

**RE-positioning English Learners in Teacher Development:
A Language Ideologies Approach to Urban Education**

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THESIS

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Dedicated to all those who are battling with cancer and to the loved ones who fight alongside. In loving memory of Jeannie Rumenapp, *mother* and *friend*.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. Purpose Statement	3
B. Research Questions	8
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	9
A. Cultural Historical Activity Theory	9
B. Language Ideologies	13
C. Positioning	17
D. Literature Review of Positioning of Teachers and ELs	25
E. Sociocultural Models of Professional Development	28
F. Action Research as a Professional Development Tool	32
G. Summary	36
III. METHODOLOGY	38
A. Design: Ethnography of Communication and Case Study	38
B. The University-School Partnership	41
C. Context of the Study	45
D. Data Collection	55
E. Data Analysis	59
F. Summary	71
IV. THE BORDER	72
A. Introduction	72

B.	Ethicizing Chinatown: National, Local, and School Wide Level	82
C.	Politicizing “Chinatown”: National, Local, School	110
D.	Commoditizing Chinatown	124
E.	Summary of the Ecology	130
V.	SEEING THE OTHER SIDE	133
A.	Introduction	134
B.	Learner Identities: From finding funds to the work around.	136
C.	Social Identities: From Passive Learners to Community Changers.	143
D.	Discourse analysis: Challenging language ideologies.	156
E.	Summary	167
VI.	BUILDING THE BRIDGE	170
A.	Introduction	170
B.	Reviewing a Framework	173
C.	Allison: Background	174
D.	Allison’s Class	186
E.	Transforming teaching through Action Research	187
F.	Learning about the students: Studying funds of knowledge.	187
G.	Small Group Discourse Analysis.	207
H.	Discourse Analysis and Classroom Interaction.	218
I.	Summary	225
VII.	DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	226
A.	Review of findings	227
B.	Connection to Educational issues (Problem)	229
C.	Connection to Primary Research Fields (Theory)	237

D. Implications	240
E. Limitations and further research	246
F. Conclusion:	250
REFERENCES	252
APPENDICIES	
Appendix A	265
Appendix B	268
Appendix C	269
Appendix D	270
Appendix E	274
Appendix F	276
Appendix G	278
Appendix H	279
Appendix I	280
Appendix J	282
VITA	283

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
I. PARTICIPANT INFORMATION	48
II. ALLISON'S FOCAL GROUP STUDENTS	52
III. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA COLLECTION	58
IV. CODING CORRELATIONS	63
V. CODING INSTANCES	65
VI. THREE PROCESSES OCCURING IN CHINATOWN	81

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. Conceptual framework and relationship to literature review	36
2. Conceptual framework and relationship to research question	39
3. Project timeline	45
4. Timeline of teacher meetings	60
5. Ecology of Warner Elementary School	76
6. Processes occurring on multiple ecological levels	79
7. Homepage of Warner's website	93
8. First grade past, present, and future activity	108
9. Four changes in Allison's action research study	171
10. Allison's identity and language ideologies	186
11. Crossing the boundaries between school and home	193
12. Visiting homes to cross boundaries	205
13. Min Hin and Wei Sheng writing sample	211
14. Classroom setup for Nov. 10, 2010 and May 9, 2011	221
15. Lee's classroom setup	223
16. Teacher learning through discourse analysis	224
17. Relationship of findings	228

SUMMARY

As urban schools grow more and more linguistically diverse, there is an increasing need for teachers with expertise in teaching English Learners. Teachers are seeking education and development opportunities to continue to learn about how to address the needs of their students despite increasingly strict regulations on curricula and assessments. This study follows a group of teachers engaged in action research through a year-long professional development model. The teachers in this study work in a Midwestern Chinatown and grapple with issues of language, ethnicity, and other sociological factors they encounter in their classroom.

Through a qualitative case study, this inquiry examined how students are positioned in a school in a Chinatown with a specific focus on how national and local features of “Chinatown” are implicated in the way teachers position students throughout an action research project. National and local features of “Chinatown” are emphasized to show how teachers, in a professional development program, learn to re-position the students. In this spirit and drawing on sociocultural models of professional development, positioning theory (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999), Cultural Historical Activity Theory (Engeström, 1999), and Language Ideologies in learning contexts (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2011), I looked specifically at how teachers reposition students into more equitable social and learning roles by engaging in action research.

Findings include that there is a dominant ideological construct of “Chinatown” that is reimagined in the school and is implicated in social interaction within the school. As teachers engage in a collaborative research project, looking at students’ funds of knowledge and discourse, they reposition students socially and in the classroom context. Dominant, homogeneous constructs are complicated and challenged. Finally, I present a case study of one

teacher to illustrate how she used action research as a form of on-going professional development for working with ELs.

This study has implications for professional development and teacher education for teachers of ELs. Specifically, teachers can complicate dominant ideological constructs through visiting homes or doing a close analysis of the students' cultural practices, thereby repositioning students. Additionally, teachers can reposition students in classrooms by studying the discourse and patterns of talk of classroom activities. Action research, as conceptualized in this study, can be a useful professional development tool. In the current study, this professional development model is seen as useful in the way teachers reposition their EL students.

I. INTRODUCTION

As our nation's students become increasingly diverse, our nation's classrooms are experiencing an exponential increase in the pressures to standardize teaching and learning. Educational reforms are forcing more standardized curricula upon districts and schools as corporate producers of curricula seek mass clients to institute their products at a classroom level. It isn't uncommon for a curriculum from one state to be used in a school halfway across the nation with classrooms of students and teachers that look, speak, and live much differently than the location where the lessons were developed or piloted. Still, through an intricate set of bureaucratic transactions, increasing diversity is being dominated by increasing conformity. This paradox is, of course, nothing new to educational researchers, nor is it new to teachers. In fact, many teachers are asking for real, tangible help to understand and work in classrooms with a growing number of English Learners.

An increase in linguistic diversity has been recognized in our educational system. In Illinois schools alone, from 1998-2008, the English Learner (EL¹) population grew nearly 29% (from 136,186 to 175,454) while the total population of students grew by only 6% (from 1,995,289 to 2,112,805) (Illinois Rate of EL Growth, 2010). Yet, amidst this increase of diverse voices we still hear the call for a single, standard educational outcome. Three states have implemented strict English only laws for Education (Proposition 227, California, 1998; Proposition 203, Arizona, 2000; Question 2, Massachusetts, 2002), even though some (i.e.

¹ When I use the acronym "ELL" I am indexing the institutionally defined role "English Language Learner," the common expression of students who speak a different language than English and are learning English. I reserve "LEP" only when necessary, as in quoting official school designations. "LMS" or "Language minority student," is another term used to describe this population, although it emphasizes a "minority" status, so I will not be using it here. "Second Language Learner" is another label, but because we are specifically talking about learning English, I will use the term "English Learner" (EL). EL differs from ELL in one major way; ideologically what is being emphasized in ELL is the learning of the code. EL, on the other hand, takes a stance apart from this by attempting to implicitly include other social practices of English.

Colorado and Illinois) have rejected similar laws. When No Child Left Behind (NCLB) took effect, the federal office of bilingual education was changed its name to the Office of English Language Acquisition, focusing the mission on English language proficiency. Strategy after strategy, curriculum after curriculum has been proposed to help “fix” the bilingual “problem” and achieve English proficiency through education. Even in places where there is bilingual education, it often seems to value English over the language of the community (subtractive bilingualism, [e.g. Baker, 2006]). Thus, the increase of linguistic diversity seems to stand in direct opposition to the educational conformity advocated by NCLB, Race to the Top, and other top-down policies (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Ravitch, 2010).

Teachers step into the classrooms where political and corporate values and interests often compete with those of students, their families, and their communities. Teachers who have gone to college and have obtained certification for the profession are given standardized curriculum, demeaning a profession to roughly that of an automated information disseminator. Of course, our teachers do much more than this, but a frequent call of teachers is for more and better professional development and the freedom to teach what they, as professionals, know is best for their students. With the mandated curricula and mandated tests, public school teachers are tasked with the job to conform their students to the picturesque version of the educated American, highly ironic for an education system that had such promise from the likes of John Dewey who underscored a very different picture of democracy and education (1916). Fundamentally these battles over conformity and diversity are deeply rooted in a complex society. The tensions seen in classrooms are a small glimpse into the tensions we face in society at large. Even recent political debates involving various politicians seem to include, at least in part, a discussion of what counts as American (i.e. versus “illegal” immigrant), how we know (citizenship, visa,

Official English and history) and to what extent America is diverse. However, blinded by our cultural norms and worldviews, it seems much easier to blame and insult certain political stances than it does to unpack the deep roots of our own beliefs about linguistic diversity.

Furthermore, the professional development of teachers to work in linguistically diverse classrooms has major implications for teaching. Around the nation teachers, researchers, politicians, parents, and our students are trying to understand how learning happens, what are best practices, and who is responsible for which students. We, as researchers and teachers, are seeking to understand the interplays between classroom teaching, language, culture, and identity. Thus, research is needed to pull these themes together to provide deeper understanding to address issues of diverse learners in our classrooms.

Purpose Statement

This study is primarily intended to shed light on the complex contexts in which teachers of English Learners navigate their day-to-day lives and how they negotiate that space through a professional development paradigm based on sociocultural theories of learning. Therefore, I specifically want to look at how teachers understand their EL students and their multifaceted identities and how that changes when they take up research methodologies to study the interplay of language and social identity, specifically in learning contexts.

One could assume, for the sake of argument, that politicians, teachers, and other stakeholders generally have a genuine concern for educating our students. The political and ideological contestation comes about when we seek to answer the following questions: *what is education, how do we do education, why do we educate our children, and even who are our children*. We often approach these questions with little examination. The answers seem to be common sense like so many of the “normal” things we do in education in the United States.

However, these simple, common sense answers can no longer satisfy the increasingly diverse population of American students, though it may satisfy the ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic elite who maintain power politically. To operate by our common senses is dangerous. We are morally obligated to reflect on cultural norms and worldviews and challenge them if necessary. Gee wrote “one always has the moral obligation to change a cultural model into a primary theory when there is reason to believe that the cultural model advantages oneself or one’s group over other people or other groups” (2008, p. 26). As we look at the American education system today, we can see that there is an advantaging of some groups over others (e.g. Darling-Hammond, 2010). These groups are differentiated along socioeconomic, ethnic, and also linguistic lines. Thus, we need to revisit the common sense approaches to education, make our assumptions explicit, and assess to see if they really are socially just.

In a previous paper (Rumenapp, 2012, April) I presented how in a 31 minute classroom lesson a 6th grade Chinese-American teacher, Allison, took up multiple social positions. These positions, or social identities, were competing and shifting. Through the structural set up of the classroom and discourse style she drew upon multiple different views of language, understanding the way the structure of language relates to social interaction in multiple ways. Allison also, through using cultural symbols of technology and car manufacturing position the students as “foreigners” because they are of Chinese descent, while also counting them among “we Americans” in other moments of speech. As I saw these multiple positions being taken up in the classroom, I realized that “culturally responsive” education (e.g. Delpit, 1995; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994) was not going to completely address the social complexity in classroom such as this. Large sociological categories, like race, ethnicity, age, gender, and so forth are not fine-tuned enough to understand how teachers navigate complex spaces.

Some, like Ladson-Billings (1994), do indeed push us to think beyond race and ethnicity and consider the individual resources brought to the classroom, but to do this, we need to not only deconstruct race, ethnicity, and dominant stereotypes, but we need to research them! These dominant identities are presumed upon students and may be taken up as a symbolic resource. Li (2001) discusses the concept of cultural responsive teaching and urges that teachers first need to study their own beliefs and practices. Therefore, rather than using a metaphor of “responding” to culture, we need to be able to study it, theorize about it, and use those findings to inform teaching practice. This metaphor has been challenged by others, like Django Paris (2012) who favored the term *culturally sustaining pedagogy*. This movement problematizes much of the culturally responsive literature by attempting to foster cultural pluralism in schools. Still, I wonder if the goal of these focuses on multiculturalism, in the end, lead only to the essentialization of non-dominant groups, a critique that may, by extension, be seen from an historical point of view. Prashad (2002) pointed out that the assumption of a “pure” culture was a myth, and that *pluriculturalism* serves as a better metaphor than *multiculturalism* as it underscores the constant change. With these critiques in mind, I argue that we as researchers in education need to complicate such monolithic assumptions about “culture” with the teachers with whom we work. I draw upon anthropological theories and methods to problematize “culture” and argue that teachers could use these theories and methods in their classrooms. In other words, we need to develop a praxis, both as researchers and teachers. Furthermore, I wondered how, if the education system institutionally reinforces standardization upon complex situations, do teachers understand themselves in relation to the classroom, stuck between a dominant education system and complex students?

A primary concern, then, is that our teachers are adequately prepared to navigate these competing worldviews. How do teachers position social agents in the classroom amidst the collision of worlds in their classroom? As the government is expecting a standard, uniformed education, the students are in demanding need of diverse and individualized learning or, at least, a culturally responsive education. Again, understanding the problems in education to rest on a broad concept of “culture” does not really get at the complexities of social positions enacted in the classroom, therefore, understanding how teachers view student and teacher roles becomes a primary goal of research.

Teaching second language learners brings certain complexities to our classrooms that researchers are attempting to address on multiple levels. Yet, rarely is that research actually making its way into classrooms where it is needed. Therefore, rather than simply researching language minority population, researchers should be addressing the critical issues on the ground level and at the policy level. Leung, Harris, and Rampton (2009) write that there are at least three strategies to address the complexities of classrooms for TESOL in England, which, by extension, could be applied to the English Language Learner classrooms in the United States. These three issues are (1) studying the “patterns of language use and social identity;” (2) “educators need to address the actual language use, ethnicity, and culture of the bilingual learner;” and (3) by drawing on the first two strategies they can “develop specific, precise, and differentiated English language pedagogies” (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 2009, p. 139). Indeed, this is a great start for language learning classrooms, but the educational context in the United States is such that teachers are rarely focused on TESOL in elementary schools, and in elementary schools many teachers are expected to accommodate English Learners with little or no support! Therefore, teachers in today’s day and age need to do deep cultural and linguistic

analyses of their classrooms and society at large, their students and the students' families, and develop informed pedagogies and curricula. Additionally, these same issues need to be addressed in the content areas as well as in English instruction.

Classrooms of English Learners (EL) demonstrate that the political climate around ESL and bilingual education are quite complex asserting challenges from top-down (e.g. Crawford, 2000) policy mandates. Test agencies and curriculum developers are still launching standardized textbooks and other products (e.g. De Castell, 1990), which continue to be a major economic enterprise. Our students are still facing a much-misunderstood linguistic complexity in their homes, communities, and schools (e.g. Orellana, 2009). The teachers of ELs, in many ways as much as the students themselves, are caught in the middle. Professional development and teacher education opportunities in which teachers can continuously examine their own beliefs and practices over time through a close examination of their teaching and students is a crucial component in addressing the position of EL students in classroom contexts. Teachers can use research tools to understand their students in new and complex ways as well as to develop curriculum and pedagogies that privilege the resources students bring to the classroom. The question remains, how do we do this in the urban contexts of education in the United States?

I want to invoke a metaphor that has been used extensively when talking about culturally and linguistically diverse learners, that of "border crossing." The metaphor seems to be rooted in an understanding of nationalist politics and immigration debates in which families and communities are transnational (e.g. Giroux, 2011; González, 2001; Farr, 2006; Li, 2001). Here, I use the metaphor to describe the barrier that often exists between schools and families and between schools and communities. I think this metaphor captures the essence of this research. As students come to schools, their cultures are not understood, they are already stereotyped, and

their language doesn't count. Therefore, it is as if they step across a border, even when they merely cross the street. This is also a story about teachers. It is a story about teachers who intentionally seek out opportunities to learn about their students, to learn about second language learning, and to challenge dominant assumptions about their students cast upon them from dominant ideological structures. It is a story about how teachers are powerful agents who can blur the boundaries of these borders for their students and how teacher action research serves as a meaningful professional development experience to put this power in their hands.

Research Questions

To address the problem and understand how teachers are pushing back against dominant ideological assumptions about language, ethnicity, and culture in their classrooms of students who are linguistically, ethnically, and culturally diverse I will answer the following questions in a specific context, Warner Elementary School:

- 1) How are ELs at Warner positioned socially?
- 2) How do teachers at Warner reposition ELs through action research?
- 3) How does a teacher at Warner develop in the way she repositions her ELs?

By "position," I draw on Harré and van Lagenhove's (1992) theory, specifically that a person can be positioned by another even in his or her absence, and that there are close moral ties to the act of positioning. These research questions developed through a grounded theory approach to research (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). It is impossible to suspend our theories, hypotheses, and assumptions of a research topic or context; however, I remained open to revise my understanding of the data. One thing that happened during the time I was conducting and analyzing my field work was that the above research questions emerged. The questions arose from a study that was framed by a rich theoretical context, which I will now present.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of a literature review is to situate my study among research and theory relevant to my question, or ground it so to speak, in existing literature (Maxwell, 2005).

Particularly, there are three frameworks that must be brought to bear on my question, namely Cultural Historical Activity Theory (e.g. Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Cole, 1998; Engeström, 1999), Language Ideologies (e.g. Irvine & Gal, 2000; Razfar, 2005; Razfar & Rumenapp, 2011), and positioning (e.g. Wortham, 2000). These three frameworks provide the conceptual basis for my questions as they provide the lens through which I am looking.

Cultural Historical Activity Theory

In 2006 the *National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth* reported on several findings from a major review of research related to EL instruction. One of the findings suggested that out of six sociocultural factors identified in the reviewed research, none were found to significantly impact literacy achievement or development. August and Shanahan (2006) write the following in the “Executive Summary”:

The [sociocultural] research does suggest that bridging home–school differences in interaction patterns or styles can enhance students’ engagement, motivation, and participation in classroom instruction. This finding is not trivial, but it is still important to determine if bridging home–school differences consequently improves literacy achievement or development.

The research also suggests that students perform better when they read or use material that is in the language they know better. Culturally meaningful or familiar reading material also appears to facilitate comprehension, but this is a relatively weak predictor of reading comprehension compared to the language of the material and students’ proficiency in that language.” (p. 7).

This report was a synthesis of experimental and quasi-experimental studies to improve reading instruction for ELs, and by doing so, looks at sociocultural factors as tangentially related to classroom practices. It is important to point out that the executive summary noted that there is something that seems to happen when the home-school bridges, so to speak, are crossed, but that

it is not necessarily related to literacy development. I view my study as looking at these “sociocultural” factors, but for very different reasons than this report. I want to understand how teachers in classrooms position their students. I think this has implications that address the report. If teachers are provided with opportunities for deep and reflective professional development, as may be the case with action research, then the teachers may be more sensitive to culturally meaningful texts as well as have a better understanding of the texts and reading abilities of students in multiple languages. For example, there is no need to hand all Chinese students a translation of a form or writing sample in Chinese if they do not read Chinese. That may even serve to marginalize the students. Beyond large scale research with predictors on reading comprehensions is the need for teachers to engage in research at the grassroots level. Therefore, I want to make clear my understanding that the teachers operate as cultural brokers (e.g. Jezewski & Sotnik, 2001), in that they transverse the borders of the *official* educational structure and the local classroom context.

CHAT is a theoretical and analytic framework based on sociocultural principles like the semiotic mediation of Lev Vygotsky and the activity theory of Leontiev. As time went on, sociocultural theories took on different emphases and CHAT emerged to underscore the centrality of cultural-historical factors, which stabilize activities. CHAT is used as a framework to conceptualize the relationship between the generally fluid subjects and mediational tools, and the generally more stable rules, communities, and divisions of labor in activities all oriented toward the object, or focus of activity (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). These dynamic relationships are called an activity system, which is generally represented by the activity triangle (see Appendix A). As a theory of development, this theory holds that change (or learning) occurs through

mediation (i.e. sign symbols and material artifacts) toward an object (the focus of the activity) and is stabilized through cultural and historical processes.

More recently, developmental theories have attempted to account for the interaction or “collaboration” among activity systems (e.g. Engeström, 1999; 2001; Gutiérrez, 2008). By accounting for the interaction between activity systems, CHAT is often used as a framework to intentionally blur the lines of theory and practice (or more theoretically driven praxis) through collaborative learning (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Roth & Lee, 2007). Therefore, CHAT is used not only as an analytical tool to understand phenomena, but also as a design tool to develop praxis. I will return to the specific application of CHAT to my study in the design section under methodology, but it is important to consider here how CHAT frames my understanding of the contexts in which teachers are situated, and specifically how teachers develop in these contexts.

In line with the historicity expressed by social psychologists, is Geertz’s (1973) notion that culture is “a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men [and women] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (p. 89). Geertz emphasizes both the systematicity and the historicity of culture in his classic statement and provides a working definition of culture.

Third Space. From a CHAT theory of learning, there is the opportunity for expansive learning (Engeström, 1987) when tension arises between the learning of an individual across contexts and the learning of groups across contexts. The tensions create the possibility of new activities to resolve these tensions and produce new tensions, which in turn need to be resolved. Gutiérrez (2008) refers to this interaction of activity systems as “third space,” however, it is important to note the trajectory of Gutiérrez’s development of third space (1995, 2008). In the latest iteration of the concept, there is a dual focus on the individual and the collective sense

making. There is also a critical aspect involved in conceptualizing third space that historicizes dominant literacy practices (or other social practices) as a structure of power. Gutiérrez (2008) used the term “sociocritical” to denote the distinct critical aspects of her framing of sociocultural theories, namely CHAT. The sociocritical approach to learning builds on the intersection of sociocultural frameworks and critical social thought (Razfar, 2010). Thus, a sociocritical framework is also distinguished from other forms of critique.

In framing the role “teacher,” we must recognize that those recruited to that role in classrooms of linguistically diverse students expected to fulfill normative educational practices live in a potential “third space.” They work in a context with multiple activity systems coming together in the social interaction of the classroom. The dominant educational policies introduce a particular set of activities into the classroom. However, students from diverse backgrounds bring into the classroom different sets of potential tools, different communities, anticipate different rules, and may be oriented toward different objects than the dominant policies and curricula. The classroom becomes a space of competing activity systems, yet still all interconnected. In these contested activities, meaning making happens differently which allows for the expanded possibilities to reconcile tensions between dominant curricula and students and create new activities. Some of these activities are dominant over others. For example, in many classrooms, teacher-centered approaches to teaching with a strict *Initiate-Respond-Evaluate/Follow-up* (IRE/F) discourse style is prevalent. Often this would show that the teacher is in control of the classroom knowledge, evaluating students’ responses to her questions (Nystrand, 1997; Wells, 1993).

In connection to my first research question, I want to understand how students at Warner Elementary School are positioned by dominant society. These positions are developed though

sociocultural and historical processes. Therefore, I need to understand how the social positions presumed at a macro-social level are presumed upon students in micro-interactional contexts. Addressing my second research question, I want to know how teachers learn about students' cultural, historical, and linguistic situatedness and how they reposition the students. Because classrooms are spaces where there are competing cultural and historical activity systems, we need to understand how our teachers make sense of them and position themselves in them. Because of the competing activities in the classroom space, social actors (teachers, students, and by extension administrators and policymakers), often have different understandings of teaching and learning, how social interaction takes place, and how language and other semiotic systems are used in a class.

Language Ideologies

“Language is pretty invisible if you know it well. It is NOT invisible if you don't know it well.” This statement was made by Lily Wong Fillmore (2012) when talking about text complexity in the Common Core State Standards and ELLs. I have used this quote to frame a course I teach entitled “Linguistics for Teachers” and it has been one quote that my students keep coming back to. It is fitting to serve as a frame for my study as well, for one of the major findings was that when teachers studied the language in their classroom; they started to see how language related to wider social issues like identity, authority, and learning. Prior to studying language in action, or the discourse of their classrooms, they did not “see” language or the barriers it made in learning contexts.

Language ideologies have been described as the “common sense” ideas about language (e.g. Siegel, 2006) that we hold as a rationalization for the use (or perceived use) of certain language structures (Silverstein, 1979). Because they are the way we *believe* about language,

they often tend to render language as invisible, until those assumptions are challenged. Therefore, language ideologies are the way we make sense of the way language is used or learned. Because activity systems are unique, governed by different rules, in different communities, and so on. different language ideologies are used to make sense of social interaction in the activity. It is important to note that students and teachers are not “victims” of dominant, monolithic language ideologies but may actually contest them by offering a different view of language (e.g. Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996; Razfar & Rumenapp, 2011). While these concepts of language may be contested, they do tend to remain stable because they are often institutionalized through cultural and historical processes (Wortham, 2003).

Razfar and Rumenapp (2011) argued that folk concepts (everyday beliefs) about language, or language ideologies, are used as mediation to make sense in activities. Language practices in the classroom were found to point to, or index, more widespread systems of belief about language (e.g. a teacher telling Spanish speaking students to speak English only may index the larger symptom of an ideology like politically motivated ban on minority language use in ESL classrooms in Prop. 227 era California). By conceptualizing language ideologies as a mediational tool in the activity system, Razfar and Rumenapp draw on language ideologies research to analyze the social organizations of classrooms. Wells (2007) also pointed out the centrality of the concepts, or ideological artifacts, in meaning making as opposed to language structure (what we generally assume is typical medium of teaching and learning).

Woolard (1998) notes a duality in the conceptualization of language ideologies. On the one hand, the institutionalized cultural and historical systems of beliefs about language, such as standard language ideology, monolingualism, plurality of language use, and so forth, are referred to as the “macro-level.” On the other hand, there is the micro-level, or the ways people make

sense of social interaction by interpreting a linguistic form (e.g. words, phrases, utterances, etc.) as a certain social practice (e.g. questioning, authoritative command, etc.). However, though there is this distinction in the literature, both ways of talking about language ideologies mediate social interaction to make sense of the situation (Wortham, 2001). For my study I draw upon both of these notions. I use the notion that language ideologies mediate macro-social processes and that they also mediate micro-interactional contexts.

As sense making tools, language ideologies become the practices of taking stances toward language, language use, language users, and language learning (among other things). Wortham (2001) explains that language ideologies mediate “social identities” because people use them to make sense of the relationships, or positions, among people. Teachers, specifically of EL students, rationalize classroom practices by taking a language ideological stance, thereby positioning the self and the students within and across social events. Therefore, in the contested space where multiple activity systems collaborate (e.g. classrooms, teacher collaboratives, etc.) there is high potential for subjects to make sense of the activities differently by using different language ideologies and positioning others in diverse ways. This makes third space possible, especially if the social actors attempt to solve the tensions that arise due to the differences in social positioning. However, as evidenced in most language ideologies research, certain folk notions of language are dominant (e.g. Briggs, 1998; Silverstein, 1985; Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998; Shannon, 1995; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994) especially in minority language educational contexts (e.g. Gonzales & Melis, 2000; 2001; Razfar, 2005; 2011; Razfar & Rumenapp, 2011; 2012; Wiley & Wright, 2004). Therefore, the contested “third space” is often overlooked and a single, monolithic activity system is attended to.

Language ideologies, as a framework, is important to my study because by seeking to understand the language ideologies of teachers, and how they shift, will give a sense of how they see the world of social interaction. Silverstein (1976) used the concept of metapragmatic discourse when one describes pragmatic norms, or, in other words, when one overtly conceptualizes speech events and speech acts. As I will explain in my methodology section, my study is designed to observe metapragmatic talk so as to understand how teachers view language and other social interaction. By studying teachers' use of discourse analysis and other social research, I seek to understand how the social world is seen from the teachers' perspective and how ideologies (including language ideologies) are constructed. I draw on three constructs specifically, *iconization*, *fractal recursivity*, and *erasure* (Irvine & Gal, 2000). *Iconization* would indicate that some linguistic (or semiotic) feature is standing for a social image. This is an important point in diverse classrooms, especially if teachers take up linguistic varieties from EL students as inherently related to their social identification. If the teachers are noticing differences among students on some level, but projecting them upon students in a classroom on other levels, we can note *fractal recursivity* in which the teachers' dichotomies may lead to an *erasure* of variation. This may occur by applying the dichotomy "foreign" and "American" upon students thereby erasing the possibility of "Chinese-American" or an acknowledgement of *inbetweenness*, for example. Though, it is also important to note the tension in speech, as no one person fit perfectly into one of the ideologically dichotomized categories, but rather oscillated between them. These ideological stances, made visible through language (e.g. ELL, bilingual, etc), will help indicate how the teachers in my study are positioning themselves in relation to students.

More research is needed about how teachers use language ideologies to take stances as they stand at the borderlands of official policy and diverse classrooms. Wortham (2001), notes that people use language ideologies to make sense of the different social positions:

Language ideologies mediate social identity, because people rely on their construals of what particular linguistic patterns mean in order to identify speakers as occupying recognizable social positions. Drawing on ideologies that circulate widely in a society, particular speakers position themselves and others in characteristic ways. Consistent positioning over time can establish more enduring identities for individuals and groups. (p. 256)

We need to know how teachers make sense of the language use in multiple activities in which they are simultaneously involved. How do they take stances toward language ideologies in the third space providing the possibility of expanded learning? Furthermore, I seek to understand how teachers can shift into different language ideologies. I draw on the concepts in pragmatics, to understand how discourse analysis (e.g. Green, 1996; Schiffrin, 1994) can be used to understand the pragmatic norms of a social context. Engaging in discourse analysis is one type of a metapragmatic activity. We engage in less methodologically constrained activities consistently that are also considered metapragmatic in nature.

Positioning

Up until now I have conceptualized “stance” as an alignment toward a moral right or wrong (Ochs & Capps, 2001) and “positions” as social identities speakers take up social practice (Wortham, 2000). However, a more clear framework needs to be built to understand how I frame the questions I have proposed and why they are significant questions to ask.

Bakhtin (1981; 1986) had conceptualized a similar point in his view of dialogism. An utterance is always both a communication of information and also a way to position the self in relation to others through the “polyphony” of voices involved in speech. Therefore, in social analysis, we must attend not only to what is said in terms of content, (the denotation) but also in

terms of the social positioning of the speaker (the interaction). Wortham (1998) points out that this social positioning opens up a dialogue with others taking that same position. I am using the term “positioning” as opposed to “identity” in part because identity is only one aspect of linguistic practice that often overshadows other practices such as alterity. Hastings and Manning (2004) note that it is not possible to talk about identity without talking also about “alterity” or *otherness*, since people are always located in the social space by the self and interlocutory others. However, they also note that identity is often discussed as a static absolute rather than relational. I will use the term “identity” frequently in this study. I find it to be more accessible to readers, and it also fits well within the framework. Gee (2001) talks about identity in four different ways. The first is the natural identity (N-identity) that is applied when we assume the identity originates from the natural world. The institutional (I-identity) is assumed to be generated from the place or role within an institution. The discursive identity is the identity that is revealed in social interaction. The affinity identity (A-identity) is that with which we find a close connection. Razfar and Rumenapp (2014) expanded on this to include the learner identity, which is the “novice” to “expert” change. A final way of studying identity is through understanding how solidarity is built (S-identity). I refer to these different ways of viewing identity as NIDALS, to underscore that when we think about identity, we must also consider what type of identity, and from where identity originates (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2014). Gee (2011) also discussed the notion that learning is indexed by discursive markers. Thus, every utterance is at once a part of a much larger conversation.

Positioning is a metaphor that has been used in a number of different fields studying social interaction. Wortham (2004), for example, uses the metaphor to explain how narrators assume different “roles” by enacting them in narrative events. McVee (2011) beautifully

describes the metaphor as “a complex, multifaceted, dynamic construct related to the ways in which people construct self and other through discursive practices such as oral and written discourse, language use, and speech and other acts” (p. 4). Essentially, then, positioning is a metaphor about identity, the different social identities we take up in discourse and, in Wortham’s example, narrative specifically. These positions are not static, hence the move away from the metaphor “role,” but are dynamic and can change over the course of time, even within the timeframe of but a few strings of discourse (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). To more fully understand the metaphor, however, and apply it to educational research, “Positioning Theory” should be considered. The importance of this notion of “positioning” is to situate the individual and focus on the individual among and within the context of language ideologies. The positioning of self, in interaction, indexes ideologies.

The notion of “position” is especially useful in social research as it allows for fluidity in the assumed roles of participants (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). The social-psychological tradition attempts to develop the notion of “self” so as to view the social positions as mental conceptions produced discursively. This tradition also finds its roots in Bakhtin’s (1981, 1986) view of dialogism. van Langenhove and Harré also recognize that a large portion of positioning theory is rooted in speech act theory (i.e. Austin, 1961). Speech act theory, however, has been criticized by sociologists (e.g. Bourdieu, 1991), and by linguistics and linguistic anthropologists (e.g. Du Bois, 1993; Silverstein, 1979) for such a strong focus on the speaker’s “intention,” little consideration of other cultures in the development of the theory, and static assumptions about the role of “speaker” and “hearer.” So, positioning theory should be used consistently with the theories of linguistic anthropology since the linguistic anthropology literature is quite adept in differentiating different types of social interaction.

Bartlett (2008), combining Positioning Theory with discourse analysis seems to avoid this danger by explaining that the positioning of speakers can only be taken up when granted status by others based on their symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). This allows Bartlett, and subsequent positioning theorists, to analyze positioning in multiple genetic levels. Nevertheless, while Positioning Theory has some limitations, it has been found useful in classroom interaction.

Sociohistorical models tend to focus on “dialectic” movement between the two poles of “macro” and “micro” rather than emphasizing these two scales as static. Giddens (1979) talks about the duality of structure as he notes the phenomena that individual events of identification are connected and reproduce or change the current models. Likewise, Wortham (2006) notes that moments of identification and the metapragmatic models presumed upon (but always recontextualized in) the particular events work in a dialectic in the social positioning of the individual or group. The event of positioning is always a part of a metapragmatic model stretching beyond specific speech events which is recontextualized in each event, thereby re-positioning the individual or group in every instance. The re-positioning, in turn, reinforces or changes the metapragmatic model, which, in turn, is then recontextualized in other iterations.

Some have noted that any macro-micro framework is simply too static and deterministic (e.g. Bourdieu 1972/1977; Wortham, 2012). Of course, as Wortham (2006) noted, for analysis, while we may presume a variety of levels of analysis, analytically we must focus research on merely some relevant ones. Thus, the micro-macro dialectic is still a useful framework. Agha (2003) notes that sets of signs and metapragmatic models may be linked across speech events in different time scales. Thus, the metapragmatic model may be circulated from a previous event into another event (even on a different time scale, e.g. mass media) creating a “speech chain.” Like Bakhtin’s (1986) notion of intertextuality, events are interrelated on different timescales.

Thus, the metapragmatic model of ELs (specifically ELs of Chinese descent in Chinatown in my study) is constantly being recontextualized in each speech event, in every timescale. Individuals and groups are positioned and repositioned in each speech event in the chain across which they are socially identified.

Funds of Knowledge as a (re)-positioning tool. One of the constructs I use throughout the study is “funds of knowledge” (FoK). The concept had been a powerful concept for the participants in my study. There is much variety in the uses of funds of knowledge and the definition of the concept. The “funds of knowledge” construct has been used in school-based research in over fifty different publications (Hogg, 2011). In her review, Hogg (2011) identified foundational definitions with nuances to the term as well as the sources of where the funds come from, including households, popular culture, culture, communities, and so on. In short, funds of knowledge can be defined as “historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well being” (Moll et al., 1992, p. 134; see also Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Tapia, 1991; Vélez-Ibáñez, 1988).

The various nuances and definitions do raise issues as to what exactly funds of knowledge are and how they can be used. Recent research has focused on the notion of cultural capital (e.g. Olmedo, 1997; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011) and life worlds (e.g. Moje et al, 2004; Varales & Pappas, 2006; Zipin, 2009). The research draws on key concepts such as “survival” skills of homes and communities. There is a sense of historical development common to the funds of knowledge research as well. In the present study, the definition was derived from Moll et al. (1992) as a roughly standard definition, though Hogg (2011) gives an overview of the research and variety within.

Because in this study funds of knowledge was a term the teachers were familiar with, it is important to understand it as a tool for positioning the students into multiple social roles. As teachers learn about their students' culture and life-worlds, beyond the "cultural artifacts" and "food," they create authentic relationships and partnerships between homes and schools (Cooper & Christie, 2005). The academic practices can be applied to the students' lives as well as address the limited knowledge many teachers have of social and cultural factors of their students. Thus, funds of knowledge is an approach that could be used in developing school leaders and develop a sense of belonging (Scanlan & López, 2012). In other words, funds of knowledge has been described as an approach in which teachers relate to students differently, expect them to have different roles and responsibilities, and create curricula and learning environments in which students can take up these different roles and responsibilities.

In this study, though the teachers attempted to use a funds of knowledge approach, they did not always seek out cultural knowledge or the life worlds of their students. Often times they relied on students' *background* knowledge, which is different than funds of knowledge. Background knowledge tends to come from a psychological approach and indexes anything the student knows that may help with learning, similar to schema theory in reading (Anderson & Pearson, 1984), rather than drawing on cultural practices and life worlds like funds of knowledge does. Thus, I point out that in this study, funds of knowledge is an approach that leads to the repositioning of students, whereas incorporating background knowledge does not necessarily do this.

Discourse analysis as a (re)-positioning tool. As Schiffrin (1994) explained, there are two major branches of discourse analysis. On the one hand are those that study the structure of language "beyond the sentence," and on the other there are those who study language "in use."

While the first is, no doubt useful, it is largely the second branch that is particularly interesting as it relates to positioning ELs in schools. Discourse analysis is an important construct in this study particularly because it can be a useful tool in teacher development.

One form of discourse analysis that is used in educational studies builds on the work of Gee (2001; 2011). Gee provides a framework and toolkit for looking at how language is used. Under the assumption that anytime language is used, it builds what he identifies as seven tasks: *significance, practices, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign systems and knowledge*. This framework is useful in understanding the complexity of language use, specifically that language does much more than simply refer to things. While referential functions of language may be somewhat common sense, and language itself may seem abstract from the context, Gee points out that discourse analysis can be used to unpack how interrelated language (i.e. code) is related to the seven tasks above. Thus, discourse analysis is a way of seeing the world through studying language use.

Another, perhaps more systematized, form of discourse analysis that is helpful in framing the current study is conversation analysis. Psathas (1995) explains that conversation analysis is the study of order of talk in everyday, mundane contexts. He points out seven basic assumptions of the framework:

1. Order is a produced orderliness.
2. Order is produced by parties in situ; that is it is situated and occasioned.
3. The parties orient to that order themselves...
4. Order is repeatable and recurrent.
5. The discovery, description, and analysis of that produced orderliness is the task of the analyst.
6. Issues of how frequently, how widely, or how often particular phenomena occur are to be set aside in the interest of discovering, describing, and analyzing the *structures*, the *machinery*, the *organized practices*, the *formal procedures*, the ways in which order is produced.

7. Structures of social action, once discerned, can be described and analyzed in formal, that is, structural, organized, logical, atopically countless, consistent, and abstract terms. (pp. 2-3).

As Psathas points out, then, the analysis of interaction really is a focus on order and how that order, assuming that people orient themselves to that order. An example in educational research that can be gleaned from this framework is the much-discussed *Initiate-Respond-Evaluate/Follow-up* (IRE/F) discourse pattern (Cazden, 2001; Nystrand, 1997). From conversation analysis we know that the order that is produced is an adjacency pair in which the teacher prompts a question, a student responds, and then we could expect the teacher to interject an evaluation or feedback. Thus we can see how the order of this type of talk positions students into the second part of this pair. There is an expected role the student is to play, one of answering the question, and the teacher's role is to verify that response.

Conversation analysis, unlike Gee's framework above, does not elaborate on the wider social implications of the order. The task is to describe and analyze in formal terms (see Psathas's seventh point above). Thus, the actual implications for positioning students in an IRE/F order in the classroom depends on how the IRE/F pattern (or any order for that matter) is used. Wells (1993), for example, challenges wide assumptions that IRE/F is always used to marginalize students by positioning them in the second position of the pair. This, as Wells points out, could be a function of providing a space for student interaction where normally there would be none. Thus, discourse analysis can be used to study the order of interaction and how that order is used to position social actors into different roles with different responsibilities. Once the description and analysis is done, decisions can be made to reorder interaction, and provide different possible positions to be taken up.

Literature Review of Positioning of Teachers and ELs

Having built these frameworks to shed light on the problem I have described, namely that there are dominant forms of knowledge considered to be neutral, but that any social interaction takes moral stances to align with certain positions, I turn to the research on EL positioning in language learning contexts. From the literature I want to point out two things. First, I want to show that the role, or position of “teacher” is contested. Secondly, there is need for research on how teachers become cultural brokers, sometimes by defying dominant forms of teaching.

The role of teacher is quite contested, and even more so when the teacher is of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds than the students. Therefore, I refer to “teacher” only insofar as it points to the institutional role to which one is recruited and recognized by mainstream culture of the United States. For teachers of ELs there may be a variety of different status designations (e.g. ESL teacher, mainstream classroom teacher, bilingual teacher, resource teacher, etc), still recognized by institutional structures (i.e. schools and districts). However, the position a teacher takes up in relation to other teachers, students, institutions, and so forth is much more open. For example, Yoon (2007, 2008) points out that teachers may consider themselves “teachers for all students,” “teacher’s for regular education students,” or “teachers for a single subject” (2008, p. 504).

In some schools, ESL teachers and mainstream teachers actually collaborate to address the needs of ELs. In the district of the proposed study, for example, EL students in a transitional bilingual program are required to have a certain amount of minutes of ESL or bilingual instruction per day (Bilingual Education Handbook, 2011). If a student is in a mainstream classroom and classified as an ELL (English Language Learner) or LEP student (limited English proficient), the student still requires these minutes of ESL instruction. The teacher needs to hold

an ESL endorsement, a bilingual or ESL teacher must visit the room, or the students must be pulled out for ESL or bilingual instruction. How teachers view themselves and their relationships to ESL and bilingual teachers is also important in situations like this. The classroom teacher may view themselves as responsible for instructing all students with the ESL teacher's support (a top-down approach), responsible for identifying ELs, passing them to an ESL instructor, and teaching the mainstream students (labeling), or responsible for creating activities in which the ESL teacher and ELs are involved (bottom-up) (English, 2009). Additionally, ESL teachers and mainstream teachers have been found to position themselves in relation to each other in contested and negotiated ways indicating a difference of status among a school's teachers (e.g. Arkoudis, 2000; 2003; 2006).

The positioning of the self, relationally, is a positioning of the other as well. Even as I write, I am making a decision to call the students "English Learners." Not only does this denote that they are learning English, but it also aligns myself with a certain position toward ELs (voicing a position distinct from calling them ELLs, ESL students, etc). Therefore, as teachers position themselves (e.g. "science teacher," "ESL teacher," "teacher for all students," etc.) they take moral stances as to their responsibility in teaching and positioning of the ELs. Teachers may situate, or position themselves as teachers of ELs quite differently. Therefore, we need to understand this as we study classrooms.

The second point from the literature that is important to my proposed study is that the research, especially descriptive research, tends to treat classroom phenomena as deterministic rather than contested. This critique was dealt with by Razfar and Rumenapp (2011) as they pointed out that language ideologies are not monolithic, but there are often multiple language ideologies at work competing, especially, perhaps, in classrooms with ELs. They may appear to

be reproductive and monolithic because over time they are institutionalized (e.g. by state law, by standard curricula, etc.). This is an important point for the current study because as I look at teachers as moral agents, taking moral stances to align with positions, I can hear their voices rise in alignment toward and against dominant positions toward ELs.

Teachers have been able to, from time to time, reject dominant practices of teaching. Shannon (1995) gives an example of a bilingual teacher stepping out against English dominance and creating a true bilingual learning opportunity. Others have also demonstrated that teachers can position themselves against dominant teaching practices and ideologies (e.g. Pease-Alvarez, Samway, & Cifka-Herrera, 2010; Gitlin & Margonis, 1995). Now, more than ever, curricula (not to mention testing) are becoming more standard. Large publishing companies are mainstreaming large curricula to which teachers are forced (by either principals or regional and district representatives) to adhere. These mandated and corporate curricula continue to thrive at least in part because they are aligned to policy standards. As educational policies continue to diminish the role of culture, language, and identity in learning (although at the surface level these words do appear in policy documents), schools and districts continue to opt for “cookie cutter” curricula that specifically aim to achieve the policy mandates.

This was seen frequently in the site from which this proposed study comes. In my field notes from a focus group on January 31, 2011 I wrote an observer comment:

Researcher tried mediated by saying that the mandated curricula were difficult. Lee tried to say that Ms. V [principal] knew that they were doing action research so Jan should be able to be little more open to stuff in her class. Jan said that she was not going to take the risk. She said that for the two younger teachers Ms. V would be fine but not for her.

(FIELD NOTE, 01/31/2011)

This is one example of the stress the mandated curricula played on the teachers in the current study. Even as Jan was encouraged by Lee and a researcher to take up positions against dominant, autonomous teaching practices, she would not take the risk. However, it wasn't only the teachers in the school who felt the pressures of standardization; even Ms. V seemed to be trying to make the best out of a bad situation:

I asked her briefly about the testing because ISAT is coming up. She said that she was not worried about the testing. She hoped that her teachers are not teaching to the test. She said that she had informed them at the beginning of the year not to worry about the testing. She said that the testing was all done at the district level and she wanted to move more towards formative assessments based on the units the teachers were teaching. She said they just had to deal with the tests and she did not seem very happy that they existed. Since they did exist she wanted to be able to use the data well.

(FIELD NOTE, 01/21/2011)

In the two examples above, we see the social actors taking moral stances against the top-down mandated curricula and tests. Yet, we also see the complex positions these two people take up as educators in relation to others (i.e. each other, the principal, the district, the school, etc.).

Therefore, in line with Pease-Alvarez (2011), I do seek to understand how to support teachers in the education of language-minority students. I do not understand teachers as positioning themselves either toward or against dominant language ideologies, but rather as cultural brokers in the borderlands taking moral stances that do not exclusively align with one of the multiple activities in which they are engaged. Teachers, through engaging in action research as a form of ongoing professional development, can study and challenge dominant language ideologies.

Sociocultural Models of Professional Development

If we extend on the theory of learning that I have presented above, that is, CHAT, we can apply the same framework to professional development as well. We can begin by looking at the

foundation of sociocultural theories of learning, or semiotic mediation (Vygotsky, 1987). If we extend on this logic, that all meaning is social and all learning takes place in socially situated contexts, then we can logically propose that professional development (PD) happen in collaborative and meaningful contexts. By PD I refer to in-service teacher learning generally, as that is most relevant to the current context. These concepts, of course can be extended beyond teachers to other professions and beyond in-service to pre-service as well.

Extending upon activity theory, Roth and Lee (2007) suggest coteaching/cogenerative dialoguing can be useful professional development tools because two or more people, with similar classroom experiences, can continue to dialogue about the different perceptions, beliefs, and so forth. Similar to Engeström's (2007) notion of knotworking, as people come together with variation in experiences, they are forced to pull together the various differences between individual moments of actions and the activity system in its entirety and make sense of them. So, professional development, conceptualized in this way, is always a social act of people who bring together varied frames of reference and seek to reconcile the meaning of those difference. Thus, everyone in the activity is learning. Specifically, the activity triangle can be used analytically to help observe the interaction between the various components (Johnson & Golombek, 2011).

Additionally, if professional development is approached from a CHAT framework, then the goal of the teacher educator is to mediate the learning context. This is vastly different than other forms of PD in which ideas, curriculum, assessments, and so forth are handed over to the teacher with little support and little continued interaction. It takes time for professionals to work out learning in this type of framework. It is a dialectic process between seeing professional development and articulating ways to intervene (Johnson & Golombek, 2011).

Insights from the organizational literature more broadly provide us insight into how learning takes place within a professional community. Not ironically, it does not differ, in principal, from the learning we advocate for in schools. More traditional forms of organizational learning and PD indeed are rooted in transmission ideologies of language (that is, that information should be explicitly and directly communicated from the *trainer* to the *trainee*). However, there has been substantial pushback to develop communities of practice. In small communities of professionals, for instance, collaboration and innovation may take place as learning is fostered. Organizations, therefore (and schools or districts by extension) could be cast as the “communities of communities,” that is, they bind together communities of practice so as to expand learning throughout the organization (Brown & Duguid, 1991). Likewise, Boreham and Morgan (2004), drawing on findings from a three-year deep analysis of a large industrial company, found that the top-down management model needed to be replaced for communities of practice to exist. They point out three changes that occurred: (1) a space for shared meaning making needed to be created and sustained at the organizational level, (2) power relationships needed to be restructured, including top-down management, and (3) mediational tools needed to be provided to accomplish goals. What we see common between these two exemplars of a sociocultural framework to organizational learning is a restructuring of traditional organizational models, collaboration, and situatedness.

Brown and Duguid (1991) approached organizational development broadly, but indicated the need for organization-wide support. That is to say, no individual works in isolation, and no community of practice works in isolation. This is akin to the call for rich PD in schools as well. Darling-Hammond and McLaughlin (1995) point out the following criteria for PD that, in their view, privileges the specific situation and context of the teachers involved:

- It must engage teachers in concrete tasks of teaching, assessment, observation, and reflection that illuminate the processes of learning and development.
- It must be grounded in inquiry, reflection, and experimentation that are participant-driven.
- It must be collaborative, involving a sharing of knowledge among educators and a focus on teachers' communities of practice rather than on individual teachers.
- It must be connected to and derived from teachers' work with their students.
- It must be sustained, ongoing, intensive, and supported by modeling, coaching, and the collective solving of specific problems of practice.
- It must be connected to other aspects of school change

Note that these characteristics are thoroughly consistent with sociocultural theory. The focus on the above points is collaborative, context specific, and grounded in inquiry. It is also important to underscore the final point that although this type of PD could happen in schools, but the space needs to be provided. The organization needs to change as well. Thus, PD, though may happen on the grassroots level (and should, as top-down approaches is not consistent with sociocultural theory) institutional support is required for sustainability.

One popular solution is the “community of practice,” popularized by Lave and Wenger (1991) and variations like “study groups” (Gersten et al., 2010). These types of professional development capitalize on the collaboration and situatedness already assumed in sociocultural theory. As such, they intend to provide a space for teachers to learn as a community by bringing individual experiences to the group and seeking to make sense out of particular, embodied activities. In other words, the people that are in the classrooms work together to make sense out of their experience and implement new ideas and theories. The groups are iterative, situated, and social.

Engeström (2007) provides the metaphor “mycorrhizae” to re-conceptualize organizational learning broadly, which can be applied to PD in schools as well (if they could ever break from the Ford model of the assembly line). He critiques “communities of practice” for the key reason that they are ahistorical. Unlike Lave and Wenger’s (2001) communities of practice, Engeström points out that “the history of oppression by masters and individual and collective rebellions by apprentices against their masters” is something of import to consider. Wood (2007) problematizes “communities of practice” as well because communities are not able to challenge dominant cultural and social values of the institution at large. Thus, without a critical perspective, the traditional roles, even in communities of practice will prevail. Though Engeström does not make the claim explicitly for US K-12 education, it is a wonder if the type of PD that would most fully benefit from sociocultural theory or CHAT, is ever possible. With the cultural-historical roots set so deep in the ground of static buildings, disciplines, grade levels, and so forth, how could mycorrhizae thrive? The beauty of mycorrhizae is that, though invisible, have a transactional relationship with the deep roots of plants. Thus, PD that moves beyond teachers meeting in communities of practice to real social production is necessary.

Action Research as a Professional Development Tool

One way to develop a sociocultural approach to professional development is through action research. Sociocultural theory, as with its theoretical offsprings, are not a “way” to do teaching or teacher education (or PD); it is a theory that helps us to make sense of the world. Therefore, if we teach, informed by sociocultural theory, we will be teaching in a way that privileges to cultural and social situatedness of our contexts and if we glean from activity (specifically CHAT), we also see the need to attend to the historicity as well. Thus, action research is a way to make meaning of the teaching context by applying research methodologies

to practice and then revising practice based on the research. There is a theory-practice dialectic, or praxis that occurs.

