehensively explore the ecological, social, and cultural variables that influence their lives and how these variables have changed over time (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993). Moreover, integrating an ecocultural framework opens a window for identifying sociocultural information that might not otherwise arise in research with young Latino toddlers and their families. An ecocultural theoretical framework contributes to existing research in two critical ways: (1) by providing a space for including families' viewpoints and (2) facilitating the development of concrete strategies for culturally adapting emergent literacy enrichment programs that strengthen links with current practices and beliefs. In closing, ecocultural theory's five features of everyday routines (Figure 1.1) will be used to review the literature for this study (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Weisner, 1997).

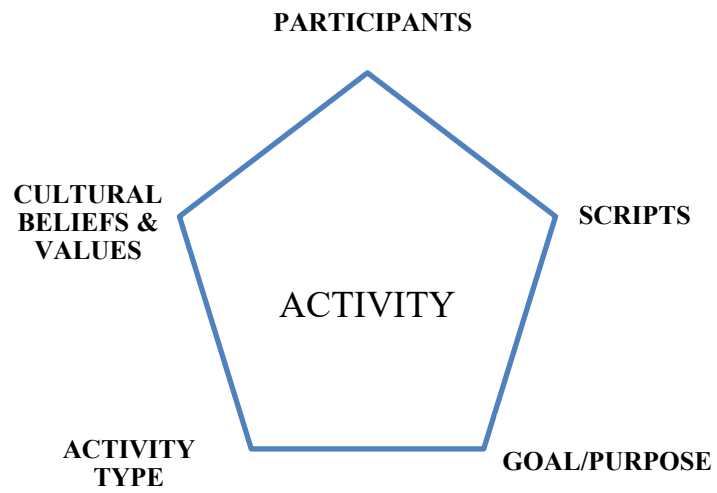


Figure 1.1 Gallimore and Colleagues' (1993) Activity Settings Framework

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of the literature review is threefold. The first is to review selected literature related to early language and literacy development and the role of daily home activities on children's language and literacy development as well as the impact on their academic readiness before school enrollment. The topics reviewed in the first section include emergent literacy and the home language and literacy environment, including family daily activities and routines. Second, a synthesis of studies exploring the language and literacy practices in the homes of Spanish-speaking toddlers will be reviewed. Third, the unique features of activity settings will be discussed in relationship with the families' daily activities (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Weisner, 1997) and the proposed benefit of using the five features from the activity settings model as a more ecologically valid method to study the authentic home practices of Spanish-speaking families. The limitations of the existing literature will be discussed, followed by the context and form of the research questions of this study.

Early Language and Literacy Development (ELLD)

From birth, children begin to acquire the language of their home setting. Words spoken to children and communication in their environment act as antecedents to the development of spoken language abilities and, hence, literacy skills. Children begin to develop literacy abilities even before they enter school (Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). This developmental pre-phase, known as "emergent literacy," spans the preschool years and serves as developmental antecedents to conventional forms of reading and writing

(e.g., Catts et al., 2002; Whitehurst and Lonigan, 1998; Scarborough, 2009). These fundamental abilities influence subsequent literacy, which in turn influences school results (Farver, Xu, Lonigan, & Eppe, 2013; Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002; Snow et al., 1998). Multiple sociocultural contextual variables impact this critical development phase (e.g., Heath, 1983; Taylor, 1985; Teale & Sulzby, 1986; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). The process of developing early language and literacy abilities is socially constructed via the communicative and linguistic interactions that children are exposed to in their everyday surroundings. The home environment and the interactions that children have with others are unique to each child and their family culture (Sulzby & Teal, 1991; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998).

Emergent Literacy

The emergent literacy framework for this study incorporates multiple nonlinear, multifaceted, culturally embedded, social, and cognitive-linguistic processes (Azuara, 2009). The language used to socialize children, and the practices they engage in, are imbued with explicit sociocultural influences. Emergent literacy skills encompass oral language and code-based skills, such as conceptual language, vocabulary, and narratives (Perfetti, 1985; Storch & Whitehouse, 2002), print conventions, alphabet knowledge, emergent writing, and phonological awareness (Whitehurst & Lonigan, 2001), as well as literacy-like behaviors (Clay, 1979; Saracho, 2017). The context of these early language and emergent literacy practices is guided by the family's general beliefs, values, and norms, as well as the specific beliefs and practices pertaining to the development of children (Azuara, 2009; Snow, 1983; Street, 2003).

Reading is a fundamental component of school readiness and an important predictor of future academic success. Early language and literacy skills acquired through family engagement in daily activities are among the strongest predictors of subsequent school achievement (Catts et al., 1999; Farver, Xu, Lonigan, & Eppe, 2013; Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002; Snow et al., 1998). Consequently, a child's prior experiences at home before starting school serve as the source of these essential skills. However, little is known about the numerous sociocultural contextual variables that influence these skills in the homes of Spanish-speaking toddlers. Given the importance of these core abilities, it is particularly important to promote them early among marginalized populations (Bus et al., 1995; National Early Literacy Panel, 2008; Snow et al., 1998; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). To best promote the academic achievement of these children, it is critical to understand the family routines, activities, and settings in which these skills develop.

Home Language and Literacy Environment (HLLE)

Informed by a large body of qualitative and quantitative studies, the home literacy and language environment (HLLE) is a multidimensional construct, and it embodies the language and literacy-related models and resources accessible to young children. This includes how and how often children interact with these resources, with other family members or alone, in the authentic familiar context of "home." (Tracey & Morrow, 2017; van Steensel, 2006). From this framework, the term "family literacy" evolved from the importance of interactions which support literacy development in the home environment (Taylor, 1983). Family members play an essential role in developing children's early language and literacy skills in their everyday engagement.

Those behaviors modeled by parents that support literacy development are shaped by their beliefs about emergent literacy (Wood, 1998). The HLE comprises various interrelated beliefs, resources, and activities that influence varying aspects of literacy development (Farver, Xu, Eppe, & Lonigan, 2006; Martini & Sénéchal, 2012). This study explored the everyday, culturally nuanced engagements with various stakeholders who play a role in modeling and supporting the development of the child's early language and literacy skills. The authentic activities, including interactions with family members in the home before the toddler's school enrollment, are the focus of this study.

The 'home literacy environment' usually refers to both formal and informal activities undertaken by family members at home which support language and literacy learning (Burgess et al., 2011; Sénéchal & Lefevre, 2002; Tracey & Morrow, 2017). This environment includes the literacy resources in the home, as well as parental attitudes toward literacy (Martini & Sénéchal, 2012; Weigel et al., 2006). Language and literacy activities in the home provide opportunities for children to develop foundational linguistic constructs, such as phonological awareness and alphabetical knowledge, which translate to future academic success (Lonigan et al., 2009). In addition, researchers have examined other characteristics of the HLE, including the amount of text resources (e.g., books), frequency of storybook reading, and print-related activities with more structured frameworks like dialogic reading practices (Burgess, 2011; Eppe & Lonigan, 2006; Farver, Xu, Lonigan, & Eppe, 2013; Mol & Bus, 2011; Phillips & Lonigan, 2009). Research commonly draws a distinction between direct (e.g., parent/child shared book reading) and indirect (e.g., literacy video viewing) literacy activities (Sénéchal et al., 1998). Regardless of how much indirect literacy activity a child is exposed to, reading

books is vital (e.g., van Kleeck, 2004). Early language and literacy practices are informed by how others in their family and in the community view and use language and literacy, as well as the influence of context on these engagements (Street, 2003).

Children encounter language and literacy experiences for the first time in the home (Weigel et al., 2006). Multiple studies indicate that the quality of the HLE is one of the most important predictors of early language and emergent literacy development (Inoue et al., 2018; Frijters et al., 2000; Niklas et al., 2020; Silinskas, 2020; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). In addition, research demonstrates that key formal and informal practices have powerful effects on different oral and written language skills (e.g., Bus et al., 1995; Phillips & Lonigan, 2005; Scarborough & Dobrich, 1994; Sawyer et al., 2018; Sénéchal & Lefevre, 1995).

The most significant HLE variables on children's future academic skills are active interactions with experienced partners, such as collaborative reading, and teaching literacy skills such as letter names and reading comprehension (Mol & Bus, 2011; Scarborough & Dobrich, 1994). When families engage in a variety of practices (e.g., book reading) that promote language and literacy at home (Kibler, et al., 2020; Sawyer et al., 2018), their children demonstrate vocabulary skills that overcome barriers presented by the families' limited economic opportunities (Gonzalez et al., 2017; Kibler et al., 2020; Sawyer et al., 2018; Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002). Moreover, numerous studies have established a parallel correlation in the households of dual language learners (Burriss et al., 2019; Silinskas et al., 2020; Wood et al., 2018).

Much of what we know about early language and literacy development and its relationship with future academic success makes use of inferential statistics, as well as

research settings depicting restricted experiences thought to occur in all homes and families. Most research conducted on home language and literacy practices focuses on shared reading frequency (e.g., amount of interactivity; Mol et al., 2008) and its correlation with children's oral language or reading skills. Other studies focus on associated activities, such as expanding on storybook reading, writing words, parent-child activities related to letters and print exposure, and singing songs in the home setting (Burgess et al., 2002; Lonigan et al., 2009; Sénéchal et al., 1998; Weigel et al., 2006). Furthermore, studies on children's language and literacy experiences in the home have historically focused on children from White, middle-class families, which in general, excludes bilingual, first-generation populations (e.g., Burgess et al., 2002; Cabrera et al., 2019; Phillip & Lonigan, 2009). Hence, the body of knowledge is sparse in terms of investigating home literacy environments of dual language learners who speak Spanish at home, and studies that do exist tend to identify participants as a homogeneous group. This generalization provides a single story and fails to recognize the unique experiences and practices occurring in the home environment across a patchwork of Latino cultures (Hammer, 2000; Heath, 1983; Purcell-Gates, 1996; Teale, 1986).

Early Language and Literacy Practices in the Homes of Spanish-Speaking Toddlers

Studies examining the HLLE of Spanish-speaking families reveal that family engagements vary. With an emphasis on spoken language, research demonstrates that variation in language use can impact the literacy resources (e.g., type and availability of books or print materials) known to enhance early literacy and language development (Yeomans-Maldonado & Mesa, 2021). This research typically employs basic questionnaires or more culturally sensitive versions of these questionnaires. Data has

been collected via phone interviews, informal observations, and questionnaires completed in the academic setting. In contrast, only a handful of studies have gathered a variety of observations related to daily practices of early language and literacy in Latino homes.

Farver and colleagues (2013) explored aspects of the families' home language environment, including language use patterns and their association in relationships with early language and literacy skills in Spanish and English, through a sample of Latino preschoolers. Examining cross-language transfer of emergent literacy skills through the experimental manipulation of instruction, results found a positive association within languages of English and Spanish home literacy environments for respective early language and literacy skills (e.g., positive association of English home literacy environment on early language and literacy skills in English), while a negative association was found between parent's literacy behaviors in Spanish and children's English oral language and phonological awareness skills. Findings suggested that the relative impact of the home literacy environment is language-specific; however, Spanish-speaking families were found to be adequately equipped to support early language and literacy skills in both English and Spanish (Lewis, Sandilos, Hammer, Sawyer, & Mendez, 2016).

Numerous studies reveal that early home educational strategies have a significant influence on the language and literacy development of young Spanish-speaking children (Gonzalez et al., 2017; Goodrich et al., 2021; Trainin et al., 2017; Wood et al., 2018). However, much of this research focuses on disparities among Latinos (Hammer et al., 2010; Sonnenschein & Sun, 2017), and just a few recent studies have investigated early language and literacy practices in Spanish-speaking households. Similarly, the

assessment methodology of most of these studies lack ecological validity, as they are largely based on frameworks established from middle-class, English-speaking, White households. Thus, analyses and results do not fundamentally support culturally valued activities, and Latino families are classified as missing literacy-promoting practices in the home context (Brooks-Gunn & Markman, 2005). Nonetheless, some studies on early language and literacy practices anchored in sociocultural relevant frameworks found that Latino parents place a high importance on education and document a wide variety of language and literacy activities in the home context (Cycyk, 2018; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Lynch, 2008).

Studies conducted within a relevant sociocultural framework reveal distinct early language and literacy patterns among Spanish-speaking homes. Using an activity setting lens, Cycyk & Hammer (2020) examined the home environment of 35 Mexican mothers of toddler-aged children (Gallimore & Weissman, 1993). Regarding language and learning attitudes, values, and practices, they observed a unique association between the older sibling's role and household literacy practices. As they examined these findings, they determined that the Mexican immigrant families in this study value their children's educational success well before they enter school. Like other studies, they discovered that families are relatively deliberate in teaching language to young children through implicit language learning strategies, namely comprehension of behavioral directives and productive vocabulary associated with the cultural goal of raising respectful and well-behaved children (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2012).

In a similar vein, prior research has demonstrated that parents and families utilize a variety of resources and texts that are frequently unconnected to school reading

practices and expectations. Purcell-Gates (2013) investigated greeting card interactions with transnational families as a framework for the development of emerging literacy skills among a sample of migrant families. Further data indicate that migrant farmworkers and their children engage in a variety of literacy-related activities, however parents did not report reading children's books. Exploring these methods of interaction via daily activities will serve as a basis for the development of necessary emergent literacy skills.

Davis and colleagues (2016) performed a latent class analysis (LCA) to identify home literacy environment profiles among low socioeconomic status (SES) Latino households in the United States ($n = 193$). Their investigations found distinct profiles based on parental beliefs and practices. A larger number of home literacy activities were engaged in by children whose parents held more favorable attitudes about literacy. Collectively, the findings of these person-centered studies indicate that children and caregivers engage in varying degrees of various types of literacy activities and that demographic and caregiver-specific factors are associated with the home literacy experiences of young children (Weigel et al. 2006).

Studies of Latino families' homes and communities in the United States reveal a range of language and literacy practices incorporating diverse materials within daily practices, availability of books and other print materials, and booksharing practices (Delgado-Gaitán, 1990; Farver et al., 2006; Reese, 2012; Reese & Goldenberg, 2006; Reese, Thompson, & Goldenberg, 2008). Schick and Melzi (2016) conducted interviews with 127 bilingual (Spanish English) preschoolers and their primary caregivers in a Latino community in the northeastern United States found that Latino immigrant children have access to a wide range of language and literacy experiences and resources, and that

their families engage in a wide range of literacy practices, including school, household functioning, religious and liturgical practice, and entertainment (Edwards, 2014; Purcell-Gates, 2013; Saracho, 2017; Sawyer et al., 2016). Findings from these studies highlight the diversity in family engagements while more research is needed on the daily activities of families and how they integrate early language and literacy practices with toddlers prior to school enrollment.

Family Daily Activities & Routines

Children learn and develop through their daily activities and cultural practices (Gee, 2015; Rogoff, Dahl, & Callanan, 2018). Participation in the routines of daily life creates an essential context for children's development (Weisner et al., 1997). From birth, children begin to engage in everyday activities and routines that are consistent with the family's culture and serve as an instrumental life guide (Bernheimer & Weisner, 2007). Bathing and washing clothes, for example, give children the opportunity to learn alongside and from other family and community members (Rogoff, Dahl, & Callanan, 2018). Families organize everyday activities in accordance with their cultural values and available social and economic resources (Gallimore, Weisner et al., 1989). As children mature, their daily routines adapt. Their roles change, as do the proximal and distal features impacting those activities, such as family makeup, money, time, and frequently community influences (Rogoff et al., 2018). Moreover, the activities and routines that children engage in are driven not just by instructional motives but also by the everyday practical needs (e.g., grocery shopping, paying the electric bill, reading a book, sweeping the floor) that are shared by all families.

Studies examining how family culture impact children's lived experiences highlight categories of activities and routines that relate to learning and development (Dunst & Bruder, 1999; Farver, 1992; Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993; Purcell-Gates, 1996; Teale, 1986). In their research of families in the United States, Dunst & Bruder (1999) report that neighborhood factors and the parents' preferences including their values and goals for their children, influence different types of learning opportunities influenced by their neighborhood and the parents' preferences including their values and goals for their children. In a similar vein, Purcell-Gates (1996), in her descriptive study of the literacy practices in the homes of 20 underprivileged families, describes the vast diversity of strategies employed by families within the home environment to prepare their children for school. Families' social and cultural routines acted as dynamic learning environments that were unique to and governed by the family. Included in a child's daily activities are eating supper, taking a bath, listening to bedtime tales, and getting ready for school (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993; Dunst & Hamby, 1999). There are scheduled and unplanned engagements as well as organized and unstructured activities (Dunst & Hamby, 1999). Recognizing and investigating activity settings is the most effective approach to comprehend what is fundamental to families and how the ecological, social, and cultural factors that are unique to each family shape their lives (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993).

Activity Settings Framework: A Cultural Inquiry and Unit of Analysis

Children experience culture in practiced daily routines with their families. Cultural routines consist of activities children engage in (mealtimes, bedtimes, family visits, homework, reading together, chores, churchgoing, or prayer) that serve as the

primary mechanisms for bringing culture into the child's mind and directly into the everyday experiences repeated over time. Activities consist of at least six core elements: a) goals and values, b) the task the activity is accomplishing, c) scripts and norms for how to engage in the activity, d) people present in the activity and their relationships with the child and with one another, e) the motives, feelings, and affective emotional experiences of those engaged in the activity, and f) the stability and persistence of the activity in the lives of child and family (Weisner, 1996). Collectively, caregiver(s) and children create developmental pathways within the cultural setting of the home (Weisner, 2002) that are demonstrated in and directed by the everyday routines of families. As such, activity settings provide the lens through which we can explore and better understand the children's home learning experiences, such as their home language and literacy environment.

Ecological and cultural effects are mediated by activity settings of the daily routine. These activity settings provide the context and possibilities for children to learn and develop through socially mediated, goal-directed interactions (Farver, 1999). Culture is actualized through local activity contexts that impact interaction and cognition (Weisner, 1984). Children's social interactions and behaviors occur in the usual contexts of their everyday activities. Activity setting is the fundamental unit of analysis in this model, which consists of five explicit components.

This setting facilitates the comparison of a developmental phenomenon across comparable contextual variables by coupling the material features of an activity with the socially created meaning of the participants. It also provides a way to simultaneously consider cultural features at multiple levels and to investigate how ecological factors

impact children's early language and literacy development. The activity setting is influenced by families' daily routines, the individuals interacting with the child, and the scripts that govern their behavior.

The Activity Settings of Spanish-Speaking Families

In the past decade, there has been an increase in the understanding of the home language and literacy environment of Spanish-speaking households. However, studies examining the activity contexts of children living in the United States prior to school enrollment remain few. Due to the paucity of data, this review focuses on findings from research with families speaking Spanish who are not country-of-origin subgroups. This review fits with the five activity setting components established by Gallimore and colleagues (1993).

Salient Cultural Values and Beliefs

The cultural values and beliefs of a family serve as the impetus for daily household behaviors. Qualitative research has revealed the importance of the family unit and the social bonds shared by toddlers in Spanish-speaking homes (Gonzalez et al., 2019; Calzada et al., 2013). Not only do these values and beliefs determine the sorts of activities that families engage in, but the everyday activities connected to early language and literacy practices are frequently organized so that families may share and teach these values and beliefs to their children (DeBaryshe, 1995; Farver, 1999; Georgiou et al., 2021; Phillips & Lonigan, 2009). Every family possesses knowledge about how to promote their own and others' learning (Long & Volk, 2010). Routines and opportunities for language acquisition differ by cultural affiliation and across children (Heath, 1983; Martini & Sénéchal, 2012).

In a recent review of empirical findings, a consistent theme emerging from cross-cultural comparisons highlights three important cultural values inherent to the cultural background of Latino families that are potentially linked to early language and literacy practices: a) *familismo*, the importance and value of family (Becerra, 1998; Calzada et al., 2013; Cauce & Domenech-Rodríguez 2002), and b) *respeto*, the value of respect for self and others, and c) *educación*, proper behavior or "*bien educado*" (Goldenberg & Gallimore, 1995; Halgunseth et al., 2006), which inspires parental decisions and practices with their children. Variations in parental values influence how parents interact with children in the home environments (Coba-Rodriguez et al., 2020; Ccyk & Hammer, 2020; Davis et al., 2016; Gonzalez et al., 2017). Consequently, the variations in families' daily home activities and routines may reflect culturally specific beliefs, values, and scripts related to later school readiness (Farver, Xu, Eppe, & Lonigan, 2006; McWayne et al., 2013).

Previous research on the educational beliefs and practices of Latino families discovered contrasting family views on educación and the typical academic focus. Parents are not less interested in their children's education as the literature suggests (Fuller & Garcia-Coll, 2010); rather, parents promote their children's early learning experiences despite barriers such as disadvantaged economic possibilities (Salinas, Pérez-Granados, Feldman, & Huffman, 2017). Furthermore, parents believe they are responsible for their child's social and moral development, with greater expectations placed on schools and teachers to teach their children (Bridges et al., 2012; Goldenberg & Gallimore, 1995; Gonzalez, Bengochea et al., 2018; Valdés, 1996). While the goal of *educación* influences interactive interactions in the home environment, Gonzalez and

colleagues (2018) discovered in their recent mixed methods study that parents believed they played a complimentary role to teachers in their children's *educación*. Despite these beliefs, family practices and parental involvement may not align with normative expectations held by researchers and educators (e.g., those adopting White, middle-class norms), putting their authentic practices at odds with early language and literacy expectations and norms (Baird et al., 2015; Billings, 2009; Coba-Rodriguez & Jarrett, 2020; Farver, Xu, & Lonigan, 2013).

Activity Types

Children's development evolves from their engagement in the everyday home activities that provide the setting for learning culturally meaningful behavior (Rogoff, Mistry, et al., 1993; Rogoff, Dahl, & Callanan, 2016). The everyday lives of most young children include multiple everyday experiences, events, and activities that are sources of naturally occurring learning opportunities (e.g., Rogoff et al., 2016) and more formal learning experiences in which teaching facilitates the acquisition of predetermined knowledge or skills planned by the participant (Dunst, Hamby, Wilkie, & Dunst, 2017). Young children experience everyday activities on both a routine and non-routine basis in and around children's homes (e.g., family meals, play, watching tv, listening to music, riding a bike) and across different contexts (Bradley et al., 2014; Rodriguez, 2006; Reese, 2009).

Parents vary in their beliefs about the types of activities that facilitate their child's learning and development. Specifically, studies exploring the home language and literacy environment of Spanish-speaking families reveal a range of literacy practices involving a variety of print materials embedded in events associated with functional events and

activities like writing grocery shopping lists or reading cereal boxes and texts (Bradley et al., 2014; Compton-Lilly, 2017; Purcell-Gates, 2013; Reese & Goldenberg, 2008; Song et al., 2012). Much of what is known about the activity types of young Spanish-speaking children, in general, is limited to brief observations or survey data. While helpful, much more information is needed on children residing in distinct geographical locations, and from multiple data sources. Further, the measures used to gather information on the daily activities in the homes of Spanish-speaking families are frequently framed from preconceived notions about what kinds of activities should be taking place in the homes of young children. Therefore, research that broadly determines the naturally occurring, everyday activities within which young Spanish-speaking children are learning language and literacy is essential.

Activity Operations and Task Demands

Learning is influenced by the social situation, familiarity with the task materials, and the cognitive operations associated with them. It includes what the participants do in the activity and the types of operations and demands a particular task imposes. Gallimore and Goldenberg (1993) report a range of activities and tasks, such as household literacy activities and children's literacy activities. The activity operations and demands are molded by the tools and artifacts available to children and families within the home environment. The nature of the individual activity and the child's role in this engagement provides a deeper understanding of the home family culture.

When expanding the lens, moving from a one-size-fits-all framework to capturing the authentic early language and literacy practices, studies find that children engage with a broad set of artifacts embedded in culturally defined tasks and interactions (Baker,

2018; Cychk & Hammer, 2018; Bridges et al., 15; Purcell-Gates, 2013; Sawyer et al., 2016). When the framework is shifted, researchers find that family practices and activities are frequently aligned with the daily demands of life and are strongly influenced by the home and community culture rather than the one-size-fits-all, inclusive practices promoted by early language and literacy programs. The ways people read and write, what they use, and how they engage are uniquely situated and relevant.

Activity Personnel/Participants

A significant number of Spanish-speaking children reside with their immediate parents and often extended family members (Child Trends, 2017). In alignment with the cultural value of familismo, many households include older siblings and adult relatives who often serve as caregivers and teachers for the child (Farver, 1999; Valdés, 1996). Despite similar literacy practices, cultural norms often influence other dimensions of the activity, such as the participants involved. The variety of individuals commonly engaging with children may make important and discrete contributions to the child's early language and literacy development.

From case studies to ethnographic studies, research findings document the integrative role family members other than parents have in facilitating language and literacy skills in the home environment (Mol, 2010; Zentella, 2005; Volk, 1999). In his study of family literacy practices in the homes of Mexican-origin children, Reese (2002) found that the educational experiences of siblings, aunts, uncles, and parents positively influenced the child's reading success. Older siblings play an important role in the everyday practices in the homes of Spanish-speaking toddlers (Gregory, 2001; Howe et al., 2005; Kibler et al., 2014; Kibler et al., 2016).

Older Sibling. Research demonstrates that siblings influence the everyday practices of Latino families (Gregory, 2001; Howe et al., 2005; Kibler et al., 2014). Older siblings may play an important role in the home educational environments of Spanish-speaking toddlers in the U.S. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; de la Piedra & Romo, 2003), often serving as the “in-between” facilitators for families (Gutiérrez & Arzubiaga, 2012; Orellana & Reynolds, 2008) and carry out school practices such as reading to young siblings, a skill not often readily available to Spanish-speaking caregivers (Kibler et al., 2016; Orellana, Reynolds, et al., 2003). The research seeks to better understand siblings’ roles in the daily activities of young Spanish-speaking toddlers and the influence of sibling participation on toddlers’ early language and literacy development.

Purpose or Motives of Participants & Their Engagement in the Activity

All caregivers hold central goals for their children that are often fulfilled in daily activities and routines. The purpose of these activities is fashioned from values that are an “intrinsic part of [one’s] culture” (1993, p. 540). In this, distinct goals dictate how particular activities are carried out with children, including the strategies and behavior scripts employed in the engagement (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993). In this routine, exploring the meaning of the activity and the reason for the participant’s engagement from their perspective is necessary for understanding the cultural influence on activities unique to a family. Despite similarities in an activity or task with a child, the impetus behind the activity and its primary meaning to the participant may vary. Likewise, activities appearing tangibly different may hold similar purposes and meanings for participants. Further, the purpose behind an activity directly impacts how an individual behaves, interacts, and facilitates the task (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993).

Existing research has identified overarching goals held by families of Mexican descent toward raising children and discrete goals for a small number of children's activities. Teaching children manners, moral values, and appropriate behavior in social situations has been identified as the principal goal for raising children in general (Valdés, 1996). Research findings document that families use certain activities for different purposes, like monitoring their child's behavior or providing them with entertainment (Bradley et al., 2014; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993). In addition, these studies found that Spanish-speaking families were less likely to link the goal of teaching new skills with their young children's outdoor play or emerging language literacy activities (Bradley et al., 2014; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Valdés, 1996). Contrastingly, in a study by Thomas and colleagues (2015), the mothers associated academic skill acquisition and English language learning to their young children's television watching. Expanding the exploration of the purpose of and motivation for activities in the homes of Spanish-speaking families will provide a better understanding of how families support their toddler's early development.

Cultural Scripts for Conduct

Cultures are dynamic, evolving from traditional toward more relative, open, and varied patterns (Rogoff, Dahl, & Callanan, 2018). These patterns encompass the unspoken rules for how one is to engage in the everyday practices in the home and community. Through these everyday interactions, family members socialize children in practices that facilitate the assimilation of educational and social goals (McWayne et al., 2013). The scripts for conduct in these interactions and daily activities in the home closely align with a family's cultural background, including their beliefs, motivations,

goals, and norms set by their culture for self-expression (Rogoff et al., 2014). The social process framing these activities, such as language interactions, encompasses the socialization of children while preserving culture and cultural ways of life (Vygotsky, 1978). The scripts guiding children's participation expose deeper cultural patterns driving the engagements and underlying rules for self-expression. How families engage, including who is involved, their interactional patterns, and what is said by whom and when, discloses the cultural expectations of the family and community.

Social scripts—the talk others provide in the natural interactions—guide children's engagement in daily activities and routines. The type of talk (e.g., directives, information-providing) and the language integrated (i.e., English, Spanish) in these engagements embody what is defined as social scripts. Research exploring early language and literacy practices documents cultural variations exposed in the scripts of conduct within maternal talk during book reading (Reese, Balzano, et al., 1995; Reese & Gallimore, 2000), child-rearing, practices, types of talk in daily activities (Chavajay & Rogoff, 2002; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993), language use in the home setting (Hammer, Davison et al., 2009; Zentella, 2005), personal narratives (Reese, 2012), and situated practices like language brokering (Orellana et al., 2003; Orellana, 2009; Reynolds & Orellana, 2015). Cultural models influence the organization and support of daily activities of families. Families organize the home language and literacy environment through these models, expressed in the rules, values, and dynamics at home (Farver, Xu, Eppe, & Lonigan, 2006). Differences in cultural scripts influence children's engagement in activities, everyday tasks, and routines (Farver, 1999). Much of what we know about daily activities is derived from studies of mainstream families whose backgrounds vary

significantly from culturally and linguistically diverse families. Concurrently, studies exploring scripts for conduct are derived from the mother's perspective and serve as the comparative model for all family practices (Weigel et al., 2006).

Conclusion

It is important to remember that all language and literacy practices are embedded in a cultural system (e.g., Rogoff, Mistry, et al., 1993; Rogoff, Dahl, & Callanan, 2018) and influenced by families' views and uses of language and literacy, goals for children, and the home environment (Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004; Heath, 1983). These practices evolve from the social and cultural interactions between children and their home and community environment. They have been found to have a critical impact on young Spanish-speaking children's language and literacy development (Wood et al., 2016). However, the importance of specific activities and involvement from various family members is poorly understood.

Children's activity settings are a foundation of their daily engagements and recurrent spaces where development occurs. Families' unique ecological and cultural dynamics design and sustain these daily practices. In this study, I will explore the objective and subjective features of the single unit of analysis, activity settings as operationalized in earlier empirical research by Gallimore and colleagues (Bernheimer, Weisner, 2007; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Goldenberg, Reese, & Gallimore, 1992; Orellana, Reynolds, et al., 2003) as well as more recent research exploring early language and literacy practices through an activity settings lens (e.g., Bridges et al., 2015; Cycyk & Hammer, 2020; Gonzalez, Bengochea, et al., 2019; Orellana, Martínez, et al., 2012). Children's activity settings serve as a foundation of their daily engagements and recurrent

spaces where development occurs. Designed and sustained by families' unique ecological and cultural dynamics, the exploration of families' lived experiences through daily activities will broaden the scope of inquiry to better understand the cultural paradigms of children's lived experiences related to their early academic development.

Efforts to better understand the everyday life experiences and practices in the home and community contexts are critical for developing positive school-home relationships and ensuring academic success for all (López-Robertson, 2017). Further, study findings frequently report a dearth of supportive language and literacy practices, placing a negative light on families and resulting in vigorous efforts to “save the children” by encouraging parents to alter their engagements, resulting in detrimental effects on the home culture and the children's future bilingual opportunities. There is a critical need to investigate the daily home activities and related roles within Spanish-speaking Latino families (Hammer et al., 2011; National Center for Educational Statistics, 2022). This study seeks to explore the home environment of toddlers who speak Spanish through the five features of activity settings, a unit of analysis that shifts the framework to avoid cultural misalignment and explore the authentic daily practices to identify the malleable factors in the home that may be incorporated into early family community literacy outreach programs and academic settings to better support the language and school readiness skills of Spanish-speaking toddlers. More specifically, the proposed research seeks to better understand the older siblings' roles in the daily activities with young Spanish-speaking toddlers and their influence on toddlers' early language and literacy development.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

This qualitative study explored the daily activities and routines of four Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment. A comparative case study design was used to examine how these activities, as well as the language and literacy environment and early language and literacy practices, differed between the four families with (Case 2; $n = 2$) and without (Case 1; $n = 2$) an older sibling. The study was guided by sociocultural (Vygotsky, 1978) and activity (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Rogoff et al., 1993) theories outlined in Chapter 2. The data were analyzed using an activity-setting model (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Weisner, 1984) to obtain a deeper understanding of the toddlers' daily activities and routines (Weiss, 1984). In addition, multiple methods of data collection were utilized to further explore how culture influences the daily routines and practices of the four families and better understand the role the older sibling plays in the home (Weisner, 1984). Approval to conduct this study was granted by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of South Carolina (IRB # Pro00124636).

Design Overview and Rationale

This section will describe the methodology and its implementation, including the study's setting and participants. Methods of data collection will be discussed, along with an explanation of how they will be employed in the activity setting analysis and the rationale behind their selection. Lastly, but most critically, I will reflect on my positionality as a middle-class, White professional in this research process. Using a

comparative case study design, this study will analyze the daily lived experiences of families using the five elements of activity settings framework to capture naturalistic, culturally salient engagements. Focusing on the role of the older sibling, I will analyze similarities, differences, and authentic home practices. This chapter describes the research traditions and methods underlying this investigation.

Research Questions

This work was driven by the following questions:

1. What are the daily activities/routines of Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?
 - a. To what extent do these daily activities and routines vary in families with and without an older sibling?
 - b. How do the features of these daily activities and routines vary in families with and without an older sibling?
2. How does the language and literacy environment of Spanish-speaking toddlers vary prior to school enrollment?
3. What are the early language and literacy practices of Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?
 - a. To what extent do these early language and literacy practices vary in families with and without an older sibling?
 - b. How do the features of these early language and literacy practices vary in families with and without an older sibling?

A qualitative research methodology with a comparative case study design was used in this study. Qualitative research provides abundant opportunities to focus on lived

experiences of the study participants, and a comparative case study design provides an in-depth analysis of "the reality in which [families] live through the perspectives of their lived experiences" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 8). A case study is "an empirical research method that analyzes a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-world context" (Yin, 2018, p. 15), motivated by the "desire to comprehend complicated social processes and to focus intensely on one or more examples" (Yin, 2018, p. 5). As such, by comparing the cases in this study, I sought to gain knowledge of the lived experiences of the four families through their perspectives on their daily routines and practices (Maxwell, 2013) nested within the home context while comparing these experiences with and across case (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2020).

Using a single case study or similar methods alone would not adequately capture the emergent details regarding the daily activities in the home settings, the language and literacy environment with early language and literacy practices, and how older siblings actualize engagement in these areas. Using a comparative case design, the individual family results are supplemented by comparisons made within and between the two Cases, providing a deeper understanding and explanation of the findings (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2020). With multiple forms of inquiry, there is a greater contribution through the richness of collected data, thereby expanding the knowledge base of the specific research questions and compensating for any deficiencies that may result from a single case or collection of data using a single or similar method (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2020; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Yin, 2018). Examining the lived experiences and perspectives of the families sheds light on individual behaviors nested in the authentic cultural settings of

families, further strengthening the findings of this study (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Rogoff, Dahl, and Callahan, 2018; Thelen & Smith, 2006).

Case Selection

This study compared the features of toddlers' daily activities and routines in the presence and absence of an older sibling. The cases represent a socially constructed family-bound framework likely to exist in a typical Southeast urban community. Prior to school enrollment, older siblings have been shown to have a significant supportive role and positively influence younger siblings' language and literacy development (Baird et al., 2015; Gregory, 2005; Howe, Porta, et al., 2016; Kibler, Palacio, et al., 2020). Given their personal experiences, the older sibling contributes a subset of knowledge about the school context and expectations that other families with only a toddler are unlikely to have. This study used comparative cases, a home environment without an older sibling (Case 1) and a home environment with an older sibling (Case 2), to better understand these phenomena and gain multiple perspectives on the home language and literacy environment.

The developmental pathways and their contexts in children necessitate different and complementary methods (Goldenberg, Gallimore, & Reese, 2001). Some aspects of individual behavior or contextual characteristics may be difficult to understand if just one method is employed. Therefore, multiple methods of data collection were integrated to explore the daily home activities and routines of four Spanish-speaking toddlers and their families, thereby privileging the experiences and culturally influenced engagements of each family within the two cases (Luck et al., 2006). Quantitative and qualitative data were collected through ethnographic tools (Heath & Street, 2008), semi-structured

interviews, photo-elicitation interviews, participant observations, and surveys. The findings from the survey data were utilized to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the qualitative findings captured in the interviews, thus providing a comprehensive portrait of the families' everyday engagements (Creswell & Plano, 2018), triangulating the results to better represent the complex interconnected space of the home environments (Archibald, 2016; Fielding, 2012; Yin, 2018).

