Schooled Language: Examining Teachers' Figured Worlds about Language and Literacy Practices

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by

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Abstract

Background

In spite of increasing diversity within the U.S., the needs and abilities of plurilingual students, who are able to draw upon resources from diverse languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013), continue to be ignored by educational policies, such as the No Child Left Behind Act, which reflect a monoglot ideology (Silverstein, 1996) that privileges Standard American English at the expense of students' linguistically diverse realities. While much research has found that this monolingual bias (Flores & Shissel, 2014) has a negative influence on emergent bilingual youth who are not yet considered "fluent" by their schools and districts, less research has considered the experiences of teachers within increasingly diverse classrooms who teach students who do not conform to traditional linguistic categorization.

The Study

This study examines how whole-class teacher discourse reveals figured worlds of language and literacy through a comparative case study of two secondary classrooms at Gardenside (pseudonym), a public school in the Mid-Atlantic U.S. serving grades 6-12. Gardenside served roughly 400 students, 87% of whom identified as Black or African American. While only 6% were identified as English Language Learners, the students' collective linguistic repertoires were diverse, as many students spoke Haitian Creole, as well as stigmatized dialects of English, including Caribbean Creole English and African American English. Individual students also spoke Arabic, Bengali, French, and Spanish, among other languages.

Given the diversity of languages, as well as the quantity of students who spoke languages in addition to English, this study considered how teacher discourse conceptualized students' language and literacy abilities against the backdrop of national and local English-only educational policies. Specifically, how might teacher discourse reflect teachers' figured worlds (Holland 1998), or cohesive set of assumptions about classroom language and literacy activities? Data collected for the project included daily observations and fieldnotes, audio recordings of class sessions, semi-structured interviews with teachers and focal students in one-on-one and small-group settings, and student work artifacts.

Combining critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2013) and Holland's (1998) figured worlds framework, this project seeks to illuminate the sets of assumptions and beliefs about students, language and literacy practices, and ways of being in school that surface in teachers' whole-class discourse.

Findings

Findings suggest that teachers' figured worlds of language and literacy continued to conceptualize students as monolingual English-speaking students who understood and spoke the same dialects of English that the teachers used. Specifically, teacher discourse often conflated language and literacy practices with general academic and school behaviors or positioned them within larger content-area practices. Implications for how policy, schools, and classrooms can acknowledge and build upon students' diverse linguistic resources are discussed.

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Chapter I: Introduction

> *After reviewing a worksheet with the class, Ms. Moffa[1], the eighth grade science teacher says, "This might be my fault—I thought you would know this." She tells the class that she's moving the lesson that they were going to do today to the following day in order to have more time to review the concepts of experimentation (independent variable, dependent variable). She reviews these concepts orally and writes them on the white board. As she reads an example of an experiment on the worksheet, she tells the students that they should be picturing the experiment in their heads as she describes the variables. She asks them what they're trying to measure in the scenario on the worksheet. A couple students are talking and she calls their names and says she needs to speak to them after class (Fieldnotes, September 22, 2014).*

This vignette is excerpted from an observation within a linguistically and culturally diverse school during an introductory unit on the scientific method, and it raises many questions at the heart of effectively teaching linguistically diverse youth: What should a teacher be able to expect students to know and to do when they arrive in class? Where do these expectations come from? Are they appropriate for students from linguistically diverse backgrounds?

The purpose of this project is to examine assumptions about language and literacy present in teacher discourse, and to consider how these assumptions may serve to reproduce or resist monolingual biases within classes serving linguistically diverse students within a public secondary school in the Northeast. To do so, this project utilizes

[1] All names have been changed to protect anonymity of participants.

Holland's (1998) figured world framework to study the specific sets of assumptions about language and literacy that manifest through two teachers' discourses, and Fairclough's critical discourse analysis CDA (2013) as a means of connecting such assumptions to the ideologies present within the classroom's social, political, and institutional landscape. This chapter will present a brief background and introduction to the topics of study, define key terms, provide an overview of the study, and explore the scholarly significance of this project.

Language Diversity in U.S. Schools

A 2011 U.S. Census report shows that roughly one-fifth of students over the age of five speak a language other than English at home (Ryan, 2013). However, as the U.S. becomes increasingly linguistically diverse, U.S. schools are increasingly beholden to standards that emphasize English at the expense of students' other language proficiencies (García & Flores, 2014). In contrast to policies supporting English-based standards, research has repeatedly shown the benefits of bilingual education (Rolstad, Mahoney, Glass, 2005), and the strategic use of students' multiple languages as resources in the classroom (Cummings, 2013).

However, the movement for multilingual education has been contentious (Wright, 2010), and schools that serve students of multiple language backgrounds contend with unique educational complexities that strictly bilingual education does not necessarily address. Further, schools that serve students from "hypermarginalized languages" (Paris, 2011), such as Haitian Creole, for which there are fewer resources than more common languages such as Spanish (Cone, Buxton, Lee, & Mahotiere, 2014) face added resource burdens to meet students' needs. In addition to these logistical concerns, teachers seeking

to support students' multilingualism must also contend with societal and institutional biases against the non-English and non-standard dialects of students (Lippi-Green, 2012; Wiley, 2014).

Monolingual Ideology in Plurilingual Reality

As U.S. classrooms continue to become increasingly diverse, researchers have called for such multilingual education to become a central, rather than peripheral focus of the fields of applied linguistics, second language acquisition, and TESOL (May, 2014; Ortega, 2014). Reflecting this increased interest, a 2013 *TESOL Quarterly* issue was devoted to the topic of *plurilingualism* (Taylor & Snoddon, 2013), which will be used for the purposes of this paper to describe "multilingualism at the level of the individual" (p. 439). As defined by the Council of Europe (2001), plurilingualism pushes beyond previous iterations of an individual bilingual as "two monolinguals in one" (Grosjean, 1989) to recognize language use as a deployment of resources within a diverse linguistic repertoire. However, while researchers have made progress in this area, it is less clear how such findings have been translated to classroom spaces.

It is hoped that the definition of plurilingualism described above can help "soften the boundaries" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2014) between languages and break schools out of the "one- classroom-one-language pedagogical straitjacket" (Lin, 2013, p. 521). However, this does not presuppose that existing linguistic hierarchies have toppled, or that plurilingual individuals are immune to existing linguistic discrimination (Lippi-Green, 2012). This section will briefly review language policy in the U.S. that has, and continues to, systematically ignore the linguistically diverse realities of students. In doing so, I seek to avoid the rhetoric that assumes that a conception of plurilingualism is new (Wiley,

2014) or pioneered by the Council of Europe (Flores, 2013), although its definition is helpful for the purposes here. Instead, plurilingualism is used here as a way of acknowledging the historically present, and politically ignored, state of vast linguistic diversity in U.S. schools.

As Wiley (2014) shows in his extensive review, a contradictory relationship exists between the linguistic diversity of the U.S. population and the monolingual ideology espoused through state and federal policies. Perhaps most obviously, although the U.S. does not have a national policy designating English as an official language, the movement for education in languages other than English has been historically controversial (Wright, 2010). For example, two states have banned bilingual education on the basis that English is a "national public language" (Arizona Proposition 203, 2000; California Proposition 227, 1998), even in areas in which English is not the dominant language of the local population (Ryan, 2013).

These contradictions are intensified further by the language of the propositions that insist "Immigrant parents are eager to have their children acquire a good knowledge of English, thereby allowing them to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement" (Arizona Proposition 203, 2000). Such verbiage is problematic for several reasons, not the least of which is the blanket assumption that all immigrant parents have similar dreams for their children to linguistically assimilate to English. Conversely, by framing the legislation in terms of "immigrant parents" wanting their children to learn English, a false dichotomy is created that all immigrants do not speak English, implying that all U.S.-born citizens do, neither of which is true (Ryan, 2013). Further, such legislation constructs English as a static, monolithic entity, which

ignores that there are many dialects of English, including African American English (AAE) and Caribbean Creole English (CCE).

How can such policy be defended, given the historic and current linguistic diversity of the U.S. (Wiley, 2014)? The field of linguistic anthropology has long acknowledged the “monoglot standard” of America (Silverstein, 1996) as a means of constructing and preserving a unified culture, given the unusual ethnic diversity of the country. Wiley (2014) also credits "the hegemony of the English-only ideology" (2014, p. 28) for defining citizenship via language. The language of the English-only propositions. which singles out the needs of immigrant speakers, and conflates learning English with participating in the American dream, seems to support this conclusion. Critical researchers (Alim & Baugh, 2007; Lippi-Green, 2012), however, also consider how dominant groups maintain political hegemony through linguistic marginalization: that is, by emphasizing standard English through official channels, speakers of other dialects are positioned as inferior and “othered.”

Testing Policy as Monolingual Ideology

Aside from state-based language policies, how else might monolingual ideologies manifest within educational institutions? While individual states make decisions about bilingual education as described above, many scholars have argued that federal education policy is similarly at odds with the realities of the student population. First, researchers have raised the concern that standardized tests were "created with monolingual" populations in mind (Solano-Flores, 2008, p. 191). That is, the pressure to show proficiency in English translates into English-only classroom instruction, which sets up No Child Left Behind and standardized testing regimes as the default English-only policy

(Menken, 2009) to the detriment of student learning, which might benefit from multilingual instruction. Further, researchers have shown that tests created to assess content understanding also serve as *de facto* language exams (Menken, 2014). Finally, language researchers have also criticized No Child Left Behind for its unrealistic time frame for English learners to show proficiency in English (Hopkins, Thompson, Linquanti, Hakuta, & August, 2013). In sum, current U.S. testing policies are a recent iteration of a long-standing traditional of English-only hegemony in public schools.

"Standard" American English

Another troubling aspect of standardized tests in particular is the emphasis on "standard" American English amid an era of linguistic diversification. The English language itself has diversified, becoming the *lingua franca* of the globe, birthing myriad Englishes (Canagarajah, 2013). In spite of these realities, adherence to what Lippi-Green (2012) refers to as the "myth" of Standard American English (SAE) persists. In line with critical linguists, Lippi-Green finds that notions of "standard" language dissolve upon rigorous examination to reveal a continuum of language variation in place of discretely defined standard language usage, in spite of conventional wisdom to the contrary. However, SAE continues to dominate the testing regime by which students are judged proficient (Sleeter & Stillman, 2005), as well as inform teachers' language bias (Baugh, 2005) against students' local vernaculars. As a result, students whose language backgrounds include other dialects of English have been and continue to remain politically and institutionally unrecognized (Nero, 2006; Solano-Flores, 2008).

This dissertation conceptualizes SAE as a linguistic myth, in line with Lippi-Green's work, but also acknowledges that SAE is an academic reality for students,

teachers, and schools, who are held accountable by students' performance according to standardized tests, which employ SAE. For this reason, references to "non-SAE" are used to refer to a host of language resources within students' repertoires that are not officially acknowledged, which may include languages, such as Spanish and French, or dialects of English, such as African American English (AAE) or Caribbean Creole English (CCE).

Plurilingual Caribbean Students

Among plurilingual students, speakers of Caribbean-based languages, including Caribbean Creole English and Haitian Creole face unique linguistic misconceptions (Wassink, 2005) and discrimination (Cone, Buxton, Lee, & Mahotiere, 2014). First, the term "Caribbean" refers to a remarkably diverse geographic region that encompasses the countries, islands, and territories between Florida and northern South America (Youssef, 2009). Encompassing a diverse array of languages, the region includes Anglophone countries, such as Jamaica, Francophone countries, such as Haiti, and Hispanophone countries, such as Cuba. Additional languages of the Caribbean include Dutch, English Creole, French Creole, Mayan, Garifuna, Portuguese, Papiamentu, and Creole and French patois (Youssef, 2009).

For students of this background and their teachers, the ethnolinguistic diversity cloaked under the umbrella term, Caribbean, can be misleading and confusing due to its invisibility in policies such as No Child Left Behind, as described above. Further, sociolinguistic research has unevenly distributed attention on the Anglophone dialects of the Caribbean (Youssef, 2009), while educational research has largely focused on the Hispanophone populations (Cone, Buxton, Lee, & Mahotiere, 2014). As a result, resources specifically for students of Haitian descent can be scarce, in spite of the rich

history, as well as the recent increase, of Haitian populations in U.S. schools, particularly in the Northeast and Florida (Stepick, 1998).

Navigating the language variation among dialects of English can be especially difficult for students within schooling institutions that have a monolingual bias. Nero's (2011) work covering the influx of Jamaican immigrants to New York has found that because Anglophone Caribbean immigrants are classified as native English speakers in schools, rather than multilingual or bidialectal students, their language variance is usually seen as a simply poor English, rather than as a different dialect of English. As a result, students do not receive appropriate language support, and teachers are unprepared to assist them.

Aside from language issues, several researchers have noted the special issues Black immigrant students face in navigating ethnic, as well as linguistic, identities. Way (1995) traced the identity development of a Caribbean high-schooler for several years, confirming the importance of her Black cultural identity. Ibrahim's (1999) work contends that race and identity are not only important but inseparable aspects of the language acquisition process. His study traces the process of African youths "becoming Black" Canadian immigrants, through socialization that leads them to invest in the marginalized dialect that he terms Black English as a Second Language (BESL), as opposed to ESL.

These studies show the importance of recognizing not only the dialect diversity among plurilingual students, but also the importance of recognizing the cultural and ethnic identity work that is part of the language socialization process. For these students, it must be asked what the costs are of the monolingual bias of schools that limit the ability of students to take advantage of their full linguistic repertoires, which are

inseparable from their cultural and ethnic identities. This dissertation addresses how teacher discourse might reproduce or resist such monolingual bias within multilingual and multidialectal classrooms.

The Power in Teacher Discourse

Thus far, this chapter has considered how state and national policies, as well as social attitudes about language in America support English-only ideologies. But how does monolingual ideology translate to day-to-day classroom settings? A wide body of research (Delpit, 2006; Heath, 1982, Valenzuela, 2010) has considered how schools socialize students into language, emphasizing SAE not only as a preferred mode of communication, but rather a dominant form that serves to marginalize those who use variations. Discourse analysts (Cazden, 2001; Rogers 2011) have examined teacher discourse as a key site for such socialization to occur. If this is so, it is critical to consider what assumptions about language and literacy practices might be undergirding teachers' classroom discourses.

Holland's (1998) figured world framework is a useful tool for identifying cohesive sets of assumptions within discourse. As described further in Chapter 2, a figured world is a "socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others" (Holland et al, 1998, p. 52). This framework allows for a study of how teachers recognize "students," how teachers construct ways of being in a classroom, and how teachers value the use of language and literacy practices.

Description of Study

Through a comparative case study of two classrooms, this study employs critical discourse approaches (Fairclough, 2013), and the figured worlds (Holland, 1998) framework to illuminate how teacher discourse reveals teachers' often hidden beliefs and assumptions about language and literacy that may or may not align to the linguistic realities of the classroom. Specifically, the research question guiding this project is, How might teacher discourse about classroom language and literacy activities reflect their figured worlds? Further, this project seeks to consider how quotidian classroom activities may serve to reproduce or resist educational inequalities for students of diverse language backgrounds.

Through this purpose, this dissertation adds to the knowledge base of how to better prepare and inform teachers of increasingly diverse "new mainstream" students (Enright, 2010) within monolingual English-language institutions. Findings from this study also contribute to the knowledge base regarding the teaching of diverse adolescents specifically from less-studied language backgrounds, including stigmatized dialects of English, such as CCE, AAE, and Haitian Creole, as well as languages that enjoy more international prestige, including French and Spanish.

How I Came to My Research Interest

I have been fortunate in my career to work and observe in schools in Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston, Virginia, and New York. Differences in demographics, funding structures, geography, policies, and administrations abounded among the schools. Yet, in spite of the differences, I saw many similarities in the struggles each school experienced in serving the increasingly diverse language and literacy needs of the students. At each site, I would inevitably find a contingent of frustrated, at times

despairing, staff wondering how they could better serve their linguistically diverse students, even in historically diverse regions. At times, I was a member of this chorus. It is in this way, of listening for and hearing this chorus of concern, that I came to my research interest. Why do linguistically diverse students continue to cause anxiety in schools? Why are linguistically diverse students treated as oddities in historically diverse regions? Why does linguistic diversity continue to be structurally ignored in schools? How *could* schools acknowledge and build upon the linguistic resources students bring instead of ignoring it?

