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DISCOURSES IN PRACTICE: A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF AN
ELEMENTARY ESL TEACHER AND HER FOUR CONGOLESE STUDENTS

By

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B.A., University of Iowa, 2009
M.Ed., Sam Houston State University, 2012

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
College of Education and Human Development of the University of Louisville
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A Dissertation Approved on

March 29, 2019

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Ms. Jackson, Adish, Basam, Gabriel, Sony, and the boys'

families who allowed me the privilege to humbly seek some understanding of their world.

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knowing when I needed a break, a push to finish for a deadline, or some chocolate. I am

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dissertation—you are an incredibly smart and kind child, and I am so excited to watch

you grow up and see how your life unfolds in exciting ways.

ABSTRACT

DISCOURSES IN PRACTICE: A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF AN
ELEMENTARY ESL TEACHER AND HER FOUR CONGOLESE STUDENTS

Emily L. Zuccaro

March 29, 2019

In this qualitative case study, I examine the ideological becoming—the ways individuals develop their beliefs and ways of viewing the world—of an English as a Second Language (ESL) newcomer literacy teacher and her four Congolese students. These individuals developed beliefs about their identities as a teacher of culturally and linguistically diverse children and students in U.S. schools. I situate my study in Bakhtinian sociocultural theory and draw on translanguaging theory to account for language learners' creative and flexible uses of their language knowledge in different contexts. Ideological becoming occurs between the tension of authoritative and internally persuasive Discourses (Gee, 2014)—ways of being, acting, thinking, believing and more in order to be recognized as a socially significant identity.

I employed ethnographic data collection methods of observations, interviews, and document collection to illuminate the environment in which the teacher's and students' ideological becoming took place.

I identified the authoritative and internally persuasive Discourses, the English Literacy and Language Teaching Discourse (ELLT) and the Discourse about Refugees respectively, and viewed the ESL teacher's classroom as a "contact zone" where the two came together.

The data show the ESL newcomer literacy teacher adapted her instruction in various ways from the conflict or tension between the two Discourses as she enacted ways of being, acting, thinking, believing, etc. to be recognized as an ESL literacy teacher. These instructional manifestations— her choice of materials and activities, using Swahili and English, grouping Swahili-speaking children, and meeting reading goals— were manifestations of her emerging beliefs about literacy and language teaching. Her instructional adaptations influenced how the Congolese students drew upon their culturally and linguistically diverse ways of being and knowing to learn English literacy and language in her classroom lessons. Additionally, the Congolese students' ways of being, knowing, and more dialectically influenced her instructional decisions as becoming an ESL newcomer literacy teacher. These processes that took place as part of her and her students' ideological becoming reflected a larger phenomenon taking place across the U.S. as more teachers welcome increasingly diverse learners in their classrooms.

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IDEOLOGICAL BECOMING IN INCREASINGLY DIVERSE SCHOOL CONTEXTS

"In an ideological environment characterized by a diversity of voices, we would expect not only new communication challenges, but also exciting opportunities and possibilities for expanding our understanding of our world" (Ball & Freedman, 2004, p. 6).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) currently reports 68.5 million displaced people worldwide, with 25.4 million refugees constituting a significant piece. The number of displaced people increased by 3 million people and the number of refugees by 2.9 million people from the beginning to the end of 2018. According to UNHCR, "we are now witnessing the highest levels of displacement on record" (Figures at a Glance, n.d.). A refugee is someone "who has fled from his or her home country and cannot return because he or she has a well-founded fear of persecution based on religion, race, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group" (Refugee Admissions, n.d.). The Obama administration permitted 110,000 refugees into the United States (U.S.) in 2016, a 30% increase from the previous fiscal year (Eilperin, 2016). Refugee resettlement policy divides the U.S., as the country debates issues of national identity and security, as well as how to provide support to individuals who face threats to their lives and livelihood. The current U.S. administration immeasurably differs from previous administrations in refugee resettlement policy, and attempts to restrict movement into the U.S. through anti-immigrant and refugee policies and executive orders. For example, the administration has implemented a "Muslim ban"

1

restricting residents from Syria, Iran, Yemen, Libya, Sudan, and Somalia from entering into the U.S. in attempts to protect the country from extremists. This executive order carries significance for the city in which this research study took place and its refugee population: according to Baumann (2017), the city has the 14th largest Somali refugee population and has resettled 4,000 refugees from other countries on the travel ban. Within the last two to three years, the Congolese population has grown significantly in the city due to increasing numbers of resettlement from African camps. Numbers of Congolese have increased while the Somali population in the city has decreased. The Supreme Court upheld the ban through multiple appeals and the city reported refugee resettlement down 68 percent. McGlade (2018) reports, "Only 10 Somalis [in 2018] have arrived compared to 357 [in] 2017." A representative for the state's center for economic policy condemns the policy as he states, "The strength of [the city's] economy has been the ability to attract people from around the world… it is a detriment to the economic vitality of the community to cut this off." Individuals and the local refugee communities are cut off from families and social networks abroad and at-risk due to the anti-immigrant and refugee sentiment. Such sentiment restricts and galvanizes teachers in ways previously unimagined.

In the midst of rapidly ever-changing global and national politics, the federal government passed education legislation in attempts to meet perceived needs of the future K-12 generations of students. Historically, the U.S believed in the potential of its immigrant and refugee population. In 1951, for example, courts ruled it unconstitutional to segregate Latinos in schools in *Gonzalez vs. Sheely.* According to Gándara and Orfield (2012), the language of the law explained that the "commingling of the entire student

body instills and develops a common cultural attitude among the school children which is imperative for the perpetuation of American institutions and ideals" (p. 13). In 1974, *Lau vs. Nichols* instructed schools to provide additional support for students with unique cultural and linguistic needs—providing the same materials without language support did not suffice. However, recent legislation overturned or repealed some of the previous case law, removing equitable efforts for English Language Learners (ELLs)[1] in classrooms today. Through the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2001, legislators sought to increase student achievement among special student groups, including ELLs, special education students, minority children, and those living in poverty. As a result, the federal government tightened their oversight and required schools to administer high-stakes standardized testing. Unfortunately, such assessment methods led to narrowed, prescriptive curriculum and instructional practices, like rote memorization and skill drills in spite of research that "shows that [effects of high-stakes standardized tests] include changing the nature of teaching…[and] limiting student learning" (National Council of Teachers of English, 2014, p.1). ELLs did not fare well on such assessments, as tests held high linguistic demands and subverted any demonstration of learning for this group of students.

Language ideologies, the beliefs or definition of language held by individuals or groups, lie behind all federal legislation and school practices and result in asymmetrical experiences for particular groups of students, but especially for refugee and immigrant

[1] I initially use the term English Language Learner (ELL) to reflect policy-driven conceptualizations of students learning English in U.S. schools (Brooks, 2016, as cited in Ascenzi-Moreno, 2017, p. 279). Subsequent to this discussion, I employ a different term, *translingual student,* which I explain later in this chapter.

children in schools today. Fairclough (2001) explains ideologies "legitimize the dominant, existing structure of power and social relations through the repeated and unconscious actions of the individuals that take up these language rituals" (p. 70). Through its authorization, NCLB created and upheld specific practices (or language rituals) that educators reproduced across the U.S. intended to support students' English language learning. However, monolingual ideology guided this legislation, as it emphasized that English should be mastered and then be the primary language used at school. Monolingual ideology assumes that one nation can impose the use of one language (in this case, English), which devalues and negates any types of linguistic, social, and cultural resources that nonnative speakers possess. Additionally, language ideology influences immigration policy, as policies physically restrict and devalue any future cultural and linguistic diversity. The new authorization of NLCB, known as Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), attempted to return decision-making to states regarding English language learning. However, schools across the U.S. still experienced the residual effects of NCLB as the government attempted to resolve remaining details of the new authorization. Consequently, literacy scholars have increasingly examined literacy and language learning in emerging multilingual student populations to understand the growing diversity and its implications for student success in American classrooms (Skerrett, 2012; Compton-Lilly, 2008; Orellana & Reynolds, 2008; Perry, 2014; Kibler, Palacios, Simpson-Baird, Bergey, & Yoder, 2016; Martínez, 2013; Alvarez, 2014).

Teacher education is still catching up to the growing linguistic and cultural needs of its students. The U.S. Government Accountability Office (2009) reports only 20 percent of traditional teacher preparation programs require at least one course entirely

focused on ELLs, and less than a third of programs required field experiences. Ballantyne, Sanderman, and Levy (2009) explain that only 29% of teachers with [ELLs] have had any professional development focused on enhancing their instruction for [ELLs] (as cited in Babinksi, Amendum, Knotek, Sánchez, & Malone, 2018). Typically, most schools seek to hire teachers who can address English language learning as resource teachers who pull out or push into classrooms; however, some studies report that most teachers are under-prepared to work with colleagues in this fashion (Goddard, Goddard, & Tschannen-Moran, 2007; Vangrieken, Dochy, Raes, & Kyndt, 2015, as cited in Babinksi et al., 2018, p. 119).

Against this sociohistorical and political backdrop, I studied the ideological becoming— the ways individuals develop their beliefs and ways of viewing the world, further discussed later in this chapter—of Ms. Jackson, an English as a Second Language (ESL) literacy teacher, and her four Congolese elementary students, Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony. This process occurred in an environment ripe with competing and corroborating Discourses, or ways of being (Gee, 2014), and ideologies about refugees and the teaching of English. I wanted to understand how Ms. Jackson and her Congolese students navigated these ideologies. I examined how the Congolese students influenced Ms. Jackson's classroom by challenging her current thinking, pushing her to examine her teaching practices and her conceptualization of literacy and language teaching more broadly, and the implications of literacy and language learning for her culturally and linguistically diverse students. The following vignette describes a lesson early in my dissertation fieldwork that crystallized my thinking about language and literacy teaching in K-12 classrooms. It also illustrates how I changed my researcher's stance in Ms.

Jackson's classroom to work more collaboratively with her instead of maintaining only an observer-participant role.

Using Swahili in the Classroom

At the beginning of my classroom observations in February, Ms. Jackson, an ESL newcomer literacy teacher, introduced Sony, Gabriel, Basam, and Adish, four Congolese students, to *Animal Homes* (2009) for small group instruction. The book, part of the district's commercial curriculum called *On Our Way to English,* showed pictures of different animals and their homes on each page. Ms. Jackson had downloaded a Swahili translation app for her phone and placed the phone next to her as she talked to the boys about the animals and their homes. Basam and Adish spiritedly debated about what the Swahili words were for each animal as Gabriel and Sony listened and chimed in occasionally, seen in Figure 1.

> Ms. Jackson: Okay, what about this next page?
>
> Basam: Batman is living right here!
>
> Ms. Jackson: It's called a cave.
>
> Basam: Cave. He live for cave.
>
> Ms. Jackson: Right. Now what is this in your language? (*pointing to the page*)
>
> Basam: Bear! (*Sony laughs*)
>
> Adish: (*turning toward Basam*) Kingote! Kingote!

Figure 1: Adish and Basam debate the Swahili word for "bear."

Adish and Basam argued about the word for bear, as Sony joined in; they debated back and forth, with Sony ultimately agreeing with Adish. Ms. Jackson told them, "I think [both words are] the same." Basam repeated the word he thought was the Swahili word and changed his mind at the last minute to say *kingote*. Ms. Jackson pressed the button on her phone to translate (Figure 2) and the phone said, "Bear." After a moment of silence, Sony said, "Bear?"

Figure 2: Gabriel, Sony, Adish, and Basam listen as Ms. Jackson plays Google Translate.

Basam: And the Swahili?

Ms. Jackson: (*touches her phone)* Bear.

The boys: Bear?

Basam: (*smiling*) This is not Swahili!

Sony: Yeah, it's English!

The boys decided there was a mistake with the translating app while Ms. Jackson asked them to keep reading in English. They discussed with each other before telling her the Swahili word and she typed it in her phone. At one point, the boys disagreed about one of the Swahili words for the word "bee."

Ms. Jackson: On this page, in English, ants. A-a-a-n-

Basam: No. This is not nyuki. *This* is nyuki.

Ms. Jackson: Oh, *these* are nyuki? These you don't know the name of?

Adish: (*turning to Basam*) Mabachi. Mabachi.

Basam: (*nods in agreement*) Mabachi.

Ms. Jackson: (*reading aloud as she types*) Ants in Swahili… yup, that's it!

Previously, they had agreed on the Swahili word *nyuki* for an ant. Basam was adamant *nyuki* was not the word and believed it described something on the other page. Adish and Basam both decided the Swahili word, *mabachi,* was more fitting for ants.

Ms. Jackson finished the book in this manner, page by page. After the lesson ended, she named a habitat such as forest, farm, jungle, and ocean and asked the boys to name an animal from each habitat. She asked them to recite the animal in a stem, "The (animal) lives in the (habitat)." The boys answered, shouting their answers loudly and lively for ocean animals in particular, such as fish, sharks, penguins, and whales. At the end of the lesson, Ms. Jackson displayed a Google image of the boys' apartment, which resulted in the boys' disbelief and shouting and pointing (see Figure 3 below).

Ms. Jackson: Tell me what kinds of animals or people live in this home (*showing image*)

Gabriel: My house!

Adish: My house! House for Basam! THERE!

Figure 3: Adish getting out of his seat to touch his apartment on the screen.

They proceeded to name house pets like rabbits or dogs and Ms. Jackson concluded the lesson. During an interview after this lesson, Ms. Jackson expressed the ways she valued their other languages as she told me, "It's pretty amazing. You're [not] that old and you speak all these other languages… you're learning English, do you realize how important that is? I don't ever want them to lose [their other languages] ever."

After I watched the above lesson, I reflected on how Ms. Jackson created a space for Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony to use their other languages as well as her instructional decisions regarding materials and her goals for the lesson. I asked her if she had any interest in pursuing a unit about homes in her classroom. Ms. Jackson quickly and enthusiastically replied that she would love to work together. She told me earlier she welcomed any advice about literacy and language teaching, and through interviews and informal conversations, she revealed she was still "trying to figure it out." Ms. Jackson

confessed, "[Curriculum] has been something I've been struggling with a lot. Curriculum maps are not anything we had in Catholic schools [or teaching] Spanish."

I knew my choice to ask Ms. Jackson to include me in curriculum planning would influence her classroom space. Dyson and Genishi (2004) explain how case study researchers face challenges in maintaining distance and intimacy, where we "come to know one thing well [in] a complicated, humanistic process…relying on the curiosity, friendliness, and acceptance of those who regularly inhabit that world" (p. 58). I did not perceive any apprehension from Ms. Jackson about working together; she frequently told me how she was still learning and shared her thoughts about her classroom with me in the initial observations I conducted. I believe being close in age and relatively young in our teaching careers made Ms. Jackson feel that I was more like her than different in terms of power or access. I often tried to keep this in mind during our conversations; however, I knew there would still be a power differential due to my position as a researcher, observer, and doctoral student.

We agreed that the home unit was fitting for multiple curricular engagements after reading *Animal Homes* and we started planning lessons together. I observed our relationship change over time as we spent time together talking about lessons and materials, as well as her observations about the boys when I was not there. As the study proceeded, more of our personal lives appeared in our conversations. I believe our time together shifted my role in the study from observer participant to participant observer and fellow inquirer about understanding ESL teaching and Congolese refugees, which I explain in Chapter 3.

This chapter began with a description of the sociohistorical and political context regarding refugees in which my study took place. I explained the sociohistorical and political context in which my study took place. Next, I explain the context surrounding the case study and theoretical framework in which I situate my study, followed by my research questions. I conclude by accounting for my researcher subjectivity.

Research Context

I conducted my research in one ESL classroom at Baumgartner Elementary School (all names are pseudonyms) in a southeast metropolitan city where, until recently, refugees accounted for 55% of the city's annual growth. From April to September 2017, the city welcomed around 2,300 refugees from Cuba, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Somalia, Iraq, Syria, and more. This population growth, along with extensive resettlement efforts accomplished by organizations like Refugee Social Services and Christian Charities, positioned the city as an established refugee and immigrant community.

Recently, Southeast County Public Schools (SCPS) reported there are more than 9,000 ELLs in the district who speak 136 languages, and there are 65 ESL school sites. As the city welcomed increasing numbers of ELLs into the community and SCPS welcomed more and more young ELLs into classrooms, I saw a need as a qualitative researcher to gain insight into the ways refugee children learn and how their ESL classrooms are consequently shaped by their presence. Literacy research is a critical area of inquiry in this context, as literacy ensures citizens meaningful participation in our society across homes, schools, communities, and more. In my dissertation study, I sought to understand the ideological becoming of an ESL newcomer literacy teacher as a teacher

for refugee students and her four elementary-age Congolese children who were newcomers to SCPS and learning English.

Theoretical Framework

I draw upon two theories to guide my dissertation study. I situate my research primarily in Bakhtinian sociocultural theory, as it guides my thinking about literacy and language learning. Translanguaging theory supplements the theoretical framework with conceptualizations of language that counteract a static language orientation. In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss Bakhtinian sociocultural theory and translanguaging to build a foundation for understanding the ideological becoming of the teacher and second language learners in my study.

Ideological Becoming

Many scholars cite Bakhtin (1981) in conceptualizing an individual's ideological becoming, or "how we develop our way of viewing the world, our system of ideas" (Ball & Freedman, 2004, p. 5). An individual's ideological becoming occurs in an environment constituted by what Bakhtin refers to as authoritative and internally persuasive discourses. Discourses, according to Bakhtin, "strive to determine the very bases of our ideological interrelations with the world, the very basis of our behavior" (p. 342). Bakhtin interprets discourses as utterances, or language in use. In this dissertation, I apply Gee's (2014) conceptualization of capital "D" Discourse to Bakhtin's theory and will refer to Discourses for the rest of this dissertation. According to Gee, a Discourse is:

> composed of distinctive ways of speaking/listening and writing/reading coupled with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, believing, with other people and various objects, tools, and technologies, so as to enact specific socially recognizable identities (p. 37).

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Bakhtin posits the authoritative discourse "may embody various contents: authority as such, or the authoritativeness of tradition, of generally acknowledged truths, of the official line and other similar authorities" (p. 344). The authoritative discourse is resolute, Bakhtin theorizes, as it does not allow for any variation or creativity with its authority and "one must either totally affirm it, or totally reject it" (p. 343). Internally persuasive discourses are more flexible; as Bakhtin argues these discourses "do not remain in an isolated or static condition [as] they enter into interanimating relationships with new contexts" (pp. 345-346). Gee claims Discourses communicate with each other across history, as "the Discourse we enact existed before each of us came on the scene" (p. 52). This means individuals are situated in Discourses that have been reshaped by other Discourses over time, while the same individuals also reshape the Discourses as they enact it. Ball and Freedman (2004) name internally persuasive discourses as the "everyday discourse of the common people we encounter every day" (p. 8). They claim:

> It is what each person thinks for him or herself, what ultimately is persuasive to the individual. As we form our own ideas, we come into contact with the discourses of others and those discourses enter our consciousness much as authoritative discourse does. (p. 8)

In this sense, I see authoritative Discourses as ways of being, believing, acting, and more that are uncontested, while internally persuasive Discourses are ways of being, believing, and acting that are flexible and responding to new interpretations and new contexts. According to Gee (2014), an individual must act out a Discourse to be recognized by others within the same Discourse. As they enact what Gee defines as "socially significant identities," they can change the Discourse as well. The tension between these two types of discourses shapes what Bakhtin refers to as an individual's "ideological consciousness" (p. 342). Bakhtin argues that eventually, internally

persuasive discourses will "sooner or later begin to liberate themselves from the authority of the other's discourse" (p. 348).

Sociocultural Theory

I situate my beliefs about literacy and language in sociocultural theory, as I believe literacy is a cultural practice individuals apprentice into by socializing with various groups to make meaning of their world. Vygotsky's (1978) work establishes the foundation of sociocultural theory, as he posits learning initially begins as external and interpersonal, later internalized through developmental moments in an individual's life. Vygotsky explains, "The basic characteristic of human behavior in general is that humans personally influence their relations with the environment and through that environment personally change their behavior, subjugating it to their control" (p. 51). This process is known as mediation, or the use of tools and signs in socially organized ways. In particular, social mediation refers to the individual's interactions with others that mediate their learning and development. Moll (2014) explains:

> People interact with their worlds, which are 'humanized, full of material and symbolic objects' [citing Scribner, 1990] through these mediating means; and the mediation of actions through cultural artifacts, especially language, both oral and written, plays a pivotal role in the formation and development of human intellectual capacities. (pp. 30-31)

The formation and development of human intellectual capacities is ongoing, as individuals frequently encounter new problems to solve and must make meaning to move toward equilibrium.

Street (1984) influences literacy scholarship as he distinguishes between *autonomous* and *ideological* models of literacy. The *autonomous* model of literacy positions literacy as a set of decontextualized and neutral skills, which can be transferred into any context. In this sense, "literacy is something that one either has or does not have; people are either literate or illiterate, and those who are illiterate are deficient" (Perry, 2012, p. 53). On the other hand, the *ideological* model of literacy conceptualizes literacy as a set of practices, which are situated in particular social, historical, political, cultural, and economic contexts. Literacy and language practices are seen as ways individuals draw upon social and cultural resources to make meaning across contexts for different purposes with a diverse set of audiences. Globalization shapes these resources, contexts, and audiences in new ways, requiring individuals to invent or reshape ways of making meaning and participating in the public life. Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza (2003) explain that through sociocultural perspectives, "language is a tool for navigating…the social world, constructing meaning, displaying identities, and otherwise accomplishing social goals" (p. 16). Individuals' identities are fluid and dynamic as they respond to different demands in diverse contexts, which may result in new beliefs and ways of being for subsequent acts of participation in the public life.

Translanguaging

I draw upon translanguaging (Garcia, 2009; Williams, 1996) as the second theoretical framework to explain how language learners creatively and flexibly employ their linguistic resources in different contexts. Garcia and Wei (2014) define translanguaging as:

> an approach to the use of language, bilingualism, and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous

language systems, as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages. (p. 2)

García, Johnson, Seltzer, and Valdés (2017) outline three principles in translanguaging theory: (a) bilinguals use their linguistic repertoires as resources for learning, and as identity markers that point to their innovative ways of knowing, being, and communicating; (b) bilinguals learn language through their interactions with others within their home, social, and cultural environments; and (c) translanguaging is fluid language use that is part of bilinguals' sense-making process (p. xi). In this sense, language is not considered "right" or "correct" but used for making meaning or communicating with others to accomplish certain social goals. Canagarajah (2011) explains translanguaging is currently theorized under different names across disciplines such as composition (e.g. "codemeshing", "transcultural literacy" or "translingual writing"), new literacy studies (e.g. "multiliteracies" or "pluriliteracy"), applied linguistics ("third spaces" or "metrolingualism"), and sociolinguistics ("poly-lingual languaging"). In agreement with García et al., he argues, "[Translanguaging] is a creative improvisation according to the needs of the context and local situation. It is an interactive achievement that depends on aligning one's language resources to the features of the ecology to construct meaning" (p.5). Translanguaging scholars reimagine second language phenomenon, such as code-switching, in new ways. Code-switching is renamed as codemeshing— how language or resource alternation draws upon a single system rather than two separate systems.

Additionally, Wei (2018) describes the difficulty in simplifying or reducing languages to a set of systems or codes, as he explains, "The language we individually

produce is an idiolect, our own unique personal language" (p. 18). Citing Otheguy et al. (2015), Wei claims a bilingual's idiolect "[consists] of lexical and grammatical features from different socially and politically defined languages, just as a so-called monolingual's idiolect would consist of lexical and grammatical features from regionally, social class-wise, and stylistically differentiated varieties of the same named language" (p. 19). To support his claim further, Wei also argues humans think beyond language, and "thinking requires the use of a variety of cognitive, semiotic, and modal resources of which language in its conventional sense of speech and writing is only one" (p. 18). In essence, translanguaging involves the creative and flexible use of not only linguistic resources, but *any* resource available to the individual.

In an era of globalization, Blommaert (2010) explains the mobility of people can contribute to fragmented or incomplete language repertoires, "with an overlay of differentially developed literacy skills in one of some languages (depending on the level of literacy at the time of migration)" (p. 9). He claims that in order to understand the complexity of linguistic resources and repertoires, we need to understand "*what counts as language* in particular contexts" (p. 12). In complex spaces, he believes, "complex and truncated repertoires have validity… [individuals who move] are often confronted with situations in which the sociolinguistic and communicative requirements stretch their repertoires and complex patterns of shifting and mixing occur" (p. 12).

The ELL label is also redefined due to the ways it implies language is a discrete, separate, stable unit and how the categorical label does not acknowledge an individual's linguistic knowledge other than English. Ascenzi-Moreno (2017) argues, "Because terms such as 'ELLs' are often tied to policies set by school districts, they still abound in

schools, despite the widespread recognition among scholars and practitioners that they are based on a deficit perspective" (p. 278). Some scholars use terms such as "emergent bilingual" to acknowledge the various language resources an individual has in their repertoire; however, this term still suggests language as a set of different systems, rather than a single system comprised of multiple resources that individuals draw upon in creative and flexible ways. I view the term "translingual" (Horner, Lu, Royster, & Trimbur, 2011) or "transnational" (Skerrett, 2015) to be more fitting in communicating how an individual operates between various languages, codes, and more. I use "ELL" to respect and accurately portray the words and thoughts of the participants in the study and the way the term informs policy and shapes the local school context. I use the term "translingual" in place of "ELL" in my own analysis.

Translanguaging theory assists educators in viewing the language learners in their classrooms as strategic and purposeful, rather than lacking in English language development. García et al. (2017) encourage educators to observe and examine linguistic performance rather than linguistic proficiency. This occurs when teachers describe and assess "their complex language practices, and then adapt and use pedagogy to leverage [student bilingualism]" (p. xi). García and Wei (2014) believe education acts as a *translanguaging space,* where translanguaging:

> creates a social space for the language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience, and environment; their attitude, belief, and ideology; their cognitive and physical capacity, into one coordinated and meaningful performance (as cited in Wei, 2018, p. 23.)

In using Bakhtinian sociocultural and translanguaging theories, I sought to view the events I observed through a meaning-making, strength-based orientation to literacy and language learning. The lesson I described earlier in this chapter demonstrates how

Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony mobilized knowledge about Swahili and English to make sense of a lesson and communicate with others to negotiate understanding, practices seen to be beneficial to educational success. I began to understand how Ms. Jackson, her students, and the ideological environment at Baumgartner shaped each other's ideological becoming, as they developed a system of beliefs about what it meant to be an ESL literacy teacher who taught newcomers and refugee students learning to be students in U.S. schools. I explain my researcher's subjectivity next and how it influenced my ways of interacting with Ms. Jackson and her students in the next section.

Research Questions

I sought to observe the ideological becoming of a newcomer ESL literacy teacher and four Congolese refugee students in her ESL classroom. My goal was to understand the competing and corroborating Discourses and how participants navigated between them to establish their ideological selves— for the ESL newcomer literacy teacher, who was learning to teach refugee students, and the Congolese students, who were experiencing their own ideological becoming amidst a cacophony of Discourses and ideologies.

The research questions that guided my study were:

1. What Discourses and ideologies about English literacy and language learning and teaching are expressed by an ESL newcomer literacy teacher and her administrators at Baumgartner Elementary?

2. What Discourses and ideologies about refugee students are expressed by an ESL newcomer literacy teacher and her administrators at Baumgartner Elementary?

3. In what ways does the ESL newcomer literacy teacher adapt her teaching of refugee students as she negotiates the intersections of Discourses of English literacy and language teaching and refugees as part of her ideological becoming as a teacher of culturally and linguistically diverse students?

My Researcher Subjectivity

My preoccupation with language learning and teaching did not emerge until I was a teenager and took four years of Spanish classes in high school. Up until this point, I had not paid attention to language—what it was, what it was used for, what it did for me, etc. Looking back, I cannot believe how much I took for granted about language. My attention to language learning ebbed and flowed throughout my teacher education courses and field placements and subsequent employment as a homeroom teacher with classes full of Spanish-speaking ELLs. I had studied Spanish enough at this point to consider myself mostly fluent, which helped me with my students and their parents. Moll (2014) explains second language learning can be celebrated for a white student, such as myself. I grew up in a predominantly white, affluent suburb where few individuals spoke a language other than English. There was a sense of cosmopolitanism, in which knowing a second language was glamorous: everyone was impressed or surprised by my ability to speak Spanish. Through my language learning, I was able to travel to "exotic" worlds and explore cities feeling like I was a local. I capitalized on my linguistic strengths on my resume, as my ability to speak Spanish attracted employers for future teaching jobs.

However, as I came to understand throughout my teaching experiences, nonnative English speakers face sharp criticism as they attempt to learn English. Language learning was very much the opposite for my students than my own experiences, who were often

criticized by educators in the district for "lacking" English, or "lacking" any language knowledge for that matter. My students and their families were characterized as a "problem" in the district, as intervention after intervention was quickly endorsed and then discarded after lackluster results on standardized tests. My students and their families had rich life histories and experiences reflecting their Latino heritage and culture; however, these life histories and experiences were often rejected at school in favor of more White, middle-class influenced curriculum.

My wonderings about language learning only intensified when I moved to the city in which my dissertation study took place, as I learned the city had an established history as a refugee resettlement site. I volunteered with the local refugee resettlement agency and connected to the local school district and its staff to learn more about refugees as another group of language learners. It was clear the city was on the precipice of a great transformation with exciting opportunities for understanding our world, like Ball and Freedman suggest at the opening of this chapter.

I acknowledge my commitment to this dissertation results from my life history and experiences as a teacher of translingual students, which brings my assumptions and biases about language teaching and learning to the study. My views on literacy and language teaching have changed, and I situate my thinking in more additive, strength-based orientations to literacy and language learning. Although my current view is different from the district and school paradigms, I drew upon these subtractive, deficit orientations early in my teaching career and there are still traces of these beliefs in my life history and thinking. Given that Moll (2014) explains subjectivities are "a generative resource in interacting with the world" (p. 85), I believe my shifting subjectivities reflect

the nuances of a researcher's view of reality and the dynamic ways of viewing a case study like my dissertation research.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided an overview of the sociohistorical and political context of my study through an examination of recent U.S. immigrant and federal education policy and language ideology. I ground my study in Bakhtinian sociocultural theory to understand an individual's ideological consciousness about literacy and language development. I drew upon a translanguaging framework to account for how the Congolese students leveraged their linguistic resources in an ever-changing ideological environment.

In Chapter 2, I review literature on refugee and immigrant elementary children and their literacy and language practices, as well as teachers facing an emerging linguistically and culturally diverse student population. In Chapter 3, I present my research methodology, study design, and accompanying methods for data collection and analysis. In Chapter 4, I explore findings related to the authoritative Discourse and ideologies at Baumgartner Elementary about English literacy and language teaching and the ways of being, thinking, acting, and believing that constituted spaces and processes that are often left uncontested and unquestioned by those living in the Discourse. In Chapter 5, I present findings related to the Discourse about Refugees, a newly emerged internally persuasive Discourse, which influenced and challenged Ms. Jackson's and her school administrators' ways of being, thinking, acting, and believing, leading to processes that contested existing educational borders and spaces. In the last findings chapter, Chapter 6, I examine the intersection of the authoritative English Literacy and

Language Teaching Discourse and the Discourse about Refugees, or when they "collide" in the classroom as Ms. Jackson "figures out" how to teach her four Congolese students. Her classroom serves as a contact zone, or a place where authoritative and internally persuasive Discourses come into contact, in turn producing tension necessary for ideological becoming. I conclude in Chapter 7 by summarizing my findings and contribution to the field of English language arts and language teaching as well as to the field of K-12 refugee scholarship.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

For the purposes of this study, I am interested in moments of ideological becoming in elementary literacy and language teachers' classrooms and experiences as they teach culturally and linguistically diverse students which may reflect how teachers draw upon (or do not draw upon) students' backgrounds and knowledge. This literature review describes qualitative research studies grounded in sociocultural theory that examine literacy and language teaching and translingual students. I aim to add to existing immigrant and refugee literacy research by examining a context where one English as a Second Language (ESL) newcomer literacy teacher wrestles with competing and corroborating influences in her teaching as she faces increasingly diverse groups of students in her classrooms, such as refugee students like Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony.

I begin with a discussion of research examining teachers' ideological becoming in preservice and in-service teacher training focused on cultural and linguistic diversity. Additionally, I include scholarship on big 'D' Discourses, in order to supplement understanding on the types of influences on teachers' learning and subsequent teacher identity formation. I also include studies that demonstrate translanguaging in classrooms and what occurs as a result of using translanguaging practices. To conclude, I review recent literacy and language scholarship on African refugees to illustrate two points: the

unique, rich linguistic and literate traditions of emerging immigrant and refugee groups, and the paucity of research on this specific population of children in K-12 schools today.

I narrowed my survey of literature to include search terms such as: *novice ESL teacher, diversity, teaching, preservice teacher, ideological becoming, elementary refugee children, literacy, translanguaging,* and *language arts classroom*. I created a concept map to organize literature according to themes in each area, described below. Additionally, I use authors' language to reflect their stance in their work regarding systems of language (i.e. emergent bilingual, codeswitching), as I continue to use *translingual student* and *codemeshing* in subsequent discussions.

Ideological Becoming in Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Contexts

Ball and Freedman (2004) celebrate that "classrooms are more varied than ever before, with students coming together across what used to be considered uncrossable linguistic and cultural divides" (p. 8). However, as the number of students with varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds increase, the teaching population still represents mostly middle-class, White, female teachers who have limited experiences in teaching diverse populations. Teachers in K-12 school settings are left with decisions on how to proceed regarding their pedagogy and instruction. In literacy and language scholarship, Ascenzi-Moreno (2017) summarizes that "few studies have examined how teachers view and respond to the diversity of their recently arrived emergent bilinguals" (p. 277).

In the sections that follow, I review scholarship on preservice and in-service teachers' experiences as they learn about the teaching of culturally and linguistically diverse students and the moves they make in redefining their system of beliefs as teacher. I categorize this process as the ideological becoming as a teacher of culturally and

linguistically diverse students. Teachers make instructional decisions based on the available ideologies, Discourses, and systems of belief in the ideological environment. I also review a study of young children as they appropriate authoritative schooling Discourses to demonstrate how young children draw upon resources based on what is available to them in their ideological becoming.

Preservice teachers' ideological becoming. Research on preservice teacher education reflects multiple efforts and initiatives to introduce and prepare preservice teachers (PSTs) for teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students in their classrooms. These efforts and initiatives vary across settings in their aims and scopes. Kibler and Roman (2013) explain these experiences encompass more than "providing teachers with simple sets of strategies or instructional guidelines [as] teachers have acquired a complex set of experiences, beliefs, knowledge, and skills" that help them teach their culturally and linguistically diverse students (p. 189). I divide this section into the following categories: teacher program and curriculum design, which includes service learning and study abroad opportunities, and teacher innovations.