Table 3.1 Activity Setting Features and Data Sources

Activity Settings Variable	Data Sources in Study
Culture Beliefs & Values	Daily Activity Survey Emergent Literacy-Ecocultural Family Interview (EL-EFI)
Participants	Photo-Elicitation Interview Daily Activity Survey
Activity Types	Photo-Elicitation Interview Daily Activity Survey BiRDI Home Environment Questionnaire (HEQ) Emergent Literacy-Ecocultural Family Interview (EL-EFI)
Activity Goals	Photo-Elicitation Interview Daily Activity Survey
Social Scripts	Photo-Elicitation Interview Daily Activity Survey The Bilingual Input- Output Survey (BIOS)

A comparative case design allowed me to explore the families' lived experiences and identify specific, concrete patterns within and across the cases (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2020). Further, using the five features of activity settings (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993) as a unit of analysis provided additional insight into the ecological and cultural influences on toddlers' early language and literacy practices and the role of older siblings in this environment (see Table 3.1). By using multiple methods of data collection, many of the findings can be further explored using secondary data from larger

studies like the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Birth Cohort perhaps to gain a better sense of how the home environments of these four toddlers align with other families (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Guetterman & Fetters, 2018).

Emergent and family literacy theories view early language and literacy practices in the home as an indicator of a child's future academic success (Goodrich & Lonigan, 2018; Hammer, Miccio, & Wagstaff, 2014). Culture is a shared "way of life" comprised of practices, beliefs, and material expressions associated with an extension of one's "cultural place," the home. Using the activity settings framework as a unit of analysis in this study, the emphasis shifted from previous assumptions and expectations regarding school-based skills or home language and literacy environments to the home cultural context and the authentic practices, artifacts, and literacies used in everyday home experiences. It is essential to understand the ecocultural, social, and historical influences on the language and literacy practices of urban, marginalized, and community-based Latino families. This research contributes to this understanding.

Sites and Participants

Setting

This study covered a three-month period, from October through December, and took place in *East Rio (pseudonym), an urban school district situated in an urban community in South Carolina. With restricted access and the exploratory nature of the home and community literacy environment, the setting for this study was selected based on two broad reasons: (1) the school district's demographic position it as an extreme case (Patton, 2002) when compared other school districts in the immediate area, and state, and

(2) the unique trends in migration and demographic origins of families residing in the area with already established community contacts.

Context(s)

The daily activities and routines occurring in the home environment of participating families were the primary context of this study, with data collection occurring within each home. The families' community was a secondary context determined by the actions and movements of the four families. While no observations were made outside of the home setting, family information on community activities were integrated into the findings. The criterion for selecting the contexts for data collection is the most naturalistic and authentic setting in which toddlers spend time before starting school.

Participants

Both purposeful and criterion sampling were used for this study to capture multiple representations of the home language and literacy environment (Yin, 2018). Purposeful sampling aims to identify and select a representative sample of 'information-rich' qualitative study participants to provide insight into specific experiences of interest to acquire in-depth knowledge (Palinkas, et. al., 2016; Patton, 2002). Moreover, purposeful sampling is advantageous for case studies involving a subgroup of a population with a specific set of criteria, where the unique experiences, insights, and perspectives of the subgroup are the focus and where random sampling would not be appropriate. In addition, criterion sampling was used within the purposeful sampling strategy to refine the sample groups for the two cases. Four Spanish-speaking families with a toddler meeting the study's inclusion criteria were recruited to accomplish this.

Further, these sampling strategies were employed to obtain the largest possible sample of Spanish-speaking families with toddlers without schooling, due to the relatively small size of this community of families and to match families with an older sibling. Using this selection strategy helped to ensure the selection of individuals meeting the criteria and living the experience with the voice of what is truly authentic in their daily lives (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Patton, 2002).

Four Spanish-speaking families with toddler-age children participated in this study. They were recruited from community outreach programs and word of mouth. To be included, the toddlers a) were between 30–54 months at the time of participation, b) had no prior academic experience reported by caregivers and c) were exposed to Spanish at least 50% of the time in the home according to the mothers' report on the home language survey. For families with an older sibling in the home setting ($n = 2$) to be included, the older sibling: a) resided with the toddler full-time; b) had no identified educational disabilities, and c) had no more than four years of academic experience (preschool or elementary school) based on the information shared by the mothers. All families resided in an urban area in the southeastern United States.

Meet the Toddlers and Their Families.

Demographics. Descriptive information on demographic, linguistic, and household characteristics for families by Case assignment appear in Table 1. On average, mothers were 30 years of age ($range = 24 - 36$ years). The mothers immigrated to the United States between 23 and 29 years of age and have resided in the United States for 3.23 years on average ($range = 11$ months –7 years). Two mothers had a high school diploma, whereas two had less than a high school education. Mothers completed

schooling in their country of origin (See Table 3.2.). Three mothers were employed full-time. Two mothers worked outside the home; one was self-employed, owning an in-home daycare. One mother stayed at home. Two mothers were single, and two were cohabitating with their male partners. All mothers reported speaking Spanish and that they spoke English *not well* or *not at all*.

Table 3.2 Family Demographics

Case	Name	Birth Country	Mother		Education	Number Household Members
			Age	Years in the U.S.		
1	Gómez	Honduras	24	< 1	Above HS	4
	López	Mexico	29	1	ES	3
2	Martínez	Honduras	31	4	Above HS	4
	González	Guatemala	36	7	ES	8

Note. Tod = toddler; U.S. = United States; ES = elementary school; HS = high school

The toddlers averaged 43.5 months of age (*range = 35 – 50 months*) and were male (100%). Two were born in the United States, and two had resided in the United States for 11.5 months on average (*range 11–12 months*). (See Table 3.3). Toddlers were exposed to Spanish from birth and mothers reported speaking all Spanish to the toddlers. Two toddlers attended an in-home daycare full-time where Spanish was the primary language, and English was spoken on average for 2.5 hours (*range = 2–3 hours*). Two toddlers stayed home during the day, and Spanish was the primary language.

Table 3.3 Toddler Demographics (n = 4)

Case	Name	Gender	Age (months)	Language	Birth Country	Months in U.S.
1	Kevin	M	47 (3;11)	Spanish	Honduras	11
	Mateo	M	50 (4;2)	Both	Mexico	12
2	Paul	M	42 (3;6)	Both	U.S.	42
	Joshua	M	35 (2;11)	Spanish	U.S.	35

Note. M = male; U.S. = United States

Two toddlers lived in a two-parent home with their biological fathers. One father resided with the family on occasion but had been removed from the home during the last home visit. Two fathers did not complete high school; one father had a high school diploma, and the educational status of one father was not reported. All fathers residing in the home work full-time (50%) and used all Spanish when communicating with the toddler. One father also spoke K'iche' with his wife only.

On average, 5 (4.75) individuals lived in the home, including the toddlers (range = 3 – 8). Between 2 and 4 related or non-related adults lived in the home (e.g., cousins, roommates, uncles, parents, siblings). Between 1 and 3 children lived in the home (e.g., toddlers, siblings). One older sibling, aged 7, resided in the home of two families (50%). On average, older siblings attended all-English educational environments for 2.5 years (*range = 2 – 3 years*). One older sibling was born in the U.S., and one immigrated to the United States at age 3. Older siblings spoke Spanish and English with the toddler (100%). Two families lived with children who were younger than the toddler (*range = 18 -36 months*). Most household members (73%) spoke only Spanish to the toddlers, while others (27%) spoke Spanish and English. No individuals spoke only English to the toddlers.

Recruitment

Recruitment occurred via culturally responsive practices (Domenech-Rodríguez et al., 2006) including (1) word-of-mouth; and (2) community partner referrals (e.g., outreach educational centers, and (3) flyers. Procedures were explained to caregivers with all caregivers in Spanish, the preferred language, and signed informed consent was obtained.

Table 3.4 Sibling Demographics

	Case One		Case Two	
	Gómez	López	Martínez	González
Number of Siblings	0	3	1	2
Number of Younger Siblings*	N/A	1	0	1
Younger Sibling Age	N/A	3	N/A	2
Younger Sibling Gender	N/A	Female	N/A	Female
Number of Older Siblings*	N/A	0	1	1
OS Age	N/A	N/A	7	7
OS Gender	N/A	N/A	Male	Male
OS Language	N/A	N/A	Both	Both
OS Birth Country	N/A	N/A	Honduras	U.S.
OS in U.S.	N/A	N/A	3	3
OS Years in U.S. School	N/A	N/A	3	2

Notes: *Residing in the home; N/A = Not applicable; Both = Spanish and English; U.S.= United States; OS = older sibling

Rapport and Reciprocity

The initial meeting and subsequent meetings with families aimed to build rapport with the families. I gained access to families through my contact and collaboration with community leaders in the Latino community in S.C. Key points of contact were community outreach providers working within local school districts and health programs in the Latino communities. Data collection and recruitment occurred simultaneously.

Informed Consent

Introductory meetings occurred with each family individually. I reviewed the project, including data collection methods and confidentiality guidelines. Informed consent was reviewed and signed if the parent agreed to participate, and a copy in Spanish was provided to each mother (see Appendix A). Individual home visits were scheduled over a period of 6 weeks post the initial meeting.

Methods of Data Collection

A comparative case study design explored four pan-Latino families' home language and literacy practices. A layered collection of unstructured and semi-structured interviews, surveys, and exploratory observations within the home and family contexts comprised the data-collecting strategy for this project. Multiple sources of descriptive data pertaining to family demographics, the home language and literacy environment, and language use was gathered from each family (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2018).

Ethnographic methods, including ethnographic, semi-structured, and photo-elicitation interviews, artifacts, and participant observations were incorporated. Surveys and questionnaires were also used to add to the data. This vast collection of data provided a broad, yet intimate perspective of the everyday activities and routines connected to language and literacy practices occurring in each home, so enabling me to "interact with [families]" to explore their unique home practices and routines (Patton, 2002, p. 47). In other words, to capture the toddlers' language and literacy learning experiences at home.

Data collection for this study consisted of two phases, the recruitment phase, and the primary phase. As documented in Table 3.5, data were collected in each family's home over a period of 6 weeks on average (range: 5-7 weeks). A total of four home visits were completed with families in Case 1, and five home visits were completed with the families in Case 2.

The investigator, a fluent Spanish speaker who provided speech-language pathology services to Spanish-speaking families in the United States for a total of 20 years, scheduled the in-person meetings with each mother. Meetings were held in the home, the location of the mothers' choosing. During the initial meeting, all study

procedures were explained to the mothers in Spanish, their preferred oral and written modalities. A signed informed consent was obtained during this visit, and contact information, including phone numbers, was exchanged (Appendix D). During the meeting, the mothers participated in a semi-structured interview and provided information on the demographic characteristics of their family and home language use. The toddlers were provided with a choice of a children’s book in Spanish or a bilingual children’s book.

Table 3.5 Home Visit Schedule and Data Collection Timeline

Home Visit	Gómez	López	Martínez	González
1	10/22/22 4:30–5:15 pm	11/11 3:00–3:45 pm	10/17 9:30–10:15 am	10/28 9:00–9:45 am
2	10/29/22 4:30–5:20 pm	11/17 5:15–6:15 pm	11/2 5:30–6:00 pm	11/4 4:00–5:00 pm
3	11/10/22 5:15–6:15 pm	12/4 3:00–4:00 pm	11/11 12:00–1:10 am	11/12 9:00–10:15 am
4	11/18/22 10:30–11:30 am	12/8 12:00–12:50 pm	11/21 10:00–10:50 am	11/23 9:30–10:15 am
5			12/7 9:30–10:15 am	12/7 3:00–3:50 pm
Total Duration (Minutes)	3 hr 35m (215)	3 hr 35m (215)	4 hr (240)	4 hr 35 m (275)
Study Duration (Weeks)	5	5	8	7
# Rescheduled Visits	0	2	0	1

Measures

Phase One measures were used to identify the four families and focused on family demographics, home language use, and exposure, and reported language and literacy practices (Guiberson et al., 2011). Families completed the Bilingual Reading Difficulty Identification Home Environment Questionnaire (BiRDI HEQ) (Fitton, 2022),

highlighting home language and literacy use, tools, and family demographic data. A standardized questionnaire on language use at home, the Bilingual Input-Output Survey (BIOS, Peña et al., 2018), was used with caregivers to explore each toddler's unique home language environment. See Table 3.6 for a description. Data from BiRDI HEQ and BIOS were integrated into the data analysis. The measurement instruments are outlined in Table 2.1, including their key emphasis areas and a brief description.

Table 3.6 Recruitment Phase (Phase One) Measures

Area	Measure	Description
Home Language Use	The Bilingual Input-Output Survey (BIOS) – Home	Standardized questionnaire (Peña et al., 2018) of language use at home: Bilingual Input-Output Survey
Family Demographics & Home Language and Literacy Environment	BiRDI Home Environment Questionnaire (BiRDI HEQ; Morgan et al., 2022)	A questionnaire of family structure, cultural background, educational experience, ages, and the home educational environment.

Family and Home Environment. To measure the family structure, cultural background, educational experiences, and home educational environment, the BiRDI Home Environment Questionnaire (BiRDI HEQ; Fitton, 2022) were used. The BiRDI HEQ is a piloted family systems questionnaire on home and family environments that is available in English and Spanish (Appendix E). The HEQ was used with caregivers to assess various constructs, including home literacy practices, language use in the home, family education background, and children's academic experience. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected using open-ended and closed-response options (Kreitchmann et al., 2019). The constructs for this subscale are relevant to the research questions in this study.

Home Language Use. The Bilingual Input-Output Survey (BIOS)-Home, one assessment in the Bilingual English-Spanish Assessment (BESA; Peña et al., 2014), was completed through caregiver interview format to report on the language or languages to which the child has been exposed and used since birth on a yearly basis. The diary-like approach yields a BIOS score summary, including the percent of Spanish input, Spanish output, English input, and English output throughout the day. The time required to administer the full BIOS-Home is approximately 10–15 min.

Table 3.7 Phase Two Study Measures

Area	Method	Description
	<i>Interviews</i>	
Family Daily Activities & Routines	Photo-Elicitation Interview	An auto-driven, semi-structured interview process with caregiver and sibling, with ~10 pictures taken by participant and selected to represent daily activity
Home Language & Literacy Environment	Ethnographic Interview	Semi-structured open-ended questions with caregiver/sibling adapted from Cycyk (2016) and the Emergent Literacy-Ecocultural Family Interview (EL-EFI) (Weisner, 2002)
	<i>Survey(s)</i>	
Family Daily Activities & Routines	Parent Survey of Home and Family Experiences	An adapted survey of broad categories of daily activities and routines of toddlers in the home setting (Balton et al, 2019; Dunst & Bruder, 1999)
	<i>Artifacts</i>	
Family Daily Activities and Early Language and Literacy Practices	<i>Analytical Memos</i> <i>Ethnographic Field Notes</i>	Language and literacy resources, materials used in everyday activities and routines Used during data collection and analysis to document thoughts and patterns to guide future data collection Informal observations during home visits of naturalistic daily activities and routines

Phase Two. Phase Two measures (See Table 3.7) concentrated on family daily activities and routines, including observation of family members' responsibilities in daily activities and routines and early language and literacy practices in the home environment.

Specifically, ethnographic and photo-elicitation research approaches were utilized to explore the pattern diversity of home practices in greater depth. Adopting the framework of the Cultural Practices of Literacy Study (Purcell-Gates, Perry, & Briseño, 2011), the measures in this study, as noted in Table 3.7, focused on the family members' roles in daily routine activities, ethnographic interviews with the mothers, and participant observations.

Interviews

Ethnographic Interviews. Informal interviews were conducted with the mothers to explore each family's home language and literacy environment and daily activities and routines. The Emergent Literacy-Ecocultural Family Interview (EL-EFI), a conversational questionnaire exploring the five features of activity settings, was adapted (Weisner, 2011), to include semi-structured questions adapted from Cycyk & Hammer (2020) and was completed with mothers in each home (see Appendix C). The guide consisted of 34 questions related to the toddler, the role of culture in child rearing, and the individual components of the toddler's activity settings based on the Weisner framework: (1) the goals for the toddler's activities; (2) the participants in toddlers' activities; (3) the cultural values and beliefs underlying general child rearing, development in the toddler years, general language learning, and learning of languages with emphasis on both English and Spanish; (4) the social scripts of toddlers' activities; and, (5) the activity types that comprised toddlers' weekday and weekend daily activities. Ethnographic interview methods were used to build rapport and mitigate positional differences between participants and myself.

Daily Activities and Routines. To investigate the daily activities and routines in the home setting, a bespoke Family Activity and Routine survey aligned with overlapping constructs from the Parent Survey and Family Experiences survey (e.g., Balton et al., 2019; Dunst & Bruder, 1999) was used. Unstructured and structured, closed-ended questions captured broad categories of family activities (e.g., child routine, chores, family, spiritual). Mothers responded to closed-ended questions collecting information on the following for each activity: (1) frequency of participation, (2) participants involved, and (3) the primary purpose of the activity. Additionally, each activity was rated by the mother according to its importance. Finally, open-ended questions elicited information on the cultural beliefs and perspectives of the mothers regarding the specific activities. In addition to four open-ended questions, data pertaining to activity setting characteristics provided insight into the caregiver's cultural values and beliefs related to their activities.

All interviews were held in Spanish and took between 35 to 60 minutes each visit. Audio transcriptions were transcribed and translated. The translations were analyzed in two cycles, including using Dedoose.

Photo-Elicitation Interviewing (PEI). Photo-elicitation interviewing (PEI) is a qualitative research technique using visual images, such as photographs, to enrich interviews (Richard & Lahman, 2015). This research tool allowed me to elicit a more comprehensive response from the caregivers and siblings (Shaw, 2013) to “catch [their] thoughts, and intentions” (Patton, 2002, p. 341).

PEI Special Considerations. Despite the numerous tangible benefits to photo-elicitation, this particular interviewing approach was not devoid of obstacles. As photo-elicitation interviews are used to study non-transparent experiences, such as ideas and

intentions, these interviews may trigger memories and feelings that the participants were not expecting to encounter (Richard & Lahman, 2015). Moreover, genuine photographs have the potential to reveal the names of study participants, necessitating extra safeguards for data storage and study presentations (2015).

Logistically, the older siblings required additional training, as only one sibling submitted photographs for the interview (McCloy et al., 2016). Despite these challenges, photo-elicitation interviews provided invaluable insight into genuine home engagements. They added a broader perspective to each family by giving a voice to individuals who are frequently left out of the conversation (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). PEI provided a unique, multidimensional perspective on the family members' nested experiences and genuine perspectives. It provided additional insights into their daily lives so that cultural values and beliefs could be better understood (Torre & Murphy, 2015; McCloy et al., 2016; Miller, 2018). Lastly, photo-elicitation interviewing contributed to the disruption of any preconceived notions or biases (2016) by enabling participants to make sense of their own realities using their own voice and by revealing hidden activities that may not emerge in questionnaires, surveys, interviews, or observations.

PEI Procedures. Three photo-elicitation sessions occurred in this study, that included training of mothers and older siblings, and the interviews. All mothers and older siblings chose to use their or their mothers' cell phones and had prior experience taking family photographs with these devices. Mothers submitted an average of 11 photos each (range: 10–12) over a week (Miller, 2018). Mothers received colored copies of submitted photos. In the interviews, mothers sorted the pictures by frequency then identified the top 5 pictures of the activities the toddler enjoys most. All interviews were in Spanish and

were guided by the following questions: (1) Who else is in the activity besides you and your toddler? (2) How is he participating? (3) Describe how your other children interact with your toddler. (4) What do you want the activity to teach your toddler? (5) What do you or others discuss with your toddler during that activity? (6) What language does your child usually use during that activity? Procedures with the older siblings were modified as only one submitted pictures for the interview. An analysis of the images, interviews, observations, and transcripts obtained during the process was completed. These methods served as a vehicle for illuminating the families' lived experiences, including daily activities and routines, as well as the collective social settings and plethora of shared practices within which their everyday interactions are embedded (Wang, 1999).

Participant Observations. Literacy development has been studied using ethnographic methodologies, including how literacy is employed as part of social practice by observing the patterns and processes of everyday activity (Auerbach, 1989; Heath, 1983; Purcell-Gates, 2004; Street, 2003). As a result, participant observation was utilized to explore naturally occurring daily language and literacy activities in the sociocultural context of these families' homes and communities. Since language and literacy practices are deeply ingrained in our daily lives, participant observation reduces individual response data collected on the home language questionnaire while providing access to a broader, sample of the daily family activities, including authentic language and literacy practices rather than interactions that have been staged due to my presence. Detailed observations were used to supplement interview data. Observations were used to learn more about the home environment, family, and surrounding community. They also provided a description of the setting and activities that took place in families' homes.

Artifacts. Literacy-related artifacts were collected during home visits. Photographs of the artifacts were taken with the parents' permission. The objects that make literacy possible are part of the mixture of daily life. As Pahl and Roswell reveal (2010, p.38) "Artifacts never sit alone; they sit in spaces among other artifacts, people, and action" (p.38).

Field Notes. Data was collected in the homes of the four families. All interviews were recorded except for the first interview with the Gómez family. Analysis of the data from the home visits occurred during the collection process in the form of writing field notes. Initially, voice recordings of my thoughts were recorded on audio files right after a home visit with families. Audio files were subsequently uploaded, transcribed, and saved with labels by date, participant number, and data collected during the visit. Transcriptions were reviewed for clarity, and further thoughts and additional notes were added, if present, participant detail was changed or removed, and additional thoughts were added. Questions were created in field notes after each visit, and clarification of parent responses was elicited on the following visit. Weekly electronic field notes were saved on a secure server with a password and organized in folders by participant ID.

Audio files of mothers' interviews were saved after each home visit, reviewed for clarity, and transcribed each weekend. While in the research setting or interacting with participants, I created hand-written field notes in a notebook or on the interview protocols. Additionally, I spent time journaling my inferences, personal observations, reflections, hunches, and emotional reactions from the field notes (Schensul & LeCompte, 2012). I then typed the expanded field notes, which allowed me to elaborate further on the participants' words, such as their responses to survey questions and

interviews. Additionally, given the nature of the measures used in this study, clarification of questions was often addressed in the proceeding visit by the measures. In the event this was not the case, then all questions from field notes were covered with mothers. A portable digital recorder was used to capture all interviews and observations.

Memos. In each step, data were reviewed, and preliminary observations were documented via memos. Memos included my observations, thoughts, and ideas. Analytic memos were also developed to highlight initial thoughts, reflections on the meaning of the data, questions that warranted further exploration, and direct quotes that spoke to a larger theme. I wrote procedural memos to remember analyses and classification processes during the data organization, transcription, translation, and analysis phases.

Human Subjects Approval (IRB)

This study was conducted in the homes of four families. The Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of South Carolina approved all data collection procedures. After receiving Institutional Review Board approval, I submitted recruitment flyers in Spanish (Appendix B) and contacted community outreach contacts as outlined in the IRB. As the primary researcher, I have an active CITI research compliance certificate. A letter inviting families to participate in the study, including their direct participation, was drafted and distributed in Spanish. I met with each family in their home residence and explained the invitation letter and the purpose of the study. A consent form that matched the format of the Spanish invitation letter was provided. Given that the participants were under 16 years of age, parents or legal guardians were requested to provide informed consent. The information document and consent forms are available in Appendix A and

B. In addition, participant names and geographic locations were replaced with pseudonyms to safeguard the privacy of participant families.

Compensation. Roosa and colleagues (2008) found that members of any minoritized or economically disadvantaged group may be more attracted and more likely to elicit participation if it has immediate personal benefits (i.e., receiving incentives). In line with the research suggestions (Knight et al., 2009; Roosa et al., 2008), parents were compensated with a \$50.00 cash card for their participation in the study. Toddlers received a children's book in Spanish or Spanish and English at the end of each home visit. Younger siblings of toddlers were also provided with a book. Families also received copies of the photos they took.

Organization of Data

Given the methodological nature of this study, I used Dedoose, a collaborative, cloud-based software for managing, analyzing, and presenting qualitative and mixed-method research data (Salmona et al., 2019), to organize and sort my data. This process occurred in the second cycle of data analysis. Dedoose also served as a secondary center for memo writing and visual data analysis representation (Creswell, 2007). This program allowed me to add multimodal documents, including text and spreadsheets of participant demographics and survey data. I marked excerpts and applied established codes from the first cycle of analysis within each document or media file in Dedoose. Codes were maintained in a codebook throughout the analysis process.

Each participant and family were allocated a unique database number to reduce confidentiality risks. Only these ID numbers were included in permanent participant records. Throughout the duration of the study, all documents, protocols, transcripts, data

displays, field notes, and tangible documents were stored in my office at the Montgomery Speech, Language & Hearing Clinic at the University of South Carolina in an organized computer file or locked cabinets. The database was organized by activity topic and date and contained contextual information on participants in attendance as well as hypertext links to the various data sources and media files per home visit or activity.

I adhered to a stringent data management procedure regarding storage, scoring accuracy, data input, and entry accuracy. Everything was arranged for easy access. In accordance with the University of South Carolina's policy, digital audio recordings, and photographs were saved on password-protected hard drives or servers. All information regarding participant interactions, new data, the coding schedule, and the emergence of themes was recorded and preserved in well-organized computer files.

Data Analysis

This study used grounded theory strategies to analyze the collected data. The selection of this approach evolves from the need to balance the stepwise structure of the methods used in this study. When examining daily activities using an activity settings model, there is a risk of missing central themes outside the framework's specified structures. In this section, I discuss how the data were analyzed. I describe the various activities I engaged in, including transcribing, coding, visualizing the data, and memoing.

Data Transcription

Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim using Microsoft Teams meeting transcription feature in Spanish. The transcriptions were then translated into English. Written transcriptions were evaluated to ensure the accuracy of the documentation. Several rounds of review were required. An external source was

consulted for the more unintelligible portions of the digital recording to verify what the mother was sharing. As a secondary review, a document was created with side-by-side Spanish and English versions (question by question) to confirm that the translations were agreeable.

Latinos share a common language, but they are not a homogenous group. People from various Latin American and South American nations speak a variety of dialects and phrases that do not have the same meanings across ethnic backgrounds. Taking this into consideration, a third review step was added to confirm that the English transcript captured culturally relevant concepts and nuances. I reached out to colleagues and friends of the same background as my participants (e.g., Mexican, Guatemalan, and Honduran) to ensure that regional differences were addressed.

Coding Process

The data analysis process in this study occurred over two stages, using series of cumulative coding cycles, initiating during data collection and incorporating field notes and analytical memoing (Charmaz, 2014; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2020). Therefore, analysis was ongoing throughout this study. The interviews were coded using an inductive method following principals of grounded theory and by activity settings. All transcripts were reviewed in several cycles, initiating with reading through the transcripts in English and Spanish by participant. Thus, each line of the written text in both English and Spanish was studied to ensure that the analysis was built from the data itself and to avoid it being clouded (as far as possible) by my prior theoretical knowledge, my own motives, or my personal biases (Charmaz, 2014). Initial coding was done line-by-line in both the Spanish and English transcripts; codes were written as gerunds to focus on the

action in each line of data (2014) and to seek an understanding of the process of engagement of the activity and family routine.

Secondly, data displays in the form of tables were used to aid in visualizing the day while facilitating interpretation and identifying patterns within the display (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2020). Data from the interview questions were then organized in columns by participants. Using these displays enabled the consolidation of data that belonged together by family and across families and cases. By comparing each family's data side-by-side, it was possible to conduct a more thorough analysis (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2020) to draw valid conclusions by identifying patterns and themes, similarities, and differences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

For the first and second research question, gerunds and actions were identified as the family activities were explored. The information provided by the mothers in relation to each activity was then analyzed in depth to seek understanding of the engagement. Constant comparative methods were used to compare and contrast the data sets of each family and case. Several themes emerged from the data as it related to the family daily activities and routines. To fully capture the home language and literacy practices, the activities related to toddler development or learning were recorded and similarities and differences were explored by family and case.

Consistent with an ecocultural approach, the separate analysis explored the transcripts by question to identify the activity settings. Included in this second stage were the photo-elicitation interviews. The transcripts were coded for the five features and transcripts were compared. A second cycle of comparison was completed. This multiple stage process resulted in a thorough analysis of each participant's interviews to identify

the emerging themes in the data. Findings from the individual families and cases were explored to identify any converging or diverging patterns or themes. The frequencies of the survey and questionnaire responses were measured, and the relationships between these factors were explored in the qualitative findings.

The second stage of analysis was completed using Dedoose Version 9.09.0 (<https://www.dedoose.com/>), a collaborative, cloud-based software for managing, analyzing, and presenting qualitative and mixed-method research data (Salmona et al., 2019). De-identified transcripts of the interviews translated from Spanish to English and survey data from the Daily Activity Survey were uploaded to Dedoose where the application allowed me to independently review responses, tag text excerpts, and apply the final coding scheme from the initial stage of analysis. A review of all coded interviewed was carried out over several phases to ensure consistency of coding. Once all the interviews were coded by question topic and the five features of activity settings, constant comparative methods were used to establish links between the mothers' responses and identify the patterns of the daily activities and learning experiences found in the data set. Additionally, an examination of the text excerpts associated with each code were reviewed in detail, which provided context to the findings. This was followed by an evaluation of the data for code frequency and code overlap; Dedoose provided an overlap table, which was reviewed for each question. Patterns within the final codes were reviewed as a method of validity to ensure the authenticity of the findings.

Managing Data Quality. Multiple strategies were employed to safeguard data quality. All interviews were conducted in families' homes, which allowed me to observe the home language and literacy environment and practices and enhanced the validity and

reliability of the interview data. To ensure the reliability of the data, the interviews were transcribed word-for-word. Interviews conducted in Spanish were translated into English. Back-translation was used and confirmed by a native Spanish speaker and part-time translator. The Spanish and English transcripts were double-checked for consistency. A code book and data displays were used (Miles and Hubbard, 1994). The data displays provided a systematic method for managing data from multiple sources and drawing valid conclusions. Multiple sources of information were used for this study, which helped to increase the study's credibility (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002). Using interviews, photographs, surveys, and observations contributed to creating a more comprehensive account of participants' perspectives regarding daily activities and routines, the home language and literacy environment, and early practices.

Validity

I was vigilant to identify any challenges to validity or ways in which my interpretations could have been wrong. In this investigation, the two primary threats were researcher bias and reactivity.

Triangulation

This study's comparative case study design employed different methods of data collection to preserve the rigor of the study and to enrich the collected data (Turner et al., 2017). In addition to the reporting of daily activities by various participants, a field journal and memos were used to reflect on home visit observations and to document my thoughts. A collection of the mother's voice was collected through photo-elicitation interviews, artifacts, and feedback. Analytical memos facilitated deeper reflection on interpretations of the data, emphasizing the data analysis process (Rossman & Rallis,

2010). Multiple visits with each family over several weeks offered the opportunity to reconfirm mothers' words and findings and help reduce any effect from the perspective of an outside culture.

Member Checking

Member checking is one of the “most crucial techniques for establishing credibility” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 314). For this, member checking was used throughout the study to gain feedback from the caregivers and family members who participated in the participant observations during home visits. Further, data clarification from the audio transcripts, field notes, and analytical memos was also reviewed with the mothers during the weekly visits. Interpretations of the data were shared with the mothers during home visits and were essential to deciphering meaning during interviews (Yin, 2018); for the data to be relevant, it must pass the test of participant confirmations (Motulsky, 2021),

Trustworthiness and Generalizability

Trustworthiness of the data involved integrating the implementation of a well-defined protocol to code the transcripts and triangulation (Patton, 2002), and the methodological provisions implemented to ensure rigorous analytical procedures (Morgan, 1997). Member checking was used to gain feedback from the mothers, and community. Credibility in qualitative studies “refers to the trustworthiness, verisimilitude, and plausibility of the research findings” (Tracy & Morrow, 2017, p. 842). This study is representative of the participants from the selected community sites. Further, interview transcriptions and emerging thoughts from the initial stages of the data analysis were shared with the mothers informally to increase trustworthiness and

credibility. Trustworthiness was further established by recording, transcribing, and independently coding all communications with participants.

Analytical Memos. I utilized memos throughout the analysis process. They were used to develop more abstract levels of analysis, strengthen the reliability of the data, and systematically document the process and progress of analysis.

Researcher Reflexivity

Privilege. I am a ten-year doctoral student with twenty years of experience working with Latino families with speech and language disorders, with suspected disorders, and with no delays in developing their home language, Spanish. As a White middle-class woman with U.S. citizenship, I am aware of the privilege I bring to my research site. Despite the ways many participants will possess privileges (such as multilingual and transnational status), I am conscious of the larger historical pattern of colonization in research (Steinmetz, 2004; Villenas, 1996). To work against this trend, I represented myself at the site as a reciprocal partnership with participants by serving as a volunteer in the community when opportunities arise.

I am a White, middle-class, highly educated, privileged woman not from the community in which I engaged in research, but I have a fundamental understanding of minoritized status as my husband and sons are Latino. I have had access to cultural, human, social, and financial capital and became a university clinical faculty instructor grounded in a positivist field of practice. Given my background, I intentionally explored my value orientations throughout the study to “come clean” on my own biases and provide a behind-the-scenes lens of guiding principles in this study’s findings. Strategies

such as a reflective, subjective journal, debriefing sessions, and integrating member checking throughout the study were used to reduce bias.

Power. I recognize that I held a position of power and privilege in relation to the participants. There was a well-defined distinction between our linguistic, ethnic, and cultural identities, including the power distinctions experienced in society. Another component of my positionality was my involvement in several roles throughout this study: a researcher, a speech-language pathologist, and a teacher. These roles required constant attention, given the instructional methods I used and why I chose to use them with the participants. The participants may be more comfortable using the home language with me as a Spanish speaker.

Chapter Summary

The comprehensive analysis of multiple data sources was combined in this study to explore the similarities and differences within and between the two cases regarding the types of daily activities and routines, as well as the home language and literacy environments and practices that were unique to each family. To provide comprehensive case-specific data, activity settings were evaluated across multiple data sources and integrated to identify patterns of overlap and diversion. In addition, the data from the ecocultural interviews with caregivers and siblings were separately analyzed based on the reported activity settings and their five most significant characteristics. Using the findings from the individual families and cases, themes that converged or diverged were identified. The data from the survey and questionnaire were used to further understand the patterns in the qualitative findings within and across cases (Yin, 2018). In the next

chapter, the findings from the outlined analysis will be presented according to the three research questions guiding this study.

Chapter 4: Findings

A Day in the Life of the Four Toddlers

This study aims to describe the daily activities and routines of Spanish-speaking toddlers prior to starting school as well as their language and literacy environments, focusing on their early home practices. In addition, this study explores these facets of language and literacy development in toddlers with and without an older sibling. Insight into the environment of toddlers and the engagement of underrepresented families in the research will be provided. Similarities and variations in activity settings were explored, as not all families from similar backgrounds share the same perspectives and practices. This was especially important in this comparative case study, as the four families, all Latino, are from three different countries of origin. Informed by ecocultural theory, specifically activity settings and sociocultural theory, the following research questions guide the organization and presentation of the study's findings. Chapter 4 contains the data relevant to Question 1. The results of Questions 2 and 3 are presented in Chapter 5. The questions are as follows:

1. What are the daily activities/routines of Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?
 - a. To what extent do these daily activities and routines vary in families with and without an older sibling?
 - b. How do the features of these daily activities and routines vary in families with and without an older sibling?

2. How does the language and literacy environment of Spanish-speaking toddlers vary prior to school enrollment?
3. What are the early language and literacy practices of Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?
 - a. To what extent do these early language and literacy practices vary in families with and without an older sibling?
 - b. How do the features of these early language and literacy practices vary in families with and without an older sibling?

I present the themes that emerged in the caregiver descriptions as reported according to each question. Moreover, all the categories evident in the mother's descriptions of the activity setting components were integrated with the topic of two questions related to the daily activities and routines. Early language and literacy practices in the homes of the four toddlers were comparable, but the characteristics of these learning activities differed by family and between cases.