Action research is a much-varied activity. It is diverse both in the breadth of professions and fields in which it can be used as well as the types of methodologies that may be applied. There is no current, standard definition of action research; however the most important characteristic is that the focus of research is not mere understanding, but rather, change (Reason & Bradbury, 2006). Pappas and Tucker-Raymond (2011) also point out that is intentional and systematic. Action research, then, can be qualitative or quantitative, done in isolation or in community, can be done for formative evaluation or for ongoing research interests (e.g. Johnson, 2008). With such a variety of ways action research can be used, it is important to clarify precisely what is meant in the current setting. As consistent with the title of the grant, from which this study comes (Transforming Literacy, Math, and Science through Participatory Action Research), participatory action research “is action-oriented research activity in which ordinary people address common needs arising in their daily lives and, in the process, generate knowledge” (Park, 2006, p.83). As the current research was conducted with teachers, it is important to underscore that the “ordinary people” are “ordinary teachers” trying to solve problems in their classrooms.

The field of education is certainly one field where action research is frequently employed. Bigelow (2010) writes that “action research gives teachers opportunities to reflect on their teaching, test and explore new strategies, assess the effectiveness of new strategies, and make decisions about which ones to use (and with which students, subjects, or classes).” It can be a useful tool to engage in analysis of classroom practices. Pappas and Tucker-Raymond (2011) indicate that teaching and learning should not be separated into two different actions, but for

analytical distinctions, teacher action research may focus on one or the other. Some types of action research include close monitoring of student work. Others look at the teacher side as a form of self-reflection. Data can be gleaned from test scores, transcripts, recordings, student work, personal reflections, informal assessments, and many other sources using many different methods (e.g. Goswami et al., 2009; Johnson, 2008). Another type of research that could be used is discourse analysis. Reflecting on discourse analysis can bring changes to the interactions that happen in social spaces, including classrooms (Rex & Schiller, 2009). Action research may draw on many types of methods, but all action research provides a way for teachers to reflect on their teaching practices and change them when necessary. Therefore, action research is a reflexive practice.

If teachers have the opportunity to do action research and modify their teaching practices to make them better, then they have the moral responsibility, when possible, to do it. Action research (or “teacher research”) gives teachers the opportunities to learn about underlying assumptions and biases as well (Pappas & Tucker-Raymond, 2011). It is the tacit practices that we engage in that need to come to focus in the action research. Teachers who can, should engage in action research. It doesn’t take a great philosopher like Socrates to deduce “ὁ δὲ ἀνεξέταστος βίος οὐ βιωτὸς ἀνθρώπῳ” (the unexamined life is not life for humankind)! (Plato, 38a). We could also turn to Gee’s (2008) construction of a moral imperative “one always has the moral obligation to change a cultural model into a primary theory when there is reason to believe that the cultural model advantages oneself or one’s group over other people or other groups” (2008, p. 26). Language ideologies make the implicit cultural knowledge about language explicit so that we can use that knowledge to conceptualize more ethical and responsible teaching practices. In instances where we know we have an advantage over other people or other groups of people

and continue to operate with little thought or tacitly, we are acting unethically. Action research is a way to fulfill the moral obligations of social justice and provide well-understood teaching methods.

One may wonder, then, why action research is not a normative practice of teachers. In fact, researchers have noted the structural realities of schools that pose problems for performing and sustaining action research (Whitford, 1984). Additionally, theoretical concepts may take time for teachers to develop, thus deterring rigid theoretical and methodological research practices. If researchers do not mediate the learning well, teachers become overwhelmed by understanding complex theories that are expected by the research community. Concepts that appear in my own theoretical framework, like third-space, funds of knowledge, discourse analysis, and so on, take time and mediation to learn. On more than one occasion frustration occurred because of poor explanations or applications of theories by the researchers for the teachers. Another issue faced by the action researcher in schools is the programmatic challenges of many action research programs as well as finding time to do it. In addition to these issues are the “ethnographic” challenges faced in everyday life. Death, illness, foreclosure, and many other factors are also challenges teachers face while implementing action research. In other words, sometimes life just gets in the way. Finally, some of the most significant factors preventing action research are the strict mandates from administration to use only certain, specified curricula (Troiano et al., 2012). Therefore, though action research may sound like an obvious complement to teaching, restrictive climates in schools are major hindrances.

This brings up another point, once all of this is synthesized. If schools are to become spaces where true collaboration and professional learning occurs, then action research would seem like a good place to begin. Yet, the issues stated above are only a few of the questions that

are left, and will be left after the present study. Action research and collaborative learning communities intended for professional development have been done on small scales. They have happened in a variety of contexts and schools. Still, we are left with the problem of “scaling up” (Florio-Ruane & Raphael, 2004). How can action research, which often follows the same general trajectory as design-based research, be scaled beyond one community to a community of communities? How can it break away from the deep-rooted structure to exist in a symbiotic relationship? These are the questions that face us in action research in education.

Summary

In this chapter I have reviewed relevant literature both relating to the theories upon which I draw and the specific communities this study addresses. Figure 1 is a summary of how it is pulled together into a cohesive, meaningful framework.

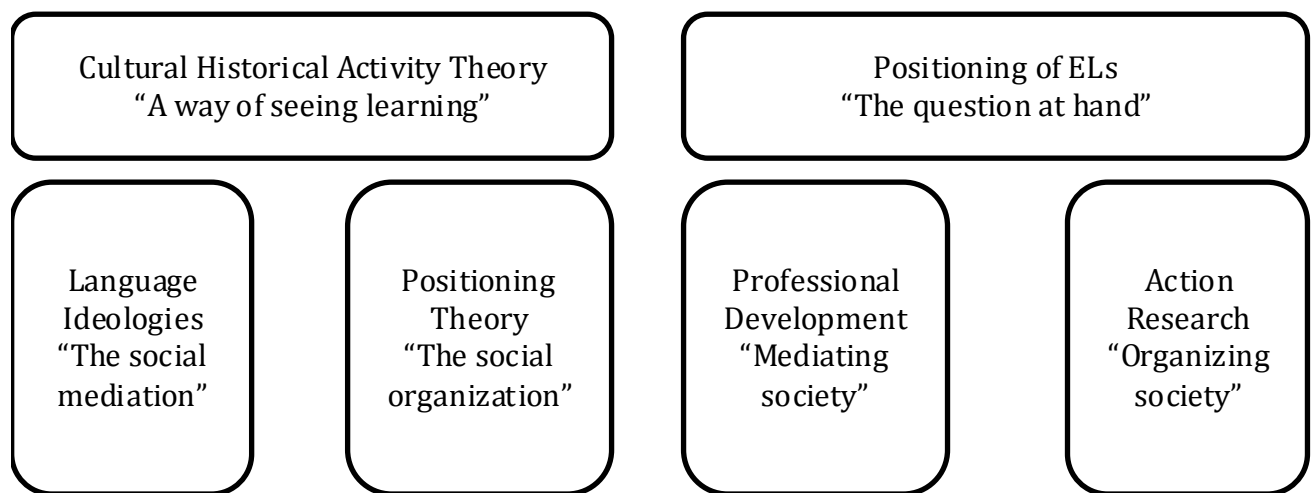


Figure 1. Conceptual framework and relationship to literature review.

On the one hand are the theories I have briefly described. The overarching view of the world, or in this case learning in particular, is CHAT. In this framework we could conceptualize language ideologies as a mediating tool (e.g. Razfar & Rumenapp, 2011) and Positioning Theory as a way

to understand how social actors are organized. I see the framework this way because when ELs are marginalized, we see a clear shift in the activity system. We see shifts in the division of labor (e.g. remedial English classes) and in the community (e.g. erasure). On the other hand are the different communities I have covered. The literature on EL positioning most clearly reflects my research interests. Therefore, it happens to be held up by two very important discussions, that of professional development, and that of action research. Professional development is a tool used to mediate learning. Action research, with the explicit focus on change, seeks to reorganize society. Thus, see this model as a reflection, and the interrelated ideas as contributing to my study. For indeed, as seen in my literature review, the activity of professional development is mediated by language ideologies, and action research can be used to challenge hegemonic social positions.

III. METHODOLOGY

To return to the questions in this study, I particularly want to know the following:

- 1) How are ELs at Warner positioned socially?
- 2) How do teachers at Warner reposition ELs through action research?
- 3) How does a teacher at Warner develop in the way she repositions her ELs?

Design: Ethnography of Communication and Case Study

Since this study is framed by Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) and language ideologies frameworks, the data comes from a naturalistic setting in which the activities the participants engage in are a part of their everyday life. This is a qualitative study draws on the ethnography of communication tradition (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). In keeping consistent with an ethnographic lens, I situate this study within linguistic anthropology by applying six characteristics Wortham (2001) put forth: (1) *study language in use*, (2) *try to understand participants' own point of view of their activities*, (3) *do detailed analysis of language use in particular contexts*, (4) *study how language use can constitute aspects of culture and identity*, (5) *analyze patterns of semiotic cues*, and (6) *linguistic anthropology of education is a subset of educational linguistics* (pp. 255-256).

Figure 2 demonstrates the key theoretical framework through which I looked at my data. I used grounded theory (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005) to come to my data inductively and build up a theory of what is happening with the students at Warner. Since I come from a specific theoretical framework, namely drawing on social psychology and linguistic anthropology, I was inclined to collect certain types of data and to begin analysis in certain ways.

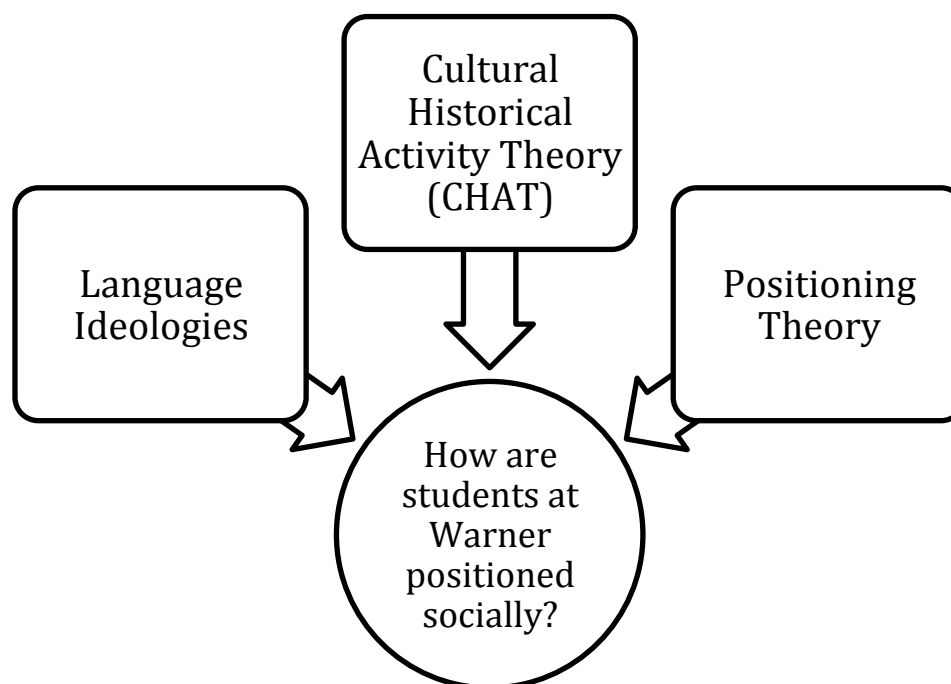


Figure 2. Conceptual framework and relationship to research question.

To answer my first two research questions I conducted the study in line with the ethnography of communication tradition (Gumprez & Hymes, 1972), attending to how the teachers position themselves in discourse during a teacher collaborative (Roth & Lee, 2007). As Hymes (1964) points out, bringing ethnographic methods to studies about language affords the benefit of trying to understand how teachers understand communication. Therefore, it must attend to all cumulative performances in a community (here defined as the institutionally organized group of the university-school partnership which include teachers, researchers, and students) and provide a rich description of types of events, what factors constitute them, and the functions these events serve. It is important to understand what events, factors, and functions exist, how they are organized in relation to each other, and what counts as instances of them. Through looking at the current dataset with this in mind, namely providing a rich description of how the teachers communicate and view communication (not limited to linguistic

communication alone), I was able to tease apart the differences that may mark different social positions.

While I draw on fieldnotes, other documentation, and audio recordings, it is essential to my study that events were video-recorded. The social organization and the types of talk are important to understand the way people are positioned in interaction. That is to say that the spatial dimensions shape the meaning of talk and the spatial dimensions are given meaning by what is actually said. It is a dialogic relationship. An analysis of discourse should also include an analysis of the spatial dimensions (Duranti, 1992). Therefore, the video analysis is as important as the transcripts provided, which I present when relevant to the analysis I am providing.

Hymes also notes the limitation of ethnography of communication as perhaps erasing variation on some level (e.g. so as to suppose these teachers make up a homogeneous community) and perhaps doesn't attend to the historical variations as well as one would hope. With these limitations in mind, I turn my thinking back to the CHAT framework which emphasized the historicity, and notable views the teachers working together as interacting activity systems, thereby underscoring the variation (Roth & Lee, 2007).

I also built a more in depth case (Barone, 2004; Yin, 2004) study of one teacher to understand the change that occurs in how the teacher makes stances. This will help to understand more of the development of the teacher's positions and to "test" what I found about the positioning of students in my second finding. It will provide a way to understand how teachers develop, and specifically how my case study developed.

I use this methodology because it is consistent with the overall university-school partnership, described in detail below. This study is part of a larger design based research

program as well as a professional development model. Therefore, to study the interaction of teachers and students, I draw on observational data collected as students, teachers, researchers, and other social agents go about their daily lives. Since the university-school partnership is something that the teachers were doing for their own professional development, and I, as a researcher, was also a professional development facilitator, this study can be considered both an observational case study as well as part of a larger design based research study (Reinking & Bradley, 2008).

The University-School Partnership

This research project comes from part of the larger *Transforming literacy, science, and mathematics, through action research* (LSciMAct)², hereafter the “university-school partnership,” project funded by the Department of Education: Office of English Language Acquisition offered through the university (Razfar, 2007). Up to date, three other dissertations have been completed around this project, thus I draw on the insights of a research team (e.g., Nasir, 2013; Troiano, 2012; Yang, 2012). The primary purpose of the grant is to develop highly qualified teachers to work with ELs by providing routes toward ESL or bilingual certification and/or master’s degrees. Taking this opportunity to build on CHAT models of learning, the project provides classroom instruction coupled with an action research component to provide teachers with the tools for ongoing professional development. I particularly worked with five teachers and another researcher at Warner Elementary School.

² LSciMAct is a National Professional Development program supported by the Department of Education’s Office of English Language Acquisition, grant number T195N070301. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this presentation are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Ed.

After attending master's level courses for an ESL endorsement, the teachers in this study were given the opportunity to complete a master's degree by taking additional classes, including an action research component, action research being defined as "the process of studying a real school or classroom situation to understand and improve the quality of actions or instruction" (Johnson, 2008, p. 28). The teachers piloted a study in one classroom during one of the courses to learn about the procedures that would be used for a year-long implementation of action research. My study focuses on that year-long research project.

Teachers were encouraged to research what funds of knowledge were accessible in their classrooms. They originally had based their definition on Moll et al.'s (1992) article "Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms," and Moll and Greenberg's (1990) chapter "Creating zones of possibilities: Combining social contexts for instruction" which they had read in their college courses. Thus, when the 2010-2011 school year began, the teachers set out on a several week period of researching the students' funds of knowledge, which I will refer to as the "funds of knowledge phase." However, the teachers continued to learn about their students' funds of knowledge throughout the year, but during the beginning of the year that was their major research focus.

After the funds of knowledge phase moved into the planning phase, the university-school partnership provided a mediational tool for planning the curriculum, namely the familiar activity triangle. This was used as a blueprint for the teachers to collaboratively plan a theme-based instructional unit including 10-15 lessons. All four classroom teachers planned this unit together around the theme of "technology," something that emerged during the funds of knowledge phase. Lessons varied and crossed disciplinary boundaries, although the theme of the unit remained standard. During this unit, teachers were to keep field notes of the lessons they taught,

and three lessons were to be videotaped at their convenience. These videos and field notes were to be used to inform future planning and teaching. I videotaped 32 of the lessons requested by teachers and an additional 6 lessons and activities in Allison's classroom, although the teachers had the option to videotape on their own or to have one of the other teachers (Bianca was a lead teacher and videotaped 4 of Lee's lessons). All five of the teachers, the other research assistant, and I met weekly during the unit to plan lessons, analyzed data, and address concerns about the program.

After each unit was completed, teachers and research assistants met to analyze the data. Teachers coded the videos individually (and also collaborated with the group) according to the coding sheet in Appendix B. The teachers identified interesting 2-minute clips, which were transcribed (by one of the researchers or the teacher) and used for a close look at the discourse. The teachers used this data, along with student work and field notes, to write an individual and group report about what they learned, using data to support claims.

They used the findings from this first unit to develop a second, and eventually a third unit of instruction. As time went on, teachers were encouraged to pursue different themes and instructional activities, linking their unit planning to follow what were originally defined as "third space" opportunities, based on an article they had read by Gutiérrez, Rymes, and Larson (1995) "Script, counter script, and underlife in the classrooms: James Brown versus *Brown v. Board of Education*." Largely the definitions of *funds of knowledge* and *third-space* were left open for the teachers to talk about and use to make sense of the process and a standardized definition was not enforced.

Specifically, the teachers in the program were to integrate funds of knowledge in math, science, and literacy instruction. Because the grant was to develop highly qualified teachers of

EL students, the teachers identified ELs in their classrooms as focal students. This helped the teachers in the study to develop questions concerning the ELs and to address their needs (as the teachers were in the process of obtaining their ESL endorsement). Additionally, as with the research project as a whole, the teachers used CHAT as a theory for both planning and analysis. These perspectives, finding their roots in sociocultural theories of learning, became manifest in the classroom where teachers attempted to plan activities in which students could talk amongst each other. This allowed teachers to build on social constructivist notions of learning (e.g. Gavelek & Raphael, 1996) which view the interpersonal appropriation of language development as preceding intrapersonal transformation and eventual publication. The teachers drew specifically on this framework in planning their lessons. They used small groups as a primary organizational tool to allow students, specifically ELs, the time to talk.

The capstone to the project is a master's thesis presenting the findings of their research. For the thesis, much of the work is done individually or with the assistance of the researchers. Figure 3 shows an overview of the project during the 2010-2011 school year with significant dates.

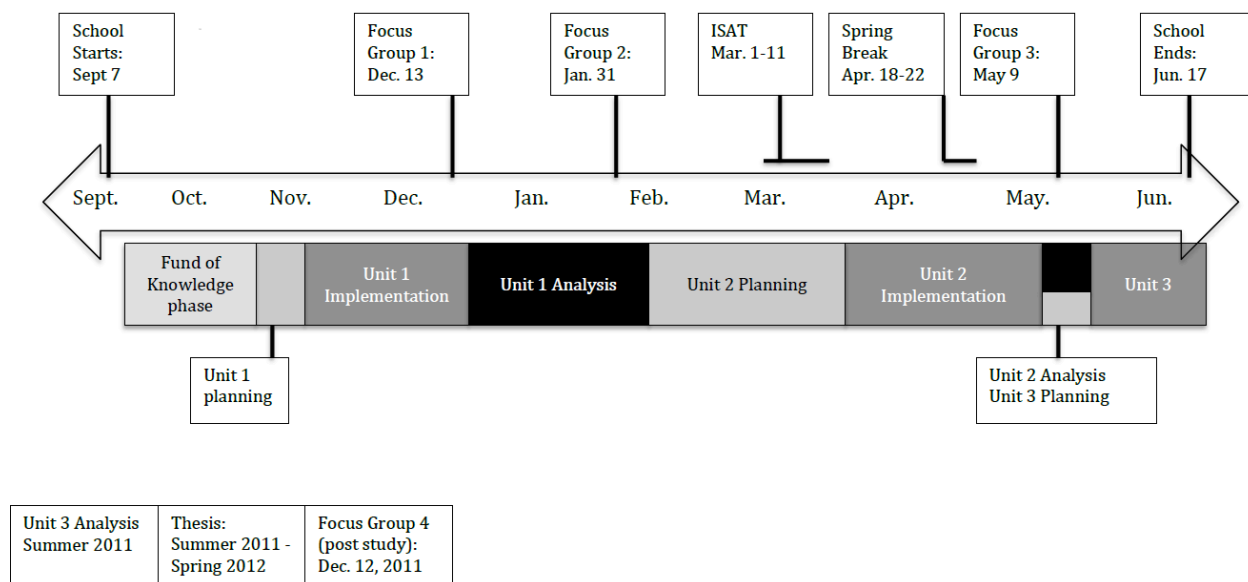


Figure 3. Project timeline.

The process looks linear, but in reality it was quite iterative. While the initial planning intended to have much more equitable distribution of tasks like planning, implementation, and analysis, due to the school schedule this was not possible. For example, the long period of unit 2 planning included time during ISAT preparation and testing. Therefore, it was not possible for us to get into the school to videotape, and it was not possible for the teachers to develop their own curriculum. We tried to use that long period for time to plan for unit 3 as well, because we knew that the turn around time between unit 2 and 3 was going to be tight. This was not ideal, but it is the reality of working in schools.

Context of the Study

Warner Elementary School. Warner Elementary School is a K-8 public school located in the city's south side, just a few miles south of down town. In 2011 it had 704 students. Approximately 93% of the students were Asian (mostly Cantonese Chinese), 6% African American, and 1% other. About 26% were reported as bilingual and 95% on free or reduced

lunch (district data). The school's webpage has the name written in Chinese characters, and the school's voicemail is recorded in both Cantonese and English. The assistant principal was bilingual in Cantonese and English, and several of the staff members were bilingual in Cantonese and/or Mandarin and English (some were multilingual). Signage in the schools was primarily English, however often the English was accompanied by Chinese³ as well.

The city's Chinatown is made up primarily of Cantonese speaking Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans and is particularly homogeneous. The main street, off of which the school is located, is lined with Chinese gift shops, grocery stores, and restaurants. At the entrance of the street there is a large sign stretching over the street that has four Chinese characters written on it, which according to the Chinatown Chamber of Commerce translates to "'The world belongs to the commonwealth.' It was a famous saying in the early part of the last century and reflects the drive, determination and spirit of the Chinese people" (Chinatown Chamber of Commerce, 2008). This area is commonly referred to as "Old Chinatown" to contrast with the more modern looking Chinatown Square a few blocks away. I have a personal affinity with the area as I have done previous fieldwork in Chinatown, observed classrooms in a local Christian private school, and taught a reading club at that same school. Warner Elementary School is situated directly in the neighborhood where many of the students live and many of the parents work.

Chinatown provides a particularly interesting site for this study. Laguerre (2000) calls ethnic enclaves, such as American Chinatowns ethnozones, emphasizing the transnational border-

³ I use the term "Chinese" to indicate any one of the Chinese languages used at Warner generally, as did the teachers. Distinctions between Mandarin, Toisan, and Cantonese were only made on occasion, when it was relevant to the topic. Indeed, in line with the common belief that Cantonese and Mandarin are dialects of Chinese, though they are mutually unintelligible languages, I will be using "Chinese" as is the view expressed by the participants.

crossing practices. They become sites for new immigrants to settle as well as for those who have dispersed to return for specific activities. In tourism literature, Chinatown has become a commodity, presented as distinct and even exotic to attract tourists to frequent the area. Santos, Belhassen, and Canton (2008) note that through increased tourism, the public discourse about Chinatown is being revised from one of negative stigmatization to a celebratory role of multiculturalism while still maintaining the label “Other.” There are also layers of images to Chinatowns, which themselves are contested terrain. Wong (1995) makes mention of the big limitation of representations of Chinatown in that they are construed as homogeneous, rather than recognizing diverse population. Newer immigrants often feel “foreign” in these enclaves where children have been born and raised. Rather than a community separate from the city as a whole, Wong argues that they need to be viewed as embedded in and vital to the ecology of the city at large.

Therefore, regarding the site Warner Elementary School, it must be viewed within the larger community from which many of the students come and in which many of the parents of the students work. It is a place where different activities are being performed, where different identities and ideologies are being worked out. The Chinatown, itself, is a community that changes and learns and is positioned differently in the wider sociocultural and historical context. This is precisely why Warner Elementary is ideal for studying how teachers position students, because the very site is embedded in a more obvious socio-historical processes. One could argue that Chinatown is the iconic “ethnopolis.” While other communities and neighborhoods are racialized and stigmatized, Chinatown seems to stand out not only as an ethnic community within a larger city, but also as a national symbol. Therefore, the teachers in this study are

involved not only in the positioning of teacher to EL student, but also in the historical activity of Chinatown. Because the context is part of my findings, I will include a more thorough analysis of the context in my first findings chapter as it relates to how students are positioned and how teachers reposition them through action research.

Participants. The teachers I worked with began in a master's program at a local university in 2009. I began working with them in the fall of 2010 during the implementation of their action research portion of the program. The teachers have various backgrounds in education and each brought a unique perspective to the project.

TABLE I
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

	Allison	Jan	Leah	Lee	Bianca
Years teaching	26 years	7 years	10 years	5 years	18 years (10 in Philippines)
Years at Warner	3 years	4 years	9 years	4 years	8 years
Grade	6th grade	4th grade	3rd grade	1st grade	math-coach
Languages	English understands some Cantonese	English	English	English speaks some Cantonese	English Tagalog 2 Filipino dialects some Spanish

All five of these teachers had been recruited for the university-school partnership together, as a group. They took the required course sequences more or less together at the university and had implemented a pilot project together in Allison's classroom previously. The diversity in the group was a big draw in engaging in research with them. All of these descriptions come from the teachers' theses and focus groups, thus these are self-identified.

Allison had the longest teaching experience (26 years) in various schools. She is Chinese American. She doesn't speak Cantonese or Mandarin. Her parents were both immigrants from China and spoke to her and her siblings in Cantonese (her father also spoke Mandarin). She could understand some Cantonese, but her parents didn't want her to speak it growing up, they preferred she learned English. She mentioned she wanted to learn Mandarin, because of an influx of Mandarin speakers at Warner, so when the chance arose, she and I enrolled in a Mandarin class. She had been at Warner for three years when this study was conducted and she identified herself as a "science" teacher, though she also taught language arts. She said her classes consistently had the highest reading scores in the 6th grade. She also held two other master's degrees (one in science education) and also had completed all course work for a PhD program in science instruction. She is a mother of two and grandmother of two. In her classroom there were twenty-two students. There were ten females and twelve males. Four students identified as African American and the other twenty were of Asian decent, including recent immigrants. Two students in her class had special needs, and several were pulled out for special education services. One student had bone cancer and was hospitalized for much of the year. Allison visited her at home to continue her education. She passed away during the school year.

Jan taught in the 4th grade. She is African American and had been a teacher for seven years, four of which were at Warner. She had been a teaching assistant before that. While in the

university-school partnership she also was enrolled in classes to pursue nursing, and she worked part time at a hospital as a paraprofessional. She was a mother of one child and grandmother of five. In the spring of 2011, during spring break, Jan's son was shot and killed a block from her home. This tragedy affected us all, as our relationships in the program changed. We became a support for each other, even through grief. Her classroom consisted of twenty-four students, of which she identified eighteen as Asian American and three as African American. Eleven were female, and twelve were male.

Leah was the 3rd grade teacher and had been at Warner for nine years. She is African American and the mother of one daughter. She also had experience for teaching teachers how to use some of the curricula the school was using. Leah had twenty-eight students in her classroom. Thirteen of the students were female; fifteen were male. Twenty-seven were of Asian descent and one was African American. Leah acknowledged that she rarely heard Chinese spoken among the students, even though some were recently transitioned out of the bilingual program.

Lee was the youngest teacher, with five years of experience. She is also Chinese American and understands Cantonese. She can speak Cantonese, but on a basic level. Occasionally she would use Cantonese in her classroom with the newer bilingual transfer students, though her class was not designated as part of the bilingual program. She also had elderly women in her classroom to help out, affectionately called the "grandmas," whom she had to speak with in Cantonese because they did not speak English. She did not consider herself bilingual. Lee had twenty-one first grade students. Halfway through the year, three more entered her class due to over crowding in the bilingual classrooms. Twelve of the students were female; the other twelve were male. Since the school has a transitional bilingual program, students are tested annually and moved into a general education classroom if they pass. There is a stigma in

the school around the bilingual program. Most students in Lee's class spoke English only in school; Chinese was fairly rare in her classroom. Lee had been with many of the same students in kindergarten as part of a looping program. She noted that there was more Chinese spoken the previous year.

Bianca is a Filipina woman who had vast teaching experience. She was designated the math coach the year the university-school partnership was implemented, so did not have her own classroom. She held a doctoral degree and her research had included a hierarchical linear modeling of a schools' academic achievement. Previous to teaching, she had studied geology in the Philippines. She is also a mother. She is multilingual, speaking several languages.

It is because of the particular variation in teachers and context that Warner Elementary School provides a genuinely unique site for research into how teachers position. My study will primarily be situated in the collaborative teacher space of Warner Elementary School in which the five teachers meet to discuss their curriculum and the development of their action research. It is a space of contestation, the ideal space to observe expansive learning and development (Engeström, 1987; Gutiérrez, 2008).

In chapter 6, I will present several pieces of transcript from Allison's classroom focused on a group of four ELs. All four spoke Mandarin as their first language. These students would work together during unit lessons. In table II I organize the students Allison picked for the small group on which she would focus her action research.

TABLE II
ALLISON'S FOCAL GROUP STUDENTS

Name	Allison's Description (Allison's Thesis, pp. 11,12)
Min Hin	Female; extremely shy; transitioning ELL; average; academic abilities; difficulties associated with the English language; in the United States for only 5 years
Wei Sheng	Male; friendly; outgoing; and a leader in the classroom; an "A" academic performing student
Pengfei	Male; in the Bi-lingual program for only one year; difficulty with written English; in America for only two years; shy; did not participate in class at all; average academic level
Yaozu	Male; very polite; average performing student; eldest of three and was the "babysitter" for two rambunctious brothers

I chose to use the descriptions Allison provided in her thesis to get a better idea of how she had been making sense of her students' identities. Relating this to the NIDALS identity taxonomy (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2014) we can see that Allison positioned her students into "natural" roles like gender⁴. She also uses institutionally defined identities like "transitioning ELL" and "average academic" level. Descriptors like "shy" are discursive identities, observed from classroom interactions. There is not much of an identification of students into affinity roles, except, perhaps, family relationships at least in the way Allison describes them. Learner identities are limited to the "novice" role implicated in "English Language Learner." Solidarity

⁴ Gender here is used as a natural identity, not as a socially constructed category, as that is the way Allison perceived gender. This is a gender ideology (Spencer, Porche & Tolman, 2003, p. 1777) in which dominant beliefs about the role male or females in society normatively play, and tends to be assumed as natural.

with the students can be inferred as she points out her visits to their homes to indicate how she knew Pengfei's family only spoke Chinese.

The administration at the school was key in allowing the university-school partnership to operate at Warner. At the time we conducted our research Ms. W was the principal. She was an African American woman, planning to retire, which she did in June 2011. She supported our research at the school and even invited us to give a professional development to her faculty regarding how to use videotaping to reflect on questions asked in class. I rarely saw her around the school, though occasionally I would see her in the office when I signed in for the day.

Ms. Lau was the assistant principal at Warner. She was previously a primary grade teacher and was bilingual in Cantonese and English. She took on an evaluator role in the school, often doing classroom observations and checking up on teachers. She frequently asked me how the teachers were doing. She had a close relationship with the staff at the school and was frequently seen around the school. She had a heavy focus on test score data.

Additionally, even after working closely with the university-school partnership teachers in this study, when she was in my class she had a lot of questions about central constructs such as funds of knowledge. Her critiques of such viewpoints were well noted, and she seemed to critique her own faculty as an evaluator and administrator. This helped explain some of what I noted in Warner when the teachers would talk about being afraid or skeptical of the administration. Ms. Lau was very kind to me, even asking to include her signature in a card sent to me after my mother had passed away. She was well respected in the school community, though there were certain tensions between her and some of the faculty members. She was my "go-to" person whenever I needed information about the school or needed access to school

resources. Though she was the assistant principal, she was generally seen as the one responsible for the day-to-day management of the school.

Researcher Positioning. I position myself, as the researcher, as a co-learner and participant in the study, though officially I was designated the role “research assistant” by the university, “instructor” on the online educational platform, Blackboard, accessible to participants, and “teacher” and “professor” by some of the participants. I might also add that students in this study called me “camera guy” and “tall guy” as well as “Joe” and “Mr. Joe.” I was positioned as an outsider of the school family as I had to sign in on every visit; yet, as a frequent visitor, I was also accepted as a part of the greater school community, especially in instances of chaperoning field trips and attending school or classroom functions. Even as I walk around the community, several of the students would recognize me and stop to greet me. Some of the best memories I have in the school are the times when the security guard pulled me aside to pray for my mother, when I would talk about running with the bilingual coordinator, or when I went to Mandarin class with one of the teachers. All of these times, I was positioned as a “colleague” or “friend,” a member of an affinity group outside of the school. As with all fieldwork, these relationships are important. They also change. As I spent time with the participants in various contexts, I got to know them in new and multifaceted ways.

In addition, as I consider myself a “participant observer,” there are many other positionality issues to consider. When I entered into the classrooms and at meetings, though I participated in activities, I also came in with a camera and microphone as well as a notebook. Different students and ages reacted differently, some with what I would consider excitement, other with anxiety. The presence of an adult male in the classrooms also was another dynamic I didn’t initially consider, but the vast majority of teachers that students are exposed to are women,

thus it is often a little out of the ordinary for an adult male to be present in the classroom walking around, helping students. As indicated by the different names I was called, I remained fairly informal with the students, though in the official space of the classroom I was supposed to be addressed as “Mr. Joe,” as was the teachers’ preference. In regards to the teachers, I served as a supporting role, but also as their instructor. The teachers also seemed, at times, to be apprehensive about the videotaping of classroom lessons and the meetings.

In addition, there was another researcher involved. The project coordinator was involved in many of the teacher meetings. She was training me to facilitate the meetings and to do classroom research. While I was in the school for the day-to-day data collection, we both were there for the weekly meetings for the first half of the year, after which the other research assistant (also the project coordinator) came less frequently though she remained an integral part of the process.

Data Collection

Participants met on a weekly basis to plan classroom lessons and analyze data they collected in an action research project. These collaborative meetings were similar to Roth & Lee’s (2008) concept of coteaching/cogenerative dialoguing where teachers from different classrooms and grade levels met with research assistants to develop praxis. These meetings were recorded. In all, there were fifteen recorded meetings. For meetings I could not record, I took field notes. Each meeting lasted between thirty minutes and an hour and a half. They took place at Warner in one of the classrooms. Artifacts from these meetings, such as agendas, were also collected. These were my primary source of data. For most of the meetings, all five teachers were present; however, due to unforeseen circumstances they did not always attend. These meetings were labeled as “study group sessions” and were a part of their master’s degree

coursework. Study group sessions were intended to bring the two research assistants together with the teachers to plan curricular units, analyze data, and answer outstanding concerns. In January, due to the demands of the action research project and other responsibilities, the teachers asked if we could meet less frequently, which we did (approximately every two to three weeks). Eventually, it became necessary for individual study sessions rather than whole group study sessions, though these were less formal. These study sessions were times of rich reflection on practice and planning. I used multiple sources to triangulate (Patton, 2001) and situate these meetings.

Classroom observations were also a part of my study, which included up to 10 hours of videos per participant (more for Allison). These videos were recorded at the request of the participants, but minimally they were to schedule three per unit (total of nine classroom videos). Student work relevant to the action research was also collected. Participant produced documents were also collected, including the following: funds of knowledge inventories, activity triangles, field notes, coding sheets, transcript analysis, individual reports, group reports, and theses. They had originally been assigned to write a field note for each lesson they taught of the units prepared for this program; however, the actual field notes recorded and maintained were much fewer. These were intended to be reflection on the classroom practices and therefore provide another rich source of teachers' sense making about their positions in the classrooms. Other documents that the teachers produced included their master's theses (1 per teacher) and end of unit reports (1-3 per teacher).

Throughout the project, other artifacts and data sources have been collected. Student work that the teachers identified as important in their sense making was collected. Many of these were identified by the teachers and may have been commented upon during meeting or in other

teacher work that may shed more light on the complex social positioning of teachers and students. Informal interviews or discussions around the classroom practices were conducted on a normal basis as I was in the school two to three days a week for several months of the year. These visits were sometimes recorded via email, text message, or in a field note, but other times were not recorded and simply played a role in my own understanding of the context of the school.

I took field notes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) nearly every time I entered the school, although learning to take field notes was a process for me; my initial attempts were not quite so useful. I have field notes for all of the classroom lessons (26 notes) and most of the meetings (20 notes). In individual sessions with teachers, while helping them write their theses, and in other relevant activities I took extra care in documenting through field notes because many of those times were not recorded (14 notes).

Four focus groups were conducted which followed the protocol in Appendix C. They were also audio and video recorded. These were to elicit more explicit statements of how things went in their classroom, their views on language, math, science, and literacy. Each focus group lasted approximately an hour and a half and were roughly conducted after each instructional unit. Informal interviews and other relevant artifacts were collected as well. Table III displays my major and minor data sources and what research questions they helped to address.

TABLE III
RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA COLLECTION

Research Question	Primary Data Sources	Triangulation
How are ELs at Warner positioned socially?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contextual data (e.g. literature, news articles, etc.) • Field notes • Classroom videos • Focus groups • Meeting videos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal interviews • Informal observations • Memos • Student work • Participant artifacts
How do teachers at Warner reposition students through action research?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting videos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field notes • Participant artifacts • Classroom videos • Focus groups • Memos
How does a teacher at Warner develop in the way she repositions her students?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participant artifacts • Focus groups • Field notes • Informal interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Classroom videos • Meeting videos • Student work

As can be seen above, each of my research questions required the collection of different data types. Since the research questions are ultimately addressing different scales, I needed to collect different data types and use them differently. The first research question is broad. Therefore, I needed to do a broader contextual analysis as well as get into the classroom data. The second research question required only the meetings, as I was interested in the ways the teachers positioned the students in talk. That was triangulated with a variety of other data sources. Finally, the last research question is developmental, and therefore I collected data that spoke to the development, the most important of which was Allison's thesis.

Data Analysis

Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2005) indicate that inductive approaches to qualitative research involves “multiple and interrelated phases of coding or categorizing, along with various forms of preliminary analysis and cross-checking” (p. 19). In addition to inductive analysis which tends to get a big picture view of the data, Kamberelis and Dimitriadis also indicate that a variety of forms of discourse analysis can be used to yield “powerful exemplars” of the macro codes and to more deeply analyze micro patterns in the data. Therefore, I have incorporated both approaches in my study. First, as I gathered a variety of forms of data, I noted and annotated themes I saw emerging. I collected all of the data into digital files. Catalogs were made for initial thematic analysis. Then codes were inductively developed around these themes through the entire data set. Out of the themes and codes that emerged, exemplars were taken to do a deeper analysis of the interactional moments.

Step One: Inductive coding of meeting videos. I began my coding with an inductive analysis (Weber, 1984; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009) of the 16 study meeting videos that were a part of the cohort’s course work. I cataloged each video and made running notes on codes that emerged regarding my research questions. An example of a segment of this catalogue is in appendix D, demonstrating ten minutes of analysis that revealed several potential codes, such as “talk about student behavior.” I would have coded this when teachers talked about how students behaved, usually negatively, as in “Billy was off the chain!” In this initial analysis I focused on instances where teachers were talking about their students. I was trying to build a theory from the ground up (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005), so I was collecting instances of when, and describing how, the teachers talked about their students. Since this was an initial pass through my primary data source, it was a broad sweep to find out what was emerging in my data. Since I

had taken memos and noted on field notes throughout my study, I did have an idea of what to expect, but I attempted to enter this initial analysis with a clean set of eyes.

I present the following timeline in figure 4 to show general overview of the meetings I analyzed:

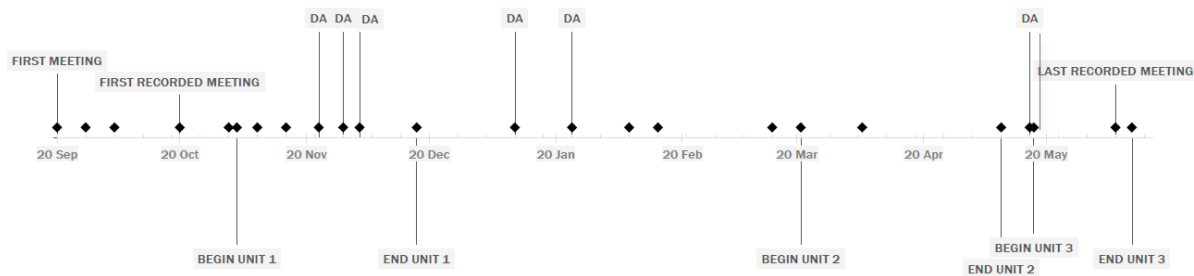


Figure 4. Timeline of teacher meetings.

Each marker on the timeline is a study meeting that was conducted for the teachers’ action research and is marks the beginning/end of the units as indicated on the labels. Six of the meetings are labeled “DA” indicating that during these meetings discourse analysis was performed.

I analyzed how the teachers talked about their students during the action research meetings. Particularly, I identified 31 different “funds of knowledge” activities throughout the meetings. These were instances in which at least some teachers were involved in an activity in which the idea of “funds of knowledge” was the explicit topic of conversation. For example, if the teachers were planning for an instructional unit in which they were explicitly talking about funds of knowledge, this was counted. Thus, the discourse practices of explicit talk about funds of knowledge was central to my analysis. In addition to these particular activities, I noted in my data that between units 1 and 2 (roughly between mid-November and the end of January) a general shift occurred in the way the teachers talked about their students and funds of

knowledge. While there could be many different factors contributing to this shift, one major factor I identified was the use of discourse analysis as a research activity. For five weekly meetings the primary goal was to analyze classroom data through discourse analysis, during which I identified 19 different “discourse analysis” activities. These activities included when teachers were analyzing video with the coding sheets, analyzing transcripts, or reviewing their findings from doing this. After this focus on discourse analysis, the teachers began to position students differently. Other factors may include explicit direction from the research assistants and the mentors from a previous cohort. Nonetheless, I will later demonstrate how the teachers shifted in the way they talked about their student’s identities, thus repositioning them into more complex social identities than those imposed upon them by dominant sociological or educational models.

In this chapter, I am revealing a general movement that took place, one that I will analyze more closely in a case study in the next chapter. In this chapter, I am showing how repositioning happens in the discourse as teachers perform research (i.e. discovering funds of knowledge and discourse analysis). I am limiting the data to the meetings in this chapter because I want to show how the teachers talk about their students. This reveals important information about the teachers’ language ideologies, curricular assumptions, and student identities.

Step Two: Developing and applying a coding scheme. Throughout phase one of my analysis, I noticed there were several codes of interest. However, when I applied these codes to the rest of the data set, that is, the field notes, teacher work, focus groups, and so forth, they did not completely fit. There were new themes emerging in the other data sources and topics that were talked about in teacher meetings didn’t occur in the rest of the data. So, I took the broader themes from the initial analysis and began to code and categorize under those more general

themes. I used NVivo 9 (QSR International, 2010), and as I coded the data I engaged in a dynamic evaluation and re-evaluation of the codes and how they may be hierarchically related.

Step Three: Analyzing the codes. Using NVivo 9, I was able to run matrix codes to check for significant overlap in coding. After running these matrix codes I realized that there was significant overlap in several coding categories. In addition, I conducted a cluster analysis. By running a cluster analysis, I could reach a Pearson correlation coefficient based on similar wording between my major codes and themes. For example, one theme I was coding for was “curricular decisions” and another “student identity.” Because the data had a focus on “funds of knowledge,” something I coded for in both categories based on the matrices, “curricular decisions” and “student identity” had significant overlap. When I ran a cluster analysis there was a 0.896 correlation, $p < 0.05$. This means that the two codes had significant overlap. Therefore, I was able to eliminate the category “curricular decisions” because a significant amount of the time teachers considered the curriculum, they did so in the context of student identity (e.g. through funds of knowledge). An additional example was the correlation between “student identity” and “language use.” I had originally set out to code for these two themes separately because when I proposed my research I thought the teachers would have discussed language use at length. When I coded, however, I reached a 0.888 correlation, $p < 0.05$. Therefore, I dropped the “language use” code because the majority of instances were coded under the theme “student identity.” I chose to drop this code even though the instances in which the teachers did talk about language apart from student identity included the teachers’ use of language or other community members’ use of language. On occasion “language,” more generally, was the topic of conversation. These instances were much fewer, thus in my final analysis they did not emerge as major themes. Nonetheless, it is telling that the teachers did have these reflections on their own

use of language. By analyzing the data this way I was able to achieve a reasonably valid set of codes. These codes helped me to identify points in my data, which needed further analysis.

Table IV shows these two significant correlations in codes that I mentioned in my analysis section.

TABLE IV
CODING CORRELATIONS

Code or Sub-code 1	Code or Sub-code 2	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	
Student Identity	Curriculum/Instruction	0.896	p<0.05
Student Identity (based on language)	Language use	0.888	p<0.05

This table indicates a high correlation between my original codes. Therefore, I eliminated the codes. These correlations indicate that the majority of the time the teachers talked about the curriculum and instruction or language use in all of the data set, they did so in the context of student identity. That is, rarely did they discuss “language” as a general topic or “curriculum and instruction” apart from the learner identities of their students. Therefore, this chapter will focus on both funds of knowledge, a tool for curriculum design and discourse analysis, that is language in use, in relation to the way teachers’ position students into social identities. As one of the goals of the university-school partnership was to develop a curriculum in which funds of knowledge, which was often associated with student identity by the teachers, was a central meditational tool, it would be expected that the “curriculum” and “student identity” would be correlated so highly. There was no significant variation over time with this association during the course of data collection. Likewise, since the relationship between “language” and “identity” was an explicit theoretical point held by the university-school partnership, the teachers were familiar with

associating language and identity. This correlation had theoretical precedence and was expected. However, there was not a notable change over the course of the data collection.

Additionally, NVivo 9 allowed me to run text queries to reanalyze my coding scheme. I could search for codes and themes within cases and across cases as well. These tools helped me to establish validity in my final coding scheme. For example, under the “Student Identity” code I had dozens of sub codes. While some were very prevalent (e.g. “students as a part of families and communities”), other had only a few instances (e.g. “bad behavior”). I found it reasonable to group the “behavioral” descriptions of students into one sub code because the difference between “behaviors” and “family/community affiliation” as ways of talking about students was significant enough for a coding scheme. I was able, then, to analyze how these codes worked across the data set, both across the cases in meetings (Chapter 5) and within my case study Allison (Chapter 6). Additionally, I was able to pinpoint specific examples within my field notes and classroom data for the sociological analysis in chapter 4. My final coding scheme is in Appendix E.

Step Four: Developing themes and counting codes. As noted above, I analyzed the coding scheme itself, looked for overlap, and settled on a final hierarchical coding scheme. After categorizing the codes this way, I was able to organize all the instances in my data in which the codes occurred. I break them up here into higher-level categories that are more thematic and lower level codes of specific examples of those themes. Table V shows the number of instances the codes occurred in the final coding iteration:

TABLE V
CODING INSTANCES

Code	Number of instances	Number of data sources
Positioning of students	571	100
learner identity	171	45
Expert	24	15
take ownership	14	6
change in teacher-student relationship	46	15
Excited	54	30
topic/curriculum is relevant	43	21
Behaviors	120	53
bad behavior	31	22
Leader	17	14
shy/quite	27	15
Socioeconomics	6	5
race/ethnicity	28	17
Gender	37	23
language identity	92	25
Bilingual	48	19
family language	22	13
Proficiency	16	7
code switching	10	3
Increase/change in discourse	32	11
Members of families and communities	184	44
Schooling	59	25
High	11	8
Low	6	4
learning disability	15	9
Chinese used in school	59	27
Funds of Knowledge	247	63
Home visits	60	25

This table shows the major theme that emerged, that is, student positioning. The number of codes and the number of sources the codes were found in are displayed. There was some overlap in the coding. For example, sometimes when the topic of language used at home came up, I coded it “family language” but also “member of family or community.” This was because in some contexts the teachers were talking about the use of language and about the students as

members of the family unit. So, the total number of instances (571) does not reflect overlaps such as these. Additionally, I separated “funds of knowledge” as a separate category because the construct did not always play a role in positioning the students, but sometimes was an ideal to which the teachers referred.

I present the number of coding instances in this chart to show how widespread some of the codes are. For example, in 30 different sources, for a total of 54 times, the teachers talked about (or wrote about) how excited the students were about the curriculum they developed. This is quite telling because it would indicate that the teachers were interested in what they perceived as excitement on the students’ part, valuing them as a particular kind of social actor, and indeed co-creator of the curriculum in as far as the teachers attempted to garner student excitement. A code I found to be interesting was socioeconomic status, and though it only occurred six times, it was found in five different data sources. The context in which this occurred was interesting because it may indicate a shift in teacher awareness. I will analyze an example of this in Chapter 5.

The most widespread code was “members of families and communities.” This code, being as wide spread as it was, indicates that the teachers viewed the students as complex social actors. In other words, the bridging between home and school was a major tool the teachers used in both instruction and in talking about their students. This emphasis on crossing the typical barriers of home and school may show that the teachers were taking up ideas presented in their frameworks, like funds of knowledge, for example. Indeed, funds of knowledge, itself, as a construct occurred 247 times, 60 of which were in connection to Allison and Jan’s home visits.

What this step of analysis provided was a general overview of the data along the lines of my research question. I found that some codes were very widespread. but others were not.

However, the number of instances and the number of sources in which they occurred do not show the whole story. They are mere indicators that these emerged in the data that was collected.

Step Five: Choosing exemplars. To illustrate the processes that occurred, I chose examples from the coded sources. Since the majority of my data was collected when working with the teachers on their analysis, including their write-ups of their data, the majority of the codes occurred in two major contexts. The first was the funds of knowledge activities, or discussions about funds of knowledge in which the teachers engaged and the second was the discourse analysis activities. In step 1 I noted that there were 31 episodes of funds of knowledge activities and 19 episodes of discourse analysis activities. The majority of the codes I presented occurred in such contexts either within those specific activities or in the write-ups of those activities.

In chapter 5 I focus on the teacher meetings and look at how through these two types of activities the teachers change in the way they talk about their students. I identify instances where specific participants engage in some novel way of talking about the students. For example, I will further analyze an example in which Jan does begin to consider socioeconomic status because of the home visits. Though the code only appeared six times, because it appeared through a fund of knowledge activity it is significant. This indicates that in at least one of the 31 funds of knowledge activities, the students were repositioned by considering the variety with their socioeconomic states. Another example would be when Leah shares a story about her students discussing whose parents, and if only Chinese parents, watch the news. I look at this example in Chapter 4 because it displays one of four ways ethnicity is presumed. Likewise, I pick examples that demonstrate the code as a whole, but also portray a turning point, or somewhat of a change in teacher awareness of the constructs. These moments were triangulated by more than one data

source. For example, the exemplar to which I refer to from Leah, is not only from a focus group, but the moment she speaks of is also referred to in her thesis. Thus, the exemplar is significant and demonstrates a shift in Ahilah because she refers to it on more than one occasion, including identifying it as significant in her thesis.