Teacher program and curriculum design. Research on the effects of preservice teacher program and curriculum design for preparing teachers of culturally and linguistically diverse students has increased within the last decade. Lucas and Villegas (2011) outlined a pre-service curriculum comprising central learning tasks to prepare teachers for what they call "linguistically responsive teaching" (p. 99). They listed three orientations and four types of pedagogical knowledge and skills (Table 1) to lay a foundation of what they call "elements of expertise" (p. 103). They mapped these elements of expertise to learning tasks that teacher educators can select and plan for a

teacher preparation program, such as cultivating favorable views of linguistic diversity
and respect for English Language Learners' (ELLs) home languages.

Orientations	Pedagogical knowledge and skills
• sociolinguistic consciousness	• Repertoire of strategies for learning about linguistic and academic backgrounds of ELLs in English and their native languages
• value for linguistic diversity	• Understanding of and ability to apply key principles of second language learning
• inclination to advocate for English language learners	• Ability to identify the language demands of classroom tasks
	• Repertoire of strategies for scaffolding instruction for ELLs

Table 1: Lucas and Villegas' (2011) framework for linguistically responsive teaching.

Just as Lucas and Villegas believed central learning tasks operate as a critical
component in teacher education programs, other preservice teacher preparation
scholarship indicates the wide range of efforts and initiatives to prepare teachers for the
cultural and linguistic needs of their future students, such as early field experiences
(Gomez, Strage, Knutson-Miller, & Garcia-Nevarez, 2009); after-school tutoring
programs (Fitts & Gross, 2012; Marx, 2004); elementary practicums (Daniel, 2014);
teaching cases (Gunn, Peterson, and Welsh, 2015; Salerno & Kibler, 2013); and
initiatives to restructure coursework for more effective and meaningful instruction (Assaf
& Dooley, 2006; Cho, Rios, Trent, & Mayfield, 2012; Jimenez-Silva, Olson, & Jimenez
Hernandez, 2012; Olson & Jimenez-Silva, 2008).

Research in this area draws upon multiple methods of data collection, including
observations of preservice teachers and their professors, individual and focus interviews,
surveys and questionnaires, and document analysis of written reflections and case studies.
In their document analysis of case studies written by PSTs, Salerno and Kibler (2013)
discovered PSTs described their ELL partner in terms of behavior, such as quietness,

engagement, and friendliness. PST recommendations for teaching strategies varied greatly, and Salerno and Kibler noted the case study format encouraged students to focus on individualized, research-based strategies. In their case study, Fitts and Gross (2012) observed how student tutors' views changed over a semester as they tutored EL students and asked them what they learned from working with their EL students. They found student tutors initially distanced themselves socially from bilingual groups and expressed limited knowledge in the language or culture of the EL students. At the end of the semester, student tutors' data revealed their positive feelings toward bilingualism and their belief that EL students' intellectual abilities were the same as native English-speaking peers.

Daniel (2014) observed preservice teachers in their teacher education practicum to identify and describe the opportunities and challenges they faced in working with ELLs and the ways their instructors expressed challenges in providing opportunities for the PSTs in the program. In her case study, she interviewed preservice teachers and teacher educators and observed the preservice teachers in their practicum. She also collected samples of action research projects and teaching portfolios and attended teacher education class meetings. Daniel found preservice teachers witnessed teaching and learning that perpetuated inequitable education opportunities for ELLs. Her findings included: a) effective education for ELLs is "not discussed"; b) mentors did not model supporting students in overcoming linguistic demands; c) mentors did not model collaboration with other teachers in the internship schools; d) mentors did not model caring relationships with culturally and linguistically diverse students; and e) interactions with students enabled teacher candidates to practice linguistically responsive pedagogy.

Through an instrumental case study, Gomez, Black, and Allen (2007) sought to understand how issues of race, class, and gender were taken up in the talk of a White, female preservice teacher, Alison. They followed her through four semesters of coursework and field placements as she began to interrogate and question her identity as a White teacher and her relationship as a White teacher with her students from various cultural backgrounds. Gomez et al. drew upon Bakhtin's theory of ideological becoming to understand how Alison reorganized her thinking as it was influenced and distinguished by different social languages, or in this case, the social languages of her teacher education program and the existing languages with which she entered the program.

Through a two-year period, researchers followed six secondary preservice teachers through coursework and field experiences. Gomez et al. decided to focus on Alison because she was "emblematic of preservice teachers who are White, bright, articulate, well prepared…and invested in students' subject matter understanding, achievement, personal growth, and pride" (p. 2111). Data were collected through interviews with Alison and program faculty and staff who were her teachers. According to Gomez et al., the combination of courses and fieldwork intended to build knowledge "about students, families, and their communities; self as a teacher; curriculum and development; and pedagogical knowledge" (p. 2113). The authors distinguished dimensions of teaching that comprised Alison's ideological becoming—herself, her students, cultural diversity, and pedagogy— to tell four stories of how Alison's ideas about these teaching dimensions are interrupted, requiring her to reintegrate previous and new knowledge.

In the first story, Alison was placed at one of the most diverse schools in the city and acknowledged her limited experience and knowledge with people of color. Citing Grant and Sleeter (2003), Gomez et al. (2007) explained Alison viewed differences between people through a "food, fun, and festivals" model of diversity—which can be described as "[seeing] diversity as something that is best met by celebrations of people's food, dances, art, and other expressions of their culture" (p. 2117). The authors noted her placement at the diverse high school created a point of contact to struggle with ideas of differences and to try on different social languages. In the second story, the authors showed how Alison's reflections indicated an emerging awareness for relevant curriculum and instruction for the students in her new placement. Gomez et al. claimed Alison simultaneously tried to hold ideas about the neutrality of science instruction and inclusive pedagogy to engage her students when race issues arose. In the third story, Alison realized that not only did she have to make subject material interesting, but it was her responsibility to draw upon her students' lives to what she was teaching as well. Gomez et al. argued Alison recognized "how the social languages with which she had been imbued and the ideological position from which she operated were inadequate for the career she had chosen if she wanted to meet the needs of her students" (p. 2125).

In the final story, the authors illustrated how Alison articulated the difference between the social languages of her teacher education program and her childhood and the emerging ideological positions in which she grounded her teaching. Gomez et al. (2007) argued their work demonstrates how teachers like Alison are willing and ready to learn about issues of race and culture, the implications for their teaching, and what may scaffold teachers' thinking in imagining what their teaching practices could look like.

Additionally, they hoped Alison's professional development continued to be gradual, reflexive, and fluid—just like her ideological becoming in the study. Gomez et al. concluded by encouraging teacher education programs to create contact zones to "make visible the ideological positions that preservice teachers bring…to present sorts of problems that disrupt notions about themselves, their construction of who 'others' are, and what constitutes appropriate curriculum" (pp. 2132-2133).

Notably, research examining coursework restructuring often utilized surveys to measure preservice teachers' self-assessment of their efficacy, confidence, or feelings about teaching English learners. Using additional qualitative methods may boost scholarship in this area of effort in preservice education to encompass more data, such as observational data or narrative reflections, that extends beyond self-assessment rating measures.

Service learning and study abroad experiences. Research in this area demonstrates the impact of teacher preparation program designs that include service learning or international study abroad experiences (Alfaro, 2008; Bollin, 2007; Gomez, Lachuk, and Powell, 2015; Hale, 2008; Medina, Hathaway, & Pilonieta, 2015; Wong, 2008). Alfaro (2008) analyzed biliteracy teacher candidates' accounts of their experiences in an international student teaching setting with culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically diverse elementary students. Alfaro found from PST interviews and journal reflections that PSTs deconstructed and reconstructed a new value system and adapted curriculum based on their students' life stories and experiences, as well as experienced revelations regarding their knowledge about cultural differences. Service learning and study broad experiences may influence students' desires to work with

diverse populations in the future, especially if the experience is novel and creates moments for students to confront realizations or epiphanies about the lived realities of those who are different from them. Notably, the studies above involve Latino or Hispanic populations and there is a need to study this sort of teacher learning with diverse learners from backgrounds in addition to just Spanish speakers.

Pre-service teacher innovations. In preservice teacher education programs, teacher innovations extend to pedagogical or empirical approaches that deepen teacher candidates' understanding of their students. These innovations include cultural memoirs (Allen & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2004); teacher inquiry (Dresser, 2007) home-school connection projects (Amaro-Jiménez, 2016); and blogging (Baecher, Schieble, Rosalia, & Rorimer, 2013; Hsu, 2009).

Dresser (2007) studied nine teacher candidates in Spanish bilingual classrooms in various urban schools as they drew upon a specific model of classroom inquiry. The particular model used in this study required PSTs to get to know their child's academic, linguistic, and social needs. Preservice teachers planned, implemented, and recorded a lesson as they collected student work. The supervisor met with each PST and they created a plan for the next lesson. Dresser concluded teacher inquiry influenced teacher candidates' views of themselves as reflective and aware practitioners, ultimately seeking out effective ways to teach ELLs in literacy and language teaching.

Amaro-Jiménez (2016) studied preservice teachers and their perceptions of the advantages of being involved in a home-school connection project with culturally and linguistically diverse families. The program involved PSTs observing culturally and linguistically diverse students in field placements, participating in open house, teacher

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meetings, professional development trainings, and more. PSTs designed lessons and curriculum influenced from their observations and wrote reflections. They also created what was called a "Family Suitcase" (Moomaw & Hieronymus, 2002), which contained materials collected around one content area, like literacy or math. In this context, Amaro-Jiménez adapted the Family Suitcase for culturally and linguistically diverse parents. She analyzed PST case studies in which teacher candidates revealed they saw the importance of creating home-school bridges, individualization of instruction, and understanding the realities faced by parents and families.

Hsu (2009) sought to understand how blogging could increase preservice teachers' awareness of cultural and linguistic diversity in their field placements. PSTs were required to post reflections on the weblog around diversity in literacy instruction as they reflected on their own cultural identity. In a content analysis, Hsu found PSTs were motivated to expand diversity discussions in the college classroom to the blog, perhaps the way the blog allowed PSTs opportunities for deeper reflection that in-class discussions did not always permit.

The research discussed here illuminates the multidimensional efforts in preservice education in preparing PSTs for culturally and linguistically diverse student populations, extending to program and curricular design such as early field experiences, after-school tutoring programs, elementary practicums, teaching cases, and initiatives to restructure coursework for more effective and meaningful instruction as well as service learning and study abroad opportunities. Teacher pedagogical innovations such as cultural memoirs, teacher inquiry, home-school connection projects, and blogging also support PSTs in developing beliefs and practices in their future classrooms. Notably, the above research

discusses these efforts as case studies, or a single instance or unit, in examining the efforts for preparing PSTs to teach for cultural and linguistic diversity. In reviewing this area of research, PST researchers may need to study what a combination of field and extracurricular experiences, specific assignments, and the configuration and coordination of meaningful coursework for discussing ELLs may accomplish in the preparation of teachers of culturally and linguistically diverse students.

In-service teachers' ideological becoming. Research on in-service teachers' training or professional development is not as established as preservice teacher education efforts and initiatives. In-service teachers' ideological becoming as teachers of culturally and linguistically diverse students is more complex due to the consideration of various factors such as the degree and quality of their teacher preparation, years in their career, the context of their teaching, and most importantly, the student population they have experience teaching (for example, they may have no or few language learners in their classroom). Professional development may also be institutionally constrained from local or national influences; for example, the state in which this dissertation study took place has a strong teacher's union which forbids school districts from mandating the type of professional development they pursue each year. Therefore, in-service teachers' training may lack consistency from school district to state across the United States (U.S.), even as the diversity of the student population grows.

However, practicing teachers report feeling underprepared in teaching ELLs in their classrooms (Cho & McDonnough, 2009; Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005, as cited in Kibler & Roman, 2013, p. 189). While research shows beliefs are often entrenched and difficult to change for experienced and practicing teachers, Pettit (2011)

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claims, "It is possible to change [beliefs] through effective professional development or coursework so that ELLs will have greater success" (p. 123). This section describes research about how in-service teachers encountered cultural and linguistic diversity in their classrooms, their professional learning, and what influenced their belief systems and teacher identity. Additionally, the study of Discourses in teacher learning is critical to examine to understand the development of a "teacher identity" and the Discourses available in the process. Furthermore, the study of Discourses offers evidence for how teachers draw upon previous Discourses in forming new socially significant identities.

Cultural and linguistic diversity training. Kibler and Roman (2013) employed a multiple case study design as they investigated practicing teachers' perspectives on native language use in their classrooms as teachers took an online three-course sequence for obtaining their ELL certification. The three courses broadly covered topics such as language structure and use, foundations of English language and literacy development, culture and cultural diversity in relation to academic achievement, and assessment of ELLs. Kibler and Roman analyzed data for two of eight teachers in the online course certification who did not describe themselves as bilingual or work in bilingual programs. The data included online course discussions and written assignments, teacher interviews, and classroom observations after the course was completed. One teacher was a novice kindergarten teacher who taught students from multiple language backgrounds. Kibler and Roman characterized her perspectives on native language use as positive and how her strategies expanded across time for drawing on her students' linguistic backgrounds. However, they noted her strategies may not have occurred as substantively as she expressed in interviews, and that her strategies for drawing on native languages happened

more occasionally than daily. Kibler and Roman categorized her change as a "consistent advocate." The other teacher, a special education high school teacher, displayed acceptance of native language use but still held deficit views on bilingualism in general. They note the kindergarten teacher's novice status may have attributed to her willingness to draw upon native language use and her positive views on bilingualism.

Additionally, the kindergarten teacher taught in a more affluent setting—Kibler and Roman (2013) suggested the special education teacher's context in a lower socioeconomic setting contributed to her conceptualizations of second language use as a "language of poverty" (García & Mason, 2009) and one to be ignored or avoided. Kibler and Roman believed their research demonstrated the need to examine professional development outside school contexts. Teachers who do not consider themselves bilingual do not necessarily hold negative views about native language use—they may need help "moving beyond 'honoring' native languages to actually incorporating them into daily instruction." (p. 204).

Ascenzi-Moreno (2017) studied two ESL teachers in a collaborative study group who were considering translanguaging pedagogy for the growing group of culturally and linguistically diverse students at their school. She claimed the material used in the study group "exposed the ways the [ESL] teachers revised their knowledge and practices based on nuanced understanding of the students they worked with" (p. 277). Ascenzi-Moreno employed a phenomenological approach through a case study design to observe the work of the study group, drawing upon recordings and field notes from group meetings, as well as observations of the teachers with students and interviews. Through open coding and

critical discourse analysis (CDA), two themes emerged: shifting conceptualizations of students and teacher agency in pedagogy.

In their conceptualization of students, teachers initially labeled students by the state achievement classification. They later turned their attention and effort to student resources in learning, and this shift led to the trying out of new instructional practices. Ascenzi-Moreno (2017) explained labels were not entirely problematic as they served to group students for practical use but "coupled with scripted curriculum, they leave teachers with few entry points to understand the complexity of their students' literacy experiences and little guidance in adopting generic instructional practices" (p. 287). The teachers in the group frequently expressed their goals to help their students "move up" language levels; over time, however, they realized scripted curriculum could not give them views of their students in terms of what they knew. Ascenzi-Moreno defined this idea as "a lens of partiality." Through the study group, the ESL teachers tried out translanguaging practices with their students within the confines of the scripted curriculum, like asking students to respond to a reading passage in their home language before responding in English. The ESL teachers gained insight to students' experiences and attitudes about coming to the U.S. through these engagements. Ascenzi-Moreno observed how "changes in how students were perceived occurred in tandem with pedagogical changes" (p. 291).

In conjunction with how teachers conceptualized their students, teachers found more opportunities to expand their teaching repertoire and exercise more agency in their pedagogy. Ascenzi-Moreno (2017) claimed that with more translanguaging success, "teachers felt motivated to further adapt the scripted curriculum beyond the insertion of

translanguaging opportunities" (p. 294). She believed the teachers' engagement with translanguaging pedagogy increased how they drew upon different instructional practices than scripted curriculum in supporting emergent bilinguals in their classrooms.

Skerrett (2011) studied an ESL language arts teacher, her ideas about linguistic diversity and literacy learning, her role in a culturally and linguistically diverse classroom, and her process of learning and developing engagements. Drawing upon Ball's (2009) four processes of cognitive change in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms (CLCCs)—metacognitive awareness, ideological becoming, internalization, and generativity—Skerrett examined how the fourth process, generativity, played out in an ESL language arts teacher's classroom as she synthesized her knowledge of how to meet students' needs and personal and professional knowledge in order to create new knowledge.

The case study involved interviews and document data, coded thematically to produce codes about the ESL teacher's conceptualization of linguistic diversity, literacy learning, and her role in a CLCC, as well as practices and paradoxes in her classroom. Skerrett (2011) also discussed the constraints on the ESL teacher's attempts at generativity such as official curriculum, lack of professional learning and collaboration with ESL and homeroom teachers, and "insufficient professional development opportunities related to culturally responsive teaching" (p. 93). The ESL teacher viewed herself as someone who designed curriculum to bring her students' lives into her classroom, advocating for students and linguistic diversity—what Skerrett names as her ideological becoming. Ball (2009) claims, "Teachers can reject or embrace particular

theories and ideologies about literacy and diversity in formulating their stances on the relation between diversity and literacy teaching and learning" (as cited in Skerrett, p. 90).

Skerrett named two paradoxes in the ESL teacher's classroom: encouraging cultural assimilation while affirming students' cultures and using a culturally responsive curriculum while upholding English language arts traditions. In the first paradox, the ESL teacher expressed concern for students who remained closely connected to their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, as she believed it could delay their assimilation into mainstream cultural traditions and rituals. Additionally, she enacted what Skerrett called traditional language arts teaching, such as teaching literary elements, vocabulary, and grammar as she sought opportunities for students to connect and contribute to curriculum and learning. Skerrett claimed the official curriculum shaped the ESL teacher's instruction, as she argued, "As [the ESL teacher] perceived the overarching goal of the ESL program as preparing students for mainstream English, she structured her curriculum to move students progressively towards the curriculum texts and tasks of the mainstream" (p. 94). Other constraints included the fact that the ESL department head selected curriculum materials, determined units, and supported particular practices and assessments with which the ESL teacher did not always agree.

Skerrett (2011) claimed these paradoxes in the ESL teacher's classroom suggest a need for ongoing professional development so teachers have opportunities to use the knowledge they create with their students and learn from other educators and research, as well as encouraging collaboration between teachers who can maintain critical stances in their teaching. She also claimed the importance of teacher and student agency in curriculum and instruction.

Notably, the above studies discuss teachers' becoming as a result of coming into contact with cultural and linguistic diversity. However, teachers' ideological becoming can also occur from lesson outcomes or events that shape subsequent decisions they make regarding more specifically literacy instruction. Parsons (2012) studied the adaptive teaching of two third grade teachers through observations, interviews, and lesson plans. The school had adopted a project-based literacy instruction model, of which each teacher adapted instruction differently across lessons. One teacher adapted her instruction 39 times while the other teacher adapted her instruction 19 times in a series of tasks. Parsons categorized these tasks as either closed, moderately open, or open—closed tasks, for example, were discrete and inauthentic and offered limited choices for students. These adaptations included inserting a mini-lesson, suggesting a different perspective, or changing the planned order of instruction. The teachers reflected on their adaptations and attributed changes to reasons such as promoting student engagement, check student understanding, or because objectives were not being met. Parsons found the third-grade teachers adapted their instruction more frequently when the tasks were open, or student-centered, and debated whether the number of adaptations by each teacher were determined by factors like the lesson context or their knowledge of their students.

Big 'D' Discourse. Schmidt and Whitmore (2010) examined the ways an ESL teacher positioned herself and navigated the perceived challenges in her school regarding second language learning and the adoption of commercial materials which narrowed and positioned language in deficit ways. They drew upon oral and written language from various sources such as written responses, small group discussion, and individual interviews in an exemplary literacy teaching project. Through three layers of analysis—

content, rhetorical, and critical discourse analysis—they uncovered the ways of being that comprised the teacher's identities, or ways of being and interacting as an ESL teacher. The data illustrated how the teacher enacted intricate identities as an ESL teacher, as "an intelligent teacher of students marginalized both within and outside of school and experiencing national and local limitations on her professionalism" (p. 401). Schmidt and Whitmore described the teacher as a theoretician who used theory to inform her teaching practices, such as reading and writing as transaction and multiple sign systems. They also noted what they call "art-full language" in her oral and written language use as a way to use language for different audiences, purposes, and voices. Schmidt and Whitmore (2010) illustrated the ways the ESL teacher used language to position herself across different contexts as a strategy for agency and improvisation in the face of state-mandated and controlling curriculum.

Danielsson and Warwick (2014) interviewed eleven primary school student teachers in a Post Graduate Certificate of Education teacher training course to examine the intersections of different Discourses and the influences on identity positioning in their talk as they prepared for teaching science in elementary schools. The authors believed the "science teaching by inquiry Discourse" would emerge in their interviews due to ways the Discourse was promoted through their teacher education courses. Danielsson and Warwick identified four other Discourses in earlier work: traditional science teaching Discourse, traditional primary teacher Discourse, teacher as classroom authority Discourse, and primary teacher as role model Discourse.

According to Danielsson and Warwick (2014), identity is a negotiated experience; individuals perform a certain identity that is validated (or not) by others, which also

includes adapting particular practices to align oneself to a specific identity. They claim, "Each Discourse has different resonances for different individuals, with personal histories impacting on an individual's willingness and ability to engage with particular Discourses…the interactions between them are also constituted differently for each individual" (p. 291). Drawing upon scholarship by Sfard and Prusak (2005), the authors argued "significant narrators" in teachers' lives (like peers, professors, colleagues, and so on) played a major role in the teachers' identity building as the teachers participated in experiences designed for their professional development. Each narrator would have a particular "take" on a Discourse and expect teachers to engage in the specific Discourse of their choosing.

Danielsson and Warwick (2014) argued that the negotiation of student teachers in their teacher identity was afforded and constrained by a multitude of factors, including the training course, their school placements, and their own experiences. In select case studies, the authors discussed the way four student teachers negotiated "science teacher" identity between Discourses and how each teacher will "be involved in ongoing negotiations throughout their professional life" (p. 294). One student, Celia, navigated the tensions between the traditional science teaching and teaching science by inquiry Discourses—the discord between correct, scientific knowledge and process-oriented teaching, respectively. According to Danielsson and Warwick, Celia invested herself in the traditional science teaching Discourse due to her personal history of being a successful science student, even though she often criticized her science teaching experiences. Another student, Kate, navigated the tension between the teacher as the authority and teaching science by inquiry Discourses, as she attempted to reconcile her

desire to use inquiry curriculum and its process-oriented methods and her desire to correctly evaluate students' answers in an attempt to control the classroom as the "knowledgeable teacher." The authors claimed Kate's self-evaluation of her subject knowledge about science also shaped her identity negotiation, and she distanced herself from the Discourse of inquiry science teaching. Danielsson and Warwick offer case studies of Emma and Sarah, two students who drew upon the Discourse of primary teacher as role model in the science classroom, to illustrate how the two students addressed tensions present in Celia and Kate's narratives about teacher authority and correct, scientific knowledge.

In their discussion, the authors claimed personal histories acted as a prevalent factor in how students like Celia, Kate, Emma, and Sarah were willing to engage in particular Discourses they faced as student teachers in primary education, as well demonstrated how preservice teachers did not easily embrace inquiry learning even though it acts as a central method in science teaching and research. Danielsson and Warwick concluded by recommending the discussion of Discourses with student teachers, in order to "help them understand negotiating perspectives that are apparently conflicting or contradictory is part of any professional community" (p. 300).

These research studies illustrated several significant understandings. Teacher views on and instructional efforts to include native language use may be influenced by coursework, the experience level, and the teaching context of in-service teachers. Study groups may also challenge teachers to adjust their curricular adaptations to support emergent bilingual students and to avoid the lens of partiality in viewing their students' capabilities. Ongoing professional development can support in-service teachers'

becoming as they navigate paradoxes in their teaching. A school's adoption of certain curriculum like project-based learning can influence teachers' decision making and adaptations across different instructional tasks and how teacher language can reflect their agency when they face conflict in the wake of competing ideologies. Additionally, science teachers' personal histories influenced the way they took up or discarded particular ideologies as they pursued a "teacher identity" and how certain available Discourses carried different ideological weight and shaped their subsequent teaching choices.

The research studies demonstrate how preservice and in-service teacher training requires teachers to examine ideologies and Discourses that constitute their teaching of diverse students, which may or may not lead to teachers' adaptations of their current practices. Most teachers in the studies above attempted to adapt their teaching to accommodate student diversity; however, teachers like the high school teacher in Kibler and Roman's (2013) study still held deficit perspectives on native language use. More scholarship on understanding teachers' deficit perspectives after participating in cultural and linguistic diversity training is necessary to conceptualize how professional development and coursework could be designed to move teachers further away from this stance to allow more native language in classrooms today.

In this section, the examination of scholarship demonstrates the isolated examples of preservice and in-service teacher training and the effects on teachers' instruction with their culturally and linguistically diverse students. Future research on more comprehensive efforts in teacher training in diversity may illuminate the effects of a

larger-scale coordination of teacher coursework, professional development, study groups, and more.

Students' ideological becoming. Lee and Hassett (2017) examined the ideological becoming (IB) of bilingual Korean kindergarteners in a Midwest classroom drawing upon multimodal forms of communication, describing IB as the "process of 'positioning and re-positioning oneself in relation to others' worlds, language and forms of discourse' (Tappan, 2005) which can occur in a variety of ways and through a variety of modes" (p. 465).The authors believed studying the IB of young children in multiple modes "sheds light on diverse channels through which young children adapt to dialogic situations" (p. 463). School language and literacy discourses, according to Lee and Hassett, were authoritative discourses which were diffused through the school and classroom. The internally persuasive discourses were the students' "voices, desires, and imaginations" (p. 465). Lee and Hassett believed children process the authoritative discourse and situate it within internally persuasive discourses by drawing upon processes of 'reciting by heart' and 'retelling in one's own words', ultimately using the best mode for their intention by selecting and refashioning the authoritative discourse.

Using a case study design in study a kindergarten class in a Korean language after school program, Lee and Hassett worked alongside the classroom teacher as she prepared activities and materials to create multimodal interactions between the children, examining how children appropriated the teacher and her instruction as the authoritative discourse. Data were collected through observations, audio-recordings, field notes, and photographs of student work and coded for moments of reciting, or expressions following the mode of the authoritative discourse, and retelling, moments where children relied on different

modes to present the authoritative discourse. Particular modes like bodily actions, narratives, images, or written texts were coded as well.

Lee and Hassett found the children took up the authoritative discourse through multiple modes, as they transformed the teacher's instructional materials, like picture books, to a different mode, like a verbal interaction or puppet play, to make sense of the interaction and to retell in their own words for communicating with others in the group. Through various classroom interactions surrounding science content like food chains and gardening, children questioned, provided information, and evaluated each other to position themselves in relation to the authoritative discourse—the teacher's instruction. In doing so, Lee and Hassett believed the children "achieved their purposes of demonstrating their understanding of a lesson and their social roles within the group through reciting and retelling the authoritative discourse" (p. 473). By authoring their own multimodal forms, children positioned themselves among the available school and literacy discourses to test and confirm the appropriateness of their selections.

The studies above demonstrate the multitude of ideologies and Discourses that shape the dynamic processes of teachers' and learners' ideological becoming, while revealing how an individual adapts and negotiates their subsequent practices as either a teacher of culturally and linguistically diverse children or a translingual child learning how to mobilize resources for learning moments. Notably, scholarship in children's ideological becoming is limited and could be considered for future research opportunities.

Translanguaging Practices in Elementary Classrooms

As I described in Chapter 1, a recent ideological shift in second language acquisition and learning theory conceptualizes language as a fluid set of resources, rather

than discrete, stable entities that an individual turns on and off. As a result, the term "codeswitching" is newly imagined as "codemeshing" (Canagarajah, 2011) when individuals act with agency to select from a set of linguistic resources instead of choosing a language for communicative purposes. In this section, I synthesize research conducted in classrooms where translanguaging occurred and the implications for students' strategic use of their linguistic resources in K-12 classrooms. I synthesize research according to the following concepts: codemeshing, translanguaging developmental continuums, and language brokering.

Codemeshing. In studying the literacy and language practices of culturally and linguistic diverse (CLD) young children, Iannacci (2008) claimed that the children used what he considered code-switching practices to negotiate their literacy and language needs during instruction, as well as offset subtractive orientations constituting their classroom spaces regarding their first language use. In his yearlong ethnography in two kindergarten and two first grade classrooms in Canada, Iannacci drew upon critical narrative methodology to understand the literacy practices in early classrooms and how it may have facilitated or constrained their children's linguistic and cultural assimilation or acculturation into the classroom. Critical narrative research, according to Moss (2004), "is concerned with culture, language, and participation as issues of power in need of critique with the intent of changing the direction of social justice" (as cited in Iannacci, 2008, p. 105).

Iannacci used observations, school documents, children's work, and interviews with teachers, parents, school board personnel, and students to construct narratives that revealed the nature of the children's code-switching practices. He revealed how teachers'

talk contradicted their practices in their classroom, as teachers claimed to value their students' first languages and their importance in their lives but observed minimal instruction that used their students' first language or culture. Iannacci described the use of students' first language in the school and classrooms as "good public relations" that manifested in multilingual environmental print like welcome signs in the school entrance; however, there were no instances of multilingual print beyond this instance or observed instances of using students' multilingual knowledge. Teacher interviews revealed how teachers viewed their students' first languages as detrimental to their language learning and a barrier to their academic achievement. Iannacci also found that institutional texts that shaped curriculum and instruction mirrored the lack of attention on first language use.

Iannacci used two narratives of two students to illustrate the ways each individual utilized code-switching which resulted in different assimilation and acculturation experiences. A young girl Inés used her Spanish in her ESL teacher's classroom, greeting her with Spanish at the classroom door and using her first language to count how many children were present. Additionally, Inés answered in Spanish during literacy instruction, as her ESL teacher extended her answer by providing the English word for her answer. Akil, a Lebanese student, often negotiated his Arabic and English use in his mainstream classroom, teaching students Arabic as well as Iannacci, who regularly participated in classroom interactions. However, Iannacci observed Akil's classroom teacher rarely created instruction using Akil's language background. Iannacci argued that students like Inés and Akil were "experiencing the linguistic demands of the predominantly monolingual classroom environment, but also capitalizing on their knowledge of

blending primary and dominant languages and registers that helped them negotiate socialization in the context of their classroom" (p. 113). Additionally, their participation in practices like shared reading of bilingual books and reciting the Koran positioned codeswitching as a social indexing device—pointing to another identity separate from the dominant culture and language of the classroom. Inés and Akil's codeswitching, according to Iannacci, created a "third space" (Gutiérrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-Lopez, & Turner, 1997) which Iannacci believed the children used to feel like they belonged in an environment constituted by monolingual beliefs and practices, in order to defy subtractive orientations to their first languages.

Translanguaging developmental continuum. In their ethnographic case study, Axelrod and Cole (2018) argued their work with emergent bilinguals in a before-school program suggests a possible translanguaging developmental continuum and that such findings contested previous work questioning whether or not young children could or should translanguage in school settings. Twice a week, eight Spanish-speaking college students met with fifteen elementary students across different grade levels to support Spanish language development in young Latinx students. The before-school program sought to provide opportunities to speak Spanish at school and to grow more respectful attitudes and awareness as the numbers of Spanish speakers in the community grew. In the first year, students in the program worked on reading and interpretation, reading books in Spanish and talking to classrooms at their school about what it was like to be bilingual. The second year, at the children's request, the college students introduced writing, and the children made presentations about their cultural backgrounds.

Axelrod and Cole (2018) studied how students in this program drew upon their repertoires of language and literacy skills and how their translanguaging influenced their identity development as Latinx children. In three literacy events of three children with different ages, they illustrated shifts in the translanguaging process to show how sophisticated children's ability to use language resources develops as they were given opportunities to draw upon their native language. A kindergarten student drew upon Spanish oral language skills with emerging English phonemic awareness to compose Spanish text, what Gort (2006) calls *interliteracy*. Interliteracy is the "written equivalent of interlanguage…marked by non-normative language features" (p. 132). Axelrod and Cole observed the child's inability to articulate how he was using his language skills as he was using Spanish and English. They claimed that at this age, young children are still developing a metalinguistic awareness as they are still establishing rules for reading and writing as their languages develop.

Axelrod and Cole (2018) demonstrated how older children's abilities to translanguage become more complex as they become more aware of rules and patterns in a language. A fourth grader attempted to convey messages in her writing by using *circumlocution*, or the use of many words in an attempt to describe an idea. The authors claim this strategy is a sign of "her competence in both languages developing…and a metalinguistic awareness that highlights specific ways the languages differ" (p. 142). A fifth grader used Spanish and English in his presentation based on who he perceived would be the reader and their knowledge of English or Spanish. Axelrod and Cole claim he had a "deep understanding of the sociocultural conditions of his audience…[as his] language choices [were] meant to be maximally meaningful to very particular audiences"

(p. 146). Ultimately, the authors claimed children's age and literacy development carried a significant impact on the ways they engaged in translanguaging practices.

Language Brokering. Alvarez (2014) contributed additional ethnographic research with a translanguaging theoretical perspective. First-generation Mexican immigrant children and their mothers participated in an after-school mentoring program, which promoted family involvement as well as positive perspectives on ethnic and linguistic identities. Children acted as language brokers as they worked with a tutor and their mother, completing homework for school. Alvarez positioned language brokering as a translanguaging strategy, as he claims children are emergent bilinguals who enact their repertoires when acting as language brokers. Citing Garcia (2012), he says, "Emergent bilinguals are adept at leveraging their linguistic abilities in myriad ways as they develop flexible, discursive resources to optimize their abilities to make meaning for themselves and audiences through their translanguaging" (p. 327). He believes, "translanguaging practices...have highly valued community-based functions" (p. 327). Language brokering is highly valued by the tutoring program as tutors drew upon the students' linguistic repertoires to mediate English language learning school success. Furthermore, language brokering influences parents' use of codemeshing as they negotiate meaning making in various literacy events in and out of school.

The above discussion illustrates how translanguaging manifests in different way across various contexts for different reasons—to contest subtractive language ideologies, to convey specific messages for specific audiences, and to mediate the available linguistic resources between individuals who have different language backgrounds. Wei (2018) emphasized that the most critical component of translanguaging, is the *languaging* that

occurs—a continuous process of "being made" instead of reaching an end point (p. 16).

Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony engaged in translanguaging throughout the dissertation

study in ways similar to the studies listed above: acting as language brokers for each

other, their families, and Ms. Jackson and even mediating their own linguistic resources

as speakers of different languages besides Swahili. They used their languaging to meet

the communicative and interactional needs of Ms. Jackson's instruction. In the next

section, I explore existing K-12 literacy and language scholarship on African refugee

populations and the current insight on this specific group.

African Refugee Literacy Scholarship

The following section explores emerging scholarship about K-12 African refugee

children. The groups that appear in research are mostly the Somali and Sudanese, as they

were among the first African groups to resettle in the U.S.; little research exists on the

Congolese in K-12 settings. As noted above, a discussion about African refugee literacy

scholarship serves two purposes: to underscore the unique, rich linguistic and literate

traditions of emerging immigrant and refugee groups, and to accentuate the gaps in

research on this specific population of children in K-12 schools today.