These questions have spurred my pursuit of doctoral research, in which I have been fortunate to study a dual-language program with high school students, and a multilingual writing project with refugee students. These projects have considered alternative methods of language and literacy instruction that build upon students' total language repertoires. After being exposed to these methods, I began to consider, if such methods and frameworks for acknowledging students' languages exist, why aren't they used more broadly? What are the processes by which students' languages continue to be excluded from academic spaces? How do discourses within classroom spaces reproduce, contest and revise these processes of linguistic exclusion? It is hoped that by identifying these processes that researchers and schools can address these issues that continue to hinder students' ability to access and develop their full linguistic repertoires.

Preview

The dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 2 will discuss the theoretical frameworks that will be used to conceptualize such processes, and review relevant literature, while Chapter 3 details methods used to collect data, analyze teacher discourse,

and draw conclusions. Findings are presented in Chapter 4, followed by the conclusions in Chapter 5.

Chapter II: Conceptual Framework & Literature Review

In order to better understand teacher discourse, I draw upon Fairclough's (2013) theory of critical discourse analysis (CDA), as well Holland's (1998) notion of "figured worlds." The first part of this chapter presents the major concepts of the conceptual framework, as well as how they relate to educational research. The second section reviews the landscape of current research that employs these frames. The final section considers the emerging themes and areas for continued research across the collected studies, as well as implications for this study.

Conceptual Framework

CDA as Theory

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has become a popular theory and method for research in the social sciences (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, & Joseph, 2014). This project borrows the definition from Rogers et al., (2005) as "an approach to answering questions about the relationships between language and society" (Rogers et al., 2005, p. 366), drawing specifically on Fairclough's (2013) critical theories of the relationship between language and power, as described below. Specifically, CDA is used in this study as both a theory and method. As a theory, CDA is used to conceptualize teacher discourse as a text that can be deconstructed to reveal hidden assumptions, beliefs, and ideologies, which are conceptualized here as teachers' figured worlds, about language and literacy. As a method, CDA is used to analyze the text, relating the linguistic components to the overarching ideologies of the macrostructures in which it exists (Chapter 3 discusses how CDA is used as a method in further depth).

Within the critical tradition, discourse can be broadly defined as "language-in-action" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 2), which may take written or spoken forms. That is, while CDA conceptualizes discourse as a text that can be deconstructed, it is also recognized as the product of dynamic processes enacted by agentive participants. Thus, while forms of discourse create a kind of "text" (Fairclough, 2013), that can be analyzed, critical discourse analysis is also an analysis of the dialectical relations between the language, the participants, and institutions in which it is situated. Put another way:

> Within a CDA tradition, discourse has been defined as language use as social practice. That is, discourse moves back and forth between reflecting and constructing the social world. Seen in this way, language cannot be considered neutral, because it is caught up in political, social, racial, economic, religious, and cultural formations (Rogers et al., 2005, p. 369).

That is, because CDA posits that discourse never exists in isolation of the social structures and environment surrounding it, discourse should therefore not be analyzed in isolation. Because of this relationship, Fairclough calls for both "micro" analysis of the text, which includes a fine-grained analysis of the text itself, in addition to a "macro" analysis of how "power relations work across networks of practices and structures" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 15-16). The micro analysis involves an internal examination of the language, while the macro analysis involves an analysis of how the discourse is shaped by and continues to shape its social, institutional, and political landscapes, which are referred to as macrostructures.

In this way, CDA involves the *description* of the textual features of the discourse, an *interpretation* of its meaning, and an *explanation* of its dialectical relation to the world

outside the text (Fairclough, 2013). These three tiers of the CDA framework guide the theory of how language and power work in tandem, but also guide the methodological steps for uncovering these relationships, which are discussed further in the following chapter.

Gee also (2011) distinguishes between approaches of "descriptive" and "critical" discourse analysis for studying *in vivo* language use (p. 8). He argues that so-called "critical" discourse analysis moves beyond the study of "how language works" (p. 9), which may be similar to what Fairclough describes as the "'internal relations' of discourse" (Fairclough, p. 4), to consider how language is used to "build and sustain our world, cultures, and institutions" (Gee, p. 10). Further, CDA is not only concerned with the architecture of social processes in relation to existing macro-structures, but of how the flows of power within these structures may serve to create inequality that is reproduced through discourse (Blommaert, 2005). One example of how such power relationships operate through discourse is illustrated by the English-only legislation introduced in chapter 1. The discourse of the immigrants' desires to achieve the American Dream served as a rationale for successfully banning bilingual education for English Language Learning (ELL) students in spite of research that demonstrates its effectiveness for this population, subsequently subtracting educational opportunities for students. Given the emphasis on inequality, CDA seeks not just to identity "social wrongs," (Fairclough, 2013, p. 10), but considers how to redress them.

CDA as Theory: Revealing Ideologies in the Everyday. Central to the enterprise of CDA is an examination of ideology that justifies given power relations. Or, as Blommaert explains: "Discourse and power: combine the two terms and we think of

ideology" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 158). For this project, ideology will be defined as "common sense, the normal perceptions we have of the world as a system, the naturalized activities that sustain social relations and power structures, and the patterns of power that reinforce such common sense" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 158). In other words, ideology is often hidden within everyday actions and interactions, and it is through this invisibility that it remains unquestioned and continues to reinforce the status quo. Blommaert further draws the helpful distinction between scholars who refer to ideologies as primarily "cognitive/ideational phenomena" (2005, p. 161), such as neo-liberalism, and scholars who conceptualize ideologies " as material phenomena or practices" (p. 161), such as income inequality. That is, ideologies exist as commonly held beliefs and assumptions, and are enacted through observable and tangible means, such as social interactions, legislation, policies, sociological phenomena and social practices.

As both a psychological and material phenomenon, it is crucial to consider within which "material practices" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 164) ideologies will be examined. Fairclough (2013) explains that "Ideology is located, then, both in structures which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures" (Fairclough, 2013, p. 58). By examining macrostructures--specifically, institutions and policies; and microstructures; specifically, social interactions--and drawing connections between them, researchers can identify how ideology works to reinforce, resist, or reproduce inequality. For this project, ideology will be examined as located within teacher discourse, as well as within educational policy, economic policy, and political structures surrounding the school in which it occurs.

CDA as Theory: Revealing Ideological Institutions. Educational institutions have become increasingly popular sites of study for CDA (Blommaert, 2005). Fairclough lists several reasons why this is so, the first being that the schools are sites in which students are "naturalized" (2013) into discursive practices. Because schools are expressly sites in which language learning is expected to occur, it is critical to consider what ideologies are transmitted through these processes. The process through which students are naturalized into discursive practices is also the practice through which ideologies about language and literacy are transmitted. It is also through this process that ideologies become "disguised" (Fairclough, 2013, p. 107) to participants by being transformed into "common sense" (p. 77). This is particularly important to study within school contexts because schools have the express responsibility to teach language and literacy practices, and student face high stakes consequences for taking up or resisting these practices, and thus, ideologies. Through CDA, however, such ideologies can be surfaced and examined.

It should be cautioned, however, that schools, like all social institutions, are "pluralistic rather than monistic, i.e., they provide alternative sets of discourse and ideological norms" (Fairclough, 2013, 42). For this reason, careful examination of discourses across time and participants within a setting can better assess the range, and sometimes contradictory nature of, discourses within a given school.

Figured Worlds

In order to conceptualize how individuals internalize, resist, and shape ideologies, as manifested in the discourse of classroom spaces, this study utilizes the "figured world" framework of Holland, Skinner, Lachicotte, and Cain (1998). They define "figured worlds" as a "socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which

particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 52).

Specifically, they outline four major aspects of figured worlds:

- "First, figured worlds are *historical phenomena*, to which we are recruited or into which we enter, which themselves develop through the works of their participants…
- "Second, figured worlds, like activities, are social encounters in which participants' *positions* matter…
- "Third, figured worlds are *socially organized and reproduced*; they are like activities in the usual, institutional sense. They divide and relate participants (almost as roles), and they depend upon the interaction and the intersubjectivity for perpetuation…"
- "Fourth, figured worlds *distribute "us"*…[They] are populated by familiar social types and even identifiable persons, not simply differentiated by abstract division of labor" (Holland, et al., 1998, p. 41; italics added for emphasis).

Figured worlds, then, are important means through which we organize and make sense of the world, as well as our positions and recognize others' positions within it, from a contemporary and historical perspective. Holland, et al. (1998) give the example of how the figured worlds of members of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) are constructed and revealed through the personal stories they share. The authors describe how AA has created an interpretation of "what it means to be an alcoholic, what typical alcoholics are like, and what kinds of incidents mark a typical alcoholic's life" (p. 66). Specifically AA

figures alcoholism as a disease, and members are recruited into this figured world through the use of creating, reconstituting and sharing of personal stories that align to AA's criteria.

Figured worlds are more than important psychological phenomena, however. In fact:

> These socially generated, culturally figured worlds, many linguists believe, are necessary for understanding the meaning of words. When talking and acting, people assume that their words and behavior will be interpreted according to a context of meaning—as indexing or pointing to a culturally figured world. Violations of this assumption cause confusion and prevarication (Holland et al., 1998, p. 52).

Within this theory, successful communication necessarily depends upon the message sender and receiver sharing similar understandings of the world in order to recognize references, as well as their positions within the world and relations to each other. The framework of figured worlds is particularly important for school settings because of the communicative relations necessary between teachers and students. That is, if teachers operate within certain figured worlds that students do not misunderstandings may be inevitable. As will be discussed in a section below, Rubin (2007) illustrates how students resisted the teacher's figured world of "smartness" that positioned students as passive completers of worksheets.

Fairclough argues that "there is a one-to-one relationship between ideological formations and discursive formations" (2013, p. 43), but through what processes

specifically do these ideologies surface within classroom settings? And through what analytic processes can researchers uncover them?

The figured worlds framework has been taken up widely among discourse analysts. Gee defines "figured worlds" as "simplified, often unconscious, and taken-for-granted theories or stories about how the world works" that are shaped by our social and cultural groups and are useful for navigating within them (p. 76). Because figured worlds are shaped by the surrounding social and cultural groups, Gee also notes that "figured worlds often involve us in exclusions that are not at first obvious and which we are often unaware of making" (2011, p. 77). Again, what becomes "common sense" among the groups becomes invisible to those who ascribe to the figured world. Gee's "figured world tool" for discourse analysis is particularly useful because of its ability to "mediate between the 'micro' (small) and the 'macro' (large) level of institutions" (2011, p. 76). This perspective serves CDA by illuminating assumptions within discourse, which may inadvertently serve to "marginalize people and things that are not taken as 'normal' or 'typical' in the story" (Gee, 2011, p. 70).

Current Field

The first half of this chapter has outlined the conceptual frameworks of critical discourse theory and figured worlds as conceptual frameworks for understanding how ideology and subsequent power dynamics manifest within micro-interactions through discourse that can in turn shape these macrostructures. The following sections will review current research that uses these frameworks within educational settings.

Literature Search

In order to cull the current pertinent studies, the databases of EBSCO, PsychINFO, and Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts were searched for combinations of the following search terms: *critical discourse analysis, figured worlds, classroom discourse.* In addition to searching these databases, consultations with scholars in the field, particularly at the 2015 American Applied Linguistics Conference led to other potential nominations, in addition to progeny and ancestry searches (Cooper, 2009). After searching for articles, I reviewed the abstracts, further narrowing down articles pertinent to this project. A total of 25 studies were selected.

Criteria for Inclusion

Within the past decade, there has been "phenomenal expansion" (Rogers et al., 2014, p. 122) in the use of critical discourse analytic approaches within educational research. For the purposes of identifying articles most pertinent to this review, the following criteria for inclusion were employed: the studies must a) be published articles appearing in English-language peer-reviewed journals since 2005[2]; b) concern critical discourse analysis or employ the framework of figured worlds; and c) involve analysis of K-12 classroom discourse within educational institutions, which may be private or public; domestic or international. Because this project is specifically concerned with *in vivo* discourse within the contexts of schools as ideological institutional settings, studies of informal, out-of-school learning contexts (including study-abroad excursions and extracurricular clubs) were excluded. As a result of focusing on empirical studies that involved these frameworks, studies that include a variety of data sources were included; however, studies that relied solely on interview, online interactions, or student work

[2] "Current research" is defined for these purposes as articles published within the past decade.

analysis were excluded. Book reviews, methods-oriented, and theoretical articles were also excluded. These criteria necessarily limit this review from capturing the full range of how these theoretical frames are employed within the current research at large; however, the limiters allow for more focus upon studies of classroom discourse-in-action. For literature reviews of critical discourse analysis specifically, see Rogers et al., 2005 and 2014.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The articles selected for this review showcase how the frameworks of CDA can be used to study a diversity of topics as the guiding theory, as the sole method of analysis, or in tandem with various methods. Looking across the articles, several themes emerged to show how authors use CDA to focus on the micro-level aspects of school discourse to show how the language of school itself can serve to either stifle or bridge communications between teachers and students (Fiano, 2014; Schaenen, 2010; Wagner, & Herbel-Eisenmann, 2008). Other studies widened the analytic lens to capture how macro social structures, ideologies (Lopez, 2011), discourses (Moita-Lopes, 2006), values (Clarke, 2007), and policies (Gebhard, 2005; Palmer, 2009) manifest through micro classroom discourse and interactions. But far from assuming a determinist stance, several studies used CDA to show how classroom discourse can also be an important site for identity work where students in particular can counter larger identity narratives or undesirable positioning (Godley, 2013; Goulah, 2009; Michael-Luna, 2008; Saxena, 2009; Van Sluys, Lewison, & Flint, 2006).

Examining the language(s) of school. Drawing upon salient concerns from students in focus groups about teachers' use of the word "just," Wagner and Herbel-

Eisenmann (2007) use CDA (Fairclough, 1995) in combination with corpus linguistics to examine the word in use across 148 transcripts of secondary math classroom observations across seven school settings. Examining "just" in the context of the transcripts, they found a range of meanings and functions, including its use as an adverb to mean *simply, only,* and *recently,* in addition to its function to signal frustration by the speaker: "Don't look, just put your name down," (p. 151). At the sentence-level, they found that the use of *just* within imperative sentences "Just solve the equation" (p. 152) served as a means of "suppressing dialogue" (p. 151) within the classroom by prioritizing action and closing down options for reflections or discussion of an activity. They also found that collocations of "just + verb" (p. 154) reflected teachers' assumptions that students know how to complete processes, but simply needed a prompt to do so, in such instances, as "Just do it one step at a time" (p. 154). In this instance, *just* serves as a substitute for enumerating the processes needed to complete academic activities. While this study did not link the linguistic features to specific macrostructures surrounding the classrooms, the authors nonetheless use CDA to show how teacher discourse can inadvertently close down opportunities for students to engage in academic dialogue, and the inherent power dynamics embedded with the grammar of discourse.

He (2006) also employed CDA in tandem with corpus linguistics to study teacher talk recorded during 34 live lessons from English language primary classrooms in Hong Kong. Using a variety of token and colocation analysis of teachers' speech, the study found that teachers' lexical items were influenced by the education reforms in teacher pedagogy, as well as the economic and political landscapes in which they were situated. For example, the author argues that prevalence of teachers' references to "tasks,"

"pairwork,"and "activities" (p. 181) reflected recent shifts in ELT pedagogy that emphasized lessons including these elements. Further, the author argues that prevalence of teachers' references to concrete lexical nouns available in the classroom's immediate environment could be connected to the materialist and consumer-drive culture of the society. Such CDA analysis shows how connections can be made between teacher discourse and potential influencing macrostructures, such as teacher training and societal culture.