Pseudonyms are used for the names of people and places to protect their privacy.

The Home Environment

Every place a child engages holds the potential to be a context for early learning, where these "everyday spaces" potentially enhance children's language and literacy development (Hassinger-Das, Palti, Golinkoff, & Hirsh-Pasek, 2020). There is an interdependency between children and their environment and the intertwining of people and context. The environment, its affordances or possibilities, and its purposes affect what activity settings are possible, the task demands, the scripts, the purposes or motives of the participants, and the cultural meaning of the interactions. These activity settings

come to shape children's early literacy and language. The environmental factors are known to affect both the physical and psychological aspects of caregiving (e.g., the parent/family belief system, parenting styles, material guidance for educating young children) (Owens, Reardon & Jencks, 2016; Rowe, 2018).

As this study is positioned within the home setting of four toddlers (ages 35 to 50 months), the home environment and the four families will be introduced initially. The Gómez, López, Martínez, and González families agreed to participate in the study and opened their homes for weekly visits over a duration of a month and a half. In those visits, I met with the primary caregiver of each family, all mothers, while the target toddlers were present in the home. Other siblings, extended family, roommates, and neighbors were also present during various visits over the course of the data collection period. No fathers engaged in the home visit interviews. Of the mothers interviewed, three mothers worked full time, two working outside of the home and one running an in-home daycare out of her home. One mother stayed at home during the day with her three children.

The Families

The Gómez Family. The Gómez family includes Maricela and her toddler, Kevin. They moved from Honduras to the United States less than a year ago. The Gómez home is in one of the several mobile home parks in the East Rio School district, where many Latino families live. Maricela owns their mobile home but pays rent on the property where it is located. She rents rooms to two roommates, a young male and female from Honduras, who work with Maricela in the same occupation, painting houses. Maricela is a single mother, and Kevin is her only child. Kevin's father, also from

Honduras, lives in the state of New York and visits the family on occasion for birthdays and holidays. Maricela's older and younger brothers have lived in the area for several years, and her biological father resides in North Carolina, though she is not in contact with him at the time. Maricela works with her brothers and shares in family meals and celebrations together.

Maricela earned a high school diploma in Honduras. She shared that she is the sole provider for Kevin. Maricela works full-time painting residential and commercial properties in the area with her brothers and roommates. Kevin attends an in-home daycare within walking distance from their home in the same mobile home park. On Saturdays, Kevin goes to work with Maricela. Maricela owns her own car and frequently goes out with Kevin and their roommates on their days off and weekends. Maricela's primary goals for migrating to the United States were economic and to give Kevin the opportunity to learn English. Her plan is to return to Honduras once Kevin is proficient in English.

Kevin loves dinosaurs and his favorite activity is going to work with his mother on Saturdays. When not in daycare, Kevin spends all his time with Maricela and their roommates. He is integrated into their routines within the home and the community. Kevin enjoys drawing and coloring and making tamales with Maricela. Spanish is the primary language of the Gómez home. Kevin is exposed to English in his interactions with the sitter's school-age children and in his community outings on Maricela's days off and weekends. Maricela and Kevin are learning English through immersion, watching an hour of TV each night and in their community outings (e.g., local festivals, flea markets, restaurants).

Kevin shares a room with Maricela, where he has his own desk with school supplies, coloring books, and several children's books. Kevin has a tablet that he uses to watch videos and play educational applications in the evenings and on weekends. Kevin likes to play outside in their fenced yard until dark in the afternoons. He then often draws and colors at his desk in his room in the evenings while Mariela makes supper. Maricela and Kevin eat supper together at night with their two roommates. All four also grocery shop, eat out and go out to different locations on the weekends.

The López Family. The López family includes Anna, her toddler, Mateo, and two-year-old Emily. They moved from Mexico to the United States just over a year ago. Anna lives with her two children in another mobile home park in the East Rio school district, where many Latino families reside. Mateo and Emily's biological father, Maldo, resides in the area, and stays with them several nights a week. He and Anna work in construction. Anna also has two children residing in Mexico with her mother, a six-year-old daughter, and nine-year-old son. Except for her brother living in Texas, Anna knows no one in the country. There is a neighbor who occasionally provides rides to the grocery store and to the local medical clinic.

Anna had the opportunity to attend several years of elementary school. She is the sole provider for Mateo and Emily and shares that she struggles to make ends meet. Maldo provides resources like his telephone and tablet on a temporary basis when visiting at night but does contribute to the daily needs of the home and family. Though not consistent, Anna recently started working full-time. Mateo and Emily attend an in-home daycare several miles from their home. Her work schedule fluctuates based on work demand, the weather and Mateo's health. Anna's primary reason for migrating to

the United States and seeking asylum is because of Mateo's health condition, a chronic pulmonary disease. With Mateo's health condition, the family has government issued health insurance and visas.

Mateo loves to play games and watch videos on his tablet. He likes to practice karate and, like any sibling pair, plays with Emily when they are not fighting. Due to his chronic health condition, Mateo frequently visits the medical clinic, emergency rooms, and attends different doctor appointments. He receives his regular breathing treatments in the evenings on an as-needed basis, with frequency increasing post-hospitalizations. When not working, Anna spends most of her time monitoring Mateo's health and caring for her children and home. Mateo and Emily spend most of their time playing. Spanish is the primary language spoken at the López home. Mateo is exposed to English in his interactions with the sitter's school-age children and speaks some basic phrases in English. He listens to videos on YouTube and plays games on his tablet in English. Anna knows a few words in English and tries to teach these to Mateo and Emily. Mateo is exposed to English during his medical visits, though Anna shared that an interpreter is provided during most visits.

Mateo shares a room with Anna and Emily. Their home is furnished with necessities and resources. All family activities except for sleeping and bathing occur in the den area. Mateo and Emily eat their meals on the sofa and coffee table while Anna cooks and cleans. Anna often joins Mateo and Emily in the den after supper to play games and watch videos and cartoons on their tablet and smart telephone. The windows in the den are covered with lettered paper. The desk in the den holds their children's books and Mateo's nebulizer. Currently, the family activities occur only inside due to

Mateo's medical condition. Family community outings are limited to attending daycare, medical visits, and occasional grocery shopping. The family goes grocery shopping on the weekend or Anna's boss occasionally runs her by the store on the way home from work.

The Martínez Family. The Martínez family includes Silvia, Paul the toddler, Paul's older brother, Sebastian, and Edwin, the father. They moved from Honduras to the United States four years ago. They live together in another mobile home park in the East Rio School district, where all but one family are from the same town in Honduras as the Martínez. All family in the home neighborhood are family members and close friends. The Martínez' rent their home. During the week, Silvia works full-time running her own in-home daycare, and prepares and sells meals to neighbors in the evenings and on Saturdays. Edwin works full-time outside of the home in construction and is home on the weekends.

Silvia and Edwin earned high school diplomas in Honduras. They both provide financially for the home and family. Silvia and Edwin each have their own vehicle. Paul stays at home during the day with Silvia and the three to four other children that attend daycare in their home. On Saturdays, Edwin cares for Paul and Sebastian, often taking them to Sebastian's soccer games in the mornings. On Saturday afternoons and Sundays, the family frequently goes on outings together. They like to go out to eat, visit the mall, or entertain Sebastian and Paul. The Martínez family's primary motivation for migrating to the United States was to acquire enough money to live adequately upon their return to Honduras.

Paul spends all his time during the week with Silvia and the children attending daycare. They love to jump on the furniture, take selfies, play on Silvia's phone, and watch TV. Paul plays with Sebastian after school, often outside in the neighborhood, playing in the street or visiting family members and friends. He is integrated into Silvia's daily routine and is encouraged to help Silvia out at home. He and the other children often play in the den while Silvia cleans, and cooks. Paul and Sebastian have their own room, but Paul sleeps with his parents. He leaves his toys all over the house and Silvia spends her day picking up after him. The family eats meals together at night, and they occasionally go out to eat during the week if Silvia has had a busy day. Spanish is the primary language in their home. While Silvia and Edwin only speak Spanish, Paul is exposed to and speaks English with Sebastian and his friends. He watches television in English and Spanish and is also exposed to English in his interactions on the weekends in the community.

The González Family. The González family lives in a home in a neighborhood several miles from the older sibling's elementary school. The family includes the mother, Mayra, Joshua the toddler, Angel, Joshua's older brother Angel, Joshua's younger sister Maria, and his father, Pedro. In addition, Mayra's kin present in the home include her younger brother, Hugo, her cousin, Cristian and her cousin's partner, Pamela, and Mayra's younger brother Hugo. All adult family members are from Guatemala. Mayra and Pedro moved from Guatemala to the United States seven years ago. They have lived in South Carolina since their arrival and were joined by other family members several years later.

Family members spend holidays and birthdays together and frequently share time together, like watching TV and eating meals. Pamela takes English classes during the day and helps Mayra with the children in the afternoons after class. Mayra has other family members living in other parts of the United States. The González family attends a local evangelical church, which they have attended for most of their time living in the area.

Due to restricted opportunities in Guatemala, Mayra finished elementary school, while Pedro attended up to the second grade. As the sole provider for the family, Pedro works full-time in construction, as an independent contractor, with the other family members. Joshua and Maria stay at home during the day with Mayra while Angel attends a local elementary school. On Saturdays, the family likes to go out to eat, to the park or mall, and attend church in the city center on Sundays. As is customary in Pedro's family, the family does not talk during meals.

Joshua loves to play with his brother, Angel, and loves to do his "homework," which consists of coloring and drawing. He's often found walking around with a pencil or crayon and one of his school notebooks. Spanish is the primary language spoken in the González home. Angel speaks English at school and with Joshua, and Pamela is taking classes in English; however, Mayra encourages Angel and Joshua to speak to her in Spanish. The children watch television in English and Spanish and YouTube videos in English. Angel and Pamela read to Joshua in English and Spanish. Mayra, Pedro, Mayra's cousin, and her younger brother speak K'iche', an indigenous language, but communicate at home primarily in Spanish since Pamela and the children only speak Spanish. Joshua is learning English from Angel, movies, and videos, as well as through exposure in the community. Joshua shares a room with Angel. Their toys, books, and

school materials are in the family den. The children’s books are in a plastic bin on the table, and the toys are under the table. The family has a tablet and telephone that the boys use after school to watch videos, cartoons and play games in English. Pamela spends the most time interacting with Joshua and Angel during the day, reading to them, bringing them books and toys, and playing outside. Mayra shares that the boys treat Pamela like a mother, and she is happy to have her in the home with them.

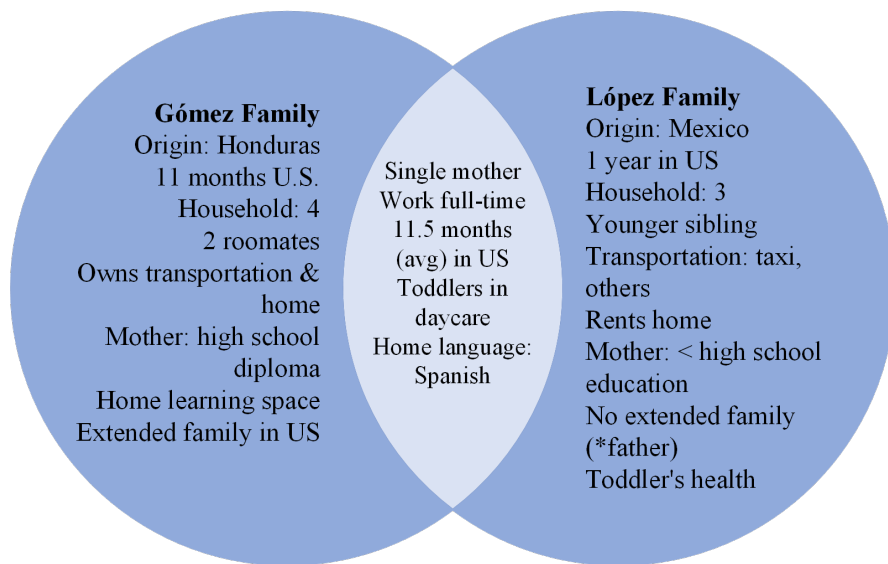


Figure 4.1 Case One Comparison

Case One. The Gómez and López families have toddlers between ages 47 and 50 months with no academic experience and no older sibling residing in the home setting. Kevin was forty-seven months old, and Mateo was fifty months old during data collection. Caregivers are single mothers working full-time outside of the home. Both families moved to the United States within the last year. Their primary language is Spanish, and mothers reported that they are learning English along with their toddlers. The toddlers, Kevin and Mateo, attend in-home daycares during the week run by Spanish-speaking females, one from Colombia, South America, and the other from El

Salvador, Central America. Toddlers are exposed to English at the sitters' house by their bilingual school-age children after school. Mothers also report that the toddlers are learning dialectal variations of Spanish from the sitters. Maricela and Anna shared that the sitters are reading and teaching their toddlers during the day. Maricela has support from her extended family and roommates and owns her own home and transportation. Anna knows no one in the area and finds it difficult to meet her family's needs, particularly Mateo's chronic medical needs.

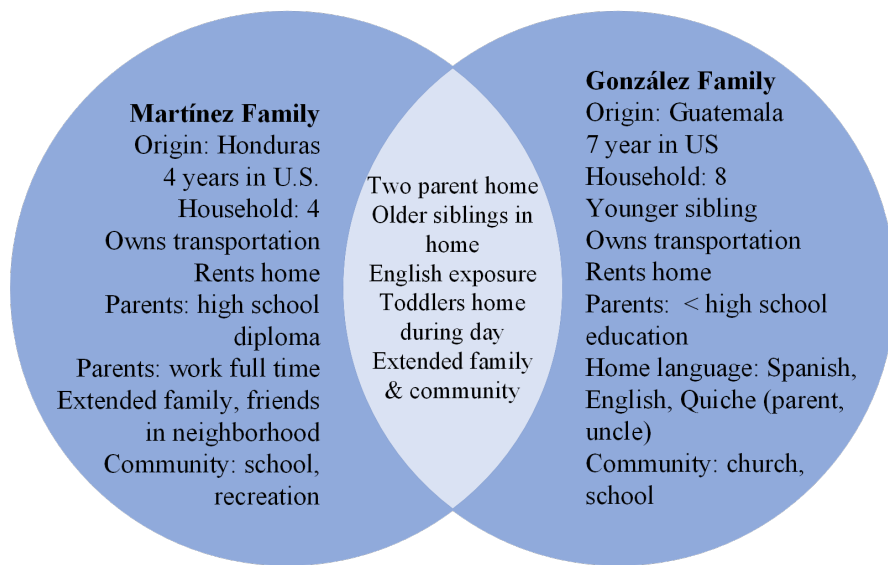


Figure 4.2 Case Two Comparison

Case Two. Case Two consisted of the Martínez and González families. Both families have a toddler with no academic experience and an older sibling residing in the home. At the time of data collection, Joshua was 35 months old, and Paul was 42 months old. Sebastian, the older sibling of Paul, and Angel, the older sibling of Joshua, were both seven years old at the time of data collection. The older siblings attended a local public school and reported having a range of two and a half to three and a half years of academic experience. The older siblings attended a local public school and reported having no more

than four years of academic experience (*range: 2 ½ - 3½ years*). Both toddlers' fathers reside at home and are the primary provider or help provide for the family. Both mothers are present at home throughout the day. Silvia operates a home-based daycare, whereas Mayra is a stay-at-home mother. Mayra has lived in East Rio for seven years, while Silvia moved to the United States four years ago. Silvia's native tongue is Spanish, while Mayra is bilingual in Spanish and K'iche'. Families have reported receiving extended family and community support and are assimilated into the community. For instance, Sebastian, the oldest sibling in the Martínez household, participates in recreational soccer during the week, and the González family has attended a local Spanish evangelical church for over five years.

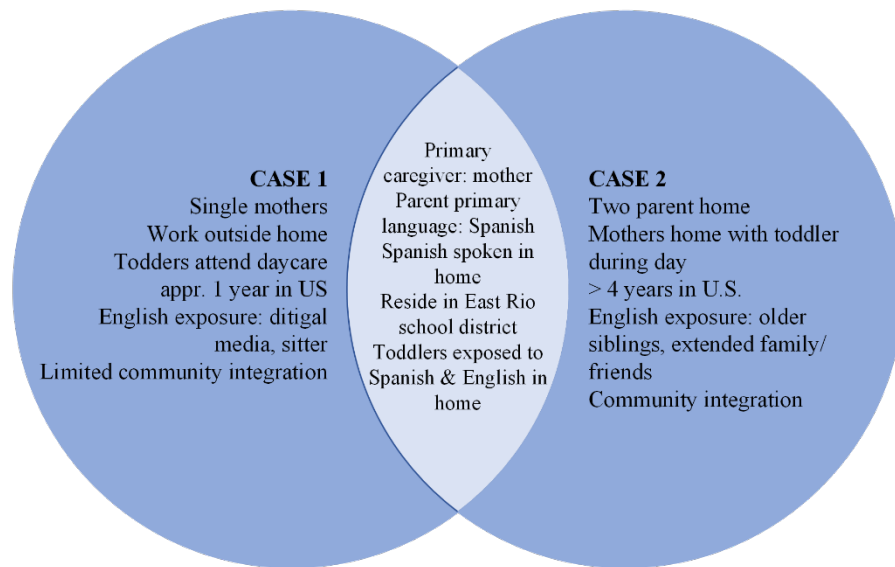


Figure 4.3 Cross-Family Case Comparisons

The Daily Activities and Routines

The findings are organized in accordance with the three research question topics and the five activity-setting features described in Chapter 3 (i.e., cultural beliefs and values, activity types, activity goals, social scripts, and participants). Themes found in the

caregiver descriptions are reported according to each question. Moreover, all the categories evident in the mother's descriptions of the activity setting features were integrated with the topic of two questions related to the daily activities and routines. Early language and literacy practices in the homes of the four toddlers were comparable, but the characteristics of these learning activities differed by family and between cases.

In the next section, the daily activities and routines of the families will be shared. See Table 4.1 for a description of methods. The themes are organized around the home environment and ecocultural context as it applies to daily activities and routines.

Table 4.1 Research Question 1 Methods

Research Questions	Data Sources
1. What are the daily activities of Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?	Ethnographic Interview Photo-Elicitation
1A. To what extent do these daily activities and routines vary in families with and without an older sibling?	Interview Daily Activity Survey Participant Observations
1B. How do the features of these daily activities and routines vary in the families with and without an older sibling?	Artifacts

The Home Environment of the Four Toddlers

As noted before, there is an interdependency between children and their environment and the intertwining of people and context. The environment, its affordances, and its purposes affect what activity settings are likely to be possible: the task demands, the scripts, the purposes or motives of the participants, and the cultural meaning of the interactions. These activity settings come to shape children's early literacy and language experiences. This section explores the environmental factors that are known to affect both the physical and psychological aspects of caregiving (e.g., the parent/family

belief system, parenting styles, material guidance for educating young children) (Owens, Reardon & Jencks, 2016; Rowe, 2018).

Results

Following is a summary of the shared cultural values and beliefs among the four families.

Child Rearing Values and Beliefs

Early socialization practices of Latino parents are often unique and intentional (Bridges et al., 2015), rooting cultural values of respect and correct behavior in Latino children from an early age (Calzada et al., 2010). Because of this, the primary focus of many Latina mothers is on bringing up their children to be *bien educado*³ or well brought up (Bridges et al., 2012; Cycyk & Hammer, 2020; Jensen, 2021; Valdes, 1996). Child-rearing values shared by all four mothers included (a) raising their toddlers to be *bien educado*, raising their toddlers to *respetar* or respect others, (b) supporting their toddler's educational success, (c) providing their children with nurturing relationships, and (d) to model and appreciate the family relationships within their own homes or *familismo*⁴. All mothers expressed the importance of these values through their responses to questions related to a broad range of topics, including their views of toddler preparation, school readiness, and their goals for their toddlers. Through these examples, the mothers provided and the reflection on the photos they shared, the mothers shared distinct interactions their toddler engaged in or identified goals for these interactions that

³ *Bien educado* (Valdés, 1996), or well educated, to display appropriate behavior, be cooperative, meet role obligations, be obedient, show respect, or "*respetar*," or "*tener respeto*" (Bridges et al., 2012; Harwood et al., 2002).

⁴ *Familismo*, the importance of immediate and extended family ties (Calzada et al., 2010; Reese et al., 1995)

were related to these cultural values of *familismo*, *educación*⁵ and the importance of school and their toddler's academic educational preparation. While all mothers in this study shared these same values, each mother varied their views in the words they chose to reflect on their goals, in the unique family engagements, and through the stories they shared.

Educación and Education

Educación. The mothers articulated specific ideas about the social behaviors of children and reflected on these strategies. Mothers mentioned talking to their toddlers about the importance of school and their child's education for future opportunities, as well as parental sacrifice (e.g., relocating to the United States), and emotional support (e.g., talking about the importance of school, encouraging school attendance, talking about working hard in school). They distinctly marked their use of *educación* delineating by reflecting on a "school focus." As an example, Silvia was intentional in her wording when referencing the social-emotional characteristic of *educación* compared to the education related to school-focus learning. Additionally, Mayra exemplified this distinction in her list of responses to what she is teaching Joshua that all parents should teach their children: "No robar, no decir malas palabras, su educación de la escuela, de respetar su maestro, que no pelee con sus compañeros de la escuela"/ Do not steal, do not swear, their school education, respect their teacher, to not fight with your schoolmates. In this, Maricela included academic knowledge, while Anna and Silvia highlighted that they wanted their children to attend school and work hard so they could earn a diploma. While

⁵ *Educación* refers to the predominant childrearing goal of raising a socially competent child who will become *una persona de bien* (a good person) or *bien educado*, well brought up, respectful of adults, behaves properly with others and therefore is on *el buen camino*, the good path (Reese, 2002).

these values were evident in the data shared by the mothers, they were distinct.

Respeto. Additionally, all mothers reflected on their desire for their children to be respectful. This was a priority for the mothers as they reflected on their child's school preparation. This was repeatedly shared when probed on their views on what skills they believed were needed by their toddlers before starting school. Emphasizing their responsibility for raising their children to be respectful to those around them, the mothers valued and expected these behaviors to be modeled across settings and were considered necessary to their upbringing. In this example, Silvia shared a conversation she had recently with Sebastián, her oldest son, about greeting people when he entered a room:

[E]s como cuando yo le digo a Sebastián. Cuando vengan de la escuela, vos me tienes que decir, “buenas tardes mami, ¿cómo estás?” Saludarme. Tienes que aprender a saludar a las quiénes están aquí. A decir buenas. Es como una costumbre, así le dice. / It's like when I tell Sebastian. When they come home from school, you must tell me, “Good afternoon, mother, how are you?” Greet me. You must learn to greet whoever is here. To say hello. It's like a custom/habit, I tell him. (Code: Cultural Beliefs and Values, Excerpt Range: 6854–7183)

While mothers acknowledge their child's young age, they all expressed some expectations for their toddlers' moral development. Maricela shared this when she was asked about what she taught Kevin that all parents should teach their children:

El respeto. A ser honesto. Lo más importante incluso de respeto a los mayores, a los abuelos, especialmente a quien sea. / Respect. To be honest. The most

important thing includes respect for the elderly, for the grandparents, especially to whoever. (Code: Cultural Beliefs and Values, Excerpt Range: 761–1328)

In addition, the four mothers described how their toddlers' social behaviors at school were important and emphasized their need for appropriate manners, like greeting people (25%), respecting teachers (100%), and not talking back. Anna spoke about what she told Mateo in her preparations for school, “Antes que te vayas en la escuela, diciendo cosas, respecta a tu maestra, no les está contestando. Bueno, es lo que yo le digo.” / Before you go to school, telling things, [like] respect your teacher, not answering them. Well, this is what I tell him (Code: Beliefs and Values, Excerpt Range: 2693–2994).

While Mayra emphasized both *educación* and the education of school in her description, no robar, no decir malas palabras, su educación de la escuela, de respetar su maestro, que no pelee con sus compañeros de la escuela. No lo roben así su lápiz, o alguien se porta bien en el bus. / Do not steal, do not say bad words, your education from school, to respect your teacher, do not fight with your schoolmates. Don't steal your pencil like that or someone behaves well on the bus. (Code: Cultural Beliefs and Values, Excerpt Range: 60–583)

Lastly, all mothers shared that toddlers should learn appropriate social behaviors to get along with and interact with others.

Education. Maricela and Silvia saw their toddlers' educational success as critical to overcoming barriers frequently experienced by members of minoritized communities (Gregg et al., 2012). These mothers saw that education would provide their toddlers with opportunity and future stability. In this example, Maricela talked about the sacrifice she and Kevin made by traveling to the United States.

Yo me venía para este país y me lo traje a él. Con la ventaja de que él aprenda el idioma. ¿Con esa ventaja declaren del idioma? Y aquí termino de 8 años, si Dios lo permite, regresarnos. Regresarnos, y pues él vaya hablando inglés [pause], hace maravillas. Porque “ooooo” (WOW). Porque en cuanto al idioma donde desea (sea) va a caer parado, cómo sé eso. / I came to this country, and I brought him. With the advantage that he learns the language. With that advantage, he can be bilingual. Then after 8 years, if God is willing, we return. We return and he will be bilingual. [pause] It will be beautiful. Because "ooooo" (WOW), Because with the language wherever he is he will make it, I know that. (Cultural Beliefs and Values, Excerpts Range: 275–1218)

Likewise, Silvia emphasized how important an academic education is for her oldest son, Sebastian. In this example, Silvia talked about how his efforts at school will give him stability in the future.

A Sebastian, le digo yo, estudiar y estudiar. Por eso tú no me puedes decir qué no vas a ir a la escuela porque eso es lo único que nosotros te vamos a dejar. Y luego que sabes, le digo, que tú no eres americano porque no eres tú⁶. [Y]o le digo, es importante que tú termines tu escuela. Porque luego cuando vos estes desde ya grande, le van a dar tus papeles de la escuela, le digo. No vas a necesitar para mí. Más bien, tú me vas a dar a mí. Después, cuando ya está un niño grande. / To Sebastian, I say, study and study. This is why you can't tell me that you're not going to go to school because that's the only thing we're going to leave you. Then, I tell him, you know you're not American because you just are not... I tell him, it's

⁶ Silvia goes on to use a slang term to describe Sebastian's current status that I have chosen to exclude given the derogatory nature of its meaning.

important that you finish your school. Because then when you're older, they're going to give you your school papers, I tell him. You won't need me. Rather, you're going to give to me. Later, when you are a big kid.

The Toddlers' Routine

Daily Activity Survey Data

Activity Types. The four toddlers in this study were involved in five categories of activities in their daily routines in the home setting⁷. All mothers reported that their toddlers engaged in activities associated with play, caregiving, household chores & responsibilities, entertainment, and learning. The four mothers reported that toddlers participated in child activities in the following categories: caregiving activities (i.e., family meals, bathing, brushing teeth, dressing and undressing, toileting, washing hands, haircuts), play activities (i.e., with toys, cell phone games, running, chasing, pretend games, riding a bike), early literacy activities (i.e., conversation, reading and looking at books, coloring, drawing and painting), entertainment activities (i.e., listening to music), and home chores activities (i.e., cleaning the yard, laundry, picking up trash).



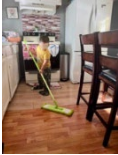



Photo-Interview and Ethnographic Data Analysis

The daily routines of the four families revolved around three primary themes: caring for the home, family, and toddler; preparing the toddler; and having fun (Table 4.2). While activities were similar across families and cases, there were differences in how families engaged in the activity, who participated, the significance and purpose of

⁷ The terms daily routine and activity in this study refer to a sequence of actions occurring during the day resulting from families adapting cultural ideas to the constraints of their local ecology. A daily routine is embedded with activities that serve as a conduit for child development, and are dialectically constructed within a particular setting, or ecocultural niche, that has both cultural/ideological and physical/material properties (Gallimore et al., 1993; Gallimore and Lopez, 2002; Weisner, 1997, 2002, 2005).

the activity and what was said. This variation was revealed in the mothers' responses to the Daily Activity Survey. In the following section, the three major themes were found in the mother's responses to the following questions related to the family's daily routines. Using the most prevalent activity within each theme, the ecocultural features of the three activities will be highlighted for each family, for each case, and similarities and variations will be presented across the two cases.

Table 4.2 Home Activity Codes, Definitions, and Examples

Code	Definition	Types	Examples	Images
Having Fun	Activities toddler engages in for fun as defined by parent or within Entertainment Category on the DAS and denoted as having a fun purpose by a mother. Activities can be alone or with others.	Play Activity of motion	Running, jumping, chasing, riding bikes	
		Activity with digital media	Watching videos, cartoons	
Caring in the home	Activities toddler engages in that contribute to the home and/or family duties or chores, and/or self-care activities.	Family Meals	Cleaning, shopping,	
		Toddler Care activity	Hygiene, health	
Toddler Preparation	Activities toddler engages in supporting development related to personal, life, educational skills with self, others, multimodal sources. Learning approaches include implicit/explicit learning, listening to learn, learning a little.	Socio-emotional learning activities	Independence Toilet training Getting along	
		School skill learning activity	Language Literacy Emergent writing	

Guided by ecocultural theory and research on early child development, language and literacy development, and social language engagements, the following photo-elicitation and ethnographic interview questions were coded for the three primary home activities (Harkness & Super, 2020; Rogoff, 2007; Rogoff, Dahl, Callanan, 2018; Rogoff, Moore, Correa-Chavez, & Dexter, 2015) associated with the five features of activity settings. I explored how the features of toddlers' daily activities facilitated caregiver goals and supported toddlers' school readiness in accordance with their own cultural beliefs and values. The three primary beliefs and values shared by the mothers were utilized to gain a deeper understanding of the toddlers' interactions with and without an older sibling at home. Data was analyzed and reported using the following ethnographic and photo-elicitation interview questions (See Appendix F for questions in Spanish).

1. Tell me about a typical day for your toddler.
 - a. Describe your child's typical morning activities from the time he/she wakes up until (a) lunch, or (b) leaving for daycare.
 - b. Describe your child's typical afternoon activities from (a) after lunch or (b) after daycare until he goes to bed.
 - c. How do these activities in the morning and afternoon change on different days/certain days of the week?
2. Tell me about a typical weekend for your toddler.

The following questions were asked with each of the ten pictures of the family's most frequent daily activities taken by the four mothers:

1. Besides yourself and toddler, who else is there during the activity?
2. What are he/she/they doing during the activity?

3. What would you like for your toddler to learn during that activity?
4. What do you/he/she/they talk about with your toddler during that activity?
5. What language does your child typically hear/use during that activity?

While the interview transcripts from the open-ended questions were incorporated in the analysis, the next section focuses primarily on the data from the photo-elicitation interviews. By analyzing the five characteristics of the activities within the three themes, it was hoped to gain a better comprehension of the mother's objectives and the toddlers' engagements. Each activity was identified and coded, and the frequency of each activity code within the seven prevalent activity categories was considered in the analysis. This procedure enabled me to calculate and compare counts of the seven most prevalent activities across the four families and two cases. I explored how potential differences in types, prevalence, and features of the activities are associated with the presence of an older sibling in the home setting, adding to our understanding of how their presence influences toddlers from culturally and linguistically diverse home environments that differ from academic environments.

Evidenced by the data from the mothers' responses to the Daily Activity Survey, the four toddlers participated in three categories of activities and seven primary activity types, with varying activity characteristics. Across the four home settings, I discovered that toddlers engaged in play ($n = 4$), digital media activities ($n = 4$), family meals ($n = 4$), housework ($n = 4$), toddler self-care ($n = 4$), and implicit and explicit learning activities ($n = 4$) (see the following chapter for activities related to language and literacy practices). Following this, the primary activities will be presented, with a focus on the differences in activity-setting characteristics observed in family engagements. Following

are similarities and differences between Case 1 and Case 2. Cross-case comparisons will illustrate the overarching spaces these four toddlers encounter daily in their nested environments and the concerted effort mothers make to maintain the family's daily routine and support the development and school readiness of their toddlers. Moreover, within each primary theme, descriptions of the activity settings for each family and case will be described in detail. Quotes are provided in Spanish with English translation.

Caring for the Home, Family, and Toddler

Activities of care in the home were frequently reported by the mothers. While all toddlers were involved in activities of self-care, mothers were the primary participants in housework, and food preparation. In all four homes, toddlers were active participants in family meals with unique interactions occurring within and between families. In this next section, family meals will be described. Given the frequency and active participation of the toddlers, family meals will be reviewed in this theme.

Family Meals

Family meals were a daily activity in the home of the four toddlers. In general, mothers reported that their toddlers were not actively engaged in food preparation or the cooking part of the meal preparation process; however, they were within the context of the activity and engaged indirectly with the parent. This type of engagement exemplifies the parent-child interactions documented in the research, with children learning alongside family members in their capacity (Rogoff, 1990). In addition, the toddlers participated in grocery shopping in preparation for cooking family meal while eating meals out were part of the weekly routine of three families.

Gómez Family. Family meals in the Gómez family primarily involved evening suppers and eating out on the weekends. Maricela worked during the week and Kevin ate breakfast and lunch with the sitter. Given the ecocultural context of their home environment, Maricela describes the activity of the family meal as multifaceted, an engagement that incorporates a variety of activities, serves multiple purposes, and frequently occurs within different contexts. As the image in Figure 4.4 shows, meal prep was a time for Kevin to color and entertain himself in his room. In this excerpt, Maricela shares that this activity was one of Kevin's most frequent routines during the week and was one of his favorites, “Cuando yo estoy cocinando, él está en su cuarto. Hace casi siempre. Cuando yo estoy cocinando, él está en su cuarto.” / Well, I am making dinner, he's playing there. When I am cooking, he is in his room. He does this almost always (Code: Caring for Home, Excerpt Range: 1522–2206).



Figure 4.4 Multipurpose Activity in Gómez Home

Maricela shared how their roommates were also involved in this nightly routine and they enjoyed eating out on weekends as a respite from their busy work week and

opportunity to try different foods. She goes on to describe their engagement and the multiple types of dialogue occurring during their meals.

Si está hablando, el esta, esta arrita está hablando [referring to the conversation that took place prior when Kevin brought in his artwork with vowels]. El mismo esta “blahblahblah” y a veces del mismo solo en el cuarto platicando. Nada más que me quedó observando a él. También, me él está preguntando los colores.

Incluso la pregunta. Siempre está diciendo. / Yes, he is talking. He is talking right now [referring to the conversation that took place prior when Kevin brought in his artwork with vowels]. He talks to himself "blah blah blah" and sometimes talks to himself alone in his room. Nothing more. I just watched him. Also, he is asking me about the colors. Even the question. He is always talking. (Code: Caring for Home, Excerpt Range: 1522–2206)

Kevin was reported to have done most of the talking during this activity; however, Maricela noted how he asked her questions while discussing the vowels on his paper. In this example, there are goals for social-emotional development (e.g., self-entertainment) and school readiness skills connected to pre-writing and early literacy (e.g., coloring, naming vowels), as well as contextualized and decontextualized language in Maricela and Kevin's conversations (Demir et al., 2015; Rowe, 2012; Snow, 1991). In addition, the elements of this engagement illustrate the cultural beliefs and values related to toddler development, as Maricela focused on preparing Kevin for school.

López family. Family meals in the López home were more directly focused on providing nutrition and spending time together. Anna shares that she often converses with

Mateo and Emily during family meals; however, given work demands and their daily schedule, she cleans up the kitchen while Mateo and Emily eat and play in the den.

Estaban en una bicicletita. Bueno, mi niña estaba en una bicicleta y mi niño estaba sentado allí comiendo sus pollitos de mole. / They were on a bike. Well, my girl was on a bike and my boy was sitting there eating his chicken mole. (Code: Caring for Home/Family Meals, Excerpt Range: 3954–4369)

She further describes how the family meal is also an activity of learning for Mateo and her younger daughter, Emily.

Estaban diciendo, él estaba diciendo elefante, y su hermanita, los contestan Si, él está comiendo también. Por mi parte, yo quiero que él está sentada comiendo tranquilito ya después a jugar. / They were saying, he was saying elephant, and his little sister responded to him. Yes, he is eating too. For me, I want him to sit down and eat quietly and then to play. (Code: Caring for Home/Family Meals, Excerpt Range: 3954–4369)

As the image in Figure 4.5 depicts, Mateo and Emily eat supper together in the den. However, Anna goes on to explain that this is typically a time for learning, particularly for Emily as she and Mateo talk together.



