Second grade ELL's emic perspective of an afterschool reading program: an interactional ethnographic study of reading opportunities and social construction of second grade ELL's read alouds

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SECOND GRADE ELL’s EMIC PERSPECTIVE OF AN AFTERSCHOOL READING PROGRAM: AN INTERACTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF READING OPPORTUNITIES AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SECOND GRADE ELL’S READ ALOUDS

BY
SUSANA S. SALDIVAR

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY OF THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
IN CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

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Second Grade ELL’s Emic Perspective of an Afterschool Reading Program: An Interactional Ethnographic Study of Reading Opportunities and Social Construction of Second Grade ELL’s Read Alouds

by
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Dissertation
Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the
College of Education of The University of Texas at Brownsville
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Doctor of Education in Curriculum and Instruction

The University of Texas at Brownsville
May, 2012
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2012
DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother and father, Gloria and Alfredo Sauceda. Thank you for demonstrating for me how to be life-long a learner, how to seize opportunities, and how to be grateful. I devote this work to my grandmother, Lola, for all the sacrifices she has made to put her family first. I offer this piece to my four sisters, Yolanda (Nena), Rosie, Eva, and Ana who have shown strength and grace in life’s challenges. I also dedicate this dissertation to my husband, Omar. I love you.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I want to thank those who have been present for me while I journeyed toward earning my doctorate. Above all, I want to give honor and glory to God, who straightened the path for me, placed the right guides along the way, and gave me knowledge, wisdom, and strength to persevere.

I would like to acknowledge members of Cohort One for being my companions along the way. To those who decided to take a different excursion, I wish them well. To those who finished the trip earlier than me, know that you inspired me to finish. To those who will complete the ride with me, I know you simply took different routes to the same destination. I especially want to thank Angela and Miriam for sharing this travel with me with words of encouragement, sincerity, and humor.

I wish to show my gratitude to my Dissertation Committee for steering me toward my goal. Thank you for your honest feedback, your patience, and your confidence in me. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Bobbette M. Morgan for always listening to her students’ concerns, to Dr. Ana Laura Rodriguez-Garcia for her gentle insistence that I let others know that my research matters, and to Dr. Renee Rubin for her expertise in the field of reading and remaining a member of my dissertation committee even after retirement. I am most especially indebted to Dr. Audra Skukauskaite for her unquestionable commitment to helping her students carry out and report empirical research of superior quality.

I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge all the school children that I have had the great pleasure of teaching all these years. I thank you for humbling, teaching, and inspiring me to take this voyage to be a student of children’s learning. Without you, this dissertation would not have been possible.
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to uncover what counts as reading to second grade ELLs (English Language Learners) in a non-graded, afterschool reading program. I used an interactional ethnographic epistemological research approach. I video-and audio-taped twenty-four afterschool reading lessons, took fieldnotes, conducted semi-structured interviews, and collected artifacts. The thirteen participants were ELLs, from low socioeconomic backgrounds, and of Mexican-American descent. First, I identified children’s opportunities on an event map. Next, I analyzed moment-by-moment discourse analysis of read alouds from the beginning and end of the program. Finally, I made visible what counted as reading from participants’ discourse through domain analyses and taxonomy. Findings of the study demonstrate three key signals of what counts as reading to the children: sharing knowledge, responding to texts, and recognizing norms and expectations of the classroom. To students, reading is done collectively, texts are used to do something, and reading is for making personal meaning beyond literal interpretations. Students use classroom’s reading contexts as opportunities for student agency, for constructing and reconstructing cultural and reading norms and expectations, and for understanding and doing reading creatively in ways that extend beyond those beyond predetermined by the teacher or influenced by policies and contexts outside the classroom. Informed by the research findings, curriculum administrators, teachers, and students are encouraged to plan, implement, and take up opportunities to promote opportunities for socially constructing reading.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The nation’s English language learner (ELL) population continues to grow. By the year 2020, it is estimated that half of the children enrolled in schools will be Hispanic (Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2005). When ELLs enroll in school, they typically know a language other than English, but are expected to perform as well as native English speakers in school. In the majority of schools, ELLs are taught in English-only classrooms by teachers who do not speak the dominant ELL language, Spanish (Gandara, 2010). Nonetheless, ELLs have to perform as well as native English speakers on standardized reading tests.

Reading is a complex, dynamic process, and measuring reading is challenging (Leppanen, Niemi, & Jari-Erik Nurmi, 2004). State reading standards are used to write local curriculum and state assessments for all children (e.g., ELL, special education, gifted and talented, or regular) according to the Texas Education Agency (TEA, 2010). Reading proficiency is measured with state reading assessments of discrete reading skills (Smagorinsky, 2009). Results on high-stakes state reading tests consistently show ELLs to be reading below grade level. Scores have not risen for ELLs despite their being tested more often than native English speakers (Duran, 2010; Menken, 2009). Scholars have argued that ELL student performance on tests tend to be low because state assessments measure reading standards written in a second language that may be linguistically and culturally foreign to ELLs (Black & Valenzuela, 2004; Kozol, 2005; Solarziano, 2008).

Since the 1960s-1970s, scholars have advocated examining how children learn and including children’s views and knowledge in reading activities (Goodman, 1994; Rosenblatt, 1994) and in classrooms generally (Barnes, 2008; Cazden, 1992; Owocki,
Researchers have stated that in the last few decades reading in the classroom has become reading for assessment, not reading for thinking critically, analytically, or purposefully (Berliner & Nichols, 2007; Moss, Pullin, Gee, Haertel, & Young, 2008; Watanabe, 2007). State reading assessments based on state reading standards have made students’ everyday reading experiences more test-oriented (Menken, 2006; Phelps, 2011). Children see reading as a test to pass, words to decode with accuracy and speed, and a subject to remember the teacher’s meaning (Huhta, Kalaja, & Pitkanen-Huhta, 2006). Reading for ELLs is generally viewed by teachers as knowing letters, sounds, words, and partially understanding English (Black & Valenzuela, 2004; Solarzanno, 2008). ELLs’ home languages are not used in reading classrooms due to schools’ efforts to have ELLs learn English as quickly as possible (Cummins, 1981). Students and teachers see ELLs’ linguistic knowledge, culture, and home experiences as less valuable and powerful than English (Barton, 2007; Cummins, 1981; Gee, 2008; Pacheco, 2010).

In contrast to the commonly held views of reading as skill development for test performance, socio-cultural scholars study how children and teachers, through their everyday interaction in classrooms, construct ways of reading (Bloome & Bailey, 1992; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992), gain disciplinary knowledge (Castanheira, Crawford, Dixon, & Green, 2000; Castanheira, Green, Dixon, & Yeager, 2007; Kalman, 2008), and construct student social and academic identities (Christian & Bloome, 2004; Rex, 2001). These scholars emphasize that children construct reading in a collective classroom culture, rather than individually making meaning from words they decode.
In my experience, I have observed that standardized testing in schools has influenced reading in many detrimental ways. I have seen reading become about passing tests that measure finite reading skills, rather than measuring how much students understand reading, how students read, and what reading processes children undertake. I have prepared children for taking standardized tests that measure whether students meet minimum standard reading curriculum goals at each grade level. I have also observed that meeting expectations on standardized reading tests may mean that students are not showing how well they read, but how well they can answer enough multiple-choice questions correctly to pass the reading test.

As a classroom teacher, I have seen that children have little time to interact with text uniquely and personally. Instead, standardized reading tests have made reading class a test preparation class. Children’s interactions with text are directed by the teacher. They learn to read and understand text by following the teacher’s test-taking strategies. I have seen that students perceive reading as a set of structured skills that are directly tied to mandatory reading assessments. I have walked into classrooms during reading time where students read from their basal readers, and answer questions formatted like the questions on standardized tests. Students are also assigned additional practice test passages during the reading hour and for homework so they can practice answering test items.

I have observed that students begin test-taking practice at an early age. Students in the primary grades practice discrete reading skills, such as deleting consonant sounds, identifying medial sounds, identifying words on a list, and spelling. When students begin to decode, they are timed on how quickly they can read stories. Then they answer
questions about the story’s details, vocabulary, and events. When children are in the third grade, and are formally tested with reading standardized tests that count for state accountability purposes, test preparation time takes priority, and other subject areas are set aside until after the state assessments.

Students have had to pass standardized reading tests for over twenty years. But, it has been my, as well as other scholars’ observation that students’ reading has not improved (Berliner & Nichols, 2007). This observation is especially true for ELL readers with whom I work on a daily basis. ELLs must pass standardized reading tests as well as native English speakers, still learning a second language. I have experienced that test preparation leaves little time for second language acquisition lessons. Reading for test preparation purposes also does not allow time for students to experience culturally relevant literature through second language learning techniques or to consider the students’ home language, SES, or cultural backgrounds. Additionally, although ELLs are tested with standardized tests more often than native English speakers (eg., The Texas English Language Proficiency Assessment System, or TELPAS and Woodcock-Muñoz tests), reading test results show they are not capable of scoring as well as their native English speaker peers.

Working daily with ELLs as a bilingual teacher and reading specialist has shown me that ELLs’ reading potential is not being measured accurately by standardized reading tests. I have observed ELLs processing reading to higher degrees than the tasks set by the state reading standards. Yet, the scores on reading tests reflect that ELLs are at-risk of reading failure. My teacher observations of ELLs’ reading capabilities and the low reading test results have compelled me to investigate what children view as reading,
when what they experience is mainly reading test preparation. I want to know their perspective of reading, given alternative reading experiences. I want to know more about the reading processes I see in my daily work with ELLs, processes which are not evident in standardized reading test scores.

Building on arguments of researchers who have made visible how children socially construct reading and disciplinary knowledge, I seek to examine how children view and do reading, when provided opportunities for socially interacting around texts. I aim to answer the overarching research question: What counts as reading to second grade ELL students? I will answer the main question by investigating the following sub-questions: What are the opportunities for constructing reading? And, how is reading socially constructed by second grade ELL students?

My Background in Teaching and Learning about Reading

Because I am a teacher, classroom experiences and reading theories learned in graduate school have shaped my understanding of reading construction. My teacher preparation coursework in the 1980s and subsequent early years of teaching were based on a dominant word-recognition model of reading. Since then, I have shifted away from a word-recognition view to other reading perspectives. When I started teaching, I taught multiple reading groups in English and Spanish using a skills-based basal reading program. Later, I shifted to a whole language reading approach when I taught a multigrade, multilingual recent immigrant classroom of children who spoke Spanish or Mandarin. I taught reading by using children’s literature as the main text, tying content-area and language arts concepts around a big category (i.e., school, family, food, etc.) to children of different ages, abilities, and backgrounds. My experiences teaching ELLs
reading in the recent immigrant classroom helped me teach reading when I returned to teaching bilingual students who had to prepare for state reading assessments. There I continued to integrate other subject areas and to augment the basal reader with authentic children’s literature.

As a graduate student studying for my master’s degree in reading, I learned new ways of looking at reading and integrated them into my classroom teaching. I learned about intertextuality, reading response journals, children’s literature, reading difficulties, reading for meaning rather than reading as decoding, and miscue analysis for seeing glimpses of students’ reading/thought processes. I used think-alouds (teacher and student think-alouds) when teaching fifth grade bilingual students reading and math. During social studies, science, math, and reading lessons, I taught them to read informational texts and to talk (in English and/or Spanish) to one another about the meaning they were making. I also incorporated writing during reading, math, science, and social studies time so they could write their thinking on paper. I observed that bilingual children came to reading and the content areas with content area and linguistic knowledge that served their own learning and those of their peers.

As a reading specialist of ten years, I have found my understanding of reading construction continues to be shaped by the children’s interactions around texts. I am charged with qualifying children to the dyslexia program using assessments for measuring only basic, discrete reading skills although I know reading is more than mastering a set of skills. I have worked with students in kindergarten to fifth grade, including ELLs who are capable of critical thinking not measured by discrete reading skills assessments. I found that children who attend my reading lab need to be assured
that it is acceptable to share their personal reading interpretations, help others make meaning from texts, and encourage peers to discuss texts.

In my doctoral program, I learned to examine my classroom systematically through multiple lenses of reading theories. I conducted a pilot reading study with a small group of fifth graders in the fall of 2009. In the pilot study, readers constructed reading with peers by reading children’s novels and talking about the texts. During this time, I became acquainted with the interactional ethnographic approach, which focuses on how to investigate everyday classroom discourse to identify how teacher and students construct knowledge. Interactional ethnographic researchers examine reading as a complex educational phenomenon in which texts could be books, other people, classroom layout, teacher and student talk, among other aspects of the classroom (Castanheira, et al., 2000; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992). I read about how interactional ethnography used discourse analysis to unpack how children constructed reading. I saw interactional ethnography as a way to answer my research questions about reading construction. This perspective to studying classrooms as interactional accomplishments also became a perspective that continued shaping my understanding of reading. With interactional ethnography, I could learn about children’s reading through their eyes.

As a bilingual teacher of twenty-seven years and a reading specialist of ten of those years, I have provided students (ELLs, non-ELLs, children with dyslexia, children with learning differences) with alternative ways of experiencing reading during regular school hours, afterschool, and on Saturdays. For example, during Saturday school, I prepared children for taking state reading, math, and science tests by encouraging talking, writing, and cooperating in whole groups and small group settings. I have worked during
afterschool tutoring and two-hour tutoring reading blocks during the regular school day to prepare fifth graders to pass the state reading assessments. During tutoring sessions, students were offered opportunities for reading to others, meaning-making, exploring a variety of children’s literature genres, and writing to explain how they arrived at answers. During my teaching, errors were part of learning, and a sign or occasion to analyze thinking. I took on the role of learner as students and I together acknowledged, encouraged, and recognized each other’s connections to other texts (e.g., movies, poems, songs, other stories, content area textbooks, experiments, and real life experiences).

Through these experiences, I have observed how students bring knowledge to reading events that enrich each other’s reading. Children become resources for each other in classrooms. They construct meaning using their first language as they develop their second language, bring their unique experiences to the collective of readers, and prepare for the rigors of state assessments by having different reading experiences to read critically. Thus, I chose interactional ethnography to study ELL reading construction from the children’s emic perspective formally and systematically. In doing so, I also chose to broaden my informal, teacher’s emic perspective as a co-constructor of reading. An emic perspective is the insider’s invisible understanding of the classroom culture (Green, Dixon, & Zaharlick, 2003).

I chose interactional ethnography as the epistemological approach to answer my research question. An interactional ethnographic approach for the study was selected because the ethnographic approach parallels every day reading in classrooms (Walford, 2008). That is, when students read, they do so in a classroom community, across different mediums, over time, with the teachers’ influence, through the students’ efforts,
and constantly defining and redefining their own understanding of texts. Interactional ethnography is rooted in anthropology and sociolinguistics. It views the classroom as a culture constructed together by students/members (Collins & Green, 1992; Putney & Frank, 2008). The members of a social group (i.e., classroom) socially construct who can do what, when, where, with whom so the collective of members (readers) knows what is acceptable within the group.

The study was conducted in Sun River, Texas, located in a predominantly Hispanic school district. Two-thirds of the ELL students enrolled are considered at risk for academic failure. I designed an interactional ethnographic study to seek insight into how a group of second grade ELLs, participating in an afterschool, non-graded reading program, interact around texts. Thirteen second grade ELL students from Sun River Elementary School volunteered for the study. The participants met immediately after school for an hour twice a week from February to May, 2010. I was the teacher/researcher for the study.

Significance and Contribution to the Field

The study seeks insight into children’s views of reading. I want to uncover how ELLs make sense of texts, especially in the present accountability environment that expects ELLs to rank as well on state reading assessments as native English speakers. In the study, ELLs will make visible how they are capable of reading when given opportunities to construct reading around texts with others in a classroom community. I want to make visible what ELLs can read that is not measured on standardized reading tests. I want to show how elementary age ELL students socially construct reading
knowledge and reading practices that can then be used for planning and evaluating children’s reading opportunities.

The increasing ELL population in schools calls for research that can show what ELL students can construct about reading. Children’s perspectives can add an often invisible dimension for understanding the complexity of reading. There is a need to gain insight into what is important and meaningful for the children, from the children’s point of view, since they are the ones most directly impacted by the current reading policy, assessments, and instruction.

Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized in five chapters. Chapter One discussed the influence mandatory standardized reading assessment has had on ELLs, shared my background in teaching and learning about reading, introduced the purpose of the study and questions for the study, provided a brief overview of my research approach and the study, and explained the potential significance and contributions to the field of reading. Chapter Two presents a conceptual review of scholarly research literature about ELL reading influenced by state assessment contexts, about dominant reading perspectives influencing opportunities for ELL readers, and about ethnographic studies that view classroom communities as cultures. Chapter Three explains the methodology, the research site, participants, and data collection and analysis procedures. Chapter Four examines the classroom culture-in-the-making, children’s discourse, and what second grade ELLs socially constructed as reading. Chapter Five synthesizes key points identified from analyses and presents possible implications for practice and further research.
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter two is a review of literature on reading for ELLs and on dominant reading perspectives. The literature review is organized into three sections. In the first section, I present literature on the impact current educational policy has on reading instruction for ELLs. In the second section, I review literature on current dominant perspectives which influence reading opportunities for ELL readers. The third section presents studies on the social construction of classrooms as cultures. This chapter does not aim to be a comprehensive review of literature in the field of reading. Rather, it aims to support my argument for studying reading in ways that make visible readers’ socially constructed knowledge, practices, and perspectives on reading.

ELL Reading Instruction

Current educational policy (NCLB, 2001) requires that all children, including ELL students read at grade level. Along with federal education mandates come assessments to measure reading growth at all grade levels. A review of scholarly literature revealed that standardized reading assessments developed with state reading standards easily measure discrete reading skills, but are difficult for many ELL students to pass (Garcia, 2000). Garcia (2000) argues that for the majority of ELLs whose native language skills are not developed adequately by the time they enroll in school, English language arts skills, especially reading, are difficult to acquire. Yet, ELLs are expected to learn English as quickly as possible in order to take standardized assessments in reading, math, science, and writing, despite research that asserts that it takes about five years (or longer) for ELLs to become as academically proficient as native speakers (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1981).
The focus on state assessments has influenced reading instruction, especially reading instruction for the increasing number of ELLs. ELLs are struggling to succeed in schools where teachers are unprepared for working with ELL readers (Gandara, 2010). State reading assessments for ELLs do not consider neighborhood schools that are poorly equipped, are under-funded, and are staffed with poorly trained teachers (Delpit, 1995, 2006; Garcia, Kleifgen, & Falchi, 2008; Kozol, 2005; Skrla & Scheurich, 2004). ELL students also need formal pre-reading supports that their middle-class classmates have experienced (Garcia, et al., 2008). Additionally, in order to have students pass state reading assessments, teachers tend to focus on basic skills and drills instruction, rather than on higher-order thinking activities (Garcia, et al., 2008; Smagorinsky, 2009).

An indication of how state reading assessments shape reading instruction for ELLs is studies that investigate the effectiveness of discrete-skill reading interventions for ELLs. For instance, one reading study with first grade Spanish-speaking ELLs found that intensive, differentiated interventions for first grade Spanish-speaking ELLs benefited all the participants at risk of reading failure (Menzies & Mahdavi, 2008). Other researchers found that first grade students provided with interventions (decoding, fluency, and comprehension) in Spanish became significantly better prepared for second grade and transition to English reading, even among low responders (Vaughn, et al., 2006). Other researchers (Linan-Thompson, Vaughn, Prater, & Cirino, 2006) found that first grade Spanish-speaking ELLs at risk for reading disabilities benefited from reading interventions using the Response To Intervention (RTI) model which provides students with research-based reading interventions deemed acceptable by NCLB. Linan-Thompson and colleagues.(2006) investigated interventions for ELLs that provided
intensive instruction of isolated reading skills to master in order to consider these students capable readers.