In addition to studying school-based discourses, several studies employed CDA to highlight potential differences between student and teacher discourses. Building upon the robust research base examining differences between language use within and outside of school settings (Delpit, 1995; Gee, 1989; Heath, 1983), Fiano (2014) presents an ethnographic case study of how one kindergartner, Janie, whose primary language models engage in African American English (AAE) learns to navigate school discourse. Using a combination of quantitative and Gee's (2011) critical discourse analysis tools, the study highlights stark differences between the total amount of words Janie used in school (5,553) and home (19,850), finding that only 479 of these words overlapped across contexts. Using Gee's "building tools" (2011), the study found that while Janie was often able to make connections between her primary (home) and secondary (school) discourse through non-academic times at school (such as snack time), she was largely unable to engage her primary (and thus stronger) discourse at school to engage in knowledge-building tasks. Conversely, she also struggled to engage in her primary discourses within her home setting, perhaps due to the contrast of the discourses between settings. Implications included recommendations for schools to create opportunities for

students to engage in expressive oral language practices at school and make linguistic connections across contexts.

Similarly, Schaenen (2010) uses CDA as part of a teacher action research project to consider how teachers can better draw upon students' Discourses as a means of integrating new academic content knowledge; in this case, teaching genre theory to fourth graders who can draw upon AAE. Among other conclusions, the author found that incorporating aspects of AAE the students used, including "call-and-response discourse and rhythmic physical expression," (p. 51) helped students draw upon their funds of knowledge (Moll & Gonzalez, 1994) during instruction and assessment.

Revealing the macro in the micro. But what undergirds discourses that surface in the classroom? The following studies engaged CDA as a means of considering the underlying assumptions, beliefs, and ideologies that inform classroom discourses.

In an ethnography of a middle school Brazilian classroom, Moita-Lopes (2006) examined discourses of homosexuality within classroom interactions. The study found that although issues of homosexuality were never explicitly broached by the instructor, students engaged in such discussion with each during off-topic conversations. Through these interactions, the ways students positioned one another as homosexual echoed the "essentialized views" (p. 46) regarding homosexuality in popular print media. This study illustrates how classroom interactions are affected by discourses of "the reflexive society in which we live" (p. 46) whether or not the instructor directly welcomes or addresses these discourses in class. The study further suggests that explicitly acknowledging how texts construct sexual identities could aid classrooms in critiquing these macro discourses.

Similarly, Clarke (2007) examines how group discussions within a fifth-grade literature circle reflected larger gender discourses at the institutional and societal level. Using Fairclough's CDA procedure to examine group interactions, Clarke found that the boys in the group routinely dominated the conversation, often ignoring or excluding the girls in ways that mirrored the positioning of males in the classroom, administrative, and community levels. Specifically, the study points out that the teacher was male and the classroom included decorations of posters of inspirational quotes by 12 men, but no women. The male school principal also engaged in gendered discourse, such as referring to girls as "weak," and administering different consequences for physical fights by girls and boys. The study draws the conclusion that such discourses stem from the cultural models of the community in which the school was located. Like Moita-Lopes (2006), this study provides evidence that students' in-class interactions are shaped by the discourses of the surrounding community.

In addition to issues of culture, matters of policy can also manifest in classroom interactions. Gebhard (2005) studied how radical policy changes at an elementary school in northern California shaped one classroom's discourse. In response to demographic shifts within the community due to an increase in Hmong immigrant families, the school received a grant to adopt alternative instructional structures, including multi-age classrooms that integrated ELL students, as well as project-based curriculum and social programs to acknowledge the student population's diversity. The project-based design of the curriculum distributed classroom discourse, allowing less proficient students to engage with and position their more advanced counterparts into teacher roles. However, the author cautioned that the policies of restructuring the classrooms created inequitable

supports for more advanced students who could not receive peer apprenticeships in the way the younger and less-proficient students were able to get support from the older students.

While Gebhard (2005) examined how school policies shaped classroom discourses as a school attempted to integrate L2 English speakers within a mainstream setting, Palmer (2009) considered how L1 English speakers affected classroom discourse within a two-way immersion (TWI) classroom. Through an ethnographic study of a second-grade classroom in California, Palmer used Gee's model of critical discourse analysis to show that L1 English speakers altered the classroom dynamic by dominating discussion, lessening the amount of Spanish spoken, and ultimately leading to less Spanish language support. The author considered how the presence of English speakers served to reinforce the dominance of English within the TWI classrooms, which existed within an otherwise English-dominant institution.

Extending the study of discourse within dual-language classrooms, Lopez (2011) explores first graders' language ideologies during discussions of children's literature. Combining Fairclough's model of CDA with Gee's critical discourse framework, the study examined in-class oral discourse and writing samples of a Texas Spanish-English dual-language program serving English- and Spanish-dominant students. Findings include evidence of students' appropriations of often contradictory language ideologies from surrounding institutions, media, and their homes. For example, during one discussion of languages of the U.S., several students responded in Spanish that only English was spoken. The author draws a connection between students' beliefs and the "hegemony of English in the U.S." (p. 189). By studying students' discourses throughout

the school year, the author also shows that students' identity-building and ideology formation processes remain fluid and developmental, as well as influenced by a complex interplay of a variety of factors. For one example, in spite of the dominance of English within the study's context, students chose to define themselves as Spanish-speakers. These findings highlight students' agency: while English-dominant language ideologies may permeate U.S. societies and schools, students are not merely absorbing cultural messages, but remain active builders and editors of their own still-forming ideologies through the appropriation process.

Resisting and revisioning. Critical theory is often criticized for taking an overly political and determinist view (Rogers et al., 2005). However, the following studies use CDA as a tool to show how students and teachers not only construct identities in the classroom but also often counter the "master narratives" (Godley & Loretto, 2013, p. 317) about them.

Michael-Luna (2008) analyzed interactions within a dual-language first-grade classroom of a large urban elementary school in the Midwest. Students of the class were Spanish-dominant. Using critical race theory and Gee's model of critical discourse theory, Michael-Luna deconstructs a seemingly neutral classroom literacy event to reveal the assumptions of a "binary racial discourse" (p. 273) undergirding instruction. During this event, the teacher facilitates a read-aloud and discussion of a narrative about Martin Luther King, Jr. Through the teacher's framing of the story, he creates a simplified narrative of race that allows the Latino students to identify with only the white or Black characters. When the teacher refers to "the White people" (p. 278) in a way that might distance the students from identifying thus, they resist by insisting that they are in fact

white. The unique combination of critical race theory and discourse analysis show how cultural models of racial identity can surface in classroom texts and pedagogy, but also that students can counter them through their discourse.

Godley and Loretto (2013) also consider the interplay of racism and language ideologies within classrooms. Examining a large urban high school English classroom, the study found that the teacher was able to create discursive space for students to author counter narratives within a unit about racism, prejudice, and language. To do so, the teacher framed the topic in a way that positioned students as agentive contributors to the discussion, using turn-taking moves to create entry points for students' voices, and acknowledging and connecting to students' responses. Through the curricular content and the moves the teacher used to position students as competent language users, they were able to challenge "master narratives" (p. 317) that positioned African American English as inferior or a less educated form of Standard English.

Other studies have used CDA to trace students' identity struggles, such as Goulah's (2009) examination of former Soviet Union students in U.S. schools. This study found that students struggled to reconcile their external positioning as "Russian" and "inferior" to their native counterparts (p.163), with their internal identity as "superior" to religious immigrants from other nationalities of the Former Soviet Union. Similar to Michael-Luna (2008), critical discourse analysis showed how students conduct identity work sifting through larger discourses and external positionings to forge their identities.

Similarly, Saxena (2009) focused on how students navigated language use in order to resist "othering" identities. Specifically, code-switching in English-only classrooms in post-colonial Brunei served as a means for students to resist "othering"

their first language, Malay. Van Sluys, Lewison & Flint (2006) use three different approaches to look at transcripts of a classroom conversation about “hairstyle, race, and cultural identity" within a 4th-6th mixed-grade classroom serving Spanish- and English-dominant students. CDA techniques revealed the various cultural models two students drew upon to inform the topics and roles they undertook within a conversation. For example, findings show how the girls debated why images of European fashion were distributed in beauty magazines within Filipino settings. Comparing CDA to grounded theory and critical literacy frameworks, the authors note that CDA was “the only analysis that focused on how the girls’ talk was simultaneously a personal, social, cultural, and political phenomenon” (p. 277). In this way, CDA allowed for a more holistic examination of how the participants conceptualized the topic of conversation and drew upon existing discourses to make sense of it.

In summary, the articles here show how CDA has been used alone or in combinations with other frameworks and methods to examine the language practices and expectations within schools, how these practices may be shaped by macrostructures of institutions and policies, and how participants have been able to resist and counter them.

Figured Worlds

This section turns to the current research that employs the figured world framework. The following studies illustrate how figured worlds have been a useful framework within the field of education for considering holistic effects of instructional practices (Rubin 2007; Michael, Andrade, & Bartlett, 2007; Dagenais & Toohey, 2006; Jurow, 2005; Tan & Barton, 2010) and peer relations (Ryu, 2015) as well as highlighting students’ agency and the role of content-area figured worlds in crafting their developing

identities (Kangas, Seitamaa-Hakkarainen & Hakkarainen; 2013; Price & McNeil, 2013; Robinson, 2007).

Figured worlds of school, success, and failure. Rubin (2007) showed how ineffective instructional practices within a large urban high school serving predominantly low-income Latino and African-American populations influenced the figured worlds of learning within which students constructed their academic identities. For example, within the school's figured world of learning, "smartness" correlated with passive completion of worksheet-based assignments. Faced with this undesirable identity, students tended to disengage from their education. The author also discussed how the use of the figured worlds framework widens the analytic focus from blaming students for poor performance to considering how quotidian instructional practices could be reinforcing social inequality by creating negative academic identities.

At a school-level, research (Michael, Andrade, & Bartlett, 2007) has shown how the administrators and staff of a New York high school constructed a figured world of success that resonated with students and resulted in marked improvement for Latino students. This figured world was comprised of valuing students' Spanish language and literacy resources--establishing caring relationships--and picking up the thread of students' immigration histories to engage in "the discourse of opportunity" (p. 174) that encouraged students to embrace the value of their education. This study illustrates how "institutional rituals and discourses" (p. 186) must be considered when examining student success or failure.

Students' positioning within figured worlds. Dagenais and Toohey (2006) followed one student, Sarah, an emergent French-speaker, within a French-Immersion

classroom in Canada through fifth and sixth grade to consider how her teachers constructed her as a "kind of student" (p. 209) through their interactions. They found that Sarah's participation in class constructed her identity for her teachers: that is, Sarah's reluctance to speak during whole-class activities signaled an identity as low-performing and potentially in need of special services within one teacher's figured worlds of school. However, the researchers captured Sarah engaging with her peers confidently in small-group settings. Subsequently, the study shows that classroom structures that inhibited Sarah's participation also influenced the identity that Sarah's teachers constructed for her.

Students' positioning can also be influenced by their peers. Ryu (2015) discusses how newcomer and long-time resident Korean students within an AP biology class in a Mid-Atlantic state were positioned by the teacher in relation to each other, within what Ryu terms, a "localized figured world" (p. 348) co-created by the teacher and students. The study found that within the localized world of AP biology, students who scored lower on assessments occupied a lower status, as evidenced by students' popularity for being selected to work together during groupwork. Students also positioned themselves in terms of achievement status, as well as immigrant status based on their verbal participation in class and marked speech. As a result, newcomer students tended to be positioned at lower levels within the figured world of the class.

Figured worlds of disciplines: Instructional practices to recruit or deny. Research utilizing the figured world framework has been particularly useful for examining content-area-specific learning at the secondary level, and how teaching practices can serve to recruit or to deny students into these worlds. Within a history course, for instance, Robinson (2007) illustrates how revisionist curriculum encouraged

students to figure history as a discipline of "multiple voices of the past" (p. 214) and themselves as "history learners" (p. 214). Price and McNeil (2013) illustrate how connecting a high-school ecology course to students' lived experiences served to shift the classroom space to a kind of "pivot" (p. 525) between the figured worlds of science and students' homes.

Tan and Barton (2010) examined how effective teaching practices within a sixth grade science class serving low-income Latino and African-American students served to recruit students into desirable figured worlds of science learning. The authors outline several practices, including "authentic science-based participation" and "storytelling" that allowed students to draw from their funds of knowledge to relate to course content and refigure an accessible identity of a science student.

Similarly, Jurow (2005) examined the processes through which a teacher employed middle school students' figured worlds in order to engage students in a multi-week simulation project. The study found that the use of imaginative roles, such as becoming an "architect" designing a unit on Antarctica, served to recruit students into an enticing figured world of mathematics.

Kangas, Seitamaa-Hakkarainen and Hakkarainen (2013) also studied how an authentic learning activity served to create new figured worlds for an elementary school class in Helsinki, Finland. This study examined a unit in which the school partnered with a professional designer in order to help students design and build lamps. In this case, students were able to draw upon their existing school knowledge, as well as enter into the figured world of professional design, as ushered in by the partner-expert. Through this exercise, the authors conclude that design became a "world of possibility" for students (p.

439). One promising practice emerging from this and the previously mentioned literature is how teachers create the classroom space as a nexus where authentic or professional worlds of the discipline converge with the worlds of learning.

Similarly, Esmonde (2014) studied affluent students learning about social justice through a secondary mathematics course in a private school through the framework of figured worlds. The study examined single lessons from two classrooms: one dealing with global income distribution and the other covering community resources in affluent and poor neighborhoods. Conceptualizing learning at the classroom level, Esmonde found that in the first case study, the class was able to construct abstract figured worlds of global wealth, in addition to intermediary figured worlds in which students engaged in a simulation using cookies to represent the GDP of various countries. Through this activity, students were able to draw upon familiar figured worlds of individual wealth to relate to the abstract figured worlds of global wealth distribution. In the second case study, students studied community resources within affluent and poor neighborhoods, but the author argues that because they were not able to construct intermediary figured worlds, they were only able to draw upon their background knowledge, which included stereotypes about poor neighborhoods. This study showed how figured worlds can align and that students can build upon the knowledge created in one figured world and migrate that to another figured world.

As students are recruited into the figured worlds of specific disciplines, students also construct potential identities within them. Tan and Barton (2008) traced the fluid evolution of Melanie, a sixth-grade girl, and her identity as self-proclaimed “very weak student” (p. 575) to an enthusiastic and successful contributor to science class. The

authors point to several practices that created space for such transformation, including the teachers' valuing of Melanie's out-of-school knowledge.

The examples above confirm how figured worlds are not solely ideational concepts, but exist within classroom spaces through their enactment via instructional practices that can have consequences for student learners. How these figured worlds are shaped, and how they shape classroom discourse remains a compelling area of study.

Building Upon Current Research

While the current research reviewed in this chapter has covered a variety of contexts, languages, and issues, several areas for scholarship remain compelling. First, one limitation of the CDA framework is the balance between capturing longitudinal trends without sacrificing the linguistically intense analytic detail. For example, Wagner and Herbel-Eisenmann (2007) and He (2006) employed corpus linguistics to critically examine teacher discourse. However, their analyses did not include insights from the observations to contextualize such language-in-use, limiting the means by which the researchers can tie such language to the social, cultural, and political landscapes in which they occurred.

Other studies that were able to employ ethnographic studies in addition to CDA focused less on the links between the linguistic analysis and the influences of the surrounding macrostructures (Fiano, 2014; Palmer, 2005), or focused on shorter activities, rather than longitudinal trends (Clarke, 2007). Given the wealth of data created through qualitative research, the linguistic detail of CDA, and the page constrictions of publishing such research, capturing the links between classroom interactions and the influence of macrostructures appears to result in a compromise skewing either towards

the linguistic analysis of the selected texts or broader critical overviews of the relations between such texts and the macrostructures influencing it.

Conversely, studies that employed the figured world framework were helpful for conceptualizing how teachers and students viewed school (Rubin, 2007) and content-area practices, and linking these beliefs and assumptions to student success (Michael, Andrade, & Bartlett, 2007) or failure (Dagenais & Toohey, 2006). However, the focus of such studies does not necessarily center on the role of language, or how such figured worlds are mediated through language. Further, while studies that examine figured worlds consider the cultural underpinnings of how such worlds are formed, their focus is not necessarily on how such figured worlds can be influenced specifically by ideologies beyond the classroom.