Step Six: Semiotic and neighborhood analysis. From my data, one thing that emerged was an emphasis on Chinatown and Chineseness. In Chapter 4 I will unpack a complex ecology that situates the interactions in the school. I needed to do a deeper analysis of the context. Thus, I began by reviewing the literature on ethnic enclaves and Chinatowns in the United States. This wasn't to build a framework or literature review, per say, but rather to establish the semiotic function of "Chinatown" in the American psyche. This provided the ability to understand how the interaction at Warner, and some of the tacit assumptions, may be linked to a more macro level. That is to say, that if Chinatown has a symbolic quality, then it reasons to follow that the students are symbolically positioned by virtue of being in "Chinatown" and being viewed as a part of "Chinatown." Thus, I look at "Chinatown" as a symbol taken up in North America. I use quotations around "Chinatown" when distinguishing it as a symbol.

I also note that a symbolic analysis is not enough to establish links between the interactions in the classroom and the macro symbol of "Chinatown." Thus, to help understand the linkage, I conducted an analysis of the neighborhood Chinatown in which my study took place to look for patterns and themes, which are common across my observations of the neighborhood, newspapers, interactional data from Warner, and other research. This included observing the community, looking at newspaper articles, seeking out websites, and other types of document analysis. This allowed me to see how Warner was positioned within the local neighborhood identified as Chinatown, which is a single instance of the symbol "Chinatown."

The key here was to combine sets of data, including newspaper articles and other artifacts, signs, sounds, and other observations, participant observations, interactional data from Warner, and other research to get an understanding of the patterns that took place in the community (Lune, Pumar, & Koppal, 2009). This dual analysis of both the wider semiotics of Chinatown cited in the literature and the neighborhood specific analysis of data, is used to contextually situate particular examples in which students are presumed to be “Chinese” as a monolithic ethnic category.

Step Seven: Discourse analysis. Gee (2011) explains that discourse analysis is the study of “language at use in the world, not just to say things, but to do things” (p. ix). The analysis of language in use requires one to look beyond the “what” is said, the “how” it’s said, and even the “meaning” of what is said to see the “values and beliefs” (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2013).

Therefore, I employed an analysis based on Gee’s (2011) principles to study exemplars that arose in the wider inductive analysis. Thus, I was able to pinpoint powerful examples of the themes that emerged. I used transcript conventions based on conversation analysis (Psathas, 1995), though modified slightly (Appendix F). As Ochs explained, “transcription is a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions” (1972, p. 44). Therefore, my transcripts reflect the goals of this particular analysis. Many other types of transcripts could be used for a variety of reasons (and in previous presentations of some of my data I have used different conventions), but through a process of achieving my analytic and theoretical goals, I have presented them in a particular way (see also Duranti, 1992). I chose the transcripts I did and transcribed them the way I did to preserve that which is most relevant to this study.

Step Eight: Organizing the analysis. After the previous eight steps were complete, I organized them for write-up. I had been writing previously, but mostly in memos or draft

versions. My findings seemed to fall into three major categories. The first, which is presented in chapter 4, shows the complexities teachers in Chinatown face. I pulled together the analysis around topics of ethnicity and language that seemed to provide barriers. These barriers, I could see from step seven were connected to a much larger semiotic system manifested in the community.

I saw a second type of finding as related to the teacher meetings. Specifically I was seeing the coding change through the different types of activities the teachers did which I documented in step one. This is demonstrated in chapter 5.

Finally, in chapter 6 I looked at change overtime through a case study. I looked at Allison the most closely in this chapter because she is a telling case. She is ethnically similar to her students, demonstrated the most drastic shift in awareness of her teaching practices (e.g. change in teacher student relationship, change in learner identity of students, and self reported and observed shifts in teaching style), and she had been a teacher for the longest time in the group. This is significant because despite the long teaching career she had, she indicated that the type of action research we engaged in was beneficial for learning about students and repositioning them. This case study also demonstrates some counter examples or variation from the other teachers as well. While chapter 5 focuses mostly on the teacher meetings, chapter 6 looks more at the process in which the teachers engage.

Step Nine: Establishing validity. Maxwell explains that validity is the “correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account” (p. 106). To achieve validity, there are many ways to anticipate and protect against specific threats. One way I have done this is through member checks. I have discussed my findings with key research participants and other researchers knowledgeable of the study. A second way is through

“triangulation,” or the collection of data from different sources, contexts, and with different methods. I have done this by using a variety of methods throughout my study within cases and across cases. I performed several types of analysis on my codes to protect against threats to validity as well, including matrix coding and cluster analyses. Finally, as Maxwell points out, “long-term observation” and “rich date” also can help to achieve validity. Over the course of 2 years working with the participants, I have continued to evaluate and revise initial hypotheses and findings. I also conducted member checks with key research participants and other researchers. We often reflected on the research while it was taking place. Many of these conversations I documented in field notes. After I did my analysis I continued to dialogue with her and the participants regarding my findings.

Summary

This methodology has allowed me to gather data about teachers, in a school, with EL students. It has allowed me to look at teachers in social interactions and through written artifacts as they make sense of their own lives as teachers. Since I am studying how students are positioned, I am looking largely through the eyes of the teachers in this study. Therefore, I am able to collect and analyze data that indicates how students are positioned by default and how that changes when teachers engage in inquiry. This methodology sets up the possibility to see, in the following chapters, how teachers research, learn, and change and in so doing, reposition English Learners.

IV. THE BORDER:

THE ECOLOGY OF POSITIONING STUDENTS AT WARNER SCHOOL

“You have a lot of products at your gift shop. What products are there? NAME FIVE. Ready? GO.”

The teacher asked one sixth-grade girl about her gift shop. Probably one of the shops I had visited many times before. I started to think about all the things I had seen in the gift shops around Chinatown over the years. The girl spoke up, listing common items in her parents’ store.

“Sharpener, purse, and shirt?”⁵

“Two more, COME ON!”

“Shoes.”

“Shoes”

“Toys”

“Toys; that’s a lot of products.”

Introduction

The classroom is a complicated space. It exists within a larger community, and yet, that larger community exists within the classroom. The dialectic relationship between “in-school” and “out-of-school” is easily (and erroneously) dichotomized into two different worlds. It is no wonder that labels like “ELL” and “bilingual” are applied to mark students within a particular institutional program rather than describe the things they do on a daily basis. The institutionalization of such identities requires the school to stand apart from the community, yet in the instance above we see a girl simultaneously standing in the classroom, yet also in a gift shop. At Warner, I began to see the traditional borders of schooling re-cast, and I began to look

⁵ This example comes from a lesson on November 10, 2010. The last word here is nearly inaudible, but it was a product common in the gift-shops.

at a much wider context than is typically viewed as school and classroom research. The teachers and students at Warner demonstrate how classrooms, in this case those of EL students, are rich and complicated spaces of different social performances; performances that occur simultaneously. Therefore, it is important to look “beyond” the classroom, and also “in” the classroom, to see that terms like EL and other institutionally and sociologically defined identities are merely a part of some level of social performance, whether that be the performance of a Chinatown shopkeeper, a classroom student, or both.

After the girl recounted items in her store, I remembered earlier in the day, when I got off the train on the Red Line platform. I could see several curved, upturned, green tile roofs in the distance. Even though it was early in the day, people were bustling about. After dodging a couple of traffic lights, I passed near the fire station. It was almost always open to the public, and occasionally school children can be seen coming and going on field trips. Many of the students at Warner had visited there over the years. I turn toward Wellington Street, and walk under a large red sign with four Chinese characters: "The world belongs to the commonwealth." People were coming in and out of stores, stores in which I occasionally saw the students from this study working behind the counters. As a prime tourist attraction, there were out of town visitors and college students with cameras around their necks. Tourists who were exploring the “exotic” lives of the students in the classrooms! There were also elderly Chinese people walking much slower than me, possibly the grandparents of the students I was on my way to observe. I passed by the elderly man putting live crabs in paper bags. I passed by the roasted ducks in the window and the pink squid. Before I went to the school I even stopped by a small bakery and order a hot lemon tea and sit, listening to the cadence of a dozen elderly Chinese men talking to each other. I felt quite out of place. This is the community of many of the students at Warner. The gift stores,

like the one this girl talked about, I had frequented for the trinkets and Chinese decorations. Yet, for her, they simply contained *sharpeners, purses, shirts, shoes, and toys* - all “normal” things!

As I crossed the “border” and enter the school, the security guard, a boisterous African American lady, Ms. Harris, greeted me. “Hey Joe! How's mom?” This common greeting caught on soon after I told Ms. Harris that my mom had lung cancer. A thick Bible, with ink marks and highlights all over the pages was opened on her desk. She had been preparing for Sunday school. She usually encouraged me with words from scripture and often would grab my hands and pray. She filled me in on her health and that of her family as well. A voice behind me called “Hi Joe!” It was the assistant principal. I entered into a classroom and set up a camera, greeted by two dozen kids asking about me, my weekend, and which group I was going to videotape today. The day had just begun.

In this chapter I present a finding that emerged from observations conducted during the project. Specifically, I analyze the ecology of Warner School to help make sense of the socio-political and historical positioning of the teachers and students in my study. I answer the question “How are ELs at Warner positioned socially?” They are positioned by dominant ideological processes; however, this ideological positioning can be (and is) challenged as students are repositioned in classroom interactions. I tease out, here, that there is a specific language ideology around the use of Chinese that is evident in the way Chinatown is positioned in society, and how the people of Chinatown, including students, are by default positioned. This default positioning, however, is seen in the classroom, but is also challenged in the classroom.

“Chinatown” is not merely a contextual factor implicated in my study; rather, it is an ideological construct that is used to position students in classrooms. Therefore, a theme that emerged in my own observations was that “Chinatown” is immanent in the interactions that take

place in Warner, that is, analytically one cannot completely separate them. “Chinatown” is *reimagined* in the school. However, through the action research project, some of the assumptions of the “Chinatown” ideology are challenged. It’s important to understand how students are positioned in a larger sociopolitical framework because the teachers are talking about their identity and who they are as people. Some of the teachers actually go into community to find out who they are and what their families are like, thereby attempting to reposition them in the classroom. The teachers’ views of the students change over time, which will be analyzed more closely in the next chapter where I look at the way teachers position students in third person talk. I examine the ecology of the interactions of students and teachers to look at the interplay of larger ideological models with in the moment-to-moment interactions.

As early as Malinowski (1923), when he studied so-called “primitive” languages (perhaps a term rooted in an ideology that has left a scar on the discipline), language was seen as contextually bound, not by the semantic structure alone, but rather by the culture and environment of the speakers. Meaning was embedded in the context. So, as I study the interaction between teachers and between teachers and students, the context and environment is essential to understanding the meaning of talk. The meaning of the utterances that are spoken or written (examined throughout my findings) rely on the context in which they are spoken or written. Therefore, while I examine this ecology as a system of analysis, it is important to note one could also examine other ecologies, like the ecology of public schooling in the United States. In figure 5 I display the ecology of Warner school. This is an attempt to describe and situate my analysis within this larger, more complex framework. Wortham (2012) urged the field of linguistic anthropology to move beyond the *macro-micro* dichotomy. There have been several attempts to do so, as I pointed out in my framework. It is important to note here, once again, that

when we study in-the-moment interaction of students and teachers, we must also consider how it relates to semiotic processes in other time-scales, such as the ontogenetic and sociocultural scales. This ecology presents changes that are related and taking place across timescales.

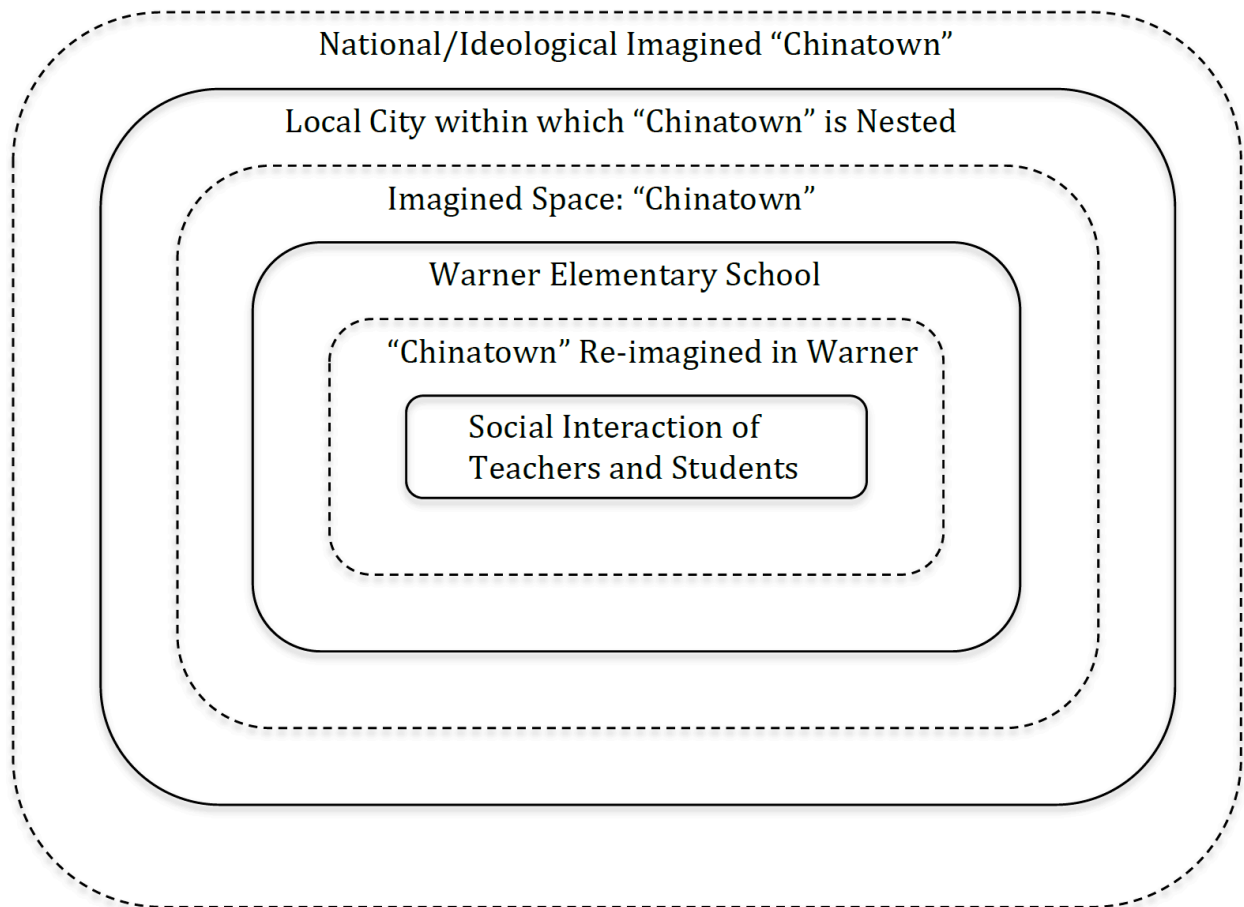


Figure 5. Ecology of Warner Elementary School.

In this system, I study themes that emerge across the contexts. Any ecological model will be limited in that a decision must be made regarding which levels of context to study. Additionally, not all ecologies (and certainly not the one in this study) fit into discreet boxes. However, here I am studying how these national ideological beliefs about Chinatown are manifest on a local level, and more important, are manifest within the classroom and school interactions. Within that local manifestation, there is a school, Warner. Within Warner,

however, the same processes creating Chinatown on the national and local level are also in effect. Thus, Chinatown is reified within the school. The dashed lines represent the “imagined” space called “Chinatown,” a conventionalized emblem that is operative on at least three levels. Within these embedded levels is the actual social interaction of teachers, students, and researchers. Thus, I want to understand how within these levels, students are socially positioned which will help to understand how the teachers in this study develop through the use of action research as a professional development tool.

If we take positions to be, as Harré and Moghaddam (2003) do, the rights, duties, and obligations of a social actor in any given social context, or as a Wortham (2001) does, with a more encompassing “social identity,” then we can look at how students are expected to fill these positions in an imagined space, here “Chinatown.” These positions can be observed through meaningful speech and other acts, whether on a scale of discursive markers in binary interaction or through generational movements. Thus, I find it helpful to invoke Lemke (2000) to address the issue of scale of time. In this chapter I am drawing on processes that occur on at least four scales of time . These scales of time correspond to the levels displayed in figure 4. For the national-ideological Chinatown, positioning is happening over the course of several generations. Perhaps the shifts are related to wider global political issues. Nonetheless, “Chinatown,” as an emblem, is used to position individuals and communities occurs over more than 100 years, as indeed, the very identity of “oriental” had been applied centuries ago during European Imperialism. The level of the local “Chinatown” occurs in nearly 100 years or less. It is not so much an icon in and of itself, but uses the iconic “Chinatown” to mark identity and positions in a specific city. These positions may or may not change in a few generations. The school is, in part, a function of the city within which it exists. However, the school is a more flexible system and

can change over the course of several years in the way it positions ELs in general and the Chinese and Chinese American ELs at Warner more specifically. Finally, the social interaction that takes place anywhere between seconds and a year are also changing in the way ELs are positioned.

Three themes emerged while studying the student positioning in the interactions at Warner that need a wider contextualized lens (figure 6). These themes emerged once I began to look more specifically at the literature on Chinatowns and the specific community analysis. From the literature on these processes, I could draw connections to moments in my data about the same topics. Specifically, the examples that were used fell under the coding categories of “race/ethnicity,” “funds of knowledge,” and “members of communities and families.” These codes were the broadest codes that reached outside of the classroom back to the community., thus triangulating and situating the students within the larger themes from Chinatown. The linking of interactional texts among teachers and between teachers and students to more "macro" processes provides a deeper understanding of schools and schooling. The reapplication of dominant ideological models, like "Chinatown" and "Chineseness" in face-to-face social interaction serves to reify cultural values and constructs. Additionally, by the reapplication of this dominant model in the classroom, certain symbols are held up as icons, and others are erased. The first theme that emerged is the invention of racial or ethnic identity, specifically tied to place. The second theme that emerged is political contestation evident in the ecology of Chinatown. By political contestation I refer not only to the elected politics of democratic society, but the tension of values of groups of people over resources and power. Finally, the third theme that emerged from an ecological analysis of Warner is that a market place

commodification of Chinatowns that emerge from an ideology of multiculturalism (Santos & Yan, 2008) is reinvented in social interaction.

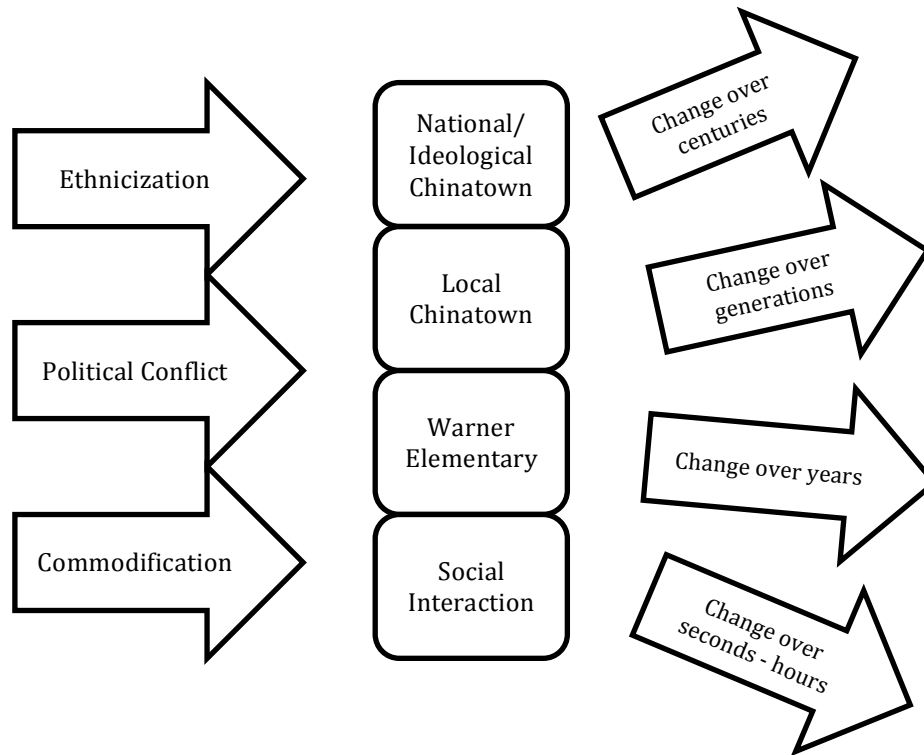


Figure 6. Processes occurring on multiple ecological levels.

These themes emerged in my observations at the school site and community, but also are rooted in the literature indicating a wider semiotic system that is reapplied within the school as a sociological entity. The themes could be seen as three semiotic processes, or processes by which symbols reposition the wider community and in turn students in the school. I refer to these as *processes* because ethnicity, political contestation, and the creating of a multicultural commodity are happening over time, thus they can be talked about as *ethnicizing*, *politicizing*, and *commoditizing*. However, I also found that the ethnicizing, politicizing, and commoditizing of Chinatown is challenged in interaction, lending evidence that macro-ideological processes are imposed on students in schools, despite challenges to those dominant paradigms in more micro-

interactions. Table VI shows an overview of this chapter by summarizing the three different processes as well as PD and action research tools that address each process.

As this chapter presents how students at Warner are positioned by default, it is also important to know how the teachers repositioned the students in the moment-to-moment interactions between each other and with the students. As I present the finding of how students were positioned at Warner and how that changes in the course of teacher professional development, I will illustrate the so to speak “macro” or big picture processes with interactions or writings from the teachers and students.

TABLE VI

THREE PROCESSES OCCURING IN CHINATOWN AND IN THE CLASSROOM

	Ethnicizing	Politicizing	Commoditizing
Definition	The process of mapping of an ethnic category on an arbitrary space marked by language	The process of empowering and/or marginalization of an ethnolinguistic (or other) group	The process of transforming ethnicity or “culture” into an exchange value good or service
At the National Level	Seen in the cultural expression of “Chinatown”	Seen in historical marginalization of Chinese immigrants and in present international relations with China	Seen in the exotic treatment of “Chinatown” in mass media and travel literature
At the City Level	Seen in the creation of a space carved out by linguistic markers assumed to be homogeneously Chinese	Seen in the local marginalization of Asian Americans from democratic politics	Seen in the creation of Chinatown as a tourist destination
At the School-wide Level	Seen in Warner through linguistic markers around the school and on the website.	Seen in the visit by the mayor and other political figures	Seen in the institutionalization of cultural holidays and marking of emblematic Chinese symbols.
Examples of contesting or upholding the process in the classroom	<p>“You’re all Chinese, most of you” (teacher)</p> <p>“Some of the students want to forget their heritage” (teacher)</p> <p>“I’m here and I’m not Chinese” (student)</p> <p>“Mostly they [parents] have foreign things” (student)</p>	<p>Written persuasive essay letters to politicians</p> <p>“they thought the parents wouldn’t understand the word “environment” and they said they would see it on TV but they said well that doesn’t mean they understand” (teacher-students being activists)</p>	<p>“name five things in your gift shop” (teacher)</p> <p>“It was just so cute to me. She would start off and speak Chinese” (teacher)</p>
Professional Development/Action Research	Cultural analysis/field notes/funds of knowledge	Examine discursive practices/discourse analysis	Culture as lived practice/ funds of knowledge

Ethicizing Chinatown: National, Local, and School Wide Level

Within Chinatown is an assumed ethnicity, and that ethnicity is assumed to be homogeneous. That assumption of homogeneity sustains the idea of Chinatown on the national, local, and even school wide levels. This ethnicity is believed to exist within a particular boundary, an imagined boundary, that is marked by linguistic and other semiotic features. Thus, there is a tight, iconic linking between language, physical space, and ethnicity. The socially held iconic relationship between the language Chinese, the imagined space “Chinatown,” and *Chineseness* as an ethnic construct that stems from a language ideology, that is, it is a folk theory of language presuming an ethnic identity upon a space marked by the language.

Assumed national, and local homogeneity. As is consistent with my literature review on prevailing stereotypes of Asians and Asian Americans in America, the teachers in this study tended to view the Chinese students as both a “model minority” and “perpetual foreigners.” On several occasions, once while I was working with Jan, and African American teacher, in her home and others in informal conversations around the school, Jan indicated she was very happy to be working at Warner. She had previously indicated that she had worked on the Westside of the city (in a predominantly African American area) and faced behavioral problems. She indicated she was very pleased to be at Warner because the kids were so well behaved which she attributed to them being Asian. The “perpetual foreigner” stereotype seemed to prevail as well, with the assumption that the students should identify as Chinese (see the example below). Since the university-school partnership took an intentional lens of multiculturalism, the teachers, specifically the two African American teachers, toward the beginning of the year-long project indicated surprise that the students seemed to want to reject their heritage. On multiple occasions they expressed pride in their own heritage and marveled at the lack of pride in many of

the students. This complex stance is possible from a lens of multiculturalism, however, the “perpetual foreigner” stereotype is reified when the teachers attempt to impose that heritage upon students, thus marking them as foreign because their parents and grandparents are foreign.

These stereotypes would likely have existed upon Chinese students outside of Chinatown as well, but the stereotype here does not end with a single individual, or even a family, but also extends to the community as well. Thus, as dominant ideological constructs are applied by and to individuals in the moment, they are also then re-cast upon wider society as well, hence reaffirming the stereotype. This, in a sense, creates a sort of duality of structures (see Giddens, 1979) whereby the teachers tend to recreate the structures within society, yet also maintain agency and can challenge that, as will be seen in the coming chapters.

Nationally, Chinatown has been represented as an imagined geography, or a physical space carved out for a particular ethnic group, namely, the “Chinese.” Additionally, local representations of this imagined geography are marked by linguistic forms, contributing to the appearance of a direct relationship between the physical space and the linguistic markers and the presumed ethnicity. Thus, everyone within the space is assumed to be (1) ethnolinguistically homogeneous and (2) aligned with that identity. The former is the presumption about people by outsiders. The latter is the assumption that all members of Chinatown, including the students with whom this study is concerned, should self-identify along the same lines. To be clear, the present review of Chinatowns is not meant to be an accurate portrayal of all Chinese in America or of all Asians in America. It is merely a portrait of the specific “Chinatown” communities, and the larger societal understanding of “Chinatown.” For example, the first time I set foot in a “Chinatown” was when I was in college; however, even as a child I would recognize any space that had more than a few Chinese restaurants as “Chinatown.”

This assumed homogeneity tended to stand throughout the study, as I will show later, but the teachers also noticed variation within their students, though perhaps still dichotomized. After conducting home visits, Jan began to struggle with the differences between her students. We can see her making sense of what she actually saw in the homes and communities in her second individual report from January 24, 2011:

I feel that my focus group, most of whom just exited the bilingual program, prefers to speak Chinese. I don't think they are completely comfortable with English. I also know that two of them go to Chinese school on Saturdays to learn more of the language and to develop their more writing. This surprised me, because I know some of the students want to forget their Chinese heritage and oddly enough, their parents want them to, as well. They feel they are in America now, be American. However, I notice those are mainly the ones that are not doing as well financially. It seems that if they are established they don't want to forget their heritage, but if they working hotels and restaurants they want better for their children and only wants them to speak English. I assume this is because if they can speak proper English, they will do better in college and get the better jobs.

(JAN'S INDIVIDUAL REPORT, 01/24/2011)

Jan began to see that there are major differences between the students in her focus group. On another occasion she attributed this knowledge to having visited the homes, where she saw some of the families living in what she considered poverty, and other who seemed to be well off. So, the connection Jan makes, here, is that English proficiency, socioeconomic status, and the use of Chinese in the classroom index different identities. Her surprise is, no doubt due, at least in part, to her collapsing of students into a homogeneous category of a monolithic *chineseness*. Thus we can see how the professional development Jan engaged in, which included studying the language use of her students in and out of school, as well as home visits, brought her to a point of struggle with the variation of the students in her classroom.

Chinatown on national level: Imagined geography. Nationally, Chinatowns are assumed to exist in neat, geographic spaces, though not necessarily with political boundaries afforded

them. "Chinatown," as a location name, seems to intuitively derive from the people that live there, however, Anderson (1987) notes that "Chinatown" is a Western landscape type. In other words, Chinatown is not simply Chinatown because people from China have settled there. In fact, Chinatown is a social construction, much like the ethnic category of "Chinese" itself that comes from a historical system of "arbitrary" spatial categorization. Since ethnicity is a social construction, then a local organization of space to correspond with an ethnic category is also an "ethnoscope." So, the North American Chinatown is a landscape type in that it is an "imagined geography." Certainly, immigrants from China may have settle together to share common languages and traditions, however, the marking of territory along ethnic lines must occur by consent of both the inside community and the outside community. Thus, "Chinatown" has achieved an iconic natural standing for an arbitrary space. However, it is not simply an imagined geography in the sense of an exact location, rather it is a "type of landscape" that exists as a North American semiotic tool. Thus, every token of this type is part of a cohesive ideology that a particular ethnic category can be mapped to a particular geographical domain, or space:ethnicity.

Representations of Chinatown. Although Chinatown is cast as an ethnically homogeneous community, Chinatown across North America has been represented in literature, news, and scholarly work in many different ways. Representations of Chinatown across the country have been quite conflicting (Wong, 1995). Wong explains that on two different levels the images of Chinatown have been conflicted. First, there is, perhaps, a misguided comparison between the representations of Chinatown and Euro-American communities. Second, there is a clear social conflict seen in hostility from Euro-American communities toward Chinatown. These inter-related battles appear in literature spanning over a century. From academic studies,

to travel literature, to city reports, Wong indicates that the pejorative themes that arise surround the "physical 'mysteriousness' of Chinatown, unsanitary living conditions, immoral activities, and the general Otherness of the Chinese themselves, all of which contrasted with familiar idealized images of 'American' communities." (p. 4). These themes continue to mark Chinatown communities fifteen years after this essay was written. However, the prevailing images of Chinatown, though sometimes negative, have recently been recast as multicultural, attending to the sociopolitical ideology that privileges diversity, at least in the sense of an easily accessible commodity (Santos et al., 2008).

The scholarly and mass media portrayals are not unique. Even at Warner, the portrayal of Chinatown, and the people in Chinatown, seems to closely resemble national news broadcasts. Recently, CNN reporter Poppy Harlow (2013) showed the living conditions of a New York Chinatown tenement in which renters paid to live in a 54 square foot area with common restrooms. The descriptions of two of the teachers in this study who visited the homes talked about the living conditions in similar ways. As teachers, they encouraged their students about their homes, and when they asked to visit some of the students seemed to get embarrassed. Jan told one of the girls she could clean up the house first, since everyone does that before company came over, and the girl finally acquiesced to Jan's visit. This is not only an example of a teacher visiting a home, but legitimizing the lifestyles of her students. More importantly, it can be seen as a way for Jan to grow professionally, as she gleans a host of knowledge about her students. Allison also indicated surprise that one of the family's phone bills was \$265 even though they lived in a one-room apartment with a kitchenette (Field note 10/25/10). The representation of the home sounds very similar to the news reports about small, dirty, scary living spaces whether or not they were in reality.

Since Chinatown is cast as a homogeneous community, Chinatown appears to be a monolithic purveyor of traditional Chinese culture. People in Chinatown have come from many different areas in China and have come to America throughout many different generations, and though the earliest immigrants were working class people from Canton (Chang, 2003), new coming immigrants may come from different socioeconomic statuses and different regions (Kwong, 1996). Although China, itself has an ideology of homogeneity, upon arrival, immigrants may also find that their new home is completely different from the one they left. People in Chinatown see the community as homogeneous, but also can imagine a variety of social worlds and trajectories, or “spatial imaginaries” (e.g. Huska, 2012). Although there are class struggles that can be seen between business people and hourly workers, they are driven to work together because of ethnic ties (Santos & Yan, 2008). Thus, Chinatown is often a gateway community now, with newer immigrants moving out when given the opportunity. This is spurred on by the US immigration policy that at once favors keeping families together and at the same time favors professionals. Thus, there is a distinct duality in immigration patterns with generally lower socioeconomic status immigrants settling in or around Chinatown, the “Downtown Chinese” and the professionals often living in the suburbs, the “Uptown Chinese” (Kwong & Mišćević, 2005). At this juncture, I want to also point out that the history of Chinese in America is not so simple as presented here. Immigrants throughout US history were met with racism, blatant discrimination, poor living conditions, abuses in sweatshops, sex-trade, manual labor, and a number of other evils that still stereotype and otherwise affect the communities (Chang, 2003).

Chinatowns are also going through a major shift. In fact, Mandarin is supplanting Cantonese as the lingua franca and more frequently the People's Republic of China's flags can be

seen where the Republic of China flags reigned more prominently. Thus, within Chinatown, there is competition among cultural and generational values, which is erased in the ideological model of Chinatown. The once seemingly monolithic and homogeneous community is no longer this way. In fact, the representation of Chinatown as "homogeneous" further underscores that the community is rarely viewed as integrated parts of the cities within which they are embedded, and they are used to advance the purposes of others.

Chinatown on local level: Imagined geography. The national level trickles to the local level. Here, again, in the local-contemporary expression of a national-generational phenomenon, we can see that the logic of "Chinatown" is recursively embedded in one North American city. It is a common name, even among students at Warner, most of who live in Chinatown. Thus the term "Chinatown" is not only applied from the outside but is taken up by the students as well. In the following transcript from Allison's classroom on May 26, 2011, for example, the students talk about living "outside" versus living "inside:"

01. **Wei Sheng:** Ok . what neigh/neighborhood do you live in Pengfei?
02. **Pengfei:** What neighborhood do YOU live in? (pushing the microphone
03. back at Wei Sheng)
04. **Yaozu:** about the south[inaudible]
05. **Wei Sheng:** [yeah I] live outsi:de-
06. **Pengfei:** -I live insi:de
07. (3.0 seconds all laughing)
08. **Yaozu:** Of course you live inside
09. (2.0 seconds laughing)
10. **Wei Sheng:** Who doesn't (1.0) live inside?
11. (1.0)
12. **Wei Sheng:** Inside where?
13. **Pengfei:** >>Chinatown<<

After this two other students are asked where they live and say Chinatown. Laughing accompanies the exchange. In line 04 Yaozu begins to say where Wei Sheng lives, but is cut off

by Wei Sheng's more generic "outside," thus indicating a distancing from Chinatown. We can see the rapid responses by Pengfei in line 06 as a play on Wei Sheng's statement in line 05. The outside/inside division of Chinatown here shows that Chinatown is viewed as its own neighborhood with insiders and outsiders. Wei Sheng's parents owned a shop in Chinatown, and he was, according to Allison, her "top student." There may be, perhaps, a slight division on social status here as well between insiders and outsiders with the outsiders being viewed as slightly higher status or less "foreign" (perhaps also indicated by Pengfei's rapid speech in line 13). About a minute after this exchange, while talking about crime in the community of Chinatown, Pengfei and Yaozu talk about Wei Sheng's house getting robbed. Wei Sheng then said, "I know something that happened in Chinatown. You know next to my store *Chinatown Market*, *Chinatown Market*, he got robbed." Again, here, we may see Wei Sheng slightly distancing himself from Chinatown by reinforcing the crime that happened next to his store, which was inside Chinatown. We can also see here that Allison's grouping strategy for this assignment was to allow the ELs an opportunity to speak in Chinese shows that there is an difference in the way the students make sense of their own positions within the group, in this case insiders and outsiders of Chinatown.

The national icon of Chinatown as "foreign" is likewise marked in the city in which my fieldwork was conducted. The erasure of diversity (e.g. ethnic, socioeconomic, and linguistic) is ironically applied within this particular city where Chinatown as a whole adds to the strategic multiculturalism of the city's marketplace. Even dating back to the late 1970's we can see this notion of Chinatown being a cluster of immigrants from the Canton region of China. Whereas many immigrants from China moved to the surrounding metropolis and assimilated, several thousand, mostly Cantonese, stayed together in Chinatown living much like they had in China.

The implicit projection here, then, is that Chinatown is a cluster of Chinese people in a geographical space (marked only by the major intersection), and that there is little variation within that.

In 2002 an article was published in the local newspaper that pointed to the revitalization of Chinatown (Kennedy, 2002). Ironically, it pointed out two important things. The first was that an estimated 8,000 people of Chinese descent lived in the space called Chinatown. An additional 10,000 lived in a community area immediately to the west, but made up of a much more diverse population. Thus, the space “Chinatown” isn’t simply the community with a high population of Chinese immigrant families. It is somewhat more imagined. The second point that was made was that despite the major revitalization efforts, Chinatown did not advertise much to the larger community. The article called it a “best kept secret.” This indicates not only the popular view of a closed community, but also displays that continued exclusivity within Chinatown seemed to be normative even through the beginning of the new century.

Chinatown on national level: Linguistic landscape. In addition to the general landscape type of Chinatown in which space:ethnicity are iconically related, there is also the symbolic marking creating a “linguistic landscape” (Leeman & Modan, 2009). Linguistic landscapes are often evident of language planning and policies. Indeed, Chinatown uses linguistic markers to denote space as well. Leeman and Modan (2009) noted that in Washington D.C. non-Chinese owned store chains used Chinese orthography to target people who did not read Chinese nor were ethnically Chinese. This marking is evident in the present city context as well, including the local Walgreens, for instance. For Chinatown there is an explicit iconic relationship between language, space, and ethnicity. Thus, the model language:space:ethnicity can be seen to apply on multiple ecological levels. Even though the landscape of Chinatown is marked by linguistic

features and signage, it is not as monolithic as one may think. Within Chinatown, itself, there is a shift occurring. As noted above, the makeup of Chinatown is not homogeneous. There are several languages spoken in the homes of Chinatown, the most widely used being Cantonese. However, with more Mandarin speakers moving to North America, there is a language shift happening across Chinatowns in North America. Additionally, for many Mandarin speakers, their churches, and businesses exist outside of Chinatown, but they join in the dominant Cantonese community for purposes like New Years Celebration.

The landscape that is known as Chinatown has a fairly cohesive linguistic landscape (i.e. printed characters prominently places around the area), which reifies the distinction of place as ethnic community, thereby erasing the diversity within.

Chinatown on the local level: Linguistic landscape. In fact, there is a relatively small population of African Americans residing within the local Chinatown, and many of the public workers (including teachers, the public school principal, other school personnel, crossing guards, and English teachers) are not of Chinese descent. Additionally, there are other stakeholders in the community whom are of other ethnic groups. These groups are essentially erased from the “Chinatown” landscape. Chinatown, then, is separated from the rest of city life, at least in the metaphorical, if not completely in the literal sense. The local public elementary school, located in "the heart of Chinatown," is embedded within this iconic landscape type. The teachers of the school, however, generally come from outside of the community, and the school, itself, is ultimately run from outside the community. Thus, the application of the icon "Chinatown" is evident in Warner. Warner is marked with symbolic language as well.

Outside, within, and in the space: Warner, marking and making ethnicity. From an outsider’s view of Chinatown, with the marketplace mentality (as described in the third section),

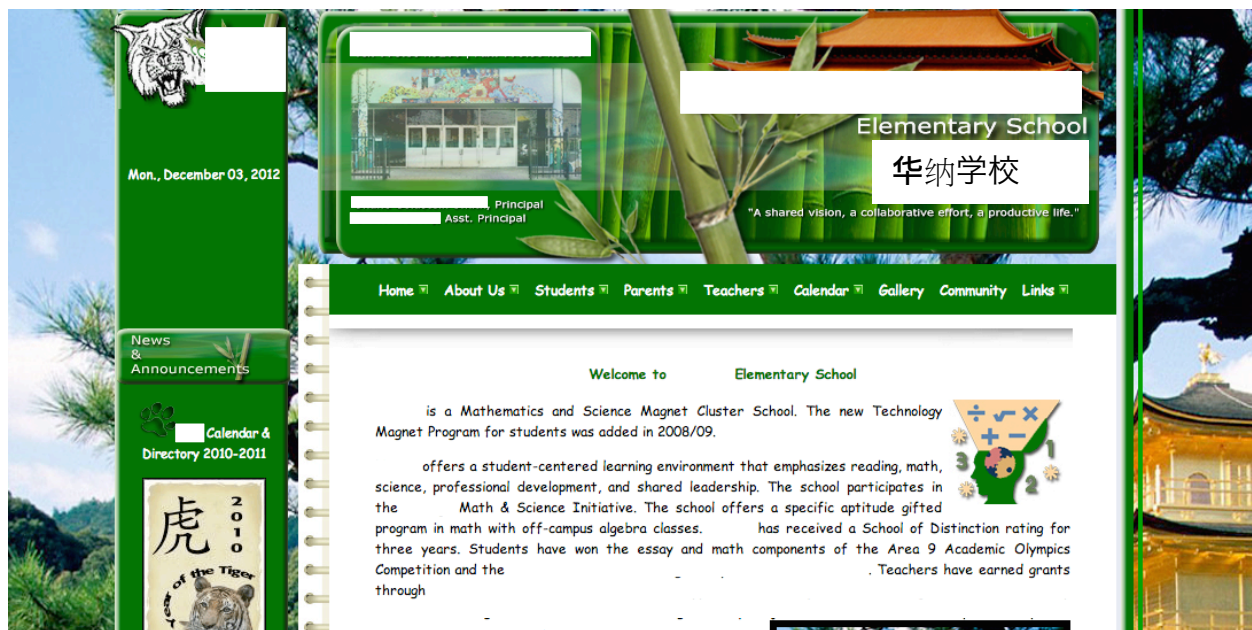
the real life of people seems all but to disappear. However, like other communities, there are public services, libraries, schools, grocery stores, cooking ware stores, post offices, banks, places of worship, and so forth. These “every day” places don’t exist in the framework of an “imagined geography,” or at least not in the same way. Thus, to understand how students within Chinatown are positioned, we need to look at the everyday practices of people in the community. One practice is schooling.

Since schooling is compulsory in America and highly valued in Chinese culture, the school provides an interesting connecting link from the national and local level representations of Chinatown to the actual social interactions. The school exists both outside of Chinatown (as it is managed and staffed by people outside the community) and within (as it serves students within and exists within the boundaries of the community). Warner, itself, takes up the model of Chinatown to presume within itself the assumption of homogeneity, marked in many of the same ways as Chinatown as a whole is marked, and thus, an implicit (and often explicit) privileging of Chinese American student identity in Warner.

Warner School, marking and making ethnicity. During my fieldwork at the elementary school, I was interested in duality that exists in Warner Elementary. At once, Warner is named a Euro American name, it is a state run school, and is organized and staffed by people who, for the most part, live outside of Chinatown. It is, however, also a school with a transitional bilingual program, Chinese writing displayed prominently (both for communication with community members as well as an iconic mark of ethnic identity) and a center where cultural celebrations take place for Chinese New Year and other holidays. Unlike the two other elementary schools in the area, however, there are no visual features on the outside that mark it as Chinese. The Catholic school on the next street has iconic Chinese style roofing, and the Christian elementary

school affiliated with a Christian church, both have ethnic Chinese markers. In the back of my mind, I wondered how this site operated in the larger Chinatown context. It wasn't until I began to analyze my data that I realized an interesting phenomenon was occurring. Because the teachers in my study come from outside of Chinatown, I have observed a recursive structure of icons of ethnic identity from the community and erasure of diversity within the community. Stereotypes about Chinatown from the outside communities are recursively applied within the school, even insofar as the use of linguistic symbols.

Warner School: Digital linguistic markers. Warner used digital media, through its website, as one way to mark it as an imagined ethnic space. There are also features within the school, but this example is quite telling. In keeping with the linguistic landscape of the wider community, marking area with linguistic signs, Warner's website is displayed in figure 7:



(Web archive from <http://web.archive.org/>, 08/26/2012)

Figure 7. Homepage of Warner's website.

In this figure, there are several salient features that add to the wider linguistic landscape, marking Warner as a cohesive part of the Chinatown in the language:space:ethnicity iconic

relationship. The first feature is the use of four Chinese Characters in the top right under the English school name, is the Chinese translation. These characters are not aimed at Chinese speakers, but are directed to mark the school as an ethnic space to the wider community. The site itself does not have a Chinese version nor is it completely translated; however certain information on the site, including forms, newsletters, and event dates, may be translated into Chinese. Current versions of the site display more Chinese text. A second linguistic feature is “Year of the Tiger 2010.” This marking is an example of continued mixing of calendar systems (the Chinese New Year beginning nearly a month after the Gregorian New Year). The “Year of the Tiger” is a marker, again, of Chinese traditional values, used in celebrations, but not usually in the daily life. Furthermore, the website itself provides general information about the school as well as links for the school community (for students, parents, and teachers). However, this particular statement is not useful for the dissemination of information. It is the iconic use of the linguistic symbols that seem to mark it as ethnically homogeneous. The absence of full translation, again, matches the Chinatown model that what is indexed is an imagined homogeneous ethnic community, and not the everyday lives of students and parents (if the text was provided in full translation, it would lend evidence to seeing ethnolinguistic identity as an everyday practice, not a presumed identity).

Several additional symbols are also relevant here. The architecturally distinct pagoda in the top right with the bamboo is also iconic marker of a cohesive linguistic landscape. The bamboo appears to be part of a larger template on the site (since there is a plant on the left side as well and the background is green). While bamboo is an iconic Asian plant, and is sold at nearby gift shops, it, again, seems only to serve the purpose of marking the school website as ethnically Chinese, and an ethnicity that privileges dominant stereotypes of “Chineseness.” The distinctive

background indexes Asian artistry as well. The school itself is part of the public school system, and indeed marks itself as distinct from the community in that its allegiance is first and foremost to the board of education. Even the “about Warner” page describes James Warner as a former Euro-American mayor. Thus the semiotic design of the Warner website seems to play into the larger landscape type.

Like Chinatown, Warner is marked as an imagined, homogeneous community that is ethnically Chinese. During the 2010-2011 school year, about 93% of the students were of Asian descent. The second most populous ethnic category identified by the district was African American, representing 6% of the school population. In each of the classrooms I observed there were between 2 and 4 African American students. Like the African Americans in the wider Chinatown community, these African Americans are erased. It is important to note that on the school website, as of October 2012, there are several pictures of students appearing to be both of Asian descent and African American, and thus there is not a complete erasure of the ethnic diversity (which is a part of the school’s mission statement and historical development), but in practice, there is an explicit privileging of the Chinese and Chinese American students.

Even as the ethnic identity of “Chinese” is placed upon students from the outside and from within the school as an attempt at creating a homogeneous space, there is variation. Although I did not observe this directly, in numerous informal interviews with school faculty and staff it was reported that there is a prejudice toward the bilingual program. That is to say that within the school it is as if there are two schools operating, one for the bilingual program and one for the general education students. Stigmatism follows recent transfers out of the bilingual program, often resulting in students being made fun of. The following comes from Jan’s thesis:

I think they're made to feel bad I was talking to you about this before because they're bilingual students and these are the English students and they still separated like this. I mean they just segregate all the time. And I'm like man, come on, you all are like family what's the problem? They segregate all the time so I don't know what happened this year.

(JAN'S THESIS DRAFT, 01/08/2012)

As with Jan, some teachers at the school indicated that even in general education classrooms the bilingual transfers stick together, or are forced to segregate from other students. It is also interesting to note here that there is an assumption of familial homogeneity implicit in Jan's thesis, that they should not segregate on the issue of bilingual or ELL status, but rather should be measured as a whole because they are of the same "family."

Positioning students as 'Chinese' in the national, local, and school level. The ethnicizing of Chinatown is significant because when people walk into classrooms at Warner, whether as a researcher, teacher, or student, the space of school itself is already positioned in the larger Chinatown system. The system is marked nationally, locally and within the school. These system-wide markers position the students as "Chinese," in the mainstream category of "Chinese," with its stereotypes. This erases their "everyday" lives and presumes an ethnolinguistic identity upon them. Additionally, it erases diversity within Chinatown, including non-Chinese community members. This positioning is happening at levels far above and beyond the classroom. It is tempting, in some conceptualizations of ethnic identity, to assume that positioning of students as being "Chinese" is happening just in the classroom with official reports, immigration statuses, and specifically teacher-student interaction. It is also easy to assume that "Chinese" is a natural, genetic, inheritance. The presumption of all students in Warner as "Chinese" does not originate in the classroom but is a process, specifically a semiotic process, which occurs on multiple levels. So the teachers either bring in these same dominant

ideologies or they challenge these ideologies to reposition the students. I will look into the social interaction at Warner to show how this model is either rejected or accepted. As agents, the teachers can reject this positioning. In fact, as they engage in action research as a form of professional development, they are challenging this dominant model.

Summary of ethnicizing Chinatown in national, local, and school-wide levels. In the first part of this section, I described the ecology of Warner school. On the national and local levels, Chinatown is an imagined physical space that is iconically related to an ethnicity. Linguistic and other semiotic markers also mark it. Warner, as a school in Chinatown, implements this same structure of language, ethnicity, and space being synonymous identity markers of the students. Next I will look at how this model is taken up or challenged in classrooms at Warner.

Social interactions between teachers and students: Recreating and challenging the ethnic identity. One type of professional development for teachers aims at dispelling stereotypes. Within social interaction, the dominant assumptions of a homogeneous ethnic group can be recreated or challenged. Teachers, as agents from outside of Chinatown, come to Warner each day. They work with students, and in the case of this study have gone to great lengths to get to know the students “funds of knowledge” which included, some of them, going to the students’ homes. Thus, the focus on the students’ personal and family background, beyond assumptions of dominant social identities (i.e. homogeneous Chinese ethnicity) is greatly noted, and is a theme that emerged in my data. However, a contrary theme emerged as well. It was fascinating that while teachers took the time to get to know students on a more personal level, they also seemed to reify Chinatown stereotypes at times. This emerged in the teachers’ action research, in the conversation among teachers, and in the classroom.

I present four examples of how the concept of Chinatown is applied to the students within the school, sometimes even by themselves. As explained in my methods section, these exemplars come from the data coded as “race/ethnicity” but also were points in which shifts were noted in the teachers thinking, that is, the teachers referred to the moment in question on more than one occasion. Specifically, (1) other ethnicities are erased by teachers in classrooms, (2) this de-ethnicization can be challenged by students in classrooms, (3) teachers may observe students and families as attempting to assimilate and cast judgment on the loss of ethnic identity thereby re-applying ethnic categories, and (4) China is considered old and traditional by students (remember, Chinatown has not typically kept up with the hyper technologization of Beijing, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and other urban areas in China) indicating, perhaps, disassociation with the application of the Chinatown identity. I present these themes that have emerged in this order because what seems to be occurring is the teachers’ initial attempt to cast the language:ethnicity:space logic that is evident in the national, local, and school wide levels upon students, but students don’t necessarily take this up. Students do not always take up the identity that Chinatown as an imagined geography is marked linguistically to carve out a homogeneous ethnic group.

Establishing erasures: No more Chinese dragon. Teachers in Warner may erase other ethnic identities, and therefore students, by reaffirming the sociological homogeneous ethnicity seen on the national, local, and school wide level. This first example shows that the ethnicity applied by the semiotics of “Chinatown” establishes an erasure of other ethnic identity. The following emerged in a classroom lesson on November 10, 2010 in which Allison had groups reporting out about whether they thought technology was good or bad. As students spoke up, they began to talk about the competition between foreign technology and American technology.

This dichotomy reoccurred throughout the lesson, bringing a strict foreign/American dichotomous structure in the classroom in which these were two social positions in which one could exist exclusively in one or the other at any given moment. Thus, in the classroom discourse, variation within ethnicity was erased, including the ethnicity of the African American students. The resulting condition was the creation of an ethnic space that was cast as homogeneous, thereby ignoring the three African American students. This erasure is seen most clearly in the following transcript.

Attending to the pronouns we can follow how the conversation is structured and the Chinese and Chinese American students are positioned as foreigners. Her ethnic identity is erased, and her voice in the classroom is taken up, but revoiced in a dominant foreign/American logic. I have underlined the pronouns that develop a positioning of the students as “foreign.” Previously in this lesson, Allison made the comment “you’re from China, most of you” to refer to their assumed stake in foreign technology. Here, however, the ethnic identity is developed through multiple participants.