Besides the discrete-skill reading interventions for test preparation for ELLs, another indicator of the influence the current high-stakes school environment has on ELL curriculum is studies on the efficacy of bilingual programs. Neufeld, Amendum, Fitzgerald, and Guthrie (2006) investigated reading interventions for ELLs. Neufeld and colleagues (2006) found that low-level ELLs may benefit from quality English-only reading instruction with more intense word-level instruction. Morris, Bloodgood, Lomax, and Perney (2003) studied first grade ELLs provided phonemic awareness and segmentation skills. Phonemic awareness skills included consonant awareness, beginning and ending consonant awareness, and identifying consonant boundaries and medial vowels. These first grade participants were then provided lessons on how to identify words within a written text and to segment phonemes within syllables. Morris, et al. (2003) found that segmentation skills increased phonemic awareness among high-readiness groups of first grade ELLs.

An experimental study was conducted with kindergarteners and first graders (Lopez & Tashakkori, 2004) to examine the short-term effects of a two-way bilingual education program. Lopez and Tashakkori (2004) compared an experimental and a control group comprised of ELLs and non-ELLs. Students in the experimental group participated in the two-way bilingual program and the control group attended mainstream classes. The researchers compared test scores on district developed assessments and the Scholastic Reading Inventory to measure the efficacy of a two-way bilingual education program. Lopez and Tashakkori (2004) found that the experimental group achieved
scores close to the control group. These researchers concluded that two-way bilingual education is effective in reducing the academic gap with limited and fluent English speakers in kindergarten and grade one. Studies investigating language proficiency and second language comprehension underscore that bilingual programs are being evaluated on children’s development of discrete-reading skills, rather than real-life reading and language growth.

In addition to studying bilingual programs for ELLs, researchers also examined particular first and second language reading skills to determine whether students’ language acquisition skills contributed to ELLs’ reading comprehension. A non-experimental investigation in Holland explored the oral language proficiency and L2 reading comprehension of Dutch, Turkish, and Moroccan third and fourth grade ELL children (Droop & Verhoeven, 2003). Droop and Verhoeven (2003) found that it was beneficial to develop ELL students’ first language, vocabulary, text structure, and comprehension skills. These researchers argued that oral language proficiency in students’ first language is critically important to first and second language reading comprehension. Friesen and Jared (2007) examined the mental representations bilinguals form when reading a text and to what extent they are language specific. One hundred bilingual (English/French) undergraduate students read five pairs of passages in succession while their eye movements were tracked. Friesen and Jared (2007) found that meaning can transfer independent of the surface form of words. Cross-language transfer for English words with the same root words as the French words (cognates) was observed, but it depended on language skill in the second language, the direction of transferred, and whether passages shared meaning. Friesen and Jared (2007) found that
bilingual students, more skilled in reading comprehension of senior level French, read
test passages more quickly and performed significantly better in English reading
comprehension than bilingual students who were less skilled in French comprehension.

Synthesis of ELL Reading Instruction

In this section of the literature review, I presented literature on ELL reading
instruction. The studies encompass investigating basic skills and drills, intensive
instruction of isolated reading skills, language proficiency and second language
comprehension, reading skills instruction, and students’ language status. Studies suggest
a general interest among researchers to seek quantifiable reading factors to estimate
ELLs’ reading proficiency on high-stakes testing (Lopez & Tashakkori, 2004; Morris, et
al., 2003). The research reviewed puts forward a call for expanding reading beyond
measurable reading skills to the readers themselves.

Dominant Reading Perspectives Influencing Opportunities for ELL Readers

The previous section dealt with ELL reading instruction. In the following section
I review literature on dominant reading perspectives that influence reading opportunities
afforded to ELL readers. The review provides a general overview of current reading
perspectives used by educators in reading classrooms throughout the nation, including
classrooms with a growing ELL population. A review of the prominent reading
perspectives helps support my decision to study children’s reading from a social
construction point of view. This section of the review is divided into three dominant
perspectives of reading. The first perspective that I review is the discrete skills reading
perspective. The second one I review is the socio-psycholinguistic perspective of reading.
The third perspective presented is the ethnographic perspective of reading.
Discrete Reading Skills Perspective

Reading research reflects diverse reading perspectives that underlie the reading opportunities afforded to ELL readers in current school contexts. The first reading perspective I review frames reading as a set of discrete skills. Discrete reading skills consist of: letter recognition, letter-sound correspondence, word recognition, fluency, vocabulary, decoding, and recall level, multiple-choice comprehension questions. Proponents of the discrete reading skills perspective argue for early readers to receive direct, systematic, phonics instruction as opposed to reading programs that emphasize meaning at the beginning (M. Adams, 1990; Chall, 1967; Foorman, 1998). Adams’ (1990) and Chall’s (1967) work continues to shape reading instruction for all students, especially ELLs. Present-day reading instruction and standardized reading tests are based on the discrete reading skills reading perspective. That is, reading is taught and standardized tests are written on a foundation of separate, sequenced reading skills that can be easily tested with multiple-choice questions.

Chall’s (1967) commissioned survey of the entire body of reading research led her to conclude that the vast majority of reading research supported phonics-first instruction. Adams (1990), in her survey of reading research, also concluded that skilled readers process the words letter by letter efficiently, thereby facilitating comprehension. Adams (1990) also argues that educators provide early readers with explicit instruction in phonemic awareness, phonics through exercises that teach children sound/symbol relationships, spelling patterns, correct pronunciations, and reading skills (Adams, 1998). Research by Foorman (1998) found that direct instruction, including teaching the
alphabetic principle and phonemic awareness, was effective in reducing reading failure among first and second grade children.

According to Chall (1967) and Adams (1990), the discrete reading skills perspective offers a reader opportunities to read by identifying words sequentially (reading quickly, accurately, and smoothly) as a prerequisite to reading comprehension. According to proponents of using and assessing discrete reading skills with ELL readers discrete reading skill instruction gives the children opportunities to recognize words by transforming written language to spoken language and then combining the meanings of individual words to construct the meaning of a text (Linan-Thompson, et al., 2006; Morris, et al., 2003; Neufeld, et al., 2006).

The discrete reading skills viewpoint offers a reader an opportunity to use pre-reading skills such as concepts of print, letter recognition, letter-sound association, sight vocabulary, and word reading. The reader is afforded opportunities to decode rapidly, increase fluency, build vocabulary, and develop automaticity in decoding so that s/he can attend to comprehension. The reader is also given opportunities to use explicit comprehension strategies and to enhance vocabulary development.

Garcia, et al. (2008) found that when teachers focus on basic reading skills and drills with ELL students, rather than on higher-order thinking skills lessons, ELLs are provided reading as a set of English language arts skills to be broken into parts, taught and tested; learned on your own, at the exclusion of native language arts skills (Garcia, et al., 2008). An overreliance on basic reading skills and drills give readers the perception that reading is an exclusive school activity that is separate from the child’s family and home life (Barton, 2007). In other words, the discrete- skills reading perspective tends to
ignore other psychological and social factors that influence readers (Freeman & Freeman, 2006).

However, there are scholars that explore the influence home language has on student achievement on high-stakes reading assessments that measure discrete reading skills. For example, reading trajectories of Spanish-speaking first grade ELLs were studied in one experimental study (Neufeld, et al., 2006). In Neufeld, et al.’s (2006) study, both ELLs and monolingual English students were found to have made similar growth in reading (word-recognition) on standardized reading tests. Neufeld, et al. (2006) found that language status was not related to instructional reading or word knowledge level and that there was no significant relationship between different aspects of English oral language and reading level growth. They concluded that Latinos may benefit from quality English-only reading instruction with more intense word-level instruction for low-level ELLs.

Synthesis of the Discrete Reading Skills Perspective

The discrete reading skills perspective affords ELLs the opportunity to have the teacher transmit separate, sequential, reading skills to individual readers. ELLs learn the English alphabet first, then how to blend English sounds, and to gain meaning or understanding from reading English words. Each ELL reader follows a prescribed progression of phonics lessons to learn multiple rules and exceptions of English reading. The teacher passes on opportunities to ELL readers to learn pre-selected vocabulary, comprehension reading skills, and leveled text. ELLs are afforded opportunities to read for speed and accuracy and to answer pre-determined multiple choice comprehension questions for ease of measuring progress from one level to another. Reading
opportunities for ELLs derive from a fixed set of skills that the teacher directs, rather than taking into account ELL readers’ background and experiences.

**Socio-Psycholinguistic Reading Perspective**

With discrete reading skills perspective, reading gives control to the text, not the reader (Goodman, 1994). When the text is in control, the reader becomes a passive learner (Goodman, 1994). Goodman critiques the discrete reading skills model by stating that it is a systematic process of transmission of knowledge of discrete reading skills resulting in unrelated spelling, reading, and writing lessons. Barton (2007) argues that the discrete reading skills perspective is an individual endeavor that provides each reader the opportunity to learn a set of discrete reading skills as a bottom-up process. According to Barton (2007), discrete reading skills provides a reader the opportunity to learn and identify the alphabet, followed by sound-by-sound word blending, and to draw meaning from spoken words, making a reader think that this is the only way to read. Clymer (1963) argued that it is psychologically and physically impossible for children to learn 166 phonics rules and exceptions when taught to read with phonics. Smith (2006) contends that discrete reading skills lessons make available to a reader an over-reliance on letter by letter reading that overloads the short term memory capacity of the brain, thus reducing comprehension. The discrete reading skills perspective presents the notion that reading is an orderly process similar to what phonics lessons present, but Paulson and Freeman (2003) argue that readers naturally do not fixate on each word in an orderly manner.

Scholars with a socio-psycholinguistic reading perspective make visible that there are other reading possibilities beyond skills or stages. Piaget (1985) viewed the socio-
psycholinguistic reading perspective views as a psycholinguistic guessing game. Smith (2006) argues that reading happens behind the eyes, not in front of them. Smith (2006) maintains that readers are afforded the opportunity to construct meaning by trying to get their unique questions answered by eliminating unlikely alternatives through prediction. He explains that predictions are made through readers’ background knowledge. The socio-psycholinguistic reading perspective provides each reader opportunities to interpret text differently from another reader since every reader asks different questions to make sense of the text and the world. It affords readers opportunities to make endless predictions (guessing) or inferring (filling in unstated information) as they read to make sense of text.

These scholars investigate socio-psycholinguistic factors of reading that describe reading as a complex activity that cannot be measured by test scores of discrete reading skills alone. Leppanen, et al. (2004) argue that discrete reading skills, such as phonemic awareness, letter recognition, and letter-sound correspondence, gives a reader only early signs of learning to read. Socio-psycholinguistic reading skills give readers opportunities to organize information, choose what to read, decide whether to reread something or to read it only once by practicing with texts and with other readers (Ferreiro, 2000). These skills provide readers the potential of reading when they attempt to solve reading problems and propose new hypotheses about text meaning to use to construct new knowledge (Pellicer & Vernon, 2004).

Socio-psycholinguistic reading scholars argue that when readers predict, they become active participants in reading. The perspective affords readers opportunities to create, organize, and systematize experiences to construct knowledge, not simply
transmit knowledge from the teacher to the student. It provides opportunities for young children to participate actively in generating learning-hypotheses and problem-solving (Smith, 1983; Teale & Sulzby, 1986). A study investigating how young children in Argentina and Tucson tested similar hypotheses in an early literacy sorting task found that children tested, negotiated, and experimented with established rules by using new knowledge, making mistakes, and eventually arriving at a successful approach for interpreting written text (Freeman & Whitesell, 1985).

Reading from a socio-psycholinguistic viewpoint affords readers opportunities to construct meaning as they transact with text in social contexts by using socio-cultural, psychological, and linguistic cues (Goodman, 1994). Piaget (1985) argued that transactions become opportunities for a transformation of text and reader every time the reader reads. For example, an investigation on how five and six-year-olds see themselves as readers observed that readers influence texts as much as texts influence readers in reader text transactions (Lysaker, 2006). A socio-psycholinguistic reading perspective provides readers occasions to actively build upon prior knowledge that they bring to the reading transaction (Daniels & Zemelman, 2004). This perspective offers readers the potential for meaning by using printed text that represents the author’s meaning to make meaning for themselves (Goodman, 1994).

In a different study, beginning reading experiences of two individual ELL Spanish-speaking first graders in an English immersion setting were investigated (Weber & Longhi-Chirlin, 2001). Weber and Longhi-Chirlin (2001) found that schools can successfully provide beginning English learners with opportunities for becoming literate in English in an all-English setting, noting that other people in schools can also provide
opportunities for ELLs to learn English, not only ESL teachers. They found that of the two participants, one made gains in English reading and writing by readily applying himself and taking risks by employing ideas about print he brought from Spanish. The studies that were reviewed focused on the influence children’s language status has on reading. This body of research accentuates how researchers consider English language as a factor when categorizing ELLs’ potential reading competence.

Researchers of socio-psycholinguistic reading perspectives are interested in investigating how ELL children’s home language, backgrounds, and experiences influence reading. For example, Martinez-Roldan and Sayer (2006) studied bilingual readers in linguistic borderlands and found that Spanish and English bilingual students mediate the standard academic language of texts and social interactions with Spanglish, a bilingual vernacular, as an intellectual resource. An investigation of academic progress with Puerto Rican children by Hammer, Miccio, and Wagstaff (2003) examined simultaneous and sequential learners of English. Simultaneous learners of English learn their native language and English at the same time at home. Sequential learners of English learn their native language at home first, then acquire English when they come to school. Hammer, et al. (2003) observed that mothers of simultaneous learners of English engaged their children more frequently in teaching pre-academic, early literacy abilities and took the children to the library, while mothers of sequential learners of English engaged their children in valuing education through oral traditions and observation and social networking. These researchers made visible that oral traditions, observation, and social networking engage Puerto Rican children in valuing education to make academic gains in school (Hammer, et al., 2003).
Another study uncovered how the Mexican collective wisdom of valuing “respeto”, or respect for knowledge, positively impacts Mexican children’s literate success (Valdez, 1996). Valdez found that in lieu of literature reading, checking out library books, club activities, or reading to their children at bedtime, Mexican family networking (e.g., older siblings tutor younger siblings in reading, or cousins help with homework) became a resource for helping other family members achieve reading and academic success. Jimenez (2000) made visible how ELL students used their Mexican heritage to develop bilingual literate identities to excel in mainstream English immersion classrooms. Additionally, Moll (1992) uncovered that bilingual readers bring funds of knowledge essential for Mexican students to survive, advance, and thrive in the majority culture. These investigations on ELLs’ background and experiences draw attention to how researchers have sought factors beyond a series of measurable reading skills that contribute to ELL reading development and identity (Moll, 1992).

The socio-psycholinguistic reading perspective supports a transactional model of reading that offers readers four social aspects of reading: readers, texts, immediate contexts, and broader contexts, to actively and socially construct reading. The four social aspects are reviewed below.

Readers

One aspect of the socio-psycholinguistic perspective of reading is the focus on readers. Readers bring themselves to reading acts (Weaver, 1994). Weaver (1994) argues that readers transact with text through feelings, attitudes, social status, previous literacy experiences, cognitive and linguistic abilities, and culture that they bring to the reading act. Goodman (1994) argues that readers and texts are transformed when readers are
given opportunities to alter and incorporate new ideas as they interact with the text. Readers make sense of something, predict events, and anticipate things as they read (Smith, 2006).

Rosenblatt (1994) similarly argues that there is no typical reader. She maintains that when the reader reads, the reader brings his/her ideas, processes them, and revises his/her knowledge of the world. According to Rosenblatt (1994), the reader is afforded a new situation or challenge to construct meaning with each new two-way transaction between an individual reader and print. Rosenblatt (1994) explains that reading is an opportunity for the reader to bring his/her background, world knowledge, and abilities to the text to co-construct a reading experience she metaphorically calls a poem.

**Texts**

A second aspect of the socio-psycholinguistic perspective of reading focuses on texts. Texts make readers counterparts with the author in reading transactions, guiding readers during reading experiences (Rosenblatt, 1994). Reading actively involves a particular person at a particular time and place, under particular social and cultural circumstances at every reading opportunity (Barton, 2007; Bazerman, 2006). Readers bring background and previous experiences to reading the text to potentially change the reader through the reading experience (Rosenblatt, 1994). According to Rosenblatt (1994), in a reading transaction, the reader is guided by a text to dynamically, personally, and uniquely construct a reading event through reading responses. Rosenblatt (1994) argues that the reader’s theories of the way the world works are proven or disproven by reading the text. She explains that text has no meaning until the reader interacts with it.
Text shares cultural knowledge and wisdom during reading transactions (Rosenblatt, 1994). People develop cultural models through interactions with texts (Gee, 2008) because texts inscribe ideas and cultural assumptions (Bazerman, 2006). Bazerman (2006) argues that since a text is written and read in specific circumstances and times, a text is a social transaction. That is, as the reader reads written text, the reader gains a sense of society’s values, ideologies, and beliefs. Furthermore, a text shapes a student into the particular kind of reader, such as a fluent or a struggling reader (Allen, Moller, & Stoup, 2003). For instance, if the text students read in classrooms is test-preparation reading passages with accompanying comprehension questions to answer by using a set of test-taking strategies, then this text shapes students into readers who believe reading is for assessing comprehension of a series of unrelated reading selections.

Immediate Contexts

A third aspect of the socio-psycholinguistic perspective of reading concentrates on immediate contexts. Reading is situated (Barton, Hamilton, & and Ivanič, 2000). That is, reading is of specific situations because reading includes the individual, the activity, and the situation (Barton, 2007), so that within each classroom, there is an invisible social order for how, when, and by whom reading is accomplished. For example, most reading tasks require students to perform publicly in front of their teacher and peers (Barton, 2007). Therefore, reading publicly for the collective of readers in the classroom is a common social interaction in classrooms that shapes readers and reading. As a result of reading aloud, many readers focus on performance rather than comprehension. Barton (2007) argues that even routine story time is a reading event when a child can learn about the nature of reading. By engaging in routine story time, children learn that books are for
reading. Children gain knowledge about the group’s attitudes and values related to reading.

Weaver (1994) argues that immediate contexts are the social aspects of reading with others. Weaver (1994) explains that when children engage in literature discussion groups or in partner reading in the immediate contexts of reading, readers discuss and share reading strategies, construct meaning by transacting with text, and respond personally to the text. She argues that when children participate in situations where they can share books, have discussions about text with peers and teachers, or maintain a dialogue journal about reading experiences, the reader is provided opportunities to learn more about reading, about learning, about one another, and about their worlds. Weaver (1994) adds that children learn reading strategies to use during the reading process, ways in which others respond to and connect to texts, and ways to work with one another to clarify what they read and understood.

Researchers have studied the social aspects of reading in immediate contexts. They have observed young children in everyday settings to understand how children construct knowledge about reading during reading events (Whitmore, Martens, Goodman, & Owocki, 2004). For example, a study on how pairs of emergent first-grade readers influenced each other’s reading revealed that children reading in pairs scaffolded each other’s construction of meaning with pointing, eye gazing, talking, and verbal play (Griffin, 2002). Therefore, reading is a face-to-face interaction (Gee, Michaels, & O'Connor, 1992). Investigating face-to-face interactions makes visible opportunities readers are afforded when constructing reading in everyday classrooms. Talk within classrooms defines participants’ social membership and identities in communities (Beach,
1992). For example, a learning discourse, such as a teacher reading stories to a child, influences a child to read and acquaint himself/herself with conventions of print (Smith, 2006). Investigating the immediate contexts reveals how reading is influenced by everyday classroom interactions and discourse that draws on broader contexts outside the classroom.