Roy's (2015) study of Somali Bantu refugees in South Texas shed light on how

refugee adults and children made sense of their worlds as they resettled into a space ripe

with Latino cultural and linguistic diversity, but with minimal African influences. Roy

claimed, "Examining refugee resettlement through the notion of border crossings in 'the

borderlands' makes visible the multiple and intersecting identity possibilities that are

available in communities that offer multiple linguistic and cultural repertoires" (p. 62).

She observed and interviewed participants in an apartment complex where other Bantu

refugees resided. Roy suggested African refugees living in South Texas acclimated to living in the area by reconciling the available and "overlapping linguistic and cultural worlds" (p.64). This included using Spanish in the home in addition to learning English in schools. Roy stated, "Spanish as a form of camaraderie and assimilation to the new community was also acknowledged by the children" (p. 64) Somali Bantu children and their families used Spanish in private and public arenas, to connect to co-workers, play with friends, or succeed in school. Children and families drew upon oral, print, and media resources to establish a stronger knowledge of Spanish to communicate with people in their new home. Roy theorized, "assimilation was steeped in the hybrid practices and possibilities offered in this South Texas community" (p. 64). Somali Bantu parents and children learned Spanish in strategic ways as to strengthen social bonds, rather than strictly adhere to English language learning for school success.

Somali Bantu refugees frequently employed oral storytelling as a literacy and language practice in their new home, as Roy (2015) likened it to *testimonios* in Latin@ culture. Such oral storytelling "[preserved] family history, [educated] children, and [passed] down traditions associated with the families' lived experiences" (p. 64). Stories included traditions and hardships experienced by the Somali Bantu. Roy stated, "Testimonios have both oral and written roots and have developed into a powerful literary genre" (p. 66), and explained, "this…could be extended and used [in schools] to diffuse the deficit practices in schools and communities that position newcomers as deficient and lacking, rather than possessing multiple literacies and identities" (p. 67). Students in this study used codemeshing in telling their testimonios at home and at

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school. By utilizing different languages, students shaped this practice in this setting, refashioning it as their own for their own meaning-making purposes.

Somali Bantu families transformed their literacy and language practices as they resettled into a new context, agentially selecting which practices to take up and which practices to transform or refashion in their own ways for their own purposes. Roy (2015) explained:

> The families in this study did not see learning English [and Spanish] as a way to erase their linguistic and cultural heritage, but rather as an additive resource to their growing repertoire…assimilative practices in linguistically and racially diverse regions of the United States may allow for multiple points of entry in crossing linguistic and cultural borders. (p. 67)

Roy identified assimilation as an influence in Somali Bantu families' hybrid literacy and language practices. Notably, there was a multidirectional nature to assimilation in this context. Somali Bantu children and adults made decisions about the languages they take up and the ways they employ their languages and literacies in different contexts for different audiences for different purposes. By using their agency in this selective fashion, children and adults redefined assimilation at the borderlands.

Perry (2014), in her five-year ethnographic study of Sudanese refugees living in Michigan, observed how young children emerged into literacy given "diverse literacy landscapes" (p. 314). Using data from two kindergarten and two first-grade families, Perry asserted children acted as language brokers in three textual areas: lexico-syntactic and graphophonic, cultural, and genre. Lexico-syntactic brokering comprised English elements such as vocabulary and syntax, while cultural brokering constituted cultural expectations and cultural content knowledge, such as teacher expectation for consistent attendance at school. Perry's strongest claim related to children participating in genre

brokering as she acknowledged, "Despite the fact that the children still were emerging into literacy, they nevertheless provided important knowledge about the purpose, use, and features of different genres, especially school texts" (p. 317). Such genre brokering included explanations of yearbooks, grocery coupons, and crossword puzzles.

Additionally, Perry (2014) offered insights to how certain contexts recognize or constrain children's attempts at language brokering. She suggested children attempt to act as language *and* literacy brokers at school, as they learn English with native and nonnative English speakers in their classrooms. However, teachers positioned them as learners instead of teachers, as Perry claimed their brokering occurs "under the radar" (p. 320). At the same time, Perry's work explained how parents positioned their children as teachers and valued their English support. Perry suggested such valuation may be attributed to cultural traditions, as children in African communities are encouraged to take responsibility early in their lives to support their families. Yet language brokering was not without its challenges for young children, as they could experience unsuccessful attempts due to their early literacy and language learning. Perry claimed language brokering was developmental and believed competency increases over time. Other constraints, such as students' positioning by teachers, could have limited young children as they engaged in brokering practices.

Perry and Moses (2011) examined television practices of Sudanese families, their beliefs and values, and how they connected with language and literacy development in English, as well as children's literacy practices. The researchers collected data around television events, adapted from Heath's (1983) conceptualization of literacy events. Television events included "active viewing of programming, as well as intermittent

viewing…" (p. 286). Researchers also documented when television was on, but nobody seemed to be watching it, in order to document the television environment in each family's home, and television events that occurred in conversations in other contexts like the library or school. Finally, Perry and Moses analyzed the use of television-related computer media.

The researchers found that Sudanese families watched more entertainment television than educational television. News and religious programs constituted a small part of the family television watching practices. Notably, the researchers found television practices provided background exposure instead of foreground exposure, as the former may serve to distract young children and the latter may be linked to positive outcomes for children and television watching. Perry and Moses discovered cultural and religious beliefs shaped family practices, as television provided ways of maintaining connections with Sudanese culture and heritage. It also supported families' learning about U.S. culture, and was a medium for religious expression.

Perry and Moses (2011) discovered that children's engagement in meaningful television practices provided opportunities to practice their developing print literacy skills as well as see how print literacy is integrated into other literacy practices, like reading sports scores. Parents were more likely to read print on the screen, whereas children read print related to their favorite programs, like print on a DVD cover. Perry and Moses found parents used television as a learning resource, while children did not have goals for watching television. Notably, television seemed like a "new" type of media for the Sudanese in the study, as families explained they did not have access to television or related programs until they moved to the U.S. Television was more accessible than

computer media, as some families did not have access to a working computer or the Internet.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I reviewed sociocultural research studies that illustrate three areas of importance in the education of refugee students, especially African refugees, in school settings with teachers who are still developing belief systems for their instruction in the face of emerging diversity. These three areas are a) the ideological becoming of preservice and in-service teachers and students in diverse school settings, b) the available Discourses for teachers and students that could influence their ideological becoming, and c) the ways translingual students mobilize resources to make meaning and communicate in an ideological environment constituted by various ideologies and Discourses.

Studies across these three areas offer insights about translingual learners and their teachers as they navigate ideological spaces in U.S. schools. African children and families reinvent meaning making tools such as oral narratives and testimonios as they face different social and cultural demands in various contexts. Language *and* literacy brokering may be done "under the radar" due to teachers' positioning of children only as learners, not as teachers. The multidimensional efforts in preservice education in preparing PSTs for culturally and linguistically diverse student populations are wide-ranging, extending to program and curricular design such as early field experiences, after-school tutoring programs, elementary practicums, teaching cases, and initiatives to restructure coursework for more effective and meaningful instruction as well as service learning and study abroad opportunities. Furthermore, teacher pedagogical innovations such as cultural memoirs, teacher inquiry, home-school connection projects, and blogging

have been shown to support PSTs in developing beliefs and practices in their future classrooms.

The reviewed research indicates that in-service teachers' likelihood to include native language use may be influenced by coursework, the experience level, and the teaching context. Study groups and ongoing professional development can support in-service teachers' becoming as they navigate additive and subtractive views on cultural and linguistic diversity. Adopting certain curriculum can contribute to or influence teachers' decision making and adaptations across different instructional tasks. Science teachers' backgrounds influenced the way they took up or discarded particular ideologies as they pursued a "teacher identity" and how certain available Discourses carried different ideological weight and shaped their subsequent teaching choices.

The translanguaging literature illustrates how children mobilize resources in various ways and how translanguaging manifests in different way across various contexts for different reasons—to contest subtractive language ideologies, to convey specific messages for specific audiences, and to mediate the available linguistic resources between individuals who have different language backgrounds. There is still a need to understand more about African refugees in K-12 literacy education, especially the Congolese population.

The current study contributes to the limited scholarship on K-12 literacy and language education for African refugees, specifically Congolese refugees, in an elementary ESL classroom. Additionally, my study offers insight into the ideological becoming of one ESL newcomer literacy teacher in the face of her growing culturally and linguistically diverse student populations and the implications for literacy and language

practices in K-12 settings. In the chapter 3, I explain the design of my study and accompanying methods for analysis.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter I provide an overview of the methodology of my study. My theoretical framework establishes English literacy and language learning as a sociocultural practice; therefore, classrooms become sites of socialization through context-specific practices mediated by cultural tools like written and visual texts (Purcell-Gates, Perry, & Briseño, 2011).

I wanted to understand the ideological becoming of an ESL newcomer literacy teacher in her literacy and language instruction; as a result of spending time in Ms. Jackson's classroom, I further wanted to understand how she adapted her instruction as she welcomed four Congolese students—Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony—to her classroom and worked to adapt her instruction to their needs as translingual students new to English literacy and language. I selected a qualitative case study as a methodology, drawing upon traditional ethnographic methods to collect data. I used thematic coding (Charmaz, 2014) to identify the critical events/moments for the classroom teacher as well as identify the ideological environment (Bakhtin, 1981) in which the ways of being, thinking, believing, feeling, etc. (what Gee (2014) refers to as Discourses) in her literacy and language instruction situated themselves. A critical event/moment occurred when Ms. Jackson's adaptations and reflections illustrated her emerging ideological system

about teaching literacy and language in her classroom. Ball and Freedman (2004) explain, "In ideological environments characterized by a diversity of voices, we would expect not only new communication challenges, but also exciting opportunities and possibilities for expanding our understanding of the world" (p. 6). I thought Ms. Jackson's classroom might illustrate what happens to teachers and students and their previously accepted understandings contested by diverse influences.

Methodology and Methods

A qualitative inquiry was appropriate for the purpose of my study as "[q]ualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p.6). I wanted to understand how one teacher constructed meaning and made sense of her relatively new experiences in teaching a group of Congolese students and using a qualitative research design allowed me to examine these processes. This study contributes to the growing body of scholarship on second language teaching and learning and its implications for refugee students' literacy and language learning within K-12 school contexts.

I selected a case study as my methodology when my focus became centered on one teacher and her four Congolese students who collectively became the unit of analysis. Dyson and Genishi (2005) explain how a case in qualitative research is a "social unit" where a phenomenon may be studied and not the phenomenon itself (p. 3). They state, "[The] phenomenon may look and sound different in different social and cultural circumstances, [or] cases" (p. 4). My focus on one classroom and teacher meant I could observe the ways macro ideologies and discourses shaped micro instances of teaching

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and learning in this particular English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher's classroom. I employed an interpretivist orientation (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) in my case study design to examine how realities around English literacy and language learning within the classroom are socially constructed.

I used ethnographic methods to gain an understanding of the ESL newcomer literacy teacher's literacy and language teaching and learning as social practices within the classroom. Duranti (1997) defines ethnography as a way of understanding "the social organization, social activities, symbolic and material resources, and interpretive practices characteristic of a particular group of people" (p. 84). In order to accomplish this goal, I spent time with the participants in naturally occurring contexts to understand the sorts of practices, resources, and activities that comprise their lives. By spending time with research participants in the field, such as co-constructing lessons with Ms. Jackson, I made efforts to gain an emic, or insider, perspective. Additionally, ethnographic methods allowed me to observe language practices through a linguistic anthropology lens, in which language is used for meaning making within a particular community.

Site and Participant Selection

Several factors led to my selection of Baumgartner Elementary as a research site, and Ms. Jackson as a case study. First, as I described in Chapter 2, gaps exist in the literature about African refugee and immigrant elementary students' language learning experiences at school in the United States (U.S.), particularly Congolese student populations. As a result, I sought a school with a notable number of children and families from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Next, as I was selecting a site for this

study, I met Jacob Brooks[1], the ESL coordinator for the local school district. We developed a friendly, professional relationship as we shared interests regarding translingual students and the complexities of their language learning in the city. Dr. Brooks informed me that there were increasing numbers of African refugee students accessing English Language Learner (ELL) resources at Baumgartner Elementary. Additionally, I wanted my study to be located in a school that hosted a larger number of African refugee and immigrant students and was otherwise "untapped" by the demands of university research. Dr. Brooks and I discussed demographic trends as well as logistical and practical concerns for conducting research with particular student groups. I realized research on ESL teachers who have Congolese elementary students in their classroom at Baumgartner Elementary in Southeast County Public Schools (SCPS) could contribute to understanding the teacher and these children's experiences as new language learners in the U.S.

I met with the principal, Lindsey Murphy, and she introduced me to the ESL newcomer literacy teacher, Ms. Rosalyn Jackson, the counselor, Ms. Barbara Hutto, and the Family Resource counselor, Ms. Rebecca Smith. I visited Baumgartner every Thursday for three weeks and observed in Ms. Jackson's classroom as well as one first-grade classroom and one fourth-grade classroom. Over the course of these preliminary, "case the joint" (Dyson & Genishi, 2005) observations, I noted similar literacy and language events across all classrooms.

I narrowed my research focus through purposeful sampling (Patton, 2015) to Ms. Jackson because she taught a group of Congolese children and she was interested in

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[1] All names for individuals, organizations, and places are pseudonyms.

participating in a study that would examine her literacy and language teaching practices. She became an increasingly "information-rich case" (Patton, 2015, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 96) as her novice status reflected a more universal and growing phenomenon within the school and the school district. The further the study progressed, the more I realized there was much to learn from someone who was new to teaching refugee students, because many more teachers were new to teaching refugee students.

Research Site

Baumgartner Elementary is located in the middle of a medium-sized subdivision in the southwest corner of the city. It is a Title 1 school that serves about 410 students. There are 198 students identified as females and 211 as males. The school serves a diverse population of students: 42% of students identify as Black, 33% as White, 13% as Hispanic, and 11% as "other." The principal, Mrs. Murphy, explained to me that historically, the school served few ELLs, and most ELLs spoke Spanish. However, in the last two school years, Baumgartner's ELL population dramatically increased from 30 students in 2015 to 92 in 2017 and was 100 at the time of this study. Languages at Baumgartner included: Somali, Nepali, Vietnamese, Arabic, Mai Mai, and Chin Haka in addition to the existing Spanish. Notably, the number of Swahili and Kinyarwanda speakers increased dramatically in the last school year, and many students arrived from the DRC. In keeping with growing EL needs, the school increased from zero to four ESL instructors, as well as two bilingual associate instructors. The focal teacher in this study, Ms. Jackson, was designated as the ESL newcomer literacy teacher. Ms. Jackson explained that most of the Congolese students work with her due to their newcomer status, as determined by a score of 2.5 on a language assessment called the World-class

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Instructional Design and Assessment (WIDA) Accessing Comprehension and

Communication in English State-to-State (ACCESS) test. Due to these increasing ELL

numbers, teachers were encouraged to complete ESL certification to work at the school,

including Ms. Jackson.

Research Participants

In this section, I describe the research participants in my study, which include the

focal ESL newcomer literacy teacher, the four children in her classroom, and members of

the Baumgartner Elementary administration.

Focal Teacher

Ms. Rosalyn Jackson is a white, 28-year-old woman who works as the ESL

newcomer literacy teacher at Baumgartner. She earned a Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) in

Spanish and taught at a Catholic middle school for five years before leaving her job to

teach ESL at Baumgartner. At the time of data collection, she was completing the first

year of an online ESL endorsement program offered at a state liberal arts college. During

her time as an undergraduate student, she studied abroad in Panama which she says

increased her interest in ESL teaching. She was the first and only ESL teacher at

Baumgartner before the district hired additional ESL support staff. Ms. Jackson

volunteered to participate in the newcomer pilot program when the school and district

administration noticed the increase in students who had an ACCESS score of 2.5 or

below and were attending school formally for the first time. She taught students in the

second through fifth grades.

Ms. Jackson revealed to me that she did not care to read or write as a child. She

explained that while she was in the "higher reading classes," she rarely read or wrote. She

said, "I never liked people assigning things to me and me having to read it when I had no interest in it whatsoever." She expressed that her interest in ESL fueled her desire to read more to support her classroom practice, admitting that she now finds reading enjoyable only as an adult now. Ms. Jackson identified "choral reading" and "fluency passages" as frequent literacy engagements in her classroom. She used behavior charts, stickers, and prizes from a treasure box to motivate her students to read. Given that she did not have formal literacy method training in her Spanish degree program or at the Catholic school where she worked previously, Ms. Jackson found curriculum development to be a struggle. She explained she followed the request of her principal, who asked her to teach "kindergarten foundational skills"—meaning the alphabet, letter-sound correspondence, and other print concepts. Ms. Jackson noted positive relationships with her students and believed this was one of the most important components in "getting students to speak English." She explained, "I think since they feel so comfortable, they're able to talk about more things, or they want to tell you more things about you know, their life, or what they like, or just anything that's happening."

Ms. Jackson's ESL program was a pull-out model; she took students out of their homeroom classes for 30 to 45 minutes to participate in literacy and language lessons in her classroom. She shared a classroom with two other ESL teachers who worked with newcomer students in math. The majority of her students were Congolese as they were the newest group of students at Baumgartner, but she also worked with students who were from Mexico or Latin America as well as the Middle East.

"The Congo Kids"

There were four Congolese boys in Ms. Jackson's afternoon group. Table 2 outlines demographic information regarding their families, languages, countries of birth, and whether or not they were assigned as Significantly Interrupted Formal Education (SIFE) students. At the time of the study, Adish and Basam were in fourth grade and Gabriel and Sony were in second grade. Although the boys were Congolese, they all had been born in refugee camps in countries outside the DRC and spoke multiple African languages including Swahili, Kibembe, and Kinyarwanda. I further describe each child and their resettlement history in Chapter 5.

Child	Grade Level	Country of Birth	Languages	Family Information	SIFE
Adish	4th	Tanzania	Swahili, Kibembe, English	Single mother household; father still in Africa; one of five children- two older brothers, one younger brother and sister	No
Basam	4th	Tanzania	Swahili, Kibembe, English	Both parents present; one of six children; older sister and brother, young brother and two younger sisters	No
Gabriel	2nd	Uganda	Swahili, Kinyarwanda, English	Single mother household; four older sisters, three older brothers, two younger brothers	Yes
Sony	2nd	Tanzania	Swahili, Kibembe, English	Single mother household; father in Chicago; one of five children-two older sisters, an older brother; a younger brother.	No

Table 2: Congolese children demographic information.

Focal Administrative Staff

Teacher classroom Discourses and ideologies are shaped, in part, by school

Discourses and ideologies. I interviewed select administrative staff who provided insight

to macro ideologies and Discourses about English literacy and language teaching and

refugee students, and how they shaped classrooms and teachers' learning and instruction.

Gee (2014) explains there are two types of discourses, little "d" discourse, which

describes language in use, and big "D" discourse, which is:

> composed of distinctive ways of speaking/listening and writing/reading coupled
> with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking,
> believing, with other people and various objects, tools, and technologies, so as to
> enact specific socially recognizable identities (p. 37).

In this sense, the discursive practices of individuals reflect particular ideologies, or

systems of belief. Fairclough (1992) believes these practices generate a community with

particular worldviews which reproduce or reify the social organization of individuals. By

examining Discourses and ideologies about refugees and English literacy and language

learning, I sought to understand how language in use and particular belief systems shaped

Ms. Jackson's English language teaching. I interviewed three individuals on the

administrative team to gain insight into these Discourses and ideologies. I introduce the

interviewees next.

Ms. Murphy. Lindsey Murphy, a White female, had been the principal at

Baumgartner for five years. Before becoming a principal, she taught various grade levels

at the elementary level, later acting as an instructional coach and literacy resource coach

for 14 schools in the district. In her position as principal, Ms. Murphy noted the influx of

translingual students and believed the group of new translingual students "taught the

school," and that the school needed to adjust to the new cultural and linguistic influences.

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She expressed affection for translingual students as she said, "We just love them at our school." At the end of data collection, Ms. Murphy expressed a desire to increase the professional development at Baumgartner to include more training on increasing translingual student participation in classrooms, as well as introducing a literacy lab. She acknowledged, "We have a lot of work to do in [teaching ELLs] still… we don't have a formal plan for it." Ms. Murphy believed having a second language was an advantage and wondered about how to make language learning reciprocal for native English speakers.

Ms. Hutto. Barbara Hutto, a White female, is the school counselor at Baumgartner. At the time of the study, Ms. Hutto had been the Baumgartner school counselor for nine years. She taught preschool for five years before deciding to move into counseling. In her counseling placement, Ms. Hutto encountered translingual students for the first time. Her job involved meeting with children in small groups, coordinating language testing, and participating in trainings for supporting students' mental and social health. Ms. Hutto explained she had attended more professional development around trauma, and she believed that many of the newcomer students arrived from traumatic circumstances as well as faced resettlement challenges in the city. She believed the translingual students needed opportunities to speak their first language, especially due to the number of speakers of their language at the school. Ms. Hutto expressed sentiment similar to Ms. Murphy's about the school and its practices for teaching second language learners as she said, "We're still new at it, I'm not always sure we're doing it right… but I'm not really sure what is right."

Ms. Smith. Rebecca Smith, the family resource counselor, was employed in the district for 17 years at the time of the study in various family resource positions,

including as a family advocate worker and student success coach. She had worked at Baumgartner for two and a half years. She said her job was to provide resources to families for all of their needs including assistance with insurance and utilities. Ms. Smith also helped enlist students to participate in the summer YMCA camp at school. She spent the last year attempting to translate school forms into home languages, even though she realized some families could not read school documents in their first language. She believed a language barrier may be the reason why ELL families face certain challenges of U.S. schools, such as expectations for children to wear uniforms and parents to participate in PTA events. As a result, Ms. Smith tried to recruit interpreters for school events instead of sending forms home. She started a bilingual club for students at Baumgartner to make EL students feel included, as well as what she called "bridge a gap" for native English speakers and their cultural and linguistic understanding. She expressed a desire to apply for more grants to receive materials for the club in the future. Interviews with Ms. Smith contributed to my understanding of the larger context at Baumgartner Elementary. Each focal administrative staff member welcomed the growth of refugees and viewed the growth through a different lens due to their role within the school, contributing to the construction of different Discourses and ideologies around refugee translingual students.

The Study Design

This qualitative case study occurred in three overlapping phases as shown in Figure 4. There was no concrete start and end to each phase, yet identifying each phase outlined the frequency of various data collection methods and kept my research organized and progressing. I conducted more frequent classroom observations at the beginning of

the data collection period to become more accustomed to the classroom space; as the second and third phases started, I observed the classroom less frequently and increased data collection via other sources such as interviews and document collection.

Phase One lasted about two months. It included site selection, Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval from the university and the school district, background knowledge development, and initial data collection. While I waited for IRB approvals, I researched the DRC and met with other Congolese adults in the city. One of the refugee organizations hires refugees to work as employees, and some act as liaisons in the city. I spoke to an individual who is from the Congo and is also conducting social science research around the Congolese in the city. As Phase One turned to fieldwork, I conducted weekly classroom observer-participant and participant-observer observations in the ESL classroom. I conducted one group interview with the four student participants. I spoke or met with an interpreter, detailed later in this chapter, every week to prepare for and conduct interviews, as well as to unpack what emerged from these interviews for future research steps. Toward the end of Phase One, I shifted from my observer stance to plan and participate in weekly lessons in the ESL classroom. Additionally, I conducted one formal interview and debriefed multiple times with the teacher about classroom events to discuss her reflections. I discuss the rationale for the change in observer stance later in this chapter.

During Phase Two, I participated in classroom lessons and supported Ms. Jackson's teaching with more frequency and depth. In this phase, I acted as Ms. Jackson's co-teacher as I assisted students in lessons we planned together and talked with the children about what they were learning. I debriefed with Ms. Jackson about classroom

events as well as co-planned upcoming literacy and language lessons based on her interests and desires for her teaching and the students' learning experiences. I asked her what she hoped to accomplish in our time together and she completed a written reflection after every observation. I supported Ms. Jackson's thinking with offers of professional literature to further support her literacy and language instruction, giving her *The Book Whisperer* (Miller, 2009) and *Reading with Meaning* (Miller, 2012). I then reduced observations due to testing in the final month of the school year. I conducted interviews more heavily at this point, including a second group interview with the four boys and initial interviews with school staff. I transcribed and started data analysis as I examined and interacted with my data. Additionally, I asked Ms. Jackson to read transcriptions of classroom observations and student interviews and annotate anything she wanted me to know. She expressed delight as she wrote things like "They really do love school!" She also shared information with me through these notes, telling me about how the boys signed up to attend a summer YMCA camp and how the "r" and "l" in Kinyarwanda are switched. Phase Two lasted approximately two months and ended when the school year concluded.

In Phase Three, I conducted final interviews and continued more focused data analysis. Additionally, to increase the trustworthiness of my study, I conducted member checks with my participants. Document collection extended throughout the study as these data sources were not tied specifically to time. Notably, data collection and data analysis were conducted concurrently, as both processes informed each other (Charmaz, 2014), however in the third phase I spent more of my time analyzing data and writing. I spent additional time continuing to learn about the DRC and refugee camps.

During Phase Three, I also conducted home visits with each family to gain an understanding of their family and cultural history before and after resettlement in the city. These activities significantly increased my knowledge about the cultural and linguistic traditions of Congolese children who now attend school in the U.S. (See family interview questions in Appendix D).

Phase One February 2018- March 2018	Phase Two March 2018-May 2018	Phase Three April 2018-January 2019
-Site and participant selection -Weekly observations -Initial Interviews with students and teachers -Research on DRC -Meet with Congolese in city -Document collection and data analysis	-Weekly observations -Planning literacy engagements with teacher -Teacher reflections -Debriefing with teacher -Second student interviews -Transcribing -Document collection and data analysis	-Final teacher interview - Administrative staff interviews -Data analysis -Member checking -Research DRC and refugee camps -Document collection and data analysis

Figure 4: The three phases of my study.

Data Collection

Data collection included classroom observations, interviews, and documents. These are summarized in Table 3.

Observations	• 9 observations: 4 weekly observer-participant and 5 weekly participant-observer observations during the Congolese ESL literacy blocks, including audio and video recording.
Interviews	• 2 30-60-minute semi-structured interviews with 4 Congolese students • 2 ESL newcomer literacy teacher formal interviews • 4 ESL newcomer literacy teacher informal interviews/debriefing sessions • 1 interview with the school principal, counselor, and the family resource center counselor

	• 4 family interviews
Document Collection	• Lesson plans, handouts, family/community documents
	• Teacher-made charts (displayed in classroom)
	• Teacher reflections (written and oral)
	• Student work- writing samples, journals, performances, photos, videos
	• Photos of students and teachers
	• Photos of student work
	• Visual documents- photos and videos of school

Table 3*:* Data sources.

Next, I provide further detail about the methods related to each data source.

Participant Observation Methods

Participant observation was one of my primary data collection methods. The ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964) and microethnography (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982) share participant observation as a key method. The ethnography of communication calls for understanding language in contexts of situation, especially understanding how form and function relate to each other, while microethnography focuses on "particular cultural scenes within key institutions" (Hornberger, 2003, p. 258). I conducted all my observations in one classroom at Baumgartner Elementary, as I sought to understand the ideological becoming of an ESL newcomer literacy teacher and four of her students.

Initially, I adopted an observer-participant role in classroom and community observations due to students' unfamiliarity with my presence. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) explain this stance as appropriate when "the researcher's observer activities are known to the group [and] participation in the group is secondary to the role of information gatherer" (pp. 144-145). Adler and Adler (1998) believe this stance is a *peripheral membership role,* when an insider's identity is established "without participating in those activities constituting the core of group membership" (as cited in

Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 145). I shifted this stance to a more active participant-observer role in subsequent observations, and over time the boys came to recognize me and feel more comfortable with my presence. Schensul and LeCompte (2013) explain this stance as a way to "be present at, involved in, and actually recording the routine daily activities with people in the field setting" (as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 144). As I worked alongside Ms. Jackson in enacting literacy and language engagements with the Congolese children, I shifted my stance even further as a participant-observer—my participation, and at times guidance, came to be expected in these lessons. Merriam and Tisdell explain researchers are "rarely total participants or total observers…there is often a mix of roles" (p. 145). I believe language barriers were at times an obstacle to participant observations as I was not always able to communicate with focal students to the desired degree for learning from them side-by-side in an authentic context. As an observer-participant, I was afforded the opportunity to collect data in a broader way, since I was considered an outsider. This allowed me to understand Ms. Jackson's classroom from a global perspective, like the lesson sequence, her classroom set-up, and her interaction with the boys, for example. However, the observer-participant stance limited the depth of my understanding of the realities of these events for her or the boys. As a participant-observer, I was able to discover more insight from Ms. Jackson about her teaching and grew more comfortable to ask her questions about her practice such as, "Can you tell me about…?" However, I experienced moments of anxiety as I took up this stance, moments that Merriam and Tisdell explain arise from the "ambiguity of participant observation" (p. 147). I often worried about the observations and how I was

managing the ways I was participating in the lesson's activities but also trying to collect data, as well worrying about influencing the data I was collecting.

In Phase One, I observed weekly during Ms. Jackson's literacy block. The literacy block included reading and writing instruction, such as independent reading, oral language engagements, and phonological and phonemic work. Observing focal children during literacy blocks allowed me to attend to literacy events—observable instances of reading and writing (Heath, 1983). I continued to conduct participant observations every week in Ms. Jackson's classroom in Phase Two, as well as increased the interviews with focal participants.

I mapped the ESL classroom during my first visit and kept a double-sided journal, where I recorded my observations on one side and my reflections and interpretations on the other. My reflective comments were "…feelings, reactions, hunches, initial interpretations, speculations, and working hypotheses" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 151). I took salient, direct quotes throughout observations. All observations were audio and video recorded. I selected critical moments, or when Ms. Jackson's adaptations and reflections illustrated her emerging ideological system about teaching literacy and language in her classroom, for transcription and analysis purposes. I used photos and text to detail each observation, including lines of what I considered compelling language in use. After conducting observations, I reflected on three questions for future analytic moments. The three questions were:

1) What surprised me?

2) What intrigued me?

3) What disturbed me? (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2012, p. 87).

The first question tracked my assumptions and preconceived notions about the things I saw at school, especially in the context of teaching translingual students in my teaching history, as discussed in the first chapter. This was the most difficult question to reflect on, as Ms. Jackson's classroom practices resembled the literacy and language practices I used and was encouraged to enact in my classroom. These practices are situated in authoritative Discourses of skill-based literacy instruction and cognitive orientations to language development and acquisition (Street, 1984). For example, authoritative Discourses often position language learning as a set of reading, writing, listening, and speaking processes and instructional practices and assessments are arranged to measure the development of each mode. Observing these practices in Ms. Jackson's room did not surprise me—nor did the multiple assessments around phonemic awareness and other skill-based manifestations of literacy instruction I observed. I often had to remind myself to "make the familiar strange" (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2012, p. 8) examining the ways that Ms. Jackson was making sense of her new experience as the ESL newcomer literacy teacher.

The second question, what intrigued me (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2012) tracked my position as a researcher and identified occurrences that attracted my interest throughout the study. This question supported my thinking for analysis and future research. I often reflected on this question while I was in the classroom observing or interviewing and my thinking led me to further reading of professional literature.

The third question, what disturbed me (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2012) tracked my tensions as I observed, which included prejudices, stereotypes, unnerving things, etc. I realized that I often reflected on how individuals at Baumgartner positioned Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony as "crazy" or "out of control" due to how much they talked or ignored school rules and I engaged in the same labeling throughout data collection. It was a stereotype that circulated in my own teaching career and one I picked up. As I realized this occurrence, I reflected on how a stereotype like this was created and what it meant for students' learning. This was only one example of how this question brought my attention to a tension in the field. Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater believe "these three questions should become a kind of mantra for a fieldstudy" (p. 87).

I often recorded audio memos on my cell phone as I drove home from Baumgartner. These memos were typically one to three minutes in length. In them, I reflected on my research questions and the happenings in Ms. Jackson's classroom, and my thinking after interviews. It was through this questioning that my theoretical framework began to develop, as I considered my data through my researcher's reflexivity. Additionally, I often reflected on the issue of race and how Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony experienced racism similar to other Black children at Baumgartner. Through these memos, I reflected on whether or not the data was robust or compelling enough to move an argument forward. As I conducted observations and expanded my field notes, I often grappled with the tensions between the voices and Discourses in my own personal and professional history. I currently situate my thinking in sociocultural and holistic orientations to literacy and language learning, as I believe literacy learning happens through social practices that are influenced by cultural factors. My professional

history as an elementary school teacher was shaped by more skills-based and cognitive orientations to literacy and language learning and my internally persuasive Discourses were a challenging layer of subjectivity in classroom observations.

Interviews

Interviews were a crucial component in understanding Ms. Jackson's ideological becoming as an ESL newcomer literacy teacher. A research interview is "a process in which the researcher and participant engage in a conversation focused on questions related to a research study" (DeMarrias, 2004, p. 55, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 108). Interviews allowed me to understand events I could not witness, such as classroom practices or interactions beyond my observations. I understood English literacy and language learning from the participants' perspectives through interviews, which ultimately shaped my perspective during my observations.

I conducted one initial and one follow-up formal interview with Ms. Jackson, as well as debriefed and informally dialogued with her multiple times over the course of the first two phases (see Appendix A for the teacher interview protocol). At the beginning of my study, some of my interview questions for Ms. Jackson served as a way to familiarize myself with her classroom practices. Many of our informal conversations occurred before observations or lessons we planned to co-teach. I also asked her about events that took place over the course of the semester. In interview one, I asked Ms. Jackson about her teaching and literacy histories and beliefs. In the second interview, I focused my attention on language learning in particular, as I inquired into her beliefs, practices, and values around translingual students. I arrived early for scheduled observations to talk with Ms. Jackson. She was usually eating lunch before the Congolese children arrived. At first,

when I was an observer-participant, our conversations centered around her plans for her literacy and language instruction with students. However, as my stance shifted to participant-observer, our conversations involved planning the next literacy block as well as chatting about recent events that had occurred in her career and ESL training, as well information about the Congolese children. We discussed home visits, language test results, and ESL coursework. Through these conversations, our relationship evolved from a formal researcher and study participant to fellow inquirers about teaching English to refugee students. We discussed our schooling and our experiences teaching translingual students, as well as anecdotes from our personal lives that inevitably emerged in our conversations. Ms. Jackson often told me stories from her personal life and asked me about my life and vice versa. We spent time marveling, questioning, and enjoying what we were observing in Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony in her classroom over the course of the study.

I completed one interview with each member of the administrative staff, including the principal, the counselor, and the Family Resource Counselor (see Appendix B for administrative staff interviews). I believe these interviews were significant as they offered insight into the different ideologies and Discourses that circulate around the school—as an administrative team, they enacted a Discourse Ms. Jackson valued and appropriated in her own ways amidst other Discourses.