Because of the inherent strengths and shortcomings of these two frameworks, this study uses them in tandem. The figured world framework has been useful for examining how teachers conceptualize language and literacy practices, and CDA has been useful for investigating how these figured worlds relate to larger macrostructures that continue to shape them, and become shaped by them.

Implications of Conceptual Framework

This chapter has described how research has embraced the frameworks of CDA (Fairclough, 2013) and figured worlds (Holland et al., 1998) to make sense of school-based interactions. Additionally, this section has reviewed the current research employing these frameworks. Smagorinsky (2008) has noted that the importance of justifying and clarifying how the "theoretical apparatus" (p. 408) of a study is reflected throughout the entirety of a study through the selection of methods to the presentation of results. To

answer that call, this section seeks to make clear the implications of this conceptual framework for this study. First, regarding the appropriateness of the frameworks for the context, the current studies selected here showcase a diverse range of contexts, including primary and secondary schools, public schools across the globe and across languages. Such diversity reflects the flexibility of these frameworks for working with students of multilingual and multicultural backgrounds, such as is the case for this study, as well as the empirical precedence for doing so.

Second, as will be discussed in the methods section further, both frameworks discussed illustrate the importance of conducting fieldwork to capture language-in-use. As such, observations and fieldnotes, as well as audio recordings were conducted throughout the study. At the same time, the frameworks allow for analysis at a micro- and macro-level, showing how larger ideologies and beliefs manifest through specific language practices. For that reason, recordings and artifacts were used to allow for more detailed analysis of linguistic events. A CDA approach that incorporated Fairclough's methods allowed for situating the finer-grained linguistic analysis within the larger context of the study, as discovered through observations and interviews with participants.

Chapter III: Methods

The study employed critical discourse methods in order to examine how teachers' discourse in two classrooms figure language and literacy practices, and how these discourses served to expand or limit students' opportunities to engage in language and literacy practices at school. Specific data collection and analysis methods are described in depth below.

Research Questions

Informed by experiences observing at the research site, as well as an in-depth study of pertinent literature reflected in chapter two, the study is guided by the overarching question: How might teacher discourse about classroom language and literacy activities reflect their figured worlds? In order to ensure trustworthy finding through triangulation, several data collection techniques are employed, as explained below.

Research Design

In order to examine teachers' figured worlds of language and literacy practices, I use critical discourse approaches (Fairclough, 2013) to analyze interviews, fieldnotes from observations, and audio-recorded data. These approaches allow for a focus on individual participants' experiences as a means of situating them within their institutional, social, political, and economic landscape. Figure 1 below is adapted from Maxwell's (2013) model of qualitative research design showing how each aspect of the research process is influenced by the others.

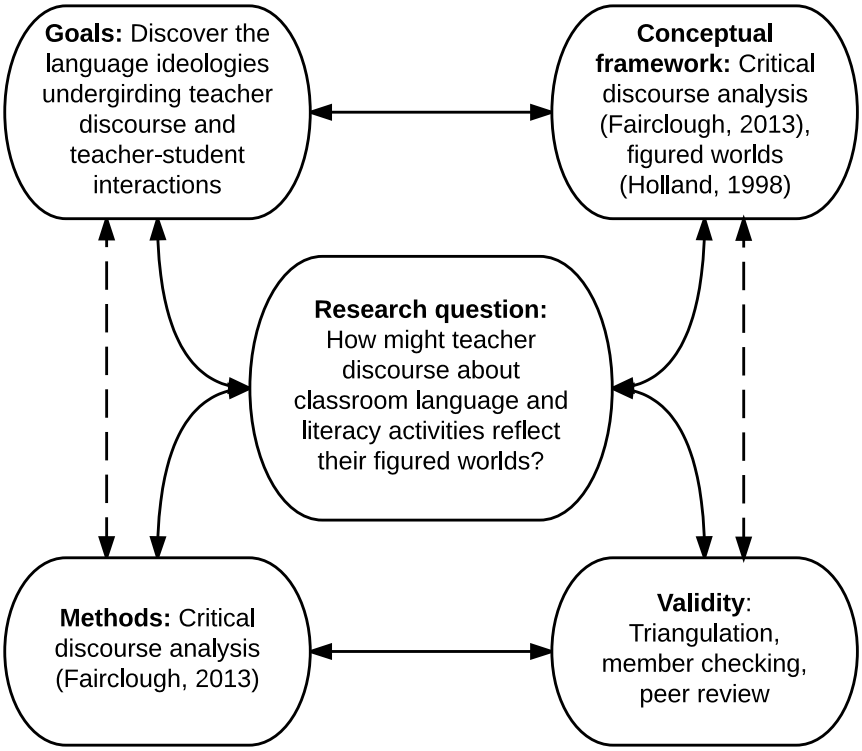


Figure 1. Relationship among research questions and research design. Adapted from Maxwell, (2013).

As Figure 1 illustrates, the research question centers on teacher discourse, which is conceptualized and discussed in Chapter 2, as text that can be analyzed critically to reveal the power relations that inform and are informed by teacher's figured worlds. Methods of data collection that allow for data analysis that can capture, analyze, and situate teacher discourse included daily observation of two focal classrooms, as well as critical discourse analysis to analyze and make sense of these observations. Subsequently, validity is determined using the appropriate qualitative methods, including triangulation, member checking, and peer review (Cresswell, 2008). Cross-checking data for a convergence of findings (Gee, 2011) allow for triangulation, while member-checking

occurs through follow-up interviews with participants. Peer review was also conducted throughout the process to ensure for logic and validity checks.

Participants and Context

I selected the school site, Gardenside Secondary Academy[3], because of the unique language diversity of students, as well as for its openness to researchers. I was fortunate to be connected to the school through another researcher who introduced me and vouched for my credentials. Gardenside served grades 6-12 and was located in a major metropolitan area in the Mid-Atlantic U.S. within a traditionally Caribbean neighborhood. Like many formerly huge inner city schools, Gardenside is one of several "small schools" housed within a larger campus. I collected the data, described further below, during the fall semester 2014, which was the ninth year of the school's structure as a "small school."

Student Population Profile at Gardenside

According to official district documents, the school enrollment declined from roughly a population of 400 during the 2010-2011 school year to 300 during the 2014-15 school year. Roughly 87% of students identified as Black; 8% Hispanic; 2% White; 2% American Indian, and1% Asian. Approximately 6% of students were identified as English Language Learners (ELL); 26% were identified with "disabilities (SWD);" and 80% qualified for free or reduced lunch (FRL). Figure 2 below compares the student demographic averages at Gardenside with that of the city. As the graph illustrates, Gardenside had far more Black students than average for the city, and fewer Asian, Hispanic, and White students. Additionally, Gardenside had roughly the equivalent

[3] All names have been changed to protect the confidentiality of the school and the study participants.

percentage of students with disabilities, ELLs, and students who qualified for free or reduced lunch, when compared with the city.

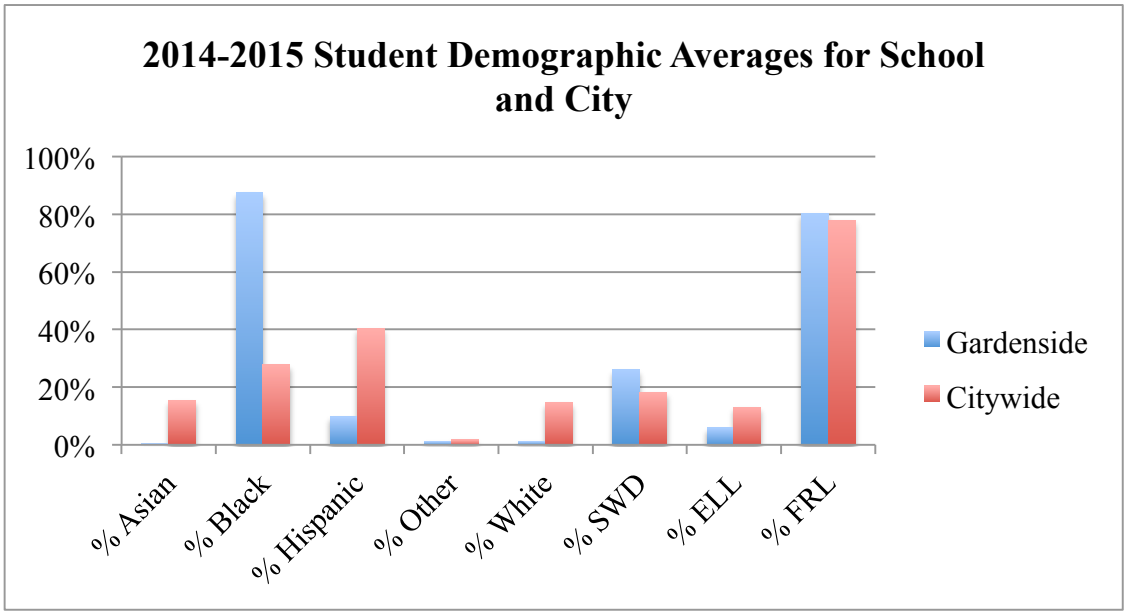


Figure 2. 2014-2015 Student demographics for school and city

The language profiles of Gardenside's students varied widely. In addition to the 6% of students who were classified as ELL, I observed and spoke with many students about their language backgrounds throughout my time on campus and discovered a rich variety of languages and language use, often not captured on official school documents, such as the required Home Language Survey, a document distributed by the schools to all students who spoke a language other than English. Through these observations and conversation with students, I found that students who spoke a language in addition to English were represented within each grade. Specific languages present at the school included several dialects of English, including Caribbean Creole English (CCE) and African American English (AAE), neither of which are officially recognized by the school, district, or state. Many students also spoke Haitian Creole and American Sign

Language (which was a popular course students took at Gardenside to complete the foreign language credit), while individual students spoke Bengali, French, Fulani, Hindi, Italian, Yemen Arabic, Yoruba, and Spanish.

Additionally, for the purposes of this project, I distinguish between the languages students use, such as English, French, and Spanish, etc., and their *language use.* That is, in line with linguistic research I consider how teachers and students use language and how these uses may be similar or different. This distinction draws most notably upon Heath's (1983) seminal works studying how students from different neighborhoods who all spoke the same language used language in fundamentally different ways from each other. Through the observations, I noted a wide variety of students' language use that was not reflected in the focal classrooms' instruction. (For a brief overview of these uses, see Appendix H.)

Faculty Profile

According to the state "report card" for Gardenside, teachers varied in their teaching experience and certifications. During the 2013-2014 school year, all teachers were certified to teach. While 20% of teachers had fewer than three years experience, the majority of teachers were veterans and 30% held a master's degree with additional graduate hours. (At the time of the study, a master's degree was a requirement for teacher certification.) The portrait of teachers from this data indicates that on the whole, teachers were highly qualified to teach the areas in which they were certified, with almost a third of teachers seeking education beyond their masters degree. which was a requirement to teach by the state. However, in spite of their credentials, 43% of Gardenside teachers

taught courses outside of their certification. For example, one of the focal teachers for this study was certified to teach science, but also taught a senior English class.

Academic Profile

For the 2013-2014 school year, Gardenside did not meet its nationally required adequate yearly progress (AYP) in the categories of English Language Arts, mathematics, or science for the subgroup of Black of African-American students or economically disadvantaged students at the middle and secondary levels. Further, on standardized end-of-course middle-school and high-school exams, Gardenside performed below state averages.

Graduation rates for Black of African-American students or economically disadvantaged students also did not meet AYP. According to the state report card, the Gardenside graduation rate for the 2008 cohort was 77%, compared with the statewide average of 80%. These data indicate that students, like many lower socioeconomic and minority students across the U.S., are not currently meeting state grade-level expectations in English and Math. As of the 2013-2014 school year, 25% of Gardenside "completers," or students who completed their high school education, planned to attend four-year college; 20% planned to attend two-year colleges; 2% planned for "other post-secondary" options; and 54% had "unknown plans."

The overall portrait of Gardenside's academic achievement drawn from the available district and state data shows a school that serves a high percentage of historically marginalized populations (students who identify as Black and economically disadvantaged) and, on the whole, performs below state average, and below national benchmarks.

Participant Case Selection

In line with the traditions in applied linguistics (Duff, 2008), I used a case study approach to examine teachers' figured worlds by selecting two focal classrooms to observe. I met with the administration from Gardenside to identify two teachers to recruit for the study. In agreement with the school administration, the inclusion criteria for the observed classes were as follows:

- Classes covered core academic content. This excluded gym class and other electives with minimal opportunities to observe reading, writing, and speaking.
- Classes were open to students at all academic levels per grade. In order to capture interactions in which a range of linguistically diverse students would be present, this excluded any "tracked" courses, such as Advanced Placement courses in which students must meet specific criteria (i.e. minimal grade-point averages), to enroll. This also excluded classes for specific populations, such as ESL courses in which English proficient students were excluded.
- Classes met regularly throughout the week. This excluded any "specials" courses or advisory meetings that occurred only once a week.
- The two focal classes must not occur at conflicting times such that one course would have to be observed at the expense of the other.
- In accordance with district protocol, classes that serve students with whom I had an existing relationship through previous voluntary tutoring would be excluded. This did not extend to students whom I tutored concurrently during the study.

While many classrooms met the criteria above, I met with school administrators who suggested two classrooms in particular that served students with a wide variety of

language backgrounds. If the school administrators had other criteria for suggesting these teachers to approach for the study, I was not privy to them. I approached the teachers and consented them according to IRB protocol.

All students in each of the two classes were invited to participate in the study. I followed up individually with several students who were classified as ELL, or whom I heard speaking CCE, AAE, and other languages in class. Of the students I followed up with, two students elected to participate in the study. These students provided valuable background information about the site.

Focal Teachers

The two courses I observed included a 12th grade English class and an eighth grade science class. The science teacher, Ms. Moffa, was a new teacher who graduated from an alternative certification program and was monolingual. She did not have previous experience teaching ESL or teaching abroad. The English teacher, Ms. Franklin, was a veteran of roughly a decade of teaching at the school. She identified as a science teacher and only taught the English course because there was a vacancy in the department. She had experience teaching English previously with the Peace Corps in Africa, and she also had some command of Polish, which she used with her family, but not at school.

Focal Students

Two students agreed to participate in the study, which involved being interviewed to gather information about their education background and language-learning experiences, as well as being recorded throughout observed class sessions and agreeing to have their work collected periodically. A brief description is given below of each student.

Because the focus of this project centered on teacher discourse, students' contributions are more limited than those of the teacher participants. The majority of the data collected from students included their work and focused descriptions from fieldnotes, which served to contextualize teacher discourse. Interviews with the students also served to provide background about the language profiles of students present in the course.

The two focal students were in the eighth grade science class. *Cristina* was a newcomer from the Dominican Republic who spoke Spanish and little English. She had a paraprofessional who sat next to her throughout class, assigned to her based on her language needs. She did not talk much, if at all, to the students near her, who largely did not speak Spanish. Her family moved, and she withdrew from Gardenside during the second semester. *Malala* seemed to be the leader of the Haitian support network among the group of Haitian girls in the eighth grade. She came to the U.S. as a child and spoke Haitian Creole, but not French, with her grandmother, with whom she lived. Several other Haitian students credited her as the person they first made friends with at this school.

Of the two focal students, only Cristina was classified as an ELL. The school did not have a record of students' proficiency in their native languages. Additionally, none had documentation of special needs or receive such services. Both students were invited to an afterschool tutoring session I volunteered to help with once or a twice a week. Malala came regularly, but Cristina never came, in spite of repeated invitations. The conversations from the afterschool sessions are not part of the data collected for this study, although they did contextualize the observations and interviews.

Data Collection

I received permissions from the University of Virginia IRB and the school district, as well as the school administration, teachers, and focal students and their parents/guardians in order to conduct this study. Sources of data for this study are included in Table 1 below, including observations, field notes, and audio-recordings of focal class sessions, audio recordings of one-on-one semi-structured interviews with participants, and pertinent student work artifacts from the observed class sessions. All data have been stored in a secure location: hardcopies were kept in a locked file cabinet; digital sources were kept on a password-protected computer, and backed up on a hard drive also stored in a locked file cabinet. Identifying information on data sources has been redacted, and pseudonyms are used here.