**Broader Contexts**

A fourth aspect of the socio-psycholinguistic perspective of reading includes the role of broader contexts. Readers are shaped by cultural models of the mainstream cultural group in everyday school routines (e.g., round-robin reading, reading groups, and readers’ theater). By engaging in school reading activities, students become members of mainstream society (Gee, 2008). Gee (2008) argues that the elite groups in society control knowledge, ideas, “culture,” and values, so he encourages teachers to allow readers to learn that there is more to learn beyond both home culture and school culture. Street (2005) similarly argues that mainstream culture, or western assumptions about schooling, power, and knowledge, influence school reading and literacy.

Broader contexts influence the construction and participation in literacy tasks (Myers, 1992) through state and national school initiatives, linking classrooms to broader social institutions and structures (Maybin, 2009; Moje & O'Brien, 2000). Policy of broader contexts outside the school tie a person’s particular situation (Gee, 2008) and literacy events at specific points in time by influencing the reader to become a member of society (Barton, 2007). However, Street (2005) argues that other literacies exist alongside the dominant, school literacy, and need to be considered within and beyond the reading classroom.
Reading researchers from a socio-psycholinguistic perspective have investigated broader contexts of reading as a cultural phenomenon. Within broader contexts of the same school, a reader is shaped differently because a mainstream reader constructs reading by knowing the mainstream way of making meaning and a minority child constructs reading by knowing his/her way of making meaning (Barton, 2007). They argue that reading plays a different role in different families and therefore readers have different experiences (and opportunities) with print (Teale & Sulzby, 1986). All families are literate, but when minority children (e.g., ELLs) enter schools that only recognize white, middle class reading readiness practices for teaching children the function and significance of text in daily living, they may confront literacy environments that are foreign (Street, 2005; Whitmore, et al., 2004).

The broader contexts of mainstream society, policy, and community influence reading in classrooms. Broader contexts shape classroom life and are shaped by learning discourses of teachers, students, and community (Golden, 1992; Heath, 2000). Reading exercises (e.g., free reading time, reading journals, and research projects) that display a child’s learning allow each student an opportunity to set his/her own purposes or to practice real-life reading skills (Scherff & Piazza, 2009). When outside school contexts encourage a teacher to let a student decide what to read, a reader takes ownership of reading (Myers, 1992). But when basal reading is a dominant reading activity enforced by district or state policy, Myers (1992) argues that a child thinks books are simply for reading instruction. In a basal based reading classroom, the child begins to ignore his or her own ideas and focuses on literate actions and ideas authorized by the teacher (Myers,
When broader contexts are investigated, researchers reveal that outside classroom contexts influence children’s everyday classroom routines, opportunities, and identities.

*Synthesis of the Socio-Psycholinguistic Reading Perspective*

The socio-psycholinguistic perspective of reading provides ELLs opportunities to use background knowledge and experiences to predict and infer meaning from text. Text interpretations are individually constructed by making and testing out hypotheses. The socio-psycholinguistic perspective of reading gives each ELL reader opportunities to use social, cultural, linguistic, and intellectual situations to make meaning of text. Reading opportunities for ELLs stem from personally transacting with text through his/her own histories, conditions, and circumstances.

The socio-psycholinguistic perspective of reading offers ELLs opportunities to construct reading individually in a social environment that is shaped by texts and immediate and broader contexts. ELL readers transact with text by bringing themselves (emotionally, socially, experientially, cognitively, linguistically, and culturally) to the reading act. Texts guide an individual reader to actively, personally, and distinctively construct a reading event. The immediate context of the classroom provides a unique, specific situation, a reading event, and setting for an individual to construct reading. ELL reading in everyday classrooms is influenced by the broader context of state and national school policy of the mainstream cultural group. Reading opportunities for ELLs develop when readers transact with the text through personal responses and through engaging in reading activities and instruction that adheres to educational school policy determined by the dominant society, rather the collective of readers, texts, and contexts which collectively construct a classroom culture and reading events.
Building on the socio-psycholinguistic contributions of understanding reading as transactional processes between the reader, texts, and contexts, socio-cultural and ethnographic scholars have argued that investigating classroom reading also requires making visible the collective ways of making meaning (Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto, & Shuart-Faris, 2005; Whitmore, et al., 2004). Whitmore, et al. (2004) argue that understanding reading calls for examining how children use material resources, classroom practices, and reading instruction to make meaning individually and collectively. Whitmore and colleagues (2004) also argue that the complex relationships between readers, texts, and broader, outside the school contexts must be examined to uncover children’s active construction of reading within classrooms and beyond. Whitmore et al. (2004) propose ethnography as a cohesive framework for examining multiple perspectives, sources of data, and layers of contexts shaping what is constructed as reading within particular social groups.

An ethnographic perspective enables scholars to examine and understand reading as diverse, multiple, and dynamic interactions between learners, contexts, and texts (Moje & O'Brien, 2000). Ethnographers argue that classrooms are cultures-in-the-making (Collins & Green, 1992) in which classroom teaching and learning are co-constructed by the teacher and the students through everyday interactions and discourse (Rex, 2006). From this perspective, reading is a social accomplishment (Bloome, et al., 2005) in which readers, texts, and multiple contexts socially construct classroom cultures and particular ways of viewing and doing reading. In the sections below I review the ethnographic and
socio-cultural literature that provides a framework for my study of what children view and construct as reading within an afterschool reading program.

_Readers as Social Actors_

Literature on the social construction of classrooms as cultures indicates that readers are social actors of a reading culture (Rex, 2001). Children learn how to be particular types of readers according to what counts as being readers in their school social situation (Collins & Green, 1992). Children shape reading, and are shaped by reading. Christian and Bloome (2004) argue that children are good readers, poor readers, struggling readers, and other kinds of readers, depending on the classroom culture wherein they socially construct reading by their discourse and actions. As social actors, children can position themselves as particular kinds of readers in order to become part of the classroom culture, or, insiders in social situations (Green & Dixon, 1994). Readers construct particular roles and relationships (Green & Dixon, 1994) that they can use to decide who is included and excluded as members of reading classroom communities (Rex & McEachen, 1999).

Children use their knowledge to participate in the social world (Kalman, 2008). Rex and McEachen (1999) made visible how knowing subject matter is important to students if they are to read and write capably across social interactions in schools. Chen and Wang (2009) investigated what counts as social discourse and on-task discourse of high school online discussion forums. Chen and Wang (2009) made visible that social discourse benefited learning because it was a catalyst for effective discussion, negotiation and on-task discourse.
As children develop particular ways of participating in the culture of the reading classroom, they engage in constructing the academic and social knowledge of the classroom. By interacting with each other around texts and social norms of the classroom (Brilliant-Mills, 1994; Green & Meyer, 1991), readers shape the reading content that is learned in classrooms. Readers assign meaning to oral, written, and published texts of classrooms (Green & Meyer, 1991) by the way they engage with text (Green & Meyer, 1991; Rex & McEachen, 1999). Readers socially construct what counts as language (Lin, 1993), as well as text, literate practices, participation, and particular ways of reading and being a reader (Castanheira, 2000; Rex & McEachen, 1999). Members bring particular ways of language construction (Lin, 1993) and knowledge construction to participate in literacy tasks in the context of everyday events of classroom life (Brilliant-Mills, 1994; J. L. Green & Bloome, 1997; Myers, 1992). They also construct what counts as a relevant term, a practice, an activity, an event, and how participants are involved within and across such events (Green, et al., 2003).

As social actors of a classroom culture, readers bring together individual experiences and frames of reference to reading in the collective to construct what counts as knowledge (Green, et al., 2003; Green & Meyer, 1991; Green & Smith, 1983; Green, Yeager, & Castanheira, 2008; Hardman, 2008). Members’ expectations based on past experiences make up their frames of reference (Green & Smith, 1983). In the social act of reading, readers’ points of view or frames of reference (Green, et al., 2008) are resources for the individuals as well as for the collective of the classroom. Members of a learning community use frames of reference to make sense of what is happening (Green
& Smith, 1983), to understand how classroom life, including reading, is “done” (Green & Meyer, 1991), or to bracket their cultural expectations (Green, et al., 2003).

When acting out their social roles in the classroom, readers bring members’ frames of reference to negotiate knowledge construction. Researchers have explored discourse processes in constructing school science (Kelly, Crawford, & Green, 2001). Kelly, et al. (2001) used discourse analysis to make visible that what counted as tasks to members in groups was talked about by members working in the science lab. These researchers uncovered that students in science groups established and maintained their members’ social positions and relationships within science groups by using discourse and interpretive processes to construct knowledge of high school physics. An investigation on writing uncovered how pairs of students wrote social science text by employing conventions that helped students shape and maintain social relationships for negotiating, establishing, disagreeing, and maintaining face to face oral interactions (Floriani, 1993).

Readers socially construct what counts as academic knowledge (knowledge held and valued by a particular culture), or cultural capital (Christian & Bloome, 2004). Cultural capital defines whose voice is heard, what identities are revealed, what students say and do, and how they feel about themselves when they read (Rex & McEachen, 1999). Cultural capital is socially constructed by a collective of students. Across levels of schooling, peer culture and school culture shape and are shaped by student agency, not only the teacher’s actions (Green, 2011). Readers are not passive (Green, et al., 2008), but rather agents shaping what they elect to do and show in the classroom (Kelly, et al., 2001; Tuyay, Jennings, & Dixon, 1995).
In addition to investigating knowledge construction, researchers have made visible that as social actors, groups of readers also construct a context of time in classrooms. Bloome and colleagues argued that time is not inherent within learning opportunities, but rather is constructed through thinking and talking in groups (Bloome, Beierle, Grigorenko, & Goldman, 2009). Bloome, et al. (2009) made visible that the ways teachers and students mark time defines learning opportunities for knowledge construction. In other words, Bloome, et al.(2009) made visible that teachers and students construct time to help define available learning opportunities.

As social actors, members of classrooms take up opportunities to become students and to engage in literate practices in ways that are shaped by what is socially and academically available in the classroom. Castanheira and colleagues (2001) studied one participant’s interactions across time and events across five high school subjects. In this study, Castanheira, et al. (2001) made visible what counted as literacy within high school math and English to Aaron, the study’s principal social actor. These researchers found that for Aaron to be literate in math in the classroom culture, it entailed knowing ways of talking math, communicating through multiple sign systems, prior math processes, but also identifying himself as a math student. Castanheira, et al. (2001) made visible that during math class, the teacher took up the role as the more capable other and that, in contrast, in English class, the workbook and a classmate, not the teacher, were the source of authority or resources. Specifically, Aaron (as a social actor) took up an appropriate form of being a student in the classroom culture to learn and engage in literate practices of math, but was only afforded knowledge about English, not literate practices of English.
As social actors of a classroom culture, children learn how to be particular types of readers and what counts as being readers in their particular school social situation. Readers socially construct what counts as academic knowledge, or cultural capital, and social knowledge. They use academic and social knowledge to participate in the social world.

Texts as Material Resources for the Classroom Community

Scholars who examine the social construction of reading processes in classrooms as cultures argue that texts are material resources for the classroom community (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992). Children use physical texts including workbooks (Castanheira, et al., 2001), books, electronic texts (Bloome, 1992), published classroom texts, and visuals (Green & Meyer, 1991) to socially construct reading. Texts are materials to be experienced by the participants (Bloome, 1992; Bloome & Bailey, 1992), and as resources, texts are always interactive (Rex, 2006). Ethnographic scholars understand texts as plural because words have histories, are intertextual, and any one text implies or echoes multiple other texts and histories (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Dixon & Green, 2005). Furthermore, texts are dialogic in the social construction of reading (Wegerif, 2006). That is, during reading, texts’ meanings derive from the interplay with what went before and what will come later (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).

Texts are multi-layered and multi-dimensional material resources for the classroom community. A physical text draws on, connects to, and interacts with other kinds of texts (physical and social) both in the present moment, in the past, and across spaces (Heras, 1993). These interactions among texts in the moment, over time, and
across contexts, constitute intertextuality (Bazerman, 2006). Intertextuality connects texts with other texts when new texts cite past texts, respond to other texts, position themselves in relation to them, and draw on them as resources for new arguments (Bazerman, 2006). Texts are dynamic and play key roles in the process of text construction (Wegerif, 2006). That is, texts make more texts by continuously bringing in the past or inferencing texts during intertextual connections.

Texts are social constructions that members of classroom cultures use as resources to co-construct a set of cultural processes, practices, and texts beginning on the first day of class (Green, et al., 2008). Green, et al. (2008) explain that members talk texts and learning processes into being across time and events. These texts and processes are then used as a common text by others to act and talk in socially appropriate manners.

Other scholars have found that what counts as relevant texts are influenced by classroom norms and expectations developed by readers’ social interactions with the teacher and with each other (Putney & Broughton, 2011; Rex, 2006; Van Horn, 2000). As social construction, texts also shape students as students position themselves and are positioned by others (Allen, et al., 2003) while socially constructing reading.

Ethnographic scholars have made visible that within reading practices, people are texts for each other (Bloome, et al., 2005; Bloome & Egan -Robertson, 1993; Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992). Peers are social texts (Castanheira, et al., 2001), sharing each other’s lives and objects of their lives (Green & Meyer, 1991). Readers have others and themselves to use as texts (Moje & O’Brien, 2000) to construct, maintain, and contest teacher-student and student-student events and interpretations of texts and events (Bloome & Egan -Robertson, 1993). Classroom members read social and
academic texts (verbal, visual, and written) as participants interact with each other (Green & Meyer, 1991). Green and Meyer (1991) argue that people in interactions become environments for each other (Erickson & Shultz, 1981). Students’ responses during social interactions become texts (Putney, Green, Dixon, & Kelly, 1999) for other members to decide when and what context is appropriate (Erickson & Shultz, 1981).

Layered Contexts Shape What Happens in Reading Events

Ethnographic scholars view classrooms as socially constructed cultures with layered contexts shaping what happens in reading events. Contexts must be considered alongside learner and text (Moje & O'Brien, 2000). Moje and O’Brien (2000) describe contexts as modes of instruction, events, physical layouts of a classroom, social groups (e.g., family, community, and peer groups), realms of knowledge, or moments in time. These researchers argue that contexts tell who the participants are in moment-by-moment interactions as students negotiate and construct meaning during classroom reading events. In the following section, I build on ethnographic studies about readers as social actors and texts as material resources for the classroom community to focus on two layers of contexts. The first layer of context is the immediate contexts of the classroom as a culture–in–the–making. The second layer of context encompasses the broader contexts that extend beyond the local classroom, including institutional policy and structures that influence children’s reading.

Immediate Contexts. Each classroom is a unique context where members are continually involved in constructing events and interactional spaces of classroom life (Heras, 1993). Together students and teachers construct the classroom as a culture-in-the-making to establish ways of being students, teacher figures, group members, and ways of
presenting information, choosing appropriate topics, roles and relationships, and ways of interpreting text (Lin, 1993). Interactional spaces and contexts of understanding (Kalman, 2008; Rex, 2006) develop in teacher-student, student-student, and teacher-class interactions (Bloome & Bailey, 1992) and classroom discourse patterns across time and events (Green & Smith, 1983; Lin, 1993).

Immediate contexts that are socially constructed within classrooms include particular norms and expectations for doing reading that is unique to each classroom culture-in-the-making. Expectations for membership in a classroom culture adjust as readers become culturally competent members of the classroom culture (Putney & Frank, 2008). For example, a study of first grade readers uncovered a socially constructed classroom peer status hierarchy among students in the immediate context of that classroom community (Mathews & Kesner, 2003). Mathews and Kesner (2003) made visible that children enter reading events with preconceived notions of their peer status and literacy competence, and set boundaries for how reading events take shape. Other scholars argue that students socially construct and read the classroom norms and expectations, in order to act and read appropriately in the immediate classroom context (Rex, Green, Dixon, & Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1998).

In addition to constructing a reading classroom’s norms and expectations for its members, scholars have found that readers shape reading content within immediate classroom contexts. Socially constructed immediate classroom contexts offer a situated view of learning (Barton, 2007; Green & Dixon, 1994), being a student (Collins & Green, 1992; Green & Dixon, 1994), content knowledge (Green & Dixon, 1994), discussion knowledge (Rex & McEachen, 1999), literacy (Barton, et al., 2000; Kalman, 2008), and...
reading (Green & Meyer, 1991). Unique, socially constructed immediate classroom contexts shape student learning (Barton, 2007; Collins & Green, 1992; Green & Dixon, 1994; Green & Smith, 1983; Myers, 1992; Putney & Broughton, 2011) and shape how people develop the classroom culture and become members (Barton, 2007; Gee, 2008; Green, et al., 2008; Street, 1995).

Within immediate classroom contexts, students negotiate understandings of content and meaning (Green & Dixon, 1994), construct and participate in literacy tasks (Myers, 1992), and construct the meaning of language in the context of everyday classroom events (Green & Smith, 1983). Goatley (2000) examined interactions of teachers and students of a holistic, pull-out literacy program. Goatley (2000) uncovered that there are many different forms of literacy mediated and hindered by the interactions of adults and students between the special education resource room and the regular classroom. Green and Dixon (1994) argued that classroom discourse and social practices contribute to the construction of knowledge. From this perspective, content and meaning are situationally defined, refined, modified, and extended within and across time and events of each classroom (Green & Dixon, 1994).

Discourse and interaction patterns are constructed within immediate contexts, which then shape particular ways of acting, being, and doing reading in classroom cultures. Ethnographic scholars have investigated the construction of reading content embedded in the discourse within classroom interactions by individual and collective readers (Lin, 1993). Lin (1993) studied the situated definition of language of the classroom. She maintains that language is a communicative means through which the immediate context of the social life of a group is accomplished and particular ways of
knowledge and language are constructed in schools. Ethnographic researchers have made visible that to fit in with everyone else in immediate classroom contexts (Green & Dixon, 1994), members of the collective of readers use classroom discourse for constructing views of themselves in relation to others (Rex & McEachen, 1999). Szymanski (2003) investigated the interactions of peer reading groups. Szymanski (2003) revealed that students in peer groups used discourse to organize their own literacy learning to complete written question-answering tasks based on story reading. Another study of literacy and literacy learning in classrooms uncovered how reading discourse with and around texts helped create new patterns of literacy, being a teacher, and being a student (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992).

By closely examining the classroom cultural practices and interactions of immediate classroom contexts, Kelly and Chen (1999) found that what counts as science involves sharing knowledge among the classroom community, using scientific discourse, and learning through science activities. In another study, Kelly and colleagues (2001) investigated what counted as physics and learning opportunities in intertextually constructed public texts. Kelly et al. (2001) demonstrated that students’ understanding and knowledge of physics involved establishing and maintaining positions and relationships within science groups. The researchers uncovered that what gets accomplished and counts as science happens through opportunities to challenge others’ ideas in group discussions as students write science reports, and construct scientific knowledge as members of science groups.

Ethnographic researchers who investigate classrooms as cultures have argued that reading is a social event (Zaharlick & Green, 1991) occurring in specific, immediate
classroom contexts. Golden (1992) made visible that texts and texts meanings are constructed within immediate classroom contexts, community functions, and reader-text interactions. Golden (1992) found that everyday social classroom contexts need to be examined in studying how classroom participants develop and maintain specific roles in shaping the meaning of literary text. The classroom contexts influence readers’ understandings of the reading act, readers’ social positions in the classroom, and readers’ social construction of reading.