I completed two group interviews with Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony over the course of my study (see Appendix C for the student interview protocol). Eder and Fingerson (2002) explain that interviewing children is important "to give voice to their own interpretation and thoughts rather than rely solely on our adult interpretations of

their lives" (p. 181). I constantly reflected on the power dynamics in which children may see themselves as subordinate to adults, especially when Ms. Jackson offered children a prize in return for good behavior during the interviews. I also kept in mind what Paley (1986) says that "as we seek to learn more about a child, we [should] demonstrate the acts of observing, listening, questioning, and wondering" (p. 127). She emphasizes that children feel respected by the researcher's curiosity rather than their authority, a consideration I kept in mind. Additionally, Eder and Fingerson believe multiple methods like classroom observations and interviews may help the researcher understand children in their naturally occurring environment "as well as their local and social culture" (p. 188). I believe my evolving observer stance and subsequent teaching role showed Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony that I was someone like Ms. Jackson, who showed interest in their lives and their learning in schools. As a result, I felt the boys opened up to me more as the school year continued.

The first interview occurred in the second month of my study, due to the shift in the research design, the district's schedule, and the time I felt necessary to establish rapport with the students through classroom observations. I inquired specifically about literacy and language practices, values, and beliefs, such as the boys' favorite book and when English was really easy or hard to learn. My classroom observations provided insight to literacy events and practices that I drew upon in this interview. I completed the second interview in the last week of school, and I modified my questions to follow up from the first interview. I asked the boys about their feelings about using their different languages at school and the projects we did together and solicited advice for Congolese new to Louisville.

I used a semi structured format in my interviews, which allowed me to engage in a more natural, authentic conversation with the study participants and respond with flexibility and consideration. Interviews lasted no longer than an hour, when "diminishing returns [can] set in for both parties" (Glesne, 2016, p. 110). I audio recorded and took notes during each interview. I transcribed each interview and created analytic memos for each. Additionally, I participated in collaborative interpretation with Ms. Jackson with interview transcripts and verified content with Joseph.

Cultural Work in Interviews. Carter and Bolden (2012) define cultural work as "the interactional labor involved in creating, defining, and negotiating perceptions of culture and the relationships between these perceptions and individuals' socially constructed identities" (p. 255). I received a research grant to pay for interpreter services, and I conducted interviews with children and parents alongside a man named Joseph Kobero, who spoke Swahili, the language the Congolese families spoke most frequently. Mr. Kobero worked for a local refugee resettlement organization and as an independent interpreter. He spoke six languages and worked frequently with the Congolese population in his role, so we faced few obstacles in approaching families and speaking with the children. At the beginning of my study, I believed an interpreter was critical for several reasons. First, research with and about refugee populations is delicate in a time of anti-immigrant and refugee sentiment from the current U.S. federal administration, restrictive legislation, and heightened anxiety that occurs when U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids are feared. I believed having an interpreter with me would assuage potentially (and understandably) nervous or anxious participants and support my goal to develop relationships with them. At the end of my study, I realized the only

anxiety was my own. Although I did not speak a word of Swahili when the study first

started, the children and their families were quite warm and inviting. During a home visit,

there was a Congolese man in Adish's home who was talking to Joseph about my

research and Joseph told me that the man said they were happy for someone to come to

understand their culture and their way of life. This family later invited me to eat a

traditional Congolese meal of cornmeal and fish and introduced me to all the other family

members living in the apartment, which I thoroughly enjoyed.

I intended to preserve my participants' meanings as I conducted my study, which

I knew I could easily misrepresent given our linguistic and cultural difference. I believed

having an interpreter minimized the risk that I would misunderstand their words, their

meanings, and their truths. Joseph assisted in obtaining consent from each student

participant and their family. He attended each interview with the children and each home

visit, as well as listened to and read through interview audio and transcripts to make sure

the correct meanings were conveyed. Additionally, Joseph added Swahili to the interview

transcripts, as I intended to maintain the moments in which children used a language

other than English.

Toward the end of the data collection period, I asked children about their families

and their journeys to Louisville and typical activities around reading and writing—

questions which, according to Carter and Bolden (2012), activate culture talk. They

suggest reflecting on the order of questions as well as refining questions throughout the

data process in order to ensure the work is interactional, to allow participants the

flexibility to choose their direction instead of the researcher. During the interview with

Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony and their families, I often changed the order of

questions based on what they said. I restated questions or probed further when I felt more information was needed or there was a need to rephrase something for Joseph to relay to the boys or their parents.

One of the most difficult challenges I faced concerned conflicting paradigms of literacy and language teaching. I had to proceed through each interview with neutrality related to literacy and language teaching and learning, as I realized quite soon that I frequently and strongly disagreed with the study participants' views, even though my early career teaching was consistent with their descriptions. I conducted member checks by sharing the interview transcripts with the individuals for confirmation of their accuracy. Member checking also increased the likelihood of my accurate portrayal of the participants' thoughts, beliefs, and perspectives.

Document Collection

Document collection "can tell the researcher about the inner meaning of everyday events" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 166). Over the course of the study, I collected classroom documents related to my observations and discussed in informal or formal interviews with Ms. Jackson. These included handouts, teacher-made charts, student work (writing samples, journals, performances), teacher reflections (written and oral), as well as curricular and assessment materials. Additionally, I took photos of students and teachers and student work I could not copy or take with me. I collected and photographed documents distributed by the school such as family/community documents, as well as documents in and around the school. These documents served to "furnish descriptive information, verify emerging hypotheses, advance new categories and hypotheses, offer

historical understanding, track change and development, and so on" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 182).

Observations, interviews, and document collection triangulated and offered more internal validity as I proceeded through the data collection stage (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). For example, through classroom observations, I observed Ms. Jackson use a literacy practice known as the Picture Word Inductive Model (PWIM, discussed in a later chapter) and through interviews, she revealed to me the way she appropriated the practice from the way her ESL teacher colleagues enacted. She gave me PWIM documents and subsequent student work to add more understanding of the expectations placed on her from one of the Discourses in her professional teaching career.

Role of the Researcher

I believed my role as a researcher was critical as I interacted with and observed my focal participants. The government and other agencies such as the IRB and the school district view refugees and immigrants as vulnerable or sensitive groups due to the nature of their mobility and the trauma surrounding their lives as they may have experienced or witnessed violence and persecution in their home country. As a result, such institutions have understandably sought to constrain access to these groups as to avoid exploitation or manipulation. In my study, the school district initially denied my access to home visits. This was especially important in a time of anti-immigrant sentiment and divisive rhetoric between U.S. nativism and diversity. As a researcher, I know I must always reflect and act on who I am and what my research does in the lives of the individuals I study. Probst and Berenson (2014) explain, "Reflexivity is generally understood as awareness of the influence the researcher has on what is being studied and, simultaneously, of how the

research process affects the researcher" (as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 64). I must always understand how my race, class, gender, and sexual orientation afford me certain privileges as I conduct my study at every stage. I must consider the way power shapes my access to the research sites, participants, and subsequent interactions and act in ways that respect the integrity of my participants' lives. For example, as a white, middle-class heterosexual woman, I resemble most of the Baumgartner staff as well as the majority of the teacher population. The U.S. Department of Education reports growing discipline disparities between White and Black children, partly due to a lack of cultural and linguistic understanding and training. Additionally, I am a native English speaker. In this current teaching environment, my role as a White woman who speaks the language used at school positioned me to the boys as a person in power who could control or influence their education in some way. When Joseph came with me to interviews, he later told me the boys expressed delight and shock that "someone looked like them and spoke Swahili" at school. I often thought of this when I went to visit or talk to the boys and their families at home.

Data Analysis

I transcribed all interviews and field notes to begin data analysis. I initially read through one set of fieldnotes or a transcript line-by-line, using open coding to uncover potential emergent themes and detect any patterns among the codes. After I utilized line-by-line coding for the first round, I created a list of codes and began to reread through a different piece of data to see if it was applicable. I discarded many initial codes and revised coding as I continued to apply the existing codes to subsequent transcripts and

field notes. I conducted this type of analysis as I pursued professional literature which could lend direction and situate or redirect my thinking.

As I delved into my data, I noticed Ms. Jackson often named other individuals in her daily teaching practice that she encountered through intentional acts, such as seeking counsel for her practice from literacy coaches, administrative staff, or other teachers, or structured participation activities, such as attending district professional development. I recognized a patchwork of voices that shaped her teaching craft. That included individuals, groups, adults, children, inside and outside, current and historical. I created a concept map of all the voices in Figure 5 below.
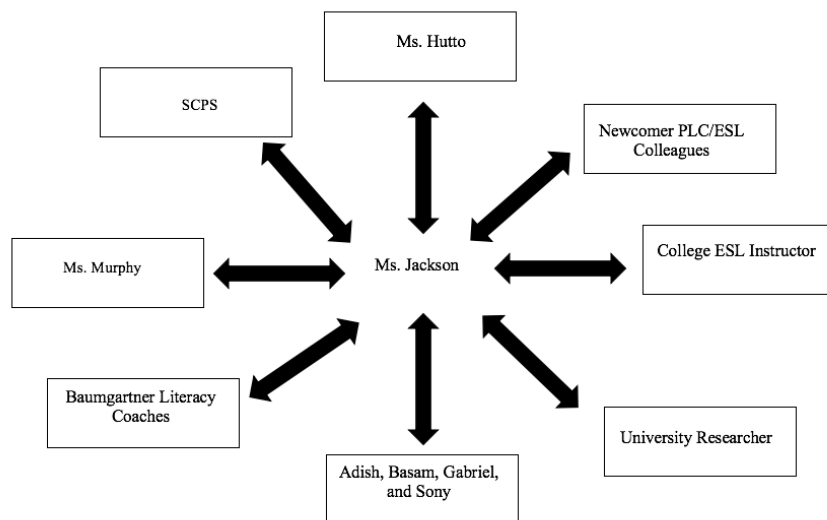
Figure 5: The voices that influenced Ms. Jackson's teaching practices.

Additionally, I noticed moments of tension and cohesion among the diversity of voices in Ms. Jackson's teaching practices, including her own voice. Ms. Murphy and Ms. Hutto also often reflected on the tension between what others were telling them to do, carry out, or accomplish with the growing newcomer population and what they saw happening at their school that made them question their daily practices in literacy and

language learning. The frequent negotiation led me to see the individuals as a collection of Discourses that shaped the ideological becoming of the teachers and administrative staff at Baumgartner Elementary as they worked toward an ideological system, or a set of beliefs about their school as it was undergoing major cultural and linguistic transformations. Several individuals and their practices established the authoritative Discourses in which individuals like Ms. Jackson, Ms. Murphy, and Ms. Hutto were expected to operate. Others acted as internally persuasive Discourses, creating moments of tension when Ms. Jackson and others questioned the absolute acceptance of certain practices for teaching English to refugee students. Ball & Freedman (2004) explain, "[Teachers] come into contact with the internally persuasive discourses of others, and those discourses enter their consciousness much as authoritative discourse does" (p. 12). After I examined the relationships between the individuals and their lived discourses, I reflected on the "so what?" and began to examine my data for themes around what occurred when Ms. Jackson encountered different ways of being and her navigation between the Discourses in her ideological becoming as a literacy and language teacher.

The first prominent Discourse I identified circulating through Baumgartner was the English Literacy and Language Teaching Discourse (ELLT). In my analysis, I created codes with gerunds (*positioning* or *naming* for example) to identify the processes that constituted the ways of being socially significant identities like *teacher of English language* or *an educator who works with language learners* at Baumgartner. Some codes that emerged were *expressing compliance*, *labeling students, describing assessment materials and procedures*, and *positioning language as a level.* As analysis continued, I read and reread data to compare and condense codes into processes that occurred more

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frequently. From this analytic work, I began to see how those who lived this Discourse viewed these processes as the only available options for them to be recognized as a *teacher of English language* or *educator who works with language learners*—for example, labeling students according to language levels because they believed it was the only way to operate. Since there was a limited range of ways of being, acting, thinking, believing, and more, this Discourse acted authoritatively to govern English literacy and language teaching in constrained ways.

The second most prominent Discourse I identified was the Discourse about Refugees. As I read professional literature to inform my study, I encountered scholarship that discussed the discourses around refugees— a "problem-solving" discourse, with citizenship as the solution (Cox, 1996). The teacher and administrators in my study used language to conceptualize refugees and position the newly arrived refugee students at Baumgartner "in need" of a solution, or that they needed to "figure out" what to do as more refugees arrived at the school. I then proceeded to code field notes and interviews again, except I looked for moments when teachers expressed how they viewed refugee students, when refugee students were "in need" of something, or how they communicated they were unsure how to teach such a group. Some of the codes that emerged in this process were *reflecting on a new phenomenon, perceiving education as a solution, positioning a refugee as something to 'solve,' positioning language as part of the 'problem,'* and *valuing language and cultural diversity.* I also coded for evolving ways of being at Baumgartner, or how the four Congolese boys' ways of being as a Refugee shaped existing spaces at the school. These codes consisted of processes like *rearticulating a school space: participation, attempting to 'join in' the space, wanting to*

learn English at school, and *seeing teachers as helpful.* I believed the boys' ways of being a Refugee acted as an internally persuasive Discourse as their arrival produced multiple moments of tension reflected in the data, such as family engagement and assessing learning. The boys' ways of being challenged Baumgartner educators' existing conceptualizations of refugees as well.

The most significant theme in my analysis, *evolving views and definitions of literacy,* emerged as I read across my field notes and interviews with Ms. Jackson. It became clearer that throughout the study, she was wrestling with what literacy meant in light of the group of refugee students in her classroom who challenged her thinking about literacy teaching and the different voices influencing her as a teacher. Ms. Jackson's literacy definition evolved as she went through an ideological becoming, and her practices and reflections in the data demonstrated the way she moved through orientations to literacy. This was not a linear process by any means. The literacy orientation that constituted her ideological system and environment was skills-based, and she kept returning to a set of beliefs about literacy to which other realizations or epiphanies confronted or shook up. This worked as a dialectical process, in which her encounters with other literacy orientations shaped her skills-based ideological system and in turn shaped the outside literacy orientations.

At the same time Ms. Jackson worked through her conceptualization of literacy and what it meant to be a literacy teacher, her consciousness about language and culture shifted as well. This does not mean there was a causal link between her definitions of literacy and her linguistic and cultural understanding, or to suggest that they changed in the same way at the same time. Rather, an understanding about literacy may compromise

or strengthen an emerging understanding about language and culture and vice versa. These codes comprise the ways these discourses and practices aligned or contradicted as Ms. Jackson navigated through her practice. Some codes that emerged from this analysis were *acknowledging culture, resisting translingual ability, enacting different participant structures, leveraging translingual ability,* and *wondering about language development.* For example, by using different participant structures in her literacy engagements, Ms. Jackson leveraged or resisted the boys' translingual ability which either allowed them to fully or minimally participate in her lesson in some way.

As the data showed two prominent Discourses emerging at Baumgartner, there were moments when the two Discourses came together in Ms. Jackson's classroom to produce moments of tension that led to processes listed above. I drew upon Bakhtinian scholarship and labeled Ms. Jackson's classroom a "contact zone" and looked for moments when the ELLT Discourse and Discourse about Refugees collided and what happened in the classroom as a result. I selected three lessons to code—these lessons were critical moments where Ms. Jackson's adaptations and reflections illustrated her emerging ideological system about teaching in her classroom. I identified four manifestations of her emergent beliefs and her negotiation between Discourses evident in these critical moments: choosing materials and activities, which included text selections and reader response formats; using Swahili and English, grouping Swahili-speaking children, and meeting reading goals. I then added the ELLT Discourse and Discourse about Refugees as an additional layer to identify how the Discourses presented in the lessons. I looked for moments of how the two Discourses intersected and certain beliefs juxtaposed, such as student engagement and modalities of teaching.

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To turn my attention to the students, I looked through observational data, interviews, and their completed artifacts in Ms. Jackson's classroom. One of the most salient patterns was how the boys located American places in their art, discussed American pop culture, and used YouTube. As I examined these moments, it seemed to me that as Ms. Jackson was going through her ideological becoming and working toward a definition of herself as a literacy and language teacher, Adish, Basam, Sony, and Gabriel were going through their own ideological becoming, a process I called *becoming a student at a U.S. school.* Becoming a student at a U.S. school is what happened as they lived the Discourse of "English Literacy and Language Teaching" and the Discourses "about Refugees" discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

My study led me to critical understandings about what it was like for Ms. Jackson to be an ESL newcomer literacy teacher who was undergoing critical shifts in her ideological systems as she encountered influences from various Discourses that intersected in her classroom. In the next three chapters, I present findings that answer my research questions about the English Literacy and Language Teaching Discourse (Chapter 4), the Discourse about Refugees (Chapter 5), and when these Discourses intersect in Ms. Jackson's classroom (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 4
THE ENGLISH LITERACY AND LANGUAGE TEACHING DISCOURSE

"I want structure. I want someone to tell me this is what you need to be doing, and I'm fine with it. That's how I know I'm doing what I'm supposed to be doing and the kids are getting what they need—and that's that." Ms. Jackson, Baumgartner ESL newcomer literacy teacher

On a cold day in February, Ms. Jackson tells Gabriel, Basam, and Adish they are going to write in their notebooks and pulls out their composition notebooks from behind her desk. The three words written in their notebook are *car, stop,* and *look.* There is a corresponding image next to the word in their books. Ms. Jackson has a handheld whiteboard and tells the boys they are going to write sentences in their notebook using the words from a book they finished reading together as a group (Figure 6). She asks them what they want to write about the word car and the boys start saying words aloud.

Ms. Jackson: (*pointing to book)* I see a…. do you want to say big?

Basam: Yes! Big car!

They spell out big and she points to a period, asking the boys what it is called. They move on to the next word, *stop.* Ms. Jackson tells them not to write but to talk about it first. They decide on *"The car can stop"* for the next sentence. Adish has written "*cat*" instead of "*car.*" Ms. Jackson says, "That says 'cat!'" and Adish says, "CAT?!", prompting a loud group laugh, myself included. All three boys call out letters and sounds as they complete the sentence. The last sentence for the word *look* starts a long conversation.

Basam: Can I look stop?

Ms. Jackson: I like how you're trying to use two of the vocabulary words together.

Adish: Can I look at your computer?

Basam: Can I look at your cat? Can I touch your cat?

We all laugh at Basam's joke as we realize he is gently teasing his friend Adish about his mistake earlier with *cat* and *car*.
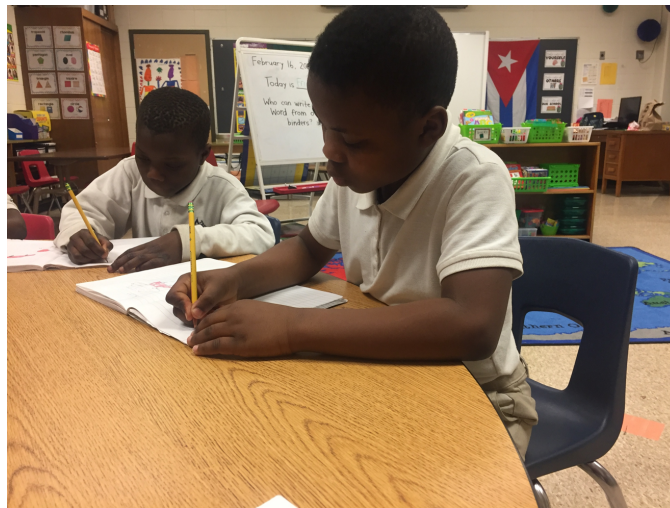
Figure 6*:* Basam and Adish writing sentences in their notebook.

The boys have all volunteered different sentences, but Ms. Jackson keeps encouraging them to write the same sentence. They come to the sentence, "Can I look at your car window?" She spells out window for them, telling them there must be a question mark at the end.

The classroom moment described above illustrates literacy and language teaching situated in what I call the English Literacy and Language Teaching Discourse (ELLT). In this chapter, I employ an interpretation of Bakhtin's (1981) authoritative discourses to establish my identification of the existing ideological environment as constituted by ways of being, acting, thinking, believing about literacy and language teaching at the school.

As I described in Chapter 1, I draw upon Gee's conceptualization of a Discourse (2014) which is:

> composed of distinctive ways of speaking/listening and writing/reading coupled with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, believing, with other people and various objects, tools, and technologies, so as to enact specific socially recognizable identities (p. 37).

An authoritative Discourse is one that is embodied through authority, a way of being that an individual must completely accept or reject. Individuals do not necessarily have to view this way of being as negative; as Ball and Freedman (2004) explain, "The nature of [the] struggle with an authoritative discourse depends on [the] relationship with it" (p. 7). Bakhtin describes the authority of a discourse as "already *acknowledged* in the past. It is a *prior* discourse. It is therefore not a question of choosing it from among other possible discourses that are its equal" (p. 342). Teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) to language learners was not entirely new within Southeast County Public Schools (SCPS), yet it was relatively a new phenomenon to teachers and staff at Baumgartner Elementary School. Ms. Jackson had a unique position as the new ESL newcomer literacy teacher, a role that she and the school administrators were still developing and defining with regard to curriculum, instruction, collaboration, and more. The ELLT Discourse was a prior Discourse, an authoritative Discourse embodied by authority figures (in this case, SCPS and school administrators who had served ESL students long before), described in Chapter 3. Teachers and staff at Baumgartner enacted ways of acting and interacting, thinking, and believing to be recognized as socially significant identities like *ESL newcomer literacy teacher* or *educator at a school with English Language Learners (ELLs).* These ways of acting and believe included processes like *expressing compliance* or *positioning language as a level.*

In the following sections, I describe processes that occurred within the ELLT Discourse. These processes include understanding the rules of assessment, defining instructional goals, and positioning students in deficit ways. I illustrate how these processes were situated in the ELLT Discourse and, in turn, reproduced autonomous, prescriptive literacy and monolingual, cognitive language practices and ideologies. Autonomous ideologies maintain literacy is a set of neutral, decontextualized skills and can be transferred to any context (Street, 1984). Cognitive orientations to language learning view language as divided into domains such as reading, writing, speaking, and listening and emphasize how instruction and assessment align to these domains. Both of these authoritative Discourses are prescriptive in their nature and establish a collection of rules about literacy and language and how they are learned and should be taught. These rules about literacy and language shaped the ideological environment at Baumgartner, as the ways of being, acting, thinking, believing, and more influenced and mandated instructional decisions at the school and in the classrooms.

When I began data collection at Baumgartner, administrators and teachers quickly caught wind of the purpose of my study, asking me to help them once they learned of my ESL teaching background. I realized they recognized me as a fellow member in the ELLT Discourse, since I was enacting ways of talking, thinking, acting, believing, and more that indicated my place in the ELLT Discourse—something I had done in my classroom teaching years. Over my career, however, I had distanced myself from this Discourse as I pursued more schooling and oriented myself to more holistic ways of teaching and learning with culturally and linguistically diverse populations. During this study, I found myself enacting the ELLT Discourse while I sought to understand

participants' sense-making in the ideological environment at Baumgartner. This may have impacted how participants disclosed information or revealed how they felt about ideologies and practices supported at the school, for example, as they viewed me as a fellow educator of language learners. I often found myself sitting in Ms. Jackson's classroom and administrators' offices longer than I intended because a brief comment had sparked a passionate discussion about any number of things: the increased number of Congolese children in the school and city, translingual children and mainstream teaching, school traditions around family engagement, and more. Intentional or not, I believe Baumgartner teachers recognized me as an individual who was already a language teacher and it afforded me multiple moments of revelation I am unsure I may have been privy to in different contexts.

Drawing upon classroom observations, teacher interviews, and the collection of documents, I explore Ms. Jackson's literacy and language practices through these processes which also include how the use of certain curricular materials maintained the authoritative Discourse in her ESL classroom. Her use of curricular materials from the district and commercial publishing companies preserved certain beliefs and the ways of being as ESL newcomer literacy teachers within the ELLT Discourse.

Understanding the Rules of Assessment

The most prominent process in the ELLT Discourse was the process of understanding the rules of assessment. Assessment was a powerful force—it narrowed, categorized, and monitored English literacy and language development at Baumgartner and in the school district. Assessment procedures communicated beliefs about literacy and language development, like how much English had to be learned in order to test like

a native English speaker. Ms. Hutto, the school counselor, held a secondary role as the testing coordinator and administrator. She described the school compliance measures regarding state standardized testing. She said, "Usually by [testing time, these students have] been in ESL for a year. It's a rule. They have to be in an English-speaking school for 200+ days." For example, as a fourth grader, Basam was in a testing grade. Although he had been at Baumgartner and in the United States (U.S.) for only one year, he was expected to take the state standardized assessment like other fourth grade students. Ms. Murphy, the Baumgartner principal, criticized this mandate:

> We continue to rank schools based on the number of kids who are proficient and distinguished in the school. Right now, we have pretty strict district rules about what assessment looks like and by those measures, our kids are going to fall short.

Ms. Murphy took issue with the assessment rules, even if she had to abide by them as an extension of the district's authority as the school principal. She was held accountable for school performance on state tests, which complicated her role within the ELLT Discourse and the emerging translingual population, in turn shaping her internally persuasive Discourses. She told me, "I hear [them] saying that we should reach X percentage of proficiency, but you also know that [we have so many] newcomers now… we're still being measured in the same way." It seemed Ms. Murphy still believed tests were acceptable assessment practices for measuring achievement, a belief maintained in the ELLT Discourse. However, it no longer worked at Baumgartner in the way it was intended.

Ms. Hutto told me she believed language scores should be used to determine whether or not an individual could take the state standardized tests. When I asked her if she thought a test was the best way to measure language proficiency, she admitted, "You

know, I never really thought about that. It's the only thing we have, I think. We rely so much on that kind of stuff to measure where our kids are." Ms. Jackson explained to me how the newcomer PLC she attended monthly "wanted [me] to do oral language [assessments], phonemic assessment, alphabet, and letter ID. It's too much." Assessment materials and procedures reinscribed the ideological weight behind Ms. Jackson's literacy orientation to skills-based literacy and language instruction in her classroom, one that she returned to as she faced critical moments in her developing beliefs as an ESL newcomer literacy teacher.

The PLC was sponsored by the school district and led by instructional coaches. Toward the end of the year, Ms. Jackson told me she had to miss class with the boys because she had to attend the end of the year newcomer PLC. She told me they asked her to bring the newcomer checklist from the year and she panicked, "I'm like, 'oh my God, I'm going to get in trouble.' I took [data] from the beginning of the year, but now [the PLC] wants us to do all this stuff at the end of the year." The ELLT Discourse was entrenched so deeply and was so uncontested that individuals like Ms. Hutto and Ms. Jackson did not even question that there could be another way to monitor language development.

One of the most important implications for understanding the rules of assessment was using it for instructional decision-making, like referring ESL students for services and grouping students in classes. The WIDA Accessing Comprehension and Communication in English State-to-State (ACCESS) test acted as primary mechanism for placement in different ESL classrooms at Baumgartner. Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony were placed in Ms. Jackson's class because of their assessment scores, which identified

and labeled them as newcomers and ultimately shaped what sort of learning they experienced. I asked Ms. Murphy what the term "newcomer" meant to her, and she discussed a variety of factors like previous schooling. However, she said, "Ultimately, it would fall back to the ACCESS scores [to] put them back to newcomer status. They're labeled a newcomer based on ACCESS—that's the district." Ms. Jackson told me that several schools had been selected to participate in the newcomer professional learning community (PLC) due to the number of students who had scored under 2.5 on the ACESS test. The emphasis on language assessment held several implications for a school district's response for literacy and teaching learning, including hiring staff (like Ms. Jackson), forming professional development groups, implementing a specific curriculum for the ESL students, and more. Ms. Jackson recalled how she was assigned to the position, explaining, "You know, [the district] told us, we have a significant number of newcomers here and they wanted to start a pilot program—me and [the other ESL teacher] needed to decide who it would be."

The rules of language assessment also shaped special education procedures as Ms. Hutto told me, "I've had kids whose teachers are coming and saying, 'I need to refer this kid.' I used to look at [certain documents but] now I'm also looking up WIDA's ACCESS scores." She told me she had little experience with the test other than using it as a piece of evidence of school achievement. Typically, when special education referrals are completed, school staff collect a multitude of documentation to demonstrate the student is "needing support" in certain areas. The staff at Baumgartner included language learning results to position students in "need" of interventions—this was due to the available Discourse circulating in the school, or a lens of partiality which positioned

students in deficit ways (Flores et al., 2015). Teachers in the ELLT Discourse used documentation like language assessments to identify "students in need" because the socially significant identities available to them in the prescriptivist environment at the school.

Defining Instructional Goals

As I spent more time observing and talking to teachers and staff at Baumgartner, it became clearer by defining their instructional goals, they oriented and committed themselves to pre-established or existing beliefs that comprised the ideological environment at Baumgartner. Notably, this process regularly occurs in educational settings; however, the influence of the ELLT Discourse was reified as teachers and staff drew upon entrenched beliefs and values available to them. As a new teacher, Ms. Jackson defined and aligned her instructional goals to what was available to her, illustrating what Bakhtin (1981) describes as "authority as such, or the authoritativeness of tradition, of generally acknowledged truths, of the official line and other similar authorities" (p. 344). As indicated by the quote that opens this chapter, Ms. Jackson sought and welcomed any directions from these individuals, who she believed to be more knowledgeable than her about the teaching of English literacy and language. These individuals' voices fortified Ms. Jackson's original skill-based literacy orientation, as they most frequently endorsed authoritative ways of being at Baumgartner. I explore her instructional goals below, followed by an explanation of how she carried out her goals through her English literacy and language teaching.

Ms. Jackson's statements throughout the course of the study were consistent with cognitive orientations to language learning as the four domains of language: speaking,

listening, reading, and writing. She frequently commented on how much the children

spoke in her classroom, as she stated, "They're so high orally. They'll talk to you about

anything. It's broken and they repeat sentences and leave out a lot of key words, but they

try to communicate." One of Ms. Jackson's instructional goals was to help the boys move

from listing to making more grammatically complete and correct sentences. She told me,

"It's a lot of labeling. It's not like, 'There is a person sitting.' They don't do that yet."

Ms. Jackson also compared the boys' speaking ability to her other ESL students. She

explained, "They're higher orally, but the other [ESL] kids can read and write

independently. They still don't have that concept." Ms. Jackson told me that the boys

could write sentences when she provided sentence frames. She told me she believed the

Congolese have a strong oral language tradition which explains why they have strong

listening skills.

Ms. Jackson told me she used *On Our Way to English,* a curricular series

published by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, and "it has a listening, speaking, reading, and

writing [section]." The website explains the program is a:

> comprehensive English language development program. [The] domain-based
> instruction includes a focus on academic language and vocabulary development;
> thematic, content-based instruction; differentiated instruction for language and
> literacy; and a daily instructional routine in oral language, reading, and writing.

The series offers teachers explicit directions for how to use the curricular materials to

teach oral language, comprehension, literacy skills, phonics, and written responses (see

Figure 7 below). The teacher's guide provides instructions like *show pages 2 and 3*, *point

to each word, tell children and say '...' accept answers but reinforce use by saying '...'*

and so on.
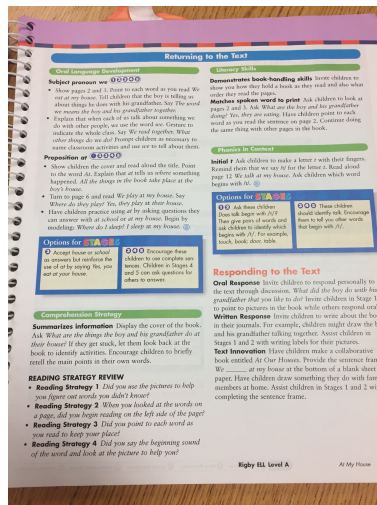
Figure 7: A page from the *On Our Way to English* teacher's guide.

Ms. Jackson told me:

> Right now, I'm taking the books from *On Our Way to English.* I'm using the teacher's guide and we're reading them, going through them. [It] has thematic units. That's kind of what I'm trying to do —they have such great resources. They have a chant poster [and] they have songs with each unit.

She explained to me, "I'm trying to do more chants with the boys before reading so they could memorize and match the words as they read them" (see Figure 8).
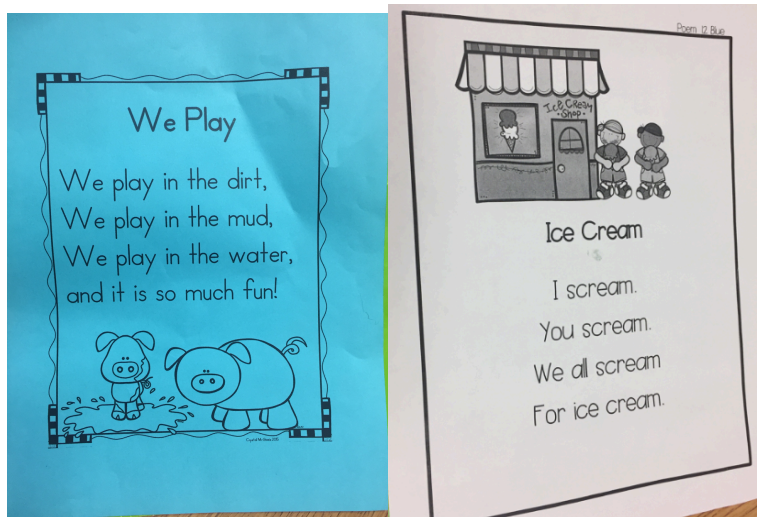
Figure 8: Fluency passages, sometimes referred to as "chants."