Table 1
Data Sources

	Observations	Audio-recorded observations	Teacher Interviews	Student work artifacts
8th grade Science	35	29	2	Scans of work from focal students' science folders
12th grade English	34	28	2	None

Observations

Much research specifically in applied linguistics utilizes systematic, focused, and naturalistic (Duff, 2008) observations of participants. I conducted observations up to four times a week in the focal classes during the fall semester 2014. During observations, I wrote fieldnotes (see Appendix A for protocol), which I fleshed out into longer, more

descriptive write-ups (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) afterwards. These field notes totaled over 275 single-spaced pages and included description of classroom interactions to capture the nuance of social context missed by the audio recordings. The following is an excerpt from the fieldnotes that capture potentially informative student interactions that the audio recordings did not capture:

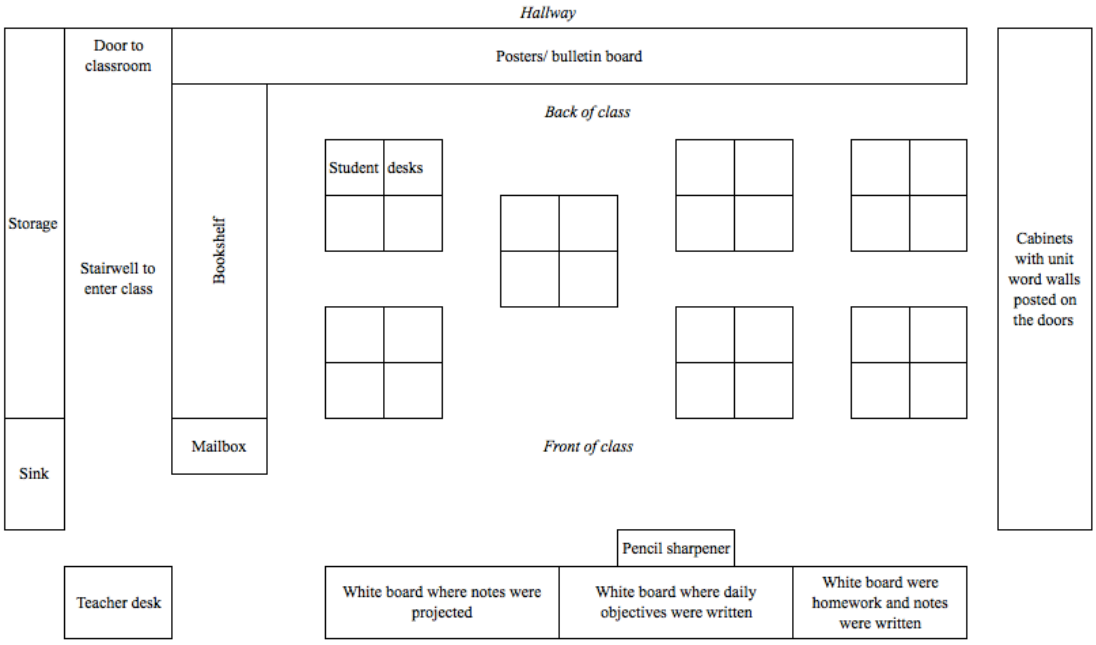
> *While the teacher talks, the girls with the red and white earrings holds up her worksheet to Malala, but I don't know whether she's asking a question or trying to answer one. Malala seems to spend the entire period making patterns with her eraser on the desk. From the front of the room the teacher says, "Any time you see the words* depending on*...will be the thing that's changing." She tells them to look for these key words to help identify the different variables. After she explains, she says they have three minutes so they can do number six and seven on their own. She tells them to try and find a hint in number six…At the end of the class, as the students file out and the new class comes in, I see the teacher go sit with another student who has a paraprofessional. Soon, I see that he is crying, and he puts his head in the crook of his elbow* (Fieldnotes, September 22, 2014).

While the audio recording for this class captures the teacher's review of scientific writing, the fieldnotes suggest that the students are not necessarily fully engaged in the lesson. Malala spent the class period looking away from the teacher, doodling with her eraser on her desk. Further, other student's emotional reaction was completely missed by the audio recordings. This is particularly important, because I later followed up with the teacher after class about the response, and she noted that he was upset because he did not understand the work (Fieldnotes, September 22, 2014). While the fieldnotes cannot serve

to capture all of the social interactions missed by the audio recordings, they did help to capture a dimension of classroom life beyond the recorded discourse.

After I observed for the first two weeks, I began audio recording sessions in the science and English classroom, which picked up teacher discourse as well as student interactions. In order to avoid picking up students who did not consent to participate in the study, I positioned the microphones to pick up the spoken discourse of participants, placing the recorders on participating students' desks to ensure that the activity of interest was reliably captured. In line with the IRB protocol, when non-participating students voices were recorded on the microphones, they were not transcribed or used in the study in any way. I periodically reminded students that they could turn off the recorders any time they wished to not be recorded, and they did not need to ask my permission first (I sometimes sat across the room from them, which would have made that difficult). Students occasionally chose not to be recorded and turned them off, or requested not to have a recorder on their desk during a class session. Malala did not consent to be recorded, although I observed and interviewed her.

Figure 3 below shows the layout of the science classroom. It was located in a former art room, and was one of few interior classrooms on campus that did not have a wall flanked with windows to the outside, although there was ample natural light from windows at the top of the high ceilings. The room was configured so that students had to walk up a short set of stairs behind a wall to enter the classroom. As they came around the wall, they passed the "mailbox" which was a station where students could pick up daily materials and turn in their homework. Students' desks were arranged in groups of four. The configurations of student desks did not change throughout the semester,



although Ms. Moffa changed students' assigned seating periodically. Ms. Moffa wrote notes on the white board in front of the students' desk and projected PowerPoint notes onto the white board using a digital projector. Her desk faced the entrance stairs. An area to the right of the stairs included a sink and space to store classroom materials, such as lab supplies.

Figure 3. Map of science classroom.

In contrast, the English classroom (see Figure 4 below) was more typical of the other classrooms on campus, as it was an exterior room with windows to the outside that students were welcome to open or shut depending on the temperature. At the beginning of the semester, the rear of the classroom was lined with computers, which students used as they drafted their personal statements, but these were removed later on. Students did not have assigned seating, and Ms. Franklin changed the desk arrangements, which consisted of two-seater desks and separate plastic chairs, frequently. Ms. Franklin's

classroom was notable for its neat organization and colorful, informative bulletin boards, including one featuring how to represent evidence in writing that did not change throughout the semester. There was also a couch in the back of the room that was a highly coveted spot for students.

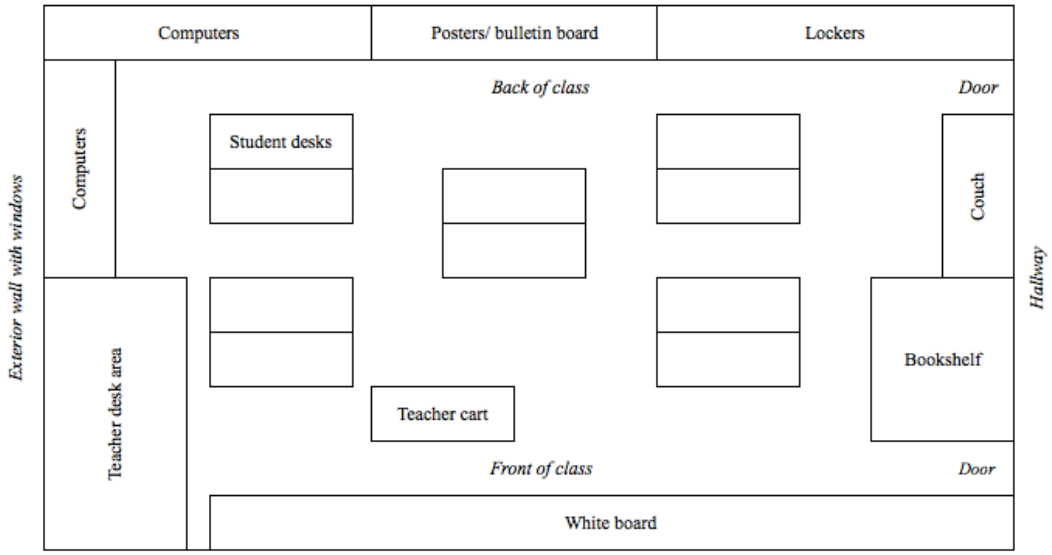


Figure 4. Map of English classroom.

Interviews

In addition to observations, I interviewed the students once and the teachers twice (see Appendix B for all interview protocols). The purpose of the student interview was to gather information about students' linguistic autobiographies (Kibler, 2009), including what languages they knew, when they learned them, and other pertinent information that may not have been available through observations. Initial interviews with teachers included similar educational history questions to gather information about their background and philosophies teaching linguistically diverse students. The follow-up interviews occurred after data collection and served to explore teacher participants' perspectives of events captured in recordings that were selected for discourse analysis.

Data Analysis

In order to understand the full range of meaning of specific language and literacy events, a method is needed that enables finer examination of the interplay between macro-level processes that manifest in specific interactions. For this reason, I used critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyze specific language events. Additionally, language learning is also conceptualized as contested (Norton, 2013) and the product of often hidden ideological assumptions. For this reason, CDA is used as a means of revealing power relationships at play in the literacy events (Fairclough, 2013).

As discussed previously in Chapter 2, this project takes up Fairclough's definition of critical language study as illuminating "connections, which may be hidden from people—such as the connections between language, power, and ideology" (p. 5). To do so, CDA methods are used to investigate classroom discourse. To investigate how teacher discourse builds these worlds, I combine of Fairclough's methods of description, interpretation, and explanation, with Holland's (1998) figured worlds framework.

Data analysis consisted of an iterative process beginning during the data collection phase with writing up fieldnotes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011), as well as weekly memos to reflect on the weekly activities and identify emerging patterns and themes from the data. From these memos, the theme of teacher discourse about language and literacy emerged as the phenomenon of study.

Focused Coding

After completing fieldwork, I uploaded all fieldnotes to the qualitative analysis software NVivo and began focused coding (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011) to identify teacher discourse specifically related to language and literacy practices. I coded any

teacher discourse that explicitly referred to language (speaking or listening) practices, or literacy (reading and writing) practices. This included behavior directives, activity directions, and instruction. I did not code content instruction unrelated to language and literacy practices--such as instruction on cell structure and formulas for density in the science course--unless the teacher explicitly referenced language or literacy practices. I did code instances in which the teacher referred to practices such as copying down notes, filling out worksheets, labeling items, and so on, which all required students to write, read, or answer questions verbally. Conversely, I did not code teacher explanations of vocabulary terms. While such moments might have focused on aspects of language—for example, the semantic meaning of the word *organelles*—teacher discourse did not explicitly reference language or literacy practices students might engage in. Other instances that were not coded included behavior management directives unrelated to language or literacy (telling students to “sit down,” for example), content assessments, such as science exams, references to students, or references to students "working" in general. Table 2 illustrates the specific codes, definitions and examples.

Table 2.
Focused Codes of Fieldnotes in NVivo

Code	Definition	Example
Listening	Discourse related to hearing or listening.	“Ms. Franklin says, “Please listen because you’re getting graded for this,” (English, October 27, 2014).
Speaking	Discourse related to talking for social or academic purposes, oral presentations or discussions. Also includes behavior management strategies on the teachers' behalf to manage student talking.	"Ms. Moffa begins to make an announcement and pauses saying, “It’s weird that people are talking when I’m talking" (Science, September 23, 2014).
Reading	Discourse related to reading, reading instruction, texts to be read, and requests to read aloud.	"Ms. Franklin asks for someone to read the text on the worksheet" (English, October 9, 2014).
Writing	Discourse related to writing, writing instruction, "copying," "filling out worksheets," essays, written assignments, drawing graphs, putting names on assignments, or completing work.	"Ms. Franklin says I hope you guys are writing this down because I’m taking this for a grade" (English, October 20, 2014).

Pattern Coding

The following table shows the number of coded instances of teacher discourse related to specific language and literacy practices captured in the fieldnotes. Instances of teacher discourse could be coded more than once if they referenced more than one domain.

Table 3
Number of Codes

Class	Listening	Reading	Speaking	Writing	*Total*
English teacher discourse	15	38	68	78	*199*
Science teacher discourse	21	6	89	39	*155*

To search for themes in the data, I pattern-coded (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014) the initial focused codes. Within each domain—reading, writing, listening, and speaking--I searched for repetition, themes, and similarities across codes. I created a set of inductive categories to capture the overarching themes among codes, searched for overlap and discontinuities and collapsed or expanded categories as needed. (Appendix C provides a table with the pattern-codes for the data with definitions and examples.)

To explore the data further, I compared excerpts across classes and across domains to look for similarities and differences, such as instances in which themes emerged in one class or language domain and not another (these can be seen in the table above, marked with "*Not present in the data*.") Based on this analysis, I concluded that teachers' discourse revealed a cohesive set of beliefs and attitudes about language and literacy practices, or figured worlds, about what students should be expected to know and to do, how teachers and students should engage with language and literacy in the classroom, and what roles content-area knowledge might play, or whether content-area differences might exist. I drafted an analytic memo capturing these conclusions, and distilled three distinct figured worlds about language and literacy practices that crossed all four domains: Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School; Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding; Language and Literacy Practices as Content-area Practice. I then reviewed each of the pattern codes to consider whether the figured worlds

encompassed each of them, or whether there were counter examples. I refined the definitions of each of the figured worlds based on the alignment to the pattern codes. Table 5 below shows how the pattern codes mapped on to the figured worlds. Codes that did not occur in both classes were removed because they tended to align to content-area differences rather than ideological differences, such as codes related to process-writing in the English class. In-depth discussion of each figured world is presented in chapter 4.

Table 4
Coding of Figured Worlds

Figured world	Category	Short code	Description
Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School	Listening	Academic	Language activities are school/academic activities.
		Presence	Listening is a way of a teacher showing her presence.
		Silent	Listening is a silent activity (reminding students to listen can also be a way of telling them to stop talking or pay attention).
		Teacher agency	When the teacher does not respond, it is not because she is not. listening—she is choosing not to respond (perhaps for a reason other than those assumed for students).
	Reading	Academic	Reading is an academic, serious school activity.
		Silent*	Reading is a silent, independent activity. Asking whether students are reading might be a way to suggest to them to stop talking and get to work.
	Speaking	Academic	Speaking is sometimes done for academic purposes: Some talking in class is acceptable and teacher-sanctioned. For example, during scholarly and orderly debate and discussion.
		Consequence	Speaking used as a consequence: Calling students' names, phone calls home, "conversations with parents," and "talking after class" are forms of consequences for talking in class.
		Silent	Students should not talk in class unless explicitly sanctioned to do so by the teacher. The teacher controls the norms for student talk. If students do talk when the teacher does not sanction it, it is because they're acting lazy, like children, do not know what to do, or are acting "crazy."

		Social	Talking is a social activity. Reading, writing, and listening are school activities.
	Writing	Academic	Writing is an academic activity.
		Silent	Writing is a silent activity (reminding students to listen can also be a way of telling them to stop talking or pay attention).
Language and Literacy Practices as understanding	Listening	Easier	Listening is easier than other language practices. For example, when students are not ready to complete a task, they can listen.
		Understanding	Listening is a way of understanding. If students do not understand or are not doing what they were asked, it is because they are not listening. Corollary: Listening is a students' responsibility that they can control (unless they are acting like children).
	Reading	Preparation*	Reading is "just reading"-- easier (than writing); preparation for speaking (via discussion and debate).
		Student responsibility	Students know how to read and they can do that at home. Reading is a students' responsibility. If students are not reading they are acting immature
	Writing	Functional	Writing is functional skill students can be assumed to have: Copy homework, fill out notes to pay attention, writing things down to remember/ keep track of it, type up rough drafts, fill out worksheets to prove you've done work for the teacher.
		Preparation*	Writing is preparation for talking.
		Student responsibility	Students know how to write, and it is their responsibility to do so in class.
Language and Literacy Practices as	Reading	Content-Area	While students should be expected to read on their own, certain Content-Area specific skills might need to be taught, such as reading graphs in science or close-reading in English.