**Broader Contexts.** A second layer of context for reading includes the broader contexts that extend beyond the local classroom culture–in-the-making. In the broader contexts of schools, people compare their own situation to world contexts (Rex, et al., 1998). World contexts are the mainstream, middle-class, American values, beliefs, and ideologies sent out by the media, the neighborhood community, and the school district administration. Broader contexts include institutional policy and structures that influence children’s social construction of reading in classrooms.

Students, as members of the classroom culture, bring their home, social life, and community experiences from the broader contexts to the collective to shape how they interact with texts and how they view texts (Cook-Gumperz, 2006; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1992). Classroom contexts and what is possible to construct and view as reading are shaped by multiple layers of policy and institutional structures (Dixon, Green, Yeager, Baker, & Franquiz, 2000; Goertz, 2006; Green & Heras, 2011). For example, federally mandated accountability prompts states to create standardized reading tests based on state reading standards. State reading standards and tests influence reading instruction in schools. In classrooms, children receive reading instruction on discrete
skills, which are tested on state assessments. The focus on discrete reading skills for passing standardized reading tests consequently leads to the exclusion of other reading activities, subjects, and views of reading (Yeh, 2005).

Embedded in broader contexts are social processes of reading that are connected to the basic linguistic process of everyday life in homes, community, and schools (Bloome & Bailey, 1992). Cook-Gumperz (2006) investigated ways in which language brought by students enters into interactions to affect learning environments of the school. Cook-Gumperz (2006) made visible that learning is an interactive process found within conversations between teachers and students using language they bring to the school setting. Green (1983) and Green, et al. (2008) examined how classroom life shapes and is shaped by everyday discourses brought to the classroom by teachers, students and the wider community. Green, et al. (2008) analyzed discourse-in-use and moment-by-moment and over time interactions. Green, et al. (2008) revealed that members co-construct ways to talk texts and learning processes into being across time and events by using language they bring to the literacy event as a resource throughout the school day.

Broader contexts that originate beyond the school setting influence the social processes of reading. Reading is embedded in broader social processes and practices (Green & Dixon, 1994; Moje & O'Brien, 2000) and larger social and political issues (Golden, 1992; Green & Heras, 2011), such as the No Child Left Behind Initiative (NCLB, 2001) requiring that all children read at grade level. Contexts outside the classroom shape and reflect social and cultural practices for understanding opportunities that influences what readers and teachers say and do in situated reading events (Collins & Green, 1992; Green & Dixon, 1994, 2008; Green, et al., 2008; Rex, et al., 1998).
Synthesis of the Ethnographic Reading Perspective

This section reviewed ethnographic literature on how readers, texts, and multiple contexts shape classroom cultures and construct reading knowledge. The review supports the view that classrooms are dynamic cultures-in-the-making where researchers can empirically examine everyday children’s discourse. Researchers demonstrate that within these classroom cultures, readers are social actors, shaping reading and shaping themselves as readers. They also demonstrate that as social actors, readers construct what counts as knowledge by using texts as material resources to shape reading events and interactional spaces of the classroom community. In this chapter, the literature makes visible how readers construct reading, texts, and their social and academic identities and how readers employ particular norms and expectations for doing reading within immediate contexts of classrooms and influences of broader contexts of institutional policy and structures.

Summary

In chapter two, I reviewed reading literature to support studying how ELLs construct reading. First, I reviewed ELL reading seen as discrete skills in formal schooling. Second, I reviewed literature about the dominant reading perspectives influencing reading opportunities for ELL students. Since my study seeks to uncover complex social, cultural, and situated reading processes as students interact around texts, literature from an ethnographic perspective of reading was reviewed in the final section of the literature review. This literature provides theoretical and empirical foundation for my study that focuses on how a collective of readers interacts socially, culturally, and discursively around texts in an immediate afterschool reading program context, which is
shaped by broader contexts. I also reviewed studies on the social construction of classrooms as cultures-in-the-making to show how an ethnographic approach, the epistemological framework of my study, can make visible students’ construction of knowledge. In chapter three, the research design and methodology for this study will be described.
CHAPTER THREE: DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of chapter three is to present the methodological framework that guides this study. The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, I discuss the theory-method relationships and rationale for the methodology. In the second section, I describe the research design. It includes the purpose of the study, research site and participants, the researcher’s roles, data collecting procedures, and data analyses.

Section One: Interactional Ethnography

To make visible what second grade ELLs constructed as reading, I adopted an interactional ethnographic approach to collect and analyze data. An ethnographic perspective provides the lens for examining the complex social, cultural, and situated processes of reading (Collins & Green, 1992; Putney & Frank, 2008; Valdez, 1996). An ethnographic perspective presumes that reading is a situated phenomenon shaped and reshaped by members of the classroom through their discourse and actions with and around texts. The interactional ethnographic approach allowed me to carry out systematic observations and analyses of members’ interactions to make visible the emic perspective of the members (Green, et al., 2003) during the second grade afterschool reading program.

I chose interactional ethnography (IE) as an epistemological approach to investigate the dynamic relationships between the discursive practices of individuals and the cultural norms and practices of the groups (Rex, 2006). Interactional ethnography is rooted in anthropology and sociolinguistics. This approach draws on anthropological theories of culture, combining sociolinguistics and ethnography to help researchers understand a local situation in all its complexity (Castanheira, et al., 2000; Rex, 2006). Interactional ethnography views classrooms as unique cultures in-the-making (Collins &
Green, 1992; Putney & Frank, 2008), in which teachers and students construct classroom norms and expectations, roles and relationships, and rights and obligations for appropriate participation (Bloome, et al., 2005; Collins & Green, 1992; Green & Meyer, 1991; Heath, 1982).

An interactional ethnographic approach allowed me to systematically uncover multiple and complex ways that students engage in reading. I used interactional ethnography to uncover facets of reading not currently visible in reading events that employ dominant reading perspectives utilized in many U.S. schools. It permitted me to investigate how a group of second grade ELL students developed the classroom culture, discourse, and interactions to construct what counts as reading (Green, et al., 2003; Green & Meyer, 1991; Walford, 2008).

The principle of cultural relevance within interactional ethnography maintained my focus on the insider, or emic perspective, as I sought to understand how children viewed reading from their insider’s or child’s emic point of view (Green, et al., 2003). I aimed to gain deeper insights into how students read, negotiate, and understand reading. Interactional ethnography enabled me to examine reading across days, one day at a time, and moment-by-moment to uncover how children and their teacher constructed reading together. Interactional ethnography employs anthropological techniques to gather and analyze data of everyday school discourse. An interactional ethnographic approach for the study was selected because the ethnographic approach parallels everyday reading and learning in classrooms (Walford, 2008). That is, when students read, they do so in a classroom community, across different mediums, over time, with the teacher’s influence,
through students’ efforts, in order to constantly define and redefine their own understanding of texts.

Section Two: Overview of the Research Design

To understand the construction of reading from the insider’s or emic perspective (Zaharlick & Green, 1991) of the second grade ELLs, I studied the participants interacting around texts in an afterschool reading program. The everyday reading processes, practices, and knowledge constructed by members of the classroom (Green & Dixon, 1994) were analyzed by employing ethnographic methods. The analyses included descriptions of the actions and events constructed by the second grade ELLs and the meaning(s) these members identified (Green, et al., 2003) as they engaged in activities around texts. As a researcher is a research instrument, I was a primary source of data collection (Walford, 2008). It is through observing interactions among the members (Rex, 2006) that I, the ethnographer, came to understand what the second grade ELLs viewed or counted as reading in the after school reading project.

I viewed what counts as reading as situational (Collins & Green, 1992). That is, I analyzed the everyday patterns of actions and events in a classroom that make up a unique way of learning for the *Afterschool Reading Project* classroom. Therefore, I looked for how reading knowledge “is situationally defined, refined, modified, and extended within and across time and events” (Green & Dixon, 1994, p. 236) and how my role as a teacher/researcher shaped these processes. By examining moment-by-moment interactions across time I made visible what counted as reading (Castanheira, et al., 2001; J. L. Green & Bloome, 1997; Heap, 1991) and what was going on (Anderson-Levitt, 2006) in the culture of second grade ELLs in an afterschool reading program.
This study relied on juxtaposing or triangulating the numerous second grade ELLs’ perspectives, multiple sources of data and methods such as student interviews, student journals, teacher journals, and class materials so that I could understand the complexity of children’s meaning construction (Green, et al., 2003; Walford, 2008) around texts in an afterschool reading setting. By identifying patterns of actions, objects, and social practices (Collins & Green, 1992) within an emic framework, I sought to make visible the cultural practices of second grade ELLs to outsiders (Green, et al., 2003). I analyzed classroom interactions to uncover the processes of interaction, how they happened, and how the students’ background influenced reading processes (Rex, Steadman, & Graciano, 2006). Drawing on the work of interactional ethnographers, I looked for how the afterschool classroom was a unique culture-in-the-making developed by member participants, how the participants and teacher/researcher constructed classroom norms and expectations, and how the participants constructed interactional spaces and contexts of understanding (Collins & Green, 1992). I looked for how their relationships across time among classroom events developed knowledge and made meaning visible through classroom discourse (Rex, 2006). The negotiations of events, interactions, and intertextuality (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Green & Meyer, 1991) between texts and students in one event to the actions of members in later events were also explored (Castanheira, et al., 2001).

Setting

The study was conducted in Sun River, Texas. Sun River (town, school, and participant names are pseudonyms) is located in the southern most region of Texas, twenty minutes from the Mexican border. The population of Sun River in 2006 was
5,132. Residents are predominantly Hispanic and most are employed outside the town. The Sun River School District encompasses over 460 square miles and serves almost 9,400 students, with one high school, one alternative campus, three middle schools, and eight elementary campuses. The majority of the students who attend school in the Sun River school district ride the bus to and from school. As a Title 1- designated school district, based on the number of children in the district on free or reduced-price lunch, the district provides breakfast and lunch to students in all schools.

Sun River Elementary School is comprised of grades Pre-K through five. The enrollment was approximately 640 students in the academic year 2009-2010, when the data for this study were collected. The school was classified as low socio-economic status (SES), with more than 95% of the 640 students on free lunch. Two-thirds of the ELL students were considered at risk for academic failure. Room 27 was the site for this ethnographic study. It was a regular-sized elementary classroom with 4 rectangular tables and chairs, which easily accommodated 15-20 students. Classroom accommodations provided a setting for the afterschool reading project in which students were free to learn and articulate what counts as reading. Students were within their campus surroundings, but away from the regular reading teacher, basal reading materials, and the structure of daily reading tasks, such as answering comprehension strategy questions and comprehension skills questions from the teacher’s textbook edition, answering pre-Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) story questions, and filling in blanks of isolated story elements on a TAKS-formatted graphic organizer.
The Afterschool Reading Project

I developed the *Afterschool Reading Project* to provide opportunities for second grade ELL students to engage in reading events in a non-graded, interactive environment and for me to explore how children constructed reading. The goal for the students was to have extra reading time outside the classroom, to read children’s literature, and to spend time interacting with other second graders after school. The program focused on students’ conversations around texts. In these conversations the students were encouraged to initiate, lead, and extend the dialogue. They were given opportunities to express their personal meaning of text, make and justify their claims about texts, and take up opportunities to socially construct knowledge, meaning, and reading. The students were afforded opportunities to socially construct texts and various interpretations of texts through reading authentic children’s literature. The participants met immediately after school for the duration of one hour each Tuesday and Thursday, from February to May, 2010. Upon arrival the children sat at the tables and chairs in a spot of their choosing. Students in the study were not graded and their participation in the program was voluntary.

I captured students’ interactions with texts, with each other, and with the teacher on video-and audio-tapes. Students wrote their reading insights in journals every time they met, whenever possible. Students also answered interview questions at the inception of the study and at the conclusion of the study. I took up the roles of teacher, participant and investigator. I planned the lessons, chose the children’s literature from the available titles found in the students’ school library, selected the vocabulary to study, decided the reading activity, and posed the journal writing prompts. I also set up the video and audio
taping for each session and interviews, taught mini reading lessons, took field notes of students’ interactions around texts after each lesson, wrote the questions for semi-structured interviews, and collected all the teaching materials used for each lesson as artifacts.

*Overview of a Reading Lesson*

This study examined the processes, practices, and outcomes of constructing reading in an after-school reading project for second grade ELL students in a South Texas elementary school. In order to evoke interactions around texts with second grade ELLs, I developed a lesson framework (Table 3.1) for the study, but I modified it to include elements of the participants’ interactions as the semester progressed.

| I.  | Mini-lesson (teacher-directed); five minutes |
| II. | Interactive reading (teacher-directed/student response to student-directed/student response); fifteen minutes |
| III. | Conversations/Activities around text (teacher-led and student-led); twenty-five minutes |
| IV.  | Wrap up; teacher-led, student open response; five minutes |
| V.   | Reflection (students and teacher journal); ten minutes |

I led the whole-group in text-centered dialogue initiated by reading children’s literature. I asked open-ended questions and guided, but did not dictate, the conversations. I did not ask all the questions, as the questions and comments participants raised were given primary importance. Interactions frequently included all of the participants in a whole group design, but alternated throughout the semester between the whole group and small group participation.
Reflection journals were kept to give the children an opportunity to record and clarify their thoughts through writing. I also recorded and clarified my thoughts through writing in a teaching/reflection journal at the end of each lesson.

Participants

Thirteen second grade ELL students enrolled at Sun River Elementary School participated in this study. The choice of second grade ELL students as the participants for this study was primarily because second graders were not yet being prepared for the state test or being pressured to read only materials related to the state test. Second graders were also not scheduled to stay afterschool for tutorial sessions and were therefore not encumbered to participate in an afterschool reading project. Their participation in the project was voluntary. The project provided students opportunities to question texts and to construct their own understandings of the world, themselves, and texts in a non-graded, non-tested learning environment.

Participants for the study were selected from all ELL second graders at Sun River Elementary School through a purposeful sampling technique. If they were considered Limited English Proficient (LEP) in their school cumulative folders, they were recruited to participate in the study. The Texas English Language Proficiency Assessment System (TELPAS) was used to substantiate LEP consideration for the study. The Texas Education Agency (TEA) defines a LEP student as a student whose Home Language Survey names any language other than English on the form, including students whose parents sign a Parental Denial (PD) for bilingual education services.

I sent home a recruitment letter explaining the study to the parents of all second grade students meeting the aforementioned criteria. The participants’ parents or guardians
who returned a recruitment letter each received a standard Informed Consent Form in which:  
a) each participant was given a description of the study, b) parents were given an informed consent letter to sign, c) students were given the student assent form, and d) each participant was given FERPA forms and the permission form for being audio-and video-taped. Each participant’s identity was safeguarded by using a pseudonym for each student and for the school, the school district, and the town. Participants could withdraw from the study at any point. Participation or nonparticipation of a student in the study had no effect on his/her grades. During and after data analysis, member checks were conducted with each participant to respond to my analyses and verify their accuracy of my statements about what children viewed as reading. A debriefing session was also held at the conclusion of the study to allow students to reflect about the program and their participation in the research study. The teacher/investigator also signed a consent form to document the assurance of confidentiality. As stated in the consent and assent forms, all participants chose to participate in this study voluntarily and could withdraw from it at any time.

I selected thirteen participants for the study. They were selected on a first-come, first-served basis from students who returned signed consent and assent forms for The Afterschool Reading Project. Using this student selection process, all students in this grade level were given an opportunity to be included. Thirteen participants participated in those students who expressed an interest to participate in the study. Seven girls and six boys were selected for the study. One participant later withdrew from the study due to a lack of transportation.
Data Collection

I employed ethnographic observation, interviewing and textual analysis tools for *The Afterschool Reading Project* to uncover the principles of practice (Green, et al., 2003) the second grade ELLs constructed as they interacted around texts and engaged in social interactions and meaning construction, and as they revealed what they understood as reading. I collected a variety of records to investigate reading processes, practices, and children’s views of reading in the afterschool reading project.

Records were collected from February through May 2010 during the bi-weekly project meetings. I conducted twenty-four sessions. During this school semester, I collected observation fieldnotes, expanded fieldnotes from the notes taken in the field, video-and audio- taped each session, constructed activity indexes, collected classroom artifacts, conducted semi-structured and informal interviews, wrote in a reflection journal and encouraged all participants to write in their reflection journals. Each data collection technique provided a different perspective for examining this discourse community, the knowledge constructed, and provided the means for data triangulation. All files were protected by using one password that was known solely by the investigator. All the files were saved on a password-protected laptop and backed up on a password-protected USB drive which was kept at the researcher’s home.

Fieldnotes

I took “jottings” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995), or fieldnotes, in spiral notebooks, after the hour of the class, and during the class, whenever possible. I kept two spiral notebooks: one contained jottings and expanded notes and one contained observation reflections (Delamont, 2008). Delamont (2008) recommends researchers
keep different types of records. My notebook for jottings was for factual, scribbled notes on as much on-site observation information as possible, with commentary in the margins. The notebook for expanded notes amplified my jottings with reflections.

As soon as possible and always that same day, I wrote up the notes and transformed them into expanded notes that became sources of data, recording the actions and interactions of the participants at the research site/classroom. During the observations, I occasionally sketched group arrangements and scenes from the classroom to further document discursive events and record the setting and seating arrangements in the notebook with my jottings. Fieldnotes varied over time in content according to the changing interests and focus of the researcher and the participants. After the sixth day of the study I stopped taking fieldnotes during class time because the participants required more engagement from me as the teacher during the class time. Therefore, for the rest of the study, I made jottings as soon as the participants were dismissed for the day.

Video Records

I used video recordings, along with the fieldnotes, as the primary data sources to analyze patterns of activity and discourse across time and events. I used a mini DV video camera to record each after-school session as well as all interviews. The video camera was set on a tripod and turned on before the students arrived to record the students’ arrival and stayed focused on the entire group discussion and interaction until the last child left. The continuous running of the camera was intended to capture how and when events on any given day began and ended (Green & Wallat, 1981b) and how activities shifted and changed over time. I converted mini DVs to DVD video files for archival and
analysis purposes. The video equipment and tripod were kept in the locked classroom closet at the research site.

Audio Records

An Olympus digital voice recorder (Model WS-500 M) and an EIKI cassette tape recorder (Model 3279A) were used to record all sessions, as a supplement and back-up to video records. The audio records were used to capture the different speakers’ voices. As with the videotaping, audio-taping was begun in advance of the official beginning of each session and continued beyond the end of the session. I copied all digital voice recordings from the digital recorder and cassette tapes from the tape recorder to audio files on my laptop using Windows Media Player. Audio equipment was kept in the locked classroom closet at the research site.

Index of Activity

I kept a time-stamped index of each session to organize the data. The index catalogued the date the events were observed, whether video and/or audio records were made and where they were stored, the title of the children’s literature used for the lesson, the reading activity tied to the literature, the main focus of every class meeting, the participants present, and the group they belonged to for the class (Green & Meyer, 1991). The index allowed me to return to a particular event recorded on the videotape, audiotape, or fieldnotes, when necessary.