Allison’s question beginning this interaction is about how the students’ parents feel about the United States not using technology from other countries. As part of a larger science unit, she was attempting to elicit students’ *funds of knowledge* through a group activity. She would use this information, later, as the students would log the types of technology they used and practice charting.

01. **Allison:** HOW do you think your parents will feel about that? Not made
02. in China anymore everything has to be made in America?”

By referring to “your” parents, Allison links the students’ families to a sense of foreignness. Mei takes this up with the use of the third person plural “they,” presumably understanding the linking between the parents and foreignness (or China).

03. **Mei:** I think they will be sad because mostly they have foreign
04. things and then they won't have them."

However, the student, Mei, did not respond with "our parents" or "my parents," but rather with a more distant "they." Mei repositions Allison's "your parents" to "they," a third person plural rather than a possible second person possessive construction, perhaps because this was already assumed from Allison's question. Allison then asks Lynn to respond to Mei.

05. **Allison:** Why not LYNN? (2 sec) tell me why . speak up give me
06. evidence: . turn around. Don't FACE ME . face them
07. **Lynn:** Just because they want people to buy their things doesn't
08. mean they have to cancel um: supplies from other countries

In this adjacency pair, Allison first redirects Lynn to the rest of the class as she attempts to foster more of a discussion. However, when Lynn begins to get back into the previous discussion, rather than linking to the previous comment by Mei, she indexes the United States with the pronoun "they." Thus, I have not underlined the pronouns here because Lynn actually breaks the linked logic establishing the students as "foreign" (i.e. Chinese). She distances herself from Allison's imposition of "foreignness" above and erasure of alternative ethnic identities. This can be most clearly seen in the following lines when Allison asks Andrea, an African American girl to respond:

09. **Allison:** ANDREA? Stand up and face your colleagues
10. **Andrea:** I think that if they don't have foreign things then their
11. culture . they have culture then they cannot buy any of them
12. things .. then it will be bad for them
13. **Allison:** you mean the foreign people or from American people?
14. **Andrea:** the foreign people
15. **Allison:** so they won't have anything from their culture? Is that what
16. you are saying? Why is it bad for them?
17. **Andrea:** Because if you don't have anything you can't celebrate—

Andrea takes “they” (line 10) up as a more general “they” (i.e. foreign people), mirroring Lynn’s distant “they” (line 07) (i.e., United States people). Allison clarifies she is talking about “foreign people,” (line 13) now imposing the name of foreignness upon it for the first time in this segment, formalizing the link between the pronouns (lines 01-04 and 10-17) and the idea of “foreignness” which perhaps may not have been Andrea’s intention at all. Allison had framed the issue as a generational issue by saying “how do you think your parents would feel?” She configured the idea of “foreignness” through the parents, thereby making the alignment to foreignness indirect. One must align with parents (i.e. parents of children in a school in Chinatown), who in turn are aligned as foreign.

Up until this point, it is possible that the students were talking about people who have foreign things, or cultures that are foreign, but with Allison’s comment, there is now the projection of “foreignness” dichotomizing “American” and “foreign” (a dichotomy which, no doubt, had surfaced prior in the conversation about car and cell phone manufacturers) applied to people. People are “foreign.” Interestingly, Andrea responds to Allison’s question with the second person pronoun rather than the third person pronoun (line 17). By doing so she begins to break down the dichotomy by using the general rhetorical “you.” Allison interrupts Andrea when Andrea begins to say something about celebrating, though.

18. **Allison:** --NO MORE CHINESE DRAGO:N. NO MORE RED ENVELOPS FOR YOU.
19. Those are made in Chi:na not the United States. How do you
20. feel about that? Min Hin?
21. **Min Hin:** because if you ... I will have no more envelopes with money
22. in them
23. **Allison:** You will have no more envelopes to give. In the United
24. States no more red envelopes nothing from China nothing from
25. a foreign country (3 sec) that pretty harsh . isn’t it?
26. Think about that .. think about how the United States is
27. allowing all of these foreign technologies to come in and

28. yet they are still competing with all these other foreign
29. countries

Allison also uses the second person “you,” but instead of a rhetorical “you” she specifies it to the Chinese and Chinese American students in the class (line 18), this is confirmed by Min Hin’s uptake by use of the first person pronoun, consenting to the position of foreignness (line 21). The students become the foreign “you” linked to the “foreignness” throughout this interaction. Min Hin begins, first by using a rhetorical “you,” but instead cuts herself off by switching to “I” in regards to the red envelopes, positioning herself to the foreignness Allison projected upon the iconic dragons and envelopes. In this example, Andrea is completely cut off and silenced as Allison presumes upon the class a sense of foreignness (of which Andrea is not a part).

While Allison’s lesson was intended to move forward an agenda of multiculturalism by bringing to the forefront the funds of knowledge of the students, she erases the possibility of hybrid ethnic identities as well as the ethnicity of the African American students. In fact, the positioning of the students as markedly “Chinese” and “foreign” remakes an ethnic identity. Particularly, this happens because Allison draws on semiotic resources she is familiar with (i.e. Chinese envelopes and dragons). Thus, the classroom incorporates the same semiotic cohesion found in Warner and in the wider Chinatown that assumes a homogeneous ethnic identity associated with the physical space of Chinatown.

Challenging erasures: I’m here in this class, I’m not Chinese. While in Allison’s class, we could see a direct link between discourse and ethnic identification of students, Leah comments about how this is challenged in her classroom. This wider interaction of ethnicity was discussed openly in Leah’s classroom. In fact, a student, as the ethnic erasure was happening, challenged the erasure. This displays an awareness of ethnic erasure by students. Teachers and

students in Warner draw on wider semiotic resources to construct a "Chinese" ethnic identity. Ultimately this is challenged as the teachers attempt to break down stereotypes. In this classroom, when the discussion turns to talking about Chinese parents, one African American girl rejects being grouped in with the class under the pretense that "all Chinese parents either watch the news or read the newspaper."

During this lesson, students were talking about different problems in the world because students were discussing problems in the world. One problem that came up was global warming, and some students expressed questions as to whether their parents knew what that was or not. Some students commented that all of their parents should know because they watch the news or read the newspaper. Leah reflects on this lesson, talking about how she allows for open discussion and for students to talk with each other and critique each other. She recounts this narrative to show that the students actively challenge stereotypes and show competing values. However, here I should note that these stereotypes and ethnic homogeneity can be challenged when students have the opportunity to talk with each other and make sense of the assumptions and stereotypes:

Or like the other day one student said all Chinese parents either watch the news or read the newspaper. And some of the kids chimed in and said well not really because mine are too busy to look at the news. And then another little girl chimes in and says well my parents aren't Chinese. So we had just gotten done talking about generalizations so the generalization that all of the Chinese parents have time to watch the news or read the papers and she's wait a minute I'm here in this class and you know, but I'm not Chinese. So what about, what do you think my parents do? And they even started to talk about they're busy and that led onto well you know if you really want to do something then you usually make time for it. And they were like well not if you were parenting the kids because you have to cook dinner you have to do this you have to do that and then one of the guys said, well, you know, you may have a moment. If you aren't taking care of those responsibilities then what kind of parent are you?

(FOCUS GROUP 3, 5/9/2011)

We can see here, a close affiliation to being Chinese by some student in Leah's classroom. She reports about it in the focus group, and frames her students as having Chinese parents. Their initial assumption that all of the Chinese parents, and by extension, perhaps, all parents of students in the classroom follow the news (the discussion Leah referred to was about the environment and global warming), is rejected on two different levels. The first objection is by other Chinese American students who argue that this may not be the case. Time issues and values (like cooking for the family) may not allow all parents to watch the news. The other interesting uptake, though, is the African American girl's position, which Leah reports as "she's wait a minute I'm here in this class and you know, but I'm not Chinese. So what about, what do you think my parents do?" in which she takes a position that is in opposition to being grouped with the rest of the [Chinese] class (Chinese constructed as having Chinese parents). Thus she challenges the ideological model that the imagined physical space is Chinese, or that what could be said about most of the students in the classroom could be said about all of them.

As compared to the sixth grade science class above, where all students were essentially constructed along the lines of "Chinatown," meaning that if you are here, you are Chinese, this third grade class allows for the contestation, namely that "I'm in this class...I'm not Chinese." The stance this girl takes seems to index opposition to a dominant ideology that the classroom, like the wider Chinatown area, is homogeneous, or, since this was a reported event, Leah's interpretation of the event seems to indicate the girl is doing so.

Assimilation: Full-fledged Americans, not Chinese-Americans. Within Warner, we have seen (1) the dominant model of Chinatown presumed on the school as a whole, (2) teachers presuming homogeneity among their students and erasing alternative ethnic identities, and (3)

students challenging these very assumptions. However, at work in Chinatown (and indeed in America more generally, there is always the possible phenomenon of “assimilation” into mainstream, dominant culture. I use the metaphor of assimilation quite reservedly, as many other processes could explain the phenomena of learning “English only” that is brought up in this next example (e.g. students may not “assimilate” but rather create a new identity type). Jan seems to see students in her class as being American. However, she also notes that they are a particular type of American. Consistent with the view of Chinatown as a step toward assimilation, Jan presumes that the students are encouraged to forget their native language.

In the first focus group, Allison mentioned that when she was growing up her parents didn't want her to speak Chinese so she could be more American. However, several times in the data she mentioned that this attitude had shifted, and that her students didn't want to learn Chinese but the parents did want them to. She also reflected that she wished she had learned. Here, however, Jan claims "I have found that in teaching in Chinatown, that the parents encourage their children to 'forget/disregard' their native language and to speak only English." Since this came up in a draft of her conceptual framework for the thesis, I did tell her she needed to substantiate the claim with evidence, so this claim was not made in her final thesis interview (though she does state that she encouraged students to speak their language). However, it does underscore the outsider view that Chinatown is an ethnic site, perhaps, however, intended for assimilation. She continues evaluating this statement against her own values of cultural identity:

I found that so surprising because I am a very, proud African-American and I assumed that all races/nationalities were proud of who they were and where they came from. As a parent, I always encouraged my child to be proud of whom (sic.) he was.

(JAN'S ORAL THESIS, 06/11/2012)

First, Jan discusses ethnic pride as an African American woman. She also presumes that all people have the same sense of pride in their own heritage (note in her talk the pride is centered on ethnicity/race, language, and geography).

I have spoken to several students, over the years of my being employed at Warner, about why their parents prefer them to only speak English, and the "bottom line" is: They want their children to be looked upon as full-fledged Americans, not Chinese-Americans.

(JAN'S THESIS DRAFT,,1/8/12)

She sees the students as attempting to become something they are not, namely "full-fledged" Americans.

This emerged in a discussion about bilingualism, which further applies the language:space:ethnicity relationship to the students. She also assumes that the parents do not want a hybrid identity of "Chinese American" but a full-fledged American identity. She then says she explained in the classroom, that, really, the only people that should be called "Americans" are Native Americans, again underscoring Jan's close connection with biological origin and ancestry. The background of "Chinese" as well as the location of Chinatown, then, seem to require a particular logic of ethnicity. For Jan, this is drawn from a larger ideology of celebrating cultural heritage. For the parents, at least in Jan's construction of the parents (and students), the assimilation ideology seems to be evident. However, as with the other examples, the multiple identities are erased precisely because of the Chinatown ethnic logic. Thus, Jan specifies this as surprising based on the locations of "Chinatown" and by extension "Warner." Unlike the other examples, though, which seem to make "Chinatown" as a place of cultural resistance, here Jan seems to suggest it is a place that fosters assimilation, at least for the students but presumably not the adults.

“Assimilation by distancing “Old/ancient China”: We have pencils now. In the first grade classroom, the lowest grade I observed, students distanced from the identity of “Chinese” that is imposed on their grandparents. China was associated with a sense of antiquity and tradition. Interestingly, since Chinatown is a sort of museum of historical China (e.g. Ko, 2011), this seemed to be a resource in the construction of ethnicity as something historic. The representations of China, within Warner, and within Chinatown are not those of the ultra-modern east-coast cities of Beijing and Shanghai, nor of Hong Kong, to which many Chinatown students could trace their ancestry. In fact, the classroom discourse seems very much to mirror or reify dominant positions of Chinatown, imposed by one of the students.

For the young students in Lee’s first grade class, talk about China was fairly common. Lee occasionally spoke to students in Chinese, and there was an older woman, “Grandma,” who was in the classroom many mornings to help. She spoke only Chinese, which Lee spoke with her too. Several times, however, Lee and Leah noted that there was not much Chinese spoken in their rooms, unlike in some of the other classrooms. In one classroom lesson during unit one (11/30/10) Lee asked the students to organize some pictures of technology and put them into the *past*, *present*, or *future* sections on a graphic organizer. Examples of these items included feather pens, digital cameras, old film cameras, iPads, and some fictional or futuristic looking items. Things that belonged in the future category were things that the students had never seen before. Things they see or use would be *present*. Things they may never have seen, but perhaps saw a picture or their parents used, or they knew about but didn’t use would be from the *past*. As I walked around the classroom, I noted in my field notes that one group, in specific, was seeming to associate things that were from China as part of the *past*. What was most interesting,

however, was an interaction between a Chinese American boy, a Chinese American girl, and an African American girl:

One boy had a picture of a feather pen and a girl put it in present. He said "no" it was something from China, so it was from the past. One African American girl said "maybe they still use it in China," so it would be present. He said that "we have pencils now."

(FIELD NOTE, 11/30/10)

The girl, perhaps, had really seen a feather pen, or maybe seen a movie or picture in which she thought the feather pen was in present use (figure 8). The boy's response, however, was that it was from China, so it was in the past. Whether or not feather pens were from China or not is interesting, but arbitrary. The boy's association with the pen from China, and the pen from the past, is the important indexical feature (China indexes *past*). The African American girl suggests it is possibly still being used as a form of technology in China, but the boy responds "we have pencils now." We should note the difference between the girl's "they" and the boy's "we," however it seems that the boy was speaking as someone who has shifted from the "historical" Chinese and is associated with a different group who uses "pencils." The shift in framing of his identity versus that of the feather pen users from China is important to underscore.

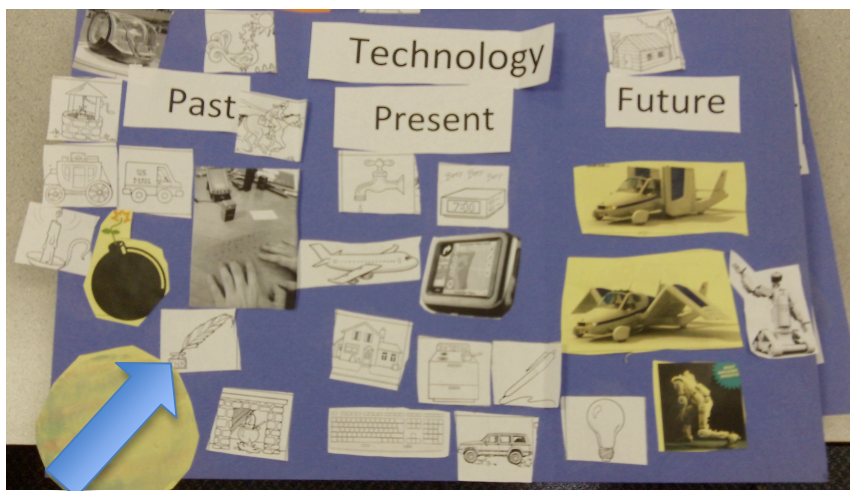


Figure 8. First grade past, present, and future activity.

As a sort-of entrenched Chinatown ideology, the ethnicity that is portrayed is one of unassimilated, non-modern Chinese. But, for the students in Lee's class, they "have pencils now." Students are only rejecting a certain type of identity, not Chinese-Americans, but just the "Old China" that is pervasive in the Chinatown stereotype of American ethnicity. While I focus on "positioning" as a construct as well as social identities, I would like to draw on a point made by Hastings and Manning (2004), that a sole focus on identity in linguistic analysis may reductively assume that speakers align to some "self." We must be careful not to interpret every speech event as having some direct alignment to an identity. Sometimes, and I propose this example is one, in which the social actors are positioning the other, that is, the alterity. The students position themselves away from the "Old China." By implication, they position themselves into a different social position than that of "Old China" indexed by Chinatown as a whole.

Summary: Positioning students. Students are challenging a dominant model, which dictates that they should play the role of homogeneous Chinese identity. In an American ideal they're in Chinatown, but they are challenging that. Their identity is more than a simple "Chinatown person." Their identities are much more complex. To presume that all students in Warner are the same because all people in Chinatown are the same grossly oversimplifies things. However, this is what happens. Sometimes teachers reify the dominant ethnic model in the classroom. It is also assumed in the context more generally, and can be challenged by students. The identity, specifically ethnic identity, of students, is not concrete. It is fluid, as seen in the examples above. However, in mainstream society, the ethnic identity of students in Chinatown is concrete. In my next finding I will look closer into how the teachers construct and reconstruct student identity, or to keep with my metaphor of preference, position and reposition students.

Summary of recreating ethnic space: In this section, I have attempted to explain how students at Warner are positioned within a larger socioculturalhistorical construction of "Chinatown." As an ecology, students position themselves and each other and the teachers position the students into ethnic positions that match a cohesive ecological framework. The semiotic resources of "Chinatown" as a landscape type are seen cohesively in different spatial and temporal domains. The resources used in the classroom (i.e. the semiotics of the Chinatown model) reposition students into this framework. This, as it does on the national, city, and school levels, also erases variation and diversity within classroom interaction and within teacher reflections on these interactions. Specifically, these repositionings happened as teachers researched their classrooms and learned about their students through ongoing professional development.

Politicizing "Chinatown": National, Local, School

In the last section I demonstrated how students are positioned in Warner through a semiotic system of ethnicization. The interactions in the school are mediated by a logic structure in which language (both spoken discourse and written symbols) is iconically related to space which is iconically related to ethnicity. In this section I will demonstrate how this conceptual logic is related to the sociopolitical sphere. The ethnicization of Chinatown people is politicized nationally and locally. Chinatown is at once marginalized from city politics, but has internal political control vying for power. Students fall into this contested terrain, although they may actually challenge the democratic silencing of Chinatown. Teachers voice an assumed mantra for democracy, despite the actual contestation of Chinatown.

An example of this assumption of democracy is Jan's statement in her oral thesis when she indicated that her intention was to have students write a letter to the school/district

administration requesting more healthy food. Jan had been teaching her class math, science, and literacy through a thematic unit on health, so this letter could include a variety of academic domains. This is also reflected on a discussion earlier in the 2010-2011 school year, when, in October the teachers were discussing the food provided at Warner. Jan mentioned that the students threw away the school's food, and someone had mentioned that perhaps it was because they weren't used to it or didn't like it. Upon reflection, Jan and the other teachers noted that there was never any food that resembled that of the students' homes served. This became a point in which the teachers discussed the possibility of students to write letters to the school or the school board asking for different food, emphasizing an active role in the government. However, though Jan's class focused very much on healthy eating throughout the year, this was never manifest in political activism. Although teachers can attempt to give the students in Chinatown a political voice, by default they are underrepresented in the citywide political atmosphere, including the school lunch program.

National and historical politics: Metaphorical struggle. Chinatowns around the nation face representation of extreme foreignness and exist in a terrain that is set apart from mainstream city life. They have become iconic symbols of foreignness. Historically, the landscape type "Chinatown" is a "contested terrain" (Wong, 1995) in that the imagined spaces of Chinatowns are metaphorically battlegrounds between residents seeking a new life in America and Chinese officials who enforce Chinese traditions and loyalty. Chinese organizations have historically had connections to the Chinese government and had long sought to enforce adherence to Chinese traditions under threat of social repercussions. This metaphorical struggle may continue to live on in the ethnic marking of Chinatowns, often by the Chinese elite. Also, dating back even to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Chinatowns have been contested quite literally, in that they

have been explicitly controlled to stop the spread of Chinese culture into the surrounding areas. Thus, for Chinese officials or elites as well as American authorities, the interest of secluding Chinatowns into dense, controllable areas helped to advance their contrastive and yet complementary purposes of protecting their own cultural values.

The historical context, which Wong (1995) puts forward, helps to shed light onto contemporary issues that still pervade Chinatown. While, presently, China has surged into an economic competitor with the United States, there is a marked fear or skepticism associated with China. It seems, though, that the historic Chinatowns have not paralleled the nation state with which they are associated. In many ways, then, what Wong pointed out in his essay remains true, that "until Chinatown is viewed as a living vibrant part of the city at large, it will continue to be represented primarily through the imagery created by others for purposes unrelated to the lives of those who live there" (p. 14). Chinatowns are often idealized ethnic enclaves (Wong, 1995). One can see how a similar phenomenon of "contested terrain" evolves not only in published literature, but also in the logic and psyche of city life.

Local: Political marker of naming Chinatown. Chinatown, in this particular city, is clearly identified as an ethnic and geographical area marked not only by geographical features, but by linguistic markers actually becomes a site of political struggle. Having an imagined physical space for a particular ethnicity, especially one in which domain is claimed by symbolic features and not political boundaries, becomes a political tension in city-wide politics. It's seen in identification and politicizing of its name Chinatown. Chinatown in this study is merely one instance of this ideological "contested terrain." It has a particular history, which, like Chinatowns around the country, plays out in sociopolitical spheres. The very name "Chinatown" is unique in that it is the only ethnic classifier that appears as a name on the Public Transit

Authority elevated rail system. The light rail stop carries the name "Chinatown" along with the cross street. Chinatown is also unique in the city in that it has served as an ethnic community, or "ethnic enclave" for nearly 100 years.

Neighborhoods around the city are known for their ethnic roots, but, the city is transient, and many of these neighborhoods change over time. Older European names may be solidified as neighborhoods, like the Czech names for areas, which are now predominantly Mexican American. Chinatown has remained a relatively stable (in that the inhabitants are of Chinese descent) neighborhood since its relocation early in the 20th century. The conflicting images mark Chinatown more different than Euro-American communities, and indeed other non-Euro-American communities as well. They also represent a conflict in the values.

Local level: Un-democratic silencing of Chinatown. Chinatown is an imagined physical space, however, without political boundaries, it has no democratic function. It is not a geographical unit that is privileged to political representation and thus is erased as a constituency. The physical space of Chinatown has been broken up into pieces by the non-Chinese community to make way for expressways and other construction projects. The area has been contested politically quite recently in political redistricting. The 2001 redistricting of the statewide legislative districts left the majority of metropolitan area's Asian voters spread between three state Senate districts, four state House districts, and 3 federal House districts. The voice of the metropolitan Asian constituency was largely erased from state and national politics until the governor, in 2012, signed a Voting Rights Act of 2011 (State Voting Act, 2011). As the governor made the announcement in Chinatown, he noted that this state law improves on federal legislation to protect minorities from redistricting politicking. Minorities, both defined racially and linguistically, would under the new law have protections from being divided between

districts and therefore effectively silencing their combined constituent voice in statewide representation (Tareen, 2012). This is the most recent action taken to protect the voice of the Asian community on the state level, though Chinatown, specifically, fared much worse in the 2012 redistricting of city wards.

The Asian-American population in the city grew roughly 17 percent between 2000 and 2010 (Udrica, 2011). Thus, it was the fastest growing racial group in the city in that decade. While only 6 percent of the city's population is identified as Asian American, they make-up no majority group in any of the city's 50 wards. An alderman who sits on the city council represents each ward, but the Asian American population has historically been marginalized in the wider city. When the time for redistricting the city came, Asian American activists proposed a way to redistrict the city that would ensure at least one ward had a majority of Asian Americans as constituents. Additionally, they asked that Chinatown, previously represented by two aldermen, to be combined in one ward. Given the sharp increase in population (24 percent in 10 years), this seemed fair and appropriate. This would both give a more fair voice to Asian Americans in representative government, but would alleviate the pressure of working with multiple aldermen to meet the needs of Chinatown, for example. These requests were denied and Chinatown remains split between the 25th and 11th wards in favor of the Black Caucus's redistricting proposal (Moroni, 2012).

These examples further exemplify the "perpetual foreigner" stereotype (e.g. Lee & Kumashiro, 2005; Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2007). Asian Americans are often left out and not considered in the typical white/black dichotomy of racial politics. The metaphor raises the question of belonging, which has pressured Asian Americans to fight for rights based on citizenship and not race (Wu, 2002). Perhaps a parallel could be drawn to the issue of political voice in the present

example in which the city did not redistrict on the basis of equality of racial representation even though the state did offer some protections. Wu (2002) explains that the “model minority” classification is seen across the nation as a stereotype in which Asian Americans are assumed to be successful and academically adept especially in math and the sciences. Barringer (1993) noted that, according to the 1980’s US census, as a whole Asian Americans were making less money, if everything else was equal, than White Americans. Furthermore, he noted that there was high variation between groups, such as Korean, Vietnamese, and Japanese Americans that indicated the grouping of “Asian American” as a single category was erroneous. Thus, the two predominant stereotypes are myths that have sought to be dispelled by scholars and writers, but still prevail in mainstream American culture. In the present study, it is no surprise to see the same stereotypes being presupposed of Warner school, or of Chinatown more generally.

Continued silencing allows Chinatown to be sequestered as a tourist attraction, despite pleas from the residents. One African American woman was recorded in the newspaper during the census that "This isn't just a tourist area...There are real people living here, lots of us, and we want a voice" (Olivio & Glanton, 2010, p. 3). Thus, the residents of Chinatown also seem to see themselves as erased from the larger sociopolitical sphere, both Asians and non-Asians. Several non-profit agencies, attempting to provide better opportunities for the Chinatown community have risen up to fight for the fair representation in government, though have been met with silence as well. This political struggle for voice continues to be a relevant topic in and around Chinatown. It certainly was during the 2010-2011 school year while I was completing my fieldwork. There was awareness at Warner among the teachers that Chinatown was somewhat politically marginalized as well. This included comments from teachers and students about public service cuts, unfulfilled promises, and concerns about the ward divisions.

Local level: Inner “habitus” of Chinatown. Chinatown, though not represented in a single ward, has a strong community presence from within. Here I want to draw on Bourdieu’s (1991) concept of *habitus*. Chinatown is contested very much because the status quo allows easy management. It is easy to silence Chinatown among the city wards, and, actually, when there is no “fair” democratic representation, it is easier to manage from within. The traditions and markings of Chinatown as a homogeneous ethnic community within an imagined geographical space, allows for the elite to manage from within. It is in the best interest, then, of community leaders to maintain *habitus*, or to keep the values and lifestyles continuing the way they are, often unconsciously perpetuating the status quo relations. The elite of Chinatown even mark out their territory with linguistic and symbolic features, as if to claim the territory for *habitus*.

Chinatown is an imagined physical space that lies at the contest of national and historical conflicts. Specifically, it is an imagined space that has no democratic representation, as political boundaries would provide. It is an imagined space that has a sustained ethnicity and culture by internal politics. Thus, in the school, students, by virtue of existing within this structure, are likewise politically marginalized and a part of a system of *habitus* which serves to continue particular values and traditions.

Local Politicizing: Warner’s Contest. The political contestation seen above on the local level, in which politicians seem to maneuver around fair representation for Chinatown and local community leaders seem to intentionally create a system of *habitus* comes into full view when a contested institution, like the local school, is at stake. On the one hand, it is essential to advance the values of America, the state, and the city, but on the other hand, it is essential to maintain students in Chinatown in the system of *habitus* advancing the dominant values and ways of living. This contestation that situates Warner is evident on multiple levels. The same

government that silences the community runs the school. Community leaders partner with the school and enforce cultural values. Teachers from outside the community teach students who may have conflicting moralities and values.

Historical political context of Warner. Historically, Warner has been the site of much contention. Whereas Chinatown, as a whole, has geographical boundaries keeping it bound as an ethnic enclave, the school actually drew in African American students from the surrounding community. Even Lian Chen, the business leader introduced above, mentioned in his interview with the newspaper (Kabaker, 1993) that Chinatown was a diverse place. One of his closest friends was an African American student who went on to train as an astronaut before he was killed in a tragedy during training. Thus, Warner, as a site, is situated in a political battle, precisely because it has been iconically marked as “Chinese.”

As early as the 1970's Warner was reported as a pioneer in bilingual education. As an ethnic area, it held up as an example of how education could look for the many ethnic neighborhoods (*Tribune*, 1973)⁶. However, the bilingual nature of Warner was by no means absent problems. In fact, because Chinatown is situated adjacent to what used to be one of the city's low-income housing developments (which have been renovated and are mixed income housing now), students from the section 8 homes, almost all of who were African American, would come to Warner until at least 3rd grade. Even in the late 1980's when the immediate area began to undergo major transformation to middle and upper class there was fear that the students of the newer developments would be forced to attend schools with the low-income African American students, the public school system actually decided that the newer school would be only for the newer, higher income residents while students in the low-income housing

⁶ These citations have been withheld because the source directly identifies my research site. To protect my participants, I have decided to share merely the date in which the source was published.

developments would attend Warner in Chinatown, at least until 3rd grade (*Tribune*, 1987)⁵. This racial integration, about 70% Chinese and Chinese American students and 30% African American students, caused severe problems, spurred on by the separation of the bilingual program.

Community racial segregation. The tensions in the school mimicked the tensions between the two communities, revealing, once again, the larger sociopolitical framework of language tied to space tied to ethnicity. The tunnel between Chinatown and the low-income homes was gated and locked nightly. Even in young grades, Chinese-American children were told not to be friends with African American students. Severe segregation developed essentially two schools in one as racial lines prevented students from eating lunch with each other or playing with one another. The principal at the time had been trying to stop this racial segregation, but wasn't able to wage a full fledged battle until the school was awarded major grant for professional development and school wide initiative in 2001 to stop the blatant racism. Included in this plan was the idea to pull students from the bilingual program as soon as they met particular reading standards. The principal also refused to let Chinese American students transfer out of the school when parents, fired up over the integration, plead to leave.

With the help of community businessmen, the school saw the racial harmony as largely a battle waged in the schools. Since newer immigrants came with their own stereotypes and fears of new faces, it would be left to the education system to bring peace to the racial divide. These initiatives gained major ground in the school as racism seemed to wane (*Tribune*, 2001)⁴. This struggle between the races continued to be salient in the 2000's. After school programs urged for harmony and used grant money to paint murals celebrating the cultures and histories of African Americans and Chinese Americans. This was an accomplishment during a time when African

Americans and Chinese Americans were rarely seen together (*Tribune*, 2006)⁵. This wider tension of space and terrain in the cities noted segregation politics was seen even in the schools. Again, the logic of language:space:ethnicity is clearly seen as tied to larger sociopolitical projects of contest. The struggle between Chinatown and the wider communities is applied in the schools, at least symbolically, if not actually.

Nearly a decade after the schools initiatives to root out racism, the lines are not as clearly drawn. While stereotypes and prejudices still remain, the school itself is a place where, generally, racial tensions are not explicitly seen. During my fieldwork at Warner, the principal was African American; the assistant principal was Chinese American. Two of the teachers I worked with were African American, two were Chinese American, and one Filipina. The student population, though predominantly Chinese, included 6% African Americans. While I noticed that, generally, African American teachers socialized more together than with the Chinese American teachers, I did not notice this within the students, per say. There were, however, some notable moments when the teachers and students in my study did display this larger tension between African Americans and Chinese Americans. (Most significantly, however, is the sense of erasure of the African American students noted in the previous section).

I noted issues of ethnicity, when possible, because I knew coming into the community that there were already some ethnic tensions. I take these tensions to be the politicizing of ethnicity, which may be evident in Chinatown area as a whole, but also in the school. I had heard stories when I used to do observations and do a reading group at the local Christian schools of tensions between Chinese Americans and African Americans in the area. Also, during my time in Chinatown, both in visits as well as fieldwork over the past six years, I never saw anyone from the Chinatown side of the train tracks cross toward where the “low income”

housing was. I did see African Americans frequent the Chinatown library, and I knew African Americans who worked in Chinatown services like the Christian ministry center. I also knew that the neighborhood directly to the west of Chinatown was also much more racially integrated. Though this does not come without tensions of its own, as is presently evident in youth violence in the city with a recent beating on January 18, 2012 of an Asian American youth. Racial slurs were yelled at him, including the expletive n-word indicating a highly racialized mobility in this community area. So, I entered into Warner trying to understand if these larger sociological issues of race were enacted in the school as well. According to my data, it was not as explicit or pronounced as I had suspected.

Community and politics collide at Warner. As pointed out to above, beyond the historical ethnic contestation in Warner is the conflict between the making of an ethnic community and the silencing of it. This has major implications for the positioning of students in Chinatown because they are essentially being fought over. On the one hand, they should be “Chinese” and fit into the Chinatown model (for the purposes of either the city or the business elite). On the other, the students are to be positioned as any other public school student, people becoming competent members of democratic society.

The actual political contestation of Warner can be seen through the visit of the [new] mayor to Warner in the year after my fieldwork. I was visiting the school for their New Year celebration and the mayor was invited. He came with several other politicians, including an alderman (of the 25th ward) and other officials. The social set up of the school’s auditorium displayed an explicit privileging of the dignitaries, who were located in the front left seating area near a podium, next to the stage where children were performing their dances and music for the

New Year. Along with the politicians were several CCC business people. Dragons and drums entered down the aisle, music played, and the show went on.

The event served several purposes. The 100-year anniversary of Chinatown was being celebrated. This was also the New Year celebration. Thirdly, the mayor could use this time to advance his education agenda. Finally, it was a time to establish a formal political tie with the community. As the new mayor, with a new congressman and new senator (both of whom were in the audience), this would be a time to establish relations with the powerful CCC.

Additionally, the new interim principal, in service to the mayor, was being established as a political outpost as well. In the hour-long presentation, I noted several characteristics of the officials speeches, that should help contextualize the political landscape. The speakers seemed to dance in and out of two different frames, the first being the political frame, and the second the educational frame.

First, one of the members of the CCC came to the podium and greeted the mayor (political frame). He also greeted in Cantonese as well. He cast his vision of education, as it is a value of “our” culture, seeming, here, to position the community as a homogeneous Chinese community. He also referenced the Year of the Dragon, and that this symbol of power and authority was especially relevant in the context of the local school (education frame). Next, the alderman came up, attempting to greet the audience in Cantonese (and rather poorly, in my opinion). This indexed the wider positioning of Chinatown as an ethnic area, again, noting the insider and outsider positioning of Chinatown as homogeneous and Chinese (not a variation here, of Chinese American or variations within the community itself). He also noted that there was a new state congressman and new state senator representing the area. The irony here should not be missed. At least four elected representatives (alderman, congressman, senator, and mayor), as

well as other appointed officials (i.e. the principal) all display an outside, united front of the wider school, city, and state governments in the domain of the Chinatown community. Drawing on the linguistic landscape, and using Chinese (in this case Cantonese specifically) as a resource to establish a connection, the alderman greeted the Chinese community, positioning them within a specific, outside, community. He then established the continuity between the Chinatown community and the political elite by announcing “Our Great Mayor.” The use of “our” here seemed to be inclusive, establishing the political domain over the area of Chinatown. This political message was even more conflicted by turning this into an education issue, namely that education was one of the greatest priorities of the mayor.

So, while the topic of the visit was clearly education, the political dance between the CCC and the city and state officials seemed to converge in the school. Both the CCC and the city officials were claiming the school was advancing their cultural values. The tension was extremely ironic to an outsider, like me, who already carried an analytic and critical lens to this meeting. It was as if Warner became a site of political contestation, something I had already noted during my formal fieldwork from the previous year.

The mayor took his place at the podium and, being new to the job, thanked the alderman and commented that he was an ally on the city council. He turned to education as the topic, once again, and noted that the senator and congressman were instrumental at the state level for education reform. The topic shifts out of education to Chinatown, as he mentioned that he came to the area a few weeks prior to get some “spicy food,” indexing the type of ethnic positioning once again (i.e. the mayor travels to the area for a specific ethnic purpose). Then he talked about celebrating the 175th anniversary of the city. He said we were celebrating 100 years of Chinese contributions to the city. He said his ancestors had first immigrated to the city and settled in

1917 from Eastern Europe, and now we are here to celebrate the richness of diversity that makes a great city. He said that because of the work in Chinatown there were more opportunities for immigrants (note the perpetual foreigner undertones). Here the mayor attempts to establish an ideology of multiculturalism by celebrating the immigration of diverse ethnic groups.

Then he turned back to the educational frame, though this time merging with the political frame. He called on the new principal, congratulating her new position, and announced that he would hold her accountable just as she would keep herself accountable (note the ideological reference to accountability here). He also noted that to have a good “recipe” for education, he needed to have a good principal, with good teachers, and involved parents. With these three things, he could make sure education was good. The mayor dropped the educational frame here, and spoke to the “Chinatown” community again, celebrating “your” 100-year anniversary of making “[This] the greatest city in the greatest country” (note again that all the students are cast as perpetual foreigners) while at another point recognizing the city as the “most American city.” This formal political declaration reasserts domination over Chinatown, though attempting to position it as part of greater city. It leaves little space for question as to who runs Chinatown. So, while segregating Chinatown by the pronoun “your” he also brings them into the fold of this city specifically, and America generally. Following the mayor were several performances by students in the bilingual program dancing and singing on stage, many in costumes of traditional Chinese dress. Warner became the site where both the Chinese cultural values were to continue, yet where the political allegiance was to strictly be to the principal and mayor, with representation by the other dignitaries.

Summary of politicization. Chinatown, as presented as an imagined ethnic geographical space marked by linguistic features, is contested by competing values. Historically and

nationally it has been marginalized and cast as a perpetually foreign area. In the local context, it has been ignored politically, and local leaders have sought to control the circulation of cultural values and ethnic identity. The school, Warner, though battled historically over ethnic division, now remains a political stomping ground for the continuation and spread of certain cultural values. Thus, students in Chinatown are exposed to multiple value sets and different social positions. Particular, community leaders and politicians presume these different social positions upon them. In the school, however, teachers may act as social agents presuming upon students positions that are either in line or against dominant social identities. Thus, in my next finding, I will analyze more particularly how that happened over the course of their action research.

Commoditizing Chinatown

In the first section of this chapter I demonstrated how semiotic icons are used to mark out the ethnic space “Chinatown” and how this logic extends into the school and classrooms. In the second section I demonstrated how that iconic marking of space and ethnicity became politicized and, though democratic ideals are taught in school, “Chinatown” is silenced through democratic/political means. In this section I will demonstrate how an ideology of multiculturalism has allowed for the selling, or commoditization of Chinatown as an ethnic experience. Like the ethnicity created through Chinatown and the political positioning of Chinatown, the commodity of experiencing this ethnicity is observable in the school and in the classrooms. Students, then, are positioned within an economic framework in which their ethnicity is a commodity for sale. However, the teachers at Warner challenged this model as they seek to understand who their students are; moving beyond a “multiculturalism” commodity view toward a funds of knowledge understanding of culture for the purposes of curriculum development.

Chinatown the marketplace. Although Chinatown has a contested political history, both as an American landscape type as well as a local expression, it also has been recast in an age of multiculturalism. An ideology of multiculturalism has allowed for Chinatown to market itself based on the language:space:ethnicity logic. The creation and sustaining of a cohesive, homogeneous ethnicity allows for business people to benefit economically when ethnicity is seen as a commodity, as it is when there is a dominant ideology of multiculturalism. Certainly, the gift shop mentality, in which one can buy tokens from “Old China,” is clear within a short walk. The draw of the new Chinatown Square also marks it as a commoditized space with trendy Chinese restaurants and services. Thus, Chinatown, the marked ethnic and politically marginalized community, exists as a commodity, which is sold wholesale as “Chinatown” but repackaged even within the school. So again, we see a recursive embedding of Chinatown within Warner, among the students.

Chinatown as a museum. Chinatown has been cast, now more than ever, as an experiential or “living museum,” (e.g. Ko, 2011) a place you may go to get a glimpse of an exotic place with foreign food and strange shops. It is through this draw that Chinatown profits in an economy of commoditized cultural icons. In the end, however, it is not the daily lives of people in the community that become salient to outsiders, but rather their involvement in the cultural logic of “Chinatown.” The terrain is contested, both politically and culturally. In the literature this is addressed as a national phenomenon but it is equally a local one too. Culture on the national, local, and school level is interpreted as food, visual symbols, and heritage.

National and local trading. On a national level, culture is being reproduced as a form of economical products. Selling of “culture” which is being packaged as food, symbols, and heritage. You can get these “goods” (or perhaps “services”) at the “experiential museum” of

Chinatown. Chinatown has even become a major tourist destination, especially for local, middle class people (Santos, et al., 2008). Whereas Wong (1995), at the national level, had identified negative images associated with Chinatown historically, many of which still prevail until this day, Chinatown has grown in its draw of tourists because it has been, in a sense, "repackaged" for the current sociopolitical agenda of multiculturalism (Santos & Yan, 2008). It has been seen as both exotic and comfortable. The shift from Chinatown as a negative representation (e.g. opium, mahjong, crime, cheap goods, dirtiness, etc.) to a multicultural commodity has taken place (Santos et al., 2008). Culture, here, is merely an overview term to suppose upon an ethnic group. It extends not into the lives of people, but to that which can be observed, essentialized, and used to fulfill the multicultural economy. The school, Warner, is not a business, but is nonetheless involved in this commodity culture, not selling goods, but selling a "culture" itself.

Schooling fostering official "culture": food and holidays. Similarly, Warner school fosters the official "cultural commodity" perspective, (e.g. food and holidays). In my experience at Warner school, themes that extended into national and local "commoditized" culture such as food, heritage, and visual images (Santos et al., 2008) emerge regularly. Food was discussed on multiple occasions, usually referring to the baked goods. Allison, for instance, often brought baked goods to meetings and on several occasions sent me home with fortune cookies. While this also is motivated out of convenience (nearby bakeries) and her own affinity to Chinese food (multiple cousins owned Chinese restaurants which also served as a meeting site on one occasion for all teachers in the university-school partnership). While Warner had few outwardly iconic visual markings, inside the school there were iconic Chinese characters marking a sense of ethnic identity, and perhaps exoticism. I have also noted multiple celebrations of ethnic traditions

supported by the school. Thus, these tokens of exoticism that exist in tourism are recursively applied in the specific locale of Warner school.

The trope of multiculturalism was played in Warner as these iconic celebrations of culture and ethnicity were “valued” through the iconic use of writing, symbols, and celebrations. Yet, this trope extends from a wider ideology of multiculturalism, and is something that can be traded, bought, or experienced. The ideology is one that essentializes ethnicity, as seen above in the erasure of variation, but it also allows this simplified and unified ethnicity to have exchange value. Thus, there is a high commodity value for ethnic Chinese foods (within Chinatown’s borders especially), Chinese symbols (as with the linguistic landscape), and cultural events (like holiday celebrations).

Challenging the commodity culture paradigm. Although Warner, as an institution, appropriated a model of culture as reducible to foods and holiday, consistent with the marketplace of “Chinatown,” the teachers in this study challenged that essentialization. The teachers did not allow the students to be placed only within a “commoditized” framework, but actually sought to find out about their daily lives, thereby re-positioning them into different social identities.

Culture as lived practices. Norma Gonzalez states that culture could be viewed as everyday practices (e.g. 2011). Teachers and students began to challenge the dominant culture as commodity product. This picture of a vibrant Chinatown culture within the framework of an ideology of multiculturalism is actually much more simplified and flat than it seems on the surface. As ethnicity was commoditized in Chinatown, generally, and applied to the students, specifically, it is easy to see them as engaged in the wider commodity market of trading and

selling experiences of “Chineseness,” especially since many of the students (or at least their parents) worked in or owned the restaurants and gift shops that directly engaged in this market.

The dominant “Chinatown” paradigm actually does not attempt to account for the individual lives of students. Nor does it focus on cultural practices, but rather on cultural icons. So, this indicates a simplification of culture to easily experienced icons. The teachers in this study specifically challenged this assumption by engaging in the process of collecting funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992). As explained in my methods section, teachers specifically used this construct to attempt to understand the students’ historically accumulated cultural knowledge. The definition of culture put forth by Moll et al., much like sociocultural theory more generally, is more nuanced than that put forth in dominant ideologies of multiculturalism. Therefore, the teachers, in the classrooms, actually challenged the simple commoditization of Chinatown, though elements can still be found in their talk and practice as exemplified in the opening of this chapter. Allison is talking about foreign products. In a wider lens, she is constructing a dichotomy between foreign (specifically Asian or Chinese) and American, but she refers to Martha’s parents’ gift shop. Allison had visited the gift shop rather than the students’ home, and here she refers to the shop. The reference also serves as an index of the Chinatown economy of selling “foreign” or Chinese things. However, Allison actually does challenge the simplified notion of the commodity culture by visiting the stores and restaurants of her students to talk to parents about their children, for example.

Teachers as exploring culture. Over the course of this research project, the teachers learn to explore culture. They build off of the notion of *funds of knowledge* (Moll et al., 1992) to find out about the real lives of students. Both Allison and Lee also had an invested interest in the community through sharing a cultural background, frequenting the area, and, in Allison’s case,

having extended family working in the area. Leah and Jan, however, did not seem to. In fact, Jan, up until the fall of 2010, had never been to Chinatown Square. As evidenced by comments in early meetings that were stereotypical and offensive (judging by the reactions of the Chinese-American teachers), Jan seemed to have an idea of Chinatown and the students from Chinatown that positioned them as *poor*, *disrespectful* (toward grandparents), and had bad eating habits. Although, despite the negative orientation on a somewhat more tacit level, she generally expressed praise for their good behavior and academic achievement, in a somewhat “model minority” type as when she compared to her previous African American students. She also made comments about their speaking Chinese and English as “cute” which is a diminutive that could be understood as a deficit view. The point to be drawn from these examples is simply that the “commodity” is supported by the teachers’ naive views of the students and community.

Naive views of culture are challenged by the four classroom teachers because they seek to understand, specifically, the student’s funds of knowledge. In a later chapter I will explore further how the teachers change when they study funds of knowledge and attempt to implement funds of knowledge based curricula. In this chapter, however, it is important to underscore that the iconized language:space:ethnicity logic that has been politicized and commoditized is ultimately challenged by the teachers. As I have demonstrated, the logic of Chinatown is used to position students at Warner. The students are also repositioned when teachers break down this logic at one point or another. For instance, Jan, in her oral thesis stated the following about home visits:

"I had a couple parents actually when I got [to their home] they said come on and they took me out to Chinatown Square where, I had never been to Chinatown Square and I felt a bit uncomfortable at first cause I was like I'm walking with them and we're going to the restaurants and stuff and everybody was just looking at me like what is this black lady doing with these people. But they didn't have any issue with it, the people. We were just sitting down having a good time; it was very nice the home visits."

(JAN'S ORAL THESIS)

Here, we can see that Jan has an awareness of the perception of her and the families walking together in the space of Chinatown (with the Chinatown logic). However, it seems that by engaging with the family, the logic breaks down. The language:space:ethnicity icon is interrupted because she gets to know the student and families. This example is but one of the changes that came from the home visits of Allison and Jan and the other funds of knowledge activities. It is an important one. It suggests that while the Chinatown logic: language:space:ethnicity, is used to position students in the classroom, the teachers challenged the political silencing of students and they also interrupted the commoditizing process. In other words, Chinatown, or "Chineseness" itself, is in the market to be sold. However, when the diversity within Chinatown is not so quickly erased, the paradigm that essentializes the students ceases to be the dominant logic.

Summary of the Ecology

In this chapter I have demonstrated how Chinatown, a western landscape type (Anderson, 1987) produces a logic in which language is seen to carve out a space that can then be identified as an ethnic boundary in which there is nearly complete homogeneity. I have explained how this model is then recursively applied within a specific instance of Chinatown. Then I demonstrated how within the space, a public school, Warner, the model is reapplied to students. Agents, including teachers and students, may challenge that ideological model and reposition students into new social identities.

Next, I explained how that logic is politicized and is used to marginalize Chinatown. Specifically in the local instance this occurs in city and state politics. Within Warner, especially, the political contest is seen, though competing political positions do not change the Chinatown logic, but simply uses it for different purposes, again presupposing homogeneity. Teachers in Warner, however, draw on wider values of democracy, assuming that the political system is an ideal democracy, not one which completely ignores Chinatown.

Finally, I demonstrated that the Chinatown logic allows for the economic trade of experiences, reducing Chinatown to a marketplace, which sells culture and a museum in which one may experience culture. This is corroborated in the symbolic identification of Warner as an ethnic site within a wider ideology of multiculturalism. Throughout these three processes (ethnicization, politicization, and commoditization) Chinatown is seen as homogeneous both by the outside forces benefiting from a homogeneous ethnic area as well as the inside elite who benefit as well. Ethnicity is construct used to collapse people in Chinatown into a politically and economically manageable space. However, certain values seem to run contrary to this model, one of which is actually getting to know the people within Chinatown, thus revealing diversity.

Chinatown isn't only an imagined geography marked by linguistic features to carve out a homogeneous ethnicity. Nor is it simply a territory at the center of political conflict. It certainly is not simply an experiential museum in which the individual people are erased and collapsed into a "culture." It is made up of real people, with real lives. So, as students live there and go to school there, they are not passive agents within a dominant paradigm, but are real people whose identities are complex and multifaceted. Thus, by gathering funds of knowledge, and studying classroom discourse, teachers reposition students.

When homogeneity in Chinatown is challenged, the entire logic is challenged. Ethnic labels tend to remain a stable semiotic tool, but democratic values and nuanced views of students as cultural and historical beings break down the power of the Chinatown model. Exposing diversity within an ethnic category allows for the repositioning of students. In the next chapter, I will explicate how teachers reposition students through studying the students and their funds of knowledge, discourse, and reorganizing their curriculum. Particularly, I will look at how teachers position their students into social identities as they analyze how they use discourse analysis and other qualitative research tools (like gathering funds of knowledge) to study their teaching and their students.

V. SEEING THE OTHER SIDE:

REPOSITIONING STUDENTS THROUGH ACTION RESEARCH

“I know they can’t afford chicken in China, so I can’t believe they would throw it away at lunch!” (paraphrase) Jan said during a meeting on October 18, 2010 when she expressed how her students threw away the fried chicken and greens lunch provided at the school. Lee looked at me, rolled her eyes, then looked down. This wasn’t the first time Jan had said something I thought to be culturally insensitive. We were discussing the ethnic backgrounds of the students and Jan told us about a biracial girl, whose mother was Chinese and father was Polish. When the girl had said she was Chinese, Jan told her “No, you’re white.” We contested this, telling her that she should let the students self-identify. During another tense conversation about students’ reactions in the classroom, Jan noted that the students were disrespectful because they looked down when they were asked a question and didn’t respond. She reflected on her own childhood and said that she would have been in trouble if she had ever done that. Lee, a Chinese American teacher, said this was cultural, “Your parents teach you to respond, we are taught not to” (Field note 10/18/10). This was one of the first times I had heard Lee speak up during these types of tense moments. The tense conversation turned from Jan’s assumed “they” stance to a very personal “we” stance from Lee, or from us/them to a we/you. In professional development, specifically professional development from a CHAT theory of learning like the ongoing action research at Warner, tension is usually an indication of learning.

Jan took the principles provided in the framework, those of funds of knowledge, third space, and so on, and applied them to her research and teaching. Notice the change in one version of her thesis from January 4, 2012, which was nearly a year and three months later:

In order for me to provide the best possible education to all the students in my class, teaching practices must reflect an authentic sense of caring, for each and every child, in a way that I recognize the importance of learning about their funds of knowledge. In doing so, this provides me with the tools necessary to better understand and build upon the strengths of my students. Of course for me, I faced a challenge because I had never taught students with a different background from my own before coming to Warner Elementary School; therefore it required a concerted effort, on my part. In addition, my efforts need to be supported by my administrators through teacher trainings. Providing guidance and funding for teachers to develop deeper understandings of their students' rich, cultural, linguistic backgrounds should be a priority; however, this is not always the case or supported. We need to have in-services that help to increase teachers' understandings of the "funds of knowledge" that students from immigrant households possess.