The texts in *On Our Way to English* were repetitive—sentence stems remained the same, and the only thing they were required to do was replace a word with the other,

as shown in Figure 9. Ms. Jackson often used books on Level A, which she referred to as the "boys' independent reading level," in her reading instruction. She often expressed frustration with their abilities to put sentences together in reading or writing events in her classroom. Level A texts reduced language to predictable phrases and vocabulary supported by pictures, which some staff at the school considered necessary for early literacy development in terms of independent reading. However, there were few opportunities for the boys to hear authentic language in curriculum materials. As a result, these materials preserved the boys' tendency to list words instead of creating full sentences—in direct opposition to Ms. Jackson's goal for them. Though keeping language consistent or predictable supports language learning, there was little room for creativity or innovation.
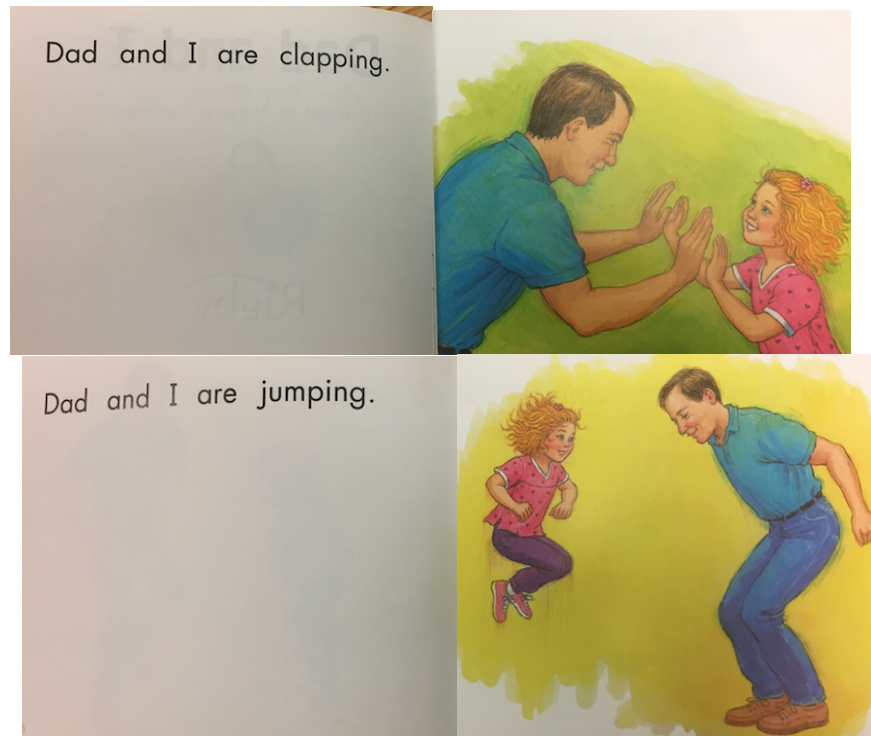
Figure 9: A Level "A" text from the *On Our Way to English* curriculum.

The local school district and the school sanctioned and sponsored the use of *On Our Way to English* as the primary curricular materials for ESL instruction, which ultimately shaped the instructional decisions that Ms. Jackson made as a new teacher. The curricular materials offered instructional practices that reflected the ways of being in the ELLT Discourse, constituted by cognitive orientations to language learning that positioned language as levels achieved through different domains. Additionally, these materials emphasized language as a set of skills, similar to autonomous views on literacy learning.

Ms. Jackson frequently emphasized how she wished the boys would "start reading" and "pick up a book and read." In one of her written reflections, she wrote, "Sometimes I get so wrapped up in getting the boys to read." To Ms. Jackson, reading was accomplished when one of the students decoded words correctly, used a comprehension strategy, and ascertained the correct definition for a vocabulary word. For example, she reflected on a reading lesson from using curricular materials from the *On Our Way to English* series, "Adish read the book the best out of all the boys. He could read all the sight words on the page and would check the picture for meaning when it came to the given vocabulary." She described an unsuccessful reading moment for Basam as she recalled, "He would often make up words as he read. He tried to copy what Adish said, but if he didn't understand, it would just be random sounds put together. He would replace words with common known words." These statements reflected her desire for children's independent reading skills, like sound-letter correspondence, word identification, and vocabulary knowledge. These statements also reflect her ideological becoming, or the construction of her belief systems around what literacy was, particularly in regard as to what "reading" manifested. Ms. Jackson later recalled a conversation with

a Reading Recovery teacher at the school when she admitted to the teacher that she

hadn't been "teaching standards" because she was "just trying to get them to read." The

Reading Recovery teacher told her, "You need to focus on them learning how to read and

the teacher can teach them those standards." This conversation further maintained the

ELLT Discourse, in which particular skills constituted the ability to read and once these

skills were taught sequentially and independently mastered, the teacher could move on to

other tasks in her literacy and language instruction.

To Ms. Jackson, her students had to learn certain reading skills before she could

move on to reading standards. In one lesson, she praised their ability to look at a picture

and figure out what the word "turbo" meant:

> The boys knew, "I'm going to look at the picture and figure out what I think it is."
> They had those skills. That means they're going to be able to figure it out. Once
> they can start reading, they have those strategies. They can figure those things out.

Although Ms. Jackson used skills and strategies interchangeably in this excerpt, she still

expressed how she believed Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony had to master a certain set

of skills to be able to read. Ms. Jackson told me, "[Ms. Murphy] wants [the boys] to be

following the kindergarten foundational standards—sounds, alphabets, print concepts,

and where you start reading." This was the "official line" from someone Ms. Jackson

considered an authority and more knowledgeable about teaching literacy and language.

As stated previously, Bakhtin (1981) claims, "Another's discourse strives to determine

the very bases of our ideological interrelations with the world, the very basis of our

behavior" (p. 342). Ms. Murphy had been a literacy coach before becoming a principal,

primarily working with children in early and emergent literacy instruction settings. She

enacted a socially significant identity as a teacher in a literate Discourse, something Ms.

Jackson recognized and attempted to enact by taking up ways of being and believing in her own practice.

Institutional documents from the newcomer PLC, like the ESL Newcomer Checklist in Figure 10, provided Ms. Jackson guidance on what constituted reading development, and confirmed her belief that proficient reading is accomplishing a list of isolated skills.

Curriculum Framework	Grading Period				Comments
	1	2	3	4	
Reading Development					
Demonstrates book handling skills (circle those achieved) Holds book correctly moves left to right moves top to bottom					
Phonemic Awareness					
Identifies beginning sounds in a spoken word					
Identifies medial sounds in a spoken word					
Identifies ending sounds in a spoken word					
Identifies the number of words in a sentence					
Phonemic Awareness (PAT Test)					
Initial Consonant Sounds Test (ICST)					
Phonemic Segmentation Test (PST)					
Blending Sounds Test (BST)					
Phonics					
Developmental Spelling Assessment **(DSA)**					
Letter I.D. Scores					
Fluency					
Number of sight words students can read					
Vocabulary and Comprehension					
Matches illustrations to words					
Identifies characters					
Identifies setting					
Sequences pictures to retell a story					
Identifies details in an informational text					

Figure 10: Reading development, according to the ESL Newcomer Checklist

Notably, this checklist breaks down reading into certain components and does not account for other language use and knowledge. Ms. Jackson set reading, defined as the mastery of prescriptive skills, as her instructional goal in her work with Basam, Gabriel, Sony, and Adish. She aligned her instruction with this goal, which was consistent with her school environment where autonomous, monolingual ideologies were typical. Ms. Jackson subscribed to the ELLT Discourse circulating at Baumgartner, as particular staff, teachers, and institutional documents sponsored and conceptualized literacy and language learning in a certain way.

Defining instructional practices. I have already provided insight into Ms.

Jackson's instructional practices as I discussed her instructional goals. In this section, I

provide an overview of three more instructional practices that illuminate the ELLT

Discourse and its influence on Ms. Jackson's teaching—Calendar Math, rewriting sight

words in different ways, and Picture Word Induction Model (PWIM). These practices

were introduced and supported in the newcomer PLC.

One practice that emerged in Ms. Jackson's teaching was an instructional activity

known as Calendar Math (Figure 11). On the calendar, which perched on the easel at the

group meeting area, the weekdays and weekends were represented with different shapes

and colors and marked with numerals for the day of the month.
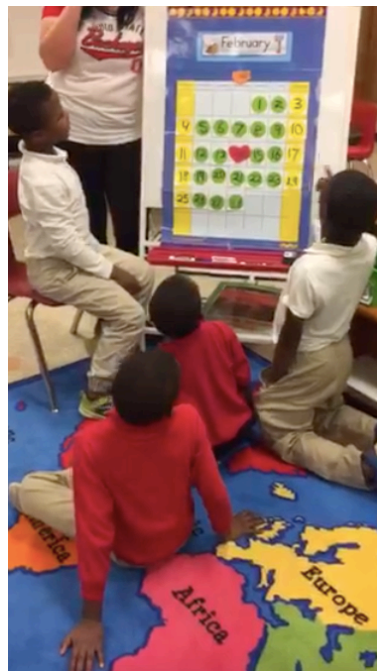
Figure 11: Basam teaching Adish, Gabriel, and Sony Calendar Math.

Ms. Jackson told me they were trying to use more sentence structure to guess the date for

the next day. She explained, "Last month was just letting them understand the weekdays

are green and the weekends are yellow. Now it's more of a pattern, getting them to work

on shapes, the months of the year, days of the week and writing the date." Ms. Jackson admitted to me at the beginning of the study that she hadn't been doing Calendar Math due to the room arrangement (she shared a room with two other ESL teachers), but at one of the newcomer PLCs, she was told she "had to start doing it." As a result, it became part of her daily instruction. This demonstrates how Ms. Jackson was encouraged to comply with certain practices even if she had decided to discard or modify them. The use of Calendar Math perpetuated skill-based literacy and language teaching as it singled out concepts (colors and shapes) to be taught in isolation. Ms. Jackson was expected to pick up the instructional practice by other ESL teachers and the school district who maintained certain beliefs and values in the ELLT Discourse.

Another instructional practice was repetition with sight words. Ms. Jackson told me she played games with certain words each week and the boys had to write words and sentences with the words (as demonstrated in the opening vignette.) She also asked the boys to write words with different materials, such as Dry-Erase markers, paint, and the iPad (see Figure 12). At one point, Ms. Jackson reflected that she believed the boys were just memorizing the words instead of actually learning the words. She told me, "They can read all these sight words but when you get to vocabulary, they don't have it." This practice maintained the ELLT Discourse and its entrenched beliefs that language and literacy are learned through repetition and the isolation of graphophonics. The answer to the "reading problem" in this Discourse was more repetition and formal instruction in isolated phonics.

Figure 12: The boys write sight words with multiple materials (top left: Dry-Erase markers, top right: paint, bottom: iPads*)*

The last practice is known as the Picture Word Induction Model (PWIM). Intended to be implemented in a two-week period, the teacher is supposed to choose a theme and proceed through a daily task with pictures and words. These tasks include:

1. label and discuss a picture
2. read word cards
3. read a companion text to add new vocabulary words
4. sort the words by pattern
5. make sentences
6. build sentences (using sentence strips)
7. make paragraphs (using cloze sentences)
8. reread companion book for retelling
9. formative assessment, including oral language, retelling, vocabulary (2 days)

Ms. Jackson frequently discussed her use of PWIM with me, as the newcomer PLC studied the instructional practice deeply. Each teacher had to record themselves using it and other newcomer ESL teachers observed how others interpreted the practice and how

to apply it in different classrooms. Ms. Jackson believed it would also benefit native English speakers. She told me she chose her own picture for the unit she chose (health and safety) but the words she selected did not necessarily match up. She recalled, "We want[ed] the word[s] 'safe', 'healthy', [and] 'clean', but then those words never came up [on the first day]." Her description demonstrated how a particular instructional practice, like PWIM, required Ms. Jackson to plan instruction in a prescriptive way that did not draw upon students' previous knowledge. It may also have been Ms. Jackson's interpretation of the instructional practice that she had to control the language produced, but she made that interpretation within the prescriptive ideological environment. Her PWIM interpretation also revealed her current literacy definition as part of her ideological becoming, still heavily rooted in the authoritative ELLT Discourse. The PWIM instructional practice was still under investigation by the ESL newcomer teachers in the PLC, but the ELLT Discourse, endorsed by the school district, guided them to view the practice through monolingual, autonomous, and ethnocentric ideologies.

Positioning Students in a Deficit Way

The ELLT Discourse established and maintained literacy and language as a set of rules to acquire, with specific benchmarks and skills to be monitored through tools like curricular materials and language assessments. For example, Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony took the WIDA ACCESS test in January, a language proficiency test administered annually which measured language growth through the four domains of reading, writing, speaking, and listening. When I met with Ms. Jackson to talk about the scores in April, she told me, "Basam and Gabriel have had almost two full years of school now. They should be moving a little bit higher." This statement reflected two beliefs about language

learning situated in the ELLT Discourse: first, language was a series of levels or benchmarks to achieve and second, school instruction was sufficient enough to "move them up" in English literacy and language learning. She lamented, "What do we do? How many times do we have to go over these words before it clicks for them? For them being here so long…they should be doing more."

Ms. Jackson's words, unknowingly or not, indicated a deficit stance about students like Basam and Gabriel since she participated in ELLT Discourse and expected students to reach a level. What is more important, WIDA—the organization that sponsored the language test—established six levels of English language proficiency: entering, emerging, developing, expanding, bridging, and reaching (Figure 13). The boys were not yet at a Level 2, so they were considered still "entering" English.

WIDA — Can Do Descriptors by Language Domain, Proficiency Level, and Key Use of Language: Grades 4-5

By the end of each of the English language proficiency levels 1-5 English language learners can... **there is no ceiling for level 6**

Language Proficiency Level	LISTENING				SPEAKING				ORAL LANGUAGE	
	Students	Process Recounts by:	Process Explanations by:	Process Arguments by:	Students	Recount by:	Explain by:	Argue by:	Students	Discuss by:
Level 1 Entering		• Matching oral words and phrases to content-related pictures or objects • Identifying the topic in oral statements	• Sequencing oral procedures or cycles with images • Distinguishing key words and phrases related to phenomena	• Matching illustrations with oral points of view • Identifying language related to facts or opinions from oral presentations		• Stating key words and phrases associated with the content using visual or graphic support • Communicating personal experiences orally	• Naming components of phenomena using illustrations, photographs, or diagrams • Demonstrating procedures using realia	• Stating reasons for choices using words or phrases • Answering yes/no or choice questions across content or personal preferences		• Expressing own ideas in a variety of ways (e.g., drawing, using gestures, graphing) • Tracking the person speaking • Sharing own work (e.g., graphic organizers, drawings) to contribute to the conversation
Level 2 Emerging		• Classifying time-related language in oral statements (e.g., present, past, future) • Connecting the context of narratives (e.g., the who, what, when, & where) to illustrations	• Organizing routine causal or sequential relationships described orally • Following oral directions to show recurring steps in cycles or problem-solving	• Sorting evidence and claims from oral descriptions • Distinguishing words and phrases related to opinions or facts from oral statements		• Retelling short stories or content-related events • Stating procedural steps across content areas	• Giving reasons why or how something works using diagrams, charts or images • Stating key words or phrases in processes in a sequential order	• Stating opinions based on experiences • Responding to opinion statements of others with personal preferences		• Taking turns and applying conventions specific to particular conversations • Addressing others according to relationship (e.g., student-peers, student-teacher)
Level 3 Developing		• Identifying the beginning, middle and end in oral retelling of a text • Following tasks and directions retold by peers	• Interpreting cause and effect relationships in conversations • Recognizing relationships in a series of oral statements	• Identifying different perspectives, stances, or points of view • Recognizing reasons for positions in oral presentations		• Presenting detailed content-related information that has been rehearsed • Stating main ideas in classroom conversations on social and academic topics	• Stating clear sequential procedures to peers • Comparing data or information	• Expressing opinions using content-area specific language • Presenting content-based facts that support a position		• Asking clarifying questions to demonstrate engagement • Using examples to clarify statements • Answering questions to contribute to a topic
Level 4 Expanding		• Sequencing events or steps based on oral reading of informational text • Recognizing the language of related genres (e.g., news reports, historical accounts)	• Identifying precise details, descriptions, or comparisons that support conversation • Following oral information on how or why phenomena occur	• Identifying evidence that supports predictions or hypotheses • Differentiating between multiple points of view in class discussions		• Giving content-related oral reports • Sequencing steps to solve a problem	• Connecting the sequential, cyclical, or causal relationships of content-related issues and concepts • Presenting detailed information in small groups	• Stating relevant evidence for claims • Responding to opinion statements of others with reasons or evidence		• Elaborating on statements of others to extend ideas • Presenting creative solutions to resolve communication issues • Contributing ideas to co-create group responses
Level 5 Bridging		• Identifying related information from multiple sources presented orally • Recognizing the key historical, scientific or technical language used in a mini-lecture	• Recognizing language used to enhance the specificity of phenomena in class discussions • Identifying components of systems (e.g., ecosystems, branches of government) in small group interactions	• Distinguishing certainty from uncertainty of spoken words or phrases in context • Identifying the degree of formality in oral presentations		• Conveying personal and content-related experiences in a team • Using technical and specific vocabulary when sharing content information	• Elaborating by adding precision and details to content-related sequence or causal phenomena • Describing relationships of components within systems (e.g., ecosystems, government)	• Supporting claims with evidence from various sources • Using claims and evidence to persuade an audience		• Recognizing how language can be used to express bias and influence others • Challenging ideas respectfully • Managing conversations to stay focused on a topic
Level 6		• Identifying the overall structure (e.g., chronology) of events, ideas, concepts, or information in oral presentations	• Interpreting the specific language used to enhance descriptions of phenomena • Attending to the language related to events or phenomena in peer	• Recognizing the strength of the quality of evidence presented in oral discourse • Identifying the purpose of arguments		• Summarizing discussions on content-related topics • Expanding on topics with descriptive details using varied	• Analyzing how variables contribute to events or outcomes • Maintaining a formal register	• Countering with a different point of view • Stating conclusions based on a summary of		• Examining the value of examples to bring clarity to statements • Extend conversations by developing topics with clear examples and information

Figure 13: WIDA Can-Do Descriptors for students in Grade 4-5.

The document in Figure 13 was used in the newcomer PLCs to provide ESL teachers with a conceptualization of what students should be able to do as they continued to learn

English. King and Bigelow (2018) explain, "When state agencies join the WIDA Consortium, they gain the right to administer ACCESS tests to ELs, but also to professional development and WIDA curricula and standards" (p. 939). The school district and Baumgartner preserved literacy and language learning as discrete skills in the ELLT Discourse. Notably, there was no mention of translingual learners' other languages in the WIDA document.

While Ms. Jackson acknowledged the boys had grown in their English literacy and language learning, she still framed their academic and linguistic ability in deficit ways. In April, she told me, "I think they enjoy stories, but they can't pick [a book] up and read it. I think they can recall details if it's read to them." In May, Ms. Jackson told me the boys "[didn't] know where to start, even at the beginning of the year—couldn't read sight words. Now they [can] at least can do that. They can pick up those books but they're getting stuck on the vocabulary words." She reflected on their development often, coupling what they were capable of doing with what they were still "missing." The above statements revealed her current literacy definition and orientation as she was still expressing comments rooted in prescriptive ways. Ms. Jackson often framed vocabulary development as the critical component in being able to read, but she believed Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony "were not quite there yet." She argued, "Once they can get more vocabulary, we can work on getting them on reading levels. They don't have it right now." When she told me about PWIM, she stated, "You have to have a book, you have to have sentences, and you have to sort. You just have all these things that help really learn that vocabulary and with newcomers, they don't have any."

These statements reflected a monolingual, prescriptivist belief that she had co-opted from the ideological environment around her, statements which also revealed her current literacy definition and orientation. The boys' knowledge (or vocabulary in other languages) had not met the required "level" to "move on" in reading instruction in her class. However, as I discuss in Chapter 6, there were tensions she demonstrated between the monolingual, prescriptivist belief from the ELLT Discourse and the boys' previous language knowledge as she told me at one point, "The boys have great language skills. We just need to develop more comprehension." At the end of the school year, I asked Ms. Jackson if she had observed the boys learn English and literacy as she had hoped. She told me yes and no and explained, "Granted, I wished a couple of them would have moved a little higher on the reading but that's okay because I think that they're high in the other areas."

At times, Ms. Jackson also overlooked the boys' other ways of knowing, including their technology use. She knew the boys had a YouTube channel and watched their videos to see what they had recently posted. However, she expressed frustration at their uses of technological devices in ways that did not align to the instructional goals in her ESL classroom. She told me, "I love that they get on YouTube and type this stuff up, but they can't do anything else [on the computer]!" When she imagined her classroom for the next school year, she wanted to implement practices she had observed, like centers. However, she cautioned, "If we do these centers, we're going to have to go over the rules. It's probably going to take a while [because] they want [iPads], but they don't use those for what they should be using them for." In keeping with other limitations consistent with the ELLT Discourse, Ms. Jackson negated any form or use of media that did not

contribute or maintain the skills acquisitions for learning English in an ESL classroom. She upheld skill-based views on literacy in the above admission. As part of the prescriptive nature of the ELLT Discourse, teachers and staff positioned students in a deficit way in their literacy and language learning.

Conclusion

Individuals like Ms. Jackson, Ms. Murphy, and Ms. Hutto participated in the authoritative ELLT Discourse and enacted certain beliefs about literacy and language teaching and learning. They defined their instructional goals for the boys to move away from listing to making more grammatically complete sentences, decode words correctly, use meaning-making strategies, and ascertain the correct definitions for vocabulary words. Teachers and staff positioned children as lacking full or complete proficiency, and understood the rules of assessment, like striving to raise students' language proficiency to score well on standardized tests, using only standardized tests to measure language "growth," and drawing upon the results of such tests for decision-making like referring for services or grouping for instruction. Positioning children in these ways supported their socially significant identities like *teacher of English language* or *educator who works with language learners*, which were situated in a Discourse comprised of autonomous, prescriptive literacy and monolingual, cognitive language ideologies. The ideologies constituting the environment at Baumgartner carried significant implications for the ideological becoming of individuals like Ms. Jackson, Basam, Adish, Gabriel, and Sony as they enacted relatively new socially significant identities.

I present and describe in Chapter 5 the socially significant identity of Refugee and the recognized ways of being, thinking, acting, and believing which carried implications

for joining in school spaces and being recognized as students in U.S. schools. In Chapter 6, I focus more closely on three moments of classroom instruction to illustrate tensions that produced new ways of thinking as Ms. Jackson navigated between the intersection of the ELLT Discourse and Discourse about Refugees.

CHAPTER 5
DISCOURSE ABOUT REFUGEES

"What I know about the city and how this has happened is the ESL population in Southeast County Public Schools has exploded in the last few years. It's left everybody scrambling a little bit, quite frankly, to figure it out and not a lot of time to learn about it before it's happening. Everybody's learning as we go." Ms. Murphy, Baumgartner Elementary principal

In this chapter, I define the Discourse about Refugees and its influence on literacy and language teaching and learning at Baumgartner Elementary. Drawing upon refugee studies scholars such as Malkki and Nyers, MacDonald (2015) describes the difficulty in defining a refugee. In my research, I acknowledge the challenges and for analysis purposes, and therefore I define the Discourse about Refugees as the way Ms. Jackson and the Baumgartner administrators conceptualize refugees like Sony, Basam, Gabriel, and Adish who were arriving to the school. Refugees are a uniquely constructed social group: they are defined as political subjects by certain governing bodies such as national government or humanitarian agencies and imagined and recognized as social identities to the citizens within the country in which they resettle. These constructions carry significant implications for the way the refugees resettle or repatriate and reconstruct their ideological selves in a new ideological environment. On a more global scale, current refugee scholarship conceptualizes refugees as individuals who test borders between human and citizen (humanitarian and political agendas, respectively) and they are frequently positioned as a rupture in the normal world order between citizenship and

countries. Cox (1996) claims there is a problem-solving discourse ascribed to refugees, where the only solution is to "restore the conditions under which they may once again enjoy a properly 'human' life as a citizen" (as cited in Nyers, 1998, p. 20). This global, macro ideology that shapes the Discourse about Refugees can be understood in a more local context at Baumgartner Elementary, where teachers like Ms. Jackson and administrators like Ms. Murphy, Ms. Hutto, and Ms. Smith attempted to define and "solve" the "refugee problem" in their elementary school. Each individual at the school posed multiple "problems" to be addressed and the ways they attempted to reconcile or alleviate the issue at hand. In reference to the Congolese children in this study, Ms. Hutto, the school counselor, told me, "[Refugees are] a whole other category… how are you going to address that?" Ms. Murphy, the principal, revealed to me, "We have a lot of work to do in this area still." Ms. Jackson frequently explained, "I'm still trying to figure it all out but by golly I'll get there one day." The staff at Baumgartner subscribed to the problem-solving discourse as they picked it up and fused it to other ways of school life.

In particular, the Baumgartner English as a Second Language (ESL) newcomer literacy teacher and administrative staff viewed English literacy and language teaching as a solution or a remedy for the refugees in their reconstructions as students in U.S. schools, a new socially significant identity for the boys. The New London Group (1996) believes literacy pedagogy "play(s) a particularly important role in [ensuring] that all students benefit from learning in ways that allow them to participate fully in public, community, and economic life" (p. 60). In particular, Ferguson (2007) asserts the African label "continues to be described through a series of lacks and absences, failings and problems, plagues, and catastrophes" (as cited in MacDonald, 2015, p. 414).

However, as Baumgartner staff attempted to define what a refugee was to "diagnose" or "solve" the "refugee problem" within an authoritative English Literacy and Language Teaching Discourse (ELLT), their beliefs and actions generated tensions in existing school and classroom spaces. Ball and Freedman (2004) explain, "The choices learners make about what types of language to acquire and use are political just as the decisions teachers make about what types of language to promote and accept in the classroom are political" (p. 5).

Additionally, in their pursuit to learn English and enact a new Discourse as students in U.S. schools, the boys contested educational borders and rearticulated school and classroom spaces, thereby fundamentally challenging the authoritative English Literacy and Language Discourse. In this sense, the Discourse about Refugees acted as an internally persuasive Discourse for Ms. Jackson and the other educators in the ideological environment at Baumgartner, as it created tension between existing beliefs and ways of being at the school. Brooks (2016) contends, "The awareness of the diversity of emergent bilinguals and its implications for classroom practice is important because it tackles monolithic conceptualizations of this large group, which intertwine language, literacy abilities, race, and economic status" (as cited in Ascenzi-Moreno, 2017, p. 279). The Discourse about Refugees created further nuances in what teachers and administrators conceptualized as language learners, as their understanding was contested by the boys' ways of being a refugee. The emergence of this Discourse also led to Ms. Jackson's evolving definition of literacy as she confronted cultural and linguistic considerations with more Refugee students who made literacy as the "remedy" more difficult to define.

In this chapter, I describe these school and classroom spaces and the results of the boys contesting and rearticulating educational spaces constituted by particular practices, and the ways the ESL newcomer literacy teacher and administrative staff reflected and recreated spaces from these processes. In the sections that follow, I explain a brief history of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the resettlement profiles of Gabriel, Basam, Adish, and Sony to demonstrate how the boys and their families are ascribed to and participate in the refugee Discourse. I then examine three processes that occurred to rearticulate school and classroom spaces as the Discourse about Refugees further permeated through Baumgartner Elementary.

The History of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

As I conceptualized this study, and continuing throughout data collection and analysis activities, I investigated the origins of the conflict in the DRC through interviews with two members of the Congolese community in the city as well as published documents from refugee agencies. The DRC is a country that has a long history of conflict and violence. This conflict arose from multiple African countries fighting over the natural resources in the area and a weakening political structure. The Rwanda genocide in the 1990's further spurred unrest in the DRC, then known as Zaire. A majority ethnic group known as the Hutus began to slaughter a smaller ethnic group known as the Tutsis, and neighboring countries were drawn into the conflict as a result. After the genocide ended, the perpetrators of the genocide, known as Hutu *genocidaires*, fled to the DRC to avoid punishment. At the same time, a Tutsi rebel group with allies in Uganda and Rwanda ousted the DRC president. The country has dealt with mounting and ongoing ethnic and political conflict, even as various agencies and organizations attempt

to ameliorate the tension with treaties such as the Tripartite Agreement, an agreement signed by the DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda, to assure safe passage for refugees who seek to return to their country of origin. Some of the Congolese individuals I spoke with in the city reported that many of the Congolese initially hoped to return to the DRC, yet realized at some point it was impossible due to the unresolved instability. Presently, many Congolese continue to flee the country and according to the UNHCR, the Congolese refugee population is the world's sixth largest in the world, with half a million refugees dispersed between Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda. The National Immigration Forum (2018) states the DRC is one of the top three countries of origin for newly resettled refugees in the U.S. above other African countries like Somalia, Bhutan, and Eritrea. Congolese refugees are considered "protracted" refugees who have lived outside their homes for more than five years. In fact, all four of the boys' mothers grew up in camps as children or adolescents and started their own families as they waited to repatriate or resettle.

Student Profiles

The following information was collected through home visits, observations, interviews, and document collection. Adish, Gabriel, Sony, and Basam are refugees, and Rajaram (2002) argues that the way we construct "image of the refugee as a person displaced from the protective confines of territoriality, an unfortunate creature stuck in purgatorial circumstances… lost and helpless" often generalizes and silences refugees as a group, instead of imagining refugees as individuals who come with different experiences to be understood (pp. 247-248). Admittedly, there are common themes that run through the four boys' stories regarding displacement, quality of education, language

development, trauma, and economic hardship. These themes constitute the ways of being refugees, a Discourse that circulates throughout the U.S. and was evident within Baumgartner through the conceptualizations of the ESL teacher and administrative staff. As Ms. Hutto told me, "It's stuff we don't even imagine…people who have been in the war situation, to be able to give them the help that they need, it's getting over that stigma." She explained her perception of the refugee families at Baumgartner:

> It's really the basic of survival, trying to survive. I think I see some of that in the parents' faces. I guess because it was your country, your home, it's still your family, some of your family is still there that they really want this for their children. They see that as this is how they're going to make it.

However, each boy and his family have a different story about their life before and after moving to the city and these life experiences contributed to their ideological becoming in Ms. Jackson's classroom as they arrived to the city. Additionally, their ways of being as part of the Discourse about Refugees pushed and pulled at Ms. Jackson's own ideological becoming as she established practices and beliefs around literacy and language teaching. I explain the boys' life stories in the following section.

Gabriel's story. Gabriel was born in Uganda in the Kyangwali refugee camp (seen below in Figure 14). At the time of the study, he was a second grader and the 2017-2018 school year was his second school year at Baumgartner. Gabriel lived with four older sisters, three older brothers, two younger brothers, and his mother, Binta, who worked in the evenings. His older sister and brother were often frequent caregivers while their mother worked. Binta told me she and Gabriel's father had two children in the DRC before fleeing due to the war in the region. She explained they hoped the situation would

get better and they would be able to return to the DRC. They lived in Uganda for 20 years where Binta gave birth to seven children in the camp. Initially, Uganda denied land rights to refugees in the camps, which led to Binta and her husband seeking employment with the local population, and they used their earnings for making a living in the camp. Later, Uganda revised its law and allowed refugees to own land, and Binta and her husband acquired and grew crops. Binta explained farming took up most of their days in the camp.

Gabriel had no record of previous schooling and the district assigned him a Significantly Interrupted Formal Education (SIFE) status. However, he and his mother, Binta, reported he attended school for six months in the camp. Binta revealed to me that she had to pay school fees for Gabriel to attend school in Kyangwali for about six months. He attended school with the local people in Uganda, known as the Banyolo. The teachers, who were also Banyolo, taught classes in the local language, Kinyolo, and English. Binta explained her children had difficulty with learning English as the teachers taught mostly in their native language, and her family did not speak the language. However, as the family was granted asylum, they had to travel to another city, Kigoma, a five-hour trip for a week or two at a time to complete interviews and evaluations. As a result of missing too much school, the school did not permit Gabriel to return.

Binta revealed her family lived near the Rwanda and Uganda border when they lived in the DRC, where Kinyarwanda was spoken. When they moved to Kyangwali, most individuals spoke Swahili for communication. Gabriel's parents decided to keep teaching him Kinyarwanda as he was learning Swahili in the local community; however, Binta explained he only knows a little Kinyarwanda.

In 2016, refugee agencies approved Gabriel's family for resettlement in the U.S. Binta explained her husband was poisoned and died before they left the camp. My interpreter, Joseph, explained to me that when certain families were granted asylum, some families in the camp could be jealous and there were attempts at jeopardizing the process. Binta, pregnant at the time, then traveled to the U.S. with her nine children. Upon moving, Binta received assistance from the local refugee resettlement organizations due to kidney and back problems until she was able to obtain employment at a Walmart. Unfortunately, the first apartment the family settled into became infested with bed bugs, which required them to throw out all the furniture given to them from local agencies so they had to replace the furniture through donations. Binta recalled all of her children sleeping on the floor at one point. Her salary now pays for the rent and bills at the apartment where Gabriel's family lives.

Binta expressed her happiness with the city and the schools her children attend, as she did not have the opportunity to go to school. She explained she must clean, cook, wash, and other things so her children can go through school in order to take care of themselves. Binta believed Gabriel was in good hands with Ms. Jackson at school and wanted to make sure he learned English well enough because she believed it will help him learn other subjects in school. She disliked certain school policies, such as suspending children. She said, "Why make a child leave when you can punish them, and they can still continue their education? We try our best and tell them not to fight and focus on their education."

Figure 14: The Kyangwali refugee camp in relation to the DRC.

Gabriel reported he spoke Swahili, English, and Kinyarwanda, and said, "I speak Swahili the most often." He often tried answering in English more compared to his classmates who likely switched to Swahili or Kibembe. He liked superheroes like Superman and Batman and he was the tallest of his Congolese classmates. Gabriel wanted to be a solider when he grows up. Gabriel eagerly participated in Ms. Jackson's lessons, often sitting close to books she chose to read aloud. He was not as talkative in whole groups as Adish and Basam. However, Gabriel was likely to engage in conversation in one-on-one settings or when the boys worked on projects together. He was quick to master technological devices, applications, cameras, and enjoyed using them in school. He offered personal connections to the books Ms. Jackson read in her lessons and negotiated English words in Swahili with the other boys. He loved the color orange, and it was the primary color in his artwork in school.

Basam's story. Basam was born in Tanzania in Nyarugusu, the world's third largest refugee camp (seen below in Figure 15). He attended kindergarten and first grade in the camp before moving to the city. At the time of the study, he was a fourth grader attending his second year at Baumgartner. He was not considered a SIFE student

according to his intake paperwork. Basam lived with his mother and father, an older sister

and brother, two younger sisters, and a younger brother. His mother, Freya, described

how she and her husband made a life in the camp by farming, similar to Gabriel and

Binta's family in Uganda. The Tanzanian government permitted refugees to rent the land

and Freya explained her family managed to make a living. She started having children

when she was in 6th grade and continued to attend school until 9th grade when the school

did not allow her to attend anymore due to her growing family. Freya remembered, "We

lived in a nice community. We never had any problems with anyone."

Figure 15: Nyarugusu Refugee Camp in relation to the DRC

Basam told me he speaks Swahili, English, and Kibembe, and "I speak Swahili

the most." He was slightly shorter than his Congolese classmates. He was very talkative,

and often talked in Swahili even when he was reminded not to. Often, he spoke to help

his other Congolese classmates. Basam demonstrated a passion for superheroes,

especially Spiderman. Like Gabriel, he was adept at navigating technology with laptops,

applications, cameras, and the Internet. Basam searched YouTube for different types of

music to listen to and was often found dancing or singing in videos on his brother's

channel. He frequently participated in Ms. Jackson's lessons: he called out answers to her questions, recorded items in his journal, and used the iPad to practice words Ms. Jackson identified. Basam was known for his sense of humor; his jokes often made Ms. Jackson and his other classmates laugh. He engaged in word play with English, often repositioning words or building up statements to deliver a punchline. His participation, intentionally or not, was witty or humorous. He was friendly and affectionate. He liked to show me what he was working on and held up his work to the camera. Basam used his body as he was learning, often demonstrating or enacting comprehension through body movements or gestures such as blowing a bubble, knocking on classroom items, or spreading his arms wide to indicate size. He expressed a desire to be a police officer or a teacher.