Interviews

I also interviewed students using open-ended/semi-structured interviews (Brenner, 2006). Students were interviewed at the beginning and end of the study in a conversational format. I interviewed students using a semi-structured interview format
which enabled me to collect records to analyze perspectives of the same individual across time. Semi-structured interviews enabled me to analyze different individuals at the same time, and analyze for differences in member understandings (Brenner, 2006) over the time of the reading project. Interviews provided a secondary source of data for triangulating findings from analyses of video-taped recordings and the fieldnotes. The first semi-structured interview focused on recording participants’ expectations about the study and their knowledge of reading. The initial interview questions gave participants an opportunity to articulate their perspectives on interacting around texts, constructing meaning, and reading in a non-graded, afterschool context. The second semi-structured interview focused on the participants’ reflections on the program and their experiences interacting around texts in a collective of readers. Pre-set questions changed as participants answered questions about what counted as reading in this classroom culture. Interview questions for the second interview were developed based on student interactions in the program and on preliminary analyses conducted within the ethnographic logic of inquiry (Green, et al., 2003). The interview questions are provided in Appendix D.

Artifacts

I gathered artifacts every week. I utilized artifacts gathered throughout the research study to support the other analyzed data. Written documents (lesson plans, a list of children’s literature, and children’s assignments) were collected throughout the research study. These artifacts allowed me additional frames when analyzing member understanding. I kept children’s journals, graphic organizer posters, and my daily reflective notes as artifacts for the study. The participants’ writing was used to build
explanations that consider multiple possibilities from the data (Emerson, et al., 1995). Multiple sources of data provided me opportunities to examine student perspectives of reading from a variety of angles.

My Role as the Researcher

While collecting records at the site, I took up the role of participant observer (Spradley, 1980). I was a participant when I interacted with the children around texts and a researcher when I recorded my observations in detailed fieldnotes, and reflected on them. As participant/observer, teacher/researcher, and research instrument, I had formal and informal access to the children’s reading process. I conducted all interviews, too. I had to be aware of my potential to intimidate the students with my questions, presence and persistent note-taking. To mediate the potential for intimidation, I accepted all comments during the interviews, used open-ended questions, and asked the same questions of every participant. As a member of the classroom community, I provided answers to questions or support when needed during the course of the program. I had to be aware that I would likely develop close relationships with participants. Yet, as an ethnographer, my goal was to learn from people and not to impose my views on them (Spradley, 1979).

Data Analyses

Data analysis occurred throughout the data gathering process which meant that analytical insights influenced decisions about the data collection procedures. Records (video- and audio-recordings and fieldnotes) were transcribed so I could become acquainted with them (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999) and transform them into data (Green, Franquiz, & Dixon, 1997). The data were archived as Microsoft Word Files and as video
and audio files. Video and audio records allowed me to backward and forward map (Dixon & Green, 2005; Green & Heras, 2011) from an anchor event to past or future events in the classroom. The main source of my data were the video- and audio-records, transcripts, and event maps, while interviews and artifacts served as secondary sources of information used in data triangulation and validation of findings.

The interactional ethnographic approach guided the analysis of this study. As is characteristic of this perspective, multiple layers and angles of analysis were used for answering what reading is to the second grade ELLs acting and interacting around children’s literature in a non-graded afterschool reading program. Through the multiple levels of analysis of the transcribed video- and audio-tapes, interviews, written fieldnotes and collected artifacts, I uncovered recurring patterns of interactions around texts in the afterschool reading program. While data collection and preliminary reflective analyses were occurring during the project, the majority of the analyses occurred later. This enabled me to step aside, and use the etic, researcher lens, to examine what members had constructed as reading through their emic understandings.

I used three layers of analysis for the study that follow the principles of interactional ethnography. This approach seeks to find what is happening across time and space in a classroom as a culture-in-the-making. I used event mapping as the first layer of analysis I constructed event maps to represent the activities of the classroom as I systematically analyzed transcripts of audio- and video-records of the sessions (Green, et al., 2003). Event mapping relied on the ethnographic principle of tracing cycles of events and identifying levels of analysis to understand the member’s knowledge in a developing event (Green & Wallat, 1981; Kelly & Chen, 1999). I used event mapping to develop a
broad representation of events which indicated how life was organized how the flow of conduct in the second grade ELL afterschool reading classroom (Green & Meyer, 1991) was conducted.

After creating event maps of all 24 reading sessions, I chose sessions two and 18 as anchor sessions to examine student discourse. I analyzed the participants’ discourse to uncover interaction patterns as students attended to texts. I examined how the classroom was constituted through linguistic and discourse choices of the participants and how social and academic knowledge was constructed by participants in moments of interaction and over time (Rex & Green, 2008). In the analysis, I focused on how students interacted with each other, the resources they used in those interactions, the contexts they signaled through their language, and what they created and accomplished through those interactions (Bloome & Clark, 2006).

Interactional ethnographers investigate the discursive practices of a group’s dynamic relationships, as well as cultural norms and practices within the classroom cultures-in-the-making. Considered over time, discourse analysis provides the basis for examining the developing reading processes and practices of and among members of the group as they read, talk, write, and construct academic knowledge in the read aloud activity with others (Bloome, et al., 2009; Bloome, et al., 2005; Heras, 1993; Lin, 1993).

Lastly, the interactional ethnographic approach focuses on the insider perspective (Green, Skukauskaitė, & Baker, 2011) and gives participant accounts high status (Green, et al., 2003; Walford, 2008). In seeking to uncover the insider knowledge, or emic perspective, the researcher becomes the student (Spradley, 1980) or learner (Green, et al., 2003) studying people as they construct their knowledge, understanding, and ways of
acting and interacting within social groups. The goal of an interactional ethnographer is to make visible the cultural practices to others outside that group (Green, et al., 2003; Green, et al., 2011). I developed domain and taxonomic analyses to make visible the insiders’ representations of different aspects of reading developed in the afterschool reading program.

Fieldnotes and Observations

I analyzed fieldnotes recursively, as the participants’ meanings and knowledge got constructed and became visible through interactions and analyses. I used a time stamped index and event maps to identify the cycle of activity in student-to-student and teacher-to-student talk (Green & Meyer, 1991). My descriptions were selective (Emerson, et al., 1995), emphasizing particular actions and interactions that related to the research questions.

I processed fieldnotes by open coding notes line by line to formulate diverse themes and focus on coding salient topics (Emerson, et al., 1995) relevant to the research question (Merriam, 2009). Fieldnotes were analyzed recursively as I examined the participants’ meanings and knowledge constructed through interactions in the classroom. Groups of coded data were used to categorize recurring patterns that cut across the data (Merriam, 2009). Categorizing is an analytic framework for interrogating data and uncovering emerging and re-emerging patterns (Emerson, et al., 1995). In addition, I used cultural theory as a guide to identify spaces, actors, objects, acts, activities, events, time, goals, and feelings, as aspects of social situations (Spradley, 1980) in the reading program.
**Video and Audio Records and Transcripts**

Video and audio records allowed me to backward and forward map (Dixon & Green, 2005; Green, et al., 2011) from an anchor event to other intertextually tied events. To examine what group members counted as reading, I integrated my observation fieldnotes with records of actions, practices, processes, and artifacts. I constructed event maps to represent the data as I systematically examined transcripts of audio- and video-records of the sessions (Green, et al., 2003).

I transformed video and audio records into analyzable data (Green, et al., 1997) through constructing message unit transcripts by listening and re-listening, viewing and re-viewing audio and video records (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999). I listened to audio and video records, breaking up participants’ turns into multiple lines at prosodic or syntactic boundaries (Gumperz & Berenz, 1993). I used prosodic and non-verbal contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1982) to determine the boundaries of message units, which helped me make visible moment-by-moment and overtime interactions around texts. Message units, as proposed by Green and Wallat (1981) are the smallest meaning units in discourse. I analyzed message units in context since one message unit does not contain meaning except in relation to previous message units. I made visible how members constructed moment-by-moment conversations by transcribing each message unit myself and, in doing so, marking my personal theories, assumptions, and decisions based on my personal background, and my experience as a reading teacher (Skukauskaite, 2012). Using message unit transcripts, I employed discourse analysis (Bloome, et al., 2005) to identify event boundaries, turn taking, and intertextual links constructed by the second grade participants in the afterschool reading project.
Interviews

I triangulated my fieldnote analyses by analyzing data from additional sources. I listened to the interview recordings multiple times. I analyzed records of the same individuals across time, different individuals at the same time, and analyzed for differences in member understandings (Brenner, 2006) to claim the second grade ELL interviewee’s perspectives about reading in an afterschool reading project.

Trustworthiness

To address trustworthiness, I followed the principles of interactional ethnography. Using interactional ethnography as my epistemological research approach, I included multiple data sources from each participant. I examined the entire afterschool reading program, rather than a singular event. I wrote reflective notes of classroom observations. I used multiple angles of analyses to uncover what second grade ELLs view as reading. I triangulated video- and audio data with interviews, written fieldnotes and artifacts. I also conducted member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) with each member to verify accuracy of my statements and interpretations.

Summary

In chapter three I discussed my decisions for data collection and data analysis. I explained the research site, the participants, the data collection procedures, and the multiple forms of data I collected. I also described ways I analyzed the data using the interactional ethnographic approach. A multi-layered data analysis was presented to make visible the events constituting the afterschool reading program as a culture in-the-making. The layers of analysis included first uncovering cultural patterns established by the members, and then analyzing participants’ actions and discourse to make visible what
children viewed as reading. In chapter four, I will provide detailed data analyses to uncover what second grade ELLs viewed as reading.
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSES AND FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to present analyses of how second grade English language learners constructed reading in a non-graded, afterschool reading program. Through the analyses, I seek to answer the overarching research question: What counts as reading to second grade ELL students? Specifically, I investigate the following research sub-questions: What are the opportunities for constructing reading? How is reading socially constructed by second grade ELL students?

This chapter is organized into three sections. Section one provides information and graphic representations of the opportunities for constructing reading created by the afterschool reading program. Section two examines the processes of students’ social and discursive construction of reading in a read aloud event on day two of the reading program. Section three presents focuses on domain analyses and the taxonomy which were constructed to represent what counts as reading to the participants.

Section One: Opportunities Created by the Afterschool Reading Program

To analyze the opportunities created by the afterschool reading program, I created an event map. The event map consisted of the reading activities across the 24 days of program. The rows represent major events identified from analyses of participant actions. I used the event map to answer the first sub-question: What are the opportunities for constructing reading? By uncovering the opportunities created for constructing reading I show what was happening in the second grade afterschool reading classroom’s developing culture. Table 4.1 shows a representative event map of days I analyzed. The entire event map of the entire reading program is in Appendix A.
### Table 4.1

**Event Map of Representative Days Across Program**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Day 1</th>
<th>Day 2</th>
<th>Day 13</th>
<th>Day 14</th>
<th>Day 18</th>
<th>Day 19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:55-3:10</td>
<td>-Students entering classroom</td>
<td>-Students entering classroom</td>
<td>-Students entering classroom</td>
<td>-Students entering classroom</td>
<td>-Students entering classroom</td>
<td>-Students entering classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Teacher re-reading book</td>
<td>-Teacher re-reading book</td>
<td>-Teacher re-reading book</td>
<td>-Students renegotiating seating arrangement</td>
<td>-Teacher introducing book with U. S. map</td>
<td>-Teacher reminding students of restroom-use policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:10-3:15</td>
<td>-Teacher introducing program</td>
<td>-Teacher re-reading book</td>
<td>-Teacher introducing Readers’ Theater (RT)</td>
<td>-Students writing in journal</td>
<td>-Teacher introducing vocabulary</td>
<td>-Teacher distributing materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Students not writing, talking, or</td>
<td>-Teacher re-reading book</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Students not writing, talking, or</td>
<td>-Students picture walking with a partner</td>
<td>-Students asking to play a game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>participating</td>
<td>-Students assigned roles</td>
<td></td>
<td>participating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:15-3:40</td>
<td>-Teacher reading book around interruptions</td>
<td>-Students re-writing slogans</td>
<td>-Students assigned roles</td>
<td>-Students pair-reading without vocabulary or read aloud activities</td>
<td>-Teacher reading book</td>
<td>-Teacher reading book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Teacher re-reading book</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Students re-writing roles, re-negotiating roles, practicing, and performing RT</td>
<td>-Students not reading</td>
<td>-Teacher playing vocabulary game</td>
<td>-Students listening for story’s beginning, middle, and end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:40-3:50</td>
<td>-Students writing reflections in journals</td>
<td>-Students writing stories in journals</td>
<td>-Teacher reading book</td>
<td>-Students filling out a story map graphic organizer as an outline for writing a personal story</td>
<td>-Students writing reflections in journals</td>
<td>-Students writing reflections in journals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:50-4:00</td>
<td>-Students drawing self-portraits and writing personal slogans</td>
<td>-Students checking out classroom library books</td>
<td>-Students checking out classroom library books</td>
<td>-Students drawing sea creatures on plain hermit crab picture</td>
<td>-Students writing personal stories in journals</td>
<td>-Students reading personal stories to each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00-4:05</td>
<td>-Students checking out classroom library books</td>
<td>-Students checking out classroom library books</td>
<td>-Students checking out classroom library books</td>
<td>-Students checking out classroom library books</td>
<td>-Students being dismissed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.1 depicts events of six of the twenty-four days I analyzed. On day two, the focus day in the following analyses, the second grade ELL readers enter the classroom context talking to each other and to Mrs. Saldivar. They place their backpacks along the classroom wall in a row, get their materials from a table (copy of the book, a sharpened pencil, and their journal), and choose where and with whom to sit. The teacher tells them that she is going to re-read the picture book again because there are new members in the classroom and that they will re-write their slogans or mottos today. Mrs. Saldivar re-reads *Stand Tall, Molly Lou Melon* by Patty Lovell (2001), during the read aloud activity. During the read aloud, the readers ask questions of the texts (printed words and illustrations), dramatize meanings of words, and participate in the repetitive language of the book.

After the read aloud, the teacher tells the student that they will re-write the slogans they wrote on day one to match Grandma’s slogans from the book. Readers pair up for the slogan-writing, using the book’s text as a reference. Readers re-write their slogans with the help of the teacher, who re-reads Grandma’s slogans from the book several times until every reader has written a positive slogan they have heard from a loved family member, teacher, or friend to use when they need it. After successfully re-writing a positive slogan, the readers write their reading reflections in their journals, while the teacher makes jottings in her journal. As the readers finish writing their reflections, they check out books from the classroom library. The teacher directs them to line up in a straight line at the classroom door after they check out a library book, and she walks them to the front of the school where they are picked up by family members.
On day 18, the focus day from the end of the study, the readers enter the classroom context talking to each other, asking other members to place their backpacks on the floor along the classroom counter for them, asking the teacher for permission to use the restroom before the 3:00 p.m. start of the lesson, collecting their materials from a table, and finding a place to sit at the reading tables. When the 3:00 p.m. bell rings, the teacher shuts the door of the classroom and introduces a new book, *Alexander, Who Used to be Rich Last Sunday* by Judith Viorst (1987). Mrs. Saldivar points to New Jersey on the U.S. map to show the readers the location of the story in the book. Then the teacher introduces vocabulary words on sentence strips, and provides oral definitions and sentences. Readers interject their own definitions, translations, and sentences for the words, too. Next, the children take a picture walk of the book. The picture walk is followed by the read aloud activity.

During the read aloud, the readers play a vocabulary game where they propose to say “rabbit” each time they hear a vocabulary word during the read aloud. After the read aloud, the readers form small groups of two or three readers to fill out individual story map graphic organizers with information for their own stories of finding money. When the readers complete the story map, they write in their stories in their journals. Five minutes before the lesson ends, readers check out books from the classroom library. I chose this representative afterschool reading lesson from the beginning of the study to analyze further.

In analyzing events across the entire study, I sought to uncover how participants spent in the afterschool reading program. Therefore, I created an event frequency table which groups events and indicates the most dominant events. It shows what participants
in the study did and how often they engaged in them across the study. Table 4.2 shows the event frequency table.

Table 4.2

*Event Frequency Table*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students entering classroom</td>
<td>24/24</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing in journals</td>
<td>21/24</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher reading a book</td>
<td>15/24</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students checking-out books</td>
<td>12/24</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students creating texts</td>
<td>10/24</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students pair reading</td>
<td>8/24</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher distributing materials</td>
<td>7/24</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students connecting to texts</td>
<td>5/24</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students performing Readers’ Theaters</td>
<td>5/24</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher and students refocusing teamwork</td>
<td>4/24</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students drawing</td>
<td>4/24</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students showing camera curiosity</td>
<td>4/24</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members having conflicts and negotiations</td>
<td>4/24</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students finding a backpack location</td>
<td>4/24</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students performing plays</td>
<td>4/24</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher teaching vocabulary lessons</td>
<td>3/24</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher making restroom-use reminders</td>
<td>2/24</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students taking picture walks of books</td>
<td>2/24</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members choral reading</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher pairing up with a participant to read</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members listening to a taped story</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students wanting to remove a member</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student pairs taking a picture walk</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students filling in a reading worksheet</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students making a Mother’s Day card</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students having free time to talk</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students playing the Bullseye game</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher re-teaching a lesson</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher continuing a lesson</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I created the event frequency table by using the event map (Appendix B). I counted the number of times the events happened across the 24 days of the study and calculated a percentage. As indicated in the event frequency table (Table 4.2), the event map named “students enter” took place 24 out of the 24 times or 100 percent of the time. The writing in journals event occurred 21 out of the 24 times or 88 percent of the time.
Events surrounding reading, such as read aloud and book check-out events, occurred 63 percent of the time and 50 percent of the time, respectively. The event frequency table made visible how time was spent across the whole twenty-four session program. Using an event frequency table (Table 4.2), which grouped events and indicated the most dominant events, I identified that the teacher reading a book, or a read aloud occurred 63% of the time throughout the 24-day study. This was the most frequent event in which members of the classroom focused directly on reading.

Section Two: Analyzing How Reading Was Socially Constructed By Second-Grade ELLs

From the event frequency table (Table 4.2), I identified the teacher reading books, or read aloud activity, as the prevalent means of engaging students in reading in the afterschool reading program (63%). I selected the read aloud event as my anchor event because it could most explicitly answer my research sub-question of how reading was socially constructed through the interactions between the readers, the texts, and the contexts of the reading classroom. I accidentally erased the video-tape for day one. Therefore, I transcribed the discourse for day two, when the participants initiated reading practices.

Uncovering Students’ Social Construction of Reading: Analysis of the Beginning of Day Two’s Read Aloud Event

In this section, I make visible the social construction of reading by analyzing the beginning of the read aloud event of day two. I make reading construction visible through the discourse between students and teacher and among students. In this read-aloud the teacher read Stand Tall, Molly Lou Melon by Patty Luvall (2001). I chose this
picture book because it is about bullying and having a positive self-concept. *Molly Lou Melon* is a story of a little girl who uses her grandmother’s wise words to prevail over being bullied by a boy at her new school.

In the story, Molly is a short, buck-toothed, clumsy girl with a voice like a bullfrog. Molly gets bullied by Ronald Durkin, a student at her new school. But Molly’s grandmother tells her to walk proudly, smile big, and sing loud and clear. Grandma tells her to “Believe in yourself and the world will believe in you, too.” Molly uses her Grandma’s words to prevail over bullying. In the end, even Ronald is drawn to her wonderful personality. *Stand Tall, Molly Lou Melon* is a story that teaches readers to be accepting of others, to embrace differences, to stand tall, and to be confident. The moral of the story is to love yourself just the way you are.