(JAN'S THESIS DRAFT, 01/04/2012)

This was a significant change. The presumptions Jan brought into Chinatown and into Warner, were directly challenged through the ongoing professional development of action research.

Introduction

As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, teachers and students, in the moment, draw on multiple semiotic resources on multiple ecological levels to position and reposition students, as if mixing and matching different ideologies, be it the dominant Chinatown ideology, that of multiculturalism, or the funds of knowledge perspective. Particularly, because of the context of this study, the ethicizing, politicizing, and commoditizing of community symbols and space was applied, but also challenged in the classroom. That broad overview tells part of the story in this dissertation, namely that teachers are agents, but agents within wider social, cultural, historical, and political contexts. It is as if they stand at the border between schools and communities. Thus, in the previous chapter, their drawing on the wider semiotics to position and reposition students is seen in moment-to-moment interaction, reflections, and observations. In this chapter I will focus on how the teachers reposition students, or how they talk about student identity, answering the question "How do teachers at Warner reposition ELs through action research?" In other words, how do they see across that border? Particularly I will (1) demonstrate how the

teachers change the way they position students through studying and developing curriculum based on funds of knowledge and (2) show how discourse analysis was a critical instrument in changing how teachers position their students.

Gathering funds of knowledge: Becoming aware. Teachers initially engaged in a funds of knowledge gathering process. Often when teachers and others come into schools, students are assumed to be moving toward presupposed identities. However, students are complex social beings who exist in many social positions, often many at the same moment. Thus, it is important to understand students as multidimensional people, not stereotyped and passive learners. Funds of knowledge is the tool used to bring awareness of this to the teachers in this study.

Each of the four classroom teachers did slightly different activities, but each was intended to elicit information about what their students might do out of school. Initial activities included a student survey, some of which failed to elicit desired information, home visits by two teachers, and other, more explicit questioning of students about their homes. After the teachers met together and discussed their activities, they agreed upon a few particular activities they would do to learn about their students, specifically using a survey Leah had developed (Appendix G) and an activity she used in her class, a table walk. The survey was translated into Chinese and sent home with the students. Also, the classroom teachers left large pieces of paper on desks and each of the students were instructed to write something about each topic, including *family*, *community*, *school*, *things I do well*, and *what I want to learn*. From this activity emerged the idea that a common theme across students was “technology.” In other words, the teachers associated large responses to their questions about technology to mean that the students had significant knowledge about technology. The teachers planned to create a 10-lesson unit around technology to utilize students’ funds of knowledge. Technology was loosely defined by teachers

as anything that “helps” us accomplish things, but this was not a standard definition and was open to modification by students as well.

Remember that two teachers, Jan and Allison, conducted home visits of most of their students in line with Moll et al.’s (1992) classic study on funds of knowledge (FoK). These were extremely important FoK activities. Jan really discusses these visits only in focus groups and her thesis. Allison, on the other hand, did discuss students’ homes during the meetings; however, I will discuss these in much more depth in her case study in the following chapter. Since I will be looking at Allison’s change over time, I will consider how these home visits played a role in her repositioning of the students.

Learner Identities: From finding funds to the work around.

Teachers began with viewing their students as passive learners, but then found the curriculum too restrictive to allow for students to take up complex social roles in the classroom. When teachers initially began studying the students’ funds of knowledge and planning curriculum, they did it in a way that privileged the teacher’s choice of the funds of knowledge. However, by the end of unit 1 the teachers saw that the school’s curriculum did not allow for students’ funds of knowledge to truly be integrated into the curriculum. In the following examples I demonstrate how teachers moved from talking about students as passive learners to how the curriculum does not allow them to become active learners.

“Funding” a curriculum: Not simply leveraging funds. The teachers struggled to privilege student funds of knowledge in curricular planning initially, and thus positioned students as passive learners. However this was challenged and teachers began to acknowledge students as experts and wider social actors. Ironically, though the teachers identified technology as a fund of knowledge emerging from the funds of knowledge planning phase, they struggled to see the

funds of knowledge as an asset to instruction in a meeting on November 1, 2010. Allison had mentioned that she wanted to base her first lesson on technology (the students' funds of knowledge), but since in science class they were studying rocks and minerals, she wanted to integrate technology into her unit. After stating this, one of the research assistants hesitates to respond, and Allison asks "What are you thinking?" Then she continues to rationalize her idea.

01. **Allison:** Cause we started it like I said with DIAMonds (.5) and they
02. know that diamonds are used in . the industry
03. **RA:** Right
04. **Allison:** But, um: we want to look at OTHER ones and how i/it has
05. catapulted us forward (.5) in the 21st century. Th/They .
06. Cause right now they're just thinking rocks and minerals are
07. just ROCKS-
08. **RA:** -Right.
09. **Allison:** [or used] for jewelry . that's all they've learned so FAR
10. but know they're doing a little re:search on how technology
11. and . ↓rocks (.5) are integrated into a °whole°.

Here, we can see that Allison is building her curriculum off of what she sees as technology. She uses the pronoun "we" in lines 01 and 04 to refer to her students in the classroom, but switches the framing to "they" in line 08 to distance herself. This privileges the teacher-knowledge and her own identity as knowledge holder by saying what she assumes the students are thinking, based on her previous lessons. Notice that she emphasizes "FAR" in line 08 which indicates a closer association between what the students are assumed to have learned and what she had taught up until that point. She associates the student identity in line with a classroom learner. The fact that they are doing a "little re:search" also indicates that she does not expect to find out anything new, again positioning herself as the epistemic authority and students as passive learners.

Note the tension that arises in the following transcript when Leah responds:

12. **Leah:** =That's what I'm asking. I guess I can't follow because when
 13. I think of something like THIS it seems li:ke you would
 14. kinda start wi:th the whole technology piece and then kind
 15. of lea:d into those types of activities. But it seem like
 16. we're just kind of grabbing activities and the:n we'll have
 17. to ↑back and try ta (.5) INTroduce techNOLOgy and what is it
 18. we're going to do when this is a whole unit when one of
 19. those/those activities sound to me like-
 20. **Lee:** -separate-
 21. **Leah:** -activity
 22. FOUR FIVE down the line once they're already into this unit
 23. and movement. ↑So that's why I'm/ I don't know I couldn't
 24. really-

Leah's response is a direct confrontation of Leah's approach, though the hesitation and hedging (e.g. kinda, kind of) may indicate some unsurity about her statement. Leah does not talk about the students here, but she talks about the logic of the lessons. In a way she outlines a typical lesson unit where you would start with a general introduction, something concrete about technology in general, and then move into specific application, like rocks and minerals. For her, the approach Allison is taking was somewhat backwards because you would have to introduce technology within the specific context. In line 20 Lee, who was usually more quiet at these meetings, backs Leah up in trying to construct a more logical unit of technology. As was frequent in the meetings, Lee and Leah take up one side, and Allison and Jan another.

Finally, a few moments later, we can see Leah explain the culminating tension of this discussion:

25. **Jan:** [We've already been talking about this stuff though for
 26. social studies]
 27. **Allison:** [But this does TIE in] . because they've already started
 28. Rocks and minerals . [and technology]
 29. **Leah:** [Right but you:'re] thinking rocks and
 30. minerals but if you're getting ready to do a who:le unit on

31. techno:logy-
32. **Allison:** -Right right and SO I am starting with science
33. how it's inte/ rocks and minerals are integrated in
34. technology for science ↑and then I can move into language
35. arts and °other things°.
36. **Leah:** But what do THEY know about technology?
37. **Jan:** Well we started a thesis before and-
38. **Leah:** -And that is the question

Allison once again attempts to defend her plan, this time with Jan backing her up. They both are attempting to take their current curriculum and have discussions of technology around it. Leah and Lee, on the other hand are attempting to build a new set of 10 lessons, beginning talking about technology from the students' point of view. In lines 29-31 Leah disregards the "tie-in" argument and counters with the idea that the students, if they limit their definition of technology to rocks and minerals, will not be able to benefit from a wider unit on technology. In other words, by starting out specific it would limit what gets counted as technology. Allison, attempts to explain that it will start in science, but later move into other curricular areas, and finally Leah asks, with emphasis, what the students know about technology. This positions the students as *knowers* outside the curricular boundaries. She indicates, here, the awareness that students know about technology, and that the curriculum should be built around that which they know (or should attempt to find out what they know). So, in this moment-to-moment interaction, the teachers have a conflict over not simply *curriculum development*, but over the *primary identities* of students. Allison, associating the identity of students around classroom learning, in the strict sense, allows their funds of knowledge, that is "technology," to be an overarching idea that the students need to learn. Leah, on the other hand, sees the primary identity as social agents who may already come to the classroom with knowledge of technology, and thus before a curriculum can be planned, they need to elicit the knowledge which students bring.

Later in this discussion, Leah again asserts that they need to assess what students know. Lee recommends doing a KWL (or ask the kids what they Know about technology, What they want to know, and What they Learned) to gather background knowledge. Jan plans to do a persuasive essay lesson letting the students write about technology. Allison finally agrees to do a KWL, though she also says that the students already know what technology is.

As can be seen, though teachers attempted to gather the funds of knowledge and plan a curriculum, they still struggled with the way students saw the world, namely what they considered technology. We see, here, an awareness of how the funds of knowledge relate to student learner identity. Thus, funds of knowledge was seen merely as a topic, that is technology, not the actual expertise of students, however, this notion was beginning to reposition students in this meeting. The teachers were beginning to agree that they needed to co-construct these ideas with their students in the classroom, repositioning the students from passive learners to a more active role. However, this would require teachers to let go of some of their control as well, something not easily done with mandated and scripted curricula.

Preventing the funds: Students positioned by dominant curricula. Student learner identities, though “expert” in technology, are ignored by the dominant curriculum. The teachers cannot allow students to become co-constructors or bring expertise into the classroom. The teachers attempted to build resistance against the curriculum, but when they (attempted) to resist the dominant curriculum, restrictions were easily seen. Jan, for instance, on more than one occasion, recalled being told by the principal that she was required to stick to the Warner School curriculum. She even noted that she was not allowed to use school laptops for academic games, as she wanted to supplement her curriculum.

This example comes in the meeting on November 15, 2010. The funds of knowledge process was used to develop curriculum. However, because of strict mandates, the teachers explained how it was difficult to implement the curriculum. A discussion of the students emerged in which teachers attempt to leverage funds, but cannot because of the curriculum. They comment that the FOSS curriculum (Regents of the University of California, Lawrence Hall of Science, (2010) and Trailblazers (2010) curriculum, a popular science and math curriculum used by the district, are scripted and non-negotiable. Unlike a traditional textbook, the teacher has no choice in the content or order of lessons. Thus, though the teachers attempt to re-position students in regards to their learner identities, it is not always possible. In this comment by Allison, for example, she summarizes the tension they faced.

01. **Allison:** Well . I have seventy-five students for science. So: I only
02. do my homeroom for technology/ ↑integrating technology.
03. We're working on it. THEY ↑love it . but I DON'T/ I cannot
04. SEE in reality doing fifteen of these unit with my own class
05. because THEN they'll be BEHIND and the other two classes
06. ahead in science . because I'm NOT teaching them the
07. scripted program right now. The one that I followed you know
08. day by day (0.3) so . I rea:lly don't think it's/ it's
09. feasible. It really isn't and . BUT THEY LOVE IT . I'd say-
10. **Lee:** -They love it they do-
11. **Allison:** -They DO like it they're really excited
12. about it but I'M BEHIND. My class is behind °[inaudible
13. phrase]°

In this statement we can see the struggle the teachers have in repositioning students in their classrooms (lines 04-05). The school (in this case it was out of the school's control and mandated by mid-level administration) provides the curricula, and the teachers do not have the power (lines 06-07). This may shed some light on Allison, whom I showed above as initially being resistant to building a curriculum from the funds of knowledge, that she has little power in

building a curriculum around funds of knowledge. In fact, from the first two weeks of the technology lessons, Allison emphasizes several times that “they” love the technology units (lines 03, 09, and 11. Lee affirms the same is true in her classroom. However, despite this advocacy for the students, the students remain positioned as passive learners via the dominant curriculum (lines 10-11).

It is important to note that the FOSS curriculum is organized around science inquiry, and thus on students’ learning by doing, however, the parameters are still set in a rigid curriculum series. Thus, students, as learners, are positioned under an assumption of normalcy and not given the ability to expand into positions outside of the classroom. The difference that the teachers are pushing for is to reposition students to move beyond the walls of the classroom and engage with their funds of knowledge by drawing on community resources, not simply predetermined science and math concepts packaged in a “research based” curriculum developed in California. This is a new way of re-positioning their students that is prevented by the dominant curricula.

This theme emerged throughout the data set and is one of the major barriers identified by teachers and researchers. The mandated curricula inhibited the implementation (and planning) of the teachers’ units. As teachers learn to reposition students into roles outside of the dominant curriculum, they face the challenges of working within the system to accomplish goals outside of the curriculum. While here, I focus on how the teachers are repositioning students in terms of learner identities (and wider social identities), this theme of fighting a dominant curriculum has been explored more fully elsewhere (e.g. Nasir, 2013).

As can be seen, there is a shift in the way that the teachers talk about their students during unit 1. For most of the teachers, the unit was well underway or completed by the end of

November, thus the November 15th meeting above demonstrates the struggle in planning a curriculum that privileges students' funds of knowledge. The teachers identified the students as "experts" and even more expert than the teacher in regards to technology, but in the dominant curriculum, there is no room to position them in that social role. Students are already positioned into a passive learner identity. These learner identities are indeed related to wider social identities. Given the political and commercial factors related to standard and mandated curricula in schooling, the positioning of learner identities is tied to sociopolitical, historical, and ideological levels of society. I now move to some other wider social positions. These include how the teachers use the FoK analysis activities to reposition students, families, and communities into wider social identities.

Social Identities: From Passive Learners to Community Changers.

In the previous section, I demonstrated how the teachers in unit 1 considered, specifically, students' identities in the classroom. They attempted to draw on funds of knowledge, thus positioning students as individuals, members of families, and members of communities. However, their primary identity was a learner in the classroom. In units 2 and 3 this is somewhat changed. Rather than simply being a member of communities outside the classroom, and bringing into the classroom funds of knowledge for teacher centered purposes, they began to talk about students in more complex ways as "community changers" who bend the boundaries of in-school and out-of-school. The classroom instruction was reorganized to reposition students as community researchers, and eventually community activists. Thus students crossed the traditional, restrictive boundaries of in-school and out-of-school.

Before I present evidence of this in this section, I first should note that part of this change came from competing moral stances taken up by teachers, their students, and students' family

and community members. For example, teachers may have taken moral stances against smoking even though parents and community members smoke (this is the case with Jan and Lee). Thus, the teachers' moralities were, at least partially, imposed on students, in that they were encouraged to oppose smoking as well.

Now I will demonstrate two examples of students being repositioned into different social identities. The first is the repositioning of students between the end of unit 1 and the beginning of unit 2 in which the teachers reposition them from dominant "foreign" identity to a nuanced understanding of social statuses and ethnic identities. The second is an example of students being repositioned some time during unit 2 and into unit 3 in which students were repositioned from passive members of communities (consistent with the previous section on learning) to active change agents in the community.

Not simply Chinese. As I noted in the previous chapter, the re-imagination of Chinatown to exist within Warner is taken up and/or rejected by students. However, the teachers frequently presume this identity of the students. This social identity comes with great cultural significance, hence I talk about it as a social position. When the teachers talk about "Chineseness" and their students, they do so in dynamic, changing ways that challenge the assumed homogeneous label applied on larger macro scales.

Constructing and positioning foreignness: Talking about "their" heritage. During the weekly meetings for the teacher's coursework, they talked about their students as Chinese. This category of "foreignness" or "Chinese" came up frequently in the data, consistent with the processes of constructing Chinatown described in my previous chapter. As the teachers engaged in discussion around the theory of funds of knowledge, they do so differently. I noted in the previous chapter that dominant social positions may be challenged by teachers through engaging

in inquiry around students funds of knowledge. In an example in chapter 4, I presented how Allison positioned the students as foreign in classroom interaction. This meant that some students were essentially erased while others took up an identity of being “Chinese” and foreign. Furthermore, I noted how from moment to moment Allison repositioned the students between a dichotomy of foreign and not foreign (Rumenapp, April 2012). In this example, I will show how Allison reflects on that classroom lesson.

This meeting took place on November 29, 2010. The two research assistants and the teachers were watching videos from the classroom. In chapter 4 we saw the transcript of the video being analyzed here (pages 83-84), but here we see the Allison talking about the video. The teachers were engaging in a type of discourse analysis. Allison begins to talk about what was happening in the video and reflects on the classroom activity, intended to elicit funds of knowledge from students about technology, their families, China, and so on.

01. **Allison:** SO the whole idea was to get them to talk about what they
02. know about technology . and then they said (1.0) you know .
03. um: (3.0) countries are competing with each other . for
04. technology . and I said well what do you think about that?
05. So . I said what happens . if ↑America won't ↑accept any
06. technology from any other countries? And that's when Mei
07. said that wouldn't be good because . you know (.5) It's our
08. our heritage. And so we wouldn't be able to have . you know
09. (1.0) came from CHINA. So then . and the:n they don't have
10. foreign things . We won't have foreign things
11. **RA:** mhmm
12. **Allison:** so that's what we're say↑ing No red no red you know no
13. dragons no red Chinese envelopes (2.0) °Woah° because that's
14. their heritage (.5)

This transcript differs from the actual instance they were talking about. Really, the teachers were studying the discourse to look at how Allison interacted with her students, but in this moment she is analyzing the funds of knowledge from the classroom. Comparing the direct

quoting of Allison to the video reveals that Allison is taking much license here to interpret the statements made by Mei and the rest of the class. Allison asked Mei about what her parents would think if technology was only from the US. Mei didn't say anything about heritage. There were a few inaudible words and then she said "I think they will be sad because mostly they have foreign things and then they won't have them" as we saw in chapter 4. However, it is interesting that Allison makes the connection of this comment to heritage.

In the transcript, in lines 7 and 13, you can notice a short pause before Allison moves into a different frame. By switching her footing and revoicing her students, she assumes solidarity with them. Her use of the "our" and "we" in line 8 are preceded by pauses in which Allison switches frames. It is in this moment of switching that she gives the students the voice to claim their heritage as "our heritage." However, the students didn't previously make that claim explicitly. They talked about their parents, and Min Hin later does take up that position (after the red envelopes comment), but Allison is projecting this identity upon them by taking up their positions in the interaction they just watched. This is further seen when Allison switches from the "we" in the classroom frame to the "their" heritage in line 23.

Within this moment of analyzing the funds of knowledge of technology, Allison re-imposes the dominant cultural icons on the students just like she did in the classroom itself. In the name of "funds of knowledge" she doesn't talk about the everyday practices of people, but instead, in the moment of discourse, takes up the role of the students and positions them as Chinese. As pointed out in the last chapter when I looked at the classroom interaction, here we see a similar phenomenon. However, instead of in the moment interactions with students, Allison, talking with the research assistants and her cohort, assumes her students, that is, all her students, are Chinese, and that Chineseness (including the red envelopes, dragons, and

technology) is their funds of knowledge. Later, in January, this is challenged as teachers talk about different types of Chinese and what it means to be Chinese.

Positioning students into social statuses: Talking difference. While in the previous example, the idea of foreignness, or *Chineseness* was explored; the teachers did note variation within this “ethnic categorization.” A few months later, at another meeting on January 24, 2011, the teachers again discuss funds of knowledge. The discussed the difference between the Cantonese and Mandarin speakers. I marked this as a “funds of knowledge” activity because Jan begins to explain what she learned from doing home visits. Prior to this transcript the teachers are discussing how the boys and the girls are different. Lee says that in Chinese culture the girls are more dominant in the home. Allison affirms that. Both of them stated their families were like that growing up. Jan said that she saw this in her class too, and from doing home visits. These home visits brought a particular awareness of cultural differences in the students’ homes. Following Lee’s comment about the gender differences being from Chinese culture, Jan responds:

01. **Lee:** like . yeah . in a lot of ho:mes the girl:s are the ones
02. that dominate the house [(laugh)]
03. **Jan:** [oh:] . I should [I should be Cantonese]
04. **Lee:** Because if you look at my pa:rents and a lot of other
05. pa:rents that I know that are Chinese the mom is really the
06. one that is the authority (.5) the DAD will just go with
07. whatever the mom says.
08. **Leah:** [the Cantonese]
09. **Jan:** [But the Mandarin] [is the other way around]
10. **Lee:** That’s Cantonese but ↑Mandarin I’m not quite sure. I just
11. know because a lot of my friends are Cantonese.
12. **Allison:** Right. That’s true. It’s the same in my house.
13. **Lee:** And the Taiwanese they have different standards. Tiawanese .
14. °they are more . like focus on the/ Well so is Cantonese .
15. but they’re higher standards of living like educa:ted . so

16. sometimes they like nicer things than the Cantonese people.
17. So the Mandarin speaking families are more/ well I don't
18. know how they are [inaudible few words] but I noticed the
19. Cantonese are more just (.5) the guys are
20. just so laid back.
21. **Jan:** I believe that
22. **Lee:** yeah (2.0)
23. **Jan:** See that's why I'm thinking Cheung (1.5) when you said
24. Mandarin is higher standards and stuff . I kind of get that
25. from him (2.0) Cheung
26. **Lee:** why's that?
27. **Jan:** Just his conversation and everything is . yep

In this transcript we can see that Jan is becoming aware of a dichotomy between the Mandarin and Cantonese speakers. This had come up before in the group discussions, but Kim's home visits (in the immediate context of this discussion) revealed different cultural practices that extended beyond the walls of the classroom. For instance, she noticed that the boys were more submissive and girls more helpful in the classroom as well as at home. Thus, by engaging in funds of knowledge, Jan repositions her students into more nuanced identities.

When Lee is talking about the cultural reasons for the students' behaviors, Jan makes a sly comment (line 03). In doing so, she is making a distinction between types of Chinese, something that as noted in chapter 4 isn't generally done. This awareness of different "Chineseness" is important. While the dichotomy of Cantonese and Mandarin is a common understanding, in the general context of North American viewpoints, it is not a distinction that holds much currency. The collapsing of the categories is much more common into a single construct. Even in line 05 Lee, whose family is Toisan, uses the broad category of "Chinese" to describe the cultural phenomenon the teachers are noticing in their classroom. Both Leah and Jan, in overlapping talk, push back to ask about the variation. Lee then, as the expert on the topic, explains the variation she knows within different Chinese groups. Jan and Leah both

position Lee into the role of expert, and she takes it up. What is interesting here, though, is that Jan elaborates upon the point. Of course she gets to slide in her witty humor in line 03, but expands it by talking about one specific student whose family does speak Mandarin. Since she had been to their homes, she draws on that specific knowledge of the students. We can see, here, how the funds of knowledge methodology contributed to Jan and Leah's repositioning of students into more complex social identities. Positioning students is also a factor in the relationships they build with them, and then how teachers interpret these relationships and students.

Within the larger point, here, that Jan's talk about students is showing a major shift presumably (indicated by the cohesion of the text preceding this small portion of transcript), from visiting the homes, there is a secondary distinction being made. The students are seen to be in a lower social status (at least the Cantonese students). Jan makes that comparison explicit between Cheung and other students, building off of Lee's comments. Lee's comments seem to come out of the blue. She was talking about gender roles and shifted in line 09 to social status. It is interesting that Lee repositions students from Chinese gender roles into different types of Chinese social statuses.

Clearly in this instance Lee is making the claims out of prior observations and experiences. Jan, however, seems to have come to a new awareness of student identities (both ethnic and socioeconomic) by visiting the homes. In this moment of talk there is a fighting back of the dominant "Chinatown" assumptions that all Chinese people are the same. In fact, students are repositioned into different, multifaceted social identities because the teachers are discussing issues that come up when trying to understanding funds of knowledge and the cultural practices of students.

From members of families and communities to change agents. Over the course of the year, teachers shifted in the way they positioned their students. When they began looking for the students' fund of knowledge, they sought to understand students in their homes and communities by doing surveys and home visits. However, as the year progressed, they shifted into allowing students to actively research their communities, take up roles in classroom planning, and seek out change in their communities.

Positioning family as a resource. Throughout the funds of knowledge gathering, and planning the curriculum around funds of knowledge, the teachers discussed issues of the family, positioning students as members of families and communities, albeit passive members. They were not expected to play a role in changing family or community practices. During the meeting, as well as other data, families and communities was a frequent topic when considering students. For example, in the meeting on January 10, 2010 I was talking with Jan about her data so that she could write up a report. She was attempting to elicit funds of knowledge from the students by doing a comparison chart between "then" and "now." One thing that is evident from Moll et al.'s (1992) theory of funds of knowledge was that the funds are found in the home, specifically, but also in the community. Thus, the teachers, or Jan specifically in this instance, planned activities to elicit information about the homes.

01. **Jan:** We did/ we did the persuasive essay and we did um: (5.0) We
02. DID a T-chart . (3.0) um: It was a then and now sorry . then
03. and now
04. **Joe:** Then and now? Ok
05. **Jan:** we did one of those things that they had today and they had
06. to go home um: and talk to their parents and say what did
07. you all do before coming here . and that kind of thing. And
08. that was the first day.

After this, Jan talked about what she did in subsequent days. It is important to note here the association between “then” and the parents’ home country and “now” and “here” (lines 06-07). Similarly to the example provided in chapter 4 from Lee’s class where one student associated things from China as in the past, Jan does that here as well. However, because of the fund of knowledge framework, Jan viewed that historical knowledge, stereotyped as it may be, as a resource. Students became researchers, in a sense, of their families. In the discourse of the funds of knowledge activities, Jan viewed “here” as modern and the country from which the parents emigrated as not modern. Nonetheless, she was attempting to find out this information as a resource for her students.

As can be seen from this example, when teachers were engaging in FoK activities, they talked about the students as part of families. Families were talked about as a resource for students. They had certain historical knowledges that were seen as a benefit to the students, if for nothing else, then for analyzing and studying them. This explicit talk about families repositions students into social roles other than simply students. They are students who are part of families with their own backgrounds and resources.

The teachers, however, were not simply talking about students as a part of families, but actually positioned them as vital parts to families. As the year went on and teachers began to implement curricula, they positioned students as agents of change in their families. While in this example Jan presented the students as parts of families from which resources were drawn, in the next example Leah talks about the students as agents able to learn about and change choices their parents have made.

Re-positioning family resources: Conflicts with teacher morality. Teachers positioned students as agents of moral change in their families. When teachers’ moralities conflicted with

those of families, teachers sought to position students as moral agents in line with themselves. This can be seen in other parts of the data as well. Allison, for example had students ask parents what they thought about the space program being funded by their tax money. As teachers engaged in the funds of knowledge activities in the meetings, they considered values of the families. However, as is evident in this example, Lee actively positions herself at odds with smoking. The students, then, are also positioned into different social roles intending to change.

This example took place toward the end of the year. First, on May 16th 2011 Lee explains how she will approach the topic of smoking, since it came up in her class. She viewed this as a funds of knowledge activity, as she was planning the curriculum. The second transcript comes from June 6, 2011, after she had implemented much of the curricular unit. She was still planning a survey for parents. Again, these examples underscore that teachers position the students as moral actors, not passive purveyors of cultural values exclusively. It also indicates a moral imperative of teaching, as seen by the teachers that extends beyond content instruction.

01. **Bianca:** that reminds me . smoking ↑problem that THINGS are brought
02. up(1.0) so . and you know . if they create their observation
03. **Lee:** Yeah: I tried/ I typed it out . what I was trying to go for
04. for my unit three: . so they're doing air pollution traps
05. right now . for the science fai:r so after that's done . I
06. think I am going to have them (.5) start interviewing people
07. at home and polling people they know people who smoke
08. **Leah:** mhmm
09. **Lee:** at home. And then at the end try to have them create . like
10. a poster . to write letters to why you should not smoke and
11. maybe an invention with how to stop smoking. We'll look
12. into like the ↑patches and things like the gu:m and things-

Allison interrupts Lee to suggest doing critical literacies with the students regarding smoking ads. The teachers question to what extent the ads would have influenced the Chinese

parents. Additionally, Lee explained that students already have an awareness of smoking and even can be seen in the lunchroom mimicking how to smoke. For this example, however, it is important to look at the flow of talk. Smoking was something noticed by all teachers, and all the teachers disapproved it. Allison's recommendation of doing the critical literacy activity, Leah's affirmation in line 08, Bianca's bringing it up as a "problem" in line 01, and Jan, elsewhere in the data, have all indicated a singular moral stance against smoking. Thus, they position the Chinese parents as violating a moral ideal. They turn to the students as potential agents of change by imposing the no-smoking morality upon them. Lee's comments here (line 10) indicate that her larger goal was not solely academic, but rather an activist type role shift. It seems, though, she was struggling to fit in the "technology" topic into the discussion to make it scientific. In line 11 she says the students may have to design an invention to stop smoking, but in lines 12 she explains different technologies that she may also cover. Her rising intonation on "patches" and the elongation in "gum" followed by "and things" seems to indicate that she is not taking a hard and fast stance to the technology portion. Her moral stance against smoking is clear, though she does demonstrate some hedging about how to go about creating a class project against smoking (line 10).

Lee and Bianca, and even Allison to an extent with the critical literacies, position the students as researchers. They are to carry out research methodologies regarding smoking in their homes. By talking about the students as researchers, they allow the identities of students in their families to become multifaceted. The students are at once within the family, but are also a form of outside researcher as well. The students are a part of the family, but are expected to assume a moral stance that conflicts with the parents. Furthermore, the students are expected to make that

moral stance public. The follow-up conversation occurs on June 6th, and further indicates Lee's awareness of the conflicting moral grounds she is walking upon with her students.

01. **Bianca:** oh: That is nice. (2.0) What about smoking opium?
02. [historically (.5) the Chinese]
03. **Lee:** [Oh . yeah:]
04. **Bianca:** oh: (laughs)
05. **Lee:** Opium (1.0) [That's their ancestors]
06. **Bianca:** [That is smoking too right?] Yeah and that's the Chinese.
07. like that's . kinda . what brought the downfall (.5) of that
08. dynasties because they're all like smoking crazy-
09. **Lee:** Survey . how many of you at home know somebody that smokes?
10. And it was everybody except maybe one or two raised their
11. [hands . yeah]
12. **Bianca:** [so it's pervasive . huh?]
13. **Lee:** so we were writing the questions and they were so excited
14. like "↑yeah and they said this"
15. **Bianca:** [Oh and we tape it]
16. **Lee:** And I didn't want the parents to think we were ATTACKING
17. them like WHY DO you smoke? WHY DO you do this. But then
18. maybe we could ask them why do people smoke?-
19. **Bianca:** Yeah
20. **Lee:** What are some rea:sons why? You know? What are some other
21. air pollutions (everyone laughs) so that way it wouldn't be
22. geared just toward smoking like WHY ARE YOU GUYS . yeah . so

In this conversation between Bianca and Lee, some interesting things emerge. As pointed out before, the issue at hand is planning the unit around the funds of knowledge, specifically about air pollution and smoking. However, this is primarily a moral issue that the students are excited about. Lee, while she attempts to go over her lesson plans for the unit, including the interviews and surveys first mentioned on May 16th, Bianca interrupts (line 01) to suggest getting into an historical issue, specifically opium. Lee's response is a refusal to take up the historical issue of the opium trade. It is interesting that in considering funds of knowledge,

Bianca includes historical events leading to the fall of Chinese dynasties (line 07) while Lee remains relatively in the present regarding smoking and air pollution.

Whereas Bianca's comments sort of essentialized the notion of Chineseness, imposing it on the students, and a negative view, at that, Lee considers the weight of the moral conflict. She mentions that the students were doing the research on their own (line 09) and would eventually try to persuade people to stop smoking. She also indicates the students had a fair amount of buy-in to the topic (lines 12-13). However, she also noted that she didn't want the parents to think they were being attacked (line 15) so the wording and approach would have to be chosen accordingly (lines 16-17, 19-21). Notice that in lines 16 and 17 she explicitly considers wording that would be more general and less pointed by having the students ask about people more generally, not about their parents specifically. The second person pronoun is emphasized, indicating that Lee anticipate the question as a potential insult or attack. Again, she further tries to dull the question by juxtaposing it alongside more general questions of air pollution (lines 19-21). Thus, from Lee's backing off of the questions, she implicates a stance against smoking and therefore against the parents. This awareness of the moral conflict between the teacher (and students) and the parents was stated here, revealing that though funds of knowledge are leveraged, they are not always desirable. Still, they can be used to teach students. So, Lee shifts the students into a social identity that is distinct from the parents and opposes the parents. This is significant given that student identities are often collapsed into generalities (which occurs even here in Bianca's statements).

From discussing the funds of knowledge activities the teachers repositioned students not only as members of families, but also as members that can accomplish change within family structures. In a way, however, the students became purveyors of teachers' moralities. So, when

discussing funds of knowledge that teachers did not value (i.e. smoking) they reposition the students in talk as members of families that have the power to change them. This was also seen in a broader context of communities. Teachers talked about students not only as members of families, but also the wider community. Students in all four of the classrooms were tasked with developing their own surveys about various topics, to collect data from their community, and to discuss implications of healthy eating, smoking, economics and technology, and various other problems in their communities.

Discourse analysis: Challenging language ideologies.

Language ideologies inform the way we position social actors into different identities. Often this could lead to erasing certain students from the social context. For example, if the teacher assumes English Learners are quiet because they are “shy” this could have detrimental affects in the classroom because they may not be given opportunities to talk and interact. Therefore when teachers challenge these language ideologies through discourse analysis, they reposition English Learners into different social roles.

In the first section of this finding I noted how students were repositioned from passive learners to experts who could not take up expert roles in the classroom because of a strict curriculum. In the second section, I noted how the students were talked about in more complex social identities in units 2 and 3. This repositioning occurred, generally, between the end of November and the beginning of February when the teachers were analyzing unit 1 and planning for unit 2. Chronologically, between these two sections was a five meeting focus on discourse analysis which contributed to the shifts seen in the previous sections. Reflecting back, I realize that after unit 1, the other researcher and I saw the teachers needed more mediation in the process. They needed concrete examples of classroom activities (like the surveys) and also were

encouraged to break out from the more strict technology unit to other areas in which the students' interests led. However, in those two months another thing occurred. Particularly the teachers analyzed their data from unit 1. In this section, I will analyze the discursive practices of their analysis.

I came into the university-school partnership interested in how teachers used discourse analysis. My initial thinking was based in the language ideologies literature, that we all use language ideologies to mediate activities (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2011). The dominant, tacit ideologies operative in classrooms tend to be restrictive, hence the focus by the teachers to shift from IRE to conversational discourse practices and to allow for students to talk more and challenge these ideologies. One way to do this was through planning the curriculum around funds of knowledge. As seen above, this allowed teachers to see students as complex social actors (e.g. members of communities, experts in out-of-school knowledge, etc.). Yet, dominant language ideologies were not necessarily challenged. Considering the shift in unit 2 and extending to unit 3 to where students were seen in complex social identities, we are still left with the question of "how did this change occur?" This is similar to the question posed by Pease-Alvarez (2011) in her commentary on Razfar and Rumenapp's (2011) article. Teachers are certainly not left to static, purveying language ideologies, but indeed have the agency (and moral responsibility!) to analyze and critique them. Thus, by engaging in discourse analysis in the months of November, December, and January teachers looked closely at language, specifically its structure beyond the sentence, and thereby aligned with a different language ideology.

The tacit language ideologies operative in moment-to-moment interaction are challenged, often, when explicit focus on language structure seeks to analyze and reconceptualize moments of social interaction. I found that during this 2 month process involving five meetings, the

teachers engagement in discourse analysis led to a realignment with different language ideological stances, which in turn allowed for a more dynamic understanding of students' identities. After this 2 month period is when the teachers began planning for units 2 and 3, which opened new opportunities for students to take up multifaceted social roles in the classroom. It also contributed to the restructuring of classroom set ups to promote more equitable student talk.

I present evidence that (1) through discourse analysis the teachers open up possibilities of multiple social identities because they use multiple language ideologies and (2) through discourse analysis the teachers reposition students into different classroom roles by realigning with different language ideologies therefore informing curricular decisions.

Multiple Social Identities. Through the use of discourse analysis, teachers aligned with different language ideological stances, thus positioning English Learners into different social identities. The example I present here demonstrates how Jan, while analyzing two transcripts, shifted to different and more nuanced language ideologies (as I was mediating). While doing this, she allowed students to take up more nuanced social positions. When she was looking at the structure of language alone, under the first heading, the students remained static. Under the second heading, I push Jan to look more closely at language as a social practice. When she does this, she sees different social identities of her students, including how one student is not allowed to speak in Chinese. Later she finds that this student may need speech-motor therapy.

I intend to follow up on AW's speech problem. I had been thinking all this time, since the beginning of the school year that he was just shy. I did a home visit with his family and his mother even told me he was very shy and didn't like to talk much. I am sure she, too, is not aware that he has a speech problem. I don't know if the school has informed his family, but I intend to do so.

(JAN'S INDIVIDUAL REPORT, 01/24/2011)

Unfortunately, due to unforeseen issues, Jan was unable to follow up with this line of questioning to its fullest. However, this demonstrates that Jan was looking at the students language use in multiple contexts and shifts her initial assumptions of *shyness* to a deeper problem that needed further analysis.

Likewise, Jan continued to shift in her thinking as she moved from unit to unit. On multiple occasions she had called her students “lazy,” including in this first individual report from January. However, Jan’s made a statement in her oral thesis that was substantially different:

“Some examples, teacher continually attribute the academic struggles of ELLs to students’ inability or unwillingness to learn English. With this deficit thinking we [can’t] focus on what immigrant students bring to the classroom, and that was another thing too. And it is though they are just being lazy, and they’re not trying, and this type of thing... but maybe half of the classroom were immigrants and the other half where born here. So just in the two students if you had an immigrant student talking to a student that was born here in America you can just see the difference right away even though they are both Asian its just that the child has become more Americanized even if they’re parents were immigrants.”

(JAN’S ORAL THESIS, 06/11/2012)

This statement is a profound shift in the way Jan talks about her students from the middle of the 2011 school year to the end of her thesis. The students are not “lazy,” so to speak, but are members of different groups, namely those that were born in the US and those that immigrated. The notion of Americanization was a theme Jan referred to throughout the year, but in her thesis, rather than referring to all students as lazy or all students as forgetting their culture, she talks about them as members of cultural groups.

Possibly there is not a word in Chinese for that: Structural language ideologies and student identity. Jan assumed that the two languages, Chinese and English, were separate

languages (codes) outright, and looked positively on hybrid language practices. Jan put four bilingual students into the original focal group, which I videotaped for unit one. In the group, there were two girls and two boys. The two girls spoke Chinese together frequently, and it appeared, to me in the field, that they were talking about classroom related things much of the time since they would be conversing while pointing to a piece of paper or would use English as well. In this example, from the meeting on January 10, 2011 Jan and I are looking closely at transcripts from unit one. I asked her what she notices about the transcript.

01. **Jan:** Well . here. She started doing a lot of/ well I guess it was
02. this one here . where it was just so cute to me . she would
03. start off and speak English then all of a sudden bububu and
04. go right into [Chinese] and I was like (1.0) you know . but .
05. um: I asked . I think it was Lee . and they were saying that
06. . a lot of times they have to do that because there is not a
07. word in Chinese (.5) language for that . word/ >>in the
08. English language<< for that word. There's not Chinese
09. for the English word. They have to use what they know.
10. **Joe:** It was interesting . even when they were talking about . they
11. would say technology-
12. **Jan:** -Right . they would always throw that
13. word out. But possibly there is not a word in Chinese for
14. that word.
15. **Joe:** Or they just don't know it. It's not [something they talk
16. about with their parents]
17. **Jan:** [That's true]

Jan calls the use of Chinese “cute.” There is no doubt that Jan was impressed by the use of multiple languages (which I will show in a segment from two weeks after this instance). But, there are some significant things to note here about the way Jan talks about the use of Chinese here. First, the identifier “cute” (line 02) is a diminutive, albeit, a positive one but still diminutive. The “cuteness” came up in several other places in the data set as well, so I had coded for it. Here we can see that the idea of “cuteness” is in a way a sense of distancing. It is

also interesting that Jan's mock voice of Chinese consists of "bububu" (line 03) which positions it as a sort of gibberish from Jan's perspective.

She also mentions that she asked an adult Chinese speaker why the students did this, which they said may be because there isn't a word for it (06-07). Jan talks about this experience as a limit of the language structures. Multiple language use, then, didn't have to do with identity or pragmatic meaning, but only semantic limits, it would seem. I attempted to push Jan to talk more about this by pointing specifically to the word "technology" that the students used. Jan cuts me off to speak and points out they always said technology in English and drew the conclusion that there may not be a Chinese word for technology. In line 15 I push back and suggest an alternative that they don't know it because they don't talk to their families about it.

The point that I was attempting to push Jan with was that languages do not have a one-to-one word correspondence, so we should not expect that. When students are switching, there may be multiple reasons for the "switch," not just lexical deficiencies of one language or another. As China is becoming a highly technologized world power, it is unlikely there is no way to express "technology" as the students were describing it. Language, though, is much more contextualized. So, the idea of technology was embedded in the context of the classroom that it should be no surprise it is expressed in English. As a semiotic tool, "technology," the written and oral version, seems to operate outside the confines of a simple English/Chinese dichotomy. Thus it is better to view the student as drawing on multiple semiotic resources, not simple switching between two. At any rate, as Jan began to pick this up in line 09, students use what they know. Still it is significant that Jan concluded Chinese might not have that word which further underscores an outdated, "third-world" view of China as non-technologically advanced, which was evidenced elsewhere in the funds of knowledge section and consistent with the ecological

make up of Chinatown. Thus, we can see how Jan's alignment with a language ideological stance that assumes a structural approach to language (e.g. that Chinese and English do not have a one-for-one correspondence) is used to position students as learners from a "third-world" type context into a more technologized world context. In other words, the assumed deficiencies of the Chinese language seems to position students into some social deficiency as well.

Not just the structure: Use English! A couple of minutes after I suggested to Jan that there could be multiple reasons for the switching between languages, I turned to another piece of the transcript from a different class period, the transcript is in Appendix H in the form used by Jan during her analysis. I asked Jan about the transcript, specifically the use of Chinese.

01. **Joe:** And another thing that is interesting in this transcript is
02. that there is a lot of Chinese here . going back and forth.
03. But who is talking in Chinese?
04. **Jan:** Ying
05. **Joe:** Ying.
06. **Jan:** Ying and Amber.
07. **Joe:** Amber does a lot too.
08. **Jan:** Eric doesn't . I'm surprised
09. **Joe:** Does Eric speak Chinese?
10. **Jan:** He he has to because I visited him. When I went to the house
11. his mother and father don't speak very good English at all .
12. so it's him and his brother . his brother is in high school
13. . so I mean he has to be doing some communicating with his
14. parents .
15. **Joe:** Is it the same Chinese or is it Mandarin Chinese
16. **Jan:** Hmmm . he . I'm not sure . he (.5) I'm not sure . sometimes
17. the kid are embarrassed . they don't want to speak Chinese.
18. **Joe:** Ok that's . those are things that you when you see it
19. happening, you write that down in your classroom.
20. **Jan:** ok
21. **Joe:** And then you . when we have this happening next unit . you
22. Can say "oh . you know what . I wrote that down. This is
23. what I saw . the kid didn't want to speak in Chinese." (1.0)

24. but here . he does speak in Chinese. But how is it responded
 25. to? He says something in Chinese. (1.0) and then there is
 26. like a pause . and Ying says "use English." Why would she
 27. say "use English"?
 28. **Jan:** OH ↑I didn't hear her say that. She did. She told him
 29. **Joe:** She told him to use English (1.0) Now . she's speaking
 30. Chinese the whole time. She does later on speak to Eric in
 31. Chinese. But um: (.5) But she doesn't/ she never really
 32. accepts his responses so that's-
 33. **Jan:** -Yeah maybe it a [inaudible
 34. word] thing . like you speak English.

I begin by asking her to explain who is speaking in Chinese in these lines. Since she had struggled with seeing other potential reasons, beyond lexical difference, to switch languages a few minutes before, I decided to prompt Jan by asking about "who" was speaking Chinese in this particular transcript. The "who" speaks in what language is very important to understanding the social makeup of the group Jan had picked. It is also important to understand students' identities and how Jan is positioning them. Thus, my question in line 03 was to prompt Jan to think deeper about the discourse and its social implications. In line 08 Jan realizes that Eric doesn't speak in Chinese, even though she expected him to. Her response about being surprised alludes to her expectation that because his parents only speak Chinese, then he would too. It is interesting to note, here, that because Jan had been to the homes and seen the students with their families, she had particular expectations about how they would interact in the classroom. Jan encouraged the use of Chinese in her classroom, so for her to notice that Eric was not speaking with the two girls in Chinese is significant. Indeed, he was with them, in part, so they could use Chinese with each other!

My first question in line 09 is to confirm he does speak Chinese. Then I follow up with whether he speaks Cantonese like the rest of the group. Jan gives an initial hypothesis that

perhaps the student is embarrassed, even though he is the only one not speaking Chinese in the transcript. In lines 18-19 I explain that she should be writing those things down because she is an action researcher. The most interesting moment about this comes in line 26 when I tell her about the “use English” comment from Ying to Eric.

Jan hadn’t heard this before, nor had she noticed it in the transcript. The rising intonation in line 28 marks a dramatic change in Jan’s tone, as she realized that Ying really did tell Eric to not speak in Chinese. In reflection, I should have been more open ended with Jan to let her discover this on her own and suggest a reason why he may not have spoken Chinese. Nonetheless, Jan began to realize that there is a tension in the group around Chinese, namely Ying and Amber can speak it but Eric doesn’t have the rights to speak Chinese in the group.

Later Jan received a slip in which Eric was recommended for help with his speech. She and I began to wonder if, perhaps, his speech irregularities carried over into Chinese and therefore he was not seen as a competent speaker by the group. What we can see here is that there is a repositioning of the students because Jan looked closely at the discourse (and I helped to mediate the process too). She began not only to see “code switching” as a lexical phenomenon, but as a practice related to identities. She continued to express language ideologies that privileged the code in later meetings, but she also demonstrates an awareness of other possible reasons to code switch.

Within the five meetings of doing discourse analysis, we can see moments like this where the teachers analyze discourse and reposition their students into new social identities. She did not just talk about the use of Chinese or the code-switching, but rather considered more nuanced identities that carried over into the following units.

Switching up the Classroom. Whereas in the previous section I demonstrated how the teachers can use discourse analysis to reposition students into more nuanced social identities, in this section I demonstrate how teachers can use discourse analysis to reorganize the classroom roles. Specifically, teachers can study patterns of talk to draw conclusions about power and authority. They can challenge these patterns by reorganizing the structure of the classroom itself. This reveals a shift in language ideologies the teachers use to mediate instruction, and allow students to take up different roles in the classroom.

Both Lee and Allison reorganized the structural makeup of their classrooms to increase opportunities for student interaction. Whereas Lee usually sat in a chair facing the students sitting on a carpet, she eventually had the class sit in a circle. Likewise, in one lesson, Allison had her students sit in a large circle to manipulate the pattern of talk.

The following example comes from the meeting on November 19, 2010. Lee, Allison, another researcher, and I just finished watching a clip of Allison's video. The students were standing up and reporting out on things Allison had prompted. The structure of talk was strictly a teacher-student-teacher-student pattern. Allison recognized her dominant discourse pattern as IRE and sought to change. She talks about the classroom structure.

01. **Allison:** Those kids um:(1.0) They were reall/ (.5) ↑I think I might
 02. ↓change the makeup of the um (.5) roo:m. When Joe comes in
 03. tomorrow . I think we'll sit in a circle (.5) because . you
 04. know . that's >so spread out< . whereas . you know (1.0)
 05. with Lee . I know we only looked at four but . they're so
 06. concentrated you can hear better. I'm not going to make much
 07. dialogue out of/ . transcript out of them if their sp-
 08. **RA:** - yeah
 09. . it's hard (1.0) will/ are you uh: are you going to be
 10. doing small group work tomorrow:?
 11. **Allison:** uh: (1.0) no . I wanted to do large group . I wanted to talk
 12. about the data that we collected

13. **RA:** ok:
14. **Allison:** I think it would be more conducive if we sat in a circle
15. [°and talked about it°]

We see in line 03 that Allison intends to change the seating in the class. Her rationale was that the class, as it currently is, is too spread out and she is unable to hear the video very well. In a circle it would be much more close where the camera could record. In lines 01-07 we see Allison trying to make sense out of the video we had just seen. We see her hedging and back channeling (line 03). The pauses, slowing of speech, change of intonation, and so forth seem to indicate that she is trying to figure out how to change the discourse pattern in her classroom. She noticed that it was difficult to hear in the video because the talk was so spread out, and even begins in line 01 to tell that the kids were really quiet. It is important to see here, though, that the burden of classroom talk is placed on her, as the classroom teacher, not the students. She is recognizing that the social organization of the classroom is important. This is a shift in the way she talks about her students.

Previously, she had been telling me that they were quiet, thus putting the burden of talk on the students. In this instance Allison indicates that she can reorganize the classroom to reposition students and allow for more talk. She seems to be trying to find an answer to get them to talk, and she finally reasons that if the students were more concentrated she may get them to speak. In lines 11-12 Allison mentions that she wants the students to talk about their data in a large group. She anticipates that changing the physical structure of the classroom would change the patterns of talk, thus repositioning the students into a more equitable role. We can see that the language ideologies Allison uses to reason about classroom talk are such that language is altered by mere physical reorganization. That is, if the students were physically reorganized, then they would likely talk more. So, there is a close link between the language ideologies used

to mediate instructional contexts and the social positioning of social actors in the classroom. This can be manipulated when teachers study closely the patterns of talk in their classroom. The default organization was not conducive to student talk, but a reorganization of the physical space would be more conducive.

After Allison's statement I indicate there is overlapping talk. The other researcher follows up by recommending students talk in small groups first and then transition into a large group discussion. This is eventually what happens. Allison abandons the large circle idea until much later in the year toward the end of unit 2.

It is important to see here that there are underlying language ideologies at play. Allison assumes that the organization of the classroom into a large circle would increase the opportunity for students to talk. This assumption is actually manifested in unit 2 when she tries it. We will look at this example more closely in the following chapter. The Research Assistant, however, consistent with the program's ideals, recommends students begin to dialogue in small groups first. Thus, we see in Allison a repositioning of the students in the classroom. Rather than students reporting out in a classroom to the teacher, she is trying to figure out how to sustain a conversation (with so many students!). Her reasoning leads her to position students as equitable members, in a circle, but she still seems to hold the power to manipulate the classroom discourse, if even by physically reshaping the seating arrangement. This is a shift in the classroom identities of students that Allison has come to through analyzing the discourse and making judgments from the research she had conducted.

Summary

In this chapter I demonstrated how the teachers change the way they identify students through studying and developing curriculum based on funds of knowledge and how discourse

analysis was a critical instrument in changing how teachers position their students. I found that there was a general progression from teacher-centered uses of funds of knowledge to understanding students as active members of communities outside of school. This repositions the students as members of different social communities outside of school. They had been re-identified, so to speak. This shift happened, in part, from a specific focus on performing discourse analysis. Discourse analysis required teachers to analyze the structure of language as it relates to strings of text and social context. Therefore, teachers used different language ideologies in making meaning of the social actors in instances of talk, namely their students.

This finding is significant because, as opposed to the dominant social positions presumed in many sociological models and dominant ideologies of cultures, race, and ethnicity as seen in the previous chapter, the teachers in this study re-positioned their English Learners and other students. Action research methodologies, specifically discourse analysis, can be a transformative tool because it requires discourse analysts to use language ideologies that may be counterintuitive or non-dominant. Specifically, discourse analysts, at least in the model we implemented, look at language as it relates to social identities of students both in the classroom and beyond something often not done in moment-to-moment talk.