Content-Area Practice		Talking*	Talking about writing can be helpful.
		Collaborative*	Process writing is collaborative.
		Content-Area	Certain content-area specific skills might need to be taught.
	Writing	Hard	Writing is hard. Students struggle with writing. Students need in-class time for writing instruction.
		Process*	Writing is a process that can be broken into steps; typing is done at the end of the process (also includes references to workshop and writing conference).
		Spelling	References to spelling. Teachers differ regarding the importance of spelling.

**Does not appear in coding of science class observations*

Selection of Transcripts

To more closely examine the micro and macro aspects of teacher discourse, I searched for specific classroom events representative of the figured worlds in each class in order to transcribe and analyze them. To narrow down the selection of transcripts, I analyzed classroom events I used the following criteria:

- Classroom events must be representative of a specific figured world.
- Events must have been adequately audio recorded so that narrow transcription can be conducted accurately. For example, the few instances where teachers spoke too far away from an available microphone, or instances where teachers cannot be understood on the recording were not selected.
- Recordings of classroom events must only include voices of participants who have consented to be audio-recorded. Several instances could not be used due to issues of consent.
- Classroom events needed to represent typical instruction. Instances of unusual circumstances in class that might skew the findings to inaccurately portray that classroom were not used.

I bounded the transcripts to avoid picking up voices of non-consenting students, and to frame the classroom events logically. That is, if the classroom event centered around the teacher presenting directions for an activity, I bounded the transcript so that the entirety of the directions were given, and ended the transcript when the teacher moved on to another activity or topic. I "narrowly" transcribed (Gee, 2011) the transcripts according to the transcription conventions (presented in Appendix D).

Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis

For each transcript, I conducted Fairclough's methods for critical discourse analysis, comprised of the three stages of analysis: *description* of the discourse-as-text, *interpretation* of the discourse-in-action (that is, interpreting the meaning making processes of participants within the social context in which it was produced), and *explanation* to show how macrostructures shaped the discourse. Specifically, I used Fairclough's guiding questions for each analytic stage, which are explained below.

Description. Table 5 below presents the questions recommended for describing the textual features of the discourse.

Table 5
Fairclough's (2013, p. 110-111) Questions for Description Stage of Analysis

	Description
Vocabulary	"What *experiential* values do words have? ...What classification schemes are drawn upon? Are there words, which are ideologically contested? Is there *rewording or overwording?* What ideologically significant meaning relations (synonym, hyponymy, antonym) are there between words?"
	"What *relational* values do words have? Are there euphemistic expressions? Are there markedly formal or informal words?"
	"What *expressive* values do words have?"
	"What metaphors are used?"
Grammar	"What *experiential* values do grammatical features have? What types of *process* and *participant* predominate? Is agency unclear? Are processes what they seem? Are *nominalizations* used? Are sentences active or passive? Are sentences positive or negative?"
	"What relational values do grammatical features have? What *modes* (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used? Are there important features of *relation modality?* Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how?"

	"What expressive values do grammatical features have? Are there important features of *expressive modality?"*
	"How are (simple) sentences linked together? What logical connectors are used? Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or subordination? What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?"
Textual structures	"What interactional conventions are used? Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?"
	"What larger scale structures does the text have?"

Fairclough divides the textual features for description into *vocabulary*, which focuses on specific words; *grammar*, which largely centers on sentence type and syntax; and *textual structure,* which refers to the discourse as a whole. For vocabulary and grammar, questions of experiential, relational, and expressive value are examined. Experiential values of utterances refer to how participants experience the meaning of the discourse—that is, how do participants relate the content of the discourse to their existing knowledge and beliefs? In contrast, relational values of text concern how social relations among participants are enacted within the discourse. Expressive values of the text concern the evaluative nature of the discourse. Questions regarding the textual structure of the discourse refer to the "larger scale structures" of the text; or, roughly, what genres, discourses, or schema the discourse draws upon, as well as the opportunities for turn-taking among participants.

To complete a descriptive analysis of the texts, I considered each question holistically, as well as quantitatively where possible. First, I uploaded the transcripts into NVivo and coded any discrete features noted in the questions that could be measured quantitatively (i.e. number of negative sentence structures, uses of metaphor,

nominalizations, number of pronouns, etc.) of the text as possible. Results are shown in Appendix E.

Then, I reviewed the data along with the more qualitative aspects of Fairclough's questions (i.e. "what are the experiential values" of the vocabulary) for each transcript, guided by the remaining questions. I answered the questions within a graphic organizer (see Appendix F) to review similarities and differences across transcripts.

Interpretation. The interpretation stage of analysis considers how the text was produced within its social context. Table 6 below presents Fairclough's guiding questions for analysis.

Table 6
Fairclough's Questions for Interpretation Stage of Analysis

	Interpretation
Context	"What interpretation(s) are participants giving to the situations and intertextual contexts?" (p. 162)
Discourse type(s)	"What discourse type(s) are being drawn upon?" (p. 162)
Difference and change	"Are answers to questions 1 and 2 different for different participants? And do they change during the course of the interaction?" (p. 162)

These questions consider not only what is happening in the text, but also who is involved in the creation of the discourse, what relations exist between participants, and the role of language through the discourse resources drawn upon by participants. To engage in this stage, I read through each transcript and answered these questions, using interview transcripts and fieldnotes to triangulate my conclusions.

Explanation. The final analytic stage involved connecting the discourse to the macrostructures surrounding the participants and the interactions. Table 7 presents questions related to power relations, ideologies, and struggles within and related to the discourse.

Table 7
Fairclough's Questions for Explanation Stage of Analysis

	Explanation
Social determinants	"What power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?" (p. 166)
Ideologies	"What elements of [member resources] which are drawn upon have an ideological character?" (p. 166)
Effects	"How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse normative with respect to member resources or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them?" (p. 166)

To consider the power relations within a discourse, Fairclough considers how the social determinants, or larger macrostructures within which the discourse is situated, influence the discourse. Further, the explanation stage of analysis extends the previous stages to consider the ideological nature of the discourses participants draw upon. Finally, the explanation stage of analysis considers the effects of the discourse: does it reproduce or resist existing power relations, and does it do so covertly or explicitly? Again, I reviewed the transcripts holistically, searched fieldnotes, interview data, and relevant policy documents, such as the school's state "report card," to triangulate the findings.

In order to conduct the final interviews with Ms. Moffa and Ms. Franklin, I created less technical versions of transcripts for the participants to view (see Appendix B for protocol) and comment upon. This version of the transcription maintained a verbatim

record of classroom audio recordings, but used capitalization and punctuation in place of technical transcription conventions.

I then “broadly” (Gee, 2011) transcribed the teacher interviews (that is, I only captured the content of the interview rather than the linguistic features) and analyzed them in NVivo. I coded how the interview transcripts mapped onto the figured worlds, using the three figured worlds, described earlier, as coding categories. I searched participants’ responses for similarities and differences, as well as convergence and divergence with my findings.

Researcher Positionality

Purely objective or neutral observations have been questioned since the poststructural turn of the social sciences (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). In place of the imagined totally unobtrusive observer, a researcher should strive to become "sensitive to, and perceptive about, how she is seen and treated by others," (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 4). Regarding specific data collection methods, Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) note that, "Observation-based research is not simply a data-collection technique; it forms the context in which ethnographic fieldworkers assume membership roles in communities they want to study" (p. 158). Likewise, Briggs (1997) notes that interviews are, in actuality, co-constructed sites of knowledge, rather than verbal snapshots of a participant's perspective.

Within this context, deciding about how to position oneself in relation to participants carries a host of implications regarding the privileging of different knowledge. I entered the field having established a working knowledge of the school through my previous experience conducting afterschool tutoring sessions during the

spring 2014 semester. As such, I positioned myself in a variety of ways, with some "insider knowledge" (Shah, 2004), although I remained an outsider participant-observer in the school community during the fall 2014 semester.

In order to consider the impact of the various roles a researcher takes in the field, Green (2014) has created the model of Double Dutch Methodology (DDM), which is a reflexive stance researchers take to name and evaluate how they are variously positioned in the field as they shift between roles as academic researchers (taking notes, conducting interviews, recording instruction) and community insiders (building relationships with students, tutoring small groups).

In this way, a DDM approach to positionality allows for researchers to reflect on how their positionality has influenced the data, and to consider how certain roles and contexts foreground the "everyday interactions, voices, and experiences of the participants" (p. 148) through insider knowledge, while other roles and contexts capture outsider knowledge. I reflected on these roles, particularly as I became a greater presence in the afterschool tutoring sessions, through the write-ups and memos.

Like the participants of the study, the identities I brought into the site were multiple: my language repertoire includes English and Spanish, the latter learned through formal study, travel in Spain, as well as through work with adolescent students as a teacher and researcher. I am also a beginning learner of French and Haitian Creole, having completed courses in both languages. I am also a Caucasian native U.S. citizen in her thirties, with a variety of professional identities: at the same time as I am an emergent researcher, I remain a student, as well as a former public school teacher and administrator. I draw upon these experience to remain sensitive to the real-time needs of

schools working with linguistically diverse students, as well as the skills I have developed working with similar populations. However, because I remain new to the region and the school, I have drawn upon the experiences, perspectives and knowledge of the teachers and students to better understand the school context.

I drew upon the participants' knowledge through one-on-one semi-structured interviews. However, as a former teacher, supervisor, and university researcher, the participants may have viewed me as a person of potential power having influence or power over their positions with the school. As a result, I am aware that the participants may have held back or answered more formally than they might have were I a fellow colleague or community insider. As a result, I sought to set the participants at ease, conducting interviews within comfortable, familiar spaces, such as their classrooms, and avoiding evaluative language about their teaching during observations or interviews. I also sought to triangulate participants' responses using official school documents, observations, and responses from other participants.

Validity, Credibility, and Ethics

The poststructural paradigm rejects that role of social science to capture reality objectively (Flyberg, 2001, Gee, 2011). In order to ensure the trustworthiness and credibility of these interpretations, this study incorporates Gee's markers of validity in discourse analysis, including: a) convergence of analyses across analytical tools; b) member checking; and c) including linguistic detail of transcripts (p. 123-4). In order to establish validity and credibility for this study, a variety of strategies are employed, that have been discussed in the data collection and analysis, and the limitations section below.

Limitations

Given this study's focus upon educational discourse within a largely Caribbean and multilingual setting, a limitation is that I do not speak French, Haitian Creole, or CCE, nor am I a speaker of AAE. However, I have taken several steps to bridge or mitigate these limitations. First, as noted in earlier sections, extended time in the field including non-data collection presence in the school before the study (Spring 2014) have allowed me time to learn the school culture, communicative norms, and to build relationships with individual students and teachers through afterschool tutoring sessions and non-data-collection observations. I also engaged in various language learning and familiarizing experiences before beginning data collection. It is also hoped that such extended time in the field lessened some of the performativity on the part of teachers and students.

Regarding language limitations, I offered translations of consent forms in the home languages of potential participants and their guardians as requested (they were not requested). I interviewed Cristina in Spanish, and gave her the choice of answering in English or Spanish.

The use of recording devices used during interviews and during observations also allowed for language to be captured and interpreted by multiple individuals, as needed. Limitations of the technology used included the field of capture of audio recording devices. While I took care to place recording equipment to capture the activity of interest, interactions that took place outside of the scope of the recording equipment may have been missed. To mitigate this, observations and fieldnotes were used to triangulate and supplement recorded data.

In the same way that recording devices necessarily miss that which occurs away from the microphone, the small sample of this study necessarily misses the full range of linguistic diversity present at Gardenside. In the tradition of qualitative research, (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) this project does not seek to generalize to larger populations, but to consider how teacher discourse can serve as a rich analytic text to reveal assumptions about language and literacy within a specific multilingual setting.

Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter presents findings from the data analysis to respond to the research question: What figured worlds might be reflected in teachers' discourse about language and literacy practices? Further, the findings consider how the teachers' figured worlds of language and literacy manifest through interactions in the classroom and how these discourses might ultimately be shaped by macrostructures surrounding the classroom, including school and state policy, and English-only language ideology.

Figured Worlds about Language and Literacy Reflected in Teacher Discourse

Findings from the qualitative analysis of the fieldnotes were distilled into three figured worlds that surfaced repeatedly across both the English and the science classrooms. Figure 5 below visually depicts the findings overall. Teacher discourse revealed figured worlds of how teachers conceptualized language and literacy practices and assumptions about what students should be able to do in class. These figured worlds were at times complementary and contradictory. They simultaneously shaped teacher discourse, and were shaped by the macrostructures surrounding the classroom, including classroom environmental factors, school and state policy, and the encompassing societal English-only language ideology. Each aspect will be discussed in further detail through this chapter.

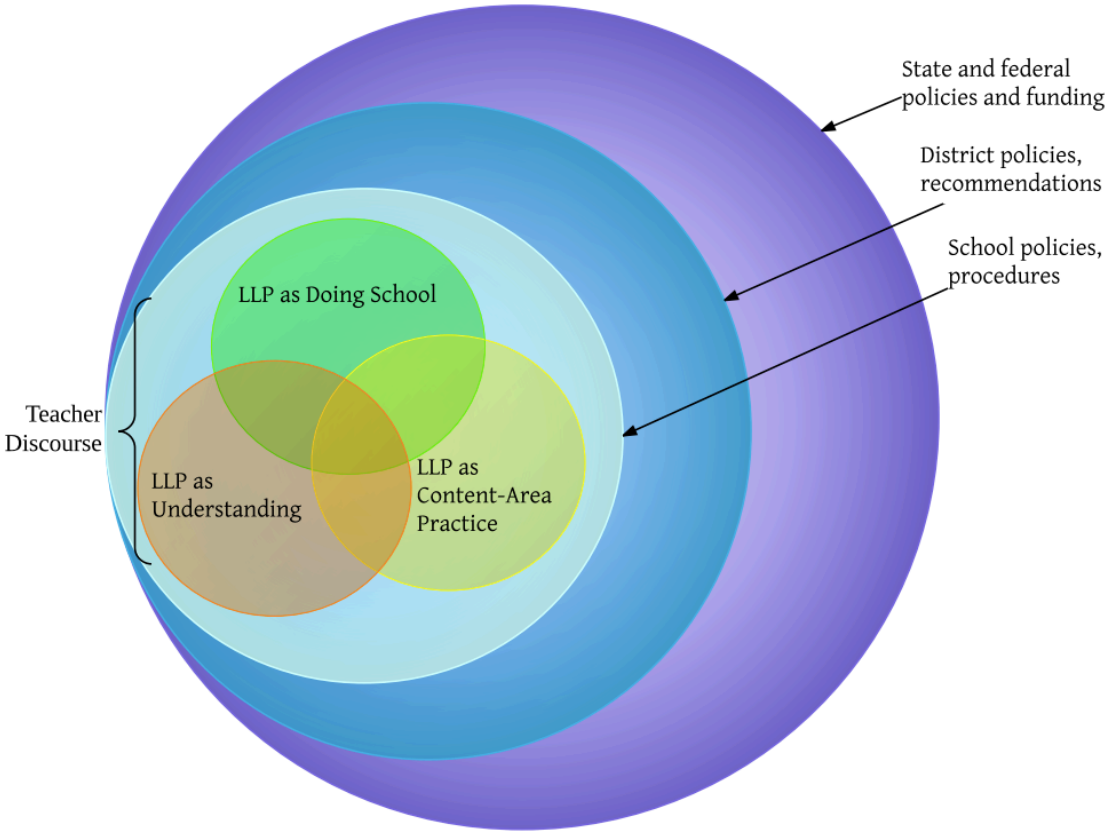


Figure 5. Teacher discourse reveals teachers' figured worlds of language and literacy, and is shaped by macrostructures of the classroom, school, and society.