Figure 4.5 Family Meal in López Home

Martínez family. Family meals in the Martínez home vary by the day, often influenced by Silvia’s work demands. When she has time to cook supper, the family eats together, and the activity serves as a time for family fellowship, catching up, and learning. Silvia describes how their evening meal is a reprieve from their busy life routine:

Es la única cosa que hacemos. Pero no siempre. Pero con la cena es cuando él viene y estamos sentados. Porque es el único ratito que podemos estar. Porque luego ya es muy tarde. / It's the only thing we do. But not always. But with dinner it is when he comes, and we are sitting. Because it's the only little time we can be together. Because then it's too late. (Code: Caring for Home/Family Meals, Excerpt Range: 2264–2615)

During the day, Paul eats meals with the other children attending daycare; however, when Sebastian is at home during the day, he uses the family meal as a space to prepare Paul for school.

González family. In the González home, the dynamics of family meals varied during the day. During the day, Joshua eats breakfast and lunch with his mother and younger sister, often playing and talking during the daily activity. This changed at night and on weekends when Mr. González was at home, as talking at the table during these meals is prohibited. Mayra explained how silence is a cultural tradition of Mr. González's family that is practiced when he is present for meals.





Cuando esta mi esposo, si comemos todos. Su papa no los deje que hablen cuando están comiendo. A mi familia si, hablábamos, pero de mi esposo, no. / When my husband is present, we eat together. Their father does not let them talk when they are eating. My family, we talked, but my husband's didn't. (Code: Caring for Home/Family Meals, Excerpt Range:1705–2121)

Depending on their schedule, Joshua and his siblings often eat supper early before Mr. González arrives home from work. In these events, the children play in the den while he eats. The distinct patterns in meal interactions in the Gonzalez home illustrate how children's activities are culturally structured and variable; therefore, cultural beliefs and values shape engagements within families in different moments.

Variations and Similarities in Family Meals in Cases One and Two

Families found meals to serve different purposes within their homes, often aligned with the mother's work demands and the family needs. For example, in the Gonzalez home, Sebastian, Paul's older sibling, has started preparing Paul for school. One example is his slow eating habits (1 C2). As such, one goal for the activity of meals is for Paul to eat faster.

Table 4.3 Five Activity Features in Routines of Care: The Family Meal

	Gómez	López	Martínez	González
Photograph				
Frequency (1-10)	6	2	3	3
Participant	Maricela, Kevin, roommates, uncles	Anna, Mateo, Emily	Silvia, Edwin, Paul, Sebastian, extended family, friends	Mayra, Joshua, Maria, Angel,
Linguistic Exchange	Conversation, telling jokes, ordering food, Spanish	Conversation about elephants, Spanish	Adults speaking in Spanish, singing Happy Birthday	No one is talking.
Activity Purpose	Eating out, living together, preparing for work,	Eating, riding bike, little sister learning vocabulary	Eating out, celebrating	Eating out, not talking.
Cultural Beliefs	<i>Familismo</i>	Learning a little, <i>Familismo</i> , listening to learn	<i>Familismo</i>	<i>Familismo</i>

While this goal was not described for all meals, it was mentioned by both Silvia and Sebastian in our interviews. In this dialogue, Silvia described how Sebastian had been discussing this with Paul at the supper table the night before:

Come o no comió, y eso, le dice Sebastián. Sebastián le dice el otro día, “Paul, tú tienes que aprender a comer más rápido. Porque tú tienes la comida diciendo que te la comes, le dice. Nadie te va a dar una hora y media para que tu coma. Mira en la escuela, tú comes rápido, si no, eso se quedó, dice. Ahora, por eso, yo me como todo bien rápido. / You will eat or you won’t, that’s what Sebastian tells him. He told him the other day, Paul, you must learn to eat faster. Because you will have your food and they will tell you to eat. No one is going to give you an hour and a

half to eat. In the school, you eat quickly. If not, it is left, he says. Now, because of this, I eat very quickly. (Code: Preparing the Toddler, Excerpt Range: 3341–4421)

This example is set inside the activity of the family meal, but it illustrates how the four families use daily activities to teach and educate their children. In addition, it depicts how the objectives and scripts of the activity of family meals change based on the anticipated operational needs imposed by the context. In addition, this activity illustrates how older siblings use their life experiences and acquired expertise to prepare younger siblings for the school environment (Howe, Della Porta, Recchia, & Ross, 2016; Howe & Recchia, 2014).

Multiple Linguistic Opportunities. The talk or linguistic exchanges described in the activity of family meals varies widely across families. For example, talk is not permitted in the González home during meals when the father is present (1 C2), while meals served as a time of fellowship for the Martínez family, sharing stories about their day, and life and family news (1 C2). In the López family, Anna reported that she often converses with Mateo and his younger sibling, Emily, while cooking and eating (1 C1). All families reported speaking Spanish during meals (2 C1, 2 C2). A variety of language types, such as conversing, asking questions, commenting, and telling jokes, were reported to occur in Spanish by most families (75%).

Family Beliefs and Values. In family activities, culture is manifested in the context of the activities themselves, influencing the interactions and thoughts of individuals engaged (Weisner, 1989). Family meals allow parents and other family members to organize and shape the context of interaction based on the experiences they

believe will support their children to become productive members of society and their community. How parents form their children’s engagements is frequently influenced by their upbringing.

Spending family time together is associated with the cultural value of *familismo*. All four families directly or indirectly exemplify how this value mediates throughout their activities. While the four mothers reflected on this belief (2 C1, 2 C2), Maricela shared how she used the activity of eating meals out to provide Kevin opportunities to learn to “convivir,” to interact and share in a harmonious connection with others (Delgado et al., 1998). This practice aligns with the value of *familismo* as sharing a meal together invites community; and as seen in the home contexts of the four families, creates time for families to spend together. Figures 4.6 captures three of the toddlers eating out with their families. For Kevin and Maricela, they enjoy eating out with their roommates after they their weekly trip to Walmart for groceries. Paul is celebrating a family birthday, while Joshua is eating lunch quietly with this family after church.



Figure 4.6 Families Eating Out

[E]stábamos todos a comiendo afuera, pues. Pero lo general esta actividad e ir a comer así a un lugar puestito así mexicanos, porque aquí de hondureño no hay.

Hacemos los todos fines de semana. Prácticamente es lo que estamos haciendo, es conviviendo y saliendo poquito de todo lo que pasamos toda la semana. Y comer bien, un poquito con él, porque prácticamente casi no pasó con él. Quiero que la prenda, pues prácticamente es como que nos reunimos todos los fines aquí los cuatro. De vez en cuando, con mis hermanos. Convivir y aprenda convivir / We were all there eating out. But normally this activity to go eat at a Mexican place [restaurant] like because there are no Honduran ones here. We do this every weekend. Practically it is what we are doing, it is living together and leaving little of everything we experience all week. And eat well, a little with him, because practically I am not with him. I want him to learn, it's practically what we four do every weekend, we get together. From time to time, with my brothers. Live together and learn to live together. (Code: Caring for Home/Family Meals, Excerpt Range: 4079–5251)

As in the previous example, three of the families eat out together typically on weekends (1 C1, 2 C2). Maricela stated that Kevin was an integral part of these outings, from the pre-meal conversations and shopping responsibilities to those that occurred during the meals themselves. Kevin is exposed to English, which is one of Maricela's key goals, and he participates in various and complex conversations in Spanish with the adults at the lunch table. As examples of the types of communication methods Kevin is exposed to, Maricela mentioned that they discuss their day, organize their work schedule for the following day, tell jokes, and speak. In addition, Maricela stated that Kevin is learning how to interact with others through this community activity and meal.

Participants. Mothers (2 C1, 2 C2) reported that weekly work schedules and home care demands influenced who participated in the evening meal. For all families, mothers were always present at meals, including supper. Mothers described their role in this activity as food shopping, meal planning and preparation, and cleaning up after (2 C1, 2 C2). While Maricela stated that their housemates help prepare evening meals (1 C1). While all mothers reported that they prepared the family meals, several shared that they also interacted with their toddlers during these activities (1 C1, 1 C2). In the González home (1 C2), Mayra prepares meals while her children typically engage in a play activity in the next room, as was also reported by Anna (1 C1) in the López home. Further, mothers reported that fathers (2 C2) participated in family meals primarily in the evening with supper (2 C2). While no fathers were reported to help with meal preparation, two fathers ate with the toddlers and the family.

Kevin and Mateo eat breakfast and lunch with the sitter during the week when their mothers work. This activity, while not occurring in the home, likely exemplifies variations in the five features given the setting. In those daily spaces, mothers report that toddlers are exposed to English and engage in school readiness skills, such as drawings and literacy skills; however, mothers did not report on practices related to meals. While both mothers described elaborate interactions during meals at home, those that occur with the sitter warrant investigation to identify the practices and potential opportunities these toddlers have each day.

Having Fun

This activity was defined as the “toddler engages in play activities alone or with others.” The two most common types reported by mothers include (a) activities of motion

(e.g., riding bikes, jumping, chasing, running), and (b) play activities with toys (e.g., playing with balls, blocks). Other play activities reported less frequently include pretend play, imaginary play, and playing with cars.

Playing

All four toddlers engaged in play activities of motion that primarily occur outside during the afternoon or on weekends. Mateo and his younger sibling only play inside, given his current medical condition. Toddlers with siblings typically engage in play activities together though Mateo likes to practice his karate during the day, and Joshua plays with his cars and blocks by himself while his older sibling is at school. All toddlers enjoy jumping, riding bikes, and chasing others.

The Gómez Family. In the Gómez home, Kevin plays with toys like his favorite stuffed dinosaur and enjoys playing alone outside while also helping his mother and their roommates with outdoor chores like picking up trash and washing cars. Figure 4.7 illustrates how this type of play activity provides multiple opportunities for engagement with others while allowing Kevin the opportunity to pursue his own fun while learning to help at home. As she describes the photograph, Maricela emphasizes how Kevin engages in multiple activities at once while he plays outside:

Pues, está jugando con agua incluso al final tengo que terminarlo bañando porque él también está terminado mojando todo. Y pues ni eso de que está un ratito estar al aquí lavando al rato está jugando. Ahorita está por aquí, en fin, que está haciendo de todo en ese momento. / Well, he is playing with water, and I end up bathing him because he ended up getting everything wet. And not even that it is a

little while to be here washing after a while is playing. Right here, he's doing all of this at once. (Code: Activity of Play, Excerpt Range: 433–1519)



Figure 4.7 Toddler in Case One Playing Outside

The López Family. Play activities in the López home mainly involve Mateo's engagements with his younger sibling, including motor activities and practicing his karate moves alone in the afternoons. As illustrated in Figure 4.8, Mateo rides his tricycle in their home for fun in the afternoons and weekends. Given his medical condition, riding his bicycle outside is not optional at the time of data collection. While Anna views the purpose of this activity as exercise, as the doctors have encouraged him to move more at home, he enjoys the engagement and often includes imaginary play with falling over and bumping into his younger sister.



Figure 4.8 Toddler Riding Bike (Case One)

Ahí, están jugando solos. Estaba manejando eso porque han dicho los doctores que tiene que hacer ejercicio porque se cansa mucho. Cuando corre, se cansa. Él está allí, lo mira, un ratito así. Dice, “Mimi.” “Cuidado, Mimi,” dice. / There, they are playing alone. He was riding that because doctors have said he has to exercise because he gets so tired. When he runs, he gets tired. He's there, he looks at her, a little while like that. He says, “Mimi.” “Careful, Mimi,” he says. (Code: Activity of Play, Excerpt Range: 19–308)

Martínez Family. Paul engages in play throughout the day with the children attending his mother’s in-home daycare. As Figure 4.9 captures, they engage in various play activities, including gross motor, playing with toys, and playing outside in the neighborhood. The latter occurs more frequently when Paul’s older sibling, Sebastian, is home after school. In the Martínez home, other children are present and while they engage in activities of play, Silvia must spend most of her day monitoring their interactions. However, given the distraction of the movement, jumping around on the

furniture was one activity of play the toddler engaged in frequently that involved less fighting.



Figure 4.9 Toddler Playing with Friends (Case 2)

Esto es de todos los días. Hacer relajo. Están brincando, como que fuera trampolín, dicen. Brincan del mueble al a este [pointing to the ottoman]. Bueno, eso es todos los días.: Yo le digo que es bueno, es que tiene como algo bueno, porque empiezan a mover sus músculos y están haciendo ejercicios. De una otra manera, yo con tal sienta que no estén peleando. Por mí está bien. / This is every day. Make a mess. They're jumping, like it's a trampoline, they say. They jump from the furniture to the east [pointing to the ottoman]. Well, that's every day: I tell him it's good, it's that he has something good, because they start moving their muscles and they're exercising. In another way, I feel that they are not fighting. It's fine with me. (Code: Play, Excerpt Range: 3010–3504)

The González Family. In the González home, Joshua spends most of the day with his younger sibling and mother while his older brother, Angel, is at school. This is seen in Figure 4.10 as Paul is playing by himself. He engages more frequently in

activities of play alone than any of the other toddlers in this study and experiences the most diverse types of play.



Figure 4.10 Toddler Playing with Cars (Case 2)

His most frequent play activities are with blocks and cars, often moving from one to the other or integrating the manipulatives together. Mayra shares that Joshua spends extended time in play, often creating elaborate scenes with his blocks and dynamic interactions in play with his cars.

Allí estaba en la mesita jugando con los carros. Estaba así, ahí lo boto. Estaba jugando solito. Sebastián estaba en la escuela. Los estaba. Estaba viendo que lo hace como la vuelta a su carrito, como estaba pensando que no estaba bien así. A veces, solo a él mismo habla. Estaba hablando como lo chocó los carros. / There, he was playing with cars on the little table. He was like, he knocked it down [the car]. He was playing alone. Sebastian was in school. He was looking at how his car flipped. He was thinking about how it was not okay like that. Sometimes, he talks to himself. He was talking about how the cars had crashed. (Code: Activities of Play, Excerpt Range: 437–983)

After school, Joshua engages in similar play activities with his older sibling; however, the language and context of these activities change given Angel's experiences and bilingual language skills.

Transcultural Media Engagements

Children gain multiple benefits from engaging in digital media activities (Neumann, 2018; Neumann & Neumann, 2015). Motivational effects on kindergarten and preschool children's language and literacy acquisition are accumulating (Courage et al., 2021; Tatar & Gerde, 2022; Zwitserlood et al., 2022). Moreover, preliminary findings from smaller intervention studies indicate that activities involving technology such as tablets, iPads, and mobile devices with literacy applications improved letter and sound learning and early writing skills (Neuman, 2018).

The four toddlers in this study used or responded to activities using digital media during their daily routines. All toddlers had access to tablets and cell phones, and three toddlers watched television at home during the day. These engagements occurred in English and Spanish and involved watching television programs (e.g., educational programs), watching YouTube videos (e.g., cartoons, children's songs) on televisions, tablets, and cell phones, and playing digital games on tablets and cell phone applications. Children watched educational programs on television like Discovery Chanel, and cartoons, like Peppa the Pig, and Masha y El Oso. In response to what makes their toddlers laugh, all four mothers reported at least one example of something that they watched or heard though engagement with digital media.

The Gómez Family. In the Gómez home, digital media is integrated into their evening routines. She shares that Kevin likes to watch YouTube videos while Maricela is

cleaning up after supper, “[en] la tableta pone pues dinosaurios y la araña, colores y números, los videos. / [in] the tablet he puts on dinosaur, and the spiders, colors, and number videos” (Code: Digital Media, Excerpt Range: 1070–1317). While Kevin uses his tablet for entertainment, Maricela encourages activities of play and engagement with others and tries to distract him from using the tablet.

The López Family. In the López family, despite not having a television in the home setting, digital media activities are a daily part of Mateo’s routine, particularly at night and on the weekends. Anna shares, “Mi niña tiene un celular y el niño tiene su tabla. Vea videos como se dice *Masha y el Oso*, Lo miran bastante eso.” / My daughter has a cellphone and son [Mateo] has his tablet. He watches videos like *Masha and the Bear*. They watch this a lot” (Code: Digital Media/Tablet, Excerpt Range: 1213–1523). Illustrated in Figure 4.11, Mateo loves to play games on his father’s tablet. While unfamiliar with the game, Anna says she downloaded it for him as this activity serves as a distraction and motivator while also providing a source for learning English.



Figure 4.11 Toddler Playing Video Game on Tablet (Case 1)

Los dos están conversando. El prendió esto [video] y está empezando a nebulizarse. A agarra su tabletita para ver su caricatura. Para que se ponga bien, porque si no, hay anda allí con su manguerita. Yo le doy el Tablet para que aprenda inglés. / The two are chatting. He turned this on [video] and he's starting his breathing treatment. He grabs his tablet to watch his cartoon. So, he gets comfortable, because if not, he walks around with the tubes. I give him the tablet to learn English. (Photo Interview; Code: Digital Media/Tablet, Excerpt Range: 2483–2972)

The Martínez family. The Martínez family integrate digital media activities into the family's daily routine. The television is on in the background during home visits. Children's programs in English play while Paul and the other children periodically look up to watch.

Pues, si yo únicamente, que me miro es una novela que me gusta. Los niños esto es como puro YouTube. Los niños, caricaturas. Y que él le gusta *Peppa Pig*. / Well, the only thing that I watch, that I like, is soap operas novel [laughing]. The children, it's all YouTube. The children, cartoons. And he likes *Peppa Pig* (Photo Interview; Code: Digital Media, Excerpt Range: 1429–1597)

During the day, Paul persists in using Silvia's cell phone to look at family pictures and likes to take pictures, like depicted in Figure 4.12.

Silvia entertains him by joining in the activity when she has the time but Sebastian, the older sibling, has no interest in this transcultural digital activity.

Y esto es lo que le gusta más a Paul. Él se cambia y quiere que le tome un selfi. Paul quiere que también yo cada vuelta ande con el teléfono y le tome una foto.

Lo a diferencia de Sebastián. No le gusta que le tomen fotos. Él me puede tomar a mí. Y yo lo puedo tomar a él. Y eso a él dice, WOW, mamá [mother laughing]. /

And this is what Paul likes the most. He changes and wants me to take a selfie for him. Paul wants me to walk around with the phone and take a picture of him.

Unlike Sebastian. He doesn't like to have his pictures taken. He can take one of me. And I can take of him. And he says, WOW [mother laughing as she shares].

(Photo Interview; Code: Digital Media, Excerpt Range: 3526–3984)



Figure 4.12 Toddler Posing for Picture (Case 2)

The González family. Joshua engages in multiple digital media activities throughout his week at home. The family television is in the den and children's educational programs in English are on during the day. Mayra occasionally watches a program she likes but not routinely as she is doing housework. "Yo miro mi televisión cuando puedo, porque no todo el tiempo puedo, porque como ellos tienen sus caricaturas." / I watch my TV when I can, because I can't all the time, because like they have their cartoons (Code: Digital Media, Excerpt Range: 1913–2657).

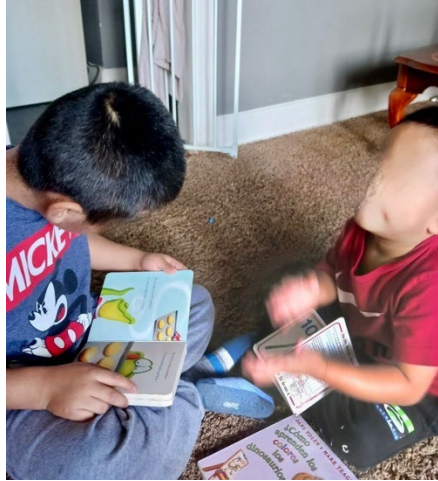


Figure 4.13 Toddler Playing with Older Sibling (Case 2)

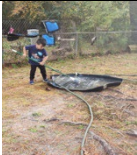

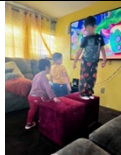
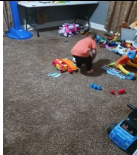
Illustrated in Figure 4.13, Joshua typically plays with his toys while watching his programs, a multilinguistic activity Joshua engages in frequently, as he watches television in English and looks at Spanish children's books. While they play with a variety of materials in the afternoon, Joshua and Angel like to listen to music and watch different programs on the cellphone or tablet. Angel learns about different programs and shows on YouTube from his friends at school and likes to share these with Joshua in the afternoons.

Sebastián ya sabe cuáles. Yo no pongo atención por eso. Él sabe cuál es uno pone. Es cuando quieren música, o cuando quieren bailar es así [mother laughing]. Cuando no quieren entonces, ya sí. Pero, si lo digo si esta bueno, es puro inglés. / Sebastian already knows which ones. I don't pay attention to that. He knows what ones they watch when they want music, or when they want to dance. It's like that [mother laughing]. When they don't want to then they don't. But, I say, It's good. It's all English. (Code: Digital Media, Excerpt Range: 1913–2657)

In the interviews, Mayra shares that Mr. González encourages these activities as they are sources for learning English and school-related knowledge. Once a week, the entire family gathers in the den to watch, Exatlón Mexico, a popular reality show produced by AztecaTV. While digital media is encouraged to support learning English, the family utilizes this modality in their family activities nested in their cultural and linguistic background.

Similarities and Differences in Play Activities Across Cases One and Two

Table 4.4 Five Activity Features in Routines of Play

	Gómez	López	Martínez	González
Photographs				
Frequency (1-10)	2	8	5	1
Participant	Maricela, Kevin, roommates	Mateo, Anna (kitchen), Emily	Silvia, Paul, children	Joshua, Angel, Maria & Mayra (watching)
Linguistic Exchange	Conversation, Questions, Directions, Listening to Music	Conversation	Directives	Conversation
Activity Purpose	Helping, Playing	Exercising	Exercising, Socializing	Learning
Cultural Beliefs	<i>Familismo</i>	Nurturing, <i>Familismo</i>	<i>Educación</i>	Academic Education

Multiple Purposes. The purpose of play activities ranged from entertainment to learning as both families use digital media as sources for learning English. The four mothers perceive watching television, playing cell phone games, and watching movies as

having a purpose of fun; however, during the photo-elicitation interviews, mothers consistently reflected on their use of digital media for educational purposes, such as learning English, ABCs, and developmental skills.

Teaching frequently occurred in play activities with older siblings for both toddlers. Sebastian shares how he teaches Paul how to kick a soccer ball and play video games, while Angel teaches Joshua to make videos, take pictures on the phone, and play basketball. Paul and Joshua watch television during the day while their siblings are in school.

[J]ugar con él. Hacen las cosas. Jugar pelota. El hace cosas que él quiere hacer. Si él, ya pata la pelota Estoy enseñándolo como. ya cuando él se va afuera el está saliendo la sala, yo le dije, pon el pie aquí con el otro afuera. Él ya le aprendió / I play with him. To do the things like, play soccer. He does things that he wants to do. Like, kick the ball. I am teaching him to kick the soccer ball. I tell him where to place his foot so that he can kick the ball. I tell him to put his foot here and the other one there on the outside. He learned how to do it. (Code: Playing, Excerpt Range: 859–1533)

Multimodalities and Biliteracy. Play activities occur in Spanish with others in Case One, while toddlers in Case 2 often communicate in both English and Spanish with older siblings. All toddlers engage in English and Spanish with digital media. Although in Case One the toddlers are listening to English, while the toddlers in Case Two are using English to communicate with older siblings. Additionally, Anna and Maricela converse with the toddlers while engaging in the activities, asking questions, and monitoring their time and the topic of the programs.

Play Partners. In this study, toddlers engaged in play activities more frequently with other children, older siblings, and by themselves than with mothers. Kevin typically plays alone as Maricela is engaged in other activities like housework or preparing meals while Mateo plays alone or with his younger sibling, Emily. In the mornings Joshua plays with toys while Angel is in school, Paul plays with the other children in the home or watches television or YouTube videos on his tablet or telephone. After school, both boys play with their older siblings.

Cultural Values and Beliefs. As noted earlier, culture highly influences the frequency, expression, and social contexts in which children's play occurs. In research on Latino families, parents, specifically mothers, were less likely to engage in activities of play with children while extended family members and siblings were frequently involved (Farver, 1999). In the Gómez home, activities of play are associated with family engagements, supporting the cultural belief and value of familismo.

Preparing the Toddler

A child's ability to adjust readily to school environments has been demonstrated to contribute to their early school success. In the interviews with the mothers, activities with goals aiming to build their toddler's readiness were reported by the four mothers, including independence, getting along with others, and preparing for the kindergarten setting and routine.

The Gómez family

Maricela provides a multitude of activities during the week to support Kevin in preparation for school. While she focuses mainly on exposing him to the English language, she also advocates for exposure to cultural environments that depict school-like

contexts. Maricela shares that activities in the local community are opportunities for the family to spend time together, expose Kevin to environments similar to what he will find at school, and serve as learning opportunities.



Figure 4.14 Toddler Shopping at Flea Market (Case 1)

As illustrated in Figure 4.14, trips to the flea market several times a month with their roommates is an activity she describes as one that fulfills family needs and provides multiple learning opportunities related to both her cultural values and beliefs and goals for supporting his school readiness.

Por lo general vamos a la pulga dos veces al mes. Por ejemplo, este fin tenemos idea de ir, vamos a ir por para extraerlos un poco. Por lo general aquí vamos, porque se supone que encontramos las cosas más cómodas y entonces ahí aprovechamos para uno que nos haga falta. / We usually go to the flea twice a month. For example, this end we have idea to go, we are going to go for to extract them a little. Usually here we go, because supposedly you find things at better prices, so there, we take advantage to stock up on things. (Code: Preparing the Toddler, Excerpt Range: 8189–10022)

While learning math-related knowledge and life skills, Kevin and Maricela enjoy pupusas, a familiar food from Honduras.

Hay pues, para realizar compras porque allí decimos, “¿Cuánto esto?” Los precios. Este, ¿qué precio?, ¿que tantos dólares? Más o menos, él va a ver. Él va y escuche los precios de las cosas. Más o menos para que él tenía una idea de que tal precio de tal cosa. / There to learn how to shop because there we talk about, "How much [is] this," the prices. "This, what price," "How many dollars?" More or less, he's going to learn. He hears the prices of things. More or less, so he has an idea of the price of things. (Code: Preparing the Toddler, Excerpt Range: 8189–10022)

The López family

Anna’s primary focus is on Mateo’s health, and she describes how activities at home are directed to his well-being. Like any sibling pair, Mateo and Emily spend time fighting with each other, and Anna referees these interactions. In preparation for school, activities supporting Mateo’s school readiness and socio-emotional development focus primarily on getting along with Emily. The activity is not an isolated engagement; preparation occurs within activities of care, play, and fun in the López home. Sometimes, Anna will ignore their fights, but preparation activities are particularly heightened when Mateo and Emily’s father is in the home. Describing the picture in Figure 4.15, Anna talks about a recent night when she returned late from work, and Mateo and Emily were having supper.

Estaba comiendo su cereal. Llegué acá y no había nada por eso le dio cereal. Yo le digo de qué comen tranquilo. Para que no estén peleando, pues ahí come

tranquilo. No, no estén peleando. Yo le digo que así, siempre les digo. No, no, porque estábamos peleando con su papa del niño. / He was eating his cereal. I arrived here and there was nothing, so I gave him cereal. I tell them to eat quietly. So, they are not fighting. That they are eating quietly/calmly. Don't be fighting/don't fight, I tell them like that. I always tell them this. No, no, because we were fighting with their father. (Code: Preparing the Toddler, Excerpt Range: 328–1080).



Figure 4.15 Toddler Eating with Sibling (Case 1)

Anna hopes that Mateo will use these skills when he starts school to get along with the other children.

The Martínez family

Through her experience with Sebastian attending school, Silvia knows that Paul must be potty trained to attend preschool. Therefore, toileting is an activity of focus during Paul's day. Silvia has recruited all family members for this activity.

Pues lo que me ha enseñado a hacer cosas nuevas, como andar ahí detrás de él, es por de que yo quiero que vaya al baño. Entonces siempre le digo una cosa. Mira

esto, este niño si lo hace y tu no. Entonces, eso es siempre. / Well, it has taught me to do new things, like walk there behind him [following up with him], is because I want him to go to the bathroom. So, I always say the same thing to him, “Look at this child, he does it [goes to the bathroom] and you are not.” This is all the time. (Code: Preparing the Toddler, Excerpt Range: 0–202)

Silvia’s focus on potty training one of the most important things for Paul to learn at home before starting school but illustrates how it is out of her hands if he is not ready.

Pues un niño, a la edad de Paul, ya tiene que pedir su comida como debe. Y tiene que ir al baño como debe. Entonces se si ponte no quiere ir. Pero., ya, yo no puedo hacer nada. / Well, a child Paul's age, already has to order his food like he should. And he has to go to the bathroom as he should. So, know what he needs to do but he doesn’t want to go. But I can't do anything about it. (Code: School Readiness, Excerpt Range: 2624-3340)

While Silvia focuses on potty training, Sebastian reflects on his own experiences at school when he was little and is encouraging Paul to eat meals faster. Silvia shared that Sebastian explains that school lunch routines are short, and Paul will go hungry if he doesn’t learn to eat faster. These activities, eating meals and toileting, are important and demonstrate how family goals and activities intersect and align with the toddlers’ routines.

The González family

While school routines, like waking early and taking the bus to school, are emphasized in Paul’s preparation for school, Mayra shares that he is getting him ready for the transition and emphasizes the continuity of her support with this transition. As

Figure 4.16 illustrates, waiting at the bus stop in the afternoons for Angel, provides a learning opportunity for Joshua.



Figure 4.16 Toddler Waiting at the Bus Stop. (Case 2)

Estamos esperando su hermano que viene de la escuela. Pasa eso todos los días. Y yo le digo que cuando ya entre dos años así, ya se va a la escuela. Y que ahí lo voy a esperar también que llegue al bus. / We are waiting for his brother who comes from school. It happens that every day. And I tell him that when he enters two years like this, he already goes to school. And that there I will also wait for him to arrive at the bus. (Code: Preparing the Toddler, Excerpt Range: 2806–3389)

As she describes several of the photographs of their most frequent activities at home, Mayra provides examples of where Joshua is playing while learning skills related to developing his social-emotional and school-related skills. Mayra shares that she wants him to learn how to focus on one thing. Like seen in Figure 4.17, Joshua likes to watch TV while he looks at books or plays.



Figure 4.17 Toddler Watching TV (Case 2)

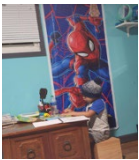

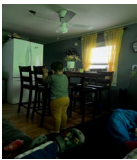

Estaba leyendo supuestamente su libro, pero igual también estaba viendo la tele. Me gustaría que yo le digo, si quiere ver el libro, pues, que concentra más con el libro o solo tele para que no se confunda. Los dos están jugando con la pelota. Quiero que sigan jugando. / He was supposedly reading his book but was also watching TV. I tell him I would like that if he wants to look at the book, well then, concentrate more on the book, or only the television, so that he does not get confused and that he remains engaged when he plays with others, I want them to keep playing. (Code: Preparing the Toddler, Excerpt Range: 1314–1609)

Similarities and Differences Across Cases One and Two in Preparation Activities

Multiple Purposes. Learning activities are associated with toddler preparation (e.g., school, language, literacy, socio-emotional readiness) and are viewed as having the purpose of education and fun. While mothers emphasized the importance of academic knowledge such as numbers, colors, and vowels, they also emphasized family and cultural values. These centered on teaching their toddlers to be respectful, honest, and well-behaved. In Case 1, mothers emphasized the need for their toddlers to learn English

and the types of learning activities that involved learning. In Case 2, learning activities were directed toward the toddler's independence and preparing for the school routine, like eating meals fast and waking early to catch the bus.

Table 4.5 Five Activity Features in Toddler Preparation Routines

	Gómez	López	Martínez	González
Photographs				
Frequency (1-10)	1	8	8	2
Activity	Coloring, Reading, Cooking (Maricela)	Playing Videos, Cooking, Chores (Anna)	Cleaning	Waiting on Bus
Participants	Kevin, Maricela (in kitchen)	Anna (in kitchen), Mateo, Emily, Maldo	Silvia, Paul, Sebastian, Edwin	Joshua, Mayra, Maria
Linguistic Exchanges	Questions, Talking to Self	Questions, Listening, Directions	Directions	Conversation
Activity Purpose	School Preparation	Playing, Learning	Learning to Clean, Do a Good Job	School Preparation
Cultural Beliefs	Learning a Little, Academic Education	Learning a Little, Listen to Learn, Academic Education	<i>Educación, Familismo</i>	<i>Familismo</i>

Communication Engagements. Learning activities occur in Spanish with mothers in both cases, while toddlers in Case 2 often communicate in both English and Spanish with older siblings. In these activities with toddlers, conversations were most frequently mentioned, but directions were also used.

Learning Facilitators. In this study, toddlers engaged in more learning activities with their mothers and other family members. All mothers report promoting their toddlers' academic development. In Case 2, toddlers also receive support from their fathers and older siblings.

Cultural Values and Beliefs. All mothers acknowledged their role in preparing their toddlers for school. While mothers emphasized academic knowledge such as numbers, colors, and vowels, they also emphasized the importance of developing family and cultural values. In Case Two, family support was highlighted, specifically the role of the older sibling in these activities. While the mother did not believe it was the responsibility of the older sibling to teach or assist the toddler, the older siblings in this study actively supported the toddler's school readiness.

Daily Activity and Routine Case Comparisons

In the following section, a comparison of the five components of the activity settings between the two cases will be presented. These results contribute to an improved understanding of the routine activities that the four families engage in at home with one another and the role of the older sibling in the family setting.

Activity Types

As reported, data from the Daily Activity Survey reveal differences and similarities between the daily activities of four toddlers. In their daily regimen, the four families shared that they engaged in five similar categories of activities. While frequency varied across homes, mothers reported similar purposes for certain categories of activities, such as household duties as work and play and entertainment activities as fun.

Activity Participants

In the home environments, mothers were the primary caregivers and participants; however, in Case 2, older siblings interacted with toddlers more frequently than mothers. Similar to other research findings, mothers participated in fewer play and entertainment activities, especially their toddlers' digital media use. In this study, in addition to fathers and older siblings, extended family, roommates, and sitters also contributed to the toddler's daily schedule.

Activity Goals

Most activities in the home setting reported by mothers do not happen in a bubble. Not only were activities happening simultaneously, but the goal of these activities varied. While this was common across all four home settings, the complexity of these engagements varied within the two Cases. There were frequently one or two activities occurring simultaneously alongside two to three activities. Across families, toddlers often experience several activity contexts simultaneously. Specifically for activities related to Caring for the toddler, mothers shared that the toddlers often played or engaged in preparation activities independently. In contrast, the mother was involved with cooking, cleaning, or doing other housework. These cross-over contexts were an active characteristic of the toddler's daily routine.

Participants

The primary participants in all toddlers' homes were the mother (2 C1) and the older sibling (2 C2). Similar to other research findings, mothers participated in fewer play and entertainment activities, especially their toddlers' digital media use. In this study, in

addition to fathers and older siblings, extended family and roommates, sitters also contributed to the toddler's daily schedule.

Case One. For the mothers in Case One, their role is more demanding, and their time is also a barrier. Other demands like the child's health trump everything, but the mothers are doing all they can with all they have, and all they know. They are intentionally creating space for school readiness as it relates to language and literacy and school readiness skills. The daily context with the sitter seems to also be a buffer in these situations exposing the toddlers to English via the sitters' older children, practicing early literacy skills, and exposing the toddlers to variations in Spanish, further building their linguistic foundation and knowledge.

Case Two. In Case Two, the participant in the routines with the toddler is more frequently the older sibling than the mother. Fathers (2 C2) were engaged in activities of daily care and entertainment but were not reported to engage in activities of play or housework. While mothers remain involved, the older sibling supports activities of play and learning as they navigate their school knowledge to home to support the toddlers' development. These transcultural practices were found as they expose the toddler to English and school materials and begin to prepare toddlers for school routines and expectations. The older sibling is also a source of information as it relates to reading and writing strategies, including biliteracy and bilingualism. Mothers still play a role in daily activities, particularly in developing the more culturally influenced beliefs and values like *educación, respeto, familismo*, and providing and caring for the toddlers' basic needs.