The meetings analyzed for this chapter were not in isolation. There were many factors that poured into the meetings. Also, much of the learning by the teachers, and the repositioning of students into different social identities happened in the classrooms, through field notes, during focus groups, and especially in informal conversations I had with the teachers of which recordings were not made. In the next chapter I will analyze a telling case of how Allison changed in the way she positioned her students to give a more specific illustration to how teachers can break down dominant sociological models that stereotype students and reposition

them into complex social identities that transcend the borders of the classroom. If this chapter was to show that in the meetings changes took place in how teachers positioned students as social agents and learners, the next will show how the content of these meetings, and the changes that took place in them, is applied across the year. Even though there was a reflexive process, the following case study will show how things unfold over the course of a year with a type of action research as professional development.

VI. BUILDING THE BRIDGE:

A CASE STUDY

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I found that teachers, while engaging in action research methodologies like discovering funds of knowledge and discourse analysis, repositioned students into different social positions. I analyzed third-person talk as teachers analyzed classroom interaction. In this chapter I will answer the question “How does a teacher at Warner develop in the way she repositions her ELs?” This question is developmental so it focuses on change over time. While in the last chapter I presented a general overview of the changes over the school year, specific practices of teachers were not made salient. Thus, in this chapter, I will focus on one case to describe how she built the bridge to cross the border. I grew up only miles from the US & Canada border on the east side of Michigan and therefore, naturally, I sensed that borders require bridges.

This chapter should be read as a narrative. After I introduce Allison, I tell a story. It is a story of her transformation. It is a story that stretches the point of education to its fullest ends. It seeks to tell how a teacher re-positions her students through building solidarity. The various types of identity research (see Gee, 2001) often miss this very point, the so-called “S-Identity” (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2013), or “solidarity,” indexing the relationships between teachers and students. In the last chapter we looked at how the teachers talked about their students; how they were identifying them. We looked at how this was dynamic and changing through action research, specifically funds of knowledge and discourse analysis. I now will demonstrate how, through action research, the “heart” of language is central to the conversation of educational theory. Specifically, I find that if we look at Allison’s case, we can see four practices that were

specifically important to her learning to position students into more equitable social roles and more fair roles in the classroom. The first is the change in how she viewed the students by doing in-classroom funds of knowledge activities. The second is that home visits gave her a great depth of insight in understanding her students. The third is that she used discourse analysis to study talk within small groups. This led her to consider how to foster spaces where students could talk more among each other. Finally, Allison studied her talk on a whole classroom level, which allowed her to make new choices to foster student talk. These four changes are summarized in figure 9.

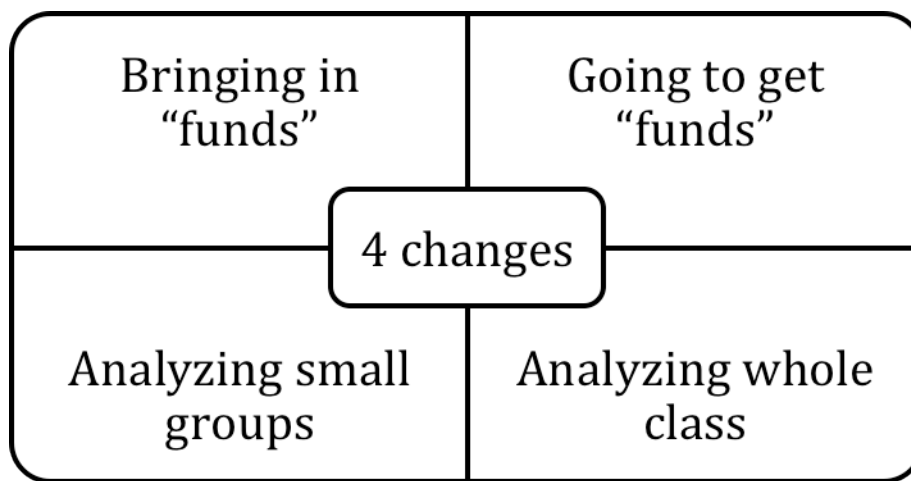


Figure 9. Four changes in the action research studies.

Allison was an interesting case to see the relationship between language and identity, however I will include examples from the others as well to show variation among the cases. Because of her upbringing in a bilingual home she had a unique vantage point in the classroom in which she taught. Not only did Allison use language to teach her students, but she also used it as a symbolic resource. Language was used as a marker of national and ethnic identity, generational differences, and status. She is an ideal case to understand how a teacher may reposition students into different social identities.

I see this chapter as culminating the research by showing how the phenomena explained in chapter 4 are essential to an individual from chapter 5. In other words, the case here, Allison, engages in many of the practices of “Chinatown,” though she still makes dominant and stereotypical assumptions about it as in chapter 4 but undergoes shifts in the way she positions students, as described in chapter 5. This will produce a case study displaying how students are re-positioned by one teacher. Whereas in the last chapter I focused only on teachers talking about students, here I will also give examples of student uptake as well to demonstrate that the “talking about” in chapter 5 becomes effective in the classroom.

In this chapter I will provide an overview of Allison’s background, highlighting her views on language and her students. Then I will demonstrate how she engaged in the action research project and through doing so repositioned her students. I note, specifically, how her language ideologies inform the way she positions students and the way she manages her classroom. I attempt to provide a thick description of this case study so that we can see how she uses action research to challenge dominant language ideologies and to reposition students. This is a significant finding because, unlike some forms of culturally responsive teaching, usually focused on teaching the “other” about “others,” Allison in many ways is very similar to her students. Yet, despite ethnic similarities, she is also quite different. The insight gained from this finding brings up critical issues in “culturally responsive” teaching as well as teaching ELs. It also brings us to a point of understanding the world and its social makeup through the eyes of my participants.

Reviewing a Framework

In my theoretical framework I have presented the ideas I have used to frame my findings. However, for this case study, I need to return to that framework to help make sense of the case I

will present in this chapter. In my framework I presented “positions” as social identities taken up in social practice (Wortham, 2000). I also presented a taxonomy of identity research building on Gee (2001). Furthermore, I explain how two other notions of identity, that of learners in the classroom (experts/novices) and that of solidarity (or *confianza*) (Razfar, 2010; Razfar and Rumenapp, 2013) were especially relevant to the research I present. Now I want to make a confession and then re-frame this chapter.

When I joined the university-school partnership as a research assistant, I was very interested in language ideologies research. In particular, coupled with critical theory, I wanted to know how language (and language practices) was used to marginalize some people and benefit others. I looked at the project through this lens. So, when I entered the classrooms, I was expecting to see students marginalized and teachers as dominant authorities. This was the framework, so I expected it to fit. Indeed, I made it fit! Plenty can be said about the teachers in this study, the school administrators, U.S. public education as a whole, etc.; but aligning with such a framework undoubtedly leaves out other interpretations of the data. Therefore, I spent nearly a year in the school looking for the wrong things. I was looking for what to fix, what to balance, and what (institution) to deconstruct. As I looked back through the data, analyzing it, digging deep into the connections, a story emerged. This story cannot be captured only by critical analysis. The issue of power and status does not give a full picture of what happened in Allison’s classroom. It may help, but it doesn’t fully frame the narrative.

Since I am using positioning (e.g. Wortham, 2002) as a construct to understand how Allison and the students move into different social identities while engaged in social practices, I will look at how language ideologies underlie social practices by mediating social interaction on a meta-pragmatic level (e.g. Razfar & Rumenapp, 2011) (i.e. understanding how language is

working in the moment and organizing the social context accordingly). Finally, I am particularly interpreting the data from a framework that emphasize closeness in relationship, not distance. That is, rather than interpreting the data only in terms of critical theory and distance between the social actors because of power and status, I will look at how Allison repositions students into a relationship that is closer with more solidarity. Solidarity has been discussed by Razfar (2010) and Nasir (2013) as *confianza*. A more complex framework of “identity” as inclusive of solidarity was also presented by Razfar and Rumenapp (2013) based on Gee’s identity analysis (2001).

Allison: Background

I first met Allison in 2010 when I began my fieldwork at Warner School. She was also taking a course in which I was a teaching assistant, so I was able to interact with her on multiple levels. One of the great benefits of doing qualitative research is that the relationships that are built are often long lasting, turning into more than a researcher-participant relationship. In fact, Allison has become much more than a research participant; she has become a close friend. We have struggled through tough times; gone to church and prayed together, worked on doctoral work together, and even took Mandarin classes together. She and her husband have become very close to me, and I am forever appreciative of their friendship. With the great benefits of qualitative research also come certain dilemmas. Certainly there are the ethical dilemmas that exist. There is the problem of representation (e.g. Clifford, 1983; Wolcott, 1987). There is the problem of trying to capture one part of a three-year relationship in a single story. There is even the problem of trying to distinguish the research identity and the friend identity that brings tension to my research. In the end, however, I am humbled to have worked with Allison so closely and look forward to many more years of friendship.

Before I turn to the story line that has become so familiar to me, I first will take time to introduce Allison. Because of the nature of my dissertation, I am focusing on two major identities, the ethno-linguistic identity, and her teacher identity. I set out to describe her as such because it plays a role in understanding how she repositions students in her classroom into different social identities through building solidarity. As I described in my first finding, Allison drew strict American/Foreign dichotomies in her classroom. However, through the course of her action research, she breaks from the typical “Chinatown” model to reposition herself and students into more complex social identities. Specifically she seeks to build solidarity with them and their families. This opens up expanded opportunities for learning. It is made possible because Allison seeks to learn about her students and to challenge dominant language ideologies in the classroom. In addition, over the year of action research, she saw high gains on student-standardized tests. She reported out large growth according to the ISAT and NWEA. For the SAT 10, a nationally normed set of questions, she saw an average of 8.7 percentile gain (class average 84.4 percentile) in math and an average of 11.3 percentile gain (class average 64.4 percentile) in reading. These percentiles merely gauge a relation to the national performance on tests between the two years. Allison’s class performed better during the 2010-2011 school year, during her class, than the 2009-2010 school year in relation to the national norms.

It is important to note that as I focus on Allison in this chapter I am leaving out so much of who she is. If only I had the time to unpack our endless hours of tea and coffee, Chinese baked goods, travels, driving, and so forth the reader would get a much more full sense of who she is. For me, working with her has been the model for understanding our teachers in schools. When we research teachers and students, we spend time with them and try to understand who they are and how they see the world. Without this, we are often left with research that blames

teachers, reduces them to mere objects, and does not recognize them for who they are, the people that are influencing generations to come.

Ethnolinguistic Identity. Allison had grown up in a home where Cantonese was spoken by her mother and father. Her father was born in Singapore, but moved to Hong Kong before joining the British Navy. While in the navy, the English speakers on the ship Anglicized his name. Her mother, however, maintained her Chinese name. They met in the United States and settled and married in the Midwest. Allison and her brother and sister were born and raised in her current city. In her home, her parents would speak mostly Cantonese to the children, though the parents were learning English. The children, however, were not allowed to speak Cantonese. Her parents rationalized the language management because of the connection to national identity. Allison stated in a conversation once:

They came here and they said "NO CHINESE." I go "YES!" We didn't want to learn Chinese. We wanted to be AMERICAN. And they said "You are here in America," you know, "you act like Americans," or so, you know, fine. So that's why she kept saying, my mother, you have to be a principal, you have to be a doctor, you have to do this, you have to do that. Now they're both passed away and they would be proud that I'm trying to get my doctorate; at least I got three master's.

(PERSONAL COMMUNICATION)

From Allison's comments, we can see that language had a connection to national identity. English was a marker of being American, and it had benefits of higher social status as well. The connection between language and identity was strong because a break from Chinese to English in a single generation could realign the family with a different national identity. However, even the changing of the surname did not erase the Chinese ethnic identification. While aligning with American, Allison pointed out that they were still considered Chinese:

My dad was on the British ship, and they even changed his name. From W-O-N-G to Watson. That was my last name, Watson. People go "What kind of Chinese name is that?" "Well, it used to be Wong, W-O-N-G.

(PERSONAL COMMUNICATION)

While Allison grew up speaking English, their house was a gateway of other family members coming to America. Over 25 different relatives came through their home and secured jobs. Allison didn't like this arrangement and asked her mom what all these Chinese people had to come and stay with them. This, on the one hand, seems like Allison was somewhat separating from the Chinese identity placed on her in her childhood; however, her connection to her students may reveal something different.

The majority of Allison's students were immigrants, or children of immigrants from Cantonese speaking regions of China, although there were at least four Mandarin speakers, two of whom Allison considered recent immigrants (one less than two years and the other less than five). The school she worked at was in Chinatown. Previously Allison had worked at a predominantly Mexican and Mexican American school as well as a predominantly white school. Allison noted that she felt more comfortable teaching in a school where she was ethnically in the majority. She made mention of understanding the family background of her students better and being able to connect to them more. She had other reasons for liking to teach in her school, however:

And I think that if you are a native of that country, it is great for you to come and serve your community. I felt like a fish out of water at Western Elementary, but here I love it. I just love the kids because they're Chinese, I'm Chinese. And I know what their parents want from them because that's what my parents wanted from me, and they're SUCH good kids you just, all you have to do is just, I mean I have no discipline problems. None. ZERO. I never have a discipline problem

(THESIS WORKING MEETING)

Allison's identification with the families on the one hand was a marker of some ethnic and historical solidarity, even though, the relationships were marked with status differentials, including living arrangements and language use.

While Allison was encouraged by her parents to speak only English, she reflected that she wished she had learned Chinese. She is seen as "Chinese" and therefore, in Chinatown, is expected to speak Chinese. She said that when she goes to the stores, she is called a "hillbilly."

During a focus group discussion, Allison and another teacher discuss this term:

01. **Allison:** I shared this before .. I go to the stores, the Chinese
02. stores, "No I don't speak Chinese" and then they sometimes
03. they call me a hillbilly, *jook-sing*(竹升) is hillbilly in Lee
04. Chinese. But is so nice. Lee says "they're not really saying
05. that to be mean" and I go "YES THEY ARE."
06. **Lee:** They call me Jook-Sing all the time too .. but to me, I I
07. hear it as like you're just born in the United States. So
08. like when they say you're jook-sing you're American born
09. Chinese so you probably don't know as much Chinese as the
10. people who were born you know, in China or Hong Kong, yeah
11. so they call me that
12. **Allison:** But that's slang. It's a slang word.
13. **Lee:** Oh yeah, because they're like "Oh you're jook-sing you
14. know you don't know how to do this (laughs).
15. **Allison:** RIGHT .. I THINK THAT'S AN INSULT

(FOCUS GROUP 1, 12/13/2010)

Here we see an explicit connection between language and ethnic identity as well as between language and national identity. For Allison, because she doesn't speak Chinese, she is labeled what she interprets as "hillbilly" (line 03) or a marked identity which would index lower status, less culturally adept, and discriminated and marginalized. By equating "hillbilly" to a Chinese person who doesn't speak Chinese reveals Allison's attempt to view herself as a true Chinese person, but is not given that right. Lee, however, understands "jook-sing" not as a

marker of marginalization, but rather as an accurate portrayal of her national identity (lines 07-08), namely that she was born in America, but is ethnically Chinese. Lee's uptake of the term as an accurate expression of her identity, and Allison's rejection of it, may underlie a further distinction of the groups to which Allison and Lee belong. I want to underscore that it is not the understanding of the term "jook-sing" that is important, but the uptake of it. Lee seems to be content taking on the identity of an American born Chinese, essentially an outsider. Allison is not. She seems to want full membership but is not allowed access. This is a significant point in understanding Allison's relationship with the students and their families. She seems to desire membership with them (i.e. the greater Chinatown community), but also sees herself as excluded, in part because she does not speak the language of Chinatown.

Allison often expressed that she had wished she had learned Chinese and her desire that her students learn Chinese. I had asked her once if the parents of her students pushed the students to learn English only, or if they wanted their children to learn Cantonese as well. The discussion revealed a generational difference:

Right. Right. I said you MUST learn from your parents because they don't want to learn Chinese... Last year's, the ones that you recorded. They want to learn English, but that's what my parents, they wanted us to learn English but they never wanted us to learn Chinese. THEIR parents want them to learn Chinese. That's a lost art.

(PERSONAL COMMUNICATION)

Allison associates Chinese as an art. This perhaps indexes a "heritage" language view or, at least commoditizes the language in additive bilingual situations because the language would be "added" for no particular practical need (Baker, 2006). She sees benefit in learning Chinese but underscores the artistic function of language rather than relationship building function (with family members) or other functions.

Allison's view of language, as displayed here, shows an indexical relationship between Chinese language use and national and ethnic identities. The use of the language, as a sign itself, is taken up as a marker of certain identities by Allison. This understanding reveals a language ideology that Chinese is an art form, or an emblem of Chinese identity (ethnic and/or national) to which she desires to have access.

When Allison talked about her students' refusal to learning Chinese even though their parents wanted them to, I asked her why she thought this might be different than her family, who expressed a distinct desire to learn and speak English only.

Well, that was, how many years ago? Ours was 45 years ago. That my parents just came from America [OC: China]. My dad joined the British Navy. He was in Hong Kong. And my mother was a nurses aide. So when they came to New York, and that's where they met, he was injured on the ship, and she was a nurses aide, that's where they met. So when they both came back to the/ here.

(PERSONAL COMMUNICATION)

We can see that Allison indexes a multigenerational gap between her students' families' immigration and that of her own family. The different sociopolitical situations of these two time periods mark vastly different reasons for language learning. During and following World War II there would have been much stronger pro-American sentiment and immigrants would have been even more marginalized than presently, specifically those from nations of Japan and Germany, but also from those marked as severely foreign like China and Hong Kong (regardless of British control). Now, however, discourses of diversity and multiculturalism seem evident, especially in schools with large minority populations. Allison expresses a close connection between language policy (on the family/community level) and larger socio-political movements.

A second indexical property of Chinese I noted within the interviews I conducted with Allison, is the relationship between Chinese and transnational generational movements. Allison

noted differences in language practices based on time of movement to the United States. She also seemed to indicate a desire to learn Mandarin due to the higher status the language presently has over Cantonese. She had also claimed on several opportunities that many new students at Warner were speaking Mandarin, and therefore she wanted to learn it. This trend is related to the transnational context of neighborhoods like Chinatown and recent global migration patterns.

Now I WISH that I could speak Mandarin Chinese and so somebody JUST
ga:ve me the name of a place where I could go downtown and take
Mandarin lessons

(FOCUS GROUP 1, 12/13/2010)

Allison's idealistic stance to language learning Mandarin is an additive or elite bilingual opportunity. Mandarin is laden with exchange value (e.g. grant writing and specialized businesses). This view displays a status differential as Mandarin is marked as a globalized commodity. Of course, this is a relatively new phenomenon as the People's Republic of China has risen to center-stage in world economics. Mandarin was pitted against Cantonese in Allison's comments, displaying one as more favorable than the other, regardless of the historical roots of Cantonese in Chinatown, her students' families, and her own upbringing. Even though her dad could speak Mandarin, Cantonese was the language most frequently spoken. Allison expressed her desire to take Mandarin classes and invited me to go with her. We enrolled in Mandarin courses in the Spring of 2012.

Allison's home is a beautiful town home in a nearby community to Chinatown. It is decorated with old Chinese art she inherited from her grandmother as well as other antiques passed down from her mother. In contrast, she describes her students' homes as scary, small, dirty, and in some cases dangerous. This may indicate another status difference, though not necessarily tied to generational differences. She considered her students as "still struggling" like

her parents did. Her father had owned a carryout chop-suey restaurant before moving to the North side of the city and working in hotels and selling diamond jewelry. Allison has neighbors who were Mandarin speakers from Beijing enrolled in a local medical school. By extension we can see that they are positioned in higher status than the Cantonese speaking families of her students. These neighbors, unlike the families of her students, also planned to return to China. She identified them as “communists” who had difficulty understanding why she would support democracy. During the time I spent with Allison, I noticed the symbolic link between Chinese and transnational and generational differences. Specifically, Mandarin also marked a status difference not seen in Cantonese use.

I focused in this section on Allison’s ethnic identity and her views of the community, ethnicity, and language. This is significant to this study because I found that Allison was able to shift in the way she positioned her students in the classroom because she was able to build solidarity with them. One would anticipate this would have been almost immediate since she is Chinese American, therefore understanding their backgrounds. However, that is not the case. As seen in her background, even with so many similarities, there are many differences. While she finds certain affinities with her students, there are many ways she sees herself as different. This underscores the point made in my first findings chapter, that ethnic and ethnolinguistic identities must be treated with nuances. We cannot assume that because Allison is of Chinese descent she inherently understands her Chinese students better. Nor can we deny the presence of an affinity to the students and the community, while recognizing the limits and barriers that prevent full membership. Jan also sought to build solidarity with her students, citing culture and language as well:

Its like a little jokey joke sometimes the teachers come through here
and when they maybe ask my students stuff or I am speaking to my

students they say "Kim girl you're gonna turn these children into Blackanese". Because I know sometimes they use Ebonics or slang language and I don't mean I always speak like that when I am teaching them English of course I am using proper English and everything but when we just in here doing stuff getting out of control I say ok you better get you some bizness. So I noticed that when the kids are doing something they say well you better get you some bizness. So they're just picking up my... we have a good relationship with the kids.

(JAN'S ORAL THESIS)

This example was quite revealing because Jan leverages multiple linguistic and cultural resources, including her language and culture to build a relationship. Whereas she was not ethnically similar (like Allison in the N-identity sense), she did find ways to establish a relationship of solidarity (S-identity) with the students through engaging in hybrid language practices.

The language ideologies Allison adhered to, as well as the more general cultural stereotypes, created a distance between her and her students. Allison valued multiple languages in the classroom. She also expressed the desire that she would have learned Cantonese, and that now she would learn Mandarin. The language ideology that underlies many of her views explained above is one in which language is a marker of group membership. Without the language connection, that is, without speaking Cantonese or Mandarin, Allison struggled with that identity and with her relationship to the wider Chinatown community. She saw her inability to speak the Chinese languages of her students to be a barrier between their relationships. Thus, Allison saw one of her major purposes as a teacher to be building relationships with the students and their parents. Solidarity with her students was built through a long process involving teacher action research methodologies to engage in self-reflection.

Teaching background. Allison was a veteran teacher. She had been teaching for 27 years in the public school system when the study was carried out. In addition to her years in the

public schools, she also had taught in a Catholic school. She was an elementary school teacher, having taught primary grades, but recently had been teaching grades 5 and 6. The school year of 2010-2011 was her fourth year at Warner where she was the 6th grade departmental science teacher as well as a homeroom language arts teacher.

The university-school partnership had caught Allison's eye because of the focus on English Learners. She already had two previous master's degrees, one in science education. She also had finished coursework in a doctoral program in science education, though she had not taken her qualifying exams yet. As a receptor of several prestigious awards, she mentored pre-service and in-service teachers in many capacities. She taught college level science methods courses and evaluated teacher portfolios. She was, by any standard, a highly capable and developed teacher. Yet, she still took opportunities to seek out professional development and continuing education. She was willing to change as a teacher and wanted to improve. The university-school partnership was a new experience for her. She performed teacher action research in her class as an ongoing form of professional development, changing how she saw her students and how she taught.

One thing to note about Allison's teaching prior to the university-school partnership is that she identified it as "strict." She claimed that she was "very IRE," meaning that she always talked, asking for student responses, and then evaluated them (Cazden, 2001). While she used science inquiry in her classroom, in the form of the Full Option Science System (FOSS) curriculum, she said she didn't give students ample time for peer interaction. During the pilot research project she performed in her classroom, she was videotaped and then brought a clip into one of her classes. She recalled the professor laughing and calling her "stoic" and "scary." She identified the clip as very strict IRE and set out to change this. Her story in the university-school

partnership is quite transformative. Deep-rooted teaching practices were challenged when she applied research methodologies to reflect on her teaching.

While this introduction to Allison may seem somewhat long, I believe it is necessary to understand the complexities we were dealing with at Warner. There is a Chinese-American teacher teaching Chinese, Chinese American, and African American students. She identifies with her students on many levels (at least with the Chinese students), but also distances herself from them as well. She is a veteran teacher, very much stuck in her old habits of instruction, undergirded by restrictive language ideologies that privilege teacher-centered interaction. In figure 10 I present a brief diagram of Allison’s background. I show how two identities highlighted here, namely her “ethnolinguistic” identity and her “teacher” identity are anchored in language ideologies. Namely, her views on how Chinese operates as an identity marker and how her teaching practice implicates a restrictive language ideology marking her as “teacher” (in which language is used to convey information) anchor these identities and position her in relation to her students.

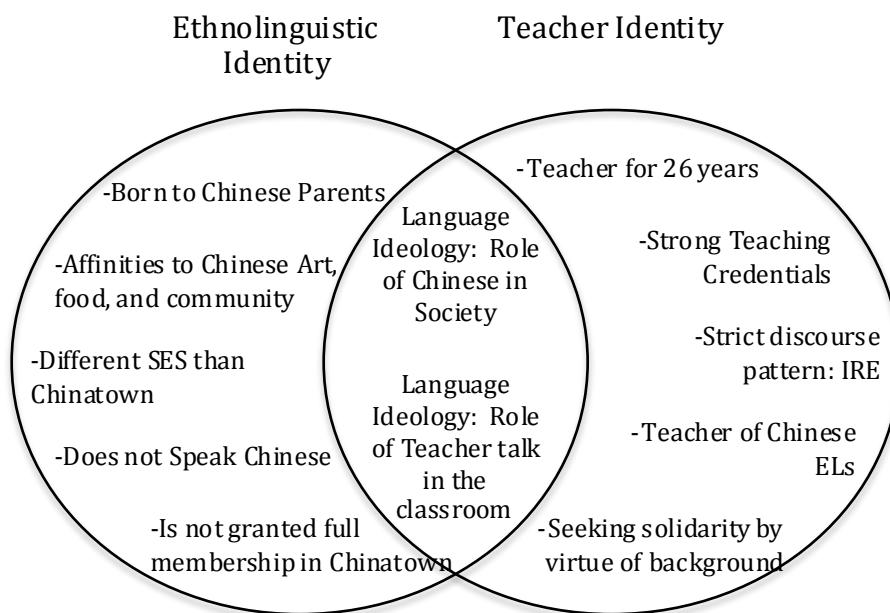


Figure 10. Allison's identity and language ideologies.

As I will demonstrate in the remainder of this chapter, major shifts take place. Allison engages in explicit reflection of her teaching practice through discourse analysis and the students' funds of knowledge. When she does this, she realigns with other language ideological stances and builds solidarity with her students. Therefore, in this chapter I present how a teacher can reposition her students through a form of teacher development.

Allison's Class

In the 2010-2011 school year, Allison had 22 students. Four students were identified as African American and the rest as Asian/Asian American. Four students had IEPs (individualized educational programs) and were pulled out of class. All of the students were provided free or reduced lunch. According to a survey conducted at the beginning of the year, 18 families indicated they spoke Chinese at home (one specifying Mandarin, four specifying Cantonese) and eight spoke English at home. In Appendix G I provided the surveys designed by Leah, but the two I have shown are from Allison's classroom. Eight surveys were returned in Chinese, the rest in English. They were translated by one of the teachers in the school.

Transforming teaching through Action Research

The larger narrative that should be told would span well over two academic years. However, for the story presented here, I am pointing out four specific things that happened in the university-school partnership that contributed to the shifts in the way Allison repositioned her students. I draw these themes from Allison's thesis, which we developed in 2011. The long thesis project, through which Allison presented her findings, gave us time to debrief about the project and identify what it was that changed and how those changes took place. The thesis was collaborative, with Allison and me spending hours working on it together. The four points I use

for this chapter are (1) in-school funds of knowledge activities, (2) home visits, (3) studying small group interactions, and (4) studying whole-class instruction (including self-reflection).

Learning about the students: Studying funds of knowledge.

The funds of knowledge component to the university-school partnership was extremely important to Allison's story. As noted, when she began the year of research in Warner, she was a very restrictive teacher. She was distant and positioned herself as the sole authority in the classroom. Beyond authority, Allison identified herself as restrictive because she did not give students a chance to talk with each other. The students were to talk only when she identified them as speaker. It was as if she was erasing students in the classroom, privileging only her voice. She eventually noted that it was important for the ELs to be able to talk with each other in small groups. Indeed, when teachers don't take time to understand their students, student expertise cannot be recognized. One of the goals of the university-school partnership was that teachers should learn about their students so that they could leverage funds of knowledge. So, in the first two months of the school year, the teachers attempted to plan ways to learn about students' funds.

Allison cited the definition of funds of knowledge from Moll et al. (1992): "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (p. 133). While the notion of funds of knowledge has been expanded and used in multifaceted ways, it is important to note that Allison was using Moll et al. (1992) as a general pattern for her practices around funds of knowledge. The Moll et al. (1992) is a seminal work in moving funds of knowledge forward. Indeed, this piece also emphasized the importance of social networks and underscored that "the 'teacher' in these home based contexts of learning will know the child as a 'whole' person, not merely as a 'student'."

Allison heeded this definition and attempted to see her students in a new light, not aligning to a simple teacher-student dichotomy.

Throughout these next two sections, we can note that one of the outcomes of funds of knowledge activities is that the teacher begins to view her student in different ways. She also begins to reposition them in the classroom. That is to say, that the default practice of her teaching was a restrictive teacher-student dichotomy, but through studying the students, she repositions them differently. Allison stated in her thesis

These home visits were a very special time for me to learn about my students, and I noticed several changes in the way that I viewed them and was very grateful that their families supported me.

(ALLISON'S THESIS, p. 23)

This example indicates that the practice of learning about funds of knowledge may contribute to the way students are repositioned in the classroom. While funds of knowledge, in our project, was intended to be used to mediate instruction, it also plays a role in the social organization of the classroom because the teacher views (and indeed, positions) the students in different ways. These practices are inter-related. Therefore, when I present the data about funds of knowledge in what follows, it is important to see how this works in the larger program of repositioning ELs.

Discovering funds of knowledge in school. Classroom elicitation. After several different activities, the teachers settled on conducting a community walk to elicit funds of knowledge. This changed the way Allison saw her students. This included large sheets of paper spread around the room and labeled *My School*, *My Community*, *My Family*, *Things I Do Well*, and *What I Want to Learn*. The students were to write or illustrate different things that came to mind. This initial activity was instrumental in beginning Allison's transformation. It gave her

initial ideas of what students were interested in and what they knew about. Reflecting on this activity for her thesis, she wrote the following:

This was one of the assignments that really changed how I view my students. I was shocked to read their responses about their community. They said their community was dirty and the community does nothing for them. They have seen many "rats" running around the Chinese community. I also learned that they "love science and want to learn more". They love their family was almost all of their postings for My Family. Definitively, things they do well, video games topped their list. Their statements gave a strong picture about them as my students.

(ALLISON'S BLACKBOARD REFLECTION, 10/10/2010)

In this statement we can see that the funds of knowledge activity she did give her great insight into her students. She noted how they viewed their community. It was a fairly negative view of the community, connecting in many ways to my first finding. In my first finding I noted that common perceptions of Chinatown as dirty, dangerous, and even unhelpful to its citizens (e.g. Wong, 1995). Allison hadn't expressed this view of the community prior to this lesson. In fact, even throughout the action research, she always held Chinatown in high esteem, at least in the commodity sense I explained in chapter 4. This is ironic because she also looks down upon Chinatown because of its' appearance as a low-economic status. She did tend to view Chinatown as lower socioeconomic status, but then again, the school identifies as such with the reports of 95% free and reduced lunch. So, for Allison, who works in and frequents Chinatown the students' view of the community clashed with her somewhat romanticized view. This was further revealed when she conducted home visits and saw the living conditions of some of the students.

She learned, also, that the students loved science. As a science teacher, of course, this was very encouraging and exciting. The activities she did with her students were hands on, so

for them to enjoy science, she would continue to find ways to teach, including simulations, field trips, and experiments.

The students loved their family, something that Allison had identified as an important construct in the Chinese community. When discussing family, she often referenced her family growing up. This was interesting to me because rather than talking about her husband, kids, and grand kids, she generally chose to speak about her family growing up. This is where she could find a connection with her students, where she could begin to seek solidarity. Her family situation had, in many ways, been similar to her students, and she reaffirmed this when she talked about family. This is significant because as she states that she began to view her students differently, namely she was identifying their lives with the way she grew up.

The videogames were also significant because Allison brought up the topic in class several times. When asking students to talk about technology and whether it was good or bad, she urged disagreements and discussions about the videogames. For example, in the classroom the students were urged to take moral stances regarding videogames. After several students commented on hurting their eyes or being “addicted” to the computer (for videogames) one more student chimes in:

- 01. **Allison:** Alright. Who else has anything to say about the computer?
- 02. **SS:** (3.0 sec)
- 03. **Allison:** Ver:non (2.0 Sec)
- 04. **Vernon:** Computer can mess around with your brain and make you go
- 05. crazy about . or something. So get away from the computer .
- 06. never touch it (OC: waving hands to signal stay away)
- 07. **SS:** [(laughter)]
- 08. **Vernon:** [That’s what I would do.]

As Vernon speaks in lines 04-08, the students laugh. You can hear some students say “that’s true” and some comment “what about research?” This moral tension is brought into the

classroom because Allison sought out to understand their everyday practices. Since she had visited the homes, she already knew which students had had their computers or videogame systems taken away because they used it too much (a concern of the parents no doubt!).

09.

10. **Allison:** Alright, so get away from the computer and never touch it.

11. ↓How many of you are going to get away and never touch it?

12. **SS:** (1.0 Sec)

13. **Allison:** That's what I thought . One.

14. **SS:** (Laughter 4.0 sec)

15. **Allison:** [one]

16. **SS:** (Laughter 2.0 sec)

17. **Allison:** What are your parents going to say about that Mr. Vernon?

18. **Vernon:** My mom will KICK me out of the computer. (3.0) My mom will

19. kick me out of the computer no matter what happens.

20. Allison: Why?

21. **Vernon:** (2.0 sec)

22. **Allison:** Why is that?

23. **Vernon:** (2.0 sec)

24. **Allison:** Why is that?

25. **Vernon:** Because my mom trying to protect my ↑eye: (0.5 sec) because

26. I already have a problem with my eye: (OC: another student

27. says that she does too).

(CLASSROOM RECORDING, 11/30/2010)

In this example there are a few things to note. First, there is a strict adjacency pair that gives control of the conversation to Allison. She is the initiator for the questions, although unlike IRE discourse structure she is not looking for a correct response. Instead we could classify this as an IRF sequence. The moments of silence are important because we can see that Allison's wait time for student uptake is extended, at one point by prompting the question 3 times (lines 11, 20, 22) indicating that, she already knew the response because she had been privy to the information from previous interaction (presumably during home visits). The point

that is more important here, though, is that because Allison had identified the videogames in the community walk, she intentionally sought to find out more in the home visits. This opened up opportunities for her to bring it up in the classroom and offer students a forum to talk. Notice that she brings a moral spin to the topic. She asks the students to take stances as to whether videogames and computers are good or bad. In this short segment, Vernon takes a strong stance against computers. Allison pries into this and asks what his parents would think about it. The question about his parents in line 16 is somewhat mechanical. It had been used to prompt other students who talked about videogames and their draw and addiction as a general prompting or filler device. However, here it would seem that we would expect Vernon's view on videogames to already be aligned with the parents, and therefore the misplaced. However, Vernon does take up the question and responds with explaining what his parents do, and why they do it. So, the issue of computers and videogames became moments where Allison could situate herself as a moral authority, aligning with parents, and enforcing the parents' views on computer and games.

The funds of knowledge activities Allison performed at the beginning of the year helped her to see her students in a new way. She began to have a more complete view of who they are. In the next section I will focus on the home visits Allison conducted. The classroom activities helped her to see the students differently and see where she was similar to them, but it was during the home visits that she was able to build solidarity with them.

These two examples demonstrate that Allison intentionally spent time in the classroom to elicit knowledge about their practices out of school. Figure 10 shows how the classroom became a site in which the traditional home school boundaries were crossed. The home practices of playing videogames, were brought into the classroom as a topic of discussion. However, it is also important to note here that the transcripts present follows a clear IRF discourse sequence.

That is, though Allison brings in the outside knowledge into the classroom, still maintains control of the classroom talk.

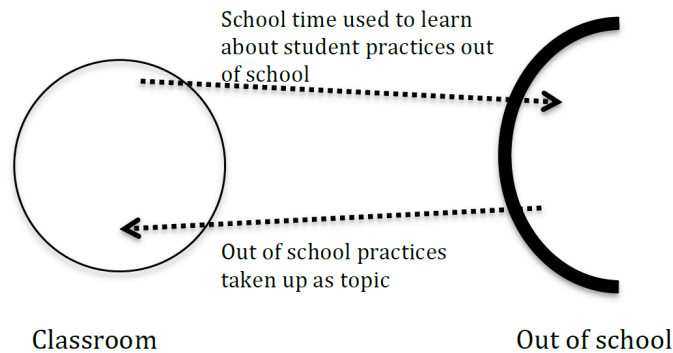


Figure 11. Crossing the boundaries between school and home.

In this figure, it is important to see the beginning connections between the classroom and the out of school practices. Things done in classroom are bringing a connection to the “out of school.” I would like to reference the metaphor I began in my first chapter, that teachers operate on a border. They can become cultural brokers to cross these borders. This was happening in Allison’s classroom because she created activities to get to know her students as “whole persons” not simply as “students.”

This took place differently in Leah’s classroom. Unlike Jan and Allison, Leah did not visit the students’ homes, so the main source of what she called funds of knowledge came from what was gathered in the classroom itself. She expanded the view of funds of knowledge to include students referring to linguistic resources and constraints in their homes. As with all of the teachers during unit two, Leah asked the students to develop a survey that could be taken home. This was an activity that all teachers agreed to do as a common thread throughout their individual unit plans. As an attempt to draw on the theory of funds of knowledge, the teachers decided to let the students develop a survey, thereby also teaching critical literacies, research

design, tallying, and other content skills. The students in Leah's classroom were focusing on problems in the community and "smart solutions," which was her unifying theme for units 2 and 3 and an extension of the first unit on technology.

When the students in Leah's classroom were creating questions about the problems in the community, they were voting on whether to include a question about the environment. The students were discussing implications for global warming, but one student spoke up in opposition to the wording of the question. In her reflective field note from the day, May 4, 2011, Leah wrote the following:

"Today was a great example of funds of knowledge and critical thinking. The children were able to determine the validity of some of the questions, reword others, and add valuable input."

(LEAH'S FIELD NOTE, 05/04/2011)

Here she refers to funds of knowledge as the construct of focus, specifically she is looking at how the students draw on the linguistic resources from their homes to critically engage in the wording of the survey. This example was used in her thesis, as she pointed to the moment as an exemplar of a shift in her students' classroom interactions.

01. **Teacher:** What do you think about that question? (0.3 sec) Why
02. didn't you raise your hand?
03. **Willie:** (2 sec. silence) Well, it's like Alex says it causes
04. global warming and like . like . some families . but some
05. families still don't know what global warming is
06. **Teacher:** oh:: . ok . so Rena says, well an/ global warming is not even
07. . in the question
08. **Students:** ((Some students laugh))
09. **Jia:** Ms. Smith: . environment . for Asian families . they will
10. cause in the Chinese like uhm: news . they always say
11. environment as the air that pollutes it
12. **Teacher:** uh huh
13. **Jia:** so they should understand this question because they watch

14. the ↑news (.2 sec) about the air being polluted

In this first section of the transcript, we can see how Willie was challenging the way the question is worded. As it is, the question did not refer to global warming (lines 6-7), but Willie made a connection that some parents may not know about global warming (lines 4- 5) because the term “environment” indexed a wider question about global warming. Rena, whose observation is brought to the class by Leah, contested that the wording of the question didn’t even reflect the more specific problem of global warming. So the question was brought up as to whether the type of English being use, that is, the specific terms around global warming were appropriate for the mostly Chinese speaking families. Jia chimed in, however, and points out that, indeed it is because global warming is a term that all of the Chinese parents should be familiar with since it is in common use in the news (lines 9-14). From this, Leah could see how other students were making sense of linguistic practices in their homes and how that was being used to complete the classroom activity.

15. **Students:** ((Students begin asking questions)) What if they don’t
16. know? What if they don’t watch the news?
17. **Jia:** EVER/ every adult watch the news
18. **Students:** ((immediately start talking almost at the same time about
19. whether their parents watch the news or not)) [yeah, my
20. parents work]
21. **Jia:** [I said Asian]
22. **Kenneth:** [It is Asian, Jia we are Asian]

Some other students speak up and begin to ask about those who don’t watch the news (line 15) and Jia says that all adults watch the news which begins a whole class discussion with students talking over one another (line 18). Jia specifies she is talking about Asian adults because an some students said their parents don’t watch the news, but Kenneth argues that many of the students who are Asian in the class (which was most of them) were indeed Asian, so her argument didn’t

hold (line 21). At this juncture, one of the African American students in the class also says her parents watch the news but they are not Asian (see chapter 4, p. 102 of this dissertation).

Leah identified this as funds of knowledge because the students were drawing on their home knowledge about their cultural practices. Thus, the classroom became a site that bridged a gap between home and school. The critical thinking and critical literacy practices that Leah referred to in her field note arose because she provided a space for students to engage in a form of social research in their own homes, and thus had to consider audience. Similar to Allison, the intentional focus on the implication of cultural practices in the home (i.e. videogames and discipline for Allison and environmentalism for Leah) allows a bridging of the home and school environments. However, unlike Allison's example, the students talking among themselves sustained the discussion in Leah's classroom. In Allison's example above, she interjected after Vernon almost for the entire duration of the transcript. It is important to note, however, that Allison's example came from the beginning of the year while Leah's is from the end. Both examples proved to be pivotal points for the teachers in how they saw the students drawing on home experiences.

Discovering funds of knowledge in homes: Building solidarity through home visits.

The single most transformative activity conducted by Allison was visiting student homes. This became such a part of her identity as a teacher that she went on to lecture about the experiences in classrooms and professional conferences. I was very interested in her process of visiting homes, and very much wanted to understand how it changed her view of the students. I struggled through what this meant while working with Allison, and it wasn't until I began to analyze all the data that I saw how these visits played a role in Allison's transformation.

When I began my research at Warner, I was new to the project altogether. I was learning. I was a research assistant and had a particular understanding of how funds of knowledge should look. For instance, I thought it should be home knowledges of students' families and communities that could be used to plan curricula. So, when Allison began to visit homes, I was very excited. I didn't realize that I was in the middle of a major learning process, though. Since the 1990's when research on *funds of knowledge* was growing and expanding from anthropological studies, teachers collaborating with researchers (and the researchers too!) often analyzed the adults' practices rather than the students' life worlds (see Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011; Zipin, 2009) and used this information to inform teaching. However, broader issues, such as social capital were often overlooked (Moll, 2005). As the field continued to expand, the teachers were often working off of the foundational writings in funds of knowledge research, and thus I had expected to see them largely use the funds for mediating curriculum. In fact, the notion of funds of knowledge is much more expansive and broad. So when Allison began visiting homes it was sometimes difficult to identify what she learned that were considered "funds of knowledge" and what was more of a relationship-building tool. The home visits operated as both.

When I first heard Allison speak of the home visits, I was surprised. She spoke about how scary it was to visit them, the poverty she saw, and the creaky stairways. She talked about having her husband drive and wait in the car for her because it was too dark and scary in Chinatown. Remember, they only live a couple miles north of Chinatown, but in an area that appears to be vastly different socioeconomically. When she said these things I immediately thought about how she was using funds of knowledge to reaffirm stereotypes. I struggled through this because on the one hand, as a researcher, I thought she should be "finding" funds of knowledge as a sort of ethnographic practice by suspending our judgments and subjective

interpretations until data was gathered and analyzed, not asserting common stereotypes of the Chinatown community. Furthermore, I thought she was positioning herself as superior to her students and families.

When Allison would talk about home visits she often told a story about one girl with a mean aunt. Allison said she saw in her journal that the aunt called her “stupid.” So, when Allison went to her house, she told the girl that she was not stupid. In her thesis she wrote the following:

The day of the home visit, Martha's aunt was not home. I whispered to Martha and commented on what a nice mom and dad she had and to “ignore” any negative comments that her aunt ever mentioned to her.

(ALLISON'S THESIS, p. 24)

Allison noted major changes in the girl after this, including her smiling and greeting her well. Also, students, in classroom journals, wrote about these home visits as well. She set goals with the parents and students about school. Reflecting on the first few of her home visits, she wrote:

“At first, I was hesitant since; I have not done this in 15 yrs! However, it is like “riding a bike”...you starts peddling and GO!! If you would like me to go w/any of you at night...just ask! It has been great to meet the parents and the ultimate goal of all the parents; “We want our child to succeed in school”... It is now my job to make this possible w/their support!

(ALLISON'S BLACKBOARD POST, 10/31/2010)

All of these things I, as a researcher, thought were good, but I did not see them as funds of knowledge. Allison did. I thought these home visit experiences were very helpful and great for her to develop rapport, but I didn't think they should be called *discovering* funds of knowledge because they were not being used in the classroom to mediate instruction. I struggled with seeing all of these things as “funds of knowledge,” or I doubted that Allison saw them as

“funds of knowledge.” I saw the connection to learning, however, in this major point: that when Allison visited the homes, she was establishing a relationship. She used that relationship to capitalize on instruction.

For example, after a discussion in focus group 2, I noted in my field notes a concern I had. I had discussed it with other members of the research team as well, while we were planning how to help mediate the funds of knowledge activities. While answering a question about funds of knowledge in the focus group, Allison stated:

And in this case because we established that relationship, they're like whatever I say goes, they're like fine. Which is nice. I don't know if I can continue this year after year once you guys suggested, 'why don't you go on the visits' so I'm like chchchc and it did help. It helped my classroom dynamics too. All of that.

(FOCUS GROUP 2, 01/31/2011)

These comments I interpreted as mostly disciplinary. I did not see how this was funds of knowledge. While there were a variety of different purposes for the home visits, I expected that funds of knowledge should be the primary goal of the home visits. I noted:

They are using [funds of knowledge] to discipline the students which is really interesting because it's almost opposite of what we want them to do. They're not building the curriculum around her students' funds of knowledge. Also I think that in some cases it is just increasing the stereotypes that some of these teachers have.

(FIELD NOTE 01/31/2011).

I made a similar note on May 19th, 2011 as well, after discussing the issue with the program director. Allison talked about her students in the classroom and joked with them about how she will tell their parents. I saw “funds of knowledge” as tools to mediate learning in the classroom. However, she seemed to be using the funds as a threat of punishment! Thus, when she was talking to students, I saw her as asserting authority over them. I thought she was

attempting to keep the control of the classroom and to keep them away from power and control. I noted this, but we never really talked about it because I wanted to see how she would develop. What I failed to see at the time was that Allison seemed to use these moves like “I’m going to talk to your parents” not simply as a classroom disciplining device, but as an extension of household discipline in which she was acting in line with the parents’ wishes.

By “discipline” I was referring to the moments in the classroom when Allison said she would talk to the parents if the students misbehaved or didn’t do their homework. She would specifically mention that she had been to their house and could talk to their parents. For example, in one lesson she found out that Pengfei had an older brother she didn’t know about.

- 01. **Allison:** YOU don’t HAVE a brother.
- 02. **Pengfei:** (nods head)
- 03. **Allison:** YOU HAVE A BA:BY brother.

At this point, several of the students correct Allison, affirming that Pengfei does, indeed, have an older brother. From this I understood Allison to have been over-relying on her experiences in the homes. This leads me to infer that her intention was not merely to discipline, but to build a relationship in which she intimately knew the students’ families. This would be why she seemed to be surprised, and even question Pengfei (Allison’s questioning of Pengfei also may indicate how she was positioning him as an EL, and thus would quite possibly misspeak about having an older brother). She seeks further information.

- 04. **Allison:** Who is your older brother?
- 05. **Student:** [name]
- 06. **Allison:** I didn’t see ↑your older brother when I came to your house.
- 07. Where was your older brother?
- 08. **Pengfei:** um: he wasn’t home
- 09. **Allison:** Oh so you have . TWO brothers then?
- 10. **Pengfei:** (nods head)
- 11. **Allison:** I only saw the baby brother when he went to your house oh::

12. you got an older brother ah ha . now I: know:: I can talk to
13. ↑him and your mom

(CLASSROOM RECORDING 02/08/2011) .

Here Allison makes an explicit connection between the home and the classroom. Not for mediating learning but rather to build a relationship. She builds this relationship by bridging the borders between in-school and out-of-school. She is attempting to draw on funds of knowledge (in this larger context she is attempting to get Pengfei to make connections between literature and his own past). In my field note from that day, I had interpreted in an observer comment that she had done this to “enforce” her classroom. However, looking at the dataset as a whole through a framework of solidarity building, I must revise this interpretation. I do not think this was a “threat” of sorts, nor of the teacher asserting a domineering authority. Rather, I think this was part of a larger movement to build a way to cross the borders of home and school. Allison was repositioning her students through these home visits to build solidarity with them. I didn’t see this at the time because I was expecting to see a learning shift where students would be positioned into an “expert” identity in the classroom. Furthermore, without seeing the larger picture of solidarity as a repositioning strategy and how that worked in the end of the school year, I could not move beyond understanding the classroom interactions as curricular issues, not larger relational issues, a danger in much classroom based educational research.

My concern was that throughout the year Allison had learned a lot in terms of building relationships with her students and families, that she had built a solidarity with them so that she could correct them and discipline them, but not reached the point of mediating instruction with funds of knowledge. Indeed, my concerns in January were that Allison only used the funds to open up instruction, but not to mediate instruction. In other words, the curriculum was never built with the students as central, but only modified slightly. I had seen her comments during the

group meeting on November 1, 2010 as evidence that she wanted to stick to her school curriculum, not develop her own around funds of knowledge:

Well we already talked about finance and industry and how diamonds are important so that is a huge technological advancement using diamonds. And then also they've identified specific rocks like garnet. Garnet is used in technology also. So they had to do a little research and I have the websites that I am going to give them.

After she was asked if she was going to base the entire unit on rocks and minerals, she said:

It is rocks and minerals and how we use them in technology in our world today. It's that because that is our unit, our unit is on rocks and minerals.

Here we can see that the school curriculum was preplanned. The university-school partnership had a goal to give the teachers the tools to become curriculum designers based on the students' funds of knowledge. I did not interpret Allison as doing this initially, since she was merely building the funds of knowledge in as a topic, not as mediation for a larger curricular goal. However, she did use the relationship she built with the students as a meditational tool in classroom instruction.

As presented in my previous chapter, a general shift I noted was that the teachers went from talking about students bringing in funds of knowledge to achieve teacher chosen objectives to centering the curriculum on the students. This is something that can be seen specifically in Allison's case as well. Despite my concerns that the home visits may have reified stereotypes and been used to support teacher as the sole classroom authority, the visits became central in a different aspect. They built solidarity between the students and teacher that was manifested in an emotional lesson on May 26, 2011.

By May 26th, Allison had nearly completed her third unit. The topic had been on "crime" and the students had completed a simulation of a crime scene mystery where they were

learning to do experiments and other scientific practices to solve a mystery. This particular lesson she had the students brainstorm about crimes in their communities (and what the punishments should be) and then present them in groups. In observer comments in my field note from this lesson I wrote the following:

"This [lesson] was done very much the way [Allison] usually does, where a student speaks and she asks the class or individuals what they thought about that. She also includes personal stories as well. This time, however, many more students raised their hands and wanted to share and tell similar stories. There was a lot more emotion displayed as well. Allison asked them how they felt or how they would feel. Looking at the students' faces, I could see some sort of conflict or tension. Even Wei Sheng and Carl sort of wore a look of worry on their faces, or sadness. Some said they were angry too. Several students had been victims of house robbery or other theft."