The teacher begins reading the content of the book by holding the book away from her in her right hand so that the text faces the children, and reads the book’s text sideways, so she also sees the children. When she holds the book in this manner, she suggests readers look at the text being shown, listen quietly as the teacher reads, and give their attention to the person reading the book. Mrs. Saldivar, the teacher/researcher, is rereading the story so that those children who did not hear it on day one have an opportunity to listen to the story. The teacher is rereading to have the children have a second opportunity to rewrite slogans like the mottos Grandma tells Molly. Mrs. Saldivar tells the children these two reasons for rereading the picture book. I depict message units two through seven on Table 4.3 to show the beginning of the read aloud event.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M. U.</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Discourse</th>
<th>Book Actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Stand Tall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Molly Lou Melon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>by Patty Luvell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Illustrated by David Paltrow</td>
<td>(Pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Molly Lou Melon stood taller than just her dog</td>
<td>Introduces Molly’s height; compares Molly’s height to Molly’s dog’s height</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3 shows the beginning of the read aloud event. Mrs. Saldivar signals that the read aloud starts when she reads the bright green cover of the picture book, “Stand Tall, Molly Lou Melon” (MU 2 and 3). The teacher then reads, “By Patty Luvell “(MU 4) to tell the students the author of the book. She indicates the illustrator’s name in message unit five when she says, “Illustrated by David Paltrow” (MU 5). As she reads, she takes her time to read the title, author, and illustrator on the cover of the book to demonstrate for readers that the name of the book, the person who wrote it, and the artist who illustrated it are important information to know before reading the story. Then the teacher pauses (MU 6) before she reads the picture book text to the students. The pause signals to the children that they need to prepare for reading the book’s text, and that the text on the book’s pages differs from the text on the book’s cover.

The teacher signals the beginning of the book’s text when she turns to the first page of the picture book. She begins reading the book to the students, a line from the book, “Molly Lou Melon stood taller than just her dog” (MU 7). The dog depicted in the book is very small. This line from the book introduces students to the main character, and
focuses on Molly’s height. When the teacher reads the introduction of the main character of the story, she shows readers the importance of the main character to the story, her unusual characteristics, and her importance in the story plot. The book signals to readers the main character’s height, Molly’s unique quality that sets her apart from other characters in the story. The comparison to her dog’s height emphasizes that Molly is about a foot shorter than her classmates, and only about an inch taller than her dog.

The picture book’s plot, illustrations, and text provided one particular participant/reader, Lulu, multiple opportunities to interact with the text. Her interactions are prevalent in this read aloud transcription (Table 4.3). Lulu is a bright-eyed, spontaneous, and inquisitive second grader. She had been my student in a first grade Tier III pull-out program for non-readers. The program was held in the same classroom as the afterschool reading program. Thus, Lulu is comfortable with me and the classroom.

Table 4.4 represents message units eight through 25. It depicts how Lulu begins socially constructing reading. The table is divided into six columns. The columns are used for message unit numbers, the shifting interactions between the speakers, discourse of the book and children, and children’s and book’s actions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M. U.</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Discourse</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Children’s Actions</th>
<th>Actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lulu</td>
<td>Gasp Looking at picture; responding to illustration and text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>and as the shortest girl in the first grade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>She didn’t mind</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>Her grandma said</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Her grandma had told her</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Walk as proudly as you can and the world will look up at you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lulu</td>
<td>(Giggling) Responding to text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>And</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>so she did</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>Molly Lou Melon had buck teeth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>that stuck out as far</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>that stuck out so far</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>she could stack pennies on them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Lulu</td>
<td>Hey Responding to text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>She didn’t mind</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>Her Grandma told her</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>Smile big and the world will smile right alongside you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Message unit eight is a non-verbal response by Lulu, whose gasp is in response to the pictures in the book. To interpret the gasp and what it may signal about Lulu’s interaction with the text, I reviewed the video tape of Day 2 read aloud. In the video tape, as the text was being read, Lulu was looking at the book’s illustrations. The gasp, therefore, can be seen as her emotional response to how the character, Molly Lou Melon, is portrayed as a very petite girl. Molly is illustrated in the book as a girl the size of a large bullfrog, with blue-eyes, a freckled-face, buck-toothed, and with short brown hair. The gasp reveals that Lulu views that reading is to be experienced emotionally, and that it involves looking at illustrations, and responding to texts beyond the printed text.

The teacher resumes reading without commenting on Lulu’s response. Not commenting demonstrates to the children that Lulu’s response is an acceptable way to engage with the book’s text. Message units nine through 21 and 23-26 are lines from the book read by Mrs. Saldivar. In the text, “And was the shortest girl in the first grade” (MU 9), the book’s comparison of Molly Lou Melon to other children in first grade makes visible another common reference point from which children can use to understand Molly’s height. This second mention of her height signals that Molly’s unusual height may be important for the story’s plot. Message unit 10, “She didn’t mind”, describes the main character’s response to being short. The book shows readers another unique quality about Molly to use in understanding the developing plot of the story. This message unit signals that characters in stories can have surprising and unexpected responses to their own situations, indicating readers should listen for more about Molly, aside from her height.
Mrs. Saldivar reads, “Her grandma said” (MU 11), thus voicing how the book introduces the second main character. In message unit 12, “Her grandma had told her”, the book introduces Grandma’s interactions with Molly. Grandma tells Molly, “Walk as proudly as you can” (MU 13), “and the world will look up at you “(MU 14). At these words, Lulu giggles and utters, “Preya” (MU 15). Her giggles and utterance indicate that Lulu feels free to respond in a nonconventional manner. Lulu helps to establish a classroom norm that it is appropriate to respond to the text spontaneously, creatively, and non-verbally. Again the teacher does not stop Lulu’s spontaneous response to text, thus signaling to other students that responding to text can be spontaneous and varied in types of responses.

Mrs. Saldivar resumes reading from the book in message units 16 and 17. The text, “And, so she did” indicates Molly is a girl of action who acts on the advice of a wiser old person. The book’s illustrations show Molly doing a one-handed handstand on a banister. With message unit 17, the book introduces children to a phrase that is repeated throughout the book. The book indicates to readers that repeated text is a way to predict the upcoming text across the story book, become familiar with poetic qualities of text, and give another way for readers to interact with text.

“Molly Lou Melon had buck teeth” (MU 18), reads Mrs. Saldivar, describing the main character’s teeth and making visible that Molly had uncommon physical features, matching her uncommon personality. The book also signals to readers that books do not always have attractive children as story heroes. Mrs. Saldivar misreads the book’s next text when she says, “that stuck out as far” (MU 19). She rereads it correctly in the following message unit (MU 20). “That stuck out so far.” The teacher demonstrates to
children that readers self-correct when reading does not make sense, thus reading involves sense-making. Mrs. Saldivar reads, “She could stack pennies on them” (MU 21). This line provides readers a memorable image of the main character.

Lulu responds to the book’s text by uttering, “hey” (MU 22). The utterance indicates that Lulu finds meaning in the main character’s description and demonstrates another spontaneous response to the book’s text. Without comment, Mrs. Saldivar reads, “She didn’t mind” (MU 23). The teacher signals again that responding spontaneously to text is an acceptable practice for the members of the afterschool reading program and that the teacher does not stop children from responding spontaneously to text during read alouds. Mrs. Saldivar continues to read, “Her grandma told her: Smile big, and the world will smile right alongside you” (MUs 24-25), to show more of Molly’s grandma’s mottos.

Message units 26-29 consist of an interaction of what happens when Lulu and the teacher read the book’s text at the same time. Lulu and the teacher read, “So she did” (MU 26) simultaneously. Lulu demonstrates she has listened attentively to repeated phrases in this picture book. The teacher demonstrates that joint reading is an acceptable practice in read alouds. Students snicker and Albert laughs in response to Lulu’s and the teacher’s simultaneous reading of the text (MU 27), that makes visible responses and children’s engagement in a developing norm of reading along with the teacher for the read aloud activity. Lulu says, “ah” (MU 28) to show her surprised response to the co-reading. She laughs, “he, he” (MU 29) in response to what happened. Lulu’s laughter signals that reading is for collective enjoyment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M.U.</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Discourse</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Book’s Actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Book</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Lulu and Teacher</td>
<td>So she did</td>
<td>So she did</td>
<td>States phrase from text; signaling prior</td>
<td>Initiating repetitive text for entire book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>knowledge of repetitive book phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Members</td>
<td>(Snickering and</td>
<td></td>
<td>Responding to Lulu and teacher reading</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>laughing)</td>
<td></td>
<td>simultaneously</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Lulu</td>
<td>Ah</td>
<td></td>
<td>Responding to common action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td>he he</td>
<td></td>
<td>Responding to laughing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following message units 33-39 (Table 4.6) represent interactions between the book, Lulu, Xavier, and Rita. The interactions surround the book’s comparison of Molly’s voice to a bullfrog.

After the laughter subsides, Mrs. Saldivar reads from the book. Waiting for laughter to end, she signals that reading is for collectively engaging with text for enjoyment. The teacher reads, “Molly Lou Melon had a voice that sounded like a bullfrog being squeezed by a boa constrictor” (MU 30). The book signals Molly’s voice is another character quality in the unfolding story. The text uses a simile for comparing Molly’s voice to the sound a bullfrog makes. The mention of a boa constrictor elicits more interactions from readers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M. U.</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Children’s Actions</th>
<th>Book’s Actions</th>
<th>Intertextual Connections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Molly Lou Melon had a voice that sounded like a bullfrog being squeezed by a boa constrictor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Introduces Molly’s voice; compares it to an animal’s sound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oh</td>
<td>Attempts to gain teacher’s attention</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Addresses teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td></td>
<td>I know what’s</td>
<td>Offers an explanation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td>It’s a snake that eats frogs and starfish</td>
<td></td>
<td>Explains word in book</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Lulu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Meow</td>
<td>Seeking attention; Responding to Xavier’s definition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td>That’s even our book that we have in the classroom</td>
<td></td>
<td>Continues explaining; making intertextual connection</td>
<td></td>
<td>Connection to different classroom and text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Rita</td>
<td>We read it other day</td>
<td></td>
<td>Builds on what Xavier said; uses intertextuality</td>
<td></td>
<td>Different day, classroom, and text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.6**

*Lulu, Xavier, Rita, and text socially construct reading*
Xavier responds to the book by saying, “Oh” (MU 31) to signal that he thinks he has something to contribute to the classroom interaction and the collectives’ knowledge. He calls out, “Miss” (MU 32) to indicate he respects my role as the classroom teacher and facilitator of the read aloud. Xavier also marks the beginning of a practice for gaining the teacher’s attention in the afterschool reading program. With the line, “I know what’s a boa constrictor” (MU 33), Xavier demonstrates that he has an explanation for the meaning of a word from the book, that students can take up the text from a book as a springboard for interactions, and that these interactions are his initial efforts to establish himself as a knowledgeable person in the classroom’s culture-in-the-making.

When I do not ask for him to raise his hand to be called on, I signal to the group that the common practice of hand-raising and waiting for their turn in class is not part of the afterschool practice when contributing knowledge. Xavier explains, “It’s a snake that eats frogs and starfish” (MU 34). Xavier marks that he is a knowledgeable person in the collective, has prior knowledge of a school definition for technical or content area vocabulary/text, and has prior knowledge of science. The book signals that vocabulary like “boa constrictor” can spark interactions with text from the book. Lulu’s spontaneous “Meow!” (MU 35) response to Xavier’s definition signals that she is trying to establish herself in the collective of readers with original responses to text and to others’ interactions. “That’s even our book that we have in the classroom” (MU 36), says Xavier to continue to explain a boa constrictor.

Xavier says, “Me and Rita” (MU 37) to signal who to others who “we” refers to in message unit 37. Xavier’s use of “we” signals reading is done in a collective, not as an individual. He indicates an intertextual connection between the book and a different
classroom, a different setting, and a different subject matter. He also shows that he recognizes Rita as a knowledgeable person in the collective of readers. When Xavier says, “I showed it to Pearl and Rita” (MU 38), he signals a prior encounter with the term, boa constrictor, inclusion of other group members (Pearl and Rita), and recognizes Pearl as another knowledgeable person in the group. “We read it other day in the book” (MU 39), Rita adds. Rita makes visible that she builds on what Xavier says and that “we” includes her, Pearl, and Xavier. “We” indicates reading is done with others. Rita demonstrates prior reading in another context, an intertextual reference to a different day, the homeroom classroom, text, and subject (science), and an interest to establish herself as a knowledgeable person in the afterschool reading program.

Table 4.7 portrays how Mrs. Saldivar affirms Xavier’s and Rita’s collective reading. It displays the teacher’s discourse and actions in response to the previous student interactions in message units 40-44.

Table 4.7
Teacher affirming children’s social construction of reading

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M. U.</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Discourse Teacher’s Discourse</th>
<th>Actions Teacher’s Actions</th>
<th>Cultural Signals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>You did the right thing</td>
<td>Affirms students’ actions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td>Good readers</td>
<td>Praises students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>Good readers make those kinds of connections</td>
<td>Defines what good readers do; they make connections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td>You did the right thing there</td>
<td>Affirms child’s actions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>sir</td>
<td></td>
<td>Signals respect; acknowledges Xavier’s teacher role</td>
<td>“sir” is a sign of respect reserved for a person equal to the teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When the teacher says, “You did the right thing” (MU 40), she demonstrates that she affirms her students’ discourse and actions. Mrs. Saldivar signals that she is also a member and learner by acknowledging their contributions. She indicates she is a co-learner in the collective when she waits to speak until the children finish their interactions during the read aloud. By waiting her turn, she demonstrates how read alouds are done in the afterschool reading program. When Mrs. Saldivar says, “Good readers,” (MU 41) she shows that in the afterschool reading program, the teacher praises students’ inclusiveness, acknowledges their knowledge contributions, and publicly recognizes students’ efforts.

In message unit 42, “Good readers make those kinds of connections”, Mrs. Saldivar shows that members of the afterschool reading program are good readers when they make connections when they read, contribute what they read for everyone’s benefit, and share reading with others. She also makes visible that she helps children establish the read aloud practices for the afterschool reading program when she says, “You did the right thing there” (MU 43). The teacher demonstrates that the text is for connecting people and that reading is done as a group effort through different kinds of intertextual connections. Mrs. Saldivar uses “Sir,” (MU 44) to show respect for Xavier and acknowledges Xavier’s role as a fellow knowledge contributor. She demonstrates Xavier’s actions and words by addressing him (a child) as “sir”, a word usually reserved for an adult male. She also shows that knowledge comes from other readers’ actions and words, too. Table 4.8 represents an interaction between the teacher, Xavier, and Lulu, concerning the candy-eating policy of the afterschool reading program. It shows the discourse and the actions of the participants, through which draw on cultural knowledge
and construct intertextuality between the book, developing classroom norms, and larger policy contexts of the school and the state.

Table 4.8 illustrates message units 45-55. In message units 45-46, Lulu calls out, “Miss, Miss” to gain the teacher’s attention. Lulu uses the same word Xavier had used for gaining the teacher’s attention in the previous interaction. Lulu asks, “How come everybody’s eating a candy?” (MU 47), thus making visible that she wants to know about this classroom privilege. Lulu makes known that she is not aware of the afterschool reading program’s candy-eating policy. Lulu wants to know what is going on around her. (Lulu arrived late on day one, after the candy-eating policy was explained. In lesson one, children were told they were allowed to bring a snack from home to enjoy because they would be staying afterschool for an hour.)

Xavier’s answer, “’Cause we could” (MU 48) implies an intertextual connection to time and classroom rules, policies, and privileges members can exercise as members of the afterschool reading project. Mrs. Saldivar confirms Xavier’s explanation in message unit 49: “It’s after three o’clock”. The teacher builds on Xavier’s answer to provide a specific reason to Lulu’s question. In this way, both Xavier and the teacher socially construct an intertextual explanation for how classroom norms are related to school and state policies relating to school time and child nutrition.
Table 4.8
*Teacher’s, Xavier’s, and Lulu’s interactions around afterschool candy-eating policy*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MU</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Children’s Actions</th>
<th>Teacher’s Actions</th>
<th>Intertextual Connections</th>
<th>Cultural Signals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Lulu</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Addresses teacher to gain attention</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Repeats call</td>
<td></td>
<td>Repeats call</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>How come everybody’s eating a candy</td>
<td>Asks question about classroom norms; notices she is not included; Shows what is going on around her</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td>‘Cause we could</td>
<td>Answers Lulu’s question; explains classroom norms; connects to day one</td>
<td></td>
<td>Connection to time, rules, and law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>It’s after three o’clock</td>
<td>Confirms Xavier’s explanation; answers Lulu’s question; intertextual connecton</td>
<td></td>
<td>Connection to law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Lulu</td>
<td>Did somebody</td>
<td>Invites attention from others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uses a non-example</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Do you have gum</td>
<td>Asks for gum; trying to learn classroom norms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td>It’s after three</td>
<td>Repeats time</td>
<td>Connection to state policy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Signals endearment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Mija</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Lulu</td>
<td>We learned about clocks today</td>
<td>Makes connection to teacher’s mention of 3:00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Lulu asks, “Did somebody?” (MU 50) to show that she invites the attention of other students and that she wants to know which members also know the classroom policy concerning eating candy afterschool. Lulu asks, “Do you have gum?” (MU 51) to show she wants gum (not candy), wants to try out an insider’s privilege, and to take up a classroom norm about eating sweets. Xavier responds, “No” (MU 52) to signal that he does not have gum, and that he possibly does not necessarily want her to be part of the insider’s practice. In “It’s after three” (MU 53), the teacher indicates the time that the classroom’s candy-eating policy is in effect, an intertextual connection to state the child nutrition policy, and the desire for Lulu to share in the same rights and privileges of other members of the afterschool reading program.

In message unit 54, the teacher uses “Mija”, a term of endearment of a daughter-like relationship, to address Lulu. The teacher shows an established relationship between teacher and student. The teacher makes an intertextual connection to the year when she tutored Lulu in first grade, when Lulu was first learning to read. Lulu says, “We learned about clocks today” (MU 55) and reveals that Lulu ties the teacher’s mention of the time the classroom sweets policy is in effect (MUs 49 and 53) to the child’s homeroom classroom, mathematics, and her own knowledge of time and clocks. Lulu also shows an intertextual connection to time, another classroom, another setting, and the math subject. She signals an attempt to make intertextual connections like Xavier, Rita, and Pearl. Message unit 56 signals a return to the text in the book. The teacher reads the book and shows an end to the norms and policy interaction.
Table 4.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse</th>
<th>Actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. U. 56</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mrs. Saldivar looks away from the children and resumes reading the book. The teacher signals it is time to continue with the book’s text again and to end talking about the classroom’s candy policy. “She didn’t mind” (MU 56) includes another repeated text from the book. The teacher shows a literacy practice during read alouds of returning to the page in the book before taking up more students’ interactions. I analyzed the entire discourse of day two in the same way.

Summary of How Reading Was Socially Constructed

The following is a summary of how reading was socially constructed by the readers, texts, and contexts at the beginning of the read aloud event. Beginning with the analysis of interactions captured on message unit 31, the book’s texts interact with the afterschool readers to construct reading. My analysis of message units 32-55 indicated interactions surrounding a vocabulary word. Readers constructed the word’s meaning through teacher-students and student-student interactions. The vocabulary term “boa constrictor” engaged readers in interactions with the illustration of a boa constrictor. Xavier’s and Rita’s interactions around this vocabulary word demonstrate how Xavier, in the community of readers constructed reading by contributing knowledge to the collective of readers, bringing in others to the interaction, and using intertextuality.