When I asked Freya about education at the camp and in the city, she revealed that most children in the camp did not attend school because they were not interested. Families had to pay fees for their children after they completed elementary school. However, Basam went to school regularly and, like Gabriel, missed school due to resettlement interviews and evaluations for periods of time. Freya believed living in the city was better for her family, although they cannot visit with other families the way they used to in Nyarugusu. She liked that her children regularly attend school and said there is no problem with the people or the government here. She told me that Basam is her translator as "he is learning English much easier now." She said he's happy at school and she wanted him to complete school so he can get a good job, even though she does not like that he wants to be a soldier or police officer.

Adish's story. Adish was also born in the Nyarugusu camp in Tanzania. At the time of the study, he was a fourth grader and the 2017-2018 school year was his first school year at Baumgartner. He was not considered a SIFE student by his intake paperwork. Through home visits, his mother, Mabbina, discussed living in Nyarugusu and told me the farming was not productive for her family and they tried to harvest and grow cassava trees, but they were often stolen from their farm. She sold charcoal to provide for the family. Adish attended kindergarten to part of third grade there. He told me the camp school was large and there was only a blackboard from which they read. His father still lives in Africa and Adish lives with his mother, two older brothers, and a younger brother and sister. He stated he speaks Swahili, Kibembe, and English, and that he speaks Swahili most frequently.

Through observations and teacher reports, I came to see clearly that Adish is a leader, as his peers looked to him for approval, participation, and more. He was talkative and eager to participate in lessons in Ms. Jackson's classroom. He spoke both English and Swahili in the classroom as he volunteered answers or talked to peers about lessons. Adish has his own YouTube channel and often posted videos of dancing and singing (where Basam was often present as well). He liked listening and dancing to Tanzanian music, especially music by Diamond Platnumz (real name: Nasseb Abdul) and he said he used to dance like that in Tanzania, too. He also liked superheroes, especially the Hulk. He was quick to master technological devices, applications, cameras, and more. He liked living in the city because of his friends, soccer, riding his bike, and American food. He told me he liked the snow here and throwing snowballs at his family and friends. Adish also liked to learn English "so I can help my mother learn English." He stated, "English

can be hard when I'm trying to read books." He also expressed delight at the illustrations on a page. Adish used his body to show meaning when he couldn't find a word. For example, during a read aloud, he used his hands to motion around his waist when trying to translate the Swahili word for "skirt" into English. Ms. Jackson reported he read more sight words than his other Congolese classmates and he seemed to be learning English more quickly than others who have attended Baumgartner for a longer time.

As she reflected on life in the camp and in the city, Mabbina said there were no fees for school and that while the school was good, it was often held in dusty conditions with dirty chairs and broken materials. Mabbina explained, "Life was tough there. I lived there for almost twenty years, gave birth to five children, and my husband left me." She said she woke up every morning worried about how she would provide clothes and food for her family, as she said, "We were busy fighting for life… I cried with worry." Now in the city, Mabbina thinks Americans work too hard but "they never miss a meal." She explained she is the only one here to meet the family needs and that "life is not easy, but better somehow." Mabbina worried, "Elementary school is free but there are fees for high school. How am I supposed to manage bills and school fees for the children?" She told me she doesn't speak any English but she tries to catch words here and there. Mabbina hopes her children will support her when they are done with school. When I asked her what she hoped for Adish, she said, "I have no plan for my son, only God can plan a person's dreams."

Sony's story. Sony was also born in the Nyarugusu camp in Tanzania but unlike the other three boys, his family was initially resettled in Chicago. At the time of the study, he was a second grader and the 2017-2018 school year was his first school year at

Baumgartner. He was not assigned SIFE status according to his intake paperwork. His mother, Mikaili, works in a bakery in the city. She told me that life in the camp was somehow good except toward the end when the number of refugees at the camp made daily life unbearable. Mikaili explained:

> The camp was hosting so many groups from different countries and our monthly food rations would only be enough for two weeks, but we had to wait to get the next supply. The same happened with medical services, there wasn't enough for everyone.

Like Mabbina, she sold charcoal as well as vegetables to make a living. Sony and his family were resettled in Chicago, where they lived for fifteen months. Mikaili said she and her husband agreed to wait to separate upon their arrival in the U.S. due to issues with his alcoholism because separating in Tanzania would have complicated their resettlement. She said it became harder to live there because rent kept increasing and she was paying more than $1,000 a month by herself. She spoke to a case worker who relocated them to the city where Mikaili had a close friend for support. Mikaili reflected, "My kids were not happy to leave Chicago because there was so much to do in the city." Sony did not go to school in Nyarugusu but started attending school in Chicago, where Mikaili recalled, "The teachers were happy with how he was progressing in learning English and doing in school." He went to after school programs that helped him with his homework. When Mikaili received Sony's report cards from Baumgartner, she took them to a caseworker at a refugee agency in the city to talk about what the report meant and she believed Sony was doing well in school.

Sony told me, "I speak Swahili, English, and Kibembe but I speak Swahili the most." He was smaller than the rest of his Congolese classmates. He wanted to be a soldier when he grew up. He often assisted his classmates when they were trying to speak English, as he frequently said, "He's trying to say…" He liked superheroes and read books about Wonder Woman, Spiderman and Batman. Sony was a bit quieter than his other classmates, often listening and laughing as they talked to each other. Sony was involved in Ms. Jackson's lessons in a more reserved fashion; he did not talk as much as his classmates and he paused more frequently and for longer segments than his classmates did.

Like many refugee families new to the city, the four Congolese families in my study were resettling into a new community, participating in family and school life defined by new ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, and believing. Their emerging presence in the city and subsequent attendance in schools created a new ideological environment, ripe with cultural and linguistic belief systems that held much potential for influencing instructional settings. I explore these processes in the following section.

Contesting Borders and Rearticulating Spaces

Refugee students, Ms. Jackson, and the Baumgartner administrative staff recreated and reimagined certain spaces in the school to make way for new ideological developments as a result of the increase of refugee students who recently arrived in their school and were learning English. However, as I described in Chapter 4, these developments occurred in the existing environment constituted by an authoritative English-only, monolingual Discourse. At times, students and staff reinscribed this

Discourse, and at other times came up against it as the Discourse about Refugees influenced their thinking for what English literacy and language teaching meant. According to Bakhtin (1981), "our ideological development is…an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions, and values" (p. 342). Part of Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony's ideological becoming was constructing and enacting identities within ever changing school and classroom spaces. Teachers like Ms. Jackson and administrative staff like Ms. Murphy, Ms. Hutto, and Ms. Smith experienced parallel ideological becomings that were constituted by and led to shifts in existing educational borders and spaces. Ball and Freedman (2004) argue that "the social interactions…most effective in promoting learning are those that are filled with tension and conflict" (p. 6). The ever-changing spaces at Baumgartner Elementary held much potential for the conflict necessary for the students' and teachers' ideological becomings through the existing authoritative and internally persuasive Discourses, which also included Ms. Jackson's evolving literacy definition and orientation.

In this section, I examine the ways Ms. Jackson and other Baumgartner staff participated in the refugee "problem-solving" discourse as an authoritative Discourse, with the ELLT Discourse as the diagnosed solution for establishing or restoring citizen identities to its students. In doing so, Baumgartner educators reinscribed prescriptive, monolingual, and ethnocentric literacy and language practices into the ideological environment within school and classroom spaces. However, students like Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony and their ways of being influenced Baumgartner staff to contest prescriptive, English and American only ideologies and practices in the educators' pursuit

to "solve" their identity development as citizens and students. This occurred through three processes. The first process took place when Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony attempted to "join in" the educational spaces established at Baumgartner, inadvertently shaping the landscape of English literacy and language teaching at the school. The second process happened when Baumgartner staff defined and redefined their language beliefs and practices as they grappled with competing and corroborating ideologies and ways of being between the ELLT Discourse and the Discourse about Refugees. The third process took place as Baumgartner staff approved or rejected the boys' attempts at rearticulating educational spaces. Notably, as a result of these processes, Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony were at times pushed to the margins as they attempted to "join in" the space as students new to U.S. schools. I describe these findings below.

Attempting to "Join in" Spaces

Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony were assigned to Ms. Jackson's classroom because she was the ESL literacy teacher assigned to "newcomer" students, or those students who scored a 2.5 or lower on the WIDA Accessing Comprehension and Communication in English State-to-State (ACCESS) test. Ms. Jackson often reflected on how positive the boys felt about trying to speak English. She told me, "They're not afraid to speak at all. They'll do the best that they can to try to communicate something and they don't care if it's correct or not." In interviews, the boys revealed to me how they valued learning English and what they believed knowing English could do for them. Gabriel told me, "I like school because I can learn English. My brother and sister have a computer to help them learn English, too." Basam said he helps his mom with learning English and he thought learning English will help him communicate when people are not

being truthful about him or help him go to the police if there is a problem. Adish told me that he liked everything about school and that he wanted Ms. Jackson to know that he wanted to learn more English. Sony revealed, "I think learning English would help me when I have to work in school or in the United States." The boys accepted English as the language they had to learn to enact the Discourse of students in U.S. schools. Their acceptance reflected the desire to use English to "join in" spaces in U.S. schools, as they described who they used English with (brothers, sisters, or their mom), what tools to use to learn English (computers, other people), and how English would help them (get a job, do better in school). When I conducted a group interview with them, they wanted to show me how they could read the English around Ms. Jackson's room. Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony read aloud a chant from a set of *On Our Way to English* curriculum materials and applauded when they were done. Their enthusiasm was palpable, and one of the many times I witnessed their passion in learning English.

Other Baumgartner staff noted how much the boys were trying to act like other students at the school. Ms. Murphy told me about how much the Congolese students grew in the ways they communicated in English, as she said, "Their comfort coming up to grown-ups, asking questions, saying something or expressing something that happened on the bus and their unhappiness with it…it's huge." Ms. Hutto observed how neat each Congolese child's handwriting was as she told me, "I think it's because they're so precise, trying to make those letters exactly the way they look in the book." Ms. Jackson recalled picking Adish and Basam up from their homeroom teacher one day and the teacher described how they had been working for two and a half hours on worksheets, asking, "More work, more work please!"

Toward the end of data collection, I visited Ms. Jackson when she had bought some brand-new books. Basam came in and his jaw dropped when he saw all of the books on her table because he loved superheroes, especially Batman. He asked if he could have a piece of paper and something to write with and started to copy the words "Green Lantern" off of a page in the book (see Figure 16). I asked him what he was doing, and he told me, "I am writing it down so I can put it on my TV when I get home!"
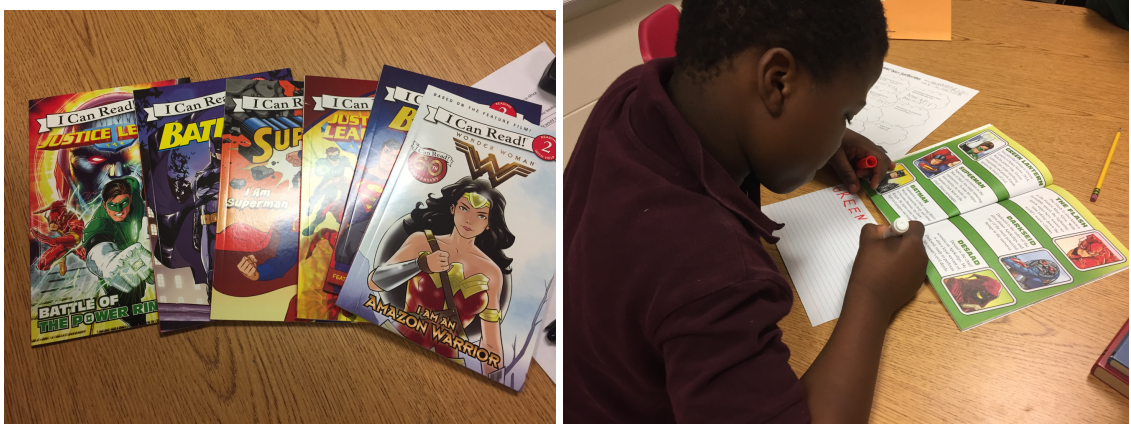
Figure 16: Ms. Jackson's new additions to her library; Basam copying out of one of the books.

Basam (and the other boys as well) loved comic books and his love of superheroes supported his English language learning as he used print to further his interests outside of school spaces. All the boys visited the school library and checked out superhero books from the school librarian often. Notably, this moment revealed Ms. Jackson's evolving definition of literacy in her ideological becoming—she purchased texts that used language in a more authentic way and appealed to her students' interests. Basam's act in copying the text to accomplish a personal goal reflected a powerful moment where Ms. Jackson challenged the authoritative ELLT Discourse and Basam "joined in" and transacted with a text in a meaningful way.

However, there were times when the boys were still trying to make sense of the rules at school, like wearing uniforms and not leaving class whenever they wanted to talk to Ms. Jackson. The boys told me they liked their teachers but didn't always understand their classroom rules. Gabriel and Sony said, "I say to my teacher I want to go to the bathroom and she says, 'No.'" Importantly, the boys' attempts at participating and joining in the school and class spaces were not only reserved for English, U.S. teaching. Their mothers reported they had done the same in the camp schools as well. The boys accepted English teaching and certain ways of school life as they strived to become part of the fabric of Baumgartner Elementary.

Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony attempted to "join in" and participate in the classroom and school spaces by carrying out different tasks and practices established by Baumgartner's staff and teachers. However, in joining in the spaces, the boys brought their unique cultural and linguistic backgrounds, histories, and knowledges, ultimately influencing the same spaces they wished to join and the other individuals who lived in these spaces. For example, in one observation, I watched as Ms. Jackson attempted to administer a spelling test. Basam and Adish followed her instructions but also spoke Swahili to assist each other as they wrote. She kept telling them to stop and it became clear they were attempting to follow the directions but were still using Swahili to help each other out. Basam and Adish frequently used Swahili in classroom instruction, often to assist each other with a presented task. Ms. Jackson, Ms. Murphy, and Ms. Hutto told me at multiple points throughout the school year that the Congolese were more collective and community oriented and Baumgartner teachers and staff were often challenged by this positioning as it interfered with established school and classroom practices within the

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ELLT Discourse, such as the spelling test reference above. This positioning was a result of the presence of the internally persuasive Discourse about Refugees, as the Congolese families acted, believed, interacted in ways that staff recognized as significant to that particular Discourse.

In these examples, I came to recognize that Baumgartner's staff was defining and redefining their language beliefs and practices given their experiences with the boys. This process was already happening due to the growing number of translingual students in the school, but the arrival of Congolese children further pushed Baumgartner staff to evaluate and redefine what language teaching and learning was in school and classroom spaces, as discussed next.

(Re)defining Language Beliefs and Practices

Given the recent growth of translingual students at Baumgartner, the ESL newcomer literacy teacher and staff reflected and discussed what could be accomplished to support students in classrooms who arrived from different countries, with different schooling backgrounds, different types of languages, and more. This did not mean their views transformed to more additive, multilingual, or culturally conscious attitudes completely, or that they held subtractive, monolingual attitudes toward students all the time. Instead, their language beliefs and practices reflected an emerging ideological system, a network of competing and corroborating ideas that butted up against the internally persuasive Discourse about Refugees. These tensions meant the ESL newcomer literacy teacher and administrative staff had to examine their existing beliefs, which were rooted in authoritative Discourses, to redefine language teaching and learning.

At times, Ms. Hutto and Ms. Jackson took up the problem-solving discourse as well as a prescriptive, deficit view of literacy and language teaching and learning—language was the problem when it was approximated, as well as the solution (standard English), and there were benchmarks that translingual students needed to reach in order to "be better" or "get there." They often compared language learning to special education, known in this context as Exceptional Child Education (ECE). Ms. Hutto told me she felt many Baumgartner teachers were uncomfortable with English Language Learners (ELLs) in their classroom because they didn't know what to do. She said, "It's a lot like ECE kids, too. You know there are needs there, but it's not something that you can't work with." She later told me that ELLs had similar accommodations to ECE children when it came to taking standardized tests, and she had also talked to other educators and social workers in the area about the challenges in identifying ELLs with a disability. Ms. Jackson discussed a case study assignment in one of her college ESL courses and told me, "I thought that [assignment] was interesting, thinking about what the steps are in order to get there—being the same thing— ESL is ECE. [You] follow these certain procedures and know where they're at." This reflected the influences of the authoritative Discourse, when the ESL newcomer literacy teacher and administrative staff viewed translingual students like Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony as "missing" language, as part of their conceptualization of a refugee. MacSwan and Rolstad (2006) argue the "confluence of policies and practices encouraging L1 oral language testing and poorly designed language tests disproportionately increases the chances that translingual children will be referred for special education assessment because of poor performance on L1 tests" (p. 2305). These tests "prove" some translingual students "lack language

ability" and bolster an argument for special education services, which MacSwan and Rolstad argue stems from "persisting deficit models in educational psychology and language minority education" (p. 2311).

At this moment, Ms. Hutto and Ms. Jackson were reinscribing the problem-solving discourse to refugee students—to restore a citizen identity is to restore an individual who speaks the language, and a prescriptive literacy orientation is the solution, including a series of "steps" to do so. Furthermore, Ms. Jackson's current definition of literacy emerged here as she positioned ESL literacy teaching as a sequential series of steps, similar to special education. However, Ms. Hutto criticized the administration of standardized tests for ELLs, as she told me, "This is really a waste of time to sit here and expect them to answer a question when they don't understand the words."

Even though Baumgartner staff positioned English language teaching as making a diagnosis and developing a skill-based literacy prescription, they kept reflecting on the boys' knowledge of other languages. Ms. Hutto explained, "I'd always want them to keep their native language, but I do think that they have to have that expectation that things are in English here." Ms. Jackson also told me how she never wanted students to lose their other languages. These statements reflected a tension between competing language ideologies and what it means for becoming students in U.S. schools. Ms. Jackson and the administrative staff at Baumgartner valued the Congolese students' translingualism, part of the internally persuasive Discourse about Refugees, but within a school space constituted by an authoritative English monolingual ideology, there was an expectation that the students had to compromise the use of their native languages in becoming citizens. However, this was less of a compromise and more of a yield to the current

school and classroom spaces. The ELLT Discourse constructed school and classroom spaces as sites of English and American only practices, with little room to contest or negotiate, since English language learning was a "remedy" or "prescription" for refugee student citizen development.

Ms. Murphy admitted she did not know how language learning or acquisition worked exactly, but she told me she believed students' other language knowledge helped them learn a new language. She explained, "We learn things quickly by going from the known to the new. Everybody's brain, the children's brain, taking in the new language—how does this connect with what I already know?" She revealed to me that Baumgartner staff had started a Bilingual Club at school, as she said, "We have kids here learning to speak English. We have some kids who don't speak another language that could benefit from learning some key things." Ms. Murphy firmly believed in the advantages of knowing a different language, as she claimed, "This is the world that children are growing up in and when they leave high school, people will speak multiple languages." Ms. Murphy's beliefs further challenged the current ideological environment as constituted by authoritative, English-only Discourses as well as the current understanding that English language learning was the "remedy" to the Discourses of Refugees circulating through the school.

The boys' ways of being and their linguistic, cultural, and political positions at school—part of the Discourse about Refugees—led to a transformation in the language beliefs of the ESL newcomer literacy teacher and administrative staff at Baumgartner Elementary that resulted in the rejecting or approving the boys' attempts in reshaping or rearticulating spaces. I explore this process in the next section.

Approving or Rejecting Attempts at Rearticulating Spaces

This last process took place as a result of the boys' attempts to "join in" the educational spaces at Baumgartner and the teachers and administrative staff redefining their beliefs and practices about language teaching and learning. Ms. Jackson and the administrative staff were in the middle of an ideological shift as they grappled with "solving" the "refugee education issue" at school. The Discourse about Refugees, as an internally persuasive Discourse, created a tension in the school and classrooms and in this conflict, there were moments when the ESL newcomer literacy teacher, administrative staff, and other Baumgartner teachers approved or rejected the boys' attempts at "joining in" and rearticulating the space.

Moments of approval. At times, the ESL newcomer literacy teacher and administrative staff approved how the Discourse about Refugees was rearticulating spaces at the school and challenged existing authoritative Discourses that circulated around the school. Ms. Hutto observed, "I like it better when there's more [ELLs]. They have other kids they can interact with and they can speak their own language and not feel like 'nobody understands me.'" She told me how she believed all Baumgartner teachers were going to gain more cultural and linguistic knowledge as the ELL population grew. Ms. Murphy told me she had reflected on the existing school structures that needed to change in lieu of the emerging ELL population. She emphasized to me:

> We've had to do things that we really, quite honestly, would never do with our regular population. For example, we [are] trying to look at [family engagement] differently because our traditional ways are a very American way of thinking about it. I think all of it's going to have be to rethought quite frankly.

Ms. Murphy was quick to push back on those who claimed the Congolese families did not care about their children as she argued, "What they have is a community and a

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network and they trust each other." Ms. Jackson told me how Ms. Murphy often encouraged Baumgartner teachers not to worry about standardized test scores and how the other students at the school welcomed the refugee students and encouraged their academic growth, as she explained, "The kids embrace all the [ELLs]. You can walk into a room and they tell you, '[The ELL student] did this today!' The students are excited to tell you things that the ELLs are doing." Ms. Hutto confirmed, "The kids are the ones who are more accepting because they're growing up with [diversity] in schools." The arrival of the Congolese students at Baumgartner encouraged the ESL newcomer literacy teacher and administrative staff to rethink school spaces as American, English-only beliefs and practices and the Discourse of students in U.S. schools. However, there were still moments when the refugee students' attempts to rearticulate spaces were rejected which led to their marginalization and exclusion from certain educational spaces.

Moments of rejection. At times, the staff at Baumgartner reinscribed the authoritative English-only, skills-based literacy Discourses at the school. Ms. Jackson, Ms. Murphy, and Ms. Hutto often reflected on other teachers' rejection of the Congolese students in their instruction. Due to their central roles in interacting with and teaching students like Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony, they spent more time in schools brainstorming "solutions" for the boys' education and resettlement and recognition as students in U.S. schools. However, they frequently noted how other teachers rejected or ignored the refugee students in their instruction. Ms. Jackson recalled multiple occasions when homeroom teachers called her to deal with discipline problems, or to help them prepare end of school academic documents which revealed homeroom teachers often did not include translingual students in their instruction. She told me many teachers did not

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know what countries their translingual students came from or what languages they spoke. Ms. Jackson argued how important it was to treat students like Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony like everyone else, as she told me, "You want to be able to let them open up and get to know who they are and have them be comfortable with you and trust you." Ms. Hutto reflected on the homeroom teacher's exclusion:

> I know [teachers] mean well in a way because they don't want to make [ELLs] feel bad because they can't [do the classwork.] They're trying to do the right thing and I think they're doing the wrong thing in a way.

Ms. Murphy told me, "I don't want to walk into a classroom and see English Language Learners spending too much time on a computer." She disclosed that she was intent on moving Baumgartner staff toward more inclusive practices. "They need to be engaged in every single thing that every other kid is engaged in." Although Ms. Jackson, Ms. Murphy, and Ms. Hutto were trying to instill more inclusive practices, they were still positioning refugee students "in need" of assistance.

However, there were moments where the authoritative Discourse persisted. Frustrated by recent WIDA ACCESS scores, Ms. Jackson recalled a conversation with another teacher. She said, "Isn't that crazy how [Adish and Sony] can come in and just blow it out the water (i.e. achieve high test scores) and you have [Gabriel and Basam] who've been here for almost two years and they're below 30% of the kindergarten words." Although Ms. Jackson valued cultural and linguistic diversity, she still subscribed to prescriptive notions of measuring language "growth" and the value of using standardized assessments in evaluating how the Congolese boys were learning English in becoming students in U.S. schools, as well as seeing prescriptive literacy as the "remedy"

to the "refugee problem." Her statement above also reflects the ideological weight she gave the authoritative ELLT Discourse or how closely she aligned herself and her literacy definition with the Discourse, even though she had made previous statements that challenged or confronted prescriptive, monolingual ideologies.

Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony came to Baumgartner with socially significant identities, described in this chapter as part of the Discourse about Refugees. Their ideological becoming as students in U.S. schools, a new Discourse that required different ways of acting, thinking, believing, and feeling, led to ideological changes at Baumgartner Elementary that occurred through several processes. These included the boys attempting to "join in" the spaces, the staff (re)defining language beliefs and practices, and the staff consequently approving or rejecting attempts at rearticulating spaces. As an internally persuasive Discourse, the Discourse about Refugees led the staff at Baumgartner to rethink previously uncontested ways of being within the ELLT Discourse in ways that led to moments of inclusion and exclusion for the boys in educational spaces. I further examine Ms. Jackson's approval and rejection of the boys' attempts in becoming students in U.S. schools in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6
DISCOURSE INTERSECTIONS: "FIGURING IT OUT" IN A CONTACT ZONE

In this chapter, I explore how the ELLT Discourse and the Discourse about

Refugees, described in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively, intersect or come together in a

"contact zone" (Ball & Freedman, 2004, p. 8) in Ms. Jackson's classroom, and what

happened to Ms. Jackson, Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony in the process. Ball and

Freedman explain a contact zone is where authoritative and internally persuasive

discourses meet to "yield plentiful opportunity for [individuals] to develop their

ideologies" (pp.8-9). I examine moments of tension and agreement between the different

Discourses in Ms. Jackson's teaching practices, moments when she privileged one

Discourse over the other or challenged and questioned a given Discourse in her

ideological becoming as an English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher. Ms. Jackson

tried to "figure it out" by adapting her instruction and reflecting on the boys' work,

resulting in what I call manifestations—visible or tangible evidence of her beliefs at that

moment in time.

Additionally, Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony mobilized their linguistic and

cultural resources in varied ways based on the decisions Ms. Jackson made,

demonstrating the ways they navigated various Discourses in a parallel ideological

becoming as students in U.S. schools. In Chapter 5, I described what Baumgartner

educators conceptualized as a refugee —meaning someone who has been forced to flee

their home country due to persecution, war, or violence characterized by displacement, quality of education, language development, trauma, and economic hardship. This chapter illustrates Adish's, Basam's, Gabriel's, and Sony's ways of being a Refugee and how they attempted to "join in" Ms. Jackson's classroom to be recognized as students in U.S. schools. By their very presence, the boys shaped both Discourses as their linguistic and cultural backgrounds influenced and challenged Ms. Jackson's thinking in classroom manifestations like her choosing of curriculum materials and activities, allowing the boys' use of Swahili and English, grouping Swahili-speaking children in a class, and setting her reading instructional goals. These manifestations reflected her ongoing decision-making through the lessons described below.

I distinguish between authoritative and internally persuasive Discourses to illustrate the tensions in which Ms. Jackson and her students developed their systems of beliefs about English literacy and language teaching and becoming students. In any context, authoritative and internally persuasive Discourses can be positive or negative. Depending on Ms. Jackson's current ideological system, her instruction reflected influences from the ELLT Discourse and Discourse about Refugees. As mentioned before, Ball and Freedman (2004) explain, "The nature of our struggles with an authoritative discourse depends on our relationship with it" (p. 7). At times, Ms. Jackson accepted and enacted the ELLT authoritative Discourse and there was little struggle in the development of her beliefs as an ESL newcomer literacy teacher. At other times, she challenged the ELLT Discourse, reflective of Ball and Freedman's statement that, "There

are times in our lives when what we think as an individual is not the same as some aspect of the official doctrine of our larger world" (p. 70).

Ms. Jackson frequently alluded to how new she was to teaching reading and ESL. She often told me, "I'm still trying to figure it all out but by golly, I'll get there one day." The current ideological environment was constituted by an authoritative ELLT Discourse of subtractive, skills-based literacy and language orientation which influenced how Ms. Jackson subsequently implemented each practice. She faced existing conceptualizations from school staff of what a refugee was and the linguistic and cultural influences of the internally persuasive Discourse about Refugees through the boys' enrollment in her class—for example, the boys' diverse backgrounds greatly varied from her Catholic upbringing, which Ms. Jackson attempted to reconcile as she sought to teach English literacy and language to Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony.

In the sections below, I describe three lessons in Ms. Jackson's classroom, each of which included a read aloud followed by a reader response engagement. I selected these lessons to illuminate and explain manifestations that emerged as significant in my analysis. Following the lesson descriptions, I discuss the following across all three lessons: choosing curriculum materials and text selection for read aloud and reader response engagements, using Swahili and English, grouping Swahili-speaking children, and meeting reading goals. I came to see these manifestations of Ms. Jackson's developing system of beliefs around literacy and language teaching, or her ideological becoming as an ESL newcomer literacy teacher. The lessons demonstrate Ms. Jackson's thoughts and beliefs over a period of several lessons and how her thinking reflected a negotiation between intersecting Discourses.

Lesson One: *Lala Salama* and Recording Digital Stories

I asked Ms. Jackson if she wanted help selecting a text for the first time she read aloud in our planned lessons and she agreed to let me select a text. I selected *Lala Salama* (MacLachlan, 2011, in Figure 17), a Tanzanian lullaby set in the Congo. The book walks the reader through a day in the people's lives from sunrise to sunset.
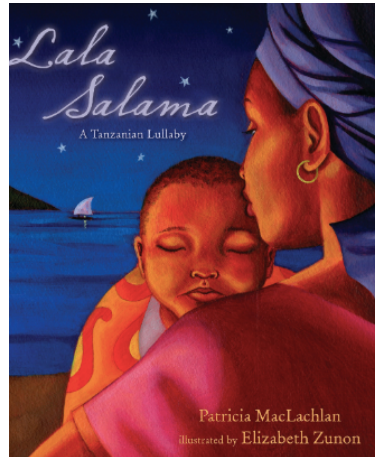
Figure 17: The read aloud text for Lesson One.

Ms. Jackson: (*showing the book)* It's called Lala Salama.

Basam. It's Swahili!

Ms. Jackson: It's Swahili! What does that mean in Swahili? Lala salama.

Basam: Sleep, sleep…

Gabriel: Good.

Ms. Jackson: Sleep good. Sweet dreams, it's what we say in English, sweet dreams! Who do you see on the front of this book?

Adish: (*approaching the book)* A mom and a baby.

Ms. Jackson: A mom and a baby. What do you think they're going to do in the book?

The boys: Sleep!

Ms. Jackson: Why sleep?

Basam: The stars! Time for sleep.

Ms. Jackson: Well let's find out. (*opening book*)

She started a picture walk with the boys and they talked about the illustrations of the fishermen and their boats on Lake Tanganyika. On one page, there was a picture of a woman, a man, and a baby, seen in Figure 18.

Ms. Jackson: Who do you think this is? (*pointing to the man*)

Basam and Gabriel: Dad.

Ms. Jackson: Dad.

Basam: It goes like this. (*picks up dry-erase marker and starts writing 'dad*) Dad!

Ms. Jackson: Yes, that's right!

Figure 18: Basam records 'dad' on the whiteboard during a classroom read aloud.

In a later part of the read aloud, Ms. Jackson showed a picture of a woman who is working in the fields. She asked the boys if their mothers worked in the fields like the woman in the story and they all said yes. Gabriel started to name the crop in the photo as potato, and Ms. Jackson asked them to think about what the woman was trying to grow in

the photo. Adish volunteered carrots. However, when Basam said something in Swahili to Adish, Adish started to talk in Swahili back to Basam about the picture and they argued whether or not it was carrots, tomatoes, or what Basam fiercely believed was *viazi*, or Swahili for potatoes. Ms. Jackson said, "Well I don't know that one" and voiced Gabriel's English contribution of carrots and potatoes, as she disregarded Adish and Basam's discussion when they used Swahili to talk about her question. The same interaction took place for the next page, as Adish and Basam used Swahili to talk about the pictures and Ms. Jackson listened as Gabriel spoke in English to talk about the pictures.

Ms. Jackson finished her read aloud in this way, inviting the boys to discuss the illustrations and answer her questions. Afterwards, we invited Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony to tell us stories about their homes as a follow up to their home paintings. After the *Lala Salama* read aloud concluded, Ms. Jackson stayed with Basam and Sony and I took Gabriel and Adish to record stories on the iPad about their homes. We had deliberated about the boys' language use during one of our informal conversations over coffee and we told the boys they could use Swahili in their stories. Gabriel recorded his story and asked me if he could tell me his story in English. I listened to him retell his story and then asked Adish to do the same, as shown in Figure 19.

Figure 19: Adish and Gabriel listen to their Swahili iPad recording and retell in English.

Gabriel talked me through a day at his house and told me how they played and went to school. Adish told me about how they watched fighting on TV at home. After the boys recorded several stories and retold them in English, we asked them to draw their recorded stories on the iPad. They had the option of using whatever app they wanted. Basam chose a simple drawing app to draw his home. Basam told me about his house, shown in Figure 20.

Figure 20: Basam's drawing of his house and family on an iPad.

Basam drew different family members engaged in different activities around the house, such as playing soccer or watching TV in a bedroom. Basam also included a heart in the middle of his home, a way of indicating affection or his feelings about his home with his family.

Lesson Two: *Vincent Paints His House* and Constructing Collages

Ms. Jackson and I had decided to split the text selections for the lessons in half; therefore, she would select the texts for the rest of our lessons. She chose to read an online version of the book *Vincent Paints His House* (Arnold, 2015) and the boys sat around her computer as she read from the screen. The book was a guided level D book, and this was the first time an instructional text was used as a read aloud in our work together. Throughout the book, the protagonist, Vincent, asks the animals around him what color he should paint his house, and each animal suggests a color based on the color of its body (for example, a purple beetle wants Vincent to paint the house purple). At the beginning of the lesson, Ms. Jackson asked the boys what color they thought Vincent would paint his house, and each boy guessed a color. Ms. Jackson read the first page and asked the boys to describe the color of the house now (Figure 21). She asked, "What do you need to paint a house?"

Figure 21: Ms. Jackson, Sony, Gabriel, Basam, and Abdallah discuss *Vincent Paints His House* (Arnold, 2015).

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Each page of the book had a predictable sentence stem: each animal/insect said, "Stop! This is my house, and I like (color)!" The boys began to recite the pattern with Ms. Jackson as she read each page.

Ms. Jackson: Do you like the color brown?

Gabriel: Yes! It's the color of chocolate!

Basam: (*shaking his finger)* No, I don't like it. White, like white mocha!

Ms. Jackson: Oh yes that's right Basam, you do like white mocha.

Gabriel: I like it hot (*making a gesture like he's drinking from a mug)*

Ms. Jackson: Oh, you like hot chocolate?

Gabriel: Yeah!

Ms. Jackson kept reading the book in this fashion until at its conclusion, Vincent painted a house with a rainbow of colors. She discussed with the boys whether or not they liked the house. The boys did not like the house and wanted only one color for it.

To complete a reading response, we asked Basam, Adish, Gabriel, and Sony to create collages after reading *Vincent Paints His House,* seen below in Figure 22. Ms. Jackson provided a house template for each boy and we asked them to create what home meant to them. She thought the template could help the boys organize their collage so they could understand the directions. Basam asked if he could make his house brown and Ms. Jackson told him he could color the house brown. Instead, he used brown construction paper and traced the original house template onto the paper to use it as his collage template. Basam later discarded the brown house and used the original template Ms. Jackson gave him. The other boys used the template Ms. Jackson gave them.