Scripts

The toddlers' activities were conducted primarily in Spanish in all toddler homes and used most in daily activities. English and English/Spanish⁸ (bilingual) language use was reported in activities of play and entertainment and community activities, while English was reported by the mothers as the primary language used in entertainment and social activities such as cell phone games, TV, shopping malls, and video games. While Spanish was the predominant language of learning activities for all four toddlers, the toddlers in Case 2 engaged in more Spanish and English learning activities than the toddlers in Case 1 as older sibling were actively engaged in these activities.

Chapter Summary

Families engage in numerous daily activities with their toddlers throughout the week. The next chapter describes the home environment of the four toddlers in greater detail. Specifically, the early literacy and language environment, including the physical and social context, and the sources of learning that families utilize throughout the day to support the language and literacy development of the toddler. Traditional sources (such as books and printed materials) will be presented, and more culturally aligned fragments of the family, positioned within the ecocultural context of each family, will also be discussed. Further, family values and beliefs will be shared as they relate to the toddlers learning and the parent's views on the role of school preparation collected from the perspectives of each caregiver.

⁸ While observations of language engagements were not part of this study, Spanglish, a hybrid language practices, also known as Spanish-English code-switching, was observed during home visits in toddler conversations with older siblings.

Chapter 5: Preparing the Toddler

The Home Language and Literacy Environment

Home language and literacy environment is a comprehensive and multidimensional concept consisting of the evolving and complex areas of language use, literacy experience, and social practices that children encounter in culturally situated engagements with their families in the home and community (Bus, van IJzendoorn, & Pellegrini, 1995; Caspe, 2009; Gutiérrez, 1993; Lonigan, Shanahan, & Cunningham, 2008; Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002). As a result, the social practices of language and literacy that families engage in are culturally defined and associated with the parent's beliefs, values, and their overall goals for such practices. These social practices encompass the immediate and accessible contexts (including sources and materials for verbal and physical participation) as well as the geographic, economic, and demographic demands on the engagement and availability of learning resources (Street, 2012).

In relation to the role of culture in these social practices, we interpret cultural models of literacy (Reese & Gallimore, 2000) as encompassing both the shared and individual aspects of the family's view on how things should be and how they are. Moreover, given the nature and focus of this study as well as the diversity of the participants, culture is considered dynamic, ever-changing over time, and a process of engaging in practice, a collection of repertoires from which families select and engage in various contexts, as opposed to a collection of specific styles or traits (Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003). Language is a primary means of interacting with others in the world and

plays a pivotal role in the formation and mediation of cultural practices for all family members.

The home language and literacy environment comprises the home context, including social, physical (print-related and other technological multimodalities, multiliteracies), and attitudinal contexts for fostering children's emerging literacy and early language development. The comparative case study investigates the family language and literacy environment of four toddlers living in an urban state in the southeastern United States. As the purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the family's daily activities and routines, the materials adapted to the family's daily activities are considered the connection within this early learning context. Considering this, the entire family, home, and community are considered in this study. The data is limited to what the caregivers disclosed in their responses to the interviews.

Given the young age of toddlers and capturing their early language and literacy practices and routines prior to school enrollment, it is difficult to extricate language and literacy development for young children who have not yet developed conventional reading and writing skills. The holistic and situated nature of language and literacy development among children is intertwined with the dynamic home boundaries surrounding cultural, social, and physical contexts. Drawing on these sources, I explored the extent to which these four toddlers' home language and literacy environment and the embedded social practices provided the nurturing context to stimulate language and literacy within the two languages of access: Spanish and English. According to Moll et al. (2010), emergent literacy upholds the natural acquisition of literacy through interactions with people and materials in everyday life. To what extent these linguistic resources are

integrated into the family's daily activities is a central focus of the results of this first question. The family uses these linguistic resources with the toddlers.

Data Analysis

Learning activities were identified in the family's daily activities and practices. Specifically, activities of learning associated with early literacy and language interactions, including reading, writing, listening, and telling stories, were included in the analysis for this question. For categorizing and thematically organizing the data, contexts such as sources of print, sources of language, language engagements, and literacy events and practices were key. Several language and literacy sources were identified by comprehensively examining the data. As a result, sources supporting languages, sources supporting literacies, and the physical and social context of toddlers’ engagements were identified as a recurring theme and reported.

Table 5.1 Research Question 2 Methods

Research Questions	Data Sources
2. How does the language and literacy environment of Spanish-speaking toddlers vary prior to school enrollment?	EL-EFI PEI BIOS BiRDI-HEQ

The findings from the BiRDI Home Environment Questionnaire and the Bilingual Input-Output Survey (BIOS) regarding the toddlers' language and literacy sources and supports in the home environment, as well as the data from the open-ended questions regarding the pre-literacy and language activities, were reviewed for similarities and differences across families to gain a deeper understanding of the unique engagements. As

such, the subsequent segment follows the data analysis sequence and reports findings by theme across the four families.

Table 5.2 Home Language and Literacy Environment Codes and Themes

Category	Theme	Codes
Family Cultural Beliefs, Values & Goals	Views on Development and Learning Importance of Reading	Language Learning Fostering School Readiness Importance of Reading Child Readiness
Supporting Literacy	Nurturing Literacy	Home Literacy Sources Fostering Biliteracy Family Language use
Supporting Language	Nurturing Bilingualism	Language Access Community Sources
	Using Digital Media Learning Facilitators	

Family Cultural Values and Beliefs

This first section is divided into two parts. The first part explores the mothers’ beliefs and values related to language and literacy development. The second part explores the mothers’ views on school readiness and reading. The following questions guided this section:

1. In your opinion, how is it that children learn to talk at this age?
 - a. How have you helped your child learn to talk?
2. When in your busy day do you read to your child?
 - a. Does a member of your household (including yourself, the child's siblings, etc.) read with them? How?
 - b. Is your child involved in reading and writing during daily activities (ex., grocery shopping list)? What are they?

3. In your opinion, how important do you believe reading is for your toddler?
 - a. What print materials does your child see outside of the home and school?
(ex., reading the Bible, reading subtitles on the TV)
4. Tell me about what school skills are practiced at home.

The guiding questions were designed to elicit information on the family cultural values and beliefs regarding the toddler's general development. Specifically, in this section, questions focused on their language and literacy development.

The Mothers' Beliefs about Learning and Development

Mothers were asked about their beliefs on how toddlers learn to talk, how they learn language, and how they learn two languages. The four mothers reported that toddlers learn through three primary ways, including explicit and implicit approaches by mere self-motivation. The mothers provided examples from their own toddler's language experiences growing up. All toddlers in this study reside in a home environment where Spanish is heard and spoken only (2 C1) or is the dominant language (2 C2). As such, toddlers are learning English as they continue to develop their Spanish language skills.

Mothers also elaborated on their toddler's loss of language, sharing their experiences with moving to the United States. Language attrition is a common in children residing in homes with a language other than English. Further, the experience of moving from one cultural and linguistic environment into a novel home context has been associated with an initial loss of language, or language attrition. Though they were beginning to catch up, families who recently moved to the U.S. share this experience. As Maricela exemplifies, toddlers are playing catch-up with their Spanish language skills since the move:

[H]ubo un tiempo que el perdió un poco de su lenguaje. El cambio de que aquí vino a convivir con una persona extraña y pues allá pasamos en familia. Y para eso él era así. Eso sería un cambio. / There was a time when he lost a little of his language. The change to here, he came to live with a strange person while there we were with family. Because of this, he was like that. That would be a change.

(Code: Parent View on Learning, Excerpt Range: 761–1200)

Mothers' Beliefs about School Preparation and Academic Education

In addition to focusing on reading and the language development of their toddlers, all mothers stated that they wanted their children to acquire various other skills in preparation for school. These included knowledge of numbers, colors, and personal information, such as their names. When I asked about their toddler's school readiness practices encouraged at home, mothers reported that their toddlers color, paint, or draw at least once a week (2 C1, 2 C2). Like their view on literacy, the mothers' view on the purpose of this activity was educational (2 C1) or fun (2 C2). Additionally, two mothers recognized their toddler's interests in writing, coloring, and drawing (1 C1, 1 C2), and supported them in these activities. Mayra referred to Joshua's drawings as "homework" and shared that he walked around the house during the day carrying his workbook or notebook and pencil (1 C2). In response to the question "what skills should toddlers learn to succeed in kindergarten," drawing and coloring were the only two Mayra mentioned, "Por ejemplo, yo creo que enseña más hacer sus dibujos. Porque él se va en prekínder. Agarrar bien, como agarrar hace ese a dibujar." / For example, I think teach him to draw a little more. Because he goes in pre-kindergarten. Grip it well, how to hold it to draw

(Code: Emergent Writing, Excerpt Range: 1853–2041).

Fostering Toddler's Academic Education. All mothers described their dedication to their toddler's academic and future success in terms of short-term and long-term paths. All mothers reported that their toddler's education was very important and believed their toddlers needed certain skills before starting school. Mothers reflected on skills related to cultural beliefs, such as *respeto*, and characteristics related to their *educación* or social-emotional development. For example, one mother emphasized her toddler's ability to learn English as the driving force of her immigration and current daily activities and routines (1 C1). "Yo me venía para este país y me lo traje a él. Con la ventaja de que él aprenda el idioma." / I came to this country, and I brought him with the advantage that he learns the language.

Two mothers discussed their immediate focus on their toddlers learning English to prepare them for school (2 C1). In comparison, two other mothers shared that they ensured their son's attendance in school and supported them in learning. One mother discussed her immediate focus on ensuring their children's current academic success by ensuring her older son attended school (1 C2). All mothers described their commitment to their toddler's academic trajectory but were not satisfied with their English language skills to help support and prepare their toddler for school. (2 C1, 2 C2). Anna shares how her skills in English were a barrier to supporting her toddler, "la verdad, yo siempre lo he querido enseñarle a hablar inglés rápido porque los doctores no entiendo lo que me dicen." / Truthfully, I have always wanted to teach him to speak English quickly because I don't understand what the doctors tell me (Code: Learn English, Excerpt Range: 4891–5516).

Two mothers did not have the opportunity to complete a high school degree, yet all mothers shared that they felt equipped with their current reading and writing skills in Spanish to support their toddler's success in school. However, all mothers felt inadequate in English (2 C1, 2 C2).

The daily activities and routines of the four toddlers were aligned with the goal of learning English. All mothers shared that learning English was advantageous for their toddler and family, each sharing similar yet unique reasons why their toddler and family benefited. Despite the barriers to learning English, all mothers strongly believed that English would enhance their child's well-being in life and success in school and be a protective barrier. Anna explained that her toddler's health condition made it critical that he learn English (1 C1):

La verdad, yo siempre lo he querido enseñarle a hablar inglés rápido porque los doctores no entiendo lo que me dicen. Quiero que el aprende rápido, Si le duele algo que le diga el doctor. / Truthfully, I have always wanted to teach him to speak English quickly because I don't understand what the doctors tell me. I want him to learn quickly. So he can tell the doctors if something hurts him. (Code: Reading Importance, Excerpt Range:)

Toddlers were encouraged to learn from their older siblings. One mother believed that to help her son with his schoolwork, she would need to teach him to read and write in Spanish since she did not speak English. She expected her children to speak Spanish at home and English at other times.

Importance of Reading. While one mother did not provide specific details, she shared how her toddler and older son talk about what they want to be when they grow up.

She went on to express that their goals were for them to decide. While one mother reflected on the importance, she described how his listening and learning would influence his future skills. Further, all mothers reflected on the importance of reading for their toddlers (2 C1, 2 C2).

Sí, es muy importante. Pues que se debe de hacer, ok. Pero yo no lo hago, pero se debe de hacer. Porque también, el niño va conociendo más. Y pues me imagino que también lo que van escuchando, pues me imagino que uno que trabaja. / Yes, it is very important. Well, it should be done, ok. But I don't, but it must be done. Because also, the child will learn more. So, I imagine that what one is hearing, I imagine, that it works. (Code: Reading Importance, Excerpt Range: 0–263)

Toddlers in this study participated in activities aimed at developing their language and literacy skills. These activities were nested within the cultural beliefs and values of each family and were influenced by the goals established by the participants. The context in which these activities were situated was similar across families; however, families varied in their engagements. Toddlers engaged with literacy and language sources in three primary ways: observing, exploring, and learning—while the learning interactions were more frequently found to be associated with the parent's goal for the activity rather than the goal of the source itself. Further, the language and literacy sources, the frequency of interactions with these sources, and the participants involved in these interactions were unique to the social and cultural context of each family.

Toddler Readiness. In the conversations and the interviews, all caregivers reflected on their child's attention and intentionality in an activity. All mothers used terms and phrases reflecting on the child's attention that they were little, or they got

bored. For example, when I asked Mayra about what literacy skills, she was teaching Joshua, she responded, “Él tiene que aprender. Pero está muy pequeño, todavía.” / He must learn. But he is still very small.

Mothers referred to their toddlers' readiness using language that reflected their toddlers' attention or perceived responses to the mothers during an activity. The mothers shared phrases such as “no pone atención” / don't pay attention, “a veces pone atención” / sometimes pay attention, “no me hace caso” / ignores me, “esta/ba bien chiquito todavía” / still really small, “se aburre” / gets bored, “este chiquito”/ this little one, “no sabe”/ does not know, “no está listo” / not ready. Correspondingly, mothers then described how scaffolding strategies supported the toddler or reported that the toddler abandoned the activity. This was an occurring concept among mothers who discussed their toddlers' participation in literacy activities such as book reading. It was evident from the findings that the parents' perspectives on the skills and practices recommended for supporting children's literacy development were linked to the mothers' cultural beliefs.

In addition, most mothers (75%) believed their toddlers needed to build more independence in skills related to daily self-care. Three of the four toddlers were still toilet training, and this area of development was particularly emphasized in caregivers' interviews. Mothers also emphasized the increased need for the toddlers' independence in dressing skills, like tying shoes, putting on coats, and eating and asking for food, to be their main focus before they start school.

While no parents specifically expressed that their toddlers were meeting all developmental milestones and expectations for school, two parents frequently commented on the natural developmental progression and toddlers reaching these at their

own pace. One mother shared that her two-year-old child was too young to be expected to have knowledge as it relates to preparing her toddler for school while also considering the influence this preparation will have on the younger sibling. “La verdad, todavía no sé por qué, todavía está muy chiquita, todavía. / Truthfully, I do not yet know; he’s still very young, still (Code: Child Readiness, Excerpt Range: 21–516).

All mothers expressed their toddler’s readiness for specific skills and engagements. Specifically, all mothers reported that their toddlers' young age, attention, and interest in literacy activities affected their home practices and experiences (2 C1, 2 C2). This was reflected in their discussions about culture, what they shared with their toddler, and the toddler's participation in various household activities. One mother, for instance, reflected on some of the information she shared about her life and home in Guatemala, but she emphasized that she did not place very much emphasis on sharing this information simply because of her toddler's young age (1 C2). “Yo creo que son lo más arrita que se estén chiquito. Uno lo dice, casi no ponen atención. No salga.” / I think these are all for now since they are so young. One shares it, but they do not really pay attention. It does not make sense (Code: Child Readiness, Excerpt Range: 1131–1329). While another mother shared a similar response when she was asked what a toddler should know at this age (1 C1): “La verdad, todavía no sé, porque todavía está muy chiquito, todavía.” / Truthfully, I do not know yet, because he is still too young (Code: Parent View on Learning, Excerpt Range: 2963–2965).

Further, one mother indicated that the toddler’s readiness and young age did not warrant him having his own device (1 C2). “Comparte con su hermano. Yo creo que sí,

porque está chiquito, todavía.” / He shares with his brother. I think so because he is still too young (Code: Parent View on Learning, Excerpt Range: 2659–3381).

Toddler Interest. All mothers expressed how their toddler’s interest in reading influenced their home literacy experiences. For example, two mothers indicated that their toddler’s attention to task during reading was limited to no more than 5 minutes, which made it challenging to engage in activities such as book reading (1 C1, 1 C1). While these mothers indicated they read when their child showed interest but could only engage for the time their toddlers allowed. For example, one mother described what it is like to read with her toddler and his younger sibling (1 C1): “Eso sí, cuando yo lo empecé a leer, se empiezan a sentarse, lo escuchan bien, ponen atención. Ya cuando se aburren, se va.” / Of course, when I started to read, they would begin to sit down and listen. They paid attention. When they get bored, they leave (Code: Toddler Readiness, Excerpt Range: 1232–1885).

On the other hand, mothers described how their toddler’s interests positively affected their home literacy experiences. For example, one mother described how her child’s interest in reading stimulated her engagements with him despite her view on his readiness to read (1 C2):

"Bueno, me trae el libro y dice, ‘mama, me enseñe.’ ‘Lea. Empieza al principio hasta al final,’ yo le digo, así. Todavía no pues lees, pero nada más dice los animales que lo conoces. / Well, he brings me the book and says, “Mama, teach me.” “Read, start from the beginning to the end,” I tell him like that. He cannot read yet, so he just names the animals he knows. (Code: Toddler Interest, Excerpt Range: 2391–2567)

The cultural values and beliefs of families were found to influence the types of sources families integrated into their daily routines at home.

Nurturing Literacy

Home Literacy Sources

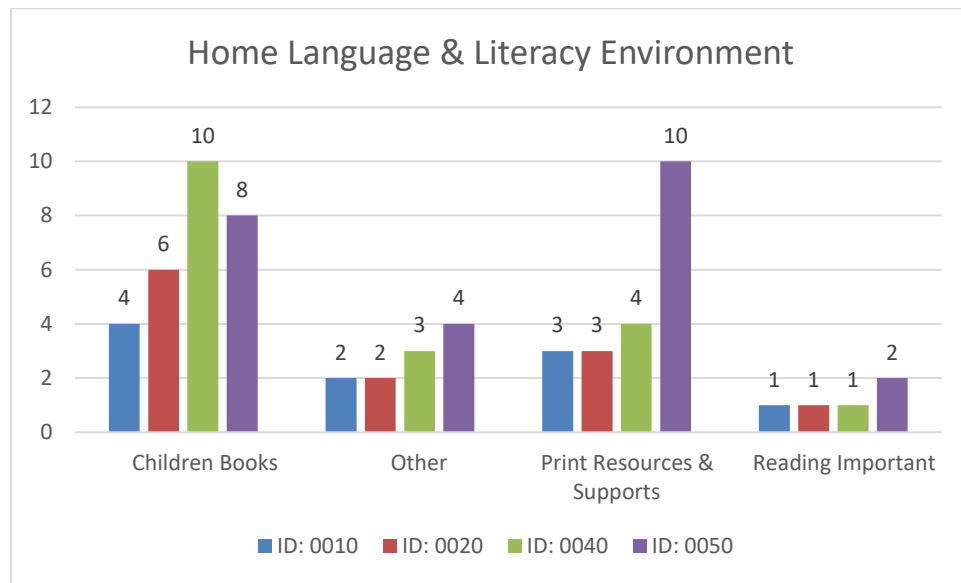


Figure 5.1 Home Language and Literacy Resources

Print Materials. Access to print materials in the home has been found to facilitate opportunities for children to engage in language-enriched activities to support their language and literacy development (Burgess, 2005; Frijters et al., 2000). While children’s books are the most frequently reported sources, children from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds have been found to engage with various sources (Farver, 2013). Consistent with other studies of the home language and literacy environment of Spanish-speaking families, toddlers in this study interacted with print materials in their daily activities at home. As illustrated in Figures 19 and 20, the four mothers reported a comprehensive list of diverse literacy materials available to toddlers. Print materials and digital media were the primary sources of literacy found in the four homes and were used

most during their daily routines. Though readily available, the four toddlers engaged with print sources other than children’s books during their day.

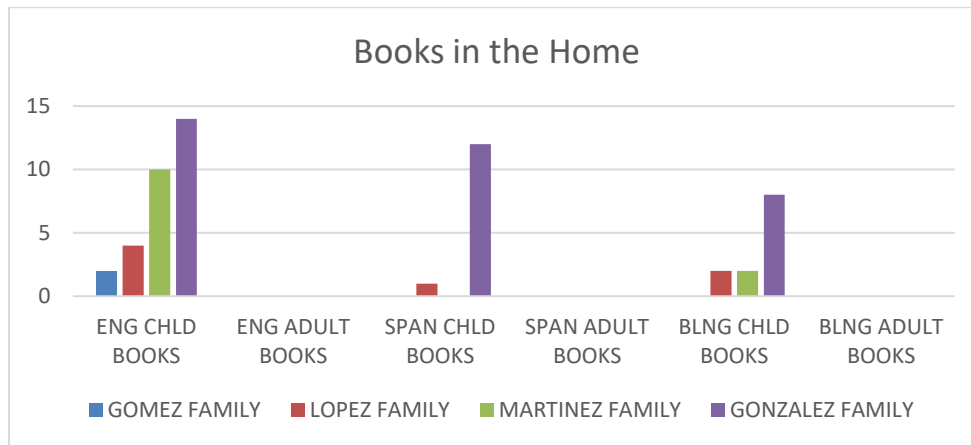


Figure 5.2 Books in the Home

Children’s Books. The four toddlers in this study have children’s books at home that are always accessible (2 C1, 2 C2). The quantity of accessible books ranged across homes from one family with two books (Gómez Family) to another with over twenty books (González family). The majority of the toddlers’ children’s books are written in English (range = 2 to >12). Some of the books are written in both Spanish and English (range = 2–4), and two families report books written in Spanish only. Many of the toddlers’ children’s books were gifted to the toddler from a range of community sources. In the López home, Anna shared that Mateo received books from the hospital during his last visit. “Yo si tengo. Como le regalaron el en hospital mi niño, Le regalaron como cinco libros a mi niño en hospital.” / I do have them. They gave them to my son in the hospital. They gave him like five books” (Code: Print Sources, Excerpt Range: 35–124). Mothers also reported that toddlers received books from extended family members (González family), community agencies (1 C1, 1 C2), and early interventionists (1 C2). The four mothers reported that their toddlers had limited access to Spanish-language

printed materials in their homes and neighborhoods. None of the families reported having adult books other than the Bible (2 C1, 2 C2). Three of the four toddlers have a favorite book they prefer to read repeatedly.

Table 5.3 Home Print Materials

Case	Family	Spanish	English	Both	Totals
1	Gómez	Religious books Cards/Letters Bible ABC Letters	Coloring Books Children Storybooks	Library Books	7
	López	ABC Toys Religious Books Medical Pamphlets Bible Writing Material Children Storybooks	Children Storybooks	Coloring Books Educational Games ABC Books Children Storybooks	11
2	Martínez	Magazines Newspapers Pamphlets Cards/Letters Bible ABC Letters	Computer Educational Software ABC toys Videogames Children Storybooks	Children Storybooks	12
	González	Religious Books Bible Children Storybooks	Coloring Books Computer Educational Software ABC toys Educational Games Writing Material Children Storybooks	ABC Books Children Storybooks	12
Totals		19	15	8	42

Other Print Sources. All mothers reported that toddlers' regular activities at home increasingly involved objects other than books. Additional print materials were

found in the home, such as personal letters (50%) and newspapers (25%), pamphlets (50%), and other print materials (25%), and pre-emergent writing materials (coloring and sketching) (100%). Two of the mothers receive correspondence from family in Honduras. “Aún, pues, se le manda mucho a uno por correo, usted sabe. A veces mi tía me manda.” / Still, well, they send a lot by mail, you know. Sometimes my aunt sends me (Code: Print Resources & Supports, Excerpt Range: 47–283).

Writing Resources. Toddlers also engage in pre-emergent writing print materials, such as notebooks and workbooks. For example, Joshua carries a pencil and workbook around the González home throughout the day. Maricela also indicated that while he enjoys reading, coloring books are Kevin’s favorite print material. Though all four toddlers had drawn on the home walls at some point in their life, mothers shared that toddlers no longer write on walls and writing materials are available to the toddler in the home.

Environmental Print Sources. A variety of print sources were visible in the home during my home visits. These sources ranged from written words on the window covering (1 C1), writing on clothing (2 C2, 2 C2) and food packaging (2 C2, 2 C2), birthday balloons with letters of toddler's names (1 C1, 1 C2), older siblings' homework (2 C1), library books (2 C2), workbooks (2 C2), a calendar on the refrigerator (1 C1, 1 C1), markers, pencils, television subtitles (2 C2), and a “welcome” sign (1 C1) in the front yard. There may have been other displays of print in the family bedrooms that I did not have access to or which were inaccessible from where I was meeting.

Community Sources. Toddlers also received children’s books from sources outside of the home. Mayra wasn’t specific, but she mentioned that just last week, they received books from a visitor. “A la semana pasada, vino una señora, y lo regalo así. Traje más bien dos libros para dibujar y se emocionó.” / Last week, a lady came, and she gave me a book. In fact, she gave me two coloring books, and he was excited (Code: Print Resources & Supports, Excerpt Range: 3385–3572). While Paul has received books from his early interventionist, Mateo received books during his last hospital stay, “Yo si tengo, como le regalaron el en hospital mi niño. Le regalaron como cinco libros a mi niño en hospital. / I have books, as they gave my child some books in the hospital. They gave him five books in the hospital” (Code: Print Resources & Supports, Excerpt Range: 3005–3460).

Though not mentioned as a direct source, several families shared that they attended church with their toddlers during the week (1 C1, 1 C2).

Nurturing Biliteracy

Biliteracy Resources. The four toddlers had access to literacy resources in English, Spanish, and both languages. Table 5.3 illustrates the diversity in biliteracy sources and resources in the four toddlers’ homes. These comprised everything from books for children to sources of environmental print in the home and community. All toddlers had access to children's books written in Spanish, English, and English and Spanish (bilingual), with most books written in English. Mothers reported reading bilingual and English children's books to their toddlers in Spanish, providing toddlers with written access to one language while listening to another. Toddlers had access to alphabet games in English on their tablets and mobile devices, while mothers taught

toddlers in Spanish, particularly vowels. Most frequently, family members and community resources were cited as home biliteracy resource providers. Silvia reported that her aunt in Honduras sends the family Spanish-language greeting cards, while Mateo received five bilingual children's books during his last hospital visit. Case Two toddlers frequently read English books with older siblings and had access to their school textbooks, notebooks, and homework. In this next example, Mayra shared that her niece brings children's books to Joshua and Angel from the community center, where she attends English classes. “Mi sobrina, ella tiene 22 años vive aquí. Este mismo en otro cuarto, así. Como ella, está estudiando inglés en la escuela. Ella es que me dio los libros.” / My niece, she is 22 years old, lives here. Here in another room, like this. She is studying English at school. She's the one who gave me the books (Code: Print Resources and Supports, Excerpt Range: 4209–4427).

While not exclusive, the next section will highlight the multiple language sources available to the toddlers in the home environment. In the next section, other sources of language accessible to the toddler will be reviewed.

Nurturing Language

Home Language Sources

Spanish is the primary language spoken in the home setting of all four families. Mothers grew up speaking Spanish in their home countries and are now adult learners of English (2 C1, 2 C2). Toddlers were encouraged to speak Spanish at home. All mothers reported speaking Spanish with their toddlers during daily activities, unless engaged in digital media with English content. Additionally, Spanish is the primary language of fathers and other adults residing in the homes (1 C1, 2 C2). Maricela and Mayra report

attending Spanish church services with toddlers. Mothers shared that they were learning English informally from watching television, videos, and movies in English. Mothers had not had the opportunity to enroll in any formal classes due to their busy schedules. All mothers were satisfied with their language and literacy skills in Spanish but reported that they did not have enough English language skills to prepare their toddlers for school (2 C1, 2 C2).

Fostering Bilingualism

Bilingual Language Access. All toddlers in this study reside in a home environment where only Spanish is heard and spoken (2 C1) or where Spanish is the dominant language (2 C2). Caregivers shared multiple environments they have found where they are able to expose their toddlers to English only. Despite utilizing similar language sources, goals for learning English varied across the four families. Anna shares that she supports Mateo's language development in English and Spanish by teaching him new words. "A veces enseño como palabras, los vocales en inglés. Ahí voy aprendiendo" / Sometimes, I teach him like words, the vowels in English. That's where I'm learning too (Code: Language Practices, Excerpt Range: 21–516). And she describes how he's learning to say new phrases in English while at the sitters:

Si escucha Mateo hablando nuevas palabras en inglés. Él sabe decir, ¿"What happened?" [laughing], "oh my god." Hay, que es otro? Me olvide. Si empieza a decir números, empieza a decir, pero así variados. / I hear Mateo using new words in English. He knows how to say, "What happened?" [laughing], "oh my god." There are, what is the other? I forgot. He starts saying numbers, he starts to say, a variety of words. (Code: Learning English, Excerpt Range: 3646–3829)

Community Sources. Maricela shared that she takes Kevin to community events and different listening environments for Kevin to learn English and prepare him for school. In addition to the books, workbooks, and other school materials brought home in their older siblings' backpacks, mothers mentioned that toddlers have access to sources outside of the home environment in their daily routines. When asked about sources outside of their homes, Maricela says she takes advantage of their weekly grocery shopping trips to Walmart to support Kevin's language and literacy, pointing out letters on the billboards and signs as they go out shopping,

“Pero el motherento de la compra, él va escogiendo las frutas y ya más o menos la conoces ya ahí mismo va a aprendiendo los nombres de las frutas [...] en eso cantamos el vale, leyendo los letreros están o sí, mira ellos números va que hay allí. ...Sí se enfocarse bastantes en mirar todo lo que alrededor, todo, todo. Y peor si mira algo a se pone a leer.” / But when shopping, he chooses the fruits and more or less you know, he will learn the names of the fruits [...] and we sing, and he reads the letters and looks at the numbers that are there. He pays a lot of attention to the things around him, everything, everything. And worse if you look at something, he starts to read. (Code: Print Resources & Supports, Excerpt Range: 719–842)

Anna shared that Mateo is learning basic communication skills in English from the sitter's school age children. All mothers felt their English skills were not feasible to teach English to their toddlers. As a result, half of the mothers reported using the tablet to expose their toddlers to English.

Digital Sources. Digital media was found in the homes of all four toddlers and was used in a variety of daily activities associated with learning. It was evident in parent discussions that televisions, tablets, and telephones were a source of learning. Mothers reported their toddler's use of digital devices to learn literacy skills and English. As such, toddlers are learning English as they continue to develop their Spanish language skills. When asked about learning two languages, two mothers said they would learn once children attend school (1 C1) and hear and practice the language (1 C2). One mother reflected on how her children learned Spanish when she spoke to them in Spanish and then shared that she showed the children videos on the tablet for them to learn a little English so they could begin to understand (1 C1). "¿Enseñando? Bueno, a veces sí les muestra a vídeos así en mi tableta, para que aprendan un poquito para que lo entiende. / Teaching? Well, sometimes I show videos on my tablet, so they learn a little bit so that he understands" (Code: Learning English, Excerpt Range: 1226–2004). Most toddlers had access to technology and independently manipulated the devices to identify sources of entertainment or learning.

Digital media served as a multimodal source of learning for toddlers. For example, all four toddlers had access to and frequently used digital devices to watch videos and educational programs and learn alphabet songs. Three families had smart televisions and reported watching television in English as an English language learning source of English for their toddlers (1 C1, 2 C2). As Mayra explains, "Como ellos tienen sus caricaturas. Mi esposo vea tele en español. A veces de inglés, a veces español, sí. / [TV is in English during this visit]. Because like them they have their cartoons. My husband watches TV in Spanish. Sometimes English, sometimes Spanish, yes" (Code:

Digital Media & Technology, Excerpt Range: 1913–2657). Additionally, three mothers shared that they benefited from these interactions as they, too, were learning English.

Caregivers noted the educational and linguistic benefits of having access to digital media for the toddlers. Every toddler has access to at least two forms of technology that are used for entertainment and learning English: a cell phone and tablet. In the López and González home, Mateo and Joshua share these devices with their sibling(s), while Kevin and Paul have their own digital technology. All toddlers were reported to watch YouTube videos, listen to songs, and play games on the family cell phone and tablet. Three of the four homes have smart televisions in the family den (1 C1, 2 C2). Educational programs and cartoons were examples of programs parents reported toddlers watched in English. Caregivers varied in their participation in these learning opportunities. While learning English was the purpose of television-watching for mothers, they also shared that families would watch programs together in Spanish at night. In the González home, all eight family members would gather in the den on certain nights to watch *Exeter* on Telemundo. During several home visits, televisions were playing in the background in Spanish. In addition, all mothers reported using instructional games and videos on their smartphones and tablets.

Learning Facilitators

The four mothers report that toddlers have others in their lives who directly or indirectly support their development. Like Figure 5.3 illustrates, while mothers are the toddlers' primary support, fathers (2 C2), older siblings (2 C2), and extended family members including cousins (1 C2), uncles (1 C1, 1 C2), and sitters (2C1) were reported to provide support in a variety of ways.

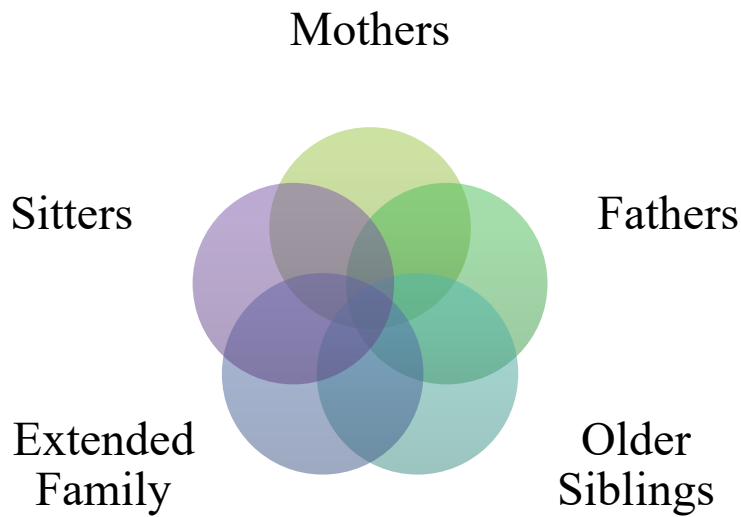


Figure 5.3 Learning Facilitators

Mothers

One aspect of the language and literacy environment in the homes of all four toddlers was the consistency of their mother’s support, including the language used for communication. All four mothers speak Spanish in the home and are adult learners of English. While they reported satisfaction with their skills in Spanish to support the toddler’s literacy development, mothers did not feel satisfied with their English skills to support the toddlers. Maricela and Anna shared that they had recently moved to the United States and have little understanding of English and limited access to English in their homes. “Aquí no hay inglés. [Kevin] [v]a a ir a aprender allá porque no sabe NADA” / There is no English here. Kevin is going to learn there because he does not know ANYTHING (Code: Language Learning, Excerpt Range: 2219–2644). While Silvia and Mayra encourage their toddlers’ language skills in English, they expect the toddlers and older siblings to communicate in Spanish at home. Silvia reflects on how this works with Sebastian when he returns from school in the afternoon.

“Él sabe que en la escuela vas a hablar inglés. Y él sabe que llegando a casa hablar español. Entonces como que su mente vuelve a caer cada vez que está en la escuela, va a hablar inglés y cada vez que esté en su casa a hablar español.” / He knows that at school you will speak English. And he knows that coming home to speak Spanish. So, like his mind switches every time he's in school, he's going to speak English and every time he's at home he's going to speak Spanish. (Code: Learning English, Excerpt Range: 1533–2411)

Fathers

Fathers spent time with the toddlers on evenings and weekends when they were not working. Fluent in Spanish, they support the toddler's bilingual language development as language models, providing support for their home language skills. In addition, fathers were reported to read with toddlers in the López, Martínez, and González homes.

Extended Family

Language and literacy exposure is also provided by extended family members. Kevin's uncles live in the area and spend time with him on Saturdays and the occasional family gathering. The family cousin, Pamela, spends time weekly with Joshua and Angel, practicing her English skills and reading in English and Spanish. While no examples were reported, Silvia shares that Paul speaks English with Sebastian's friends when they play video games or play outside together.

Older Siblings

Three mothers reported that toddlers are exposed to and use Spanish only at home (2 C1, 1 C2). In contrast, the older siblings in Case Two are emergent bilinguals and

speak English and Spanish at home. Silvia reported that Paul is exposed to and uses English in the afternoons with Sebastian and his friends. While Spanish is the primary language in the mornings, Kevin and Mateo are exposed to English when the sitters' older children arrive from school. Older siblings were the primary source and model of English in the home setting and were frequently reported to engage with children's books and technology. They exposed toddlers to additional print materials associated with school, like textbooks, homework materials, library books, and school-issued computers.