The book’s text becomes an actor during the social construction of reading. From the analysis of message units 11-12, it became visible that the descriptions and
illustrations of the characters provide the means for children to socially construct reading through author word choices and the Grandma’s advice. “Her grandma said. Her grandma had told her” (MUs 11-12), signal that Grandma and Molly communicate in the form of advice. The analysis of message units two to 26 contributes to showing how the book’s text about the main character’s height, personality, and voice invites readers to connect to text personally and respond spontaneously. The repeated phrase, “So she did” (MU 16) interacts with readers by sending positive messages, signaling the book’s poetic qualities, and inviting readers to interact with the text across the story.

Through the analysis, I also made visible the initiation of an afterschool reading culture. In this culture, readers socially construct reading with minimal teacher talk during the read aloud (MUs 1-56). The analysis of message units two through 38 demonstrates that the book is a social actor within this culture, in which the teacher is speaking for the book. As represented in message units 40-43, Mrs. Saldivar is a reader who facilitates the interactions between the book and the students in this emerging culture. She also facilitates the interactions with texts by affirming, praising students’ actions, and calling the children good readers. Through the analysis, I show that within this developing reading culture, the teacher addresses the children with a cultural form of endearment (“mija”/”mijo”), acknowledges students’ teacher role, and expresses respect for the students’ interactions in message units 51, and 53-54. Mrs. Saldivar also signals how read alouds start in this classroom culture.

The analysis shows that between message units 45-53, the classroom’s norms and expectations became visible through Lulu’s, Xavier’s and the teacher’s discourse and actions. Lulu’s attempts exemplify that the teacher and students are dynamically
constructing norms, expectations, and knowledge of reading together. Lulu signals that besides establishing literacy practices, cultural practices of classroom life are also being talked into being. Lulu demonstrates that she is an outsider who is missing out on full participation and classroom privileges by not knowing what other members know. Others students and the teacher bring her into the classroom culture by telling her that readers in the afterschool reading program can eat candy after 3:00 p.m.

I continued discourse analysis of day two to identify instances of the social construction of reading. Reading was socially constructed in day two and across the days of the study through the interactions of readers, texts, and contexts within the developing and changing culture of the afterschool reading program. To examine if and how the social construction of reading may have changed or may have been taken up by students, I chose a day from the last part of the program for further in-depth analysis of discourse and participant actions. I reread the event map (Table 4.1) and selected day 18 as a comparison for day two. I chose another read aloud toward the end of the study when members had already established reading practices.

As indicated in Table 4.1, day 18’s events began with the children entering the afterschool classroom. A vocabulary lesson in preparation for reading *Alexander, Who Used To Be Rich Last Sunday* by Judith Viorst (1987) followed. Then the pairs of children engaged in a picture walk to become acquainted with the text from the picture book. A picture walk entails children previewing the picture book and explaining or responding to the illustrations to another child or children. The picture walk could occur before or after introducing key vocabulary words. Introducing vocabulary prior to reading the text from the book is a technique that enables ELL children to preview words that
children may need help defining. In this way, when they listen or read the story, they are familiar with the words and understand the story better.

The read aloud activity followed the picture walk activity. During the read aloud, the children suggested and played a vocabulary recognition game. After the read aloud activity, the students entered information into a story map. Then, they wrote their reflections in their journals. Day 18 ended with checking out books from the classroom library.

By analyzing events of day 18, I uncovered various activities that showed how children socially constructed reading. I then conducted a discourse analysis in the same way as presented above for day two, to identify what children signaled as reading. I then used these signals about reading to create a domain analysis of reading on day 18 (Appendix C). Reading on day 18 included emotional experiences, responding to text with others, sharing knowledge with others, and recognizing classroom norms and expectations in self and in others.

The reading on day 18 demonstrated that reading was for emotional experiences, as when Lulu exclaimed, “Oh my God!” in message unit 21 after the book stated how much money Alexander’s brother Nicholas had. Marjorie responded emotionally when she said, “Bingo. Bingo, Miss,” (MU 158-159) after she heard Pearl say the words to the text before the teacher reads them. Another example of experiencing reading emotionally was when Lulu said, “Uh, oh” (MU 126) when Alexander lost fifteen cents or when she gasped in message unit 130 when Alexander could not hold his breath until the count of three hundred. A different example of emotional responding occurred when Albert exclaimed, “Aw!” when Alexander bet he could jump from the top of the stoop and land
on his feet. Children’s emotional responses to texts showed they were interacting with text personally.

Similarly to day two, children’s discourse signals on day 18 indicated that reading was for responding to text with others in the reading community. For instance, Lulu asked, “How much that cost?” (MU 18) after hearing how many coins Alexander’s brother had saved. Gilbert also responded to the text after hearing a repetitive phrase in message units 40-41 and 45. Gilbert asked, ”Miss, didn’t say that?” and “Didn’t you already say bus token already?” Student responses on day 18 included more of the spontaneous emotional responses than on day two. However, the norms and ways of reading that were being established on day two were now being seamlessly enacted as reading included sharing knowledge, interacting with others, and using classroom norms to participate and read in socially appropriate ways. In the next section I use the signals of reading I identified from discourse analyses to construct a representation of what counted as reading to second grade ELLs in the afterschool reading program.

Section Three: Identifying What Counts as Reading to Second Grade ELLs

Domain Analysis of Day Two

After I uncovered the social construction of reading through analyzing the readers’ interaction of day 18, I created domain analyses for days two and 18 to show what afterschool ELL readers viewed as reading. First, I used reading signals I identified in the discourse analysis to construct a domain analysis of cultural indicators of reading constructed by classroom participants on day two. Figure 4.1, column for included terms, represents children’s views of reading uncovered through discourse analyses of children’s discourse and actions. The right-hand column, cover term, indicates the domain that
encompasses the included terms. The semantic relationship provides a link between the
discourse signals of reading to the larger understanding of the larger aspect of reading
represented by the cover term. It is one of two cover terms I discuss in this chapter. The
remaining cover terms are provided in Appendix C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Included Terms</th>
<th>Semantic Relationship</th>
<th>Cover Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>predicting words</td>
<td>is a way to</td>
<td>Participate in reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including oneself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verifying text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evaluating text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responding to text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaining attention</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>showing connections to text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imparting own feelings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asking questions of texts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dramatizing text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defining text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>making a life connections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 4. Cover term, Participate in reading*

The cover term (Figure 4.1), *Participate in reading*, is part of the domain analysis
of day two. This included term indicates what the readers signaled as reading. It
represents the *included terms*: predicting words, including oneself, verifying text,
evaluating text, responding to text, gaining attention, showing connections to text,
imparting own feelings, asking questions of text, dramatizing text, defining text, and
making life connections to text. The events listed under the included terms show that
children use a process to participate when they socially construct reading. From the
included terms, it became evident that participating in reading involves children
participating with text (and illustrations), followed by making personal connections with
text, then gaining attention to participate, and finally connecting to others.
The second way of viewing reading was sharing knowledge, as represented in Figure 4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Included Terms</th>
<th>Semantic Relationship</th>
<th>Cover Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>defining words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>translating</td>
<td>is a way to</td>
<td>Share your knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>establishing a teacher role</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dramatizing text meaning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 4.2. Cover term, Share your knowledge*

The cover term (Figure 4.2), *Share your knowledge*, is another part of the domain analysis of day two. The included terms indicated that the readers signaled that reading as knowledge-sharing involved: defining words for others, translating to Spanish, establishing a teacher role, and dramatizing text meaning to share knowledge with the classroom community. This cover term makes visible that for these children, words or vocabulary are for making meaning (defining, translating, and dramatizing), rather than for pronouncing, sounding out, or recalling them. It also shows that these members take up a teacher role to socially construct reading in the collective.

*Domain Analysis of Day 18*

After constructing domains of the signals of reading for day two (Appendix C), I followed the same process to create a domain analysis of the read aloud event for day 18. I wanted to see what the participants signal about reading at the end of the afterschool reading program. Using message unit data, I constructed a domain analysis by placing the signals of reading in the included terms column and then determined a cover term that connected the included terms through a means-end semantic relationship, X is a way to Y.
(respond to texts). Figures 4.3 and 4.4 represent two of the domain analyses of day 18.

The rest of the domain analyses and cover terms are provided in Appendix D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Included Terms</th>
<th>Semantic Relationship</th>
<th>Cover Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reading with teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asking about texts’ meanings</td>
<td>is a way to</td>
<td>Respond to texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extending meaning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>questioning illustrations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 4.3. Cover term, Respond to texts*

The cover term, *Respond to texts*, is a portion of the domain analysis of day 18. It shows that for second grade ELLs, reading is responding to text. The included terms constituting ways of responding to texts include: reading with the teacher, asking about texts’ meanings, extending meaning of texts, and questioning illustrations. This cover term shows that children responded to texts to make meaning. They showed that they constructed reading socially by reading printed text with the teacher, making meaning by questioning, and extending printed text, and questioning illustrations.

Figure 4.4 represents another aspect of reading constructed by the children in the afterschool reading program. They show that reading is making life connections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Included Terms</th>
<th>Semantic Relationship</th>
<th>Cover Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>predicting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finishing contributions</td>
<td>is a way to</td>
<td>Make life connections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>using intertextuality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including yourself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>checking others’ connections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 4.4. Cover term, Make Life Connections*
Figure 4.4 illustrates the cover term, *Make life connections*, as the second grade ELLs view reading as making life connections. The included terms are: predicting, finishing contributions of other members and the teacher, using intertextuality, including yourself, and checking others’ connections to texts. By predicting and finishing contributions, children demonstrate that to make life connections, they use their background experiences and knowledge to connect with texts and with other members. When they use intertextuality, they make connections beyond the printed texts (e.g., across time, space, and subjects). They show they are applying text to their own lives while checking others’ connections, they are evaluating life connections to text made by other children. By going beyond print, children are showing that reading is more than word-recognition. To them, reading involves higher order and critical thinking abilities of questioning, evaluating, and making connections.

**Taxonomy**

Using domain analyses, I constructed the taxonomy that shows what counts as reading to second grade ELLs of the afterschool reading program. I combined the cover terms of children’s perspective of reading from domain analyses of days two and 18 to create the taxonomy. I used the taxonomy to answer the overarching research question: What counts as reading to second grade ELLs in a non-graded afterschool reading program?

Figure 4.5 represents the taxonomy. The taxonomy (Figure 4.5) represents the three key signals of reading from juxtaposing the domain analyses of days two and 18. I combined the included terms that were duplications to create the taxonomy. The taxonomy shows that translating, dramatizing, objecting, making life connections,
playing with texts, and questioning texts are ways of sharing knowledge. The cover term, *Sharing knowledge*, explains that readers are reading collectively, doing something with texts, making reading meaningful, and approaching reading uniquely and creatively.

The taxonomy also represents that the ways of responding to texts include evaluating texts’ and peers’ words, intertextuality, bringing others in, taking on teacher roles, and connecting with own life experiences and first language. *Responding to Texts* describes that readers view texts as material to connect their own values, backgrounds, and experiences. With Figure 4.5, I make visible that texts can be connected to and across people, roles, and other texts. The term denotes that readers take texts and use their backgrounds to socially construct new meanings that are beyond literal interpretations of texts.

The figure demonstrates that challenging, establishing, re-establishing, correcting other children, and recognizing self-use are ways of recognizing norms and expectations. The cover term, *Recognizing Norms and Expectations*, describes that afterschool reading context is where readers construct new and diverse ways to read. It describes contexts with student agency, possibilities for reconstructing norms and expectations, and the freedom to go beyond existing contexts, including rules, practices, and ways of reading.

The taxonomy makes visible that the children view reading as sharing knowledge, responding to texts, and recognizing norms and expectations. The children combine these domains of cultural knowledge to create opportunities to read and to socially construct reading.
What counts as reading to second grade ELLs in a non-graded afterschool reading program?

Figure 4.5. Taxonomy of What Counts as Reading to Second Grade ELLs

Summary

The findings explain that what counts as reading to second grade ELLs involves sharing knowledge, responding to texts with others, and recognizing norms and expectations of the classroom reading culture. Second grade ELLs in the afterschool reading program seized opportunities to share knowledge with others by establishing their own classroom culture, reading practices, and norms and expectations, instead of following predetermined reading standards set by the teacher, district, or state. They used
opportunities provided for them in the afterschool reading program to respond as a group, rather than only individually. Children of the afterschool reading program constructed reading socially by recognizing norms and expectations they distinctly created, rather than adhering solely to rules without opportunities to construct and co-construct them.

Through event mapping, I identified that these second grade ELLs had opportunities to interact with children’s literature, not basal readers or practice passages for passing standardized reading tests. I showed that children had opportunities to make reading – writing connections by responding to text in journals, writing stories of their own, writing their own versions of a story they read, filling out graphic organizers, writing slogans, and making Mother’s Day cards. I demonstrated that rather than reading using English-only, I helped their meaning-making by using pre-reading (picture walk), using graphic organizers, and aiding vocabulary development prior to reading. The children also experienced reading through art (e.g., drawing sea creatures on a blank hermit crab drawing and drawing a self-portrait). Through event maps, I saw that the children worked collectively to construct reading by pair-(and triad-) reading, whole group instruction, and small group arrangements. I identified that they participated as a group in Readers Theater and played role negotiations, rehearsals, and performances.

By analyzing moment-by-moment children’s discourse, I identified that second grade ELLs socially constructed reading by reading from picture books with vivid illustrations which helped ELLs make meaning of the story. Picture books contained repeated and predictable text, and poetic qualities, rather than, contrived and controlled vocabulary to decode. I showed that these children read stories that gave them opportunities to socially construct meaning, rather than reading word lists without
context, drilling phonics skills, or timing their decoding abilities. The literature contained authentic vocabulary (e.g., “boa constrictor”), instead of reading a controlled, sequenced, or leveled vocabulary found in basal readers or decodable text.

By analyzing discourse, I identified that children used “we” to show that reading was being done in a collective. Children took up the role of knowledgeable persons while socially constructing reading. The teacher’s discourse demonstrated that the book’s text is not the only authority of knowledge. Knowledge, she marked, comes from children’s interactions with text in the classroom community. I also showed that children’s reading practices and processes were constructed from others’ interactions around text, rather than individually.

While socially constructing reading in read alouds, I interacted with the children and the printed text, but did not dictate to the children how or when to interact with text. I identified myself as a learner, too, who did not transmit knowledge, but allowed children to interact around text in their collective ways. While reading literature, I demonstrated to children that readers self-correct when what they read does not make sense, instead of focusing on speed, accuracy, or waiting for the teacher to correct them. The discourse showed that reading is done within a classroom culture, and that its immediate and broader contexts influence the children’s reading experiences.

By creating a domain analysis of days two and 18, I uncovered the children’s dominant views of reading. I used children’s discourse to demonstrate each view. With this domain analysis, I showed that the children of the afterschool reading program shaped a classroom reading culture by which read alouds were socially constructed by the teacher, students, and texts. I showed that read alouds and children’s reading practices
were shaped by the norms and expectations they created from the first day of the program to the end.

The taxonomy I constructed illustrated the three dominant children’s perspectives of reading. I showed that the children viewed reading as sharing knowledge by taking printed text or participants’ actions with print, modifying it (e.g., translating and dramatizing), and doing something with the text (e.g., critiquing it, personalizing it). I showed that by playing with texts, reading seemed less threatening or seemed enjoyable. I showed that to these children reading focused on meaning making, rather than simply decoding, timing reading, or answering test questions.

Through the taxonomy, I showed that children viewed reading as responding to texts by socially connecting to print (evaluating texts’ words), peers (evaluating peers’ words, bringing in others, and taking a teacher’s roles) or themselves (intertextuality and connecting with life experiences or first language). I also demonstrated that children viewed reading as recognizing norms and expectations as reading through seeing self actions and the actions of others in the classroom reading community (correcting others and recognizing self use of norms and expectations). I made visible that the participants recognized that they could construct the culture’s norms and expectations with the group’s language and actions (challenging norms and expectations and establishing, and re-establishing norms and expectations). Building on these findings, I discuss possible contributions and implications of my study, and suggest future research in chapter five.
CHAPTER FIVE: CONTRIBUTIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The purpose of this study was to understand how reading was discursively and socially constructed by second grade ELLs in a non-graded afterschool reading program. In this chapter, I present the contributions of the study in relation to the literature reviewed in chapters one and two. At the end of the chapter, I also offer implications for classroom practice and future research.

Chapter one posed the need to study how children socially construct reading in the present-day context of high-stakes state assessments and state reading standards. A review of the literature pointed to the growing numbers of ELL students who are at-risk of academic failure (Garcia, 2000; Garcia, et al., 2008; Genesee, et al., 2005). It also pointed to evidence that reading curriculum and instruction provided for the ELL students is influenced by state reading assessments that measure isolated, discrete reading skills (Smagorinsky, 2009) rather than higher order thinking and critical reading (Garcia, 2000).

My study contributes to literature about reading achievement of ELLs (Garcia, 2000; Genesee, et al., 2005) by making visible what second grade English language learners can do when they read and interact with texts in a non-graded reading environment. While many studies on reading proficiency of ELLs show students are at risk for reading failure on standardized reading tests, few studies focus on what students can do when provided alternative opportunities to engage in reading practices and develop reading abilities. This study addresses this gap in the literature by demonstrating
ELLs’ active construction of the reading processes and by providing ELLs’ point of view of what counts as reading.

Contributions

I identified three major findings which make visible second grade ELLs’ emic perspective of reading. My analyses of data indicate that what counts as reading to second grade ELLs is sharing knowledge, responding to texts with others, and recognizing norms and expectations. These findings provide a multi-faceted, dynamic view of reading, rather than a narrow view of reading found in the current context of reading classrooms that present reading as passing standardized tests.

Children View Reading as Sharing Knowledge

My study demonstrates that second grade ELL children view reading as sharing knowledge. As the children engaged in meaningful interactions during read alouds, they defined words, explained illustrations through dramatizations, and connected to book characters with personal stories. Children in the study demonstrated that minority children construct reading by constructing their own way of making meaning (Barton, 2007). This finding helps give a different perspective to research that indicates that ELLs need formal pre-reading supports experienced by their middle-class peers for them to be able to demonstrate knowledge (Garcia, et al., 2008). Children in this study demonstrated that when they are given opportunities to interact with each other around texts, they draw on their multiple sources of knowledge from school, home, and social environment and socially construct new understandings of texts, selves, and their environments. In interacting socially with each other and texts, children make meaning, demonstrate their
knowledge, and build new repertoires of knowledge they can use in future reading events as well as other academic and social interactions.

The children’s view that reading is sharing knowledge is supported by Griffin’s (2002) findings that children scaffold each other’s meaning construction by pointing, eye gazing, talking, and verbal play. Sharing knowledge became visible through spontaneously interacting with texts, peers, and teacher. I discovered that students often assumed the role of teacher to share knowledge openly with others. These findings are substantiated by studies that show that there are others in schools that can provide opportunities to ELLs to learn English, besides the ESL teacher (Weber & Longhi-Chirlin, 2001). By sharing knowledge with others, students in my study reinforced research that argues that children can use their knowledge to participate in the social world (Kalman, 2008; Rex & McEachen, 1999) in active ways.

In my study I discovered that children used Spanish and English, along with their Mexican-American heritage to share knowledge and to develop deeper understandings of texts and social environments. This finding is in line with Jimenez’s (2000) investigation that revealed that ELL students used their Mexican heritage to excel in mainstream English immersion classrooms. This finding also helps support research that argues that children’s first language proficiency is critical for first and second language reading comprehension (Droop & Verhoeven, 2003; Friesen & Jared, 2007). When children are allowed opportunities to use all of their linguistic repertoires, they focus on meaning making rather than meanings of single words. In this way, my findings challenge research that recommends that ELLs receive word-level instruction (Neufeld, et al., 2006), phonemic awareness skills (Morris, et al., 2003), or intensive discrete reading skill
interventions (Linan-Thompson, et al., 2006; Menzies & Mahdavi, 2008) to improve ELL reading abilities.