Table 9 below briefly summarizes each figured world and the correlating representative transcript. First, teacher discourse often included references to students' language and literacy practices in terms of behavioral management. This figured world is referred to as Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School, because students' general academic behaviors were emphasized in place of the specific language and literacy practices that comprised these behaviors. Second, teacher discourse largely assumed students could speak and use standard academic English, revealing teachers' second figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding.

In contrast, several instances were captured in the fieldnotes in which teachers explicitly instructed students about reading and writing practices within the context of their disciplines, science and English. Within these instances, teachers did not necessarily assume that students understood how to engage in the language and literacy practices expected of them, and during instruction, teachers explicitly referred to the language and literacy practices necessary for the discipline. This figured world is referred to as Language and Literacy Practices as Content-Area Practice and suggests that while teachers make the perhaps reasonable assumption that while students arrive in class with the necessary prerequisite language and literacy skills, they do not necessarily arrive with content-area-specific knowledge. An explanation of how such assumptions may have been formed, and implications for what these figured worlds entail for teachers of a student population that does not necessarily arrive in class with these understandings is discussed at length.

Table 8
Summary of Figured Worlds and Transcripts

Figured World	Summary	Example from science class	Example from English class
Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School	Appropriate school behaviors involved teacher- or school-sanctioned language and literacy practices. Reading, writing, and listening were school activities and silent behaviors. Conversely, talking was not "work." Talking was a social activity allowed only as sanctioned by the teacher. If students talked out of turn or did not respond to the classwork or teacher, they were either unaware of what to do, not listening to what they should be doing, acting "lazy," acting like children, being disrespectful, or acting "crazy."	Transcript 1: A seemingly rote classroom entrance procedure involved language and literacy practices that Ms. Moffa did not explicitly acknowledge.	Transcript 2: A classroom discussion depended on students taking up specific teacher-sanctioned reading, writing, listening, and speaking practices.
Language and Literacy Practices as Under-standing	Students are literate and understand SAE, which is the same language their teachers speak. Reading and listening were activities that students could "just" do (and as a result, it was their responsibility to do so); writing (other than for functional purposes) was more difficult and required some explicit instruction and time in class.	Transcript 3: Ms. Moffa gave directions for students to watch and comprehend a video about cells, and be responsible for asking clarifying questions if they were confused.	Transcript 4: During a "family meeting" Ms. Franklin explained her concerns about students not making progress on their personal statements, which she said she knew they could do.
Language and Literacy Practices as Content-Area Practice	Content-Area practices relied on specific language and literacy practices, which students were not necessarily expected to know. Teachers provided explicit instruction regarding content-area practices that included language and literacy, but may not have explicitly referenced them. Assumptions about students' foundational language and literacy understandings remained.	Transcript 5: Ms. Moffa led the students through a mini-lesson about how to write the results of a lab report.	Transcript 6: Ms. Franklin explained the steps to the research process, but assumed that students already knew how to read in order to find information.

For each figured world, one representative transcript from each class is presented. Discussion of the transcripts include brief background about the context of the lesson in the "orientation" to the classroom event, followed by analysis using Fairclough's (2013) approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA), including description of the textual features, interpretation of the text production, and explanation of the dialectical relationships between the macrostructures undergirding the figured worlds manifested through each interaction. In the sections below, an overview of transcript descriptions is included to discuss linguistic commonalities among all the transcripts, followed by separate analyses for each transcript.

An Overview of Transcript Descriptions

The following provides a general overview of the similarities among the transcripts presented, as they represented both teachers' discourse on the whole.

Vocabulary

In terms of the relational and expressive values of vocabulary throughout the transcripts, both Ms. Moffa and Ms. Franklin maintained fairly consistent and straightforward vocabulary with students, seldom employing metaphor, euphemism, markedly evaluative, formal or informal word choice. However, in spite of the perceived neutrality of the teachers' vocabulary throughout the semester, I assert that teachers' vocabulary could at times be ideologically contested or misconstrued. For this reason, the majority of analytic discussion of teachers' vocabulary is concerned with the experiential nature of the teacher discourse, which were revealing of the teachers' figured worlds of language and literacy.

Grammar

Grammatically, the experiential values of teachers' discourse are less analytically rich than the experiential values of the vocabulary as teachers seldom employed passive voice, nominalizations (other than referring to specific instructional items, such as Do Nows or Listening Logs, discussed later), or negative structures. In general, teachers' discourse was comprised of sentences with active voice emphasizing students' agency.

Text Structure

Because this study specifically examines teacher discourse, the textual structure of each transcript is relatively similar, and could be categorized under the "larger scale structure" of "teacher talk." Specifically, this transcript might fit under the category of "giving directions" or "clarifying directions." As a result, it is not surprising that there are few opportunities for turn-taking in these transcripts. In the following sections, in-depth analysis is provided for each transcript.

Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School

Teacher discourse in both classes consistently conflated general school-appropriate behaviors with language and literacy behaviors. This led to the assertion of the Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School figured world. Within this figured world, how students behaved in school was implicitly tied to the language and literacy practices they engaged in. That is, appropriate school behaviors involved teacher- or school-sanctioned language and literacy practices. Specifically, reading, writing, and listening were school activities and silent behaviors. Conversely, talking was not "work," but a social activity that was allowed only as sanctioned by the teacher. Given these assumptions, if students talked out of turn or did not respond to the classwork or teacher, they were either unaware of what to do, not listening to what they should be doing, acting

lazy, acting like children, being disrespectful, or "crazy" (Fieldnotes, October 16, 2014). Because language and literacy practices were implied within these school behaviors, students who may have been becoming proficient in SAE, or resisting SAE for reasons not acknowledged by the teacher, may have been perceived as misbehaving.

"Doing your Do Now:" Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School in Science

The first excerpt below is from the science course almost two months into the semester, in which the teacher was unhappy with how students were entering class and clarified the entrance procedure. In the moment before this transcript, the teacher (Ms. Moffa) circulated and said that several students were not working on the correct assignments. After providing an orientation to the excerpt, CDA analysis that includes description, interpretation, and explanation of the transcript is included below.

Transcript 1

1. guys.
2. does ↑ everyone (.) ↓ STUDENT1.
3. and STUDENT2.
4. STUDENT3.
5. ↓ 'k.
6. you guys ↑ need to pay attention when you come in to what you're picking up.
7. aright?
8. the ↑ first box is the do now the second is your classwork the third's the exit slip and the bottom is homework.
9. please don't come in and ask me what's what it's you need to use your eyes it's labeled.
10. so if you're doing your homework right now.
11. you're doing the wrong thing.
12. not only that but then I write?
13. which words you're supposed to be doing for your do now.

Orientation. Throughout the semester, the entrance procedure changed little, and students continued to enter class without following it. The entrance procedure included students' quiet entrance into the class and completion of the "Do Now," or a brief writing

activity designed to preview the day's lesson. These included brief, independent activities that took place during the first five or ten minutes of class that involved reading and writing, such as writing down the day's objectives off the board, copying down homework assignments, reading brief passages and responding to questions. While some students did come in consistently and begin work quietly, on many days, many students did not. Collected samples of students' Do Nows often showed incomplete work (see Appendix G). According to my second interview with Ms. Moffa, even by the end of the semester students had not yet met her goals to enter class and get started with the work immediately without teacher intervention (Interview, March 13, 2015). For example, earlier in the month, I captured this instance,

> The teacher greets the students as they come in and says they have 10 minutes to study for their test. One student comes in doing a kind of squatty, animated dance, and others mill around. None of the students come in and just start working at their desk. They are mostly standing. One student comes in and sharpens his pencil, singing. A few jump and try to touch a metal hook that hangs down from a pipe near the front of the room. Another girl comes in and sits at her desk and takes out a worksheet and appears to be quizzing the student next to her. The teacher arrives and she says to sit in their lab groups. The students are generally talking. The teacher says you guys have a test today, you have 10 minutes to study.
>
> I see that one student is carrying around a small weight (like a small dumbbell hand weight one might see in a gym). He sets it on a table by the door. The teacher tells the class to take out their lab reports, which are due today. She

> says, Eighth grade, I need you to stop talking. I'm extremely unhappy with this group right now. Stop talking, take out your stuff. It's not recess, the bell has rung, and we have started. She says if you don't have your lab report there's no excuse. She says I don't want to hear a sound unless it's you quizzing yourself (Fieldnotes, October 6, 2014).

In this session, Ms. Moffa made clear that students needed to be silent and self-directed during the activity. This was a common refrain about the Do Nows, captured in the fieldnotes again during another class session near the end of the Do Now activity:

> "The students come in and check the In Box. Malala comes by and says hello to me. Ms. Moffa says, "Let's get started... you should all be getting started on the Do Now." Students get their notebooks from the bins in the back of the classroom. The teacher calls the students' individual names and tells them to get started. The students get quiet, and many students start writing. One girl points to the triple beam balance and asks what it's called, and I answer. Another student who puts his head down in virtually every class session does not complete the Do Now, and Ms. Moffa asks him to pick up the worksheet. After a moment, several students begin to talk among themselves. I don't hear everything the students discuss, but one student says, "You're a liar!" while others laugh together. As they grow louder, the teacher says, "Are we talking because we're done?" One of the students says no, we're talking because we need help. The student momentarily quiet down again." (Fieldnotes, October 14, 2014)

During this session, Ms. Moffa's attempts to reinforce the silent, independent nature of the Do Now activity by repeating to students to get started, individually addressing

students, and addressing the whole group with the veiled directive, "Are we talking because we're done?" In spite of these efforts, several students did not complete the activity, as they either talked to each other, or did nothing. While I cannot wholly verify the accuracy of the student's response that he was talking because he needed help, it seemed clear that several students who were talking were off-task, although the student's question to me was one example of talking in order to receive help. The mix of off-task and on-task talk, and lack of compliance with the assignment was a regular occurrence during the Do Nows, in spite of the teacher's directions.

During the second interview with Ms. Moffa, she explained that entrance procedures throughout the eighth grade were supposed to be fairly standardized across classrooms. The administration supplied teachers with paper mailboxes that teachers used to distribute the daily worksheets to the students at the beginning of class. As students arrived, they should come in, check the box, pick up their papers, and begin their Do Now assignments. This entrance routine was popular outside of the eighth grade at the school as well: In my observations of Ms. Franklin's 12th grade English class, students were routinely expected to begin their Do Now assignments, which were posted daily on the white board. However, consequences for not completing the assignments were inconsistent. Perhaps because of the potential variation students might experience in other classrooms, Ms. Moffa explicitly taught this procedure at the beginning of the school year and posted a large sign that listed the steps at the front of the classroom facing the entrance.

Description. Using Fairlcough's guiding questions, I found that Ms. Moffa's vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure reinforced traditional assumptions about

teacher-student relationships, and revealed assumptions about how Ms. Moffa's figured world of school included embedded, and often hidden, language and literacy practices.

Vocabulary. In the transcript above, Ms. Moffa's vocabulary often drew upon general academic discourses in ways that served to obscure the discussion of language and literacy practices. For example, the experiential nature of Ms. Moffa's vocabulary throughout this transcript drew upon discourses of "appropriate school behavior" rather than discourses related to specific language and literacy practices. In one case, the teacher directed students to "pay attention" (line 6) and "use your eyes" (line 9) to find the papers they were picking up at the beginning of class, which were located in a labeled mailbox at the front of the class, but she did not explicitly tell students to read them.

Additionally, Ms. Moffa referred to students "doing your homework" (line 10), and "doing your do now" (line 13) rather than referring to the specific reading and writing tasks at hand, which included reading a worksheet and writing down answers to the questions. In this way, this figured world assumed that this entrance procedure was dependent upon student school behaviors, such as "paying attention," that students should have already understood, rather than literacy behaviors, such as reading, that students demonstrably struggled with on standardized exams and through work in their classes (Interview 2, March 13). Thus, when students were not working on the assignments the teacher had planned for them, they were "wrong," (line 11) rather than potentially confused, or resisting the assignment for other reasons.

Grammar. As was typical of Ms. Moffa's discourse in general, in Transcript 1, the majority of sentences employed non-negative declarative or imperative structures that positioned students as agents: "you guys need to pay attention" (line 6); "you need to use

your eyes," (line 9); "I write which words you're supposed to be doing" (line 13). She used the passive voice only once in line 9 in a reference the mailbox: "it's labeled." In general, she used active voice to describe desired students' actions.

The general grammatical positioning of students as agentive aligned with Ms. Moffa's goals for students to take more responsibility in class. During our second interview, she observed: "they want the answer from me always. They each individually want to ask me what they're supposed to be doing [*laughs*] instead of just taking things into their own hands" (Interview, March 13, 2015). For Ms. Moffa, "doing school" involved students taking initiative without the help of a teacher. Within this figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School, students who do not complete an assignment as directed may be perceived as not taking initiative, rather than needing instructional support, or, ironically, making an active choice not to do so.

The relational value of the grammar reflects a similar divide between teachers and students. Examining pronouns in particular, it is noteworthy that Ms. Moffa refers to "you" (students) nine times, not including implied *you* subjects in the imperative statement in line 9, but does not refer to "we" or "us." The emphasis of "you" over "we" may be an indication that students need to take responsibility for their own individual learning. However, that usage of "you" to emphasize students' taking initiative for their learning --"you guys need to pay attention" (line 6)—is somewhat contradicted by the activities for the Do Now that are managed and directed by the teacher with little student choice.

Thus, the discourse of the figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School at once positions students as agents of their own learning, but also as

direction-followers of the teacher. This contradiction manifested throughout students' language and literacy practices in science class as students were rarely given opportunities to read or write as modes of scientific inquiry or exploration. While students regularly engaged in hands-on labs to test scientific concepts, activities that relied upon reading and writing were generally relegated to note-taking procedures that involved copying the teacher's notes, copying down homework, writing brief responses on worksheets, and filling in templates for lab reports (which will be discussed in further detail in Transcript 5).

Text structure. While Transcript 1 was typical of the teacher-talk discourses selected for this study that included fewer opportunities for student talk, it is potentially revealing that the teacher chose a lecture-style response to students' behavior rather than taking an inquisitive stance. That is, within this transcript, the teacher clarified what the directions for entering the classroom were, rather than holding a discussion during which students might explain why they did not follow the procedure. Such choice seemed to reflect the previously described contradiction of students as agentive directions-followers: while Ms. Moffa clearly wanted students to take more responsibility in engaging in activities, the textual structure of the discourse did not create space for student voice.

Interpretation. As noted previously, the interpretation stage of the analysis considers the discourse-in-action, or how participants interpreted the situations and discourses. While there may be many reasons that cannot be investigated here about why students did not enter class according to the procedure (lack of interest, for example), when I interviewed Ms. Moffa about this transcript, she first noted that students did not

come into class according to the procedure because they struggled with "listening skills" (Interview 2, March 13). While this is an explicit comment on students' language abilities, given that the procedures did not rely on oral instruction, but were designed to rely on written activities, I pushed Ms. Moffa to explain further in our interview. What she explained did not deal with students' receptive language abilities:

> I don't know if that's because they're afraid they're gonna do the wrong thing or they're afraid they're gonna have the wrong answer but even with the Do Nows if they don't understand what it is fully, they just won't answer it at all--they won't even try to answer it (Interview, March 13, 2015).

Here she ascribed students' lack of observance of the procedure with students' emotional state; "they're afraid;" and persistence; "they just won't answer it at all." Although she at first asserted that "listening skills" might be the issue, her elaboration centered on students' academic habits of persistence when students did not initially understand the material.

In response to another transcript we reviewed together during that interview, she explained that at the beginning of the year she thought students' reading levels were higher than they were: "a lot of the materials I was giving them they can't read. And then they become frustrated and then the behavior issues start" (Interview, March 13, 2015). Because she connected students' behavior with language and literacy structures, I asked her if she thought the literacy issues might be a potential cause of students' lack of compliance with the Do Now procedure as well, and she agreed,

> I think a lot of them come in and because they're just not strong readers they won't look at the board, they won't read what I write on the board… They won't

> read the sheets, like I tried labeling the sheets with Do Now, Homework, they just aren't reading. At all (Interview, March 13, 2015).