(FIELD NOTE 05/26/2011)

Although the general structure of the classroom remained the same, the quality of talk was much different. Whereas Allison had explained previous lessons as "pulling teeth," this lesson did not lack volunteers to speak. The students transitioned into expert positions, but only because Allison had opened up the opportunity to talk about this particular topic. Furthermore, Allison explained how she had been a victim of a crime before too. This lesson built a sense of community and solidarity, which included Allison. She had been to their homes and was a part of the community.

This is significant because the home visits opened opportunities to build solidarity with students in a way that otherwise may not have been possible. While the visits and content of the visits was not necessarily used to reform the curriculum, the repositioning of students into a relationship of solidarity did change the classroom interaction and the curriculum. This lesson on crime was much different from the earlier lessons on technology. Both in the technology unit and the crime unit Allison brought up things she knew from the home and community, it was the

relationship and solidarity that allowed moments like this to occur. Because Allison shared her own story of victimhood, she allowed herself to take up a position of solidarity with students.

The home visits broke down the boundaries between in-school and out-of-school. The students and Allison became “border crossers.” The positions of EL, foreigner, outsider, and so forth became less of an identity marker than the grouping along the lines of solidarity within the classroom. Allison achieved 100% attendance at parent teacher conferences, something that often seems impossible to teachers. Thus, we can extend figure 10 to show how the borderlands were challenged. Figure 12 demonstrates how the home visits moved beyond bringing in knowledges and talking about practices, but through the home visits established solidarity through shared knowledge, practices, and values. In short, the teacher built what could be called solidarity with her students and therefore saw herself as more than a teacher and the students as more than students.

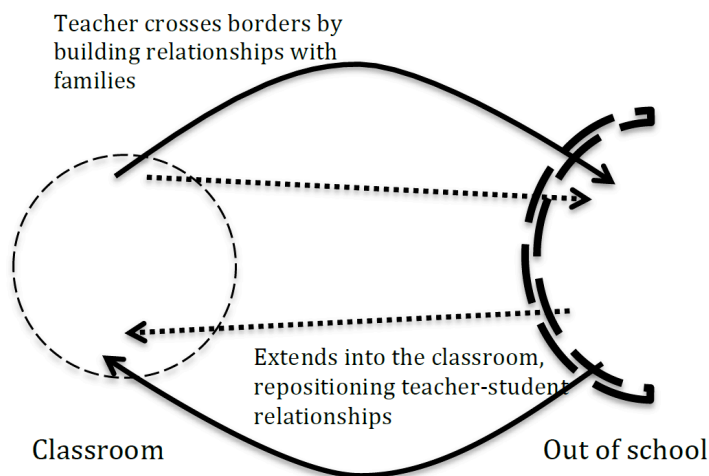


Figure 12. Visiting homes to cross boundaries.

Notice this repositioning occurring not only when the teacher knows about the students home life, but when the teacher engages in it. The borders between school and out of school begin to be less clear. The borderlands in which the teacher stands, between the values of

dominant society in schools and the values of families, are negotiated. Only one of the other teachers, Jan, visited student homes. Lee had mentioned she wanted to, but could not find the time. Rather, Lee did, in a sense, cross the borders in another way. She involved elder women from the community, “grandmas” to help with classroom tasks and activities. These grandmas only spoke Chinese, as did the community. So, while most of the students spoke Chinese at home, but not in school, the grandmas provided an opportunity for the bilingual students and ELs to see Chinese and out of school experiences valued in the classroom. Indeed, even Lee needed to speak to the grandmas in Chinese, albeit occasionally. Though the purpose of the grandmas was not to gather or use funds of knowledge, it was another way in which solidarity was built and the home/school boundary broken down.

Jan’s experiences in doing home visits were similar in many ways to Allison’s. As mentioned in chapters 4 and 5, these home visits helped to create a major shift in Jan’s thinking. I pointed out that she went out to eat with some of the students’ families in Chinatown Square and she became very aware of the way people perceived her, as a black lady, walking with an Asian family. She also noted many findings, which I pointed out in chapter 5, in which the way the students lived were very different from one another and the way she did.

Jan also noted differences in the way African Americans lived and the way her Chinese students lived. She noted the following:

I felt like a DCFS case worker, you know, how you have all these cases and you go to the homes and . but I wouldn’t go around checking their stuff. Usually we just went into their living room. You know. Kids didn’t want you to see their rooms. Oh, I did, I did go see Danny’s room. His mother said “Come her’ I hav everything for him, he play computer all day.” [OC: in mock accent]. I said take the computer out of the room. Everyone has a computer in their room. But you know what, in the African American community we are different, everyone has a television in their room the computer is in one area. These kids all have their computers and no television.

(FOCUS GROUP 2, 01/31/2011)

There is a lot that could be said about this statement, including the mock accent, the DCFS case worker statement, and the juxtaposition of the African American and Chinese “communities.” However, for the point being made here, two issues are significant. First, like Allison, Jan attempts to give direction to the parents regarding computer usage, specifically telling them to move the computer. Secondly, this demonstrates an awareness of cultural differences. These home visits were used to study cultural practices, and something as simple as placement of computers versus placement of televisions demonstrates an aptitude for the social and cultural analysis in which both Jan and Allison engaged.

The home visits were the most significant tool Allison identified in her story of action research. She continued the practice the following year before she retired. She also is an advocate of the practice. The home visits allowed for the students to be repositioned into a relationship of solidarity with the teacher. There were other ways Allison attempted to build solidarity as well. She repositioned her students through analyzing classroom discourse. In the following section I will analyze how Allison studied small group interactions and changed them to reposition students into different group identities. I argue that the data suggests the theme of solidarity runs throughout her thought process on the small group interaction.

Small Group Discourse Analysis.

In the last chapter I demonstrated how the teachers shifted in the way they positioned their students through using discourse analysis. In this section I will focus on a very specific practice of using discourse analysis. Rather than limiting the types of discourse analysis practices discussed in the last chapter (i.e. coding, close study of transcripts), I will show how Allison explicitly focused on small group interactions, repositioned students, and ultimately built solidarity in the classroom among the students as well as between the students and herself. In

the next section I will look more closely at Allison's use of discourse analysis for whole group instruction.

It might be helpful in this section to think of "meta-pragmatics" rather than discourse analysis, so as not to confuse the specific practices laid out in the previous chapter. By meta-pragmatics, I am referring to how Allison understood the relationship between language and social positions during her action research. Since Allison was conceptualizing social norms and making decision based on them, she engaged in what I am calling a metapragmatic activity. Silverstein (1976) used the concept of metapragmatics when one describes pragmatic norms, or, in other words, when one overtly conceptualizes speech events and speech acts. Therefore, Allison, as a teacher is looking at the pragmatic practices in her classroom. Typically in research involving discourse analysis, as a researcher I would set out to study "pragmatics" in the classroom. I would study the way language and culture relate. In this study, however, because Allison has an identity of teacher-researcher, she is already looking at the pragmatic norms in her classroom and attempts to change them. Therefore, I am looking at her "meta-pragmatic" practices and therefore do not focus solely on specific discourse analysis tools in this chapter.

Organizing the ELs. One of the goals of the university-school partnership was to encourage an additive language ideology of bilingual education (e.g. Yang, 2012). We thought it would be best practice for student learning to allow students to use their first language while learning English. Thus, we requested that the teachers organize their classrooms in a very specific way to focus on the social interaction of ELs. In Allison's class, she grouped four ELs, all recently transitioned from the bilingual program, into a small group. These students were described in chapter 3. Out of these four focal students, Allison had consistently pointed out two of them early on to look at in her research. Min Hin was consistently described as "shy,"

because she did not talk much and giggles in front of the camera. From very early in the year, Allison had identified her as a student she wanted to see change. Wei Sheng, on the other hand, was her “top student” and was the leader of the group. He often took it upon himself to guide small group discussions, even taking up the identity of an interviewer with the microphone, for example:

01. **Wei Sheng:** (leans over, puts mic up to Yaozu) What do you think ..
02. about space travel .. and taxes?
03. **Yaozu:** (no verbal response, rubbing chin with hand, 2 sec)
04. **Wei Sheng:** What do you think about space travel and taxes you have to
05. pay:?
06. **Yaozu:** (Coughs with fist over mouth into microphone, 1.5 sec)
07. **Wei Sheng:** (laughs)
08. **Yaozu:** [(clears throat)]
09. **Wei Sheng:** you think .. about space travel?
10. **Yaozu:** [silence 1.0]
11. **Wei Sheng:** (moves mic towards student sitting next to Yaozu) What do
12. you think about space travel?

(CLASSROOM RECORDING, 03/31/11)

In this example, note the very strict turn taking structure (Psathas, 1995) that parallels a news interview. In line 03 we see Yaozu also take up this interactional role by rubbing his chin, in line 06 we also see him engage in this play by coughing, as an interviewee would, and finally clearing his throat in line 08. The microphone obviously changed the interaction of the group, and to some degree, it is quite obvious that the microphone and video camera played a role in Min Hin’s silence, but over time that did change. This group remained the same throughout the year, but the interactions did not.

Re-organizing the ELs. As indicated above, the ELs were arranged into a group to support learning. Students, like Min Hin, may often be marginalized in mainstream classrooms,

but Allison intentionally attempted to provide a way for her to be able to interact despite her limited English. Min Hin would communicate in Mandarin with Wei Sheng, and the other students in the group. In the beginning she did not speak much, and rarely spoke in English, as confirmed by Allison's observations:

And especially my kids that just exited 2 years or 3 years out of the bilingual program. So, they've used their Chinese, and I've never even seen them use English.

(FOCUS GROUP 2, 01/31/2011)

Allison recognized in her thesis, after looking at the year of data, that unit 1 was sort of an eye opener. Min Hin would not speak much.

"So I began to ask how could I facilitate learning in my classroom in order for my students to engage in discourse? How can I assist Min Hin to respond and try using some English Language in the discourse? Before arranging the classroom into small groups, Min Hin was not given the opportunity to engage in discourse with any of her classmates, however, in the small groups it will be evident that there is some interaction amongst Min Hin and her group. She speaks Chinese with Wei Sheng, and Pengfei.

(ALLISON'S THESIS, p. 27).

Later, Allison intentionally added a rule to mediate the group. She insisted that Min Hin write for the group. This was enforced in the video from May, 9 2011 when Wei Sheng had been discussing with a larger group about technology in space. She reorganized the group, back along her original lines, and required Min Hin to write. While this requirement was very explicit, it was also informed from watching the group interactions. Allison was attempting to change the pragmatic norms of the group members by reorganizing the interaction. She instituted different roles and positions in the group to allow for students, like Min Hin, to have a necessary role in the activity. In the final focus group on December 12, 2011 Allison noted that Min Hin

began to interact differently than usual during this lesson. She was laughing with her group members and using both English and Chinese.

Min Hin, who doesn't speak/ came out of the bilingual program 2 years ago, she actually, when Joe was videotaping, she would actually move her chair back and hide her face, and so we have that in the first video. Then we looked at one of the last videos in May, May 26th, and there she is with the three boys and she's recording notes and she's laughing and she's talking in Chinese and then she's talking in English and she's laughing at them. She's back and forth and her body language and the fact that she is taking the lead as the recorder. Even though Wei Sheng has always been the lead with the microphone, she, you know, just starts talking. I don't know, her body language and countenance changed and she actually recording and not back hiding her face anymore

(FOCUS GROUP 4, 12/12/2011)

As can be seen here, Allison is interpreting the discourse practices to make judgments of the students. She looks at the interactions, both the gestures and talk, to make sense of the students' positioning. Min Hin is undergoing a major shift in her identity in the group. She is becoming an active member. Allison uses the transcripts as tools to see this, but teachers often intuitively make these judgments. The difference between Allison analyzing the interaction and in the moment teaching, is that Allison is making the point very explicit. She is studying the interaction to observe pragmatic norms of her students, yet rather than making in-the-moment judgments alone, she abstracts this through her action research. This allows her to mediate instruction and the inter-personal relationships.

This is also seen in that Min Hin took up the "writing" identity, turning to Wei Sheng to help with spelling. She also wrote down the official group reporting, until time ran out and she passed it on to Wei Sheng to finish because he wrote much more quickly (figure 13). She took up the vital role of writing for the group, not only as it was instituted, but also as a group member. This role shift was due, in part to Allison's specific attempt to involve Min Hin in the literacy practices of the group. She took this role up on multiple occasions by taking the paper

from group members to write. What is important to understand about this reorganization of the social sphere is that, above and beyond grouping students differently, Allison allowed for more dynamic shifts in student roles.

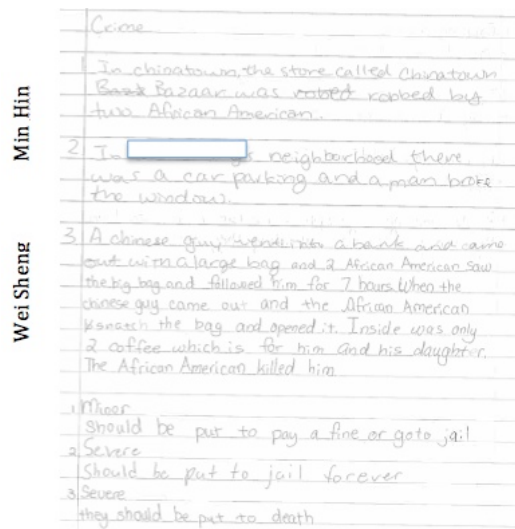


Figure 13. Min Hin and Wei Sheng writing sample.

Fighting English Only. Allison allowed her students to use English and Chinese in the classroom. Reflecting on her teaching, Allison commented that her students spoke in Chinese:

Just when there are three, two or three of them they'll talk in Chinese. And that's fine. I'll never say don't talk in your own language, and I don't say "What did you say" you know. It's not really up to me, they're speaking to each other" (FOCUS GROUP 3, 5/9/2011).

This demonstrates that Allison recognized the students as social actors in their own right, capable of communicating about content areas in Chinese. She did not see the need to interrupt to ask what they were talking about, but rather trusted they were talking about the classroom activity. English, in Allison's sixth grade classroom, was the *lingua franca*, but Allison saw the value of Chinese in the classroom and sought to provide opportunities for it to be used. As seen in my introduction to Allison at the beginning of this chapter, she wanted the students to speak Chinese, in part because the families spoke Chinese. This could be interpreted as a way to build

solidarity with the students as well as an attempt to carry out strategic teaching opportunities. She noted it was important for the ELs to talk with each other. She was trying to connect with their language and culture. In informal observations after school, I saw Allison ask students about certain words in Cantonese that she was asking if she was saying correctly (or remembering correctly, because, remember, Allison's parents spoke to her in Cantonese). A year later, after our Mandarin classes, she would do the same with Mandarin words. Even when I was taking Mandarin classes with her, she would tell me how she would practice with some of the Mandarin speakers. So, as we can see, English was not the only language spoken in the class and it is not the only language valued in the classroom.

Allison wrote about a moment of talk in her thesis in which Pengfei told Min Hin to speak in English only. This explicit demand by Pengfei to Min Hin caught Allison's attention in her thesis. She had analyzed a piece of transcript from May 19, 2011 and noted the following:

"Min Hin, speaks in English indicating that she can speak English. This is not typical of her behavior during regular class time. She usually just sits quietly and there is no reaction or facial expression. Min Hin is responding in Chinese many times: She is talking so much in Chinese that Pengfei yells at her and tells her to speak English. ... This is a change in student discourse. She is more confident in speaking, and continues to interact with her peers, despite Pengfei's demand to use English."

(ALLISON'S THESIS, pp. 27-28)

We see from Allison's analysis after the fact that she is making sense of the situation as a change in discourse style. She identifies a major shift from Min Hin early in the year to Min Hin toward the end of the year. Specifically Allison mentions the use of English with peers, but also indicated that the minute long stretch of discourse is quite different from how Min Hin usually participates. This is challenged by Penfei, who tells her to use English. Allison interprets this with surprise, and notes that for Min Hin to continue to use Chinese demonstrates a confidence that was not there in the beginning. The following is a portion of the transcript Allison is referring to. I am keeping the transcript to the precise way Allison was using it, therefore I am

not presenting it as a transcript of the classroom talk, but rather as an artifact of Allison's analysis. I hesitate here to have this translated because I am looking at how Allison is making sense of the discourse; therefore I am presenting the transcript she used (which was a rough sketch of a transcript I provided to her).

01. **Wei Sheng:** Maybe Gene's dog might bite Vera.
02. **Min Hin:** Maybe... the dog bite.
03. **Yaozu:** Sounds like lady.
04. **Pengfei:** Let's write it down first.
05. **Min Hin:** Maybe...(talking Chinese for about 1 min)
06. **Pengfei:** **CAN YOU SPEAK ENGLISH?** (Yelling)
07. **Wei Sheng:** (Talking Chinese)
08. **Wei Sheng:** So, he was sleeping so I saw what happened.
09. **Min Hin:** (Talking Chinese)
10. **Min Hin:** (pointing to YN paper and turns the pages.)
11. **Pengfei:** Ok, now what?

We can see that her use of discourse analysis, even on a rudimentary level, shows her that there was a participation shift in Min Hin. The fact that Pengfei tells her, or “yells” as Allison put it, to speak English is significant. Pragmatically, this is a directive, but not a question. It is a demand. Both Wei Sheng and Min Hin continue to speak in Chinese. Thus, we see that by analyzing this interaction, Allison is making sense of the students' identities. In the moment-to-moment interaction of the classroom this event would not have played a role in Allison's repositioning of Min Hin. However, because she looks at the transcript and sees a shift in the pragmatic norm (e.g. quiet and shy or Chinese because not comfortable to engage in English too confidently) she begins to position Min Hin as confident and changed.

So, Allison repositions Min Hin through the use of discourse analysis in small group settings. She sees Min Hin as shy and quiet because of the way she acted when I originally videotaped. Although the camera was one reason she was “shy” and hid her face, Allison confirmed that she did not speak much because she was a recently transitioned EL. Allison

studies the discourse and wants Min Hin to change. She attempts to aid this by changing her role and function in the small groups and giving her a chance to talk in Chinese to her peers. Min Hin takes up different roles that are complex, like writing, and challenging the boys in the group. This change is recognized by Allison as she engages in explicit research activities. Explicit focus on pragmatic norms, through discourse analysis, is a practice Allison uses to reposition her students. As she engages in this explicit research of student discourse, she repositions the students into roles of competent group members strategically using languages, not marginalized, “shy,” and “quiet” ELs.

Solidarity in the small group and learning. I think this contributes to the larger point of solidarity because Allison sets out to create a group in which it is safe to use Chinese. In the whole group Min Hin has little opportunity to talk, unless Allison calls on her specifically. In the small group, however, Allison found a way to allow her to grow and change. She moved from relatively non-speaking to a co-leader of the group. This shift happened because there was a safe place for Min Hin to talk. Allison’s choice to group her with Wei Sheng allowed because Wei Sheng took initiative to try to get Min Hin to talk (e.g. through interview) and to help her (e.g. through spelling). Additionally, though Allison generally followed a heterogeneous grouping strategy. The grouping of ELs together in this unit was new to Allison, but built solidarity in the group.

Allison’s original decision to organize her classroom seating was based on the Northwest Evaluation Association’s (NWEA) recommendation to seat students heterogeneously:

NWEA scores, weekly assessments, and students’ work samples were used to determine each student’s academic status. Ability levels configured seating arrangements. In order for students to achieve, according to NWEA (<https://reports.nwea.org/>) students are arranged homogeneous by their test scores band. Therefore, many characteristics were taken into account before seating arrangements were assigned.

The students were rearranged slightly for the purposed of her study, so as she could observe her EL students. Therefore, she did put all ELs into a group. The reason for doing so was to see how language was used to mediate learning. This was not an intent to segregate ELs into separate small groups, but rather to provide more mediation for learning.

A final note that should be made here, while we are focusing on Min Hin and her changes, is that her SAT 10 reading scores increased drastically over the year. She entered into Allison's classroom having scored in the 20th percentile on the SAT 10 reading. In the test she took at the end of the year, she scored in the 63rd percentile. This gain was a 43-percentile gain. As the *National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth* noted, bridging home-school interactional differences has been shown to help with engagement and motivation, but has not been found to conclusively improve literacy development of ELs (August & Shanahan, 2006). While this study was not set up as an experimental design and we cannot pinpoint the change to the action research and resulting decisions, it does lend credence to the notion that a bridging home and school interactional gaps may lead to literacy development. If we understand Allison's practices throughout the year as bridging home-school interactional patterns or styles, especially in valuing Chinese as a part of small group interaction, then we may see a correlation with the panel's findings.

Additionally, Allison's strategies, mediated by developing language ideologies of inclusive language use and additive bilingualism, also may speak to the point the panel mentioned in the wider literature that "oral proficiency and literacy in the first language can be used to facilitate literacy development in English (August & Shanahan, 2006, p. 5). Allison gave Min Hin ample opportunities to develop oral proficiency in her first language, as well as English

oral proficiency. Although she was not encouraged to write in Chinese, she was also given opportunities, with peer support for English literacy. She was not relegated to write on her own, but given opportunities to interact orally, in both English and Chinese, and synthesize the conversation in writing. This was possible, in a large part, because Allison engaged in meta-pragmatic practices of using discourse analysis to monitor and reposition her ELs.

The learning curve for many teachers to give more space for students to talk can be intimidating. Whereas Allison learned to give more small-group time before the students reported out in large groups, Lee found this a difficult task with her first grade students. In fact, Lee referred to the difficulty of letting go of control of the talk in both small and whole group settings:

When I began Unit 1, letting go of my authority and control was a huge struggle for me. I was afraid of letting my classroom get too loud and always worrying if my students were on task or not. I was apprehensive to the notion that my students would be able to teach me more about technology than what I could teach them.

(LEE'S THESIS, p. 18)

After one of the first lessons I videotaped, I had debriefed with Lee about the activity. The students had tallied what types of technology they used over the weekend and now, in small groups, they were creating parts of a bar graph which would then be combined as a whole class. I recalled the lesson going well because several of the groups I observed worked to solve complex problems. When they ran out of chart paper, they worked to solve the issue, indicating that they understood the correspondence of units to the chart. However, Lee indicated she felt like it was chaotic. In her fieldnote from the day she wrote

when the activity began, little did I know that there was going to be much unanticipated events occurring- things I felt I could have done more efficiently in order to make the activity go more smoothly.

This was part of her learning process to let go of so much control. Later, in her thesis, she wrote the following:

By bringing in the funds of knowledge that were relevant in which my students could identify with, allowing students to process information aloud without interjecting much of my own thoughts, and giving them opportunities to socially interact with each other in discourse about these topics, it opened my eyes so that I could see the wealth of knowledge that my students possessed and were able to obtain from each other. These kinds of connections were that in which my students were not able to make in the previous units like they had in Unit 3.

(LEE'S THESIS, p. 21)

Here, Lee noted that social interaction, coupled with the topics derived from funds of knowledge, allowed the students to learn from each other, which shows a shift from the nervousness she expressed in unit 1. Lee, like Allison took a risk at allowing students to talk more in small groups, and though it was not easy, it reaped what she identified as great rewards.

The teachers also conducted discourse analysis as a broader tool to study their own teaching practices. In the next section I will demonstrate how Allison repositioned herself and students into more equitable roles by drawing on different language ideologies in the social organization of the classroom.

Discourse Analysis and Classroom Interaction.

Allison had identified, during a pilot of her action research, that she was “teacher centered” and “IRE” (Researcher notes from “Action Research for Teachers of English Learners course). Allison was referring to the pattern of discourse known as initiate, respond evaluate identified by Cazden (2001). While the pattern is typical in many classrooms in the United States, the strict pattern doesn't fully explain the pragmatic use. For instance, the pattern has also been termed “IRF” (e.g. Wells, 1993) to show a difference between “evaluation” and

“feedback.” It also has been noted that IRE is not always a “negative” structure, but that it can be a helpful meditational tool (Wells, 1993). Allison, however, consistently identified an IRE discourse pattern as an indication of teacher centered instruction. She also claimed that she had been teaching in that formulaic structure for over 20 years of teaching:

I was using a strict IRE teaching method to manage my classroom. In other words, I would ask a question, and expect the students to respond, and then evaluate their responses. After 26 years of teaching, this was still my dominant teaching practice.

(ALLISON’S THESIS, p. 21)

This was something she became aware of and explicitly attempted to change.

As early as November (and indeed even earlier during the pilot study), Allison decided she wanted to change the pattern of discourse. In her thesis, she noted that she

Discovered in reflecting on my practices, that because it was the first videotaping of the students, they were very quiet, possibly because I was using an IRE style. The whole class instruction consisted of me prompting questions and trying to get the students to answer.

(ALLISON’S THESIS, p. 12).

She pointed back to a field note from November 3, 2010 in which she noted that there was “Lots of IRE and not much conversation” during her first video recorded lesson. After coding the lesson, she identified nearly 98% of the whole group interaction could be considered IRE. She reasoned, “This means that I dominated the classroom talk.” So, what we can see here, both in the thesis as well as in the data from November 2010, is that Allison’s classroom practices were not matching with her explicitly stated language ideological stances. She was taking a stance against the IRE discourse pattern, but was using it on a regular basis.

Since language ideologies are implicit in our language practices (e.g. the practice of “repair;” Razfar, 2005), we can assume that the restrictive environment of Allison’s classroom was organized with intention. Since she had taught this way for 26 years we can assume that the normal pragmatic view of language and learning required explicit teacher mediation. So, when Allison shifted and identified the IRE structure as something she wanted to change, she was making a shift in her teacher identity. She was repositioning herself and therefore her students. The students were then seen as able to mediate learning as well, through conversation. The awareness of the language ideologies that were implicated in her teaching practices were uncovered and made explicit through discourse analysis. Allison engaged directly at looking for pragmatic norms, but coding the video and reflecting on class time. When she noticed norms, she could make explicit decisions to change them.

The data suggests that through explicit focus on language study, like discourse analysis, we are required to engage with language on a meta-pragmatic level. When we do this, we can explicitly decide to make changes in discourse patterns so as to hope to change the social organization of a context. We can change the social positions into which social actors are recruited by manipulating the discourse and attempting to change the pragmatic norms of language users.

On May 9, 2011 Allison attempted to do this by changing the organization of her classroom. She had been trying to get her students to talk, and already had noticed that the dominant classroom pattern was IRE. She was also the one who had to specifically recruit students into the role of speaker (e.g. by calling on students or requesting them to raise hands for permission to speak). She usually repeated or otherwise followed up her students’ comments, often evaluating them explicitly, though sometimes endorsing or rejecting them more passively.

However, on May 9th she decided to reorganize the physical space of the classroom. She asked the students to move desks out of the way and to bring chairs into a circle. In this organization of the classroom students were already positioned into more equitable roles, simply by sitting in chairs like the teacher and facing one another. Additionally, though Allison still sat nearest the front of the room and prompted the conversation, the shift in discourse style was still evident.

Allison had asked why they still weren't talking much, and I noted the following in an observer comment:

I think it was because they weren't interested in the topic, or this is not normative of their class style. Yet, Allison demonstrated that she is trying to figure out how to get them to talk, and instead of everyone facing the front of the classroom, they were in a circle

(FIELD NOTE, 5/9/10).

This explicit change in student positions and discourse structure shows that dominant language ideologies may be challenged in the classroom and teachers may set out to explicitly study the way language relates to social organization and change it. Figure 14 shows the classroom set up on November 10, 2010 (left), which was typical for Allison's room and the setup for May 9, 2011 (right). The faces of the participants have been blurred to protect their identity and the drawings come from my field notes.

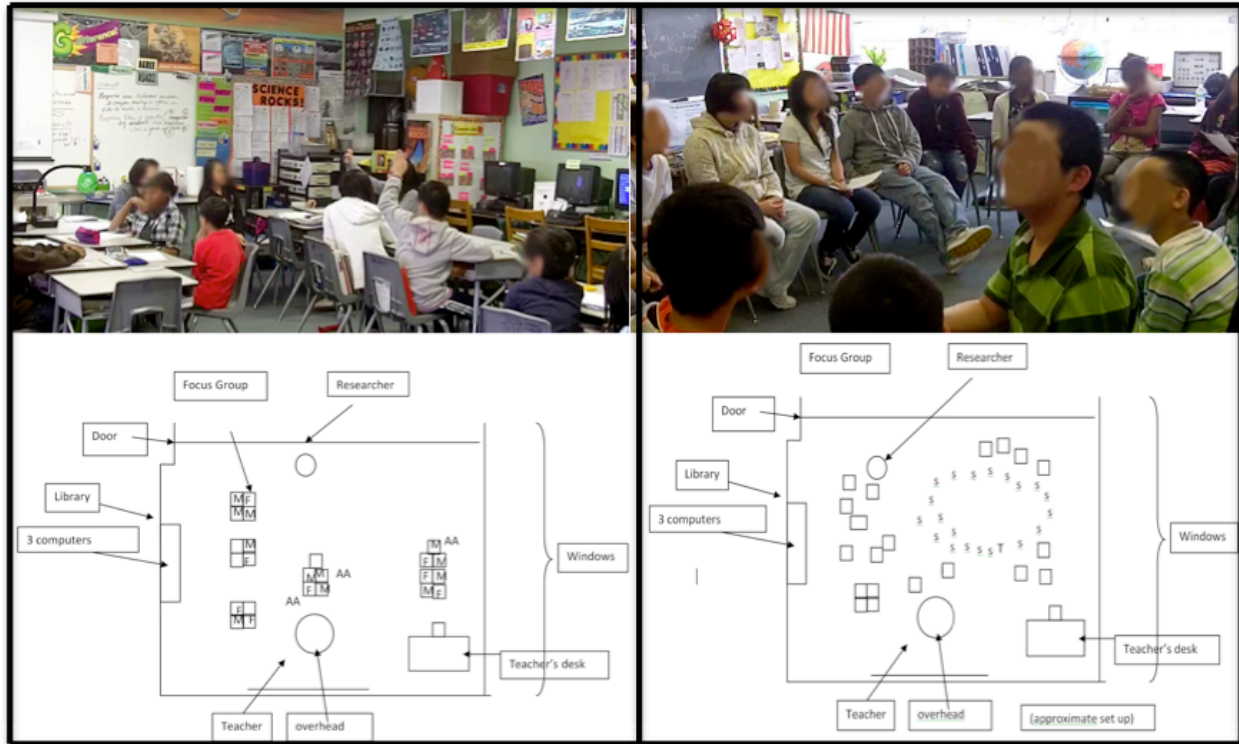


Figure 14. Classroom setup for Nov. 10, 2010 and May 9, 2011.

Allison noted in her thesis that this attempt to reorganize the classroom was an example of her beginning “to relinquish the authoritarian regime after 26 years of teaching.” She also compared this to the way she taught at the beginning of the year and connected the organization to curricular objectives.

“I made an attempt to change the environment of the classroom by simply rearranging the seating conducive for discourse; students were seated in a large circle facing each other, and ready to interact while making connections with the content areas of literacy, science and math.”

(ALLISON’S THESIS, p. 18)

In Allison’s comment we can see that she is making several assumptions about language. For instance, she attempts to manipulate the environment to provide more opportunities for students to talk with each other. Additionally, we see that “facing each other” was important to her, and remember she used to enforce this early in the year when students stood up to report.

The use of the word “simply” in this comment is very interesting because it seems to indicate that the rearranging was helpful, but not sufficient to reach her goals.

This example shows that discourse analysis was a major tool Allison used in her action research to reposition her students. She identified this as a turning point in her thesis, noting that the shift progressed throughout the year. Allison did not continue to meet in a large circle with her students, but the very indication that she saw the social organization of the classroom as inextricably linked to her own teaching practices was enough for her to see changes in the discourse patterns throughout the year. The attempt to create a circle, or a more equitable seating style, also seems to be another way Allison created a sense of solidarity in the classroom. Allison noted that students who normally did not have the opportunity to talk were able to talk in this setup, or at least she noticed them in this set up.

Ironically, Lee also attempted to change the classroom’s spatial set up. She had not discussed with the other teachers, or the researchers for that matter, her decision to change the setup of the classroom, very much like Allison. Changing the spatial setup seemed to be one of the ways the teachers attempted to change the structure of talk. Lee found this to be a major finding in her own thesis as well. The default script in her classroom included carpet time, in which the students sat facing Lee. Lee noted that the default discourse style was IRE. She points out, two pictures of her classroom, (figure 15) one from the beginning of the year, and one from later in which the students were in a circle and could talk among each other as well as herself. She identified this as “instructional conversation.”



Figure 15. Lee's classroom setup.

The setup of the class positioned the teacher and the students into particular social roles. By manipulating the spatial setup, she could reorganize talk, and also reposition students and herself.

She wrote

"I realized that this is what learning should look more like; where the teacher is there mainly as the facilitator while the students engage in meaningful discourse, are asking questions, and helping each other make sense of the world using instructional conversation."

(LEE'S THESIS, p. 27)

Lee, like Allison, noted some link between the spatial setup and the structure of discourse. This, was, in turn, linked to the position of students and the teacher. By reorganizing the classroom, they thought they could mediate a more equitable learning environment.

In this section I demonstrated how Allison used discourse analysis to study her own teaching practices. She identified this as a major shift in her teaching style. After 26 years of using a strict IRE discourse pattern, she looked at how that structure related to the social organization of the classroom. She attempted to change this pattern and ultimately found that she could. This finding indicates that teachers can be agentic in studying and using different language ideologies when they explicitly look at classroom discourse. In figure 16 I attempt to show how the use of discourse analysis operated in Allison's change.

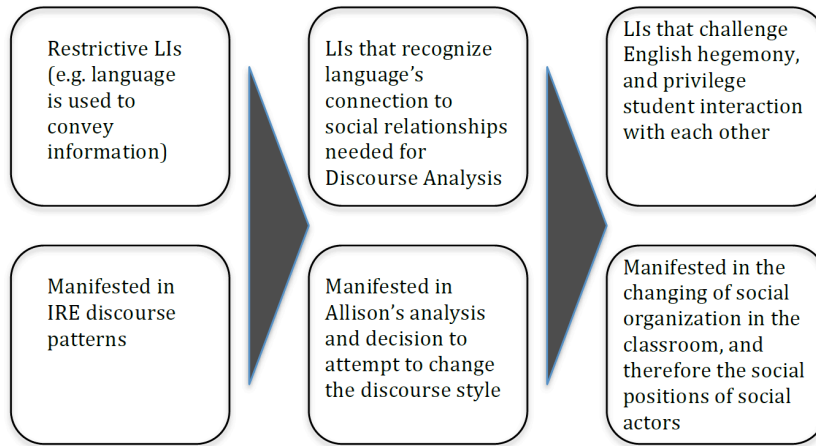


Figure 16. Teacher learning through discourse analysis.

As demonstrated above, Allison had been drawing on folk ideas of language, or language ideologies that privileged teacher-centered practices, perhaps that language's primary function is to disseminate information. One example of this is the IRE discourse pattern she noted about herself. While even the IRE discourse pattern alone does not necessarily result from restrictive language ideologies that privilege teacher voice, it is one piece of evidence. When Allison sets out to study the pragmatics of her classroom, that is, how language is used to organize and shape social practice, she draws on different ideologies of language. Specifically, she looks for how language mediates the social interaction. Once she does this, she not only attempts to change the interaction in the classroom, but also reorganizes the social positions of herself and students. Therefore, we can see how teachers can use tools like discourse analysis to challenge default language ideologies that seem to be pervasive in the classroom and school.

Summary

If we return to figure 10 and note that the two identities I pointed out are made sense of by language ideologies, we can extend similar identities to the students, from Allison's point of view. In other words, as I pointed out Allison's ethnolinguistic identity and "teacher" identity, we can see the juxtaposed ethnolinguistic identity of students and the "student" adjacency pair to

the teacher. Through Allison's funds of knowledge research and discourse analysis, these identities are challenged and deconstructed, at least in some ways. They become more complex. I demonstrated how the home-school divide was broken down, thus allowing students to uptake multifaceted social roles, and I demonstrated how Allison asserted agency as a teacher to challenge dominant teaching practices, thus challenging dominant language ideologies and repositioning students into more equitable roles in the classroom. The deconstruction of a dominant, singular ethnolinguistic identity (again, connected to chapter 4) and the strict teacher-student dichotomy allows for the home-school border to be crossed, building a type of solidarity that is used to mediate instruction.

Just as Allison shifted in the way she positioned students in the classroom. This happened through two primary means, namely researching funds of knowledge and researching classroom discourse. When Allison studied the students' funds of knowledge through in class activities and visiting the homes, she opened up opportunities for them to take up different social positions. She put ELs into positions to foster students talk. She also challenged her dominant teacher-centered style of classroom management and attempted to bring about a sense of equality in who has speaking rights. These shifts indicate that through specifically engaging in theorizing activities, or metapragmatic practices, the teacher is able to reposition students into different social positions, or the rights, duties, and obligations of a social actors in these contexts.

VII. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

To return to the metaphor that has been running throughout, schools are often borderlands. Students and teachers sit in between hegemonic system wide values presumed by wider society and the values of students' homes and communities that are often in conflict. Thus, teachers have a unique vantage point to see across these borders and to learn to value what the students bring into the classroom. They can begin to see across these borders through forms of action research, like discourse analysis and anthropological approaches to uncovering funds of knowledge.

Throughout the last three chapters I have presented findings from over two years of data collection and analysis. If I were to condense even a small portion of all that I have learned through this process into writing it would, no doubt, span volume after volume. However, for the task at hand I have attempted to answer two major questions: (1) how are English Learner students positioned in urban classrooms in a Midwestern Chinatown, and (2) how are they repositioned through the use of teacher action research.

To answer this question I examined three types of data, with three units of analysis, at three different scales. I believe that by looking at the data in this way I have been able to present a robust set of findings that together provide critical information regarding urban education of English learners, and the continual development of teachers who work with ELs. In this chapter I will discuss how these findings relate to issues in education today. I will also consider how these findings advance theory in my primary fields of research. Finally, I will give specific implications for pre-service and in-service teachers as well as teacher educators.

Review of findings

In my first findings chapter I demonstrated how students are positioned in Chinatown, the community within which Warner is located. After engaging in an analysis of the different levels of social context, I found that students are positioned in classrooms similarly to the ways all members of Chinatown are positioned in wider, Eurocentric, North American society. I demonstrated that engaging in sociological analyses of educational contexts does not show the entire story because people may be positioned into multiple social identities at any given time. Thus, it is imperative that we look at the social positions into which students are positioned in the classrooms themselves. I demonstrated four examples of students being positioned by (or rejecting) dominant assumptions implicit in Chinatown. I found that the students in Chinatown are positioned according to a sociological model. They are aware of this position and take it up or reject it in social interaction.

Acknowledging that our classrooms are part of schools, in communities, in cities, in states, and so on, I continued to ask how students were talked about by teachers in these schools. Specifically, I wanted to know how teachers re-positioned students when they actually engaged in social analysis themselves. Thus, I studied the interactions of five teachers and two researchers as they engaged in action research. I conducted discourse analysis to look at how in-the-moment talk about students shifted when teachers engaged in metapragmatic activities, that is when they intentionally theorized about their students social identities (through funds of knowledge activities) and pragmatic classroom norms (through discourse analysis methodology). I found that teachers revise their ideologies of language when they explicitly attend to discourse. They step away from normative ideologies to make sense of discourse in an abstracted moment. When they do this, the reposition students into different social roles.

While the study meetings did allow me to see the way the teachers talked about students, how that changed in the moment, and a general trajectory, it did not allow me to see how students were positioned in the classroom or how this changed over time more specifically. Therefore, I presented a telling case of how one teacher engaged in funds of knowledge activities and discourse analysis research to make real changes in her classroom. I present both her reporting about the experiences (e.g. focus groups and thesis) as well as how students took up different social identities. This case allowed me to test the theory that the teacher research conducted in the previous chapter was not just reported change, but did effectively reposition EL students. I found that the static roles presumed upon students in the classroom at a society level are not static in social interaction. Teachers and students have agency to reposition themselves into different social identities.

My findings, as a whole, should be read as related to one another as presented in figure 17.

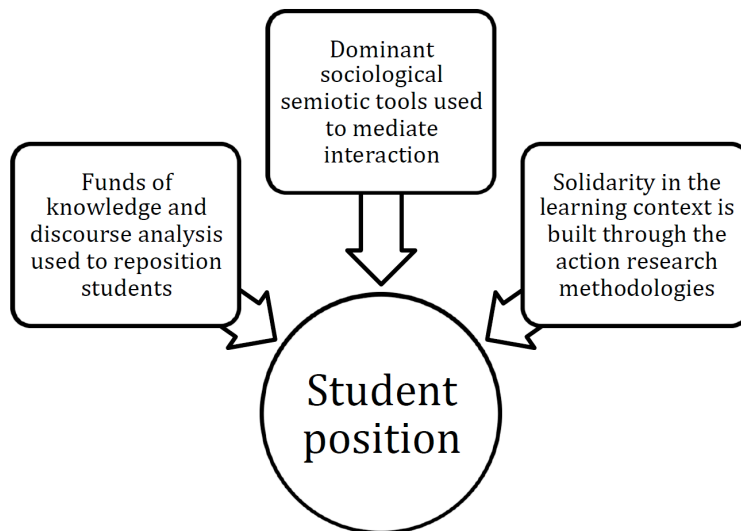


Figure 17. Relationship of findings.

In this figure, we see how semiotic tools on the sociopolitical level are active in the moment-to-moment interactions and are used to position students into static social identities. Teachers, as they analyze students' cultural practices, can understand students as complex social beings with identities that enable them to be seen as competent members of society. Through analyzing classroom discourse, teachers can re-position students into multifaceted social identities.

I now turn to discuss these findings in relation to my problem statement, namely how these findings relate to ELs, and specifically one type of ELs, those in a specific Chinatown community. Then I will discuss how these findings relate to the genre of fields of critical theory and to the field of language ideologies. I will discuss implications for teaching ELs and for providing teacher education or professional development. Finally, I will discuss further research.

Connection to educational issues (Problem)

English Learners. The population of ELs is growing at a quick rate. Indeed the Latino/a population in P-12 education is continuing to grow as well, both within the LEP subgroup and the general education population. However, there is also a tremendous increase in the Asian/Asian American population in the United States. In Illinois, alone, the Asian American Population grew by 39% compared to 33% growth of the Latino/a population (Udrica, 2011). I suggest that Asians and Asian Americans ELs in educational research are under researched. Further, I recommend we stop categorizing students into large sociological categories like "Asian American" or "EL" altogether. Indeed, my first finding explicitly addressed the shortcomings of collapsing all Chinese and Chinese Americans into a single homogeneous group!

Culturally responsive education often focuses on Black and White dichotomies. Sometimes this type of literature, especially in the EL domain, focus on Latino/a students. However, the “model minority” (Lee, 1996) construct is often overlooked except in specifically Asian American areas of research interest. Because they are stereotyped as “model minorities” and have generally high test scores, they do not seem to receive the same attention in the ELL literature. Therefore, the dissertation finds that there is a continued political silencing of Asians and Asian Americans (finding 1), but also that the assumptions of Asians and Asian Americans are not always accurate. Dominant stereotypes that can be challenged if teachers are given tools for cultural analysis (findings 2 and 3). Thus, my findings suggest that the issues of ELs be couched within a larger understanding of sociology of education. The issue of professional development for teachers of ELs, specifically, needs to also be couched within an understanding of the wider levels of social context.

Culturally responsive education (and PD for culturally responsive teaching) generally focuses on “the other” as does much of the research on EL contexts, when the teacher is distinctly identified from the students. However, the example I used in my case study underscored the complex social identities teachers may face. In the case I demonstrated how a teacher who is ethnically similar to her students, engaged in cultural analysis. This builds on culturally responsive and EL research by underscoring the complex relationships we encounter in society. We cannot continue, as experts in education, to give teachers lists of cultural stereotypes and cultural differences without teaching them to engage in deep cultural research.

One major finding I noted, particularly in chapter 6, was that Allison used the tools of cultural analysis to build solidarity with her students. I hesitated to use the term *confianza* in the findings because I want to note that it, also, is birthed out of research with Latino/a ELs. For

example, Razfar (2010) discusses how repair in the classroom can be done once teachers establish *confianza* with their students. It is expanded as a general principal for EL education and education more generally. I hesitate to use the same construct because the word specifically was invoking a certain, cultural type of solidarity from anthropological research on Latino/a ELs. I have chosen to keep the construct to a more broad idea of solidarity because further anthropological work needs to be conducted on how Allison, as a Chinese American woman built a relationship with the students and families that may be different from the ones indexed by Razfar (2010). We need to understand this construct in the cultural context from which it arose. There is no doubt that the relationship between the students, the families, and the teacher in this study played a role in the way Allison organized her classroom and challenged the dominant assumptions described in Chapter 4, but the nature of this relationship is complex and interesting. Perhaps this builds on the idea of *confianza* but perhaps it is completely different. I only suggest that before we over extend research on Latino/a ELs we do deep cultural analyses of specific contexts, especially in a context as the one in which I worked where the families were of Asian descent in Chinatown, not of Latino/a origin.

My findings suggest that students are positioned into presumed ethnolinguistic identities through semiotic processes that operate on the sociopolitical level and are rooted in historical practices of wider society. I demonstrated how those identities, perhaps used to marginalize Asian and Asian Americans in wider society are evident in the school as well. This is consistent with the literature about remedial ESL programs and some bilingual education programs inducing segregation in the school (e.g. Baker, 2006). However, as I demonstrated, through using research methodologies to study the classroom interactions, teachers can make informed decisions to socially organize the classroom for students to have a more equitable opportunity to

talk and develop. Through engaging in the research, teachers, themselves, begin to reconceptualize who their students, specifically their ELs, are. Therefore, my findings indicate that teachers who use action research methodologies focused on learning about students' cultures and studying classroom discourse can become curriculum designers and dynamically reposition students into different social identities.

These findings are significant because it allows us to move beyond the EL and “mainstream” student dichotomy, or the monolingual/bilingual/multilingual split, and reconceptualize students as dynamic learners and dynamic members of families and communities. Furthermore, these findings help us to hone in on a specific context, namely an urban Chinatown.

Chinatown and ethnic enclaves. One area of research I did not initially intend to stumble upon is the wider discussion of Chinatowns and ethnic enclaves. In fact, I had been interested in the space of Chinatown long before I began my dissertation study. However, I also acknowledged that as an educational researcher, focused on EL issues, I was not engaging in deep sociological or anthropological studies of the community. Through my research, however, I began to see myself engaging in wider research, attempting to understand the constructs I present here through the eyes of community members. Much of my understanding of Chinatown as a community is not presented here, and much of the history of Chinatown as a sociological imagined space is treated fairly briefly. However, my findings are quite important to the wider studies on Chinatowns and ethnic enclaves because it brings to central focus how Chinatown-outsiders (i.e. the teachers) are making sense of Chinatown-insiders (i.e. students, community members) in Chinatown (i.e. the Chinatown community) and out of Chinatown (i.e. the non-Chinatown parts of school). Thus, I propose, based on my findings, that the assumption of a

greater Chinese identity on students is re-created through wider semiotic functions, yet challenged by the normalized curriculum of Warner are made evident in the classroom.

Teachers and students are not simply mechanisms in a large, societal semiotic positioning of student identity; they are active agents in repositioning students into complex identities. This may occur in a number of ways, but I have identified specific tools that were used to do so in this instance (e.g. funds of knowledge inquiry and discourse analysis). So, sociological terms like “Chinese,” “Asian American,” and so forth are not refined enough to account for the multifaceted identities students express in the classroom. These multiple identities are developing through sociocultural and historical activities, which occur globally, nationally, regionally, and so forth to the level of discourse in the classroom. We might even think of the sociocultural designators to be normative terms to indicate identities on a certain time scales (e.g. Lemke, 2000) and thus when teachers engage in action research, focusing on changed in the moment, between utterances even, the identities must align (though they can become systematic and normalized, (Wortham, 2005) to that genetic scale. This bears out, of course, in how we study people and change. For the teachers in this study, new and complex identities were afforded the students, in part, because the scale of analysis used by the teachers to study their students was very focused. Much of the research on Chinatowns and ethnic enclaves looks at a sociocultural or ontogenetic level, as in my first finding, but there are more nuanced and smaller levels in which ethnic enclaves like Chinatown should also be analyzed. This may change the way teachers view students from these communities, as it did for our teachers.

It is important to note here that although this study was conducted in an urban Chinatown, and therefore is a telling case about the relationship between the social interactional and the sociological levels, other communities must also be observed as well. There is,

theoretically, no quantifiable difference between the relationship of Warner to Chinatown and the relationships of, say, a suburban elementary school to its community. Complex relationships exist in both. Both need a qualitative analysis to understand how the community semiotic resources are also in the school. Just because a community does not seem to be “culturally heterogeneous” does not mean that it is. In fact, cultural variation is evident in all communities. Culture is more than the general, macro-definition privileging holidays, food, language, and so on. Culture includes the historically developed everyday practices of communities. We can all look around in our own communities and see that those next door live a little differently than we do. They might eat dinner at 6pm while we do at 5pm. They may fold the tee-shirts down the middle while we use a trifold. They may say prayers at night; we may not pray at all. These distinctions of “us/them” occur on all levels, not just macro-sociological levels. Thus, my study analyzes an assumed homogeneous community that is very distinct from the one many of us live in. This is intentional because we take an “otherizing” position about Chinatown, yet the big ideas of this dissertation remain true for any community. In any community there is variation and there are similarities that bind the community together. Both are historically developed. In any community the students in the school bring in those cultural practices to the classrooms, whether the teacher recognizes it or not. In any community the teachers (often times from outside the community) bring in stereotypes and presupposition is about the community into the classroom and project it upon students.

Take “Chinatown” to be your community, whatever that is. It is the “farm town.” It is the “projects.” It is “Yuppie Ville” in the suburbs. It is “Mango Street” (Cisneros, 1984). Students are positioned in the schools in these communities into a dominant sociological model presuming homogeneity. Teachers can challenge this homogeneity by studying cultural practice and

conducting discourse analysis in the classroom to reposition students into multifaceted social identities. When teachers study the practices (i.e. pragmatics) they must theorize the social roles of themselves and their students. Researchers do this as well. When I studied the social practices of the participants in this study I learned a great deal.

Progressive movements in education have been calling for this type of education for years. Critical pedagogies (e.g. Giroux, 2011) and pedagogies of liberation (e.g. Frerrie, 1993) have made calls for the types of “border crossings” I explain here. In addition, Schubert (2009) has coupled social justice with an emphasis on “love” based on John Dewey’s work. My findings suggest that an action oriented approach to teacher development and education aligns with the calls for social justice and “love.” As in the case study, the discovery of funds of knowledge, the use of discourse analysis, and the practices of repositioning more broadly, build deep relationships between social actors needed for the types of progressive education that have been called for. Indeed, though policy makers may ignore case studies and some qualitative work, the type of work my findings suggest is useful for educators is backed by longitudinal studies (Aikin, 1942) and various other types of work. In the current political climate, however, these opportunities are rare. Thus my findings suggest we push back against the hegemonic and oppressive language ideologies, as the teachers did, and reposition students. I recommend language ideologies to be used not only as a theoretical approach in research, but also as an analytic lens in practice.

Researcher Positioning. The research process was a very challenging process by which I was profoundly changed. When I began in research, I had a fairly good idea of how the world worked. I thought I understood pretty much the application of theory as a model of the world. In short, I made a mistake. I thought I knew the answers before I conducted the study. It wasn’t this

study in specific that I had been mistaken. Rather, it was my view of the world. I drew black and white categories and cited all the right people. What I did not do was understand the purpose of this study as a way to generate new knowledge, redraw the black and white lines with gray ones, and let my views change.