In my study, the children engaged in reading authentic children’s literature and discussed vocabulary, character analysis, and story plot. This contrasts with the type of activities available to ELL participants studied in the research focusing on ELL reading skills. In much of the research on ELL reading skills, ELLs listen for particular sounds in words, drill lists of sight words, or isolate comprehension to one skill at a time (eg., main idea, cause and effect, or inferencing) to improve reading. Students in my study were active participants in exploring texts and ways of reading. They shared knowledge by making objections to texts, playing with texts, and questioning texts. This study confirms research that suggests readers are not passive (Green, et al., 2008), but rather are agents, electing what to do, say, and show in classrooms (Kelly, et al., 2001; Tuyay, et al., 1995). Participants in the study engaged in reading activities that displayed their learning wherein they set their own purposes to practice real-life reading (Scherff & Piazza, 2009) and to take ownership of reading (Myers, 1992). In constructing reading as sharing knowledge, children made visible that reading is a social activity in which each participant actively contributes to his/her individual and the group’s collective understandings and opportunities of reading and learning.

Children View Reading as Responding to Texts with Others

My study shows that to second grade ELLs, reading involves responding to texts in multiple ways. Students responded to texts by evaluating texts’ and peers’ words, using intertextuality, bringing in others to help them respond to texts, taking on a teacher’s role, and connecting texts with their own life experiences and language.
This study showed evidence of how readers used others and themselves as texts (Bloome, et al., 2005; Castanheira, et al., 2001) for establishing and re-establishing reading practices over time. This finding is significant because ELLs in the study took the initiative to read texts in their unique ways, rather than reading in ways prescribed by outsiders dictating to them when and how to interact with texts. These ELL children participated in reading by taking control of reading. By taking up reading opportunities and responding to texts in multiple ways, ELLs demonstrated that they began to understand and believe they had reading abilities. These reading abilities are not readily visible on standardized reading tests.

In conducting discourse analyses, I provided evidence that second grade ELLs viewed reading as reading at their own pace, stopping to interject or elaborate on texts, and making intertextual connections across space and time (Heras, 1993). The findings substantiate that during reading, text’ meaning comes from the interplay with what went before and what will come later (Bloome & Egan -Robertson, 1993). This study further develops the notions that texts are materials to be experienced by the participants (Bloome & Bailey, 1992), and that texts are always interactive (Rex, 2006). My study shows the importance of providing opportunities to read by enabling students to interact with text and build upon their prior knowledge in the reading events (Daniels & Zemelman, 2004). The participants of this study brought themselves to reading acts (Weaver, 1994). The children made sense, predicted, and anticipated things as they read (Smith, 2006), and talked with each other around texts.

These findings that reading involves social interaction in responding to texts are significant because ELLs are generally enrolled in classrooms where the curriculum
focuses on individual student performance rather than on the social construction of meanings. By bringing in their knowledge, values, and life experiences to the interactive space of the reading classroom, children could construct reading through their points of view. As they interacted with texts in the study, ELLs demonstrated that a collective of second graders can make sense of texts when given opportunities to engage with texts and each other.

As children responded to texts, it became apparent that these ELLs wanted to understand text, not to read for accuracy and pronunciation. Children responded to texts with each other when they read different book genres, dramatized texts for others, found musical qualities of texts, reacted to illustrations, and gave additional meanings for vocabulary. Quieter, shyer children also responded to texts in small groups. Children responded to texts when they corrected each other honestly. Children’s interactions were acknowledged, made part of lessons, and validated by the teacher. This view of reading as responding to texts with others makes visible the importance of including social interactions around reading in classroom settings. By working together students understand texts in multifaceted ways and enable all members of the community to learn more than they would be able to learn if they were reading silently, individually, or following scripted level-based texts.

*Children view reading as recognizing norms and expectations*

My study makes visible that second grade ELLs view reading as recognizing norms and expectations of the reading community. It demonstrated that children recognized norms and expectations through challenging norms, establishing and re-
establishing cultural and reading practices, correcting peers, and recognizing self-use of the norms.

Children responded to texts with others because they constructed a classroom culture to do reading their way. This study added to inquiries on how children learn to be particular types of readers according to what counts as being readers in their school situation (Collins & Green, 1992). Children constructed a space where what they said was listened to. This study validates the argument that when given the opportunity, readers organize information, choose what they read, decide whether to reread something or read it only once by practicing with texts and with other readers (Ferreiro, 2000). It supports the idea that within each classroom, there is an invisible social order for how, when, and by whom reading is accomplished (Barton, 2007).

This finding is important because reading curriculum decisions, reading program designs, and classroom lesson plans tend to be written for generic readers. These frameworks assume that all children will read in an orderly and sequential manner. My study showed the opposite occurred in children’s interactions with texts in a reading classroom. As children engaged in read alouds, they demonstrated unique interactions with texts (print, peers, and environment). ELLs created their own dynamic reading experiences using a social order they and the teacher constructed together. Therefore, teaching and assessing reading with the assumption that readers follow a series of preset steps, know certain skills by a certain time, and perform on a predetermined level, does not reflect what ELLs view as reading. Rather, these ELLs showed that reading is unique, lively, different, and particular to each collective of readers.
This study made visible that children recognized norms and expectations when participated in the culture of reading they co-constructed through discourse with the teacher and their peers (Rex, 2006). Children were social actors that saw themselves as readers who became insiders in the social afterschool reading situation (Green & Dixon, 1994). Across time, children followed, challenged and breached norms and expectations they helped establish, thus formulating and reformulating the classroom as a culture-in-the-making. In this way norms and expectations changed along with the members’ expanding possibilities for ways of reading, understanding texts and each other, and interacting around texts.

Children recognized norms and expectations in the classroom were flexible. They also played active roles in keeping the classroom reading environment safe, consistent, and responsive to how afterschool reading was being done. Children signaled they recognized classroom norms and expectations when they supported a safe environment for reading development in their classroom culture. Their support came from the classroom rules and expectations they socially constructed. They could do activities their way or differently from teacher’s expectation/specifications. They were even free to not read, not write, and not get along with peers in their environment.

Children viewed reading as recognizing norms and expectations when they constructed reading practices, identified errors, misunderstandings, or inaccuracies in reading or in classroom rules and expectations. My investigation sustains work by Floriani (1993) who argues that students shape and maintain social relationships for negotiating, establishing, disagreeing, and maintaining face to face interactions in classroom social situations. My study shed light on how teachers and students formulate
and reformulate what they are supposed to know and learn to be readers (Castanheira, et al., 2007) in order to act and read appropriately (Rex, et al., 1998). Members used each other’s responses to construct their own responses and interactions around and with texts. Members’ points of view, though different, helped construct reading. Reading was done with children, the teacher and text within a safe environment made up of different ideas, knowledge, and range of abilities.

Reading was done socially in multiple configurations of groupings where everyone worked with a different person at least once. Reading was socially constructed because children saw reading, including read alouds, as interactive. Seeing reading as recognizing classroom norms and expectations, children began to see reading as a gathering. Reading was a space for reading in a less structured, non-graded setting. They constructed a culture for the reading enrichment, not reading remediation. To them, reading was experienced with the teacher as a facilitator/participant who accepted their answers and used them in her lessons, and who did not act as the dispenser of knowledge. Reading was being a member of an afterschool group which cared about reading, found it important, and wanted to improve at reading.

Children’s discourse made visible that children wanted to know what norms and expectations they needed to know in order to be part of the classroom reading culture. The students’ discourse showed that children had a lot to say and contribute to reading. It demonstrated that children had a lot of background knowledge they brought to reading. It revealed children could speak openly and honestly about each other (relationships) and texts for reading. Children’s discourse indicated that they spoke both English and Spanish when reading. It showed children used culturally appropriate forms of addressing adults
and children during reading construction. Students’ discourse was evidence that children’s past experiences and home life experiences were acceptable ways to construct reading.

Expectations for membership in the afterschool reading culture adjusted as readers became culturally competent members of the classroom culture (Putney & Frank, 2008). My study showed how children constructed what counts as a relevant term, a practice, an activity, an event, and how participants became involved within and across such events (Green, et al., 2003). In collecting and analyzing data that included the full cycle of activity of the program, I was able to demonstrate how classroom life is done (Green & Meyer, 1991) over time beginning on the first day of class (Green & Dixon, 2008). Analyses revealed that classroom norms and expectations change as children interact, recognize, create, adopt, and adapt ways of being, doing, and understanding in the classroom.

Implications

Informed by a socio-cultural perspective of reading, this interactional ethnographic study has implications for teachers, curriculum administrators, and ELL students.

Teachers

Based on the findings of this study, I would like to encourage teachers to allow children to contribute to reading in their home language and to share their background experiences. Teachers can incorporate children’s knowledge in lessons. They can consider how their classroom’s culture develops and shapes a safe environment for learning, especially for ELLs. Teachers can also become aware of the influences book choices, reading events, procedures, interactions with children have on shaping children’s
reading processes. If teachers spend time enriching, not only remediating reading for ELL students, children will spend more time reading. Children will view reading as worthwhile, pleasurable, and engaging, which will lead to reading more often. If children read with heterogeneously grouped peers, it will allow children to engage in interactions around texts for the construction of reading that is meaningful to them. I recommend that teachers provide a space for socially constructing reading in activities such as, readers’ theater, art, music, and drama during class reading time.

Curriculum Administrators

I recommend that curriculum administrators balance current discrete skills reading for reading assessment with reading curriculum that incorporates social interactions with and around text. If curriculum administrators plan reading curriculum with ELLs in mind, they can allow the use of students’ home language and home culture/experiences as resources that can enable ELL students transitioning to English. Administrators can plan a child-centered reading curriculum for the regular school day and for afterschool or Saturday school by incorporating ELL children’s preferences or interests in the development of a reading curriculum.

Children

Based on the findings of this study, I would like to suggest that children find ways to read in settings outside the classroom. Children are active participants in their lives and in constructing their opportunities for reading and learning. Therefore, they could gather in small groups to possibly organize reading clubs on their own. Their voices should be heard by teachers and administrators. ELL children can be empowered to access reading discourse during reading time within classrooms and in other activities where exploring
multiple genres and ways of reading is supported. Children could take initiative in choosing to read what they enjoy and sharing their preferences and knowledge of reading with peers and adults. I would also suggest acknowledging ELLs’ influence on meaning-making during reading time in order to instill in ELLs a value for their home language and life experiences in learning reading and other subjects.

Follow-up Studies

This study made visible how second grade ELLs socially constructed reading as members of a collective in a non-graded afterschool reading classroom culture. I employed the interactional ethnographic principles to identify three key signals of reading. Through analyses I made visible how the afterschool classroom became a developing reading culture, in which children’s everyday discourse with and across texts, socially constructed what counts as reading. There are multiple studies that could be done using the dataset from this study. Other studies could also be developed to examine the interactions of readers, reading events, and the policy and curricular climates in which school reading takes place.

In my study, I focused on read-aloud events, but future studies could investigate the vocabulary events, the writing events, or the use of drama by ELLs in the development of reading. Future research is needed in middle school and high school contexts to understand how reading is constructed socially among older ELL students. Research is also needed among non-ELL students to compare how native English readers socially construct reading. While in my study I explored student interactions with primarily children’s fiction picture books, I recommend that future research also be
conducted with non-fiction or informational reading texts, chapter books, and test-preparation texts to understand how these texts influence reading construction.

In my study students identified that the norms for the after-school reading classroom differed from those of their regular classrooms. While examining this angle was beyond the scope of my study, I suggest that a comparative interactional ethnographic study be conducted to investigate the social construction of reading within the regular reading block, within an ELL classroom, and within afterschool programs. These studies focusing on multiple environments and aspects of reading could contribute to expanding the development of the socio-cultural perspective of reading and the interactional ethnographic research tradition.

Conclusion

After conducting this study, I have applied what I learned from the children in my teaching practice. I am more keenly aware of what children’s discourse signals about reading. I use insights to prepare reading lessons that are more child-centered. I continue to accept and to use their home language and background in my reading lessons as we shape our classroom reading culture. I also educate my colleagues on broadening their views of reading. I share with them that dominant reading research, which focuses on specific skills, interventions, or events, cannot capture such changing classroom dynamics and learning processes, thus missing potentially significant presentations about the learning that occurs outside student test performance. Studying reading from the children’s perspective provided insight into the ways ELL children may already be broadening their view of reading at the same time that the adults in their lives are focused on a narrow view of reading.
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## Appendix A. Event Mapping of Entire Study

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<td>Vocabulary Camera curiosity</td>
<td>Camera curiosity</td>
<td>Intro. Camera Video viewing</td>
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<td>Teacher reads bk. Slogan-writing</td>
<td>Teacher reads bk.</td>
<td>Teacher reads bk. Pairs re-reading</td>
<td>Intro. Venn Diagram</td>
<td>Pairs re-reading Journals</td>
<td>Student RT steps Journals</td>
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<td>Teamwork refocus T. continues reading bk.</td>
<td>T. reassigns RT roles RT performances Journals</td>
<td>Pairs re-reading Teamwork refocus</td>
<td>Reread to fill Venn D. Class Venn Diagram filled Journals</td>
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131
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<th>Lesson 9</th>
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<td>Backpacks; seating conflicts</td>
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<td>Seating negotiated</td>
<td>T. settles sts. down</td>
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<td>Materials distributed</td>
<td>T. re-reads bk.</td>
<td>Journals; no writing</td>
<td>T. read bk.</td>
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<td>Pairs re-reading</td>
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<td>RT roles assigned,</td>
<td>Pair reading w/o</td>
<td>connections; others</td>
<td>Pairs read chapter 1</td>
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<td>Picture Walk</td>
<td>Connections</td>
<td>Play rehearsal</td>
<td>Preview; skim story</td>
<td>negotiated, re-negotiated</td>
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<td>T. pairs up w/girl</td>
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<td>T. reads bk.</td>
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<td>Pairs create book check-out</td>
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<td>Restroom use reminder materials distributed</td>
<td>T. reads Spanish</td>
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<td>T. explains activities</td>
<td>T. explains activities</td>
<td>Some handle crabs; others watch Journals</td>
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<td>T. explaining wg.prompt</td>
<td>reference U.S. map</td>
<td>Pairs re-read bk.</td>
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<td>Students choose activity and talk freely</td>
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<td>Sts. want to remove a student explained writing prompt in Spanish</td>
<td>Vocabulary</td>
<td>T. reads bk. answered</td>
<td>Picture Walk</td>
<td>Bk. read alone or in pairs; choice</td>
<td>Write own version of bk.</td>
<td>Review and comment on own portfolios book check-out</td>
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<td>Pairs picture walk</td>
<td>connection s; (beginning, middle, end) BME Journals</td>
<td>Check worksheet</td>
<td>T. reads bk.</td>
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<td>Play roles negotiated</td>
<td>T. reads bk.; say &quot;rabbit&quot; when voc. recognized</td>
<td>Teamwork refocus</td>
<td>Groups fill out story map graphic organizer</td>
<td>Read versions to each other</td>
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<td>Play rehearsals book check-out</td>
<td>Story map filled in</td>
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<td>2 girls stay to complete story map</td>
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<td>Play performances book check-out</td>
<td>Read their stories to each other</td>
<td>Journals</td>
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Appendix B
Cover Terms for Domain Analysis of Day Two

Included Terms          Semantic Relationship          Cover Term
experiencing emotions
being spontaneous/surprised
laughing at oneself

is a way to      Read for An Emotional Experience

Included Terms          Semantic Relationship          Cover Term
being entertained and inventive
responding to character descriptions and alliteration
getting enjoyment

is a way to      Read For Entertainment

Included Terms          Semantic Relationship          Cover Term
responding to other’s comments
accepting or rejecting newcomer’s
commenting on use of classroom practices
expressing disbelief at misuse of classroom practices
accepting other’s definitions
accepting/not accepting someone else’s practices
responding to text by using same call (“Oh”)
piggybacking off other’s definition
accepting other’s practices

is a way to      Evaluate Other’s Actions

Included Terms          Semantic Relationship          Cover Term
using courtesies
following protocol

-is a way to      Contribute to Reading
Included Terms
using other’s experiences
  bringing others into argument-going beyond self
including oneself in others’ response
commenting on someone else’s practices
expressing disbelief at someone else’s practices
accepting others’ definition
responding to comments concerning text
accepting/not accepting someone’s attempts
  at classroom practices
using others’ call to gain attention
adding to others’ knowledge
  dramatizing text meaning
including others’ members in dramatizing text
understanding other’s dramatization
using teacher’s role
  correcting members’ practices
self-correcting
re-establishing others’ practices

Included Terms
using classroom norms and expectations
wanting insider’s knowledge
participating in classroom culture
wanting to fit in
commenting on others’ misuses of practices
expressing others’ misuses of norms
naming others not following norms
accepting other child’s definition
  being shown by an insider what is acceptable
establishing acceptable cultural practices
accepting/not accepting others’ norms
using same call (“Oh”)
adding own style at attention-gaining
connecting with text
asking questions of text
contributing one’s knowledge
re-establishing protocol for others

Semantic Relationship
Cover Term
is a way to Respond to and with Others

Semantic Relationship
Cover Term
is a way to Know Norms & Expectations
### Appendix C
Cover Terms for Domain Analysis of Day 18

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<td>contributing</td>
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<td>pronouncing printed text</td>
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<td>attention</td>
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<td>using courtesies</td>
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<tr>
<td>judging own norms/expectations</td>
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is a way to                               
Gain teacher’s attention                   
Know norms and expectations                
evaluate text/ actions
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<td>Experience emotions</td>
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<td>reacting to others’ actions</td>
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<td>expressing character's feelings</td>
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<td>responding to others’ stories</td>
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Appendix D
Semi-structured Interview Questions 1

1. Tell me your name.

2. Who is your teacher?

3. Tell me something interesting about yourself.

4. What do you think about being part of the afterschool reading project?

5. How did you decide to join?

6. What did you think you were going to do?

7. What do you do there?

8. What things do you like about the afterschool reading class?

9. What things do you not like about the class?

10. How will coming afterschool help you in reading?

11. What things have you learned so far?

12. Do others in the class help you read or write afterschool? How?
Semi-structured Interview Questions 2

1. What reading activity did you enjoy most? Why?
2. What reading activity would you need help doing? From whom?
3. Who helped you?/Was there someone who helped you?
4. Would you want to do a reading activity again? Which one? Why?
5. What was something we did that you wanted to do again, but didn’t? Why? With who? Why didn’t you do it again?
6. Was there talking during the afterschool reading program? Who talked? With whom? About what?
7. What do you think of the talking? Do you think it helped you with reading? Why? Why not?
8. Did everyone stay in their seats? Did people move around the classroom? Why? What did moving around the classroom do to help you read?
9. Were there children from your class who did not/could not stay afterschool? Why couldn’t they stay?
10. Would they ask you about the afterschool program? What would they ask you? What would you tell them about the afterschool reading program?
11. Would your teacher/parents/brothers or sisters ask you about what you did afterschool? What would you tell them?
12. Who would pick you up from the afterschool program? Would they ask you about the afterschool program? What would they ask? What would you tell them?
13. Did everyone come every time? Why not? Why do you think they stopped coming?
14. If we have an afterschool reading program next year again, would you join? Why? Why not?
15. What would you do the same? different?