Sitters. In Case One, the mothers report that their toddlers interact with various language and literacy resources at the sitters' home during the day. Print materials such as children's books, drawings, and handmade alphabet resources were a few items reported to be integrated into their routines. They were also exposed to English in the afternoons when the sitter's older children returned from school.

Linguistic Resilience

The families in Case 2 have resided in the United States for extended periods and have experienced more opportunities to hear and learn English. While both express their desire to learn English, they cultivate a multilingual home environment that embraces their family culture and linguistic background. While Silvia expects her sons to communicate with her in Spanish at home, she celebrates Paul's English language skills as she remembers how hard it was for Sebastian when he first arrived and started school with no English language skills. "Cuando él llega [from school], habla español. Pero a veces lo dice en inglés. Pero yo lo digo, así tiene que decirme en español." / When he arrives, he speaks Spanish but sometimes he says things in English. But I tell him that he must speak to me in Spanish (Code: Language Exposure, Excerpt Range: 1533–2411).

In the González home, Spanish, English, and K'iche' are spoken. While Mayra and her husband speak K'iche' together, Spanish is the dominant language used by the children and among the other family members. Their oldest son Angel is learning English and uses English and Spanish with Joshua. As Mayra comments on Joshua's language development, she suggests that communicating in Spanish and English benefits everyone at home.

“Lo que he visto es que si está aprendiendo un poquito más. Sabe más de las cosas que antes, no. Casi, el español, casi. Yo veo que, el español que igual. Yo veo que si más que ingles de español. Casi no mucho. Yo le diga español, pero él repita inglés. Si lo sabe, pero no. Yo pienso que si aprende más de ingles que español. Porque yo aprenda yo también. Eso es yo pienso. Hay personas que se dice que habla más de español. Ojalá un día si eso si aprenden los dos idiomas. / What I've seen is that he is learning a little bit more. He knows more about things than before, no. Almost, Spanish, almost. I see that, Spanish is equal. I see English more than Spanish. Almost, not much. I say Spanish, but he repeats in English. Yes, he knows, but. I think that he will learn more English than Spanish. So, I will learn too. That's what I think. There are people who say to speak more Spanish. Hopefully one day they learn both languages.” (Code: Language Exposure, Excerpt Range: 942–1716)

The families' perspectives, cultural beliefs, and values towards child development and their attention to their toddler's socioemotional development were similar. Despite diverse countries of origin, these ideas were comparable; however, the interactions with language and literacy sources were uniquely situated within the daily activities of each

toddler. There were also variations in the interactions within families depending on who was engaging and the goal of the activity for the participants. The following section discusses the similarities and differences between Cases One and Two.

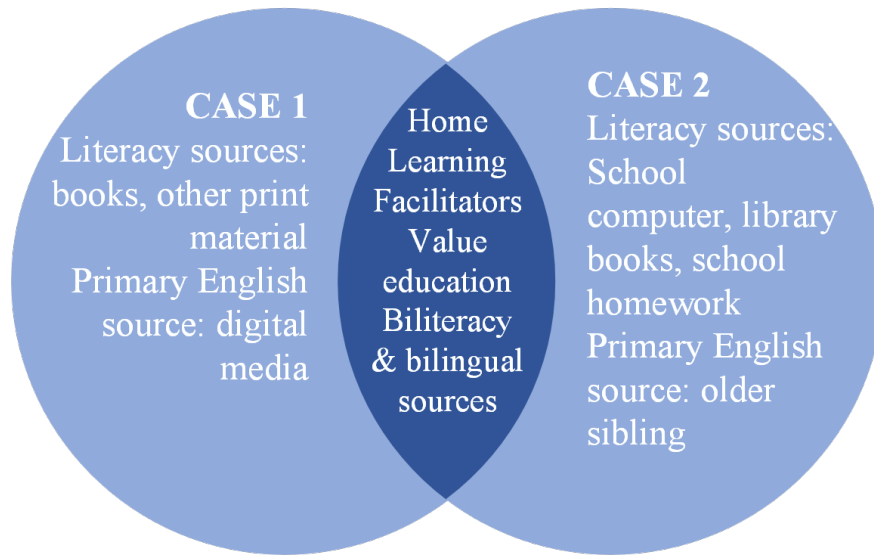


Figure 5.4 Home Language and Literacy Environment Case Comparison

Similarities and Differences in the Home Language and Literacy Environment Across Cases

The home language and literacy environments of the four toddlers are similar in content and their overall access to sources known to facilitate early language and literacy development. All four toddlers have adults in their lives who communicate with them, engage in literacy activities, and value their education and academic readiness skills, and have access to print materials, and language sources that support their early language and literacy skills. Contrastingly, the adults engaged with or providing the sources, quantity and types of sources, and the frequency, language, goals, and conditions in which these sources are integrated into activities varied across the four families and Cases.

Similarities were evident in the children's books in each home and the daily materials toddlers used. As illustrated in Figure 5.4, The only difference noted between the two cases emerged from materials associated with the school materials of the older siblings. Specifically, toddlers with older siblings had access to school computers, library books, and the sibling's homework. All mothers reported reading as one of several skills important for preparing their toddlers for school. All toddlers had access to biliteracy and bilingual sources. Toddlers in Case One listened to and watched YouTube videos on their tablets in English as a source for learning English, while the toddlers in Case Two engaged with older siblings in English in various activities of learning.

Early Language and Literacy Practices

Literacy is an embedded social event and practice in daily life; consequently, children acquire literacy through interactions with their immediate environment, people, materials, and objects (Barton and Hamilton, 2005). This study emphasizes, within a sociocultural framework, the idea that the home is the initial location for interaction, participation, and communication. Literacy is ingrained in the language and communication practices of the early home environment (McLachlan et al., 2013). Children's experiences at home influence their language and literacy development and are essential for the development of language and literacy skills in multiple languages. Additionally, exposure to language and literacy via technology contributes to the language and literacy environment of the family. In addition to a diversity of multimodal language and literacy interactions, technology has a natural and pervasive role in the language and literacy development of children, which is explored in this comparative case study of the home environment.

The following section will describe the language and literacy practices in the home environment of the four toddlers. Through data analysis, I identified four primary themes regarding the language and literacy practices the four toddlers engage in at home. In addition, the five features associated with these themes will be presented using prevalent language and literacy practices to represent the activity as the unit of analysis. In the first section, a concise overview of the mothers' shared cultural values and beliefs is provided. A summary of the daily language and literacy activities is next, followed by a review of family-specific practices and activities. In conclusion, case comparison findings will be presented.

Data Analysis

The learning activities associated with early language and learning practices identified in Chapter 4 and the findings from the previous section were included in the analysis for this question. The events and practices associated with the sources of print and, sources of language in the toddlers' home language and literacy environments were used to initially categorize and thematically organize the data. As a result, several literacy events and practices nurturing biliteracies, language practices fostering bilingualism, multimodal practices, and the ecocultural contexts in which these engagements occur were identified as recurring themes and reported. Last, the primary activities of language and literacy learning were further analyzed by the five activity features with similarities and differences across families and between Cases explore the unique practices of the four toddlers prior to starting school. As such, the subsequent segment follows the data analysis sequence and reports findings by theme across the four families.

Results

Table 5.4 Research Question 3 Methods

Research Questions	Data Sources
3. What are the language and literacy practices experienced by Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?	
3A. To what extent do these language and literacy practices vary in families with and without an older sibling?	BiRDI HEQ) EL-EFI Artifacts
3B. How do the features of these language and literacy practices vary in families with and without an older sibling?	

Family Cultural Beliefs and Values

The families' cultural beliefs and values related to learning and learning practices associated with language and literacy development were explored. The following questions were revisited and guided the outline of results in this section:

1. In your opinion, how is it that children learn to talk at this age?
 1. How have you helped your child learn to talk?
 2. When you and your toddler are together, what kinds of things have you talked about recently?
2. Tell me what it is like to read to your toddler.
3. Tell me about what school skills are practiced at home.

The Learning Process

Learning a Little. In conversations about their toddler's engagement in preparation or learning activities, the mothers consistently reflected on their goal for their toddlers to “learn[...] a little” before starting school. In the next excerpt, Anna reflected on her goal for Mateo with book-reading, “para que se empiecen a este aprender un poquito

ahí. Empiezan a aprender, empiezan a este a saber cómo se llaman los animalitos. / So they start to learn a little. Start to know the names of the animals” (Code: Learn a Little, Excerpt Range: 3326–3650). This idea of establishing a foundation, exposing to, and familiarizing oneself is grounded in Vygotsky’s zone of proximal development framework (1979) as it relates to cognitive development and learning. In this study, this cognitive framework of establishing familiarity or “a little” resonated across all learning activities but was frequently mentioned by mothers in their discussions about their interactions with their toddlers in school readiness practices. In these discussions, the mothers provided a multitude of examples of language and literacy practices that are incorporated into their daily activities to support their toddlers' development. These ranged from attending community festivals to acclimate the toddler to his future all-English schooling environment, to using digital media to stimulate language and literacy skills in English and Spanish, to teaching colors to prepare for school. The multiple daily practices support the fact that the families in this study value their toddlers' academic education and are actively preparing them for success, even if it is “just a little.” They do their part as they maximize their own resources and those beyond the home environment.

Listening to Learn. When asked how toddlers learn a language, all four mothers provided a similar explanation highlighting a natural process of learning by listening. This approach to learning aligns with a sociocultural framework in which language and cognitive development occur in social practices within the cultural environment surrounding children (Rogoff, 1982; Weisner, 1984). As such, a variety of multimodal language and literacy practices are a part of toddlers' daily routines. Using digital media and listening to others were two primary practices in the home environment.

The mothers' perspective on the learning process had an impact on the language and literacy practices in the home environment of the four toddlers. The subsequent section will outline the primary home activities of language and literacy learning using multimodal approaches to nurture biliteracy and bilingualism. Common practices are presented, with differences noted across the four families and between the two Cases. Additionally, the objective features of these activities (such as the participants, script, and goal) are analyzed across families and cases to identify similarities and differences.

Table 5.5 Home Language and Literacy Practices Categories and Themes

Themes	Codes	Types
Views on Learning	Learning a Little Listening to Learn	
Nurturing Literacies	Biliteracy Practices	Book practices Practices with Letters and Sounds Emergent Writing
Nurturing Languages	Multilingual practices	Learning English Digital Mediated Language Events Language Expansion Preservation
	Language and Literacy facilitators	Learning with and from others
Not Enough Time		

Nurturing Literacies

Book-Reading

Throughout the day, toddlers engage with printed materials, including books. The four toddlers in these homes frequently participate in book-related activities, such as reading and looking at books. While toddlers often look at books alone, reading is typically a social activity. Each of the four homes had Spanish, English, and/or bilingual

children's books, but the language used during book-related activities varied more by participant than by book or family. The toddler's level of attention during these activities influenced how long the reading lasted. All four mothers reported that reading aloud to their toddlers was an effective way to help them focus.

The mothers were interviewed about their reading habits with their toddlers. One mother reported reading with her toddler several times a week, while the others read at least once a week. When asked about their interactions while reading, four mothers shared their experiences. Two mothers talked about the pictures and story without asking questions, while another mother asked her child questions about the pictures. However, she noted that her child sometimes gets distracted and starts counting or playing on his tablet (C1).

A veces lo empieza a preguntar, “¿Dónde está este? ¿Dónde hay un gusanito? y lo empieza a buscar el gusanito. O, si no, le pregunto de otra cosa. Pero, también, a veces solamente se repite los números, empieza a decir los vocales. / Sometimes I start to ask him, "Where is this? Where is the worm?" and he starts looking for the worm. Or I ask him something else. But, also, sometimes he only repeats numbers, begins to name the vowels. (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 697–1521)

Gómez Family. As part of their nightly routine, Maricela and Kevin read together at least once a week. Although Kevin frequently reads alone throughout the day, reading with him is a challenge because he loses interest after five minutes and because he does not understand. “Es difícil, porque nada que entiende.” / It is hard because he doesn't understand anything (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 724-831). To keep him

engaged, she talks about the pictures and asks him questions from time to time.

“Conversamos no más. A sí, de vez en cuando tenemos tiempo, hago preguntas a él. En vez de cuándo.” / We just talk. From time to time, when we have time, I ask him questions. Sometimes (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 1986–2620). While Kevin enjoys enacting the scenarios illustrated in the pictures and loves to re-read his favorite book about dinosaurs., she shares that she uses different strategies to keep him engaged, but reiterates he is not technically reading, “[E]l exactamente leer, no. Si no que, me dices, ay, se cayó, esta sucio, está en la arena. Mas observador.” / Reading, he is not actually reading. Not exactly reading. What he does is says things like, It fell, it’s dirty, it’s in the sand. More observing and describing is what he does (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 1986–2620). While Maricela values the importance of reading, she acknowledges that she should make more time for it, including reading with Kevin. When asked what she hopes Kevin gains from reading together, she mentions that Mateo can improve his vocabulary and communication skills.

López Family. Anna tried to make time to read with Mateo and his younger sister Emily at least once a week, but sometimes she is not able to due to her work schedule.

“A veces cuando llego al trabajo, dice, enséñame mami. A veces cuando yo estoy cansada, no quiero.” / Sometimes when I get home from work, he says, teach me mother. Sometimes when I’m tired, I don’t want to. (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 1452–1749)

Despite occasional conflicts between Mateo and Emily, Anna finds it easier to read with them compared to her experience reading with her older children in Mexico.

...a veces llegan sus amiguitos, Le empiezan a decir, “No hagas caso su mama, vamos a jugar.” Le hacen así. Aquí, es un poco diferente. No hay nadie. Casi. Cuando yo lo empecé a leer, se empiezan a sentarse, lo escuchan bien, ponen atención. Ya cuando se aburren, se va. / ...sometimes his friends arrive and start saying to him, “Don't listen to your mother, let's go play.” They did this. Here, is a little different. There is no one. Almost. When I started to read, they started to sit down. They listen well. Pay attention. Then when they get bored, they leave.

(Code: Literacy Practices/Parents View on Reading, Excerpt Range: 1232–1885)

During their reading sessions, Mateo reads for 10 to 15 minutes and is kept engaged through Anna's questions about the book's pictures. “A veces lo empieza a preguntar, ‘¿Dónde está este? ¿Dónde hay un gusanito?’ Y lo empiezan a buscar el gusanito.” / Sometimes I start to ask him, “Where is this one? Where is there a little worm?” And they start looking for the little worm” (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 1887–2383).

The family has a variety of children's books in English and bilingual options, including books that Anna reads to them in Spanish. Anna believes reading is important for Mateo's language development, and considers it a fun activity for the family, except when Mateo's father visits the home. “Para que se empiecen a este aprender un poquito. Empiezan a aprender, empiezan a este a saber cómo se llaman los animalitos.” / So that they begin to learn a little. They begin to learn, they begin to know what the animals are called (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 573–1018).

Martínez Family. Silvia and Paul read books together at least once a week, but their sessions are brief, lasting only a few minutes. Paul's attention span is limited, but he

always asks to read with Silvia. She notes that he usually reads for about five minutes before getting bored. However, Silvia knows that Paul is listening because he tells his father about the book they read when he arrives home from work. When Silvia has a few extra minutes, she talks to Paul about the pictures in the book, raising her voice extra loud to keep him focused.

...enseña cosas y mirar juntos; Ah, yo sólo le enseñó su. Por ejemplo, así es. Hay una pelota, le digo, “Papi, mira, esto es una pelota” y entonces él va y trae su pelota porque tiene su pelota ahí. “Ay mamá, este sí.” / ...teach things and watch together; Ah, I just taught her. For example, that's right. There is a ball, I tell him, “Papi, look, this is a ball” and then he goes and brings his ball because he has his ball there. “Oh mother, this one is.” (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 930-3852)

Paul thinks he's being disciplined when Silvia raises her voice, so he pays closer attention.

Siempre usa una voz alta. Porque si no no parra o sino no me escucha o si no está haciendo algo otra cosa. “!Parra, niño!” [mother imitates yelling]. Es que, me tiene miedo. Hay que hacer porque sabe que no es castigado. / Always use a loud voice. Because if he doesn't stop or if he doesn't listen to me or if he isn't doing something else. “Stop child!” [mother imitates yelling]. It's just that he's afraid of me. You have to do it, because you know you are not punishing [him].” (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 22–361)

Paul has access to a wide variety of print materials at home, including bilingual children's books and ones in both English and Spanish. Additionally, there are print

materials from Sebastian's school available in the home. Despite her busy schedule, Silvia believes that reading is important and encourages others to read to Paul. She reads to him in Spanish, while Sebastian reads to Paul in English. Silvia shares that Paul has learned a lot of language from reading books. “Paul conocido todos los animalitos, por medio de libros. Paul nunca sabía cuál era un elefante. Usted a Paul dice, elefante, dice ‘¿Y este Paul, que es?’ Dice, ‘culebra.’ / Paul learned all the animal names through books. Paul never knew which one was an elephant. You ask him, to tell you, elephant, you’d say. “And this one, Paul, what is it?” He says “snake” (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 22–361).

González Family. Joshua enjoys reading books with his cousin, Pamela and older brother, Angel, multiple times a week in both English and Spanish. Pamela is learning English and likes to practice with them.

Entonces, Sebastian se va en su cuarto. Él [Joshua] se va también allí. Empiezan a decir este a leer. así hacen. Si habla, con Sebastian. “Como ella también quiera aprender inglés, Siempre empiezan hablar. Entonces en los 2 idiomas hablan ellos. Y cuando así cuando lleva los libros que hay dice mal, ay a él dice así. / So, Sebastian goes to her room, He [Joshua] goes there too. They start to read. She talks with Sebastian [in English]. She also wants to learn English, they always start talking in both languages. When they have the books and she mispronounces a word, he says it. (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 1736–2345)

Mom says that Joshua tries to read too [Joshua just listens when they are reading]. Sometimes he will make animal sounds, or he will repeat words.

When Angel is at school, Joshua looks at books while watching TV. With Mayra, Joshua reads for about 15 minutes, and she asks him questions about the book.

“Bueno, me trae el libro y dice, ‘Mama, enséñeme.’ Lea, el empieza al principio hasta al final. Yo le digo, así, todavía no pues lees, pero nada más dice los animales que lo conoces. Solamente habla del libro, no conversamos. / Well, he brings me the book and says, “Mother, show me.” He starts at the beginning to the end. I tell him to read but he only says the names of the animals that he knows.

We only talk about the book, we don’t converse. (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 930–3852)

They have multilingual exchanges where Mayra reads and asks questions in Spanish and Joshua responds in English. “Lo lea, entonces, yo le diga así, ‘¿Qué es ese? Que significa así un animal.’ Yo lo digo en español. Pero él lo que se dice en inglés. Atreves. Así hacemos. / Read it then, I tell him like this, “What is this? What is that? Which means an animal?” I say it in Spanish. But what he says is in English. Backwards. That’s how we do (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 942–1716).

Joshua has access to various children’s books in English, Spanish, and bilingual books, but his favorite books are workbooks and coloring books. After school, he and Angel like to look at books together. Mayra notes that their home language exchanges during book reading may seem "backwards," but it works for them.

La lectura, creo que es importante. Si, la sobrina no hace, leerá. Yo creo que sí. así voy a dar, así, comparta mi tiempo con ellos. Arrita no, que cuando ella hace aparte, entonces, ya voy a pasar mi tiempo con ellos. Que ellos sentir que mama, dice, que mama dice, Ella dice, “Ven conmigo,” y vayan con ella. / Reading, I

think is important. Yes, my niece reads to them. If the niece did not read, I would read. I believe that I share my time with them. Not now, but when she moves out, then I will spend my time with them. They feel she is like a mother and call her mother. She says, “Come with me,” and they go with her. (Code: Book-Reading, Excerpt Range: 4433–6045)

Variations and Similarities in Book-Reading in Cases One and Two. Daily activities involving books, such as book reading, are common and similar engagements in all four homes. The mothers note that the toddlers' level of attention during book reading influences the types of interactions used. During the day, all toddlers were observed to look at books independently. Although the toddlers frequently requested to be read to, the mothers found it challenging due to their busy schedules and lack of time.

Scripts. Mothers reported that they engage in interactive reading with their toddlers by discussing the story and asking questions about the pictures. This approach has been observed to effectively maintain the toddlers' attention and interest in the activity. In Case One, toddlers were read to in Spanish, while in Case Two, a combination of English, Spanish, and both languages were used during book-reading sessions. Furthermore, older siblings used teaching strategies, such as pointing out letters and correcting pronunciation.

Participants. The participants in book reading activities varied in the homes. In Case One, the mothers and sitters read to the toddlers during the day, while the López family father occasionally reads to Mateo, but it is stressful. In Case Two, the mothers reported that fathers, extended family, and older siblings read to the toddlers.

Purpose. All four mothers considered reading to their toddlers important for language development, with three viewing it as educational and Mayra seeing it as a fun activity.

Alphabet⁹ Practices

According to the data, all mothers reported helping their toddlers learn the alphabet, with a particular focus on vowels. They used a variety of methods, including print materials and digital resources. The mothers also emphasized the importance of learning vowels in preparing their toddlers for school. They provided examples of materials and techniques they used to teach their children English. To aid in their children's learning, the toddlers watched educational videos and programs and played educational games on their digital devices.

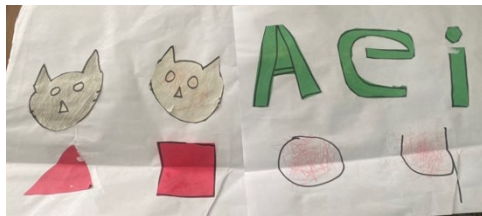


Figure 5.5 Print Resource in Toddler Home (Case Two)

In the Gómez home environment, Maricela makes materials for Kevin for learning, as illustrated in Figure 22. Like the other mothers, Maricela uses a tablet with alphabet songs and games available as literacy sources. These resources were made easily

⁹ Alphabet practices refer to any activity incorporating alphabet knowledge and/or concepts about print.

accessible to toddlers in both languages. “¿Su tableta a leer? Leer, leer, no. En lo que se escucha son abecedario inglés, español y todo eso, los números y los colores.” / His tablet to read? Read read, no. What he hears is the alphabet in English, Spanish and in addition, numbers, and colors” (Code: Alphabet Knowledge, Excerpt Range: 493–716).

Similar to Kevin, Mateo is learning the alphabet, at home and with the sitter. While the sitter is teaching Mateo vowels, Anna also shared that Mateo enjoys watching alphabet videos on YouTube and often repeats the letters and words he hears.

Estaba viendo los abecedarios. Estaba leyendo, Estaba repitiendo la que estaba viendo. Sí es un video. Sí le gusta el video. Si él siempre lo miro. Quiero que aprenda. Yo quiero que lo grave, que es lo que lo mira. Este lo repite el video. Es que a veces lo empieza a repetir, a repetir y a veces le queda en la cabeza. / He was looking at the alphabet. He was reading, He was repeating what he was watching. If it is a video. If he likes the video. Then he will always watches it. I want him to learn. I want him to remember what he looks at. He repeats the video. At times, he starts to repeat and repeat it and sometimes it sticks in his head [he learns]. (Code: Alphabet Knowledge, Excerpt Range: 2050–2480)

In the Martínez family, Sebastian takes an active role in Paul's reading development by encouraging him to use his finger while reading and teaching him the letters in the words. “A [el] uso su dedo. Para que, dije, “Paul, que es, que esta, ¿que esta letra?” Le digo. Si, le enseño letters [in English]. / He uses his finger. So, I say, “Paul, what is, what this, what [is] this letter?” I tell him. Yes, I teach him letters” (Code: Book-Reading/Alphabet Knowledge, Excerpt Range: 49–857).

In the González family, Mayra expressed interest in providing her son Joshua with a tablet to aid in his learning of school-related themes such as the alphabet. Mateo and Joshua each have an alphabet toy at home; however, Joshua's doesn't work currently because its battery is dead.

Por el momento, él no tiene su, cómo se llama, no tiene tableta. Ángel, sí. Pero, Joshua no tiene. Comparte con su hermano. Yo creo que sí, porque está chiquito, todavía. Que todavía no sabe buscar lo que uno lo pone, pues. Pero, como hablamos hace ratito. Si lo pone al abecedario, él lo va a aprender más, ¿no? / At the moment, he doesn't have, he doesn't have his, what's it called, he doesn't have a tablet. Angel, yes. But, Noah, doesn't have one. He shares with his brother. I think it's ok, because he is still small. He still doesn't know how to look for what play on it. But, as we discussed before. If you put it to the alphabet, he's going to learn it more, right? (Code: Digital Media/Alphabet Knowledge, Excerpt Range: 2659–3381)

In addition to book-reading and learning the alphabet, toddlers also engaged in emergent writing practices at home.

Variations and Similarities in Alphabet Practices in Cases One and Two.

Alphabet practices with the toddler were a part of the family routines. All mothers reported talking about and teaching letters with their toddlers at least monthly, while Anna shared that she does this daily with Mateo. These engagements were primarily in English; however, Maricela shared that Kevin listens to ABC songs in both languages on YouTube. Mateo and Joshua play alphabet games on the cellphone and tablet in English and Spanish. In Case 1, toddlers were engaging in alphabet practices with mothers at

home and with the sitter, while older siblings were primarily practicing with the toddlers in Case 2.

Emergent Writing Activities

Throughout the day, the toddlers engage in emergent writing activities such as coloring and scribbling. Maricela and Silvia mentioned that this practice requires some monitoring but does not stop them from participating. Maricela shares,

Una vez hizo travesuras de manchar todo lo que las paredes. Entonces, le dije, no más. Y no lo regresó a hacer. Ahora, cuál él escribe, trata de hacerlo. Él no está copiando, está practicando. Entonces, le compré una pizarra. / He once scribbled all over the walls. So, I told him no more. And he has not done it again. Now, when he writes, he tries to draw. He is not copying, he's practicing. So, I bought him a chalkboard. (Code: Emergent Writing, Excerpt Range: 0–1330)

All four toddlers have access to writing materials and can draw and color independently. Maricela recently purchased a whiteboard for Kevin, and Silvia thinks that Paul would like a chalkboard at home so he can see his work instead of drawing on her walls.

Mothers have observed that toddlers are more inclined to color and draw than read books. They tend to engage in these activities without much encouragement or assistance. Often, they approach their mothers with questions about the objects they see in their coloring books. While Kevin and Mateo spend their day with the sitters, they still manage to draw and write. However, Anna notes that Mateo seems to lack focus.

Mothers believe these emergent writing activities are beneficial for developing the

toddlers' math, literacy, and language skills, including recognizing shapes, colors, and animal names.

In the Martínez household, Sebastian is teaching Paul how to write and pronounce his letters. This is a simple task, Silvia shares, as Paul is attentive and keen on learning. “Es que le gusta estar rayando. Sebastián le enseña como escribirlos y a decirlos. Cuando lo quiere de buenas. / He likes to scribble. Sebastian teaches him how to write and say what it is. When he wants to do it” (Code: Emergent Writing, Excerpt Range: 0–1157). Joshua is especially interested in practicing writing, as Mayra shares,

Cuando le regalaron un libro así que dibujos, lo empiezan a pintar, empiezan a decir, “¿Cómo se llame?” Me preguntan, “¿Cómo se llama?” Pero a veces como yo no sé cómo se llaman los dibujos. / When they gave him a book, that [has] drawings, they start painting it, they start saying, “What is it called?” They ask me, “What is it called?” But sometimes, like, I don't know what the names of the pictures. (Code: Emergent Writing, Excerpt Range: 1021–1514)

Further, during the four home visits, Joshua always had a pencil and notebook with him. When probed about his practices, Mayra reveals that Joshua loves drawing and uses these materials to practice his writing and complete his “homework.” Further, she believes these emergent writing skills will help him prepare for school.

“Porque ya va a los años de la escuela. O, por ejemplo, más así, yo creo que enseña más hacer sus dibujos. Porque él se va en prekínder. Agarrar bien, como agarrar hace ese a dibujar.” / Because the school years are coming. Or for example, more like, I think to teach more how to draw his pictures. Because he's

going into pre-kindergarten. To hold correctly. How to hold it to draw. (Code: Emergent Writing, Excerpt Range: 1853–2041)

Variations and Similarities in Emergent Writing Practices in Cases One and Two

Scripts. In Case One, toddlers participate in emergent writing activities in Spanish, while in Case Two, they engage in activities in both English and Spanish. The language used is determined by the participants and the materials. Mothers answer questions, name items, and sometimes draw pictures during these activities while the toddlers work independently.

Purpose. Mothers in Case One see coloring and drawing activities as having an educational purpose, while mothers in Case Two view them as fun. This difference can be more related to their views on learning and development. Overall, mothers share no noticeable difference in how these activities are facilitated in the toddlers' homes. All four toddlers are motivated and engage independently in these activities, and mothers believe these activities are essential for their toddlers' readiness for school.

Participants. Most toddlers colored and scribbled by themselves with assistance from mothers. In Case 2, older siblings were teaching the toddlers to draw letters, while toddlers in Case 1 practiced writing with sitters during the day.

The four toddlers all engage in early literacy practices associated with school readiness and future literacy skills. Activities such as storybook reading and those incorporating learning alphabet knowledge and emergent writing occur in the toddlers' daily routines. In the next section, the toddlers' early language practices will highlight the multilingual environment in which these four toddlers are raised.

Nurturing Languages

Multilingual Practices

In this study, all the toddlers are exposed to Spanish regularly, but their exposure to English differs in terms of source, amount, and delivery. The four toddlers have a diverse range of linguistic experiences in their daily routines. They participate in various activities that present them with opportunities to learn multiple languages alongside their family and extended family members. They engage in conversations with family members, play with others, assist with chores, partake in family meals, and watch a variety of programs on digital media. Using digital media, language is accessible, and toddlers are beginning to learn English. These multimodal experiences allow toddlers to develop their home language while simultaneously learning English before starting school. The mothers have expressed their desire for their children to learn English while continuing to develop their home language, Spanish.

This next section will share two primary language practices, learning English and language maintenance. Additionally, the home language opportunities, including similarities and differences between the four home environments and two Cases, will be discussed.

Learning English. “Yo creo que, si a uno le hablan el inglés, el así, aprende. Mas con su hermano, y en el más cercano, y en la tele, también.” / I believe that, if someone speaks English to you, he learns. More with his brother, his closest one, and watching TV [television] too (Code: Learning English, Excerpt Range: 1341–1489).

The mothers in this study all believed that learning through listening was effective in helping their toddlers learn languages. The language practices used to promote their

toddlers' bilingual development are based on this perspective. To support their toddler's English language acquisition, digital media tools were one source of language input for toddlers. Families also incorporated intentional and natural exposures to English and Spanish in their multilingual home environment. While an auditory modality of learning was most frequently reported, the toddlers also experienced language practices involving multiple modalities simultaneously to support their development. In addition, these practices often involved both English and Spanish.

Listening to Others. Passive acts of listening in natural language interactions with others provide opportunities for learning languages for the four toddlers. Although Spanish is the only spoken language in Kevin and Mateo's home, they hear English in different modalities within and outside this environment. On the other hand, Spanish and English are spoken in the homes of Paul and Joshua. As emergent bilinguals, Sebastian and Angel use Spanish and English in their daily activities at home. Further, Paul and Joshua are exposed to English in interactions with extended family members and neighbors in their homes. Given these home language environments, language practices vary as mothers support their toddlers' bilingual development.

On a weekly basis, Maricela and Kevin visit environments where English is the primary language. The language practice of listening to others to learn English was stimulated by the home language environment of primarily Spanish, as Maricela explains. "Aquí no hay inglés. Va a ir a aprender allá porque no sabe NADA." / There is no English here. He's going to learn there because he doesn't know ANYTHING (Code: Learning English, Excerpt Range: 2219–2644). She shares multiple examples of

community outings in which Kevin engages in multilingual practices, acclimating to the language and culture of the school by listening to others:

“[E]ste día estábamos con el Halloween. Es para socializarse especialmente, más o menos conocer a lo que él va a ir después que lo de la escuela. para que más o menos vaya cómo ambientándose a lo que les toca.” / [T]his day we were at the Halloween [festival], it is to socialize especially, more or less to know what he is going to experience at school... so that more or less so he can start acclimating to what he will experience. (Code: Learn a Little, Excerpt Range: 6291–8183)

Also, Kevin and Mateo are exposed to English in the afternoons when the sitter's older children return from school. Though this study did not observe the toddlers in this environment, the two mothers shared examples of these practices.

Practices associated with learning English were less frequent and emphasized by the mothers in Case Two compared to those in Case One. This is likely because toddlers have daily exposure to Spanish and English within their homes with their older siblings in Case Two. The focus of language practices was aimed at exposing toddlers to English, enabling them to listen and learn, and preparing them for school.

Digital Mediated Language Events. The mothers provided opportunities for their toddlers to engage with English through multimodal experiences with digital tools such as tablets, smartphones, and television. Watching YouTube videos and cartoons on the television (1 C1, 2 C2), tablet (2 C1, 2 C2), and cell phone (2 C1, 2 C2) was cited as a primary source of essential language learning by all mothers.

In the Gómez home, Maricela shares several examples of how digital media is used in the home to support Kevin's English language development. For instance, Kevin

watches his favorite YouTube videos in English in the evenings. Additionally, Maricela and Kevin watch an hour of television together before going to bed. Maricela describes this activity as a daily space for them to learn English. “Pues, le pongo Discovery Kids. Solo lo que hemos visto. Y esta solo en inglés. Hay pues quedamos en las nubes y le vamos.” / Well, I put on Discovery Kids. This is only what we’ve watched. And it's only in English. So we stay in the clouds and we go. [We don’t understand but we try] (Code: Digital Media, Excerpt Range: 1070–1317).

Activities using digital media are a primary routine in the López home, seen as sources of entertainment and learning. While they do not have a television, Mateo and his younger sister, Emily, watch YouTube videos and cartoons and play games on their father’s tablet and cell phone. Anna shares, “Lo miran bastante eso / they watch that a lot” (Code: Digital Media, Excerpt Range: 1213–1523). Anna shares that she uses digital media as the primary source for exposing Mateo to English. “Bueno, a veces sí les muestra vídeos así en mi tableta, para que aprenda un poquito para que lo entiende. Los programas están en inglés y los intentamos.” / Well, sometimes I show them videos on my tablet, so that he learns a little bit so that he understands. The programs are in English, and we try them (Code: Learning English, Excerpt Range: 1626–2004). Even when Anna is engaged in housework or cooking, she shares that she also stays actively engaged with Mateo and converses with him in Spanish. She asks him what he is watching and listening to on the Tablet. “Si siempre practica con él. Le empieza a preguntar qué es lo que mira. / I always practice with him. I start to ask him what it is that he watches” (Code: Excerpt Range: 2483–2972).

In the Martínez home, various forms of digital media are incorporated into Paul's daily activities. During the day, he watches cartoons, (like *Peppa Pig* and *Pocoyo*) in English on the family television. YouTube videos are another source of English (Code: Digital Media, Excerpt Range: 1429–1597). In a conversation with Sebastian, he shares how he is teaching Paul to play his video games.

Otra es jugando el PlayStation. A veces, le dejo a jugar. Él lo tiene que hacer. Él tiene que aprender a jugar. Yo lo estoy enseñando como jugar así. Esta en ingles [talking and teaching]. Él tome un poco tiempo para aprender. Así de, yo tengo de *Minecraft*. Tengo de Lego. No me acuerdo del otro porque él otra como. El otro es como que tiene muchas letras. Oh, *GT5* [remembering the name of the game]. Es de carros así. Que tú te manejas así. No hay idioma. / Another is playing PlayStation. Sometimes, I let him play. He has to do it. He has to learn to play. That's how I'm teaching him how to play. It is in English [talking and teaching]. He takes a little while to learn. Like, I have *Minecraft*. I have Lego. I don't remember the other one because it is... The other one is like it has a lot of letters. Oh, *GT5* [remembering the name of the game]. It's cars, like. That you drive, like. There is no language. (Code: Learning English, Excerpt Range: 3002–3949)

Paul also likes to use his mother's cell phone to play games (Code: Learning English, Excerpt Range: 5313–5962). These games are in English, exposing him to the language and written language.