Figure 22: Sony, Gabriel, Adish, and Basam create collages of what home mean to them.

In Figure 23 below, each boy created a collage with different items such as house plants, cars, furniture, light fixtures, fans, or photos of people. Each boy also included a picture of a door and wrote their apartment number above the door.

Figure 23: Collages about home by Adish (top left), Sony (top right), Basam (bottom left), and Gabriel (bottom right).

Lesson Three: *Turbo Turtle Saves the Day* and Creating Comic Strips

In our final lesson together, Ms. Jackson again chose to project a text, *Turbo Turtle to the Rescue* (Dinardo, 2010) from her computer to the screen and asked the boys to sit at the table. She displayed the title page (Figure 24) to the boys.
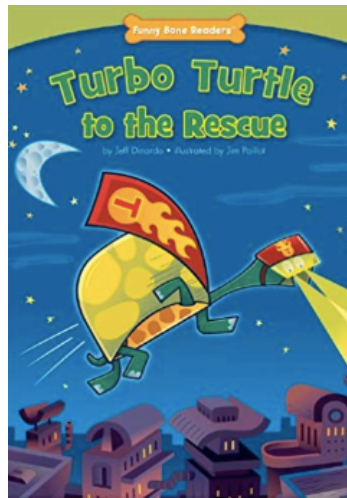
Figure 24: The cover of *Turbo Turtle to the Rescue,* which Ms. Jackson read aloud to introduce our superheroes unit.

Ms. Jackson: We're going to read a book about Turbo Turtle! What do you think turbo means?

Basam: *(raising his hand)* Flying!

Ms. Jackson: Flying? Maybe.

Adish: A robot!

Ms. Jackson: What do you think, Gabriel?

Gabriel: Hot!

Basam: Me! Me! *(pointing to the screen)* To see! To see at night!

Ms. Jackson: Ohhh, to see at night!

Each boy's guess demonstrated how he used the pictures to support his thinking about the book, similar to during *Lala Salama* read aloud, when they guessed the events happened

at night because of the stars on the front cover. *Turbo Turtle Saves the Day* tells the story of how Turbo Turtle beats Duck Girl to save the community. As Ms. Jackson read the story, she asked more predicting questions. When the phone rang in the story and she asked, "Who could call Turbo Turtle?" The boys volunteered answers like his friend or family.

> Ms. Jackson: What kind of problems do you think Duck Girl could be causing?
>
> Sony: She fell down?
>
> Gabriel: Maybe she's alone?
>
> Ms. Jackson: Maybe she needs help?
>
> Adish: Maybe she sick?

Basam figured out Duck Girl was going to steal ice cream and the boys agreed with her. As the story continued, Ms. Jackson read with the boys how Duck Girl uses bubble gum as her weapon to immobilize the city. When she turned the page, she asked, "What's happening here?" Sony, normally someone who sat and listened to his classmates talk, started puffing his cheeks in and out, as the other boys started to volunteer their answers. Ms. Jackson asked him what he was doing, and he said "Bubble." She asked him how he made one. Basam stood up and joined in as he made a motion of stretching gum out from his mouth and started blowing his cheeks in and out. He said, "Like a balloon, you (*he puffed and blew his cheeks up)* and (*motioned a balloon getting bigger and bigger)* and then you POP!" The boys often used gestures to supplement their responses to Ms. Jackson's questions, as seen in Figure 25.

Figure 25: Sony and Basam explaining what they thought was happening in the story.

After the read aloud concluded, we asked the boys to use a comic strip format to create a story with their favorite superheroes. I had checked out computers from the university and the boys used the app *Comic Life 2* (André, Grant, Selbek, & Pearson, 2012) to create comic strips. The app provided multiple opportunities for individual design, as it required the user to select a comic template from a large collection of options. The app also required its user to navigate to Google to search and download images to upload into the app. We dedicated two days to making comics, as we believed the first day would be used for becoming familiar with the app and the internet and the second day for completing the comic itself. Ms. Jackson and I circulated around the room to assist the boys in searching and uploading images and the boys got up from their computers to help each other find images (Figure 26).

Figure 26*:* Sony, Adish, and Basam gather around a computer.

At first, the boys required assistance for Google searching; however, they quickly picked up how to navigate between the app and Google and how to save and upload an image. As time progressed, three of the four boys customized their comics by including Google images of their apartments and the school, as well as finding the in-app camera feature which they used to take photos of themselves. They included bubble text, as well, to insert dialogue in their stories. Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony spoke English to Ms. Jackson and me and switched back to Swahili as they talked to each other about their comics. Their finished products are in Figure 27.
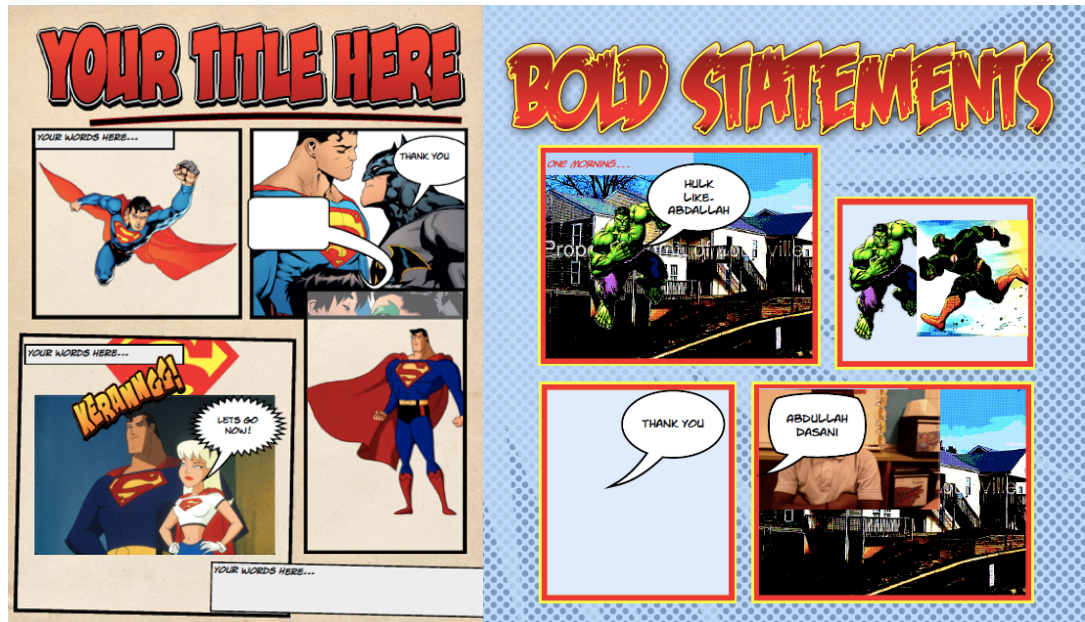
Figure 27: Superhero comic strips created by Gabriel (top left), Adish (top right), Sony (bottom left) and Basam (bottom right).

Discourse Intersections and Classroom Manifestations

In the sections below, I examine the manifestations from the three lessons that demonstrated Ms. Jackson's emerging ideological system about materials, Swahili and English use, grouping Swahili-speaking children, and her reading goals for these lessons. I explicate the classroom manifestations, or adaptations that emerged at the intersection

of the ELLT and Discourse about Refugees evident in these lessons while synthesizing

Ms. Jackson's emerging belief system about her teaching.

Choosing Materials and Activities

In the first lesson, I chose the read aloud *Lala Salama* and in lesson two and three,

Ms. Jackson chose the read aloud texts (*Vincent Paints His House* and *Turbo Turtle to the*

Rescue). Understandably as a new teacher, she had admitted she needed support with

curriculum, as discussed in Chapter 1. Ms. Jackson had implemented *On Our Way to*

English materials available at Baumgartner, a set of texts, instructional practices, and

assessments endorsed by the ELLT Discourse. However, as she used less scripted

curriculum materials, she developed certain beliefs about the purpose of materials and the

lesson outcomes for Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony. Ms. Jackson's beliefs reflected the

tension in the contact zone, or where the Discourses intersected, and this tension

influenced her decisions about text selection and student engagement, as well as reader

response and student demonstration of learning across different languages and modes. I

explain these manifestations below.

Ms. Jackson's reflection after the first lesson illuminated her emergent

understanding regarding text choices for student engagement and how students used

different modes for representing their learning in reader response, or transmediation.

According to Berghoff, Egawa, Harste, and Hoonan (2000), transmediation means taking

"what is known in one sign system and recasting it in another" (p. 3). Berghoff et al.

explain "each sign system is unique and best suited to a particular perspective of the

world [and] there are often no direct equivalencies" (p. 3). Ms. Jackson told me, "I had to

correct the children's behavior a great deal this lesson. They were constantly touching

other things, speaking in Swahili, or looking off into space." In her reflection, she expressed disappointment in the reader response strategy as well, as she believed "the boys had a difficult time creating an image based on the story they told. I do not know if it is because they didn't understand the directions, or they were just playing." Ms. Jackson expected Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony to stay engaged and "on-task" during all read alouds. She believed *Lala Salama,* the text in the first lesson that I had selected, incorporated students' cultural backgrounds and would hold their interest. Additionally, the repetition of curricular materials, a feature endorsed by the ELLT Discourse to facilitate literacy and language learning, was evident in the way Ms. Jackson reflected on the outcome of the reader responses. She expected the iPad recording and drawing to reflect the same story in order to practice vocabulary words and literary elements like characters, setting, problem, and solution. Using language in repetitive ways reflected cognitive and behavioral orientations to language learning for learning words and grammar, an influence of the ELLT Discourse.

Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony took the opportunity to share with us what occurred at home—engaging in their hobbies, being with their families, watching TV shows—in their interpretation of what was expected of them in the lesson as they experimented with school materials and different modes to "join in" the lesson to be recognized as students in U.S. schools. The selected reader response activity and text selection in this lesson also established more opportunities for variation in the ways Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony could respond.

Ms. Jackson's reflection about the second lesson illustrated her developing beliefs about the type of text she selected for a read aloud and student engagement. Additionally,

she expressed her happiness with the boys' collages as a reader response. *Vincent Paints His House* was a text from the *On Our Way to English* series, which was a district and ELLT Discourse sponsored curriculum. Ms. Jackson revealed, "I believe they were engaged because the book was lower level and something they could understand and follow." She also expressed delight at the collages Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony created from a reproducible template. Ms. Jackson raved, "I loved that even though they designed their homes much different than their current home, they all put their apartment number on the house." She believed the engagement was an opportunity to show their personalities and what was important to them, but it was still controlled and measurable to a certain extent, a reflection of the authoritative ELLT Discourse. Ms. Jackson's reflection demonstrated her belief about text selections and how her choices could help accomplish or support her intention for instruction. At this moment in the study, read alouds needed to be "lower level" (meaning early readers with minimal print) for students' full understanding and engagement.

In the last lesson, Ms. Jackson's reflection demonstrated how she viewed text selection as not only helpful for student engagement, but also useful to demonstrate the goal or objective of the lesson. She told me, "I thought the book *Turbo Turtle* was a good and simple example of a story line they could copy [in their comics]." The boys used different meaning making strategies like embodiment and gestures for responding to questions and participating in the lesson. She viewed the technology reader response as "fun" or for enjoyment, as she said:

> I thought the children really enjoyed working with the computers. They were very
>
> engaged and were discovering things on their own, like the camera, in order to

make their project different. They loved searching for superheroes and putting

them in their comic.

Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony took the opportunity in this lesson to show their

affection for Baumgartner and their pop culture interests, as well as what they knew

about technology and computers, like typing, conducting Internet searches, saving

images, and finding the camera in the app. Ms. Jackson was able to carry out her goals

for literacy teaching within the ELLT Discourses and Discourse about Refugees in this

selection of curriculum materials, as the boys remained engaged in the read aloud and

subsequent reader response task. However, in later sections, I discuss how Ms. Jackson's

adaptations such as choosing curriculum materials occurred in conjunction with or

contradictory to other manifestations like allowing the use Swahili or English or grouping

Swahili-speaking children in a class as she sought plan and carry out engaging activities

for the boys in her ideological becoming as an ESL newcomer literacy teacher.

Using Swahili and English

Wei (2011) argues translanguaging:

creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together
different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their
attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one
coordinated and meaningful performance and making it into a lived experience.
(p. 1223)

Consistent with the ELLT Discourse, Ms. Jackson's beliefs about language use were

rooted in monolingual ideologies about her instruction and what she authorized in her

classroom. Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony used language based on multiple factors,

such as the context, audience, or purpose of the engagement, as well as the unintentional

or intentional restrictions from Ms. Jackson's instruction. Ms. Jackson's reflections and

adaptations revealed a developing system of beliefs around non-English language use in her literacy and language instruction. She was working out interrelated ideas about when non-English language use was acceptable or "necessary" and when English had to be used in her classroom. I explore these ideas below.

After the first lesson, when the boys used Swahili frequently to talk to each other, Ms. Jackson continued to express her frustration about the boys' engagement with the read aloud as she told me, "I was surprised [that they seemed off] because [*Lala Salama]* was based in the Congo and had Swahili words in it." Her reflection illuminated an emergent understanding about her students' use of Swahili as a resource in communicating and supporting understanding in school settings. Additionally, Ms. Jackson was developing an emerging cultural consciousness about how to utilize her students' linguistic and cultural resources in literacy instruction. In the first lesson, she selected a book she thought would be interesting to her students because it was discussing their culture. However, their choice to use Swahili in the instructional setting was problematic.

Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony mobilized both English and Swahili in strategic ways to make meaning during *Lala Salama.* They helped Ms. Jackson with pronunciation of certain Swahili words like Lake Tanganyika, negotiated meaning of certain words, checked each other's answers to Ms. Jackson's questions, and translated across modes. Basam demonstrated his English language understanding by translating an oral conversation to written print when he wrote the English word "dad" when the Swahili word *baba* was orally discussed—a translation across modes, a practice which Song (2016) claims is inherent to bilingual children's translanguaging practices. The boys used

English with Ms. Jackson, a linguistic demand they recognized from the influences of the monolingual ELLT Discourse in the classroom as they made efforts to display their English learning as well.

In the second lesson, Ms. Jackson and the boys used English most of the time to make meaning of the *On Our Way to English* text. Notably, there was little use of Swahili in this lesson. Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony used English to answer Ms. Jackson's questions and to discuss their preferences and interests. Ms. Jackson was pleased with their language choice and she explained, "I heard them several times try to read along with me because it was repetitive." At this moment, selecting scripted texts affirmed Ms. Jackson's preference for English-only language use at the intersections of the ELLT Discourse and Discourse about Refugees as she used English as the language of instruction in the classroom and the boys only spoke English.

In the third lesson, the boys initially used English to answer Ms. Jackson's comprehension questions about *Turbo Turtle;* they predicted, recalled information, defined a vocabulary word, etc. However, as the boys created comic strips, they spoke Swahili with each other. Ms. Jackson noticed as she told me, "I thought the boys were speaking in Swahili more during this lesson. I think they were unsure of what to do and the complexity of it caused them to use their native language." Ms. Jackson was developing an emerging understanding about the contexts in which the boys used their linguistic resources, such as using English to discuss an English text or using Swahili to communicate during a reading response instructional block. Additionally, the structure of the read aloud and reading response provided more opportunity for Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony to use any sort of language in more varied ways.

Grouping Swahili-Speaking Children

In this section, I discuss Ms. Jackson's reflections on grouping Swahili-speaking children together. These manifestations were reflective of monolingual ideologies that resist the use of students' other languages. Ms. Jackson considered the boys' use of their other languages to be a sign of interference in learning a new language—a consequence of her choice to group similar speaking children together in her classroom. Ms. Jackson believed when the boys used English, their language choice reflected their understanding of the linguistic and cognitive demands of her instruction.

In the first lesson, Ms. Jackson's attributed the boys' use of Swahili as a sign of being off task or not engaged with the read aloud. The boys' English retellings showed they understood what contexts and purposes for English and Swahili meant for communicative or literacy-based purposes, however. These included authoring narratives to themselves or each other in Swahili and retelling the story to Ms. Jackson in English.

In the second lesson, Ms. Jackson was very pleased regarding the boys' language learning in the lesson. She told me, "[Their] oral language was great! They were talking about the different colors and animals in the book…they were able to label and explain the things they glued as they created their houses." Learning English words—like colors and animals—in an isolated fashion reflected the autonomous literacy emphasis from the ELLT Discourse. Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony displayed their desire to learn English and their enjoyment in learning English as they employed the language of schooling in this lesson.

Following the third lesson, Ms. Jackson wondered about the use of students' home languages in instructional settings. In the ELLT Discourse, English was the

language of instruction and a sign of student engagement, and while Ms. Jackson acknowledged and appreciated the boys' linguistic backgrounds, she viewed the use of their native or home language as counterproductive to learning or a sign of struggle in their literacy development. Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony used Swahili and English, demonstrating their understanding of the context for using different resources in the lesson. She told me in an interview she felt conflicted about grouping students who shared the same language background together, recalling an instance when she had to split up two of her Congolese students, "I don't want them to feel like they don't have anybody, but then it seems like right now, they're relying on that so much. Nor do I know what they're talking about, even if it's on topic."

Ms. Jackson's statement revealed how she was working out a set of beliefs about what to do with her students' linguistic knowledge and use. Her beliefs were emerging within the tensions created by the intersections of the authoritative ELLT Discourse and internally persuasive Discourse about Refugees in her classroom. The ELLT Discourse promoted monolingual practices, with English as the goal for translingual students through assessments, instruction, and curriculum. There were no ways of being or acting within the Discourse that acknowledged other languages in instructional or academic settings. Martínez-Roldán and Malavé (2004) explain dominant discourses around English-only mandates are "characterized as arguments based on assumptions and myths" about language learning, like the home language acting as a barrier to learning (p. 159). The boys' ways of being Refugees, with rich linguistic and cultural traditions, challenged Ms. Jackson's thinking about language learning and what purpose languages other than English served in her classroom. In actuality, the boys' ways of being confirmed the use

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of controlled texts and cemented the monolingual ideologies of English-only instruction constituting the authoritative ELLT Discourse for Ms. Jackson.

Meeting Reading Goals

As described in Chapter 4, Ms. Jackson's reading goals for Adish's, Basam's, Gabriel's, and Sony's literacy and language development included: using more grammatically complete and correct sentences, memorizing and matching words, decoding words correctly, utilizing a comprehension strategy, and ascertaining the correct definition for a vocabulary word, among others. Her reading goals reflected the ELLT Discourse, in which literacy is viewed as neutral and a set of skills that can be transmitted from one context to another. The boys' performances in the lessons illustrates their attempts to make meaning and learn English.

In all three lessons, Ms. Jackson's reading goals were skill-oriented. She expected the read aloud and subsequent reader response engagement to produce something measurable from textbook storytelling guidelines— characters, setting, problem, and solution, or what a she would likely find on a story map graphic organizer. After the boys created the comic strips, she told me, "I thought the project was a little too difficult for them because they still do not understand the elements of a story." In addition, her reading goals drew upon verbocentric views of meaning making, as Ms. Jackson particularly valued the ways Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony interacted with words and written texts. When Ms. Jackson planned opportunities for multimodal reader responses, she was pleased when the boys' work demonstrated they had learned a skill, like listing colors and items in their house collage in the second lesson. Notably, the collage reader response was more uniform and narrow, and there were not as many opportunities for

language variation than in the iPad recordings and comic strip creations. The boys used reader response opportunities for translanguaging across languages and modes (Song, 2016) to make meaning of Ms. Jackson's literacy instruction as Refugee children. Through their ways of being—students who enjoyed being in school—they interpreted her directions and instruction to join in her classroom spaces. At this intersection of Discourses, Ms. Jackson expressed happiness when her reading goals were met. However, she also expressed concern for the varied, at times unexpected, responses and interactions that took place, which she interpreted as either off-task or misunderstanding.

Ms. Jackson's reading goals indicated she privileged American, English influences in her classroom, influences from the ELLT Discourse. For example, the boys told entertaining stories in the first and third lesson on the iPad and in their comic strips, not necessarily stories with problems and solutions. In her work with the Sudanese, Perry (2008) explains how "storytelling practices differ across cultures, because they are purposeful and embedded in social goals and cultural practices…some storytelling practices do not involve print literacy at all" (p. 322). Ms. Jackson expected the boys to construct stories that reflected storytelling according to United States (U.S.) schooling traditions to demonstrate they had learned the skill of storytelling. There was little struggle with the authoritative ELLT Discourse in this moment, even though she faced influences from the boys' ways of storytelling from their cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Ms. Jackson's Process in the Contact Zone

Figure 28 illustrates how Ms. Jackson's beliefs manifested in her classroom in instructional adaptations such as classroom materials and activities, the use of Swahili

and English, grouping Swahili-speaking children, and reading goals. The authoritative

ELLT Discourse and internally persuasive Discourse about Refugees constituted the

contact zone in Ms. Jackson's classroom. The blue arrow in Figure 28 represents the

authoritative ELLT Discourse, larger in size due to its ideological influence at

Baumgartner Elementary. The green arrow represents the internally persuasive Discourse

about Refugees, which is smaller in comparison to the ELLT Discourse in the ideological

environment. Ms. Jackson is situated in between the two arrows to represent the two

Discourses' influence in the development of her system of beliefs. Ms. Jackson adapted

her instruction and reflected afterward recursively, indicated by the circular arrows

between each square. These reflections influenced the next iteration of her instruction,

which then led to another reflection, and so on.
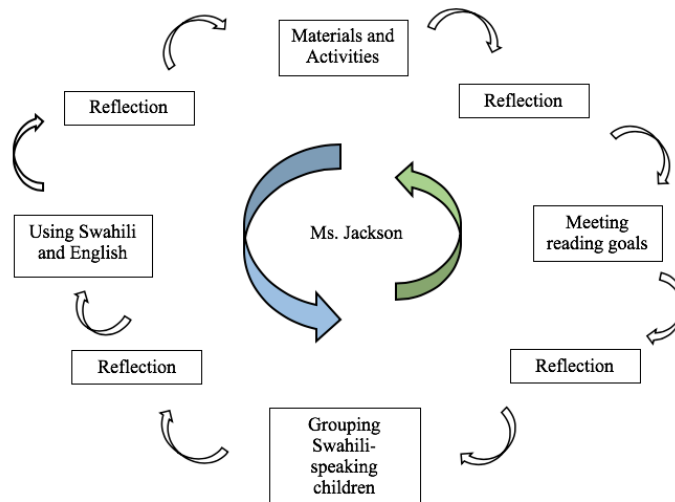
Figure 28: Ms. Jackson's ideological becoming in the contact zone.

Each manifestation emerged relationally to others—there was no causal or linear

link in her ideological system at this time. These findings have important consequences

for the broader domain of fluidity in an individual's ideological becoming, explained in

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the next chapter. Since I asked her to complete reflections after she taught each lesson, I certainly influenced this process as I asked her to focus her attention on certain aspects like oral and written language, etc. Importantly, I captured her manifestations here in Figure 28 at a moment in time—after we spent time planning and teaching lessons while reflecting on literacy and language learning together over the course of a couple of months.

Furthermore, Figure 28 reflects Ms. Jackson's thinking toward the conclusion of another year of teaching was coming to an end, when she had spent much time learning more about literacy and language teaching with the assistance of other educators like the newcomer PLC and her administrative team. At this moment in time, a "successful" lesson in Ms. Jackson's classroom would include the boys' act of independently reading, correctly decoding, and using comprehension strategies for word identification and vocabulary definition. The boys could use Swahili, but it would be related to instruction and she could understand it or learn from the boys if it was perceived to be related to the instructional topic. Ms. Jackson and the boys would use English primarily for communicating, and any sort of multimodal instruction would show the boys' "personalities" and/or result in one of the reading skills she wanted to be able to observe.

Conclusion

As the contact zone for authoritative ELLT and internally persuasive Discourse about Refugees, Ms. Jackson's classroom created opportunities for emerging ideological systems of belief around literacy and language teaching and learning to develop for her and Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony. Ms. Jackson's identity as an ESL newcomer literacy teacher situated her ways of thinking, acting, believing, valuing, and more within

established ideologies about literacy teaching and learning—ideologies that shaped her thinking and her instructional adaptations as she encountered influences from other individuals. Students like Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony pushed back on her thinking and what she thought to be true about ESL literacy teaching by living out their ways of being in her classroom. Ms. Jackson's instructional decisions and the boys' efforts to join the space by drawing upon their cultural and linguistic resources dialectically reconstituted the other in the classroom or contact zone, leading Ms. Jackson to make further instructional adaptations. Ms. Jackson's adaptations facilitated or restricted the boys' efforts to join in and how freely they could mobilize their diverse resources as Refugee students or be recognized as students in U.S. schools. The boys' strategic use of their cultural and linguistic resources challenged Ms. Jackson and her adaptations as an ESL literacy teacher.

In the concluding chapter, I summarize my findings suggest how these findings contribute to the field of English language arts and language teaching as well as to the field of K-12 refugee scholarship.

CHAPTER 7
MANAGING TENSIONS IN IDEOLOGICAL BECOMING

"[Bakhtin] teaches us that we in education have to be clear about who we are and what we think, about not just what a single individual thinks, but about systems of thought and how they interact together." (Ball and Freedman, 2004, p. 30.)

In October, after data collection concluded, I visited Ms. Jackson's classroom to see her and the boys in the new school year—Adish and Basam were now in fifth grade, Gabriel was in third grade, and Sony was repeating second grade. When I asked her why he was repeating a grade, Ms. Jackson told me Sony had mistakenly been put in second grade when he was supposed to be enrolled in first grade, and the school had decided to have him repeat the grade level again. Ms. Jackson had moved to a different classroom and I noticed she set up her room differently than the previous year. I observed her classroom library, no longer organized by leveled texts from *On Our Way to English,* but by themes, such as transportation or dinosaurs, and book series like Berenstain Bears and Little Critter books.
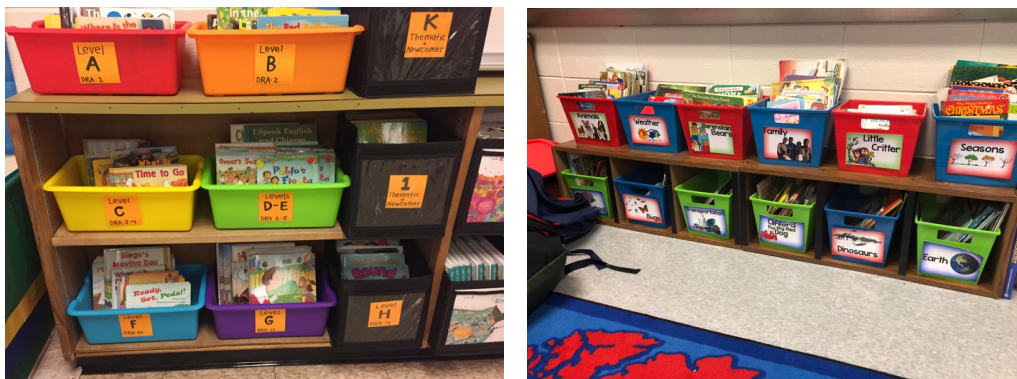
Figure 29: Ms. Jackson's library from 2017-2018 (left); her library in the 2018-2019 school year (right).

Ms. Jackson told me the boys had recently completed research projects on different animals as part of their unit, and the boys had written about eagles, sharks, anacondas, and peacocks. I watched her create a web of animal habitats with the boys that introduced vocabulary like *tundra* and *savannah*. As I talked to Basam, Sony, Gabriel, and Adish, I noticed how their English had developed to be more communicative. Ms. Jackson told me, "I'm feeling a lot better about things this year." In this final chapter, I summarize my findings and consider some future directions for research and teaching in the English literacy and language teaching of refugee children.

I designed this case study in order to understand on a deeper level how refugee children, specifically Congolese refugee children like Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony, and their English as a Second Language (ESL) newcomer literacy teacher, Ms. Jackson, shaped each other's ideological development in the educational space of their ESL classroom. As a result, I identified two macro ideologies and Discourses (Gee, 2014)—the English Literacy and Language Teaching Discourse (ELLT) and the Discourse about Refugees—that constituted the ideological environment at Baumgartner around the teaching of newly arrived refugee children. The two Discourses are ways of acting, thinking, feeling, valuing, etc., in order to be recognized as a socially significant identity, like *teacher of English* or *refugee student* or *student at U.S. school.* I further categorized each Discourse as either authoritative or internally persuasive (Bakhtin, 1981). The authoritative Discourse was the ELLT Discourse, a way of being that was uncontested and embodied in authority or the official line, resolute in its nature. The internally persuasive Discourse was the Discourse about Refugees, which was more flexible and responded to new contexts and other Discourses. This distinction emphasized

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the tensions between the two Discourses and how these tensions led to Ms. Jackson's and

the boys' ideological becoming, or the ways they developed a system of beliefs as they

enacted these Discourses. I describe and categorize each Discourse in Table 5 below.

Discourse Name	Discourse Description	Discourse Type
English Literacy and Language Teaching (ELLT) monolingual ideologies, autonomous literacy (Street, 1984), standards-based instruction, cognitive orientations to language	Literacy and language are • a set of measurable, prescriptive skills Learned through: • repetition • sequenced skill instruction • English language use	authoritative
About Refugees cultural and linguistic diversity problem solving (Cox, 1998)	• in need of "help" • contesting borders and rearticulating spaces • displacement • quality of education • language knowledge and development • economic hardship	internally persuasive

Table 5*: Discourses at Baumgartner Elementary.*

The ELLT Discourse established and perpetuated literacy and language learning

as a collection and acquisition of neutral rules and skills. This set of rules and skills

shaped the ideological environment at Baumgartner and how individuals acted, thought,

believed, and more. I examined the construction and maintenance of the ELLT Discourse

at Baumgartner through various processes such as understanding rules of assessment,

defining instructional goals and practices, and positioning students in deficit ways.

Individuals like Ms. Jackson and her administrative staff enacted these processes to

uphold and reproduce monolingual, autonomous ideologies and instructional practices in order to be recognized as *teacher of English* or *educator of language learners.*

The Discourse about Refugees illuminated how the arrival of refugee students like Basam, Sony, Gabriel, and Adish challenged uncontested and time-honored teaching and learning practices at Baumgartner as Ms. Jackson and the administrative staff prescribed and carried out English literacy and language teaching as the "solution to the refugee problem." I described how each boy and his family lived particular ways of being that constituted part of the socially significant identity of "Refugee" through themes around displacement, resettlement, trauma, education quality, language knowledge and development, and economic hardship. These themes also constituted part of Baumgartner educators' conceptualizations of refugee students. Upon their arrival to Baumgartner, Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony attempted to "join in" educational spaces to learn English and participate in Ms. Jackson's classroom as she and the administrative staff at Baumgartner redefined their language beliefs and practices. Ms. Jackson and the administrative staff approved or rejected these attempts at different times throughout the study, which resulted in rearticulated or contested borders at Baumgartner Elementary. Their approval and rejection led to moments of inclusion or exclusion for the boys and their diverse backgrounds in their ideological becoming as performing and being recognized as students in U.S. schools.

I described three lessons when the ELLT Discourse and Discourse about Refugees intersected in Ms. Jackson's classroom and how resulting tensions shaped subsequent teaching to Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony. The conflict between the authoritative and internally persuasive Discourses manifested in Ms. Jackson's

instructional adaptations as she chose materials and activities, processed the boys' uses of Swahili and English, grouped Swahili-speaking children, and worked to meet her reading goals for the children. Her instructional adaptations influenced how Basam, Adish, Gabriel, and Sony were able to draw upon their culturally and linguistically diverse ways of being and knowing to learn English literacy and language in the lessons. Additionally, the boys' ways of being, knowing, and more dialectically influenced Ms. Jackson's future instructional decisions as she continued to become an ESL newcomer literacy teacher.

Ms. Jackson's adaptations were part of her process in determining whether she succeeded or not in her lessons. Her decisions and reflections about materials and practices, language use, grouping, and reading goals in her classroom were influenced from the Discourses circulating at Baumgartner, which shaped her ideological becoming.

Figure 30 demonstrates Ms. Jackson's ideological becoming in the study, mediated by the ELLT Discourse and Discourse about Refugees. The authoritative ELLT Discourse sphere is larger in size to illustrate the Discourse's influence in constituting the ideological environment at Baumgartner Elementary. The authoritative sphere has a solid line to convey the inflexible nature of the authoritative Discourse. The ELLT Discourse, more authoritative in its ideological influence, was constituted by a patchwork of voices in Ms. Jackson's teaching: individuals like Ms. Murphy and Ms. Hutto, the school district, school literacy coaches, her college ESL instructor, newcomer PLC colleagues. I am also a voice in Ms. Jackson's ideological becoming, as I acted as a co-teacher in her classroom and reflected with her after each of the lessons we prepared together.

The internally persuasive Discourse about Refugees sphere is smaller in size to demonstrate the ideological influence of this Discourse at Baumgartner Elementary. The

Discourse about Refugees sphere is dotted to show the permeability of the internally

persuasive Discourse, interanimating with the ELLT Discourse at Baumgartner

Elementary. The dotted line also illustrates how Sony's, Gabriel's, Basam's, and Adish's

diverse ways of being and Baumgartner educators' views of refugees contested borders

and rearticulated spaces at the school.

At the intersection of the two Discourses, Ms. Jackson's classroom was a contact

zone, where tension from the Discourses influenced her decisions and reflections as she

worked out a system of beliefs about teaching Basam, Gabriel, Sony, and Adish. Her

beliefs manifested in her instructional adaptations, such as choosing materials and

activities, allowing the use of Swahili and English, grouping Swahili-speaking children in

the same class, and meeting reading goals.
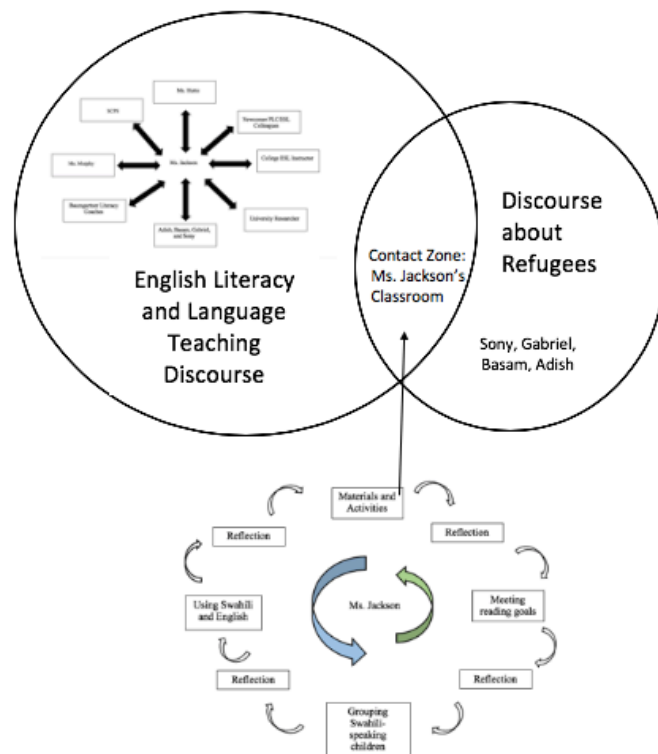
Figure 30: Ms. Jackson's ideological becoming throughout the study.