All too quickly I found out that the world does not fit our simple models. From the moment I stepped into Warner I was challenged with teachers who didn't fit my view of "teacher." I was challenged with students who didn't fit that neat, little category. I was challenged by researchers that didn't fit that role either. Basically, I am an example of this entire dissertation. It was through seeking to understand that I finally repositioned the people in this study into their dynamic changing roles. It was in conducting discourse analysis that I could see the dramatic dance of social positioning in action. I came in as a "research assistant" but left a friend, a colleague, and a researcher. I have endured some of the most difficult times with the people in this study. One participant's son passed away, my mom passed away, and several other experienced deaths in their family as well. We grieved together and supported each other. One of the participants was married. We celebrated together. The every-day things in life are the most beautiful, and this is what we experienced during my time at Warner.

Research isn't about being "right" or proving a theory. It is about understanding others and creating knowledge. I began to understand the complexities of the social positions of these participants, and I saw knowledge generated in new ways. For instance, that teachers, when focused on pragmatics, reposition their students is a tremendous finding! We can now better prepare teachers. That solidarity can be used to reposition students into different social roles is a fascinating realization! We can, as educators, seek to build relationships with our students, not treat them as an industrial revolution factory. That sociological semiotic processes are evident in

moment-to-moment interaction is also important! For we can prepare research in schools to look beyond the walls of the classroom before wondering why the test scores are such as they are.

Research is about expanding on theories.

Connection to Primary Research Fields (Theory)

Critiquing Critique. One field of study I had originally brought with me was critical theory. I refer to critical theory to include a broad field ranging from feminist critique, to critical race theory, to critical pedagogy, and so on. These forms of analysis, practice, and praxis are important in understanding the relationships of power and status. I have found, however, that by focusing on critique, I was misinterpreting the data in my study. Reflecting on English hegemony, for example, I immediately set out to see where Chinese (Cantonese, Mandarin, and Toisan) at Warner was marginalized. Indeed, it was! However, with a critical lens I failed to see how teachers were engaging in painstaking practices to allow multiple languages in their classrooms. Were Chinese and English equal in Warner's classrooms? Absolutely not. However, if we looked only at the status and power differential we would miss how some of the teachers were going against the grain to allow students, even to encourage them to speak in a context that is all too restrictive. A critical approach did, of course, play an instrumental role in my identification of many of the hegemonic relationships identified in my first finding about Chinatown.

I point out that there is a problem with critical theory. While it is extremely useful, it does not always allow for the study of the minutia. The small acts of equality are often overlooked for the big acts of domination. Thus I have chosen not to include a focus on critical theory in my dissertation because I recognized that I was looking for the teachers to fail. If the teachers did not meet my expectations of "equality," which in critical theories there will never

be, then they had failed. Students had been marginalized. Thus, I had abandoned critical theory during my research and focused on sociocultural theories to explain the phenomena I was seeing, specifically I looked at the research through a CHAT lens. Still, there is a sense that we need to be critical. I aligned myself with sociocritical theory (Gutiérrez, 2008) because it allowed me the opportunity to still see the world, to the best of my abilities, in the “-emic” sense. I could understand the world from the teachers, rather than essentializing them in a critical-theoretical approach. This is a key formation to my own research and understanding of the phenomena. Understanding power from the critical sense is one thing, but understanding power from the eyes of social actors is another. An example, as I explained in the final findings chapter, in my case study with Allison, is that I initially looked to find her error, her dominance, and how she was a minion of dominant society suppressing ELs. Once I stepped back from critical theory for a moment, I recognized that in her eyes the problem was not power or status, but building a relationship of solidarity. Critical theory is limited in this sense. It privileges the perspective of the critical analyst, even if that analysis is a student or teacher (as in critical pedagogy). Critical theory has its place, but I found myself recognizing too many limits when addressing the present data. Language ideologies, also a field dealing with power, on the other hand, seeks to see through the eyes of language users. It is rooted in linguistic anthropology, and thus to study language ideologies we must step away from our own perspective to get a sense of how others view language.

Language Ideologies. In this study *language ideologies* was not simply a framing mechanism by which to situate my findings; it was a central construct. Previously it was argued that language ideologies are tools through which instruction is mediated (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2011) and that students in classrooms are aware of the multiplicity of language ideologies that

play a role in their education (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012). However, there is little focus on language ideologies in teacher development specifically. That is, unless teachers are exposed to the idea of language ideologies in specialized classes as a part of further professional development, they will continue to draw on multiple language ideologies, unexamined, to mediate instruction. This study suggests that teachers, through studying language, can critique language ideologies and make informed decisions about how language practices play a role in social organization.

In regards to the language ideologies research, much has been written over the past several decades. This particular dissertation contributes to the field in a particularly important way. We already know that language ideologies are involved in every instance of language use (Woolard, 1998). We already know that the way we use language positions social actors into different social identities. Therefore, if teachers engage in studying the pragmatic norms of the classroom, that is if they use discourse analysis or other language study to understand the way language and social relationships are related, they have to draw on different ideologies of language to make sense of the data. By doing this, they have to re-theorize the relationship between the language and social relationships. Through explicit language analysis, by drawing on different language ideologies, they can see different social identities of their students.

More data is needed to see how those new identities are taken up or institutionalized over time. Furthermore, more data is needed to see how the in-the-moment language ideologies are changed after explicit focuses on language like discourse analysis. How do they become normalized? How does a teacher learn to think about language in the moment during classroom instruction? This study suggests this could happen, but further evidence of teachers studying the discursive practices in their classroom should be gathered and analyzed.

Implications

Teaching English Learners. My findings build on a body of research regarding ELs. Often they are marginalized in classrooms and may not have fair access to education, as has been demonstrated in multiple court cases and legislation (González & Melis, 2000; 2001). As our public education system continues to address the issue of teaching ELs, even through the mandate to obtaining ESL credentials, we are left to ask how we may best serve the growing population of young learners. As my findings indicate, students may be repositioned into complex social roles in the classroom. The static identities presumed upon ELs by federal and statewide policies (e.g. even the institutionalization of the “Office of English Language Acquisition”) can be challenged in the classroom. Students can be repositioned from numbers and subgroups to complex community members. The students in this study were positioned into and took up roles in their families and communities that demonstrated complex identities, beyond those assumed upon them by dominant society. Thus, English learning should be looked at in the context of the repositioning of student identity.

Students’ identities, in relation to English, are multi-faceted. Indeed, for many ELs they are assumed to merely be learners of a new language. However, they are much more than that. In a society, which still has major proponents of neoliberalism, embolized in this dissertation by the commoditization of the Chinese identity, ELs are often a mere economic or token commodity. They are not allowed full membership into liberal society. This is most blatantly seen, for example, in the fight for the DREAM Act (S. 1291, 2001) in which children who have immigrated to the United States, though do not have official documentation, may have a fair path to education and citizenship (note that immigration status and EL are not synonymous here). Finally, at least in part, the DREAM act has been institutionalized at statewide levels and

through President Obama's executive powers. As the teachers studied the students through discourse analysis and funds of knowledge activities, they allowed the students to take up social roles not typical of the Chinatown experience, that is not typified by the stereotype of anti-assimilationist, extreme foreigner, non-English speaker. The teachers repositioned students into civil roles of petitioning the government, advocating for smoke free environments, and so forth. In other words, the ELs in these classrooms were repositioned into members of civil society where their voice, albeit their English voice, could be heard.

This implication is that ELs and immigrant children, far from needing remedial education that essentializes their linguistic status, are competent social actors. Thus, major curricula or ESL programs are not the necessary component to education of ELs; rather, students can be positioned as competent members of liberal society. This is an approach to education that redeems the purpose of education as a function of democracy (Dewey, 1916), not as a passing of content. This is also significant because the focus is on learning English as a social practice rather than learning English to learn some content area facts. My findings suggest that teachers of ELs can, and do, reposition ELs into social roles that move beyond simple classifiers like "ELL" and "LEP" which are targeted and otherized by mainstream policy and assessment.

The implication for teaching ELs is that repositioning them in the classroom can allow for greater social engagement. Teachers, however, also need to learn to foster this type of education in their classrooms. Thus, another implication this dissertation focuses on is teacher education generally, and professional development specifically.

Teacher education. The teachers in the university-school partnership were obtaining an ESL endorsement; therefore they were required to take a linguistics course like any other teacher obtaining that certificate in Illinois. These courses on linguistics often focus on structural

components of language, that is phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax. The sub-domains of linguistics are indeed important to teachers of ELs. Understanding the structural differences between languages and the systematicity of the differences may be helpful for teachers to stop from sending language learners to speech-language pathologists or special education experts when the issue is language learning, not motor or cognitive. However structural linguistics does not get into the “meaning” of language. Semantics does consider meaning, but meaning within the text-so to speak as the relationship between words is the unit of analysis. Pragmatics, the next level of linguistics, focuses on language use. It seeks to understand how language relates to the world and society. The teachers in this study focused on pragmatics.

Discourse analysis is a powerful tool that teachers can be used to study to structure of talk, how the classroom is organized socially, as well as relationships of power in the classroom. These pragmatic norms are part of the cultural make-up of classrooms. In essence, as teachers use discourse analysis, they are engaging in a “meta-pragmatic” activity, that is, they are theorizing about language. In the university-school partnership, our teachers pretty much stopped here. They studied the classrooms and found pragmatic norms (as Allison did with IRE/F) and attempted to change them if they thought there was a better way to teach.

The teachers, though undoubtedly aware of multiple language ideologies mediating the social world, did not study them specifically. An implication of this study is that teachers can engage in pragmatic analyses of their classrooms, and could continue to explicitly study the language ideological underpinnings of those pragmatic norms. The teachers are aware of the political debates surrounding language education (e.g. California’s Proposition 227) as well as the even more restrictive landscape of urban public education. However, they can also learn to

critique the language ideologies motivating different types of bilingual education (e.g. transitional, dual language, structured immersion). Furthermore, they critiqued classroom practices, and therefore could learn to critique dominant curriculum and mandated practices on a language ideological level. From understanding the language ideologies behind such curricula, they can also learn to manipulate the curriculum to expand opportunities for learning.

To sum up, teachers are capable of being accepted as professionals and researchers in their own right. They should be taught the full spectrum of how language and culture relate so that they can organize their classrooms and curricula accordingly. A fancy area of research, like “language ideologies,” is not simply the domain of linguistic anthropologists, or the wizards of the ivory towers. It is a practical field by which teachers, especially of ELs, can use to study and organize learning contexts. The implication is that teachers could move beyond pragmatics and study the cultural and political values associated with why language is used and structured the way it is. This is an implication that hinges on the assumption that teachers have agency and power in their own classrooms, which, I realize, in the current political trajectory is ever shrinking. In addition to practical implications of teaching ELs and teaching teachers, there are implications for how we understand learning as well.

Learning Theory CHAT. In my conceptual framework I briefly reviewed *Cultural Historical Activity Theory* (CHAT). This theory was foundation in framing, designing, collecting, and analyzing the data for this study. I turn now to draw out some implications to the theory, as a learning theory, from my findings. As I framed my findings chapters, I consistently discussed the findings as processes. These are dynamic changes that take place over time. They are rooted in cultural practices historically developed throughout time. For example, the social identities into which students are positioned, as described in chapter 4, are seemingly static,

developed over generations. These identities are learned. The “Chinatown” identity is learned because members of the wider North American society are socialized into dividing the world in such a way. Likewise, the identity “student” is also learned as a designator of young people in classrooms because we are socialized into understanding the world in such a way.

In any activity, whether it is the development of Chinatown (over generations) or a meeting with peers about action research (over an hour), semiotic tools are used to mediate the change and learning that takes place. These processes of development are interconnected and, as researchers of learning, we must account for the multiple levels of change that are occurring at once. Theoretically, this point can be understood similar to Lemke’s (2000) timescales. It can also be seen in the expanded activity theories of Engeström (1987). However, for analysis the model seems too static. The moment analysis begins, the activity changes. This is the beauty of CHAT, it is not only a theory, it is not only practice, it is a model of praxis. My findings demonstrate an implication for CHAT theories of learning. Each data point I present occurs within multiple activities. For the sake of analysis we look at one, but in theory all the activities happen at the same time. When I explain, in chapter 5, that a teacher was repositioning students through the use of a funds of knowledge activity, I was analyzing a specific activity, moments long, in a cohort meeting. The change in positioning was mediated by tools we introduced.

For example, I used a transcript to show that the teachers considered social status when talking about students. This was part of conducting a “funds of knowledge” activity, so I studied the portion of discourse bounded by the activity I was analyzing. However, this instance occurred not only on the level of teacher interaction, but also in Chapter 4 when I discussed the changes occurring on a global and national level (as well as the local level), albeit on a different scale. The repositioning of Chinese Americans is related to the repositioning of the Chinese

students in moment-to-moment speech. So, in learning theory, we should always consider how changes in one unit of analysis are used to mediate changes in another unit of analysis. In other words, the changes occurring globally and nationally are implicit in the moment-to-moment interaction and vice-versa. To study change of any type theoretically we should attend to these multiple levels, though analytically we may distinguish them. One of the difficulties in my analysis was to use different examples for points on different levels. Each data point exists within multiple activities. Learning is never isolated. It is taking place on multiple levels.

Therefore, this has implications for professional development as well. I echo the concerns of Engeström (2007) with “community of practice” professional developments, though I see them as a movement in the right direction. They do not attend to these multiple social levels I have extrapolated in this study. The multiple levels and timescales of learning require us to look at professional development historically. Teachers in professional development are up against a historically rooted system, that is, public education. I do not think it is time to abandon that system. I think that teachers, along with university researchers and other stakeholders, can exist in a symbiotic relationship with the system. Communities of practice help to frame teacher development in a sociocultural approach; however, they do not always fight for “love and social justice” (Schubert, 2009) or against systematic marginalization. Thus, I believe that university researchers and teachers can work together to study the different activities that exist in schools and communities and manipulate the activity systems to accomplish multiple goals. In other words, I do not see that there **MUST** be a contrast between American Democracy (national history), equitable learning (over the life span), or improved test scores (in the moment). These all have different objects to which they are oriented, but they can use the same tools. If that is the case, the burden of teachers and researchers, especially those in action research, is to pull

together multiple activity systems to accomplish multiple goals. Therefore, action research is an ideal form of professional development because it focuses on change (and systemic change!), not only on individual or small group development.

Limitations and further research

This study was part of a larger study designed to provide meaningful professional development to teachers through action research. However, even within a large study, such as this, there are limitations.

Possible Limitations. Qualitative research seeks to describe cultural phenomena, which I have attempted to do here. There is always more to know and more to analyze. More time, more experiences, and more data from the classrooms would also serve to enhance my analysis. Having a broader view of classroom practices, out of classroom practices, and out of school practices would give a deeper sense of the students and teachers in this study.

While I show general shifts that occurred throughout the action research, I cannot claim causation. This study was not set up as an experimental design, nor do I think I should. In fact, though the university-school partnership team was working with teachers in schools, I do not think the interactions should be considered an intervention. The process of professional development we undertook was not like an intervention, in the traditional sense. I came into the school to work with the teachers, who were themselves becoming curriculum developers and teacher researchers. My vantage point was much more a participant observer than that of one providing intervention. I didn't come in hoping to find a single answer or arrive at a particular outcome. I would suggest that this study is roughly set up like a design experiment (e.g. Reinking & Bradley, 2008). Indeed, the university-school partnership as a whole is really a designed based research. My study is only part of an iteration of the whole. Claims, therefore,

about student learning, cannot completely be substantiated. Though, overall, there was a fair amount of test data that suggest improvement of students. Based on the SAT10, a nationally normed test for example, Allison's class improved an average of 9 percentiles in math and 11 percentiles in reading. Jan's class improved 13 percentiles in reading, although there was a -3 percentile drop in math. I cannot draw a specific connection between the project and test data, though as can be seen, there were some improvements.

An additional limit to this study was that much of the data is the analysis of the teachers' own research. Thus, the changes in the teachers' practices were identified based on their analysis of classroom data. However, because we were accommodating the busy schedules of the teachers, we did not enforce some of the strict program requirements or timelines. Had I attempted to enforce more strict allegiance to the program standards and time lines, there may have been more strategic collection of data points, but then again, the "sloppiness" of action research is a part of the process the teachers went through, learning to be researchers in their own right.

This study included five teachers in a school with two research assistants. The mere fact of having a research grant operating in the school indeed gave certain privileges and freedoms to the teachers others may not have been afforded. Therefore, this study cannot be generalized to other contexts. It cannot be repeated either. The narrative would not have been the same in the Common Core era, nor would it have worked out quite the same way in the rural context of my childhood. It is situated in a specific time and place. This brings up the bigger question of "scaling-up" (Florio-Ruane & Raphael, 2004). If we take my findings to indicate that action research, in this particular framework, is beneficial for teachers and students, then we should intend to implement this type of research at scale. However, this would require administrative

support, and there simply is no indication that if this had been implemented at a larger scales that it would have been as formational. Additionally, a mandate to do this type of research would, I suspect, be counterproductive. Therefore, at this point, this study is limited in that it cannot address the problem of scaling.

An additional limitation is that the type of action research the teachers performed was quite structured and would be difficult to implement in the restrictive schooling many teachers face. We need to allow teacher researchers to make the research their own and internalize it. Programs like this university-school partnership are able to provide the space for teachers to collaborate on action research, but what happens when the research team is gone? As with any long-term professional development, we always face the question of a good exit strategy. When the PD or the research team leaves, teachers may struggle to find the space to engage in this type of work. Therefore, it is more critical to develop teachers through the ideas of action research rather than a rigid methodology. We gave the teachers a lot of tools and a lot of work for their research. However, at some point we need to evaluate what is actually possible and useful in the ever increasingly restrictive environments.

Further Research. One vein of research that should be addressed is the positioning of ELs in Chinatowns across North America. A wider, sociological analysis of teachers' attitudes towards Chinese ELs might be a useful place to start. This would help to contextualize the current study. There is much written in ethnic studies about Asian Americans and, more specifically, Chinese Americans, but there is also some interesting *silences*. By *silences*, I refer to the overwhelming amount of research on ELs in Latino/a contexts that often seems to silence work on other ELs. Additionally, as explained in my first finding (chapter 4), Chinatowns are a unique, American sociological landscape. There are many layers that play into the ways

students, in schools, are positioned into social identities that are always multifaceted. Thus, understanding a general sociological point of reference would be helpful.

Additionally, more ethnographic understanding of the way Chinatown communities position schools, teachers, and students would be helpful. What are the generational differences? What are the expectations? Further inquiry to the relationship between the teachers, the school, and the community should be explored. Deeper, more ethnographic studies of how teachers, students, administrators, and parents cross the boundaries between schools and homes and communities is needed. I was unable to collect data necessary to address these questions more thoroughly. Li (2006), for instance, studied the border crossing literacy practices of Asian immigrant families and mainstream teachers in school in an affluent suburb of Vancouver. Similarly, my findings are a call for deeper ethnographic research in the relationship between Asian families, both recent immigrant families and those who have lived in urban communities for generations. How are different social positions taken up around education generally and literacy, biliteracy, and bilingual education more specifically?

The way teachers use language ideologies to mediate the social organization of the classroom is evident, but needs further study. How competing language ideologies are used in a classroom is important to understand. Thus, an additional vein of research would look specifically at how action research, specifically with discourse analysis, could provide ways for teachers to deeply investigate language practices AND ideologies. Thus, through reexamination and awareness they could be challenged. I hope that future research will explore how the social identities of students can be reconceptualized when teacher analyze language on the level of language ideologies.

Finally, I would like to study how this research would play out if an entire school or an entire district valued action research as professional development. What would it look like if spaces were made in schools for teachers to engage in this type of work? Surely there are teachers doing this, but what would it look like to have “mycorrhizae” working alongside of the American public school system? What would it look like for the teacher researchers and collaborative researchers to *thrive* off of the entrenched educational system, and reciprocally, for the schools to *thrive* off of the mycorrhizae?

Conclusion

Schools in the United States are growing linguistically and culturally diverse. Yet, policy makers, administrators, scholars, teachers, and other stakeholders are struggling to understand this diversity. Specifically, the enormous growth of students designated as English Language Learners has raised eyebrows to practitioners and policy makers alike. How do we accommodate these students? In this dissertation I have studied a form of action research used by a group of teachers to directly address the education of ELLs. The teachers studied their students and repositioned them into multifaceted social identities, diffusing the dominant sociological identity presumed upon them by the virtue of their neighborhood, Chinatown. The study has implications for teachers, who can utilize cultural analysis and discourse analysis to study students’ practices and reposition them in the classroom. Specifically, I have looked at how teachers can reposition students by studying classroom discourse, thereby drawing on multiple language ideologies. Furthermore, I have found that dominant social identities are taken up and rejected by students in classroom discourse, although that can be remediated by teachers who engage in close analysis of their students. In an age when public education is seeking to

standardize all students, teachers can play a role in allowing EL students to develop and display multifaceted identities and engage in society on a greater scale.

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Appendix A

Page 1 of 2

Approval Notice Continuing Review (Response To Modifications)

June 20, 2013

Aria Razfar, Ph.D.
Curriculum and Instruction
1040 W. Harrison
M/C 147
Chicago, IL 60612
Phone: (312) 413-8373 / Fax: (312) 996-8134

RE: Protocol # 2008-0440
“LSciMAAct Project (Transforming Literacy, Science, and Math Through Participatory Action Research)”

Dear Dr. Razfar:

Please note that this research did not have Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval from midnight June 14, 2013 until June 17, 2013.

Your Continuing Review (Response To Modifications) was reviewed and approved by the Expedited review process on June 17, 2013. You may now continue your research.

Please note the following information about your approved research protocol:

<u>Protocol Approval Period:</u>	June 17, 2013 - June 17, 2014
<u>Approved Subject Enrollment #:</u>	630 (597 subjects enrolled-closed to enrollment)
<u>Additional Determinations for Research Involving Minors:</u> The Board determined that this research satisfies 45CFR46.404', research not involving greater than minimal risk.	
<u>Performance Sites:</u>	UIC
<u>Sponsor:</u>	Department of Education
<u>PAF#:</u>	2007-04345
<u>Grant/Contract No:</u>	Not available
<u>Grant/Contract Title:</u>	Transforming Literacy, Science, and Math Through Participatory Action Research
<u>Research Protocol(s):</u>	
a) Research Protocol: Project LSciMAAct (Transforming Literacy, Science, and Math Through Participatory Action Research); Version 2, 02/06/2013	
b) Transforming Literacy, Science, and Math Through Participatory Action Research, grant (UIC PAF 2007-04345, ED 424), signed 2/23/2007	
<u>Recruitment Material(s):</u>	
a) N/A: Closed to enrollment	
<u>Informed Consent(s):</u>	
a) N/A: Closed to enrollment	

Your research meets the criteria for expedited review as defined in 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1) under the following specific category(ies):

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes., (7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including but not limited to research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Please note the Review History of this submission:

Receipt Date	Submission Type	Review Process	Review Date	Review Action
06/05/2013	Continuing Review	Expedited	06/06/2013	Modifications Required
06/12/2013	Response To Modifications	Expedited	06/17/2013	Approved

Please remember to:

→ Use your **research protocol number** (2008-0440) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

→ Review and comply with all requirements on the OPRS website at,
"UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects"
<http://tiger.uic.edu/depts/ovcr/research/protocolreview/irb/policies/0924.pdf>

Please note that the UIC IRB has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Please be aware that if the scope of work in the grant/project changes, the protocol must be amended and approved by the UIC IRB before the initiation of the change.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact OPRS at (312) 996-1711 or me at (312) 355-0816. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

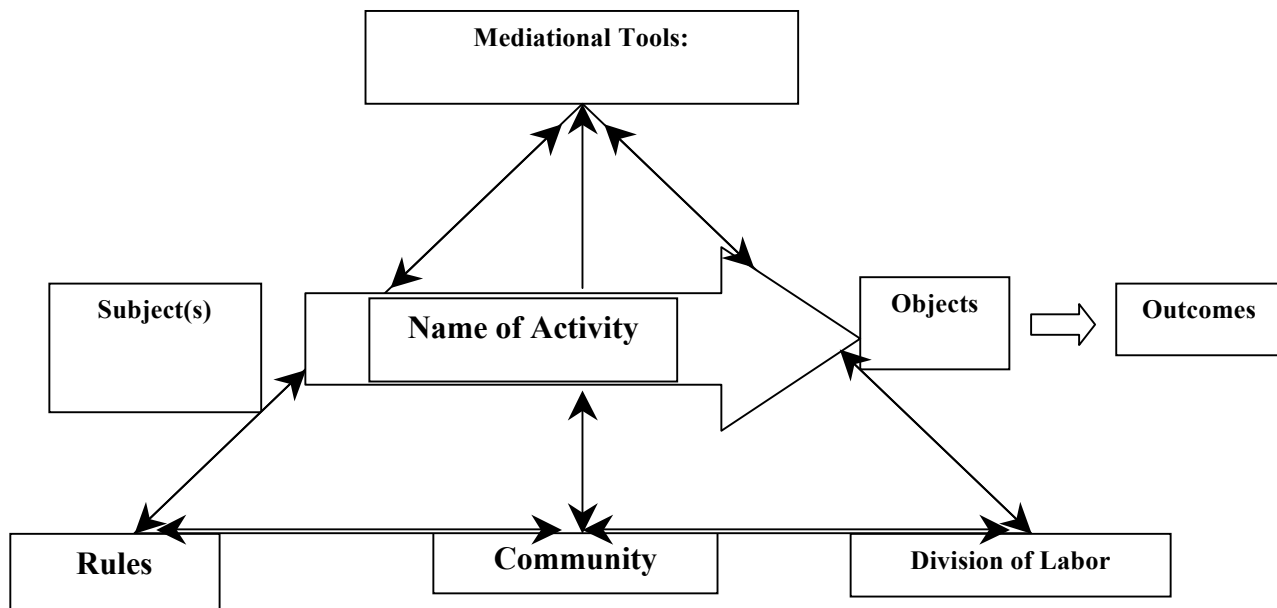
Sincerely,

Alison Santiago, MSW, MJ
 IRB Coordinator, IRB # 2
 Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

cc: Kimberly Lawless, Curriculum and Instruction, M/C 147
 OVCR Administration, M/C 672

Appendix B

Activity Triangle (Engeström, 1999)



Appendix C

Teachers' Coding Sheet.

Time	a. Mediat ional Tools	b. Assist ance	c. Funds of Knowl edge	d. Multipl e Langu aegs/ Disco urses	e1. IRE	e2. Conve rsatio nal	e3. Modali ty	f. Questi ons	g. Tensio n	h. Third Space	i. Partici pation Shifts	j. Role Shift	k. Rule negoti ation
0:00:00													
0:02:00													
0:04:00													
0:06:00													
0:08:00													
0:10:00													
0:12:00													
0:14:00													
0:16:00													
0:18:00													
0:20:00													
0:22:00													
0:24:00													
0:26:00													
0:28:00													
0:30:00													

Appendix D

Protocols for Focus Groups

– Focus Group 1 Questions

1. Language questions:
 - i. How do you define language?
 - ii. How do you define culture?
2. Tell me about your own experiences as a second language learner? Or if you are not a second language learner, how does that impact how you relate to ELL issues? Can you tell me about a time being an ELL impacted learning math or science? How have you used a child's primary language in science or math to make learning more accessible?
3. Could you tell me a memorable math or science experience? (Could be positive or negative) When did you feel an affinity or aversion to math and/or science? (Look out for gender issues, ELL issues, etc.)
4. How would you define scientific language? How can you help students learn the language of science?
5. How would you define mathematical language? How can you help students learn the language of math?
6. What kinds of errors, linguistic or conceptual, have you experienced with your students? How do you deal with it?
7. What is 'standard English'? How important is it to know 'standard English' to do science and math?
8. Do you think it is more or less difficult for dialect-speakers and/or second language learners to learn science and/or math? Explain why or why not.

How do you feel about students speaking in non-standard English or another language during science and/or math class?

How do you feel about students writing in non-standard English or another language in science class?

9. Questions about action research:
 - i. What do you see as key issues or challenges in conducting action research?
 - ii. How do you feel about working in a cohort? What are some of the challenges or strengths?

10. How does discourse analysis impacting how you see yourself?

Give stories and examples of their own practice. Emphasis that at the beginning.

Overall tenor should focus on teachers' identity, talk about their own views and history so that we can get their views on math and science. Get at how much they have experienced these things. For example, when ELLs are trying to make sense of math or science (how do your students or can you give me an example of how you have...)

– Focus Group 2-4 Questions

(To the teachers)

In preparation for the focus group follow up to unit 1, we are asking you to think about how the experience with unit 1 has changed:

- your teaching
- your view of student learning and views of students
- planning
- analytic process (tally sheets, transcripts, reports)

You should be prepared to provide stories and examples of your own practice, particularly drawing on unit 1 experience. Unlike an interview, a focus group is meant to be more interactive and conversational.

(For the interviewers)

Language questions:

How is your thinking of language changing?

How do you see students using language in your classroom?

How have your activities promoted multiple language use?

Teaching questions:

Tell me about the planning process for unit 1?

Tell me about how you learned about your students' funds of knowledge?

How did you draw on students' funds of knowledge while teaching unit 1?

Have your views on teaching math and science changed?

Analysis questions:

Talk about the analytic process for unit 1:

What did you learn by using the tally sheets (excel spreadsheet)?

What did you learn doing the transcription?

How did you use the transcripts in your analysis?

What modifications to the analysis process would you make?

How does discourse analysis impact how you see yourself?

Since you have done unit 1, what do you think about developing curriculum?

integrating science, math, and literacy?

working with English language learners?

Action research questions:

What do you see as key issues or challenges in conducting action research?

What are some of the challenges of implementing the units?

Do you feel these units are bringing about change in the students?

Have you noticed any changes in students (are they excited about the project?)

Do you feel empowered by this type of teaching?

Are students taking ownership?

What have been some of the challenges of trying to bring about change?

Appendix E

Video: Meeting 11/8/10

Data:

Participants: Leah, Bianca, RA, Joe, Lee, Jan, Allison, Mentor

Time: 47:25, 12:05

Summary: In the two videos Mentor is there to mentor the other teachers. She made herself available to talk about the field notes and how to manage all of the work. The other teachers had the chance to ask questions. In these videos there is not much about the ELLs students or language, however there are some interesting points about students with special ed, Asberger's, and behavior problems. The teachers talk about the difficulty of keeping up with everything.

Time	Title (clips of note)	Observation	Interpretive notes	developing codes/themes
36:00		Mentor tells about an example of a rule, that one student shouldn't speak spanish. RA says rules Mentor didn't set, but saw, so go back and reassess the triangle. Joe said triangle is to study something. Explains how it can be used to plan, but know it is going to change.	Mentor gives some examples to illustrate rules she found in her classroom like if spanish speakers didn't mix with English speakers.	LI: Rules-a student not to speak Spanish My positioning (different than teachers)
38:00	"Off the chain"	RA asks how vocal students worked out. Jan giggles. Allison says they were quiet. Joe says they asked why they were videotaping. RA says bring in more microphones. Jan said she will show it to the parents if they don't behave. RA tells her that's why they don't act normal.	Jan tells about the one student Billy who kept banging on the table by the mic. Mentor said they will forget it will be there. Joe talks about why the kids are nervous.	Students-quiet Student-off the chain was in bilingual nervous
40:00		Jan tells about a student who was messing up the video. Jan talks about that student. Tells story of when she disciplined him. Told him to sit out for 5 minutes.	Jan says that a student is like this all the time. She said the mother said he is always like that. She said that her focal students struggle a lot.	student-disruptive, can't help it, struggle a lot (ELL) ESL, sent him back to the first grade. Narrative-discipline.

Time	Title (clips of note)	Observation	Interpretive notes	developing codes/themes
42:00		RA talks about inventory table. Science and math domains that match the lessons. Leah says trying to get everything done is difficult.		difficulties getting things done.
44:00		Allison asks if they have to do more because of the PD on Friday. Mentor asks if they push testing. Leah says it is data driven. Leah asks what's the point, they need the teaching to go along with the data.	Jan and Allison complain that they will need to do more because of the PD on Friday, we tell them it is not us, that is a school thing, but they will be doing it for us anyway.	school culture (data driven)
46:00		Leah talks about how busy she is. Mentor said she was taking two classes too, and they never felt they could do as much as they should. You don't have a life for two years. RA asks if it gets better in the later units, Mentor says sort of.		difficulties, too much to do

Appendix F

Initial Coding Themes

RQ 1: How do teachers talk about...			RQ 2: How do teachers rationalize...	
1.1 Curriculum/learning	1.2 Language use	1.3 Student identities	2.1 Language/language structure	
PSCCHAOS	PSLCODES	PSSTBEH	LIEXP	LITCT
PSCORG	PSLCHNSC	PSSTACD		
PSCSCRIPT	PSLCHNHO	PSSTLNG	2.2 Language policy	
PSCRLVNT	PSLSLIKE	PSSTFCO	LIPOLIST	LIPOLTCH
PSCEXCITE	PSCMFRT	PSSTRCE		
		PSSTCLT	2.3 Language use (practice)	
		PSSTGND	LILU	
			2.4 Language learning	
			LILRNACQ	LILRNSOC
			LILRNDIS	
<p>Rationale: I think that each of these will be different chapters. I want to code my data to find moments of interaction in which teachers talk about these three constructs. Then I will do a closer analysis of interaction on exemplars.</p>			<p>Rationale: I am not sure if this will be one chapter or if I will have multiple chapters. I want to find the instances where teachers' language ideologies emerge.</p>	
<p>Data: I will code teacher meetings and focus groups as well as fieldnotes and artifacts. However, I think the bulk of the codes will occur in teacher meetings and teacher artifacts.</p>			<p>Data: I will code teacher meetings and focus groups as well as fieldnotes and artifacts. However, I think the bulk of the codes will occur in focus groups, when asked about language.</p>	

List of code names:

PSCCHAOS-Curriculum as Chaos
PSCORG-Organizing the curriculum

PSCORGph-Organizing the physical classroom space
PSCSCRIPT-Scripted curriculum
PSCRLVNT-Relevant curriculum
PSCEXITE-Exciting curriculum
PSLCODES-Language as code
PSLCHNSC-Chinese in school
PSLCHNHO-Chinese at home
PSLSLIKE-Students use a language because they like it
PSLCMFRT-Students use a language because they are comfortable with it
PSSTBEH-Students' behavior
PSSTACD-Students' academics
PSSTLNG-Students' language practices
PSSTLNGB-Language practices as bilingual
PSSTLNGF-Language practices because of families
PSSTLNGP-Language Practices because of proficiency
PSSTFCO-Students' Families and Communities
PSSTRCE-Students' race and ethnicity
PSSTCLT-Students' culture
PSSTGND-Students' gender
LIEXP-Explicitly stated language ideologies
LITCT-Tacitly demonstrated language ideologies
LIPOLIST-Institutional language policies
LIPOLTCH- Teacher language policies
LILU-Different language practices
LILRNACQ-Language acquisition
LILRNSOC-Language socialization
LILRNDIS-Discourse learning

Appendix G

Final Coding Scheme

1. Positioning of students “SI”
These are the ways teachers talked about or otherwise positioned their students”
 - 1.1. SI-learner identity “SILRN”
 - 1.1.1.SILRN-expert “SILRNEXP”
 - 1.1.2.SILRN-take ownership “SILRNTO”
 - 1.1.3.SILRN-Change in teacher-student relationship “SILITSR”
 - 1.1.4.SILRN-excited “SILRNEX”
 - 1.1.5.SILRN-topic/curriculum is relevant “SILRNRLVNT”
 - 1.1.6.SILRN-organized in classroom
 - 1.2. SI-Behaviors “SIBEH”
 - 1.2.1.SIBEH-bad behavior “SIBEBAD”
 - 1.2.2.SIBEH-leader “SIBEHLEAD”
 - 1.2.3.SIBEH-shy/quite “SIBESHY”
 - 1.3. SI-socioeconomics “SISES”
 - 1.4. SI-race/ethnicity “SIRACE”
 - 1.5. SI-gender “SIGEN”
 - 1.6. SI-language use “SILNG”
 - 1.6.1.SILNG-bilingual “SILNGBI”
 - 1.6.2.SILNG-family language “SILNGFAM”
 - 1.6.3.SILNG-Proficiency “SILNGPRO”
 - 1.6.4.SILNG-code switching “SILNGCS”
 - 1.6.5.SILNG- Chinese used in school “SILNGSCHL”
 - 1.6.6.SILNG-Increase/change in discourse “SILNGDIS”
 - 1.7. SI-members of families and communities “SIFAMCO”
 - 1.8. SI-schooling “SISCHL”
 - 1.8.1.SISCHL-high “SISCHLHI”
 - 1.8.2.SISCHL-low “SISCHLLO”
 - 1.8.3.SISCHL-learning disability “SISCHLLD”
2. Funds of Knowledge “FOK”
A code for all the mentions of “funds of knowledge,” “FOK,” or “Funds”
 - 2.1. FOK-home visits “FOKHOME”
3. Language Ideologies “LI”
Coding for rationalizations or beliefs about language
 - 3.1. LI-academic discourse “LIACD”
 - 3.2. LI-age or grade “LIAGE”
 - 3.3. LI-Explicit rationalization “LIRAT”
 - 3.4. LI-Defining linguistic concepts “LIDEF”

Appendix H

Transcription Conventions

underlined-analytic tool I use to point something out

:-vowel elongation

. ..-micro-pause

(0.5)- timed pause in seconds

↓-intonation rises

↑-intonation falls

>><< - faster speech

<<>> - slower speech

°..° -decrease in volume or whisper

CAPS-louder speech/ stressed

/-cut off or self repair

- -cut off by another participant

[]- overlapping speech

Appendix I

Survey from Allison's class

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Please take some time to fill out this questionnaire. As his/her teacher this year, I would love to find out more about them in order to assist their learning.
作为孩子/孩子们的老师, 这一年里, 我想了解更多, 以便帮助他们, 请花一些时间填写这份问卷。

Child's Name 孩子的姓名 Sam Age 年龄 12

1. What is your child interested in? 孩子对什么感兴趣?
Soccer

2. What do you believe makes a good teacher? 你认为什么样的老师好?
Teach him everything he need to know

3. What are your child's special talents or hobbies? What is your special talent or hobby?
孩子有什么特殊才能或爱好? 你有什么特殊才能或爱好?
Child's special talents is make us laugh and joke, My talents is to be nice and talk.
Take care of his brother

4. What chores does your child have at home? 你的孩子在做什么家务?
Take care of his brother

5. What does your family do for fun? 你们家做些什么事情娱乐?
Joise and play around

6. Who makes care of your child before and after school? 谁负责照顾孩子?
Grandparents

7. What holidays do you celebrate in your home? 你们家庆祝哪些节日?
New Year, Christmas, Thanksgiving and Halloween

Language spoken at home English and Chinese

8. What community-based activities do you participate in? 你/你们参加哪些社区/课外活动?
No activities participate

9. What languages are spoken in your home and community? 您/家庭和社区讲哪些语言?
Chinese

10. What resources are available in your community? (eg. Church? Chinese School? Library?)
有哪些资源可用在社区? (如教会? 中文学校? 图书馆?)
Library

11. Is there anything else that you would like me to know about your child? Is there anything that you expect from me as your child's teacher? 还有什么关于孩子/孩子/有什么想告诉我的? 作为孩子/老师的期望?
He is sometimes wild but are nice and polite to guest

12. Would you be available to do one of the following for your child's class? Please check one.
你愿意为孩子/孩子们的班级做什么?
☐ Translate 翻译
☐ Read a story to the class 给孩子讲故事
☐ Grade papers 批改作业
☐ Share your culture 分享你的文化
☒ Chaperone fieldtrips 陪同旅行
☐ Other? 其它 _____

Please specify a convenient date and time for me to visit your home. 请提供一个方便的时间和日期, 我去拜访您。
7:00 or 8:00 November 25, 2010

Thank you for your time and I look forward to partnering with you as we work together to make this a successful year for your child!
感谢您的时间, 我很愿意与您合作, 我们一起努力, 为孩子/孩子们创造一个成功的一年!.

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE 家長問卷

Please take some time to fill out this questionnaire. As his/her teacher this year, I would love to find out more about them in order to assist their learning.

作為你孩子的老師，這一年來，我很想了解一下他/她，以便能更好地幫助他/她學習。

Child's Name 孩子姓名 陳卓軒 年齡 12

1. What is your child interested in? 你的孩子對什麼感興趣?

玩電腦, 打球

Computer, basketball

2. What do you believe makes a good teacher? 你认为一个好老师应该有什么特点?

要嚴格對學生, 要安排多一点功课给他们做.

Be more strict to the students. Assign more homework for practice.

3. What are your child's special talents or hobbies? What is your special talent or hobby? 你的孩子有什么特别的才能或爱好? 你有什么特别的才能或爱好?

看书, 电脑

游泳

Reading, Computer

Swimming

4. What chores does your child have at home? 你的孩子在做什么家务?

扫地, 洗衣服

Sweeping, laundry

5. What does your family do for fun? 你们一家人喜欢做些什么事情来娱乐?

出去打羽毛球, 去公园玩.

Badminton, Park

6. Who takes care of your child before and after school? 谁负责照顾你孩子上下学的时间?

爸爸, 妈妈, 姐姐

Father, mother, Older sister

7. What holidays do you celebrate in your home? 你家喜欢过什么节日?

中国新年, 八月十五.

Chinese New Year, Mid-Autumn festival

anti-based activities do you participate in? 你参与什么社区或课外活动?

教会

Church

What languages are spoken in your home and community? 你们家和社区使用什么语言?

广东话

Cantonese

10. What resources are available in your community? (e.g. Church? Chinese School? Library?) 有哪些资源可用在社区? (如教会? 中文学校? 图书馆?)

教会

Church

11. Is there anything else that you would like me to know about your child? Is there anything that you expect from me as your child's teacher? 还有什么关于你孩子的信息你想让我知道? 作为你孩子的老师, 你有什么期望?

我想, 只要他在学习上进步的时候, 听老师的话, 不要做功课的时候偷懒.

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Appendix J

11/08/10 transcript used by Kim for analysis.

(Time Frame: 17:55-20:05)

001: G1: [Chinese], electricity, we don't use power, don't really that much (2 sec)
002: B: power and you can do the same
003: G2: How are, what are:: some:-
004: G1: (interrupts) [Chinese] computer
005: G2: [inaudible] for example you could state to support your reason and
006: [inaudible][Chinese]
007: G1: [Chinese] the internet..to do our schoolwork [Chinese] (2 sec)
008: B: [Chinese]
009: G2: [Chinese]
010: G1: use English (3 secs)
011: B: (turns away) [inaudible] (mumbles something)
012: G1: (looking at G2) you put the internet (G2 nods head) (G1 writes, no one speaks for
013: 20 secs)
014: B: lights
015: G2: (looking at paper) to help us
016: G1: [Chinese (I think)]
017: G2: What's number 3? This
018: G1: mmm:: 'Cuz the power [Chinese]-
019: B: computer
020: G1: Computer is the internet::t...DOCUMENTS, documents
021: B: that's internet
022: G1: Typing:, printing,
023: G2: Microsoft Word-
024: G1: three uh-
025: B: [inaudible]
026: G2: [Chinese]
027: G1: five pictures (3 secs)
028: G2: What do we need right now, do we need uh internet, document, or:: something
029: else?
030: G1: I think we need to do something else (3 secs)
031: G2: Where are you on?
032: B and G1: reason three

VITA

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EDUCATION

- | | |
|------|--|
| 2008 | Bachelors of Arts, Moody Bible Institute, Highest Honors, Applied Linguistics, Chicago, Illinois |
| 2012 | Master of Arts in Biblical Studies, Moody Theological Seminary, Cum Laude, Chicago, Illinois |
| 2013 | PhD, University of Illinois at Chicago, Literacy, Language, and Culture, Chicago, Illinois, Doctoral Advisor: Aria Razfar, PhD
Dissertation: <i>RE-positioning English Learners in Teacher Development: A Language Ideologies Approach to Urban Education</i> |

RESEARCH: Publications, Activities, Grants, Positions

My research builds upon sociocultural theories of learning to study the language practices of students, teachers, and administrators as well as the cultural implications and learning implications for these practices. My priority is to continue my research line integrating four areas central to the understanding of the development and learning across the life span:

- 1) Language Attitudes and Ideologies
- 2) Second Language Learning
- 3) Child Development in Urban Education
- 4) Measurement and Assessment

Publications

Books

Razfar, A. & Rumenapp, J.C. (2013). *Applying Linguistics in the Classroom: A Sociocultural Approach*. Routledge, ISBN: 978-0415633154.

Refereed Articles

Razfar, A. & Rumenapp, J.C. (2011). Developmental Context(s): Mediating Learning through Language Ideologies. *Human Development*, 54(4), 241-269.

Razfar, A. & Rumenapp, J.C. (2012). Language Ideologies in English Learner Classrooms: Critical Reflections and the Role of Explicit Awareness. *Language Awareness*, 21(4), 347-368.

Manuscripts in Progress

Razfar, A. & Rumenapp, J.C.: Developing A Dual Approach to African American Vernacular English: The Language Ideological Voices of Urban Principals (Article)

Research Activities

Professional Meetings: National/International (Refereed)

Razfar, A. & Rumenapp, J.C. (March, 2011). *Developing a dual approach to African American Vernacular English*. American Association for Applied Linguistics, Chicago, Illinois.

Razfar, A. & Rumenapp, J.C. (May, 2011). *Administrating Language Varieties: The construction of language attitudes among urban school administrators*. Comparative and International Education Society, Montreal, Quebec.

Rumenapp, J.C. (April, 2012). *Global positioning: Language ideologies and positioning in a classroom with Chinese-American English Learners*. American Education Research Association, Vancouver, British Colombia.

Troiano, B.L., Rumenapp, J.C., Allebach, B., Degand, L., Razfar, A., & Akhavan, N. (November, 2012). Round Table: *Improving teacher quality: Professional development and teacher efficacy*. National Council of Teachers of English, Las Vegas, Nevada.

Troiano, B.L., Rumenapp, J.C., Degand, L., Militante, K., & Valesquez, R. (February, 2013). *Action research as professional development in English learner education*. Illinois Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages-Bilingual Education (ITBE), Lisle, Illinois.

Rumenapp, J.C. (February, 2013). *How do teachers (re)position student identities through teacher action research?* Chicago Curriculum Studies Student Symposium, Chicago, Illinois.

Razfar A. & Rumenapp J.C., (March, 2013). *More than ESL: Educational linguistics for all*. American Association for Applied Linguistics, Dallas, Texas.

Razfar A. & Rumenapp, J.C. (April, 2013). Poster: *Urban principals and “African American English”: Grappling with pedagogy, people, and poverty*. American Education Research Association, San Francisco, California.

Razfar, A., Troiano, B.L., Nasir, A., & Rumenapp, J.C. (April, 2013). Roundtable: *English learning through scientific funds of knowledge and third space: Teachers and “at risk”*

students taking risks. American Education Research Association, San Francisco, California.

Troiano, B.L., Nasir, A., Rumenapp, J.C., Razfar, A., & Rios-Aguilar, C., (April, 2013). Round Table: *Transformative Funds of Knowledge and Third Spaces: A Sociocultural Approach to Curriculum Design with Language Learners in High Poverty Schools.* American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, California.

Presentations: (Invited)

Rumenapp, J.C. (November, 2011). *Talking Race: Sociolinguistic implications of African American English.* Moody Bible Institute: Linguistics Department, Chicago, Illinois.

Rumenapp, J.C. (March, 2013). *Considerations for Diverse Learners: The Impact of Language Diversity in Diagnostic Assessment,* Project READi Teacher Network, Learning Sciences Research Institute, UIC, Chicago, Illinois.

Research Grants and Awards

Grant for Dissemination of Findings: *University of Illinois at Chicago: Curriculum and Instruction Department Student Presenter Award* (\$1,000) 2011-2012.

Grant for Dissemination of Findings: *University of Illinois at Chicago: Graduate Student Presenter Travel Award* (\$300) 2011-2012.

Grant for Dissemination of Findings: *University of Illinois at Chicago: Graduate Student Council Presenter Award* (\$275) 2013.

Research Positions

2012-Present University of Illinois at Chicago, Project Coordinator: *English Learning through Math Science and Action Research* (ELMSA). Grant funded by the Department of Education (\$1,970,000). Principal Investigator: Aria Razfar, PhD.

2010-Present University of Illinois at Chicago, Research Assistant: *Transforming Literacy, Math, and Science Education through Participatory Action Research.* (LSciMAAct). Grant funded by the Department of Education. Principal Investigator: Aria Razfar, PhD.

2010-Present University of Illinois at Chicago, Research Assistant: *Language Attitudes in Urban Education* (LAUE). Principal Investigator: Aria Razfar, PhD.

2011 Moody Bible Institute, Intern. Data analysis of “push and pull” factors of male youth toward secondary education in informal settlements in Nairobi, Kenya. Supervisor: Andy Pflederer, PhD.

Research Technology Expertise:

- Nvivo9 (Qualitative data analysis)
- SPSS (Statistical analysis)
- Winsteps (Rasch measurement)
- FACETS (Multifaceted Rasch analysis)

ADDITIONAL EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

- 2013 Educational Research Methodology Certificate, University of Illinois at Chicago, ANOVA, regression, Rasch Measurement, Program Evaluation, *Assessment*, Chicago, Illinois
- 2012 Exchange Scholar, University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology, Chicago, Illinois
- 2008 Business Certificate, Schoolcraft College, Livonia, Michigan
- 2007 Internship, SIL East Asia Group, Kunming, China

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

My teaching experiences include elementary one-on-one and small group instruction in reading and ESL; youth reading, math, and science tutoring; Adult and Youth ESL; and university level teacher education courses. This array of educational and instructional experience has also informed my research topics and goals.

University teaching experience

*I have held positions with both collaborative and individual responsibilities in the following courses (individual responsibilities indicated by *):*

- 2010-2013 * “Linguistics for Teachers.” A graduate level course for pre-service and in-service teachers in ESL endorsement tracts.
- 2010 “Bilingualism and Cross-cultural Issues in a Diverse Society.” An undergraduate course for pre-service teachers.
- 2012 “Language Ideologies in Urban Education.” A seminar course on research in Language Ideologies.
- 2012 “Action Research and English Learners.” A course for in-service teachers.

Elementary instructional experience

Experience in classroom instruction in transitional bilingual contexts in urban elementary schools.

- 2008-2010 “Graduate literacy coordinator” and “Classroom reading tutor.” *America Reads Challenge: University of Illinois at Chicago*. 1st and 3rd grade transitional bilingual classrooms in Perez Elementary and Cooper Elementary, Chicago, Illinois.
- 2009 “Reading Club Instructor” Elementary After-School Reading Club. Pui Tak Christian School, Chicago, Illinois.

Out-of-school educational contexts

Experience in non-traditional settings.

- 2008-Present After School Tutor and Mentor. Project Education Plus. Chicago, Illinois.
- 2006-2008 Adult and Youth ESL Tutor. World Relief Refugee Resettlement Agency. Chicago, Illinois.
- 2005-2006 Adult ESL and Citizenship Tutor. South Asian Friendship Center, Chicago. Illinois.
- 2005-2008 Children and Youth Sunday School Teacher. Roger’s Park Community Church. Chicago, Illinois.
- 2004-2005 After School Elementary Tutor. Breakthrough Urban Ministry. Chicago, Illinois.

INSTRUCTIONAL EXPERTISE:

- 2011-2012 Assessment Consulting/Evaluation: Moody Theological Seminary: Field Education. Chicago, Illinois.
- Nov. 2011 Workshop: *Teacher Action Research: Using Video and Coding to Study your Teaching*. Haines Elementary School, Chicago, Illinois.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Educational Research Association
 American Association for Applied Linguistics
 National Council of Teachers of English
 Illinois Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

SERVICE:

- 2013 Reviewer: Division K, American Educational Research Association.
- 2013 Graduate Service: American Association for Applied Linguistics. Annual Conference, Dallas, TX.
- 2012 Advisory Board Member: Project Education Plus. Chicago, Illinois.
- 2011-2012 Mentor doctoral students
- 2004-2008 Community and Student Outreach. Frontlines Homeless Outreach. Chicago, Illinois.