In the González home, digital media practices include watching educational programs and movies on the television, YouTube videos on the tablet and cellphone, and learning applications on Sebastian's school computer. The family watches educational

programs like *Sesame Street* on television. These programs are in English with Spanish subtitles. Though Mayra is unfamiliar with the names of the programs, she puts them on during the day so Joshua can learn English. “No sé. Yo solo pongo, pero no sé. El sí, sabe el nombre. Yo no. Casi, yo lo pongo para mis niños.” / I don't know. I only turn it on, but I don't know. He knows the name. I don't. I just put it on for the children (Code: Learning English, Excerpt Range: 652–882).

Joshua also watches YouTube videos on their cellphone with Sebastian after school. “Si están viendo algo bueno ahí. Pues que la hacía, aprende un poquito más el inglés. Cuando sale va a saber más en inglés.” / Yes, if they are watching something good there. Well, he learns a little more English. When he goes [to school] he will know more English (Code: Learning English, Excerpt Range: 2033–2488).

This routine activity is also in English and is another example of how the family is using digital media in their language practices to support the toddlers' English language development. Not only do the toddlers benefit from these activities, but the four mothers shared how they themselves benefit from these language-learning engagements with digital media as well.

Watching videos and programs on the television, tablet, and telephone provides the four toddlers with language learning opportunities throughout the day. The multimodal practices with digital media allow them to transverse both English and Spanish throughout these engagements. While they watch and listen to programs in English, their surrounding environment includes Spanish-language conversations, comments, and questions. These opportunities go beyond what most would consider typical language and literacy experiences. Rather, the four toddlers are engaged in higher-

level cognitive practices within the home language and literacy environment (Bialystock, Hawrylewicz, Grundy, & Chung-Fat-Yim, 2022)

Variations and Similarities in Digital Mediated Language Events in Cases One and Two

Digital-mediated language practices were similar across the two Cases, with all four toddlers engaging with digital media for learning languages, particularly for learning English. Educational television programs, children's cartoons, and videos on YouTube were watched by all families. There were several variations in Cases given that the López family does not own a television, and Joshua does not interact with digital media while his older sibling is in school. In addition, all mothers shared that toddlers use digital media for entertainment and learning purposes.

Language Expansion and Preservation

Mothers reported that Spanish is spoken in gatherings with family and friends, church services, and visits with neighbors. All toddlers in this study reside in a home environment where Spanish is heard and spoken only (2 C1) or is the dominant language (2 C2). As such, language practices in Spanish are included in family routines, such as family meals, book reading, and other learning activities, in the community and facilitated through digital media experiences. While storytelling was not a frequent activity reported, family members communicate with the toddlers throughout the day and find this practice very important. Family relationships play a significant role in shaping and modifying children's biliteracy development (Reyes, 2012). Additionally, studies have shown that verbal exchanges during mealtime, including narratives and explanations, can impact children's vocabulary skills (Snow and Beals, 2006). As such,

these language-rich daily practices with family members provide continued exposure to Spanish and support the toddlers home language development.

Given the mothers' language backgrounds, using Spanish with toddlers is paramount to their daily lives. While not explicitly stated by the mothers in Case One, Silvia and Mayra emphasize that they expect the toddlers and older siblings to speak Spanish with them in the home. This expectation has been found in research with other Spanish-speaking families residing in environments where their home language is not the dominant language. The mothers provide examples of language opportunities in the homes that provide the toddlers with diverse linguistic models such as questions, conversations, jokes, and hypothetical and pretend talk, which stimulate the toddlers' continued language development.

In the Gómez home, Kevin spends all his time with Mayra and their two roommates when he is not with the sitter on weekdays. On Saturdays, he goes to work with them. As he spends most of his time with adults, the language practices in Spanish that Kevin experiences are diverse and complex. While their conversations range in topics, Maricela also provides examples of the complexity of language in their conversations. In the photo-elicitation interview, Maricela describes Mateo's conversation with the four of them while they are eating out.

Pues, allí está, como siempre, con sus cosas, así como hablar a hablarnos. O contamos algo de aquí a comer. Mas chistoso, por lo visto, pero me está diciendo que le pueda marcar si vamos a trabajar mañana. Porque cuando estemos en el trabajo por lo general lleva todos los dinosaurios, llevas las palas y los carros y ahí está jugando afuera. Y así a ver que tal esta mañana. / Well, there he is, as

always, with his things, yes, as well as talking to us or talking about something here to eat. Funnier though, apparently, he's telling me that I can call him if we go to work tomorrow. Because when we're at work, he usually takes all the dinosaurs, takes the shovels and the cars, and he plays outside. So we'll see how it goes this morning. (Code: Language Practices, Excerpt Range: 4079–5251)

She also shares that Mateo is using language in Spanish that she did not explicitly teach him, such as his use of different vocabulary words that he has learned from his sitter, who is from Colombia, South America. Another example of decontextualized linguistic exchanges is a conversation Anna shares of her informing Mateo of an upcoming doctor's appointment: “Si, de la otra vez, Yo les dije antes. Nos vamos a ir al hospital la otra semana y me dice, ‘Mami, ¿vamos a ir en la cita mañana?’ Así empieza a preguntarme hasta que llega el día.” / Yes, the other time, I told him before. That we're going to the hospital the next week and he's like, “Mommy, are we going to go to the appointment tomorrow?” Like, he starts asking me until the day comes [the day of the appointment] (Code: Language Practices, Excerpt Range: 2385–2654).

Family meals also provide a language-rich space for toddlers.

Sí, a veces todos estamos en la mesa comiendo y Sebastián está diciendo lo que toca en la escuela y yo lo que tengo que hacer mañana, Raúl lo que le paso en el trabajo, Paul, porque le pegue todo el día. Está a distraerlo. / Yes, sometimes we are all at the table eating and Sebastian shares what is going on at school, and I'm saying what I have to do tomorrow, Raul [Mr. Martínez], what is happening at work, Paul, because I hit him all day. It's to distract him. (Code: Language Practices, Excerpt Range: 2264–2615)

As such, toddlers are learning English as they continue to develop their Spanish language skills.

Language and Literacy Facilitators

Mothers described varying levels of engagement with their toddlers in language and literacy practices in the home. While all mothers read with toddlers, toddlers read and looked at books more frequently alone or with others. Mothers shared that they engaged in language practices with toddlers in Spanish throughout their daily activities. All mothers interacted with their toddlers, particularly in activities related to their child's care. In reflecting on the literacy practices, two mothers indicated that they monitored their toddlers' activities from a distance, not directly engaging in the activity but watching from a distance and often commenting on the engagement.

Extended Family. During the interviews, mothers expressed the impact of other adults on their toddler's language and literacy development. These adults included fathers, siblings, babysitters, and other family members. The level and type of support provided varied among the mentioned individuals. Maricela and Anna specifically mentioned their toddler's progress in learning English, and other school readiness skills such as learning the alphabet during their time with the babysitter.

La niñera si lo hace todos los días. Practiquen los vocales. Y dejan allí sus dibujos. Cuando llegan al siguiente día, lo vuelve a sacar la señora, y lo vuelve a colgar y trabajar. Algunos niños si ponen atención, y algunos no. Eso es que dice la señora. Mateo no pone atención. / The babysitter does it every day. Practice vowels. And they leave their drawings there. When they arrive the next day, she takes them out again, and hangs them up again and works again. Some children

pay attention, and some don't. That's what the sitter says. Matthew does not pay attention. (Code: Literacy Practices, Excerpt Range: 518–938)

On the other hand, Mayra described how Pamela, her young cousin, supports Paul's early literacy skills by reading with him in English. "Sí, la sobrina lo hace [lea], no hago. Ella dice, 'Ven conmigo,' y vayan con ella. Cuando lleva los libros Siempre empiezan hablar. Entonces en los dos idiomas hablan ellos." / Yes, the niece does it [read], I don't. She says, "Come with me," and they go with her. When she carries the books. They always start talking. They speak in the two languages (Code: Extended Family, Excerpt Range: 4433–6045).

Older siblings. Older siblings played a key role in the daily routines of the families and contributed to the toddlers' development. Specifically, Paul and Joshua are emergent bilinguals with several years (range: 2–3) of language experience in an English-only academic setting. According to Silvia, Sebastian translates for her when needed when they go shopping, while Mayra shares that Angel is still learning English. In the home setting, the older siblings switch between English and Spanish in the daily activities with the toddlers. This complex language practice provides a rich model for toddlers and supports their bilingual development (Garcia, 2009). In addition to supporting their bilingual development, mothers describe how the siblings read with the toddlers, help with school readiness, and support other developmental skills.

Older siblings are teaching the toddlers skills like how to count, in the Martínez home, "Él está contando con su hermano. Porque todos los días estamos en eso. Cuando esta su hermano. No todos los días, pero sí más o menos." / He counts with his brother. Because we are in this every day. When his brother is here. Not every day, but more or

less (Code: Older Sibling, Excerpt Range: 22–361) and modeling the role and activities associated with being a student, like in the González home: “Sí, cuando él llega y su hermano empieza así hacer su tarea. Como él quiere hacer, entonces.” / Yes, when he arrives, and his brother starts doing his homework. Like, he wants to do it, as well.

(Code: Older Sibling, Excerpt Range: 24–162). Silvia and Mayra also talked about their familiarity with the school routine from their experiences with the older siblings and have begun to prepare Paul and Joshua for the early morning wake-up and bus stop routines.

Not Enough Time

The mothers are kept busy with multiple responsibilities related to taking care of the home and family and work responsibilities. The four mothers repeatedly reported challenges with engaging in daily activities related to language and literacy practices with their toddlers. All four caregivers shared that they did not have enough time in the day to do the things they wanted or felt they should do with their toddlers. Mothers attributed their lack of time to specific circumstances like work demands. For example, Anna shares that she is unable to read with Mateo as much as she would like, “Por mi trabajo, no tengo tiempo, no tengo tiempo a leer” / Because of my work, I don't have time, I don't have time to read (Code: Time, Excerpt Range: 518–938). While Maricela shared that time was all that was keeping her from preparing Kevin for school like she wanted, “Digamos que, el tiempo. Tengo que trabajar. Creo que, de momento, solo el tiempo.” / Let's say, time. I have to work. I think, for the moment, just time (Code: Time, Excerpt Range: 3267–3334). Mayra and Silvia also mention that time is a barrier to supporting their toddlers' school readiness skills. When asked if she had taken any English classes,

Mayra shares: “Si quisiera, pero no, no veo el tiempo” / I would like to, but I do not have the time.

All mothers shared that time was a significant factor due to working long hours or multiple jobs, followed by the language barriers they experienced given their recent immigration to the United States. Similar to findings in other qualitative studies (e.g., Baird et al., 2015; Coba-Rodriquez et al., 2020; Perry et al., 2008; Sawyer et al., 2016), this study highlights the mothers’ resourcefulness and finds multiple rich languages and literacy practices in the home setting. Despite facing adversity, mothers were involved in their toddler’s learning. They found daycare settings that provided academic preparation reflecting on these resources and practices they integrate into their family’s day-to-day activities. They also emphasized the importance of preparing their children for kindergarten and the importance of their own education (Burgess et al., 2002; Cycyk & Hammer, 2019).

Chapter Summary

Similarities were most evident in the practices of toddlers with an older sibling in the home. The only difference noted between the two cases were that toddlers in Case Two had more implicit language opportunities. As older siblings engage in language learning activities at home themselves, toddlers are experiencing these engagements alongside learning at their own levels. Further, mothers with older children in the home reported that their toddlers engaged in more formal book-reading engagements with the older sibling than were reported with the parents.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore the activities and routines that may contribute to or affect early language and literacy skills of Spanish-speaking toddlers prior to school enrollment. Guided by the following questions, the home language and literacy environment of two toddlers without an older sibling (Case One) and two with older siblings (Case Two) residing in home settings provided further information on how families facilitate and support the toddlers' early language and literacy development within their ecocultural context.

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the daily activities/routines of Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?
 - a. To what extent do these daily activities/routines vary in families with and without an older sibling?
 - b. How do the features of these daily activities/routines vary in families with and without an older sibling?
2. How does the language and literacy environment of Spanish-speaking toddlers vary prior to school enrollment?
3. What are the language and literacy practices experienced by Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?
 - a. To what extent do these language and literacy practices vary in families with and without an older sibling?

- b. How do the features of these language and literacy practices vary in families with and without an older sibling?

The following discussion addresses my findings through the lens of home language and literacy environments applied to early language and literacy practices of Spanish-speaking families. Further, using activity as the unit of analysis, the daily activities and routines of the four toddlers will be applied to understand the role of older siblings, as well as family cultural values and beliefs, on early bilingual language development (Weisner, 1984). Vygotsky's sociocultural theory (1978) and activity theory (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Rogoff et al., 1993) served as the theoretical framework for this study and the data analysis. Implications for early childhood and speech-language pathology fields of practice are presented in relation to supporting early language and emergent literacy development in Spanish-speaking homes through culturally and linguistically responsive practices. This chapter concludes with study limitations and suggestions for future research.

Summary of Study

Given the growing diversity in the southeastern United States, this thesis aimed to gain a nuanced perspective of Spanish-speaking toddlers' home environment before starting formal education in an English-only school setting. More specifically, this study explored the family routines and practices, and early language and literacy practices, in the home of four toddlers. Family activities as well as language and literacy practices were surveyed across the five features of activity settings to better understand the role older siblings play in the home environment. Three main findings emerged from this comparative case study.

- First, the families included in this study incorporated a variety of activities and practices into their daily lives, including digital-mediated interactions, to foster their toddler's development.
- Second, their cultural values and beliefs shaped the routines and events, including formal and informal language and literacy practices, that supported their toddler to enter school and be ready to learn.
- Third, there were slight differences in the activities and practices involving older siblings that nurtured the toddlers' multilingual and biliteracy development compared to toddlers who did not have older siblings.

The findings suggest that understanding family routines and practices provides crucial insight into the malleable resources culturally and linguistically diverse families use to support their toddlers' development. Using activity settings as a unit of analysis also potentially provides an ecologically valid method for understanding the cultural values and beliefs of families that influence the integration of these resources and the roles of all family members in these activities and practices. Of the five focal areas that were used in the analysis, I found that these areas could be further organized into three important categories: having fun, caring for the home, and toddler preparation.

Families Integrate an Array of Routines and Practices

In this study, the toddlers had access to language and literacy materials, such as children's books, and participated in learning activities such as storybook reading. They were also exposed to pre-literacy knowledge, including the alphabet, and engaged in pre-emergent writing and other pre-academic skills. These findings align with previous research on the home language and literacy environment of Spanish-speaking families

(Tomopoulos et al., 2006; Wood et al., 2018), including those of young children (Sawyer et al., 2016; Trainin et al., 2017). Contrarily, storytelling and narrating stories to the toddlers were not routine practices for the four families. Neither family was visiting local libraries. This finding counters the findings in other studies with Latino families, as storytelling is frequently documented in the home setting of families. This study's small sample size accentuates the contextual influence of digital media and how this transcultural resource, with its embedded linguistic richness and stimulating platform, is intertwined in the ecocultural context of activities in the homes of these toddlers. Further, findings highlight how digital media is nested into daily family activities, potentially disturbing more traditional cultural practices, such as storytelling, a well-documented practice in Latino households (Arzubiaga et al. 2002; Delgado-Gaitán, 1994; Reese, 2012).

While learning English was a primary focus for the mothers in Case One, the mothers in Case Two emphasized their toddlers' independence associated with school readiness skills (Calzada et al., 2013; Coba-Rodriguez & Jarrett, 2022; Paredes et al., 2018). Variation in the mothers' goals may likely be attributed to the home language environment, specifically the bilingual language exposure provided by the older siblings (Kibler, Palacios et al., 2020; Palacios, Kibler, Yoder, Baird, & Bergey, 2016; Song et al., 2011). Family demographics, immigration history, work schedules, and language access were key factors contributing to the daily activities in the four homes. Therefore, future studies with Spanish-speaking families should take these factors into consideration to better understand the comprehensive nature of these activities and the motivations behind these interactions.

Engaging in play on digital media has recently been documented in cross-cultural research on children's home environments (Chaudron, 2015; Huber et al., 2018; Kibler, Palacios et al., 2016; Purcell-Gates, 2013). In this study, mothers viewed digital media use as an activity of entertainment as well as a learning activity. While previous research has provided information on these practices (Cycyk & Anda, 2021; Zimmerman et al., 2009), the present study further details how families use digital media to support toddlers' development. Since families were not explicitly questioned about their hour-by-hour usage or asked to elaborate on details, this study can only speculate about this behavior based on the mothers' conversations during data collection. Despite research findings and medical recommendations indicating that digital media has a negative impact on children's overall development (Council on Communications and Media, 2013), the mothers in this study reported using digital media tools to promote their toddlers' development, including their school readiness, English language, and early literacy skills.

Future exploration of family practices integrating digital media is warranted to fully understand the benefits for toddlers' development, specifically their bilingual and biliteracy skills. Further, enrichment programs supporting language and literacy practices with families from diverse backgrounds should consider how families are already using these familiar transcultural sources in homes. This is especially essential for single-parent families with full-time employment who are looking for ways to support their toddler's development despite their time limitations. Incorporating culturally sensitive language and literacy-based applications (apps) via digital media into an enrichment program could supplement the home language and literacy environment. Additionally, bilingual

platforms could provide comprehensive input in both areas to support the development of bilingualism and biliteracy in multilingual families.

Influential Factors/Variables

I aimed to document early language and literacy environments, including the daily practices of families as they engaged their toddlers. Using the activity setting model, the five features of the practices were explored. Previous research using features of activities as the unit of analysis specifically and studies exploring family cultural values and beliefs in general have documented the influence of these cultural beliefs on family practices in the home environment (Cycyk & Hammer, 2020; Farver, 1999; Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993). Such beliefs, like *familismo*, *educación*, or *bien educado*, and *respeto*, were three primary cultural beliefs mothers reflected on and are documented in other studies on Spanish-speaking families' child-rearing practices in the home setting. In this study, while mothers emphasized these childrearing beliefs and values, they also reflected on their toddlers' readiness for learning and their goal of providing toddlers with a foundation, or "a little," in preparation for school. While these values may likely be more prominently mentioned by the four mothers because of the survey questions or topics in the interviews, they highlight how the goal of an activity aligns with family cultural values and beliefs. If mothers aim to provide their toddlers with exposure to knowledge or skills rather than directly facilitating them, asking mothers to engage in pre-literacy practices as part of an intervention or enrichment program will likely result in different outcomes. This finding reinforces the need for a better understanding of the underlying goals of activities to ensure families are supported as it aligns with their cultural background (Davis et al., 2016; Castro et al., 2012).

Toddlers in this study engage with print materials throughout their day. While mothers reported that they engaged in book reading and other pre-literacy practices with toddlers at home, the toddler's interest in being read to fostered engagement. These reports were consistent with works by Farver et al. (2006), showing that a mother's own interest and involvement in reading to her child is motivated by the child's interest in being read to. Given what we know about mothers' views on reading and child readiness, it is important to consider how parents' views may impact their participation and carryover in early literacy interventions using book-reading or other literacy practices. Further, more structured early literacy questionnaires of home language and literacy environments and practices will likely not capture the ecological and cultural features shaping activities aimed at supporting early learning skills (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993) in families from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

Nurturing Bilingualism and Biliteracy across Cases

One of the primary goals of this study was to explore the influence of older siblings on the daily activities and routines in the homes of toddlers prior to school enrollment. A comparative case study design was selected to highlight the similarities and differences in these activities, particularly the early language and literacy practices the four families engage in at home. Two features in this study warrant attention: (1) fostering of knowledge and (2) modeling of skills by the older siblings. Older siblings play an important role in the home setting of Spanish-speaking families (e.g., Valdés, 1996). From fostering school readiness skills and language exposure to modeling higher cognitive skills like translanguaging, older siblings have a dynamic and unique influence on the home setting and younger siblings (Cycyk & Hammer, 2019; Reynolds &

Orellana, 2015; Song et al., 2011). Similar to other research findings (Cycyk & Hammer, 2019), the older sibling's experiences, such as their multilingual language skills, school experiences, and access to resources such as library books, textbooks, and homework, acted as learning resources for the younger sibling (Kibler, Paulick, et al., 2020; Kibler, Palacios et al., 2016; Segal et al., 2017; Volk, 2017).

In addition, older siblings were just as likely as mothers to read to toddlers and teach them letters, numbers, colors, and other school-readiness skills, even though previous research with Spanish-speaking children indicated that pre-academic skills were not typically viewed as important in toddlerhood and that adults rarely engaged in such activities (e.g., Farver, Xu, Lonigan, et al., 2013; Reese & Gallimore, 2000). As such, these findings suggest that the older siblings in this study provided an opportunity within the ecocultural context that these children live in. Older siblings serve as powerful resources in Spanish-speaking homes (Kibler et al., 2016), providing toddlers with unique language and educational benefits (Gutiérrez and Arzubiaga, 2012).

Activity Settings as a Unit of Analysis

This research aimed to operationalize cultural variables using the five activity-setting features. The study sheds light on potential areas for collaboration and growth in the practices carried out by parents with their toddlers at home before they start school. In these four homes, mothers shared how they engaged with toddlers and promoted their development and readiness for school. Recognizing and valuing authentic practices aligned with the family's background at home offers insight into the cultural context in the home setting of the families. These malleable spaces may also serve as opportunities to incorporate language and literacy learning best practices, enhancing their toddler's

academic performance. For instance, as mothers move through their daily routines, drawing the toddler's attention to the multiple sources of print found in the home is just one potential practice that can be integrated or increased in the home environment. Facilitation of such practice in the home language supports the toddler's biliteracy and bilingual development. In another example, while toddlers engage with digital media, learning language together provides multiple opportunities for further supporting the toddler's language and literacy skills. For example, as toddlers watch television, adding closed captioning to the screen, in either Spanish or English, supplements the auditory and visual modality in this practice by adding written language. In tandem with families, setting up small, agreeable shifts and additions to the already established routines will only strengthen the toddlers' readiness for school. Further, such collaboration helps maintain and strengthen the families' cultural perspectives, values, and expectations for their toddler's development while providing support for their parenting efforts.

Implications

The findings of this study have several implications that may be significant. This study further unpacks engagements and opportunities that Spanish-speaking families living in the southeastern United States can utilize for language and literacy development that both support the cultural values and beliefs held by such families living in the dominant non-Spanish speaking ecocultural contexts. This study contributes to the fields of early education and speech-language pathology as it highlights the diversity of home activities toddlers experience prior to starting school using an activity-based lens. The study addresses the gap in the research about the home environment of Spanish-speaking toddlers prior to starting school. Further, this study can contribute to planning future

literacy enrichment programs aimed at Spanish-speaking toddlers before school enrollment.

Early childhood professionals, including speech-language pathologists, can facilitate early language and literacy development through enrichment programs aimed at enhancing the already established parent-child interactions embedded in the families' daily activities and routines in accordance with their cultural values. As a modifiable factor, however, parents play a significant role in shaping children's early language and literacy development through practices such as storybook reading, conversations, access to print materials, and parental attitudes. For all families engaged in early language and literacy practices, diverse resources are available to toddlers in home settings where they can actively engage with these resources with others, and bilingualism and biliteracy are supported, according to the findings of the present study. Thus, within the homes of toddlers with and without an older sibling, interactions during various activities, particularly toddler preparation and play, are variable. Spanish-speaking families tend to integrate a variety of practices aligned with their cultural background and place a high value on academic preparation. This includes the accessibility of print materials for toddlers and the variable literacy practices in the homes of toddlers with older siblings, particularly the incorporation of digital media into daily learning activities.

Contributions

Most of the research on Latino children's early home environments is correlational, based on samples of convenience, and more importantly not longitudinal. Grounded in sociocultural theory, this study approached the home environment from a strengths-based foundation, seeking knowledge of the toddler within the nested cultural

context of each family. This study contributes to the research on the home environment and daily practices of Spanish-speaking families, as it applies to language and literacy practices. Consistent with previous findings, the Spanish-speaking families in this study valued their toddlers' academic education and engaged in learning activities in their daily routines that aimed to support their children's school readiness skills (Coba-Rodriguez, 2020; Durand, 2010). Learning tools were accessible, and families utilized home resources, such as digital media and community resources to support the toddlers' development. Extended family and sitters contributed to the resources available to toddlers. In this study, older siblings played a powerful role in the home setting, providing access to school-related knowledge and experiences that were unique to the toddlers in Case Two. Their developing expertise in languages allowed a natural exposure to biliteracy and bilingual interactions, further preparing the toddlers for school.

Lastly, sociocultural and ecocultural theories provided a theoretical lens to apply the selected measures, the analysis of photo-elicitation interviews with the mothers, and the malleable features that can be explored with additional families. Findings exemplify how using an activity setting model as a unit of analysis allows an expansive understanding of family practices related to the motivations and goals of families as they are nested in their cultural beliefs and values. This study emphasizes the significance of this knowledge for professionals working in early childhood fields of practice.

Limitations

Several limitations require attention. First, while the results add to the literature, the findings cannot be generalized given that the sample in this study was small and unique in terms of the demographic characteristics of the families. Spanish-speaking

families represent a heterogeneous population with unique social dimensions. The origin of participant families represented three Latin American countries: Mexico, Honduras, and Guatemala. Latinos in the United States represent families and children from numerous South and Central American countries and are distinctly different from families that do not immigrate out of Latin America. Early language and learning experiences have also been found to vary among children who share ethnic and racial backgrounds (e.g., Heath, 1983). A larger sample of Spanish-speaking families in different regions of the state would improve the reliability of the findings reported here.

Second, this study did not include direct observations of toddlers' engagement in activities, including language and literacy practices. Despite completing interviews in the home setting and eliciting photographs of activities from parents, only cursory observations of the toddler's activity settings were made. Although steps were taken to reduce the bias of mothers when reporting on the home activities and language and literacy practices, it is possible that mothers tailored some responses to match what they deemed to be socially acceptable responses. Moreover, mothers may have had difficulty accurately recalling all the characteristics of their children's activities. Only through observation of young children's daily activities can these findings be assessed as they pertain to engagements and communications that occur during children's activities.

Third, the toddlers' and older siblings' language and literacy skills were not measured. This information would have shed additional light on the early language and literacy home practices. Data for the home language and literacy environment were collected via the EL-EFI and the BiRDI-HEQ. While designed for Spanish-speaking

families and piloted in the region, the BiRDI-HEQ continues to require more work in cross-cultural validity for use across culturally different Spanish-speaking populations.

Suggestions for Practice and Research

The study aimed to contribute to the current research literature and address the gap in Spanish-speaking toddlers' home environments before starting school. Future research should investigate the activity settings of families meeting the criteria of this study of toddlers from a specific country or countries of origin from varied backgrounds based on immigration status and home language use. Additional data collected could be used to develop a culturally responsive model of family literacy tailored to provide effective parent training to support the school readiness skills of toddlers from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Toddlers from disparate cultural and linguistic backgrounds across the globe are exposed to similar mass media experiences, which have been culturally homogenized by linguistic dubbing. This allows toddlers to access the various linguistic markers determined by the primary language in which they were born. As new technology emerges and becomes increasingly ingrained in daily life, the media habits of young children have changed over the years. This can be seen in the mothers' responses and the findings of this study. As seen in the homes of the four toddlers and in the findings of this study, access to these sources was readily available and strongly situated into the family routine as learning sources while remaining sources of entertainment for the toddlers. Further exploration of the emergent and consequential ways digital media influences more traditional cultural practices in family routines while at the same time advancing children's biliteracy and bilingual development is warranted.

When examining the literacy environments in homes, we must reflect on our biases, beliefs, and cultural backgrounds. As educators, policymakers, and researchers, we must begin by examining our own perceptions and understanding before attempting to enhance learning opportunities for young children. This study demonstrates the importance of gaining a better understanding of how, what, and why. The four families participating in this study generously provided a bit more understanding of the rich home environment created by Spanish-speaking families.

Conclusion

Given that nearly 15% of children ages 0–4 years old (243,117) in the southeastern¹⁰ region of the United States speak Spanish at home (UnidosUS, 2020), exploring their home environment and experiences provides insight into a significant portion of the population that continues to interject a unique culturally and linguistically diverse group of students into the southeastern United States. Children’s daily engagement in activities is an important part of development (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 2003; Rogoff, Dahl, & Callanan, 2018; Scribner & Cole, 1981). Findings of this study suggests a level of sustainability in the families’ daily routine, providing these four toddlers with recurrent opportunities to learn and practice new skills within their home context. The families in this study engage in a wide range of daily activities and routines, coalescing around three primary areas: having fun, caring for the home, and toddler preparation. These activities correlate with the activity goals of the parents and are similar to practices identified in other studies of the home practices of Spanish-speaking families (Cycyk, 2020; Farver, 1999; Farver, Xu, Eppe, and Lonigan, 2006; Weisner,

¹⁰ Southeastern region in this data includes the states of Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

1989). Further, the four toddlers' activities served multiple purposes and frequently occurred simultaneously with other activities (Bradley et al., 2014).

This study aimed to explore toddlers' daily routines in their homes, including their early language and literacy practices and the role of their older siblings in these activities and practices. By privileging mothers' and siblings' voices and personal recollections of their involvement, this study also emphasized the rich in-home learning practices and opportunities that are quite present in Latino family homes but are sometimes invisible and often overlooked. This study found that despite the diversity among the four families and the multiple risk factors and barriers (i.e., recent immigration, limited support, language barriers, health conditions, restricted economic opportunity, and work demands), these toddlers engaged in a variety of learning activities, particularly those focused on school readiness skills such as emergent literacy, emergent writing, social-emotional, and general developmental. This study strengthens and contributes to the corpus of research on what distinguishes strong family support for school readiness skills by highlighting the different approaches these families take to prepare their toddlers. In addition, it reveals how families maintain their own goals for their toddlers to ensure they mature into persons who satisfy familial and cultural standards, not necessarily those stressed in the systems that these toddlers will join when they begin school.

The number of Spanish-speaking families in the tri-state region has grown rapidly in a relatively short period of time (UnidosUS, 2020), and only a handful of studies have been done on the home environment of these Spanish-speaking households. The southeastern region of the United States, north of Florida, is a geographical area that has not yet been extensively studied, given the size and relative time that Spanish-speaking

households have settled into the region. This study provides a detailed description of the home environment, including the daily activities and early language and literacy practices of four toddlers from various geographic and cultural backgrounds living in an urban area within this region. Although earlier studies on the characteristics of toddler activity settings have been conducted (Cycyk & Hammer, 2020; Bradley et al., 2014), the current study provides additional details on these activity setting features as they are experienced by toddlers prior to schooling. The information developed from this study may assist the field to better understand the kinds of activities Spanish-speaking toddlers engage in at home with their families on a daily basis.

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Appendix A: Informed Consent Letter (English)

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA CONSENT TO BE A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Home Language and Literacy Practices of Spanish-Speaking Families

Gina Crosby-Quinatoa, MSP, CCC-SLP, LSLs CertAVT

KEY INFORMATION ABOUT THIS RESEARCH STUDY:

The purpose of the project is to explore the home language and literacy environment of Spanish-speaking toddlers prior to school enrollment. Your family is being asked to participate in this study because you have a toddler residing in your home who has not yet enrolled in school and speaks Spanish in your home setting. This work is expected to provide important information to educators and researchers that will assist them in serving Spanish-English speaking children more effectively. Your family's participation is expected to require approximately 6 hours of home visits, which will be scheduled around your child's and family's activities to minimize disruption to your family's schedule. There are no greater than minimal risks anticipated for participants in this study. All information about you, your child, and your family will be kept confidential except as required by law. The name of your child and those associated with your child will not appear in the results of the investigation. Your responses will be kept under lock and key in the laboratory of the investigator. Only individuals trained in client confidentiality and approved by the University of South Carolina Human Subjects Review Committee will have access to the responses.

This form explains what you will be asked to do if you decide to participate in this study. Please read it carefully and feel free to ask questions before you make a decision about participating.

PROCEDURES:

If you agree for your child to participate in this study, the following procedures will be followed:

1. You will be contacted by phone or in person to discuss any questions you may have, confirm your child's participation in the study, and schedule a time for a 15–20-minute home visit to discuss your child's language skills in English and Spanish. All communication will occur in your preferred language, whether English or Spanish.
2. If your child meets the criteria, you will be contacted to schedule 5 home visits lasting 60 minutes each visit.
3. You will be asked to complete several questionnaires about your family's background, home language and literacy environment, home language use, and daily activities and routines.
4. I will audio record our discussion/interview to ensure I accurately capture the details that you provide.
5. You will be asked to take photographs to describe the daily activities and routines in your home.
6. You will be asked to participate in 1 interview session lasting no longer than 1 hour.

7. You will be asked to participate in data analysis and confirmation of themes discovered in the study.

DURATION:

Participation in the study involves five home visit sessions with your child and your family over a period of 5 weeks. Each study home visit will last about 60-90 minutes. We will contact you by phone to schedule each home visit session.

RISKS/DISCOMFORTS:

There are no physical risks associated with this study. Since you will be asked to take photographs, you must first consider your safety in taking all photographs before completing the activity.

Loss of Confidentiality: There is the risk of a breach of confidentiality, despite the steps that will be taken to protect your identity.

BENEFITS:

Taking part in this study is not likely to benefit you personally. However, this research may help us understand the home language and literacy environment and daily practices of Spanish-speaking families. Further, this research may help inform culturally responsive early literacy programs for Spanish-speaking families. Upon completion of the five home visit sessions, you will receive a photograph book and a bilingual children's book.

COSTS:

There will be no costs to you for participating in this study.



CONFIDENTIALITY OF RECORDS:

Your participation in this research is confidential. You and your child will be assigned a number that will be used instead of your names. Permanent participant records will contain only the ID numbers. Digital audio and video-recordings will be stored on password-protected hard drives or servers, in accordance with university policy. Paper data will be stored in locked cabinets in the investigators' labs. Only individuals directly connected to the proposed research, who have passed the IRB-approved courses on research ethics and the protection of human subjects, will have access to the files.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION:

Your family's participation in this study is voluntary. If you decide not to participate, you will not be penalized in any way. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time. Though there are no risks associated with this study. Should you feel overwhelmed, anxious, or have any other negative feelings at any time, you may withdraw your participation. In the event that you do withdraw from this study, the information you have already provided will be kept in a confidential manner. If you wish to withdraw from the study, please call or email the principal investigator listed on this form.

I have been given a chance to ask questions about this research study. These questions have been answered to my satisfaction. If I have any more questions about my participation in this study, or a study related injury, I am to contact Gina Crosby-Quinatoa at 803-567-5226 or email crosbye@sc.edu.

Questions about your rights as a research subject are to be directed to, Lisa Johnson, Assistant Director, Office of Research Compliance, University of South Carolina, 1600 Hampton Street, Suite 414D, Columbia, SC 29208, phone: (803) 777-6670 or email: LisaJ@mailbox.sc.edu.

I want my child and family to participate in this study. I agree to be contacted by phone to schedule home visit sessions as needed. I have been given a copy of this form for my own records.

If you wish your child to participate, you should sign below and **return this form to your pediatrician, service provider**, or to Gina Crosby-Quinatoa directly.

Name of Child

Child Date of Birth

Signature of Parent or Caregiver

Date

Parent/Caregiver Phone Number

Appendix B: Informed Consent Letter (Spanish)

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA CONSENTIMIENTO PARA SER SUJETO DE INVESTIGACION

Lenguaje en el Hogar y Prácticas de Alfabetización de las Familias de Habla
Hispana

Gina Crosby-Quinatoa, MSP, CCC-SLP, LSLs CertAVT

INFORMACIÓN IMPORTANTE DE ESTÁ INVESTIGACIÓN:

El propósito del proyecto es examinar el ambiente del lenguaje y lectura en el hogar de niños que habla español antes del escuela. Los resultados de la investigación podrán proveer información vital a profesionales sobre la evaluación y educación de niños bilingües. La participación de su hijo(a) se espera requiera aproximadamente 6 horas de visitas del hogar, tiempo que será programado para minimizar la interrupción de educación de su hijo(a). Adicionalmente se le solicitara a usted participar en una entrevista de entre 10 a 15 minutos. No hay riesgos más que los normales para los participantes en este estudio. Toda la información sobre usted y su niño se considera confidencial y protegida, tal caso solo cambiario si dicha información es requerida por la ley. El nombre de su niño ni los de las personas familiares no van a aparecer en los resultados de la investigación. Sus respuestas serán aseguradas en el laboratorio de la investigadora. Solamente personal entrenado en confidencialidad de la información y autorizadas por el Comité de Revisión de Temas Humanos de la Universidad de Carolina del Sur van a tener acceso a la información.