Ms. Jackson's decisions influenced the degree to which the boys' ideological becoming was facilitated or restricted as they attempted to "join in" spaces at Baumgartner Elementary as students in U.S. schools. Ms. Jackson's decisions about materials and activities—such as the use of authentic texts or open-ended reading response choices—and planning opportunities for the boys use other languages than English allowed the boys to "join in" educational spaces more freely, for example by displaying their English language knowledge or abilities in her lessons and by revealing their diverse background experiences.

When Ms. Jackson decided to use scripted texts and close-ended reading responses, the boys' ability to "join in" was more restricted as they could not always demonstrate or represent what they knew. The boys attempted to meet Ms. Jackson's expectations at the time of the lesson. The boys' abilities to demonstrate previous knowledge or meaning making influenced Ms. Jackson's teaching as she made decisions based on their level of comprehension or understanding of the literacy and language lesson. Paradoxically, Ms. Jackson perceived a lack of understanding on the boys' part when there were more open-ended, authentic qualities in her instruction—qualities which permitted the boys demonstrate what they knew and facilitated the their "joining in" spaces in U.S. schools—which influenced her decisions to choose more controlled texts that restricted "joining in" and not always allowing the boys to demonstrate their full understanding. Her perception again reflected the deficit, prescriptive traces of the ELLT Discourse.

Notably, these occurrences were not fixed or stable; they were results or outcomes from lessons that led Ms. Jackson to adapt her beliefs or actions in some way. These

processes were part of her ideological becoming as an ESL newcomer literacy teacher, a socially significant identity available to her at Baumgartner. This socially significant identity was situated in authoritative ways of being and consequently constrained her decision making. Importantly, Ms. Jackson's trajectory as an ESL newcomer literacy teacher wasn't, and will never be complete.

Conclusion: Developing Views of Our World

In the sections that follow, I present conclusions about the authoritative ELLT Discourse, the internally persuasive Discourse about Refugees, and what I learned in Ms. Jackson's classroom as a contact zone.

The Authoritative ELLT Discourse

This dissertation occurred during a time of growing cultural and linguistic diversity in K-12 classrooms, especially as more displaced families and children resettle in cities in the United States (U.S.) and attend public schools. Monolingual ideologies are pervasive through national, state, and local policies and practice, which shape and influence ideologies in macro and micro contexts, such as Baumgartner Elementary and Ms. Jackson's ESL classroom. The ideological weight of English-only language learning holds strong and steady, as these beliefs manifest in practices like assessment policies, such as the WIDA Accessing Comprehension and Communication in English State-to-State (ACCESS) test and subsequent categorization of children into labels like "newcomer" or "entering English learner" as seen at Baumgartner. English-only beliefs promote and support teachers to position translingual children and their academic and linguistic backgrounds in deficit ways, which may result in limited educational accomplishments and limited ideological becoming. Bakhtin and Medvedev (1978)

argue, "Every ideological product is a part of the material social reality surrounding [an individual], an aspect of the materialized ideological horizon. That is, it is always an objectively present part of [an individual's] social environment" (as cited in Ball and Freedman, 2004, p. 29). Identifying ideologies and their materialization or manifestation in schools today advances understanding of the ideological environment in macro or global contexts, like the beliefs circulating at a school such as Baumgartner. Ball and Freedman (2004) believe the ideological environment mediates a person's becoming and their development of beliefs and the opportunities for learning that lie within the authoritative and internally persuasive discourses.

While the arrival of culturally and linguistically diverse children in K-12 settings butts up against deep-seated, entrenched monolingual ideologies, it also holds potential for deeper understanding for the heterogeneous composition of classrooms and schools. Ball and Freedman (2004) explain the multiplicity of voices "shapes the ideologies that the next generation will develop… these voices demand that we set a research agenda that includes the complexities of our world's societies, its schools and its other settings where ideological becoming is nurtured" (p. 9). Further research to investigate well-established ideologies about language learning in various school contexts may provide more understanding how culturally and linguistically diverse children, especially refugee children, reconstitute educational spaces. In documenting ideologies around language learning, researchers and educators can see how ideologies constitute certain spaces and how even more variation in translingual learners, like refugee students, influence individuals to take up or resist certain ideologies and what subsequent teaching looks like in classrooms, homeroom and ESL alike.

Changed languages at Baumgartner Elementary. In Chapter 4, I discussed

moments of rejection for Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony as they attempted to join in

spaces at school. Ms. Murphy, the principal, disclosed how she was re-envisioning

literacy professional development at Baumgartner to support teachers in taking up more

inclusive practices for their translingual students in their classrooms. She envisioned part

of the professional development to include teachers' use of Google Chromebooks and

Google Classrooms for students to participate in classroom lessons as they were learning

more English, building background knowledge, or increasing vocabulary. Ms. Murphy

described how the school librarian was going to demonstrate how students could use

Google Chromebooks in classroom lessons, so they could "find pictures [and] learn to do

a lot more with the nonlinguistic representations to show that they *do* understand what's

being talked about, even if they cannot communicate it the same way." She told me:

> Our upper grades won't be so heavily text-dependent. [It will be] a lot more
> visual—teachers will have a lot more access so kids can be engaged right there,
> instead of 'I'm going to move ahead with this lesson and I know [ELLs] aren't
> understanding, so I'm going to put them on this program over [on the computer].'

Ms. Murphy insisted, "We need to [stop being uncomfortable] in every classroom and

understand that they need to be engaged in every single thing that every other kid is

engaged in."

Ms. Hutto acknowledged the administrators and teachers at Baumgartner were

still learning about "what to do" with the emerging cultural and linguistic diversity at the

school. When I went to visit Ms. Jackson in the fall of the next school year, I ran into Ms.

Hutto who told me there were two new students at the school, recently arrived from

Afghanistan who spoke Farsi. She told me she was quickly educated by Iraqi students to

not assume that Middle Eastern students were the same—they told her they spoke Arabic, which was "not even close to Farsi." Ms. Hutto laughingly and modestly recalled their stern admonishment. She had told me earlier in an interview:

> I don't know how we're going to do this, but we're going to do it and we're going to learn from it. Next year we'll do it even better, so you see, "This is an opportunity." It makes it difficult and it makes more work, really, but it's still an opportunity.

Ms. Hutto told me she believed students attending Baumgartner were already more accepting and accommodating of the growing diversity in their school and she believed "it was good because this is the way the world looks." Statements like these from Ms. Murphy and Ms. Hutto demonstrate how they were reevaluating administrative and instructional practices in their process of learning to teach culturally and linguistically diverse children. The arrival of children like Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony had rearticulated school spaces at Baumgartner to some extent. Moyer and Rojo (2007) claim:

> [M]onolingualism as a universal criterion for citizenship in a nation-state cannot be sustained anymore…migration is no longer understood as a one-time displacement. These changes are bringing about a shift in ideologies, in particular, in the way bilingualism is understood, constructed, and [practiced] (p. 137).

Ms. Jackson and the administrative staff at Baumgartner had begun to change their ways of being, acting, thinking, believing, valuing, and more as a result of teaching more diverse children who were learning English literacy and language. There were still moments where Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony were pushed to the margins of instruction or rejected for how or what they drew upon from their background knowledge. Researching ideology shifts in macro contexts is even more critical in order

to avoid moments of rejection for translingual students so they can participate in school spaces more freely.

Unchanged notions of literacy. Ideologies about language learning are not the only source of tension or conflict in literacy and language classrooms today—literacy education is still fraught with competing theoretical paradigms and practical applications, as different educators claim and value particular "ways of doing literacy" over others. In their review of literature on language arts in early childhood and elementary education, Zapata, Laman, and Flint (2017) determined most English Language Arts (ELA) instruction comprises "traditional notions that focus on literacy as linear, alphabetic, and print-centered" (p. 363). They argue that the turn towards multimodal instruction has been largely unofficial, like in after school programs or outside of school contexts. The tension between official and unofficial "ways of doing literacy" also holds potential for the sort of conflict Ball and Freedman (2004) argue as necessary for promoting learning, especially as the student population grow in diverse ways. To understand what happens in educational spaces when ideologies and Discourses inevitably intersect, particularly regarding multimodality in language arts teaching, affords exciting opportunities for teacher learning and the teaching of culturally and linguistically diverse children. My observations of Ms. Jackson and her classroom instruction illustrate the tensions that literacy teachers can face between verbocentric and multimodal ways of "doing" literacy and how it shapes their students' ways of meaning making in their classrooms.

The Internally Persuasive Discourse about Refugees

This study suggests the need for further investigation on translanguaging in K-12 settings and how children use their repertoires to accomplish multiple goals, like enacting

an identity or displaying their growing English language learning. However, my dissertation research contributes to refugee scholarship with regard to the study of subgroups of translingual students in U.S. schools today. Vertovec (2006) claims there is a "diversification of diversity" (as cited in Blommaert, 2006, p. 7). Various refugee groups differ in their displacement and resettlement; unquestionably, refugees have different historical, social, economic, and political backgrounds from other refugees (such as the Iraqi and Afghanistan example above). Each refugee child arrives to school with their own history of mobility, formal education, language knowledge, economic standing, exposure to trauma, and more, which complicates translanguaging scholarship, especially the study of translanguaging in K-12 school contexts. Ascenzi-Moreno (2017) explains, "These subgroups exhibit great variance and bring important, although unconventional, resources to school" (p. 279). Blommaert (2010) adds that "extreme linguistic diversity generates complex multilingual repertoires in which often several (fragments of) languages are combined" (p. 7). Such repertoires, he believes, "are often truncated—highly specific 'bits' of language and literacy varieties combine [to reflect] the fragmented and highly diverse life-trajectories and environments" of those individuals who move across spaces in the world (p. 8). The boys' student profiles—especially Gabriel's, who had fragmented experiences with languages such as Swahili, Kinyarwanda, Kinyolo, and English—reflect language development unique to the refugee translingual group.

In conceptualizing translanguaging and broadening scholarship in the field, language researchers must avoid uniformly applying a homogeneous interpretation or hypothesis and look toward creating a translanguaging continuum to include groups like

refugee students who bring more varied and unconventional resources. Axelrod and Cole (2018) proposed a developmental continuum to account for children's age and literacy development; there is potential for a framework to account for other variances and influences. For example, refugee children's ages do not neatly correspond to their "grade levels" in terms of their educational or language abilities, especially in prescriptive, formalized settings like schools in the U.S. This is only one example of how refugee children and their ways of being challenge existing frameworks in schools today. Another example is refugee children's histories of education. Ascenzi-Moreno (2017) explains refugee students, often assigned a status of significantly interrupted formal education (SIFE), are:

> viewed as remarkable not only for needing to learn English but also for not being able to test out of the ELL categorical label, for not having the adequate educational background, or for arriving in the United States without knowledge of how to operate within the school system. (p. 279)

Refugee students often have some sort of interruption to their formal education that complicates a translanguaging developmental continuum.

Wei (2018) presents several areas of focus for future research in translanguaging. He believes we should be asking questions such as:

> 1) What resources are needed, available, and being exploited for specific learning tasks throughout an individual's life?
> 2) Why are some resources not available at certain times?
> 3) What do language users do when some resources become difficult to access?
> 4) How do language users combine the available resources differentially for specific tasks? (p. 26).

Wei's questions have important consequences for the broader domain of translanguaging and the heterogeneous composition of resources and individuals in educational settings. They call for the study of equity and access of resources in translanguaging, which may

be constrained or facilitated by issues of age, educational background, language development, and the instructional methods used in classrooms today. Further research could provide more information on translanguaging processes of refugee children from various backgrounds with different resources and the sort of instruction that could highlight and provide more access to their strategic languaging in schools today.

Contact Zones

This case study about Ms. Jackson, Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony illustrates the importance of seeking out contact zones (Bakhtin, 1981; Ball and Freedman, 2004) where the intersections of authoritative and internally persuasive Discourses are negotiated with regard to the teaching of culturally and linguistically diverse children. Contact zones do not necessarily have to be a classroom; however, Ball and Freedman (2004) believe classrooms are sites where students from never imagined cultural and linguistic divides meet and construct their ideological selves. The circulating Discourses, competing or corroborating, come together to create rich areas of conflict for learning. Teachers, homeroom and ESL alike, negotiate their beliefs about literacy and language teaching and learning as they witness more diversity in their classes. Teacher negotiations may result in the selection of certain practices that compromise or facilitate the way translingual students mobilize their linguistic resources in instructional spaces. Seeking out contact zones in in-service teachers' classrooms is critical since teachers of all different backgrounds face different Discourses that shape their beliefs and subsequent teaching. The micro instances of teachers' adaptations and negotiations can illuminate their current ideological system and from what systems of belief they are operating.

The fluidity of an individual's ideological becoming is emphasized here. Ms. Jackson, Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony mediated each other's becoming as ESL teacher and students in U.S. schools as part of their ideological development at Baumgartner. However, their process of becoming with socially significant identities like ESL teacher and students in U.S. schools are always and ever changing, which in turn shapes the Discourses in which these identities are constructed and recognized. Moje and Lewis (2007) claim this identity recognition also "shapes how people see themselves" in the formation of subjectivities and the sort of agency individuals feel is available with a particular type of identity enactment (p. 20). Ms. Jackson's sense of agency in her identity enactment of *ESL newcomer literacy teacher* and the boys' sense of agency in their identity enactment as *students in U.S. school* arises from the ideological environment in which the identities were first created. In essence, Ms. Jackson may or may not feel limited in her agency due to the way she aligns herself to the authoritative ELLT Discourse. She could potentially view her alignment with other Discourses as a way of exercising her agency as an ESL newcomer literacy teacher. Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony may resist certain ideologies and practices as part of their identity enactment as students in U.S. schools.

Notably, Ms. Jackson participated in a newcomer professional learning community (PLC) which focused more on English language teaching strategies than unpacking cultural understandings of the different groups of students enrolled in SCPS ESL classrooms. The PLC actually strengthened Ms. Jackson's allegiance to the ELLT Discourse, as it fortified the use of monolingual teaching strategies than understanding

how the diverse backgrounds of translingual students like Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony change the nature of teaching.

Implications

In investigating ideologies that constitute more global or macro contexts, such as the ELLT Discourse or Discourse about Refugees, literacy scholars and school administrators can elevate their attention to early career teachers and the sort of instructional decisions novice teachers make as they negotiate their becoming as a teacher of culturally and linguistically diverse students in the current ideological environment at a school. Discourses shape the type of socially significant identities available to the kind of teacher an individual can be recognized as, and their ways of being distinguish them as having a certain teacher identity, such as ESL newcomer literacy teacher or homeroom teacher, etc. Additionally, the identification of macro ideologies assists in providing context for the micro instances of ideology shifts that take place in contact zones. In the sections that follow, I suggest the implications from this study for professional development for teachers and future research opportunities.

Professional Development for Teachers

The findings from this study suggest the importance of teacher education, professional development, teacher study groups that move away from monolingual, ethnocentric literacy and language ideologies and move toward more additive and culturally conscious instruction. Gomez et al. (2007) urge teacher educators to offer opportunities for preservice teachers to learn in contact zones to "make visible the ideological positions that preservice teachers bring…to present sorts of problems that disrupt notions about themselves, their construction of who 'others' are, and what

constitutes appropriate curriculum" (pp. 2132-2133). Preservice teachers' exposure to contact zones may also increase their awareness of the complexities they will face in their classroom and raise their sociolinguistic consciousness (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) of the students' backgrounds in their classrooms. Conversely, the emerging diversity in a teacher's classroom is not an immediate indication that the teacher will embrace additive, culturally and linguistically responsive teaching. In the face of diversity, individuals may adhere even more firmly to monolingual ideologies, demonstrated in Ms. Jackson's beliefs about the use of the boys' Swahili in her classroom.

Future professional development opportunities for teachers like Ms. Jackson could draw upon linguistically responsive frameworks like Lucas and Villegas' (2013) to help teachers unpack orientations and pedagogical knowledge and skills about teaching culturally and linguistically diverse children and challenge common monolingual ideologies. Additionally, Kibler and Roman (2013) believe teacher educators should:

1. design learning activities that guide teachers to critically analyze the feasibility and implications of certain instructional strategies in their classrooms given their institutional settings;
2. encourage them to personalize what a practice like "native-language use" could look like in their settings; and
3. legitimize the merits of the above-mentioned approaches by asking for and incorporating feedback from teachers as they complete professional development (p. 204).

SCPS and other districts serving linguistically diverse students could use the above approach in their newcomer PLCs, as each school has its own unique set of culturally and linguistically diverse students.

Recommendations for Practice

Along with professional development, schools and teachers can consider the following recommendations for practice in classrooms and schools to address the

growing diversity in the student population. First, educators can draw upon students'

other languages in formal and informal spaces, using tools such as Google Translate

(used by Ms. Jackson at the beginning of Chapter 1), YouTube, or other technology to

facilitate opportunities where students can participate in languages other than English.

Furthermore, English speakers have the opportunity to learn other languages, which may

lead to a more open environment in which any language is tolerated or valued.

Additionally, students could create their own bilingual dictionaries throughout the school

year and share with others or leave behind for future students.

Educators at schools can also increase the number of culturally relevant books at

the school library and within classroom libraries to facilitate opportunities in exploring

diversity in various ways. For example, *Lailah's Lunchbox: A Ramadan Story* (Faruqi,

2015) introduces the reader to a girl from Abu Dhabi who is new to the U.S. and

celebrating Ramadan. She wants to tell her teacher she is not eating lunch because she is

fasting. Educators can use children's literature like the book mentioned above to examine

and discuss ideas around families, cultures, and more as students from different

backgrounds attend U.S. schools.

Admittedly, it may be a challenge to teachers and educators to have a trained

interpreter like Joseph readily available, but drawing upon informal resources such as

family or community members, local business owners, and siblings or children who have

attended school longer in English may offer some linguistic or cultural assistance to

educators who do not have the language background of their students. Recruiting a family

member or local community member could assist teachers in interpreting and translating

through the school year for events like parent teacher conferences or completing

homework, etc. Most importantly, educators should seek understanding of their students'

backgrounds and languages and make some sort of attempt to learn some of their

languages through the year.

Future Research

This case study followed Ms. Jackson over the course of several months and

lessons to understand how Discourses circulated in her ESL instruction for Adish, Basam,

Gabriel, and Sony. Following the boys throughout their K-12 education (and beyond)

would contribute more understanding to their development as students in U.S. schools

and the ideologies that constituted their learning spaces. Furthermore, following Ms.

Jackson throughout her teaching career would be valuable in constructing a longitudinal

understanding in her ideological becoming, especially as she cultivates a system of

beliefs around her literacy and language teaching and the influences on the culturally and

linguistically diverse children in her classroom. This dissertation provides a marginal

understanding of Ms. Jackson at the beginning of her teaching career and at this moment

in time with four newly arrived Congolese students in her classroom. The examination of

her teaching career on a larger scale could provide insight on the influences and

intersections of varying ideologies and Discourses, such as the ELLT Discourse and the

Discourse about Refugees, in her classroom and her teacher identity as an ESL newcomer

literacy teacher. The complexities of the Discourse about Refugees may be further

understood by studying other refugee groups in Ms. Jackson's classroom as well. Further

research on other growing refugee groups in the city and the U.S., such as the Nepalese

and Iraqi communities, would strengthen refugee literacy and learning scholarship in K-

12 settings, and sharing findings would contribute and boost cultural and linguistic

awareness in schools as more diverse refugee communities resettle in the city and schools.

Further qualitative study of the Congolese population is critical in the future for several reasons. First, the study of Congolese girls in K-12 education would add another layer of complexity in understanding this particular population and their literacy and language learning experiences. In my learning about the Congolese refugee experiences, I came across reports of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in the DRC. The U.S. Agency for International Development (n.d.) further explains, "Deep-seated gender discrimination, harmful cultural practices, and the low social status of women and girls in the DRC contribute to high rates of SGBV…[and] continued population displacement, insecurity, and conflict perpetuate the cycle of violence against women and girls." Ms. Jackson's method of grouping students afforded me the opportunity to work with Congolese boys and I believe the study of Congolese girls would be important to contribute more intersectional research on gender and African refugee resettlement in school spaces in the U.S.

Second, more research about Congolese schooling experiences may add understanding about the ways children navigate between collective and individual cultures in schooling contexts. The collective nature of the Congolese at Baumgartner Elementary challenged the ESL teacher and administrative staff in ways that remain to be seen in terms of their scope and influence and suggest the presence of Congolese refugees may shape existing ways of teaching and learning at the school.

Lastly, I believe further qualitative research on refugees and trauma is worth pursuing. Research on phenomenon like adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) currently

explores the effects of abuse, neglect, and household challenges in a child's life and the links to what the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (n.d.) calls "risky behavior, psychological issues, serious illness, and the leading causes of death." Educators at Baumgartner reflected on how the school had measures in place to address issues like domestic violence and substance abuse but acknowledged they felt ill-equipped to address what they considered more intense forms of trauma, like violence from war or persecution. Ms. Hutto told me, "We don't know how to make it better."

Conclusion

I selected the Congolese children and their ESL newcomer literacy teacher as the focus of this case study in order to contribute to the scholarship about groups of refugees that are minimally featured or absent in K-12 second language research. In doing so, I was afforded the privilege of entering a space where I observed Ms. Jackson, Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony with curiosity and admiration as they learned together and developed their ideological selves in a learning context—new to both teacher and student. Ball and Freedman (2004) implore literacy researchers and educators to "take diversity seriously and see how it can be a resource… seek to understand the mechanisms of growth and change, which is always occurring… and understand peoples' struggles to creatively manage those tensions and conflicts that are critical to learning" (p. 9). I believe that the processes that took place as part of Ms. Jackson's and her students' ideological becoming reflected a larger phenomenon taking place across the U.S. as more teachers are faced with emerging diversity in their classrooms. Ms. Jackson's classroom was situated in deeply entrenched ideologies about English literacy and language learning and she faced conflicting belief systems as she developed her teacher identity and took up

certain practices in her classroom to teach students like Adish, Basam, Gabriel, and Sony, which could influence ways of being, knowing, acting, believing for the future.

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Appendix A

Student Interview Protocol

Interview One

1. What do you like about school?
2. Do you like learning English?
        a. Why do you want to learn English?
        b. How do you feel about using English at school?
3. If you wanted your teacher to know one thing about you, what would it be?
4. Tell me when learning English is really easy.
5. When is learning English really hard?
6. Do you read at home?
        a. What do you read?
7. Do you help your family learn English?
        a. What do you do to help?
8. What are the books you guys like to read at school?
9. What language do you speak the most?
10. If there was something you wanted to tell Ms. Jackson about learning English, what would it be?

Interview Two

Watch a video about life in Nyarugusu: ask boys about what school was like in Africa

   1. How do you feel about Swahili/Kibembe/Kinyarwanda at school?
   2. How did you feel about the art projects we did? (collage, painting, comic books)
   3. How do you feel about using computers and iPads at school?
   4. What would you tell somebody new to the city from the Congo?

Appendix B

Teacher Interview

Adapted and modified from: Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The Dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Interview 1: Teaching and Literacy Background

1. Tell me about your teaching history.
2. Tell me about your life as a literate person- how do you feel about literacy?
3. Describe literacy teaching in your classroom. How does it reflect your values? How does it reflect the district's values?
4. Tell me about (student). What is your relationship with him/her? What is her/his story?

Interview 2: ESL Teaching

1. How comfortable are you teaching English Language Learners now?
    a. Tell me about the influences that shape your teaching.
    b. Did you see students learn literacy and English the way you hoped?
    c. What are your goals for next year?
2. Where do you see your students in 10 years?
3. Describe your relationship with parents of the students in your classroom.
4. What advice would you give a teacher who will be taking a new job at Baumgartner next year and have students from the Congo?

Appendix C

Administrative and Staff Member Interview Protocol

Principal Interview

1. How do you think children learn to read and write?
   a. How do you think language learning occurs?
2. Describe what you do to support teachers who have language learners in their room.
   a. How do you support the ESL teachers here? (newcomer PLC, for example)
3. What do you hope for the school as the ELL population increases?

Counselor Interview

1. Tell me about your career history at Baumgartner.
2. Tell me what you've learned about the Congolese population at the school.
3. Describe what you do to support teachers who have language learners in their room.
4. Tell me about how the school uses WIDA for language learners.
   a. What about accommodations?
5. How do you think children learn to read and write?
   a. How do you think language learning occurs?
   b. Are there other ways to measure language development?
6. What do you hope for the school as the ELL population increases?

Appendix D

Family Interview Protocol

1. Tell us about your life in the camp before coming to the city.
2. What did a day in the camp look like?
3. What is living in the city like?
4. What do you think of the schools in the city?
5. How do you think your son feels about Baumgartner or Ms. Jackson?

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Education

Doctor of Philosophy in Curriculum and Instruction   2019
Dissertation Title: "Discourses in Practice: A Qualitative
Case Study of an Elementary ESL Teacher and her Four
Congolese Students
University of Louisville
Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

Master of Education in Educational Leadership   2012
Sam Houston State University

Bachelor of Arts in Elementary Education   2009
University of Iowa
English as a Second Language
Spanish

Teaching

Instructor- Clinical Methods
EDTP 320: Methods for Teaching Reading/Language Arts P-5   2018-2019
- Taught three sections of a clinical reading methods course to second-semester teacher education students as part of a Signature Partnership Initiative
- Mentored and supervised 48 teacher education students in reading instructional strategies, collecting and reporting child case study data, examining language development, and the teaching of reading structures (read alouds, shared reading, guided reading, small group)
- Collaborated with the University of Louisville and the local elementary school in maintaining mutually beneficial relationships through leading meetings and developing goals and expectations

- Adapted curricular content to respond to emergent teacher education trends

Instructor- Clinical Methods
EDTP 311: Introduction to Reading/Language Arts P-5   2017-2018
- Taught three iterations of a clinical writing methods course to first-semester teacher education students as part of a Signature Partnership Initiative
- Mentored 40 teacher education students in writing methods, creating units of study, and collecting and reporting child case study data
- Collaborated with the University of Louisville and the local elementary school in maintaining mutually beneficial relationships through leading meetings and developing goals and expectations
- Collaborated with other EDTP:311 instructors to revise assessments with course and teaching standards in order to establish consistency across teacher preparation and development

Teaching Assistant- Clinical Methods
EDTP 311: Introduction to Reading/Language Arts P-5   2016
- Advised faculty in creating curriculum and assessments for a teacher education course on writing methods
- Attended meetings and conferences with faculty and students

EDTP 328: Building Learning Communities   2016
- Advised faculty in creating curriculum and assessments for a teacher education course about classroom learning communities and classroom management
- Attended meetings and conferences with faculty and students

Teaching Assistant- Distance Education
EDAP 642: Literacy Learning and Cultural Differences   2016
- Brainstormed with faculty in creating curriculum and assessment for an online course
- Managed course content and provided feedback to students
- Supported students with technology use and creativity through the use of different applications
- Created an independent week of instruction for students, specifically for English Language Learning
- Established accountability measures for students' academic success
- Implemented best practices in online education to build community

K-12 Classroom Teacher

American School Foundation of Monterrey, Monterrey, Mexico   2012-2015
Second grade homeroom teacher
- Served as grade level leader

- Piloted two learning management systems (Haiku and Schoology) through a task force committee
- Collaborated with teachers, coaches, and administrators for literacy unit planning and interdisciplinary curriculum
- Participated in Lesson Study group in collaboratively planning, teaching, observing, revising and disseminating results
- Analyzed assessment data for instructional planning

Carroll Elementary, Houston, Texas   2010-2012
Third grade homeroom teacher
- Taught math and science in bilingual and transitional program
- Served as Student Survey Committee coordinator

Calvert Elementary, Houston, Texas   2009-2010
Third grade homeroom teacher
- Integrated across reading, writing, science, math, and social studies

Research

Graduate Research Assistant   2015-2019
- Collected qualitative data for multiple early childhood and elementary education projects including:
    - examining gender representation in picture books with four-year-old children
    - studying and implementing culturally responsive curriculum with practicing teachers in the local school district
    - studying the professionalization of early childhood teachers
- Advised one kindergarten and one first-grade classroom teacher in inquiry-based curriculum implementation
- Analyzed data through grounded theory framework and NVIVO qualitative software
- Taught University of Louisville faculty how to use NVIVO qualitative software through one-on-one consultations
- Presented findings at national conferences
- Managed social media platforms to disseminate research and connect to stakeholders
- Assisted in generating program evaluation reports for local early childhood stakeholders
- Assisted in editing chapters for a published book
- Assisted in coordinating a retreat for members of a professional organization

Grant Research Assistant   2016-2018
Wolniak, G. (PI) & George-Jackson, C.E. (Co-PI). Improving Transparency in College Costs: Examining College Attendance in the era of Differential Tuition

Practices. Spencer Foundation, 2016-2018 (funded: $50,000; May 1, 2016 – December 31, 2017)

- Collected user data for college tuition differential project
- Established national database for college tuition information
- Conducted a literature review
- Co-designed case study protocol with faculty at different institutions
- Trained other research assistants on data collection procedures
- Developed "College Tuition and Cost Information Quality" rubric
- Participated in rubric pilot testing
- Presented findings at a national conference
- Gained insight on grant development and resource management
- Balanced multiple projects and needs through problem-solving and task analysis

Research Assistant   2015
Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation

- Conducted preschool observations using a scale and a classroom narrative description
- Obtained CLASS certification for Infant and Toddler observations (valid for the 2015-2016 year)
- Communicated research through reports for local stakeholders

Publications

Published Book Reviews

Zuccaro, E.L. (2016). Review of: *English Language Learners and the New Standards: Developing Language, Content Knowledge, and Analytical Practices in the Classroom.* Harvard Education Press, 2015. *Language Arts, (93)*5, 388-390.

Refereed Journal Articles

Whitmore, K.F., Angleton, C., & **Zuccaro, E.L.** (2016) Picturebooks and Gender: Making informed choices for equitable early childhood classrooms. *Mid-South Literacy Journal, 2*(1), 14-20.

Book Chapters

Zuccaro, E.L. (2019, in progress). Positioning students as writers: A discourse analysis in teacher education. In M. Overstreet & L. Norton-Meier (Eds.), *Clinical partnerships in urban elementary settings: An honest celebration of the messy realities of doing this work.* (pp. XX-XX). Netherlands: Brill Publisher.

Whitmore, K.F. & **Zuccaro, E.L.** (2017). Digital observers, explorers and teachers in preschool. In Meyer, R.M. & Whitmore, K.F. (Eds.) *Reclaiming Early Childhood Literacies: Narratives of Hope, Power, and Vision,* pp. 75-78. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.

Conference Presentations

Zuccaro, E.L. (proposed). "Trying to Figure it Out, But by Golly, I'll Get There": A Study of the Ideological Becoming of an ESL Teacher and her Refugee Students. 2019 Literacy Research Association. Tampa, Florida.

Norton-Meier, L.,Overstreet, M., Id-Deen, L., Davis, T., Nightengale-Lee, B., Zuccaro, E.L., & Swanson, A. (2019, February). *Clinical Partnerships in Urban Elementary Settings: An Honest Celebration of the Messy Realities of Doing this Work.* A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. Louisville, KY.

Norton-Meier, L. & **Zuccaro, E.L.** (2018). *"Let's be MERMAIDS!" Dreaming, creating, and reimagining ourselves in the world through a digital media writer's workshop in early elementary classrooms.* National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington, D.C.

Zuccaro, E.L., Angleton, C., & Langston-Demott, B. (2018). *Reflective Tools for Choosing High Quality Picturebooks in Equitable Classrooms.* National Council of Teachers of English, Houston, TX.

Davis, L.A., Wolniak, G.C., George, C.E., Nelson, G., Kwon, C., & **Zuccaro, E.L.** (2018) *Demystifying Tuition: Building a Framework for Information Quality and Accessibility.* American Educational Research Association, New York, NY.

Zuccaro, E.L., Angleton, C., & Langston-Demott, B. (2017). *Critical Literacy and Gender: Reflective Tools for Choosing High Quality Picturebooks.* National Council of Teachers of English, St. Louis, MO.

Zuccaro, E.L. (2017). *Cuban Literacy Practices and Literate Identities.* Doctoral Research Roundtable Forum. Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Seattle, WA.

Zuccaro, E.L. (November, 2016). *Identity and Agency: The Formation of Additional Literate Identities in Foreign-Born Populations.* Paper presented at the L. Ramon Veal Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the National Council of Teachers of English, Atlanta, GA.

Zuccaro, E.L., Angleton, C., Henderson, J., Warren, K., Laman, T.T., & Whitmore, K.F. (July, 2016). *Reclaiming curiosity: Having the courage to inquire with kids.* Literacies for All Summer Institute, St. Louis, MO.

Other Publications

Davis, L., Wolniak, G.C., George, C.E., Nelson, G., Kwon, C**., Zuccaro, E.L**. (2018, April).
Demystifying tuition: Building a framework for information quality and accessibility. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, NY.

Whitmore, K.F. & **Zuccaro, E.L.** (2016). The power of critical inquiry in primary learning. *Envision Equity: Diversity, Equity, and Poverty Programs.* Summer, 11.

Whitmore, K.F. & **Zuccaro, E.L.** (2016). Culturally responsive dyads present at national conference. *Envision Equity: Diversity, Equity, and Poverty Programs.* February, 13.

Whitmore, K.F. & **Zuccaro, E.L.** (2015). Culturally responsive early childhood curriculum. *Envision Equity: Diversity, Equity, and Poverty Programs.* October, 6.

Service

Professional Service

Kentucky P-12 Policy Analyst
National Council of Teachers of English
- Tracked state and national policy and program development in English Language Arts and literacy

Campus Liaison
Division G- Social Context
American Education Research Association

Review Panelist
Division G, Section 3
American Education Research Association

Classroom Teacher Grant Reviewer
Kappa Delta Pi

University Service

Conference Chair
University of Louisville College of Education and Human Development
Spring Research Conference

University of Louisville Campus Liaison
Teachers Applying Whole Language

Graduate Student Co-Sponsor
University of Louisville Chapter
Kentucky Education Association (KEA)

Early Childhood and Elementary Education Representative
Graduate Student Council

Selection Committee
Graduate Student Council Member
Paul Weber Award for Departmental Excellence in Teaching

Standards and Admissions Committee
Student Representative
College of Education and Human Development

Professional Development

Community Engagement Academy   2017- 2018

University of Louisville Delphi Center for Teaching and Learning
May 2016
Delphi University: Principles of Online Course Design

Professional Memberships

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)
National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE)
 • KY Policy representative; Policy Analysis Initiative
American Education Research Association (AERA)
International Literacy Association (ILA)
Literacy Research Association (LRA)

Awards

Graduate Assistantship   2015- 2019
Department of Early Childhood and Elementary Education

Research and Faculty Development Grant
        October 2017
College of Education and Human Development

Languages

Spanish