Este formulario explica los procedimientos de esta investigación, si decidirá participar. Por favor léalo cuidadosamente y no dude en preguntar sobre el estudio antes de decidir participar.

PROCEDIMIENTOS:

Si quiere usted que su niño participe en esta investigación, vamos a seguir los siguientes procedimientos:

1. Se le llamara por teléfono para discutir cualquier pregunta que usted tenga, confirmar la participación de su hijo(a) y programar una entrevista en el hogar de entre 15 a 20 minutos para discutir las habilidades de lenguaje de su hijo(a) en inglés y español. Las entrevistas son designadas para darnos información sobre las preferencias de su familia en asuntos de comunicación. Las entrevistas pueden ser conducidos en inglés o en español, según su preferencia.
2. Si su hijo cumple con los criterios, lo contactaremos para programar 5 visitas a domicilio de 60 minutos cada una.
3. Se le pedirá que complete varios cuestionarios sobre los antecedentes de su familia, el idioma del hogar y el entorno de alfabetización, el uso del idioma del hogar y las actividades y rutinas diarias.
4. Grabaré en audio nuestra discusión/entrevista para asegurarme de capturar con precisión los detalles que proporcione.
5. Se le pedirá que tome fotografías para describir las actividades y rutinas diarias en su hogar.
6. Se le pedirá que participe en 1 sesión de entrevista que no dure más de 1 hora.

7. Se le pedirá que participe en el análisis de datos y la confirmación de los temas descubiertos en el estudio.

DURACIÓN:

Para su hijo y su familia, la participación en la investigación requiere cinco sesiones de más o menos 60-90 minutos para completar los exámenes.

BENEFICIOS:

Después de completar cada sesión, recibirá reportajes breves de los resultados. También puede elegir de compartírselos con la escuela de su niño. Estos resultados podrían ayudar a su maestro mejorar sus planes para la educación.

No es probable que su participación en este estudio lo beneficie personalmente. Sin embargo, Estos resultados podrían ayudar a su maestro mejorar sus planes para la educación. Además, esta investigación puede ayudar a informar programas de alfabetización temprana culturalmente sensibles para familias de habla hispana. Al finalizar las cinco sesiones de visitas domiciliarias, recibirá un libro de fotografías y un libro infantil bilingüe.

COSTOS:

No habrá costos para participar en esta investigación.

PARTICIPACIÓN VOLUNTARIA:

La participación de su niño y familia es completamente voluntaria. Podrá detener su participación en cualquier momento sin pena alguna. Si decide no participar no se le penalizara de ninguna forma. Aunque no hay ningún riesgo asociado con su participación en esta investigación, si se siente reprimido, inquieto, o tiene otros sentimientos negativos, podrá terminar su participación en el estudio. En caso de que decida abandonar

este estudio, la información y los resultados serán guardados en una manera confidencial. Si quiere usted abandonar el estudio, por favor llámeme (Gina Crosby-Quinatoa) o envíeme un correo electrónico, según la información de contacto en esta forma.

He tenido oportunidad de obtener información y hacer preguntas sobre este estudio. Las preguntas fueron contestadas a mi entera satisfacción. Si tengo alguna pregunta o preocupación sobre esta investigación, puedo contactar a la investigadora Gina Crosby-Quinatoa a 803-567-5226 o crosbye@sc.edu.

Preguntas sobre sus derechos como sujeto de investigación serán dirigidas a Lisa Johnson, Assistant Director, Office of Research Compliance, Universidad de Carolina del sur. Su dirección postal es: 1600 Hampton Street, Suite 414D, Columbia, SC 29208, o puede llamar: 803.777.6670. El correo electrónico es: LisaJ@mailbox.sc.edu.

Quiero que mi hijo participa en la investigación. Puedo ser contactado por teléfono para programar las sesiones como es necesario. He recibido una copia de esta forma.

Si quiere usted que su niño participe en esta investigación, por favor firme esta forma y envíela al maestro de su niño.

Nombre del niño

Fecha de nacimiento del niño

Firma de padre / guardián

Fecha

Número de teléfono

Appendix C: BiRDI Questionnaires (English & Spanish)

BiRDI Home Environment Questionnaires-English. See link for a copy of the survey.

<https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/review?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:0ca509f8-6e50-36f4-b9b5-288f9caa8526>

BiRDI Home Environment Questionnaires-Spanish. See link for a copy of the survey.

<https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/review?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:e1f028d3-5e70-3777-8ea7-44754583d15f>

Appendix D: EL-EFI (English)

Adapted EL-EFI Questionnaire-Spanish. See link for a copy.

<https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/review?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:280bfa06-d4c4-3e00-9dc5-47072c071528>

Home Activities		
<i>First, I am going to ask you about how often you have done certain kinds of activities at home in the last two months. Most of these activities are about what you do with your child. Tell me if you have done them daily, weekly, monthly, less than once a month or never. Here is a card to remind you. How often do you:</i>		
Activity	Frequency	Language
Play rhyming games (words or songs) with your child	1: Daily	English
Name things with your child	2: Weekly	Spanish
Play with toys with your child	3: Monthly	Both
Play pretend with your child	4: < than monthly	Other
Play turn-taking games with your child	5: never	
Read with or to your child		
Sing songs with or to your child		
Take classes — PC (e.g., ESL parenting, school)		
Tell tales or stories to your child		
<i>Tell me about the people who are living in your home right now and what they do. Let's start with you.</i>		
Are you currently a working parent? (Enter on table below)		
Tell me about your work schedule:		
Who lives in your household? What is their relation to your child? [enter on table below]		
Who	Age	Working?
*This will be known from BiRDI questionnaire	*BiRDI	YES NO PT FT
		YES NO PT FT
		YES NO PT FT
		YES NO PT FT
		YES NO PT FT
Toddler Daily Routine		
<i>Now, I am going to ask you about your child's daily routines. Knowing about your child's typical</i>		

<i>day is important in learning what routines and activities may be occurring in the home</i>	
1. Tell me about a typical day for your child, especially his routine at home after school.	
A. What does your child like to do at home? After school?	
B. Describe your dinnertime hour.	
C. How about the bedtime routine? What does he/she do?	
D. What is your child's favorite book or story? Specify:	
READING AND TELLING STORIES IN THE HOME	
<i>We know that there are lots of different kinds of learning experiences for children going on in homes. We are interested in knowing about what things happen in your home that are related to reading and writing. For families with older sibling, particularly if you have changed the routine since your older child started school.</i>	
2. Does anyone read to your child in the home?	YES NO If no, skip to 5
A. Who?	
<i>If mother reads to the toddler:</i>	
3. When — in your busy day — do <u>YOU</u> read to your child?	
A. Can you tell me what that's like?	
B. How often do you read to him/her?	Never/Rarely 1: <monthly 2: 1/month 3: 1/week 4: 2-3/week 5: 7/week Daily
C. For how long at a time?	Minutes/hour
D. In what language do you read?	English Spanish Both Other
E. How much does he or she enjoy being read to aloud NOW?	1: not at all 2: 3: somewhat 4: 5: very much
F. How do you know? (If changed, how?)	
G. What do you hope your child will get from reading aloud?	
H. How much of this reading time occurs at bedtime?	1: none 2: once in a while 3: half the time 4: most of the time 5: all the time
I. How often do you read more than one book at a time?	1: never/rarely
J. How often does reading end because your child loses interest?	2: once in a while 3: half the time 4: most of the time 5: always
K. About how many times per week does your child ask to be read to?	Never/Rarely
L. About how many times per week does your child look at books by himself or herself?	1: <monthly 2: 1/month
M. Do you ever go to the library with your child? How often?	3: 1/week

	4: 2-3/week 5: 7/week Daily
N. Has your child been in any library or reading programs?	YES NO
O. Are there any circumstances that make it difficult for you or anyone in your home to read to your child as much as you would like?	YES NO
O1. Tell me about that (examples)	
Family with older sibling:	
P. Do you (PC) read with your child ___ since your oldest child started school?	-more -less -about the same amount
P1. Why?	
Q. What things do you do when reading with your toddler?	
How often do you do things like:	
Q3. Point out a familiar word?	1: never/rarely
Q4. Talk about a picture?	2: once in a while
Q5. Mention the author's name?	3: half the time 4: most of the time 5: always
Q6. What led you to do/not do new things?	
R. Do you and your child talk when reading books?	YES NO
R1. If yes, tell me about the kinds of things you and your child talk about while reading.	
S. Do you ask your child questions about the pictures or story while reading?	YES NO
S1. If yes, tell me about what you might ask? Give me an example of what you have asked	
S2. Does your child ever ask questions about the story or pictures when you are reading?	1: never/rarely 2: once in a while 3: half the time 4: most of the time 5: always
T1. If yes, what might he/she ask about while you are reading. Give me an example of something he/she has asked about.	
U. Do you ever ask your child to tell you the first-letter sound of a word in the book?	1: never/rarely 2: once in a while 3: half the time 4: most of the time 5: always
V. Do you ever ask your child if two words rhyme (end with the same sound)?	YES NO
W. How often do you talk about sounds and rhymes?	Never/Rarely 1: <monthly 2: 1/month 3: 1/week 4: 2-3/week 5: 7/week Daily
X. Can your child already tell you what is coming next in the story?	YES NO
X1. If yes, can you give me an example?	
Y. Does your child like to read the same books many times with you?	YES NO

Z. Have you introduced your child to books he hasn't seen before?	YES NO
Z1. If yes, for example, what book (get title)?	
Z2. How often does your child get to read a book with you or others that he hasn't seen before?	Never/Rarely 1: <monthly 2: 1/month 3: 1/week 4: 2-3/week 5: 7/week Daily
AA. Do other family members listen to the story, too	YES NO
Bb1. If yes, who?	
Bb2. What kinds of things do they say when they participate?	
Ask: If others, NOT sibling read to the toddler + or – the mother:	
4. You mentioned that _(answer to #2) reads to toddler.	
A. How often does he/she/they read to your child in the home?	Never/Rarely 1: <monthly 2: 1/month 3: 1/week 4: 2-3/week 5: 7/week Daily
B. In what language do they read?	English Spanish Both other
C. How much does your child enjoy it?	1: not at all 2 3: somewhat 4: 5: very much
D. How do you know?	
E. Do you ask his/her brother/sister to read to toddler?	YES NO
E1. Why is that?	
IF SIBLINGS READ TO Toddler:	
5. You mentioned that your child's brother(s)/sister(s) read to him/her.	
A. Which brother(s)/sister(s) read to your child?	
B. How old is he/she/they?	
C. How often does he/she/they read to your child at home?	1: <monthly 2: 1/month 3: 1/week 4: 2-3/week 5: 7/week Daily
D. In what language do they read?	English Spanish Both other
E. Do his/her brother(s)/sister(s) to read _amount as before?	-more -less -the same
E1. If less/more why?	
If no one reads to toddler:	
6. Did you used to read to your child?	YES NO
A. If yes, can you tell me a little about why you stopped reading to your child?	
Emergent Literacy Activities	
<i>Emergent Literacy activities: Now I am going to ask you about other literacy related activities</i>	

that may or may not take place in your home. NOT all families and children do all of these things, we just tried to think of some and put them here. Maybe you will think of some things we haven't listed. (FW: It is important to know when, how long, and with whom writing activities are occurring. We also want to know what kind of writing materials are accessible to the child. The questions related to literacy should give us an idea of how much the family supports this activity.)

7. Can your child read any words?	YES NO
A. If yes, how many?	
8. About how often have you tried to teach your child the letters of the alphabet in the last two months?	Never/Rarely 1: <monthly 2: 1/month 3: 1/week 4: 2-3/week 5: 7/week Daily
9. Does your child have alphabet toys (magnetic letters, alphabet blocks)?	YES NO
A. If yes, about how often has s/he played with these lately?	Never/Rarely 1: <monthly 2: 1/month 3: 1/week 4: 2-3/week 5: 7/week Daily
10. About how often do you point out words to your child (e.g., in book, on signs) and tell him/her what they say?	
TALKING	
<i>Now I want to ask you about conversations you have with your child.</i>	
11. In your opinion, how is it that children learn how to talk at this age? *	
12. How have you or do you help your child learn to talk? *	
13. When you and your child are together what kinds of things have you talked about recently? Tell me about it; give me an example:	
A. When you and your child talk, does s/he participate much, or do you do most of the talking?	1: Mostly me talking 2 3: Both talk equally 4 5: Mostly child talking
B. How often does this happen?	Never/Rarely 1: <monthly 2: 1/month 3: 1/week 4: 2-3/week 5: 7/week Daily
C. When you and your child talk about things, what language/s do you and he/she use?	Spanish English Both Other
D. In your opinion, how do young children learn to talk in two languages? *	
E. What changes have you noticed in your child's vocabulary?	
F. How often do you hear your child use a new word?	Never/Rarely 1: <monthly

	2: 1/month 3: 1/week 4: 2-3/week 5: 7/week Daily
G. Are his/her new words in English, Spanish, or both? Other?	English Spanish Both Other
H. Where do you think toddler is learning his new words?	
G1. At School?	YES NO
G2. From friends?	
G3. At home?	
G4. If yes, how does he/she learn them at home?	
G5. Other sources? (Specify)	
PARENT- TEACHER RESPONSIBILITIES	
<i>Now I want to talk about what parents believe are their important responsibilities, and what are important things that teachers should do. I want to know about your views on parents' and teachers' responsibilities in teaching children. Let's talk about things that parents and teachers teach children.</i>	
14. Tell me about the kinds of things you are teaching your child that ALL parents should teach their children?	
OLDER SIBLING	
15. What kinds of things did YOUR OLDER CHILD'S teacher teach your child that ALL teachers should teach children?	
16. Did your OLDEST CHILD'S teachers teach him/her proper social behavior?	YES NO
A. WHY OR why not?	
17. Did your OLDEST CHILD'S teachers teach him/her all the academic subjects, like letters and numbers?	YES NO
Preschool and Kindergarten Preparation	
<i>Now I want to know what you think about preparing your child to do well in school. I am going to ask you about preparing your child for kindergarten. FW: (These questions focus on caretaker and family's beliefs concerning the importance of school preparation and the importance of proper behavior as well as academic preparation. Main topics to be covered include what kind of things (talking about school, learning colors, alphabet, numbers, listening and minding skills) have been done to prepare the child for kindergarten.</i>	
18. Do you think parents should SPECIFICALLY prepare children for kindergarten (i.e., before the kindergarten year begins)?	YES NO
A. If yes, why?	
B. What should a typical toddler know at this age? *	
C. What should he/she be learning to be successful in preschool or kindergarten? *	
D. Have you or others in the home started to help TC prepare for kindergarten?	YES NO
E. If yes, when did you/they start? (Tc's age or stage)	
F. How do you or others at home help your child prepare for kindergarten? Can you give me an example of an activity?	
G. How do you think this preparation (mention what they said) will help your child in kindergarten?	
H. Are there other things you wish you could do?	

I. What circumstances make it difficult to prepare your child as well as you would like to?			
19. If you had a friend with a child the same age as yours, what advice would you give her to help her child be successful in school?			
20. What materials not currently in your home would you like to have to support your child's schooling?			
A. Why these?			
Parent Satisfaction with Literacy Education			
<i>For FW: For this item, we want to know how satisfied the caretaker was with the preparation they received for reading and writing, given their current job and child rearing responsibilities.</i>			
21. How well do you think you are prepared to help your child be successful in school? Explain.		1: not at all 2 3: somewhat 4 5: very well	
Have you done some training or taken any courses specifically to improve your own reading, writing, or English language since your first interview? Specify		YES NO	
B. How satisfied are you with your current reading and writing skills in English?		1: not at all 2	
C. If toddler speaks Spanish, how satisfied are you with your current reading and writing skills in Spanish?		3: somewhat 4 5: very satisfied	
GOALS AND VALUES			
<i>Ok, let's talk about goals and values now. (For FW: Here we are looking to find out if the primary caretaker's goals, beliefs, and values concerning raising her children are being met by the family's current situation and lifestyle.)</i>			
22. What are some basic goals you have for your child?			
23. Can you give me an example?			
24. What kinds of things in your everyday activities fit with these goals? Examples?			
25. Do you feel that some of your goals for your child are not being met?		1: most not being met 2 3: 4 5: most are being met	
A. Can you give me some examples?			
26. What are you doing to reach the goals you have for your child concerning reading and school success? Examples.			
A. What makes it hard to achieve your goals for your child?			
ROLE OF CULTURE ACCULTURATION			
Okay, let's talk about your family and your family history and cultural background*			
1. What do you want your toddler to know about your [] culture? (e.g., Mexican)			
2. Why?			
3. How are you helping him/her to learn this?			
4. How is your parenting the same as the way your parents raised you/you were raised as a child?			
5. How is it different?			
Home Resources			
Home Resources		Language	
	English	Spanish	Biling
			Other

			ual	
blocks				
children drawings				
children reading books				
coloring books				
alphabet books				
computer				
educational software (aimed at teaching)				
letter and alphabet toys (Not computer stuff)				
educational games or toys, like number toys, matching cards (Not computer stuff)				
notes, cards, personal mail				
library books				
magazines				
newspapers				
parents' reading books				
puzzles				
religious books/brochures				
video game player (Nintendo, Playstation, XBox)				
writing materials (pads, paper)				
other (please specify)				

Appendix D: Daily Activity Surveys

DAILY ACTIVITY SETTINGS CHECKLIST (Balton, Uys, & Alant, 2019)

adapted-English Instructions:

If you need me to explain or repeat anything, please ask. I am going to ask you questions about activities that your child may be involved in. There are five questions related to each activity. I will ask the questions one at a time. I will show you the possible responses and a sheet to help you remember the different options for answering.

	What kinds of things do you and your family do in and around your home or community every day or almost every day?						
	Certain times of the day? Describe your child's typical morning activities from the time he/she wakes up until lunch. Describe your child's typical afternoon activities from after lunch until he/she goes to bed						
	How do these activities in the morning and afternoon change on different days/certain days of the week?						
	Describe your child's typical weekend activities.						
#	Activity	Participation	If not, why not?	With whom? *	Main Purpose? *	Importance	Language*
1	Family meals						
2	Bathing						
3	Brushing teeth						
4	Dressing and undressing						
5	Toileting						
6	Assist in preparing meals						
7	Setting the table						
8	Washing hands						
9	Cleaning the yard						
10	Washing socks and underwear						
11	Haircut or style						
12	Watching TV						

13	Listening to music						
14	Dancing						
15	Singing						
16	Praying						
17	Having a conversation						
18	Listening to stories						
19	Telling stories						
20	Reading or looking at books						
21	Coloring, drawing, painting						
22	Playing with toys						
23	Cell phone games						
24	Cutting and pasting						
25	Playing with sand						
26	Playing with water						
27	Visiting shopping malls						
28	Playing video games						
29	Pretend games						
30	Riding bike or scooter						
31	Building blocks						
32	Hand or finger games						
33	Lap games						
34	Carried on back						
35	Running, jumping, chasing						
36	Eating out						
37	Gardening						
38	Family gatherings						
39	Attending weddings						
40	Attending parties						
41	Attending quinceañeras						
42	Attending funerals						
43	Visiting family or friends in neighborhood						
44	Visit family or traditional home						
45	Attending church						
46	Attending ancestral ceremony						
47	Visiting a community clinic						
48	Taxi ride						

49	Visiting a park						
50	Attending soccer match						
a.	Are there any other activities that your child does at home that you think he or she could learn from?						
b.	What do you (think) consider as the most important things for your child to learn at home?						
c.	Please list, in order of importance, 3-5 home activities that make your child laugh or smile (interesting and enjoyable)						
d.	Please complete the following sentence: I think that my child learns best by:						

Rating Scales	
Participation	1-never 2-hardly ever (once a year) 3-sometimes (once a month) 4-often (once a week) 5-daily (everyday)
If not, why not?	1-money 2-transport 3-space 4-time 5-safety 6-child's age 7-other
With whom? *	1-mother 2-father 3-parents 4-siblings 5-family 6-grand-parents 7-friends 8-none 9-other
Main Purpose? *	1-fun 2-work/ chores 3-socialization 4-care 5-educational 6-exercise 7-spiritual 8-other
Importance	1-not important 2-important 3-very important

Language*	1-Spanish 2-English 3-both 4-other
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*Follow-up on the listed activities given by the families on next visit

DAILY ACTIVITY SETTINGS CHECKLIST (Balton, Uys, & Alant, 2019)

Adapted-Spanish Instructions:

Si necesita que explique o repita algo, por favor pregunte. Le haré preguntas sobre las actividades en las que su hijo puede participar. Hay cinco preguntas relacionadas con cada actividad. Haré las preguntas de una en una. Te mostraré las posibles respuestas y una hoja para ayudarte a recordar las diferentes opciones de respuesta.

	¿Qué tipo de cosas hacen usted y su familia en y alrededor de su hogar o comunidad todos los días o casi todos los días?						
	¿Ciertas horas del día? Describa las actividades matutinas típicas de su hijo/a desde el momento en que se despierta hasta el almuerzo. Describa las actividades típicas de la tarde de su hijo/a desde después del almuerzo hasta que se acuesta.						
	¿Cómo cambian estas actividades de la mañana y la tarde en diferentes días, determinados días de la semana?						
	Describa las actividades típicas de fin de semana de su hijo/a.						
#	Actividad	Participación	¿Si no, porque no?	¿Con quién? *	¿propósito principal? *	Importancia	Idioma *
1	Comidas familiares						
2	Baños						
3	Lavando los dientes						
4	vestirse y desvestirse						
5	ir al baño						
6	Ayudar a preparar las comidas						
7	Poniendo la mesa						
8	Lavarse las manos						
9	limpiando el patio						
10	de calcetines y ropa interior						
11	Corte de pelo o estilo						
12	Mirando TV						
13	Escuchando música						
14	bailando						
15	Cantando						
16	Orando						
17	Conversando						

18	escuchando historias						
19	Contando historias						
20	Leer o mirar libros.						
21	Colorear, dibujar, pintar						
22	Jugando con juguetes						
23	juegos para celular						
24	Cortando y pegando						
25	jugando con arena						
26	jugando con agua						
27	Visitando centros comerciales						
28	Jugando videojuegos						
29	Juegos de imaginación						
30	Andar en bicicleta o scooter						
31	Bloques de construcción						
32	Juegos de manos o dedos						
33	juegos de vuelta						
34	Llevado en la espalda						
35	Correr, saltar y perseguir						
36	Comer fuera						
37	Jardinería						
38	Reuniones familiares						
39	asistir a boda						
40	asistir a fiestas						
41	asistiendo a quinceañeras						
42	asistir a funerales						
43	Visitar a familiares o amigos en el vecindario.						
44	Visita familiar o casa tradicional						
45	asistiendo a la iglesia						
46	Asistir a la ceremonia ancestral						
47	Visitando una clínica						

	comunitaria						
48	Viaje en taxi						
49	visitando un parque						
50	asistir a un partido de futbol						
a.	¿Hay otras actividades que su hijo/a hace en casa de las que cree que podría aprender?						
b.	¿Qué considera (piensa) que es lo más importante que su hijo/a debe aprender en casa?						
c.	Enumere, en orden de importancia, de 3 a 5 actividades en el hogar que hacen reír o sonreír a su hijo/a (interesantes y agradables)						
d.	Complete la siguiente oración: Creo que mi hijo/a aprende mejor si:						

Escalas de Calificación	
Participación	1-nunca 2-casi nunca (una vez al año) 3-a veces (una vez al mes) 4-a menudo (una vez a la semana) 5-diarios (todos los días)
¿Si no, porque no?	1-dinero 2-transporte 3-espacios 4-tiempo 5-seguridad 6-años de edad 7-otro
¿Con quién? *	1-madre 2-padre 3-padres 4-hermanos 5-familia 6-abuelos 7-amigos 8-ninguno 9-otro
¿propósito principal?*	1-diversión 2-trabajo/tareas 3-socialización 4-cuidado 5-educativo 6-ejercicio 7-espiritual 8-otro
Importancia	1-no importante 2-importante 3-muy importante

Idioma*	1-español 2-inglés 3-ambos 4-otro
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Appendix E: Photo-Elicitation Interview Questions

For the top 10 activities and/or pictures for PEI ask: English

- 1) Besides yourself and toddler, who else is there during the activity?
- 2) What are he/she/they doing during the activity?
- 3) Tell me about the other children in the home and their interactions with your toddler.
- 4) What would you like for your toddler to learn during that activity?
- 5) What do you/he/she/they talk about with your toddler during that activity?
- 6) What language does your child hearing during that activity?

For the top 10 activities and/or pictures for PEI ask: Spanish

- 1) Además de usted y su niño pequeño, ¿quién más está presente durante la actividad?
- 2) ¿Qué están haciendo él/ella/ellos durante la actividad?
- 3) Cuénteme sobre los otros niños en el hogar y sus interacciones con su niño pequeño.
- 4) ¿Qué le gustaría que su niño pequeño aprendiera durante esa actividad?
- 5) ¿De qué habla usted/él/ella/ellos con su niño pequeño durante esa actividad?
- 6) ¿Qué idioma escucha su hijo durante esa actividad?

Coding by 5 Activity Features

Question 1: What are the most prevalent daily activities among Spanish-speaking toddlers in their home environment prior to school enrollment?

3

Cultural VIB

SCRIPPTS

OPERATIONS/ Demands

Participants

PURPOSE

EL-EFI (OPEN questions)

FAMILIES WITHOUT AN OLDER SIBLING

0010

0020

TYPICAL MORNING ACTIVITIES: mom works; wakes up and drops TODDLER at the nintera
 TYPICAL MORNING ACTIVITIES: when mom doesn't work [jugar afuera] eating lunch [play with tablet] [play with toys] [throwing all the toys] [corra para aca] says "I love you mami, tells everyone he loves them."
 Hacienda panes (tamales): está estirando la masa;
 TYPICAL AFTERNOON ACTIVITIES: [playing with toys] [mom is hacienda la cena] eat supper, watches/listens to tablet watches TV (with mom) to learn English [Miramos una hora a ver si el algo que pasa, es mejor, que no mas]
 TYPICAL WEEKEND ACTIVITIES: watching TV in morning [stay in bed while others are still sleeping; if not toddler would run out and wake everyone up]
 DAILY ACTIVITIES AT CERTAIN TIMES: [los del trabajo, días sábado].
 FAMILY DAILY ACTIVITIES: eating meals, little jobs, throwing out water
 CHANGES IN MORNING/AFTERNOON DAILY ROUTINES: [jugar afuera] making bread [playing]
 ACTIVITIES MAKING TODDLER LAUGH: [imaginary play] (with mom) [looking at a funny video] [a veces ni sabe de que esta hablando, pero esta "hahaha"]
 PRE-WRITING ACTIVITIES: [Como las de 15 minutos]

TYPICAL MORNING ACTIVITIES: Tomen un poco de té; Se va a la nintera.
 TYPICAL AFTERNOON ACTIVITIES: [jugando] [viendo su Tablet] ["arrita, los niños no están saliendo afuera a jugar, no lo estoy sacando].
 Van a acostar [miran sus tabletas] [play] fight, go to sleep.
 TYPICAL WEEKEND ACTIVITIES: [limpiando] [no sale] [Hacer compras].
 FAMILY DAILY ACTIVITIES: [limpiando] making food [wash clothes by hand]
 CHANGES IN MORNING/AFTERNOON DAILY ROUTINES: none
 ACTIVITIES MAKING TODDLER LAUGH: espantarlo, hay ciertas cosas que ven en [la tableta]
 PRE-WRITING ACTIVITIES: a veces rayan, termina todo el libro [ask questions] what are things called in the pictures

FAMILIES WITH AN OLDER SIBLING

0040

0050

TYPICAL MORNING ACTIVITIES: Desayunar [jugar]
 TYPICAL AFTERNOON ACTIVITIES: potty training [pick up OS from school] go to the store [sola con toddler, a veces con otros niños] [eating supper] [taking a bath]
 TYPICAL WEEKEND ACTIVITIES: OS soccer games,
 Family daily activities: [shopping] [eating out] [visiting the mall] [playing].
 Certain activities/certain times: pick up OS from school
 CHANGES IN MORNING/AFTERNOON DAILY ROUTINES: [vacumming] [washing dishes] [cleaning the bathroom] [making breakfast] [eating breakfast]

TYPICAL MORNING ACTIVITIES: Desayunar, dejar el OS a la escuela/bus stop; wash clothes; clean the house; children watch TV and [play] eat lunch (mom and two children).
 TYPICAL AFTERNOON ACTIVITIES: making supper, [vacumming] eating supper, [playing with blocks] watching TV [playing] [taking a bath] drinking water/milk [no lean libros en la noche cuando están acostándose].
 FAMILY DAILY ACTIVITIES: [playing with (Tablet)] [playing with blocks] [playing with father] going out to eat, visiting the park
 ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES: drawing and coloring, hace su tarea.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

[school keeping] [house work] [shop] [duration] [child talk] [play] [tech]
 [caregiver work/responsibility] [human resource] [hygiene] [purpose/rationale] [cognitive task] [meals/food/drink]

Coding Excerpts in Dedoose

Excerpt Range: 824-1294

Activity: Reading a book. "Estaba leyendo [supuestamente] el libro". He was supposedly reading his book. Watching television at the same time. It's a book in his hand and one on the floor.

Participant(s): Joshua only.

Goal: Mother would like for him to do one thing at a time, so he does not get [confused]. To look at the book or to watch television.

Script: No one was talking. Mother said he was just looking and watching the TV. → VISUAL/AUDIO/LANGUAGE

Language: TV was in English.

Title: 0050.Photo.docx

Codes Applied: Telephone Learning English Great Quotes Toddler Knowledge Learn a little Naming Older Sibling English Language Daily Activity

Excerpt Range: 2033-2488

Activity: Watching a video on the cellphone after school.

Participant(s): Joshua, Angel, mother watches.

Goal: to learn a little English. "un poquito", so when they go (to school), they know a little more in English. If they are watching something good then mother wants them to continue.

Script: Angel tells Joshua the name of the program. Mom does not know the name. [children know but mother does not know because of language]. OS teaching vocab.

Title: 0040.PhotoSib.docx

Codes Applied: Bookreading Children Books Language Exposure Learning English Toddler Knowledge Directions Naming Print Resources & Supports Literacy Practices Questions Alphabet Knowledge

Excerpt Range: 49-857

Gina: Do you read with Paul.

Sebastian: yes, one time a week. In English, sometimes but more in English.

Gina: Does Paul like to read?

Sebastian: he is always running. But when I tell him to stop, he stops.

Gina: When do you read to Paul.

Sebastian: in the morning and in the afternoon. But not after we go to sleep.

Sebastian: Paul uses his finger. Sebastian says that he asks Paul what a letter is in the book. I teach him the letters.

Gina: What books do you like?

Sebastian: At the library at school, we have books, but they are in English. I read them because I like books like the ones with tigers or with sharks or with snakes, or with spider webs or with big spiders that have eight legs. The tetradactyl. [school influence due to the older sibling]

Gina: what do you like to do most with Paul?

Title: 0050 Emergent Writing.docx

Codes Applied: Older Sibling Digital Media & Technology Parent's view of reading Child Readiness Telephone Tablet Scaffold Activity Pre-Emergent Writing Parent Learn English Learn a little Learning English Literacy Practices

Excerpt Range: 332-711

What home activities are you doing to help him begin to write letters?

When his father is at home, he says it is okay for Joshua and Angel to look at videos on the phone so he can learn a little.

What he is trying to do right now. He is drawing, Reading? (don't know if he is reading yet.) With the tablet and the videos, he watches with Angel. Doing Angel's homework also helps

↓
Moms new of reading +
what he is doing.

O.S. homework learn
Video y brother

Dedoose Code Count by Descriptor: Family and Case

1) Learning English (1)
2) Foster Literacy (1)

DA Photo3	Daily Activity	1 Caring for home and family	2 Having fun	3 Preparing the Toddler	Fostering School Readiness	Language and Literacy Development	Early Language & Literacy Practices	Fostering Language(s)	Language Exposure	Learning English	Fostering Literacies	Alphabet Knowledge	Bookreading	Literacy Exposure	Pre-School Writing	School Readiness	Social Emotional Development
ID: 0010	12	11	10	4	0	0	0	2	0	5	2	0	0	0	2	2	0
ID: 0020	11	9	5	1	0	0	0	0	2	4	4	2	2	1	0	0	0
ID: 0040	9	11	9	7	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	0
ID: 0050	10	5	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	1	1	1	0
total	42	36	32	14	0	0	0	2	3	12	9	3	6	2	5	4	0
Case: 1	23	20	15	5	0	0	0	2	2	9	6	2	2	1	2	2	0
Case: 2	19	16	17	9	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	1	4	1	3	2	0

DA AllQue	Daily Activity	1 Caring for home and family	2 Having fun	3 Preparing the Toddler	Fostering School Readiness	Language and Literacy Development	Early Language & Literacy Practices	Fostering Language(s)	Language Exposure	Learning English	Fostering Literacies	Alphabet Knowledge	Bookreading	Literacy Exposure	Pre-School Writing	School Readiness	Social Emotional Development
ID: 0010	13	11	10	5	0	0	1	3	1	10	10	1	8	1	4	10	0
ID: 0020	11	11	6	1	0	0	1	3	5	9	8	8	9	2	3	4	0
ID: 0040	10	23	12	7	0	0	3	1	1	2	9	1	14	0	5	8	0
ID: 0050	10	5	10	6	0	0	2	1	1	7	14	1	15	2	12	9	0
total	44	50	38	19	0	0	7	8	8	28	41	11	46	5	24	31	0
Case: 1	24	22	16	6	0	0	2	6	6	19	18	9	17	3	7	14	0
Case: 2	20	28	22	13	0	0	5	2	2	9	23	2	29	2	17	17	0

4. 4 2 1 3 Low

W/IN CASES

Differences

Similarities

Across Cases

Differences

Similarities

1) Foster Literacy (5)

2) School Readiness (5)

3) Learning English (1)

4) Pre emergent Writing (2)

5) Fostering Language (1)

6) Language Exposure (1)

7) Literacy Exposure (5), Low

Survey Data Analysis

ID	Listen to Music	Sing	Pray	Conversa tion	Listen to Stories	Story Telling	Pretend Games	Turn-taking Games	Read or Look Books	Watch TV	Cellphone Games	Visit Shopping Malls
GOMEZ	Fun	Fun	Spiritual	Social	Fun	Fun	Fun	Fun	Educationa	Fun	Fun	Fun, Care
LOPEZ	Fun	Fun	Spiritual	Social	N/A	N/A	Fun	Fun	Educationa	N/A	Fun	N/A
MARTINEZ	Fun	N/A	Spiritual	Fun	Fun	Fun	Fun	Fun	Educationa	Fun	Fun	Fun
GONZALEZ	Fun	Fun	N/A	Fun	Fun	N/A	Fun	Fun, Exercise	Fun	Fun	Fun	Fun, Exercise

ID	✕ Watch TV	Listen to Music	Dance	Sing	Pray	Conversa tion	Listen to Stories	Story Telling	Name Things Language	Rhyming Games Language	Pretend Games	Turn- taking Games
GOMEZ	English	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
LOPEZ	N/A	Spanish	N/A	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	N/A	N/A	Spanish	N/A	Spanish	Spanish
MARTINEZ	Both	Spanish	Spanish	N/A	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Both	Spanish
GONZALEZ	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Both	N/A	Spanish	Spanish	N/A	Spanish	N/A	Spanish	Spanish

ID	Listen to Music	Dance	Sing	Pray	Conversa tion	Listen to Stories	Story Telling	Pretend Games	Turn- taking Games	Read or Look Books	Cellphone Games	Visit Shopping Malls
GOMEZ	Important	very + Important	very + Important	very + Important	very + Important	Very Important	very + Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important
LOPEZ	Not Important	N/A	Importan t	very + Importan t	very + Importan t	N/A	N/A	Not Important	N/A	Important	Important	N/A
MARTINEZ	Not Important	not + Importan t	N/A	very + Importan t	very + Importan t	Importan t	Importan t	Not Important	Important	Important	Not Important	Important
GONZALEZ	Not Important	not + Importan t	not + Importan t	N/A	Importan t	Importan t	N/A	Not Important	Important	Important	Not Important	Not Important