Even though Ms. Moffa concluded that the mismatch between her assumptions about students' literacy and their class assignments might have led to behavioral issues in other matters in class, she did not immediately offer that conclusion for why students did not comport with the Do Now procedure, even though it was a literacy-based activity. I assert that the experiential aspects of the teacher's vocabulary that conflated appropriate classroom behaviors with what were in reality literacy-based practices may have obscured a potential reason for why students entered class they way they did.

Based on my textual analysis of the transcripts, as well as the classroom observations and interviews with Ms. Moffa, I assert that Ms. Moffa interpreted students' lack of compliance with the Do Now procedure as a general academic behavioral concern, rather than a literacy concern. That is, I read the transcript as Ms. Moffa drawing upon the discourse of academic behavior, persistence, and initiative, as a means of explaining how to "do school," by clarifying the Do Now procedure rather than acknowledging potential literacy concerns of students that might prevent their successful classroom entrance.

Explanation. Above, I have examined how a teacher's figured world of language and literacy manifested through classroom interactions, in this case, teacher-talk. Below, I use Fairclough's guiding questions to consider the social determinants, ideologies, and effects of the discourses (see Table 7 in chapter 3 that described each question) to draw connections between the classroom discourse and the macrostructures encompassing the classroom, including the classroom environment, school and state policy, as well as

societal ideologies about language. In this way, I show the dialectical relationship between ideologies and figured world, macrostructures and classroom interactions.

*Social determinants***.** It should be noted that such classroom procedures were recommended at the district level. In an official district document enumerating the school's improvement plan for the year before this study's data was collected, the first "major recommendation" was to address the a lack of common teaching procedures. The emphasis from the administration of the school to emphasize the same entrance procedure across classrooms may have been a result of this recommendation, and reflects the district's investment in such practices as valuable teaching methods.

In the school improvement plan document for the year of data collection, this recommendation was not given. Nonetheless, at least one on-campus in-service during the period of data collection covered the topic of effective Do Now procedures (Fieldnotes, September 2, 2014). At another professional development session, the principal passed out the popular teaching methods text, *Teach Like a Champion* (Lemov, 2010) as a guide for teachers to use throughout the year (Fieldnotes, September 15, 2014). The principal made clear that the book would be not used as an infallible prescriptive text, but rather a source of common language among the staff.

Within the text, the Do Now is defined according to a number of criteria, including that students should complete it "without any direction from the teacher and without any discussion with their classmates" (p. 152), and that "the activity should require putting a pencil to paper, that is, there should be a written product from it" (p. 153). Further, the activity should "preview the day's lesson" (p. 153). The language from this text is clearly echoed by Ms. Moffa in the second interview (described in the sections

above) when she described wanting students to begin class without her direction. The overall structure of the Do Now activity in science class, which involved written products that previewed the day's activity, also mirrored the definition in this text.

In summary, the students' entrance procedure was a school-wide policy, based on a widely used routine popularized by a best-selling methods text, implemented to standardize norms between classes and ease students' transitions between them. As a first-year teacher with relatively little political clout (such as tenure), Ms. Moffa likely did not have much power to resist such policies had she wished to.

Ideologies. Transcript 1 illustrates how a quotidian classroom procedure can be the product of larger policies, as well as an institutional laminator of assumptions and ideologies about students. Because the Do Now required students to arrive and begin self-directed independent work, the directions and activities tended to privilege "writing first" activities, in which students read or wrote about instructional topics before engaging in more accessible entrance points, such as videos or manipulatives, into the topics. Such a policy did not take into consideration that many students did not read on grade level, and it did not create space for students to rely on their non-SAE linguistic resources or their oral language resources. Perhaps this is a reason that many students did not begin class in the way Ms. Moffa envisioned, in spite of her repeated directions for how to enter. By adopting a procedure that narrowed students' abilities to use all of the linguistic resources at their disposal, it can be argued that the Do Now procedure, which may at first appear ideologically neutral, in reality reproduced the hidden assumptions about students and school. The Do Now procedure conflates coming into the classroom as a literacy event, not simply a behavioral procedural.

Effects. For students who come from backgrounds that privilege oracy, "previewing," or introducing daily topics through written SAE, may unintentionally set students up for failure by narrowing the means through which students might be able to draw upon the diversity of their linguistic resources. Further, the Do Now appears to mirror how students' academic knowledge is measured by standardized exams solely through the lens of students' literacy abilities (that is, reading and answering multiple choice questions). That Gardenside students consistently underperformed on such tests and were asked to complete classroom activities that also emphasized these skills reproduced the ideology that school knowledge is SAE literacy knowledge, and thus, students who were becoming proficient in SAE, or simply resisted SAE, were subsequently positioned as academically deficient or as misbehaving.

"One Person at a Time:" Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School in English

The figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School also surfaced within the English classroom. In the following transcript, Ms. Franklin explained the directions for students to engage in a short discussion.

Transcript 2

1. so while you guys are finishing up your thoughts?
2. I'm gonna pass out the listening log.
3. which is the thing I'm gonna collect.
4. (I'm gonna give you back your from) last class.
5. (..)
6. so_.
7. we're gonna talk?
8. in a civilized manner?
9. which means that we're gonna,
10. (.)
11. one person at a time is gonna spea_k,
12. (.)
13. [*teacher passes out listening logs to students]*

14. and you guys are gonna fill out the listening log.
15. and then we're gonna do uh a couple more quotes about the father and the baby.
16. I'm only collecting your listening log.
17. I'm only collecting your listening log at the end of the period.
18. (7)
19. sh aright so let's let's have we're gonna discuss for about three minutes?
20. we're not gonna spend a lot of time on this.
21. we're just gonna discuss for three minutes.
22. make sure your name is on the listening log?
23. make sure your name is on the listening log.
24. sorry ((to an individual student)).
25. k.
26. we're talking about rights?
27. write write your mom.
28. write your dad.
29. write your fetus.
30. k.
31. and so let's start back at the pro-choice?
32. quotes?
33. who would like to open the discussion.
34. what what do you think about what was sai_d.
35. what Susan and Betsy and Howard sai_d do you guys have any responses.
36. and remember you are for people who are not talking the other people are listening and they're writing.
37. k listening and writing.
38. so who would like to open the discussion.
39. (4)
40. who would like to open the discussion.
41. ((Calls on a specific student)) would you like to open the discussion?
42. what was your response.
43. (I'm having a class with you.)
44. so who would like to open the discussion.
45. (…)
46. would anybody like to share what they wrote under the response.
47. [*a student says he will volunteer]*
48. which means everybody else should be listening.

Orientation. This discussion occurred during a unit called "Milestones," during which students researched and discussed the appropriate ages for typical milestones, such as voting, driving a car, or drinking. Like other units I observed of Ms. Franklin's, "Milestones" was cohesively tied together around high-interest themes relevant to

students' lives. At the beginning of this unit, she listed many potential topics students could research and explicitly asked for student input about what should be included. This lesson was also a typical example of how Ms. Franklin structured lessons to include multiple forms of language and literacy practices. In short, Ms. Franklin was a conscientious teacher and took pains to incorporate a variety of best practices.

Previously, students read articles about and discussed abortion policy and the age that a fetus should gain personhood. Just before this transcript, students read a passage about the topic and wrote their response to it. During this transcript, Ms. Franklin explained that students would read a text arguing for the rights of mothers, fathers, and fetuses in the context of the abortion debate. Then, students would write down responses to questions, and then orally discuss them. As they discussed, students would write down what others said on their "Listening Logs," which were graphic organizers for students to take notes.

Description. Examining the grammatical elements of the teacher discourse reveals that not only are language and literacy practices school activities; they must be done in certain ways at school.

Vocabulary. While there remain some potentially ambiguous references to language and literacy practices, such as "finishing up your thoughts" in line 1 to refer to students finishing writing an answer to a question about the reading, the experiential value of the vocabulary in Transcript 2 is far more explicitly about language and literacy practices than Transcript 1. For instance, the word "listening" appeared nine times, followed by "discuss/ion" (7), "write" (4), and "talk/ing" (3). However, to describe *how* to speak in school, Ms. Franklin said, "we're gonna talk in a civilized manner" (lines 7-

8). She followed this up with a rewording to explain "one person at a time is gonna speak" (line 9-12). This is one of few instances of rewording captured in these transcripts and is one of the more evaluative terms used. The term "civilized" relies on the schema of associated civilized behavior with orderly, one-person-at-a-time processes, rather than more free-flowing conversations. The use of "civilized" could also be interpreted as racially coded language, given the linguistic history of "civilized" and "savage" as terms to describe White and Black populations respectively. However, it should be noted that this is the only instance noted of the term "civilized" in the fieldnotes, and that I did not capture any other instances of potentially coded racial language within Ms. Franklin's discourse.

Grammar. At the sentence-level, many of the same patterns across the transcripts appear: active sentences, a general lack of nominalizations and negative sentences. Like Ms. Moffa's Transcript 1, Ms. Franklin's pronoun usage emphasized "you" addresses to students (used 15 times); however, she also included several references to "we" (used nine times), in contrast to Transcript 1. Perhaps the use of the more inclusive "we" was a product of the instructional activity, the group discussion, which was a more interactive activity than that described in Transcript 1, the independent Do Now. In fact, the use of "we" was largely used in terms of speaking: "we're gonna talk…which means that we're gonna, one person at a time is gonna spea_k," (line 7-11); "we're gonna discuss for about three minutes" (line 21); "we're talking about rights" (line 26). "We" was also used in an ambiguous reference to "doing quotes" in line 15, which may have included reading about, writing a response to, discussing, or all of the above. For the majority of usage, "we" was used in reference to discussion.

At the beginning of the transcript, “you” was used to describe writing, reading, and listening practices: “while you guys are finishing up your thoughts” (line 1); “you guys are gonna fill out the listening log” (line 14); “make sure your name is on the listening log” (line 22). However, at the end of the transcript, after Ms. Franklin switched to the relative pronoun “who would like to open the discussion” (line 33) and when no one volunteered to respond, she switched to a plural “you” to ask for students’ responses (line 35). She followed that with a reminder that “you are for people who are not talking the other people are listening and they’re writing” (line 36). In this line, “you” again was used with writing and listening. When no one volunteered to discuss, the teacher asked three more times, “who would like to open the discussion” (line 38, 40, 44), and when no one responded, she used the singular “you” to ask a specific student (line 41), and then to “anybody” in line 46.

The shifting between the pronouns reflected a contradictory conceptualization of what discussion was within the figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School. The pronoun usage reflected the notions that reading, writing, and listening are individual activities, but speaking in a group discussion necessarily involves more than one person. This activity in particular involved students reading a passage, writing a response, retelling what they wrote to the group, and writing down what others said on the Listening Log. This activity reflected a notion of reading and writing practices as discrete language domains that could be separated and structured sequentially according to the teachers’ directions: read first, then write, then speak, then listen, then write was heard.

The structured activity of the discussion, characterized as "civilized," did not mirror how students typically engaged in discussion in class or outside of class (as I observed during formal observations of class, and informal observations of the hallways, lunchrooms, and other classrooms). During another English class session, for example, Ms. Franklin showed a video clip from the television show *Freakonomics* that explored whether a person's name influenced their future career prospects. During the film, students were assigned to take notes on what evidence the film raised about controversial topics that students would later have to refer to in their culminating mastery project. As the clip played, several students talked over it, mostly about the content of the film: "The clip plays and one of the students says, "That's racist." Another student says he's gonna name his son Shaka Zulu" (Fieldnotes, November 18, 2014). These two comments from students clearly referred to the film, and seemed to demonstrate understanding of the themes of the film, which suggested that people are judged by their names, particularly traditionally Black names. In response to this, a student noted that this was racist, while another rebelled against this prejudice by stating he would name his son after a famous African ruler, Shaka Zulu. The latter could be interpreted as a humorous aside or straightforward rebellion, and either way, it showed students' attention to the film, and students' interest and willingness to engage in discussion about the film.

Throughout the film clip, Ms. Franklin shushed the talking students: "The teacher says that the students are missing important information, and says when they go to do their mastery projects, they won't have the evidence from the film" (Fieldnotes, November 18, 2014). Ms. Franklin did not comment on the students' responses to the film's themes, but rather attempted to redirect students' attention to the specific evidence

the film used to prepare for the mastery project, in spite of the students' interest in discussing the issues of the film.

However, after the film clip, "Ms. Franklin asks what the students think. They discuss their names, and what they mean. One student teases another student for having a 'hood' name, while another discusses his experience being Black but having a traditionally 'White name' (Fieldnotes, November 18, 2014). The students also shared personal stories about how they were named and discussed whether judging a person by their name could be considered racist. During this portion of the lesson, the students engaged in a rich, free-flowing discussion about whether they agreed with the film's premise.

In this example, students watched a video clip, often interrupted the film to talk to each other about it, in spite of Ms. Franklin's prohibitions to be silent as they viewed it. Afterwards, the teacher asked the group what they thought, and, as was typical, students were eager to respond, talking over each other, and in response to each other. During that class, Ms. Franklin facilitated the discussion by asking questions, but also contributed, explaining the history of her given and married names, and letting students ask each other questions and engage in peer-to-peer dialogue.

During that class, Ms. Franklin did not give specific directions as far as engaging in a discussion, or even label their conversations "a discussion," and students were not assigned to fill out a log explaining what their peers said. While the discussion was a bit rowdy, in the sense that students talked over one another and the classroom volume was loud, students were clearly engaging and listening to each other, and responding to what their peers said. Ms. Franklin also did not have to ask several times for students to

respond before students contributed, in contrast to the multiple requests for students to start the discussion in Transcript 2.

The variety of sentence types used within this discourse include a variety of declarative sentences, questions, as well as what appear to be imperatives-posed-as-questions (e.g., lines 38, 40, 44). Given that the larger-scale structure of this text is teacher-talk, or giving directions, Ms. Franklin used a variety of sentence structures to direct students' behavior. For instance, Ms. Franklin posed the directions in the future tense, as something students will do, rather than something she requested or commanded they do: "one person at a time is gonna speak…and you guys are gonna fill out the listening log" (line 11-14). Later in the transcript, however, requests shifted to directives, "let's" (line 19) and "should" (line 48), as well as a mix of imperative sentences and commands-posed-as-questions. For example, she requested that students write their names on their papers with the emphasis to "make sure" they did so (line 22). This type of command assumed that students already knew they should write their names on their papers, so instead of issuing a directive for students to do so, they needed to "make sure" they've done it. This structure could be interpreted as giving students the benefit of the doubt for knowing school behavior, and it could also be interpreted as assuming that students understood the less transparent expectations of the class.

The interrogatives, "who would like to open the discussion" (lines 38, 40, 44) can be interpreted as obligatory requests for students to orally share what they wrote, in part because she did not use upwards intonation to suggest a question, and in part because she repeated it several times when students did not comply, the same way she often repeated other directives, such as "make sure your name is on the listening log" (lines 22, 23).

Interpretation. The lack of volunteers to begin a discussion was a surprise, given the willingness and eagerness of students to engage in discussions in other class sessions (Fieldnotes, November 18, 2014; November 10, 2014), and the discussion previously mentioned about the correlation between names and career prospects. In fact, Ms. Franklin's class could be boisterous during discussions and, she mentioned to me that one of her goals was to help students practice engaging in "professional speaking" (Interview 1, October 17, 2014).

For Ms. Franklin, Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School figured the practices of language and literacy tightly into being successful at school. Unlike Ms. Moffa, Ms. Franklin did not necessarily assume that students understood how to engage in such practices, but rather, she explicitly defined how students should speak and listen to one another. Her experience teaching abroad and teaching diverse populations may have influenced this aspect of her teaching. For example, during our first interview, during which she described her teaching experience in Africa, she made connections to the system of education in Africa and that of the Jamaican students' experiences she taught at Gardenside:

> [In her school in Africa] the students were used to the teachers just coming in and writing notes on the boards and just copying all the notes off the board. Which is what a lot of our kids, our Jamaican students are used to, in particular a student just the other day who's from Jamaica said to me, "Why don't you guys just write notes on the board, like I'm not learning when we have these Do Nows and discussions." They, like, want something to hold. And so to like transition to a totally just that type of instruction is teacher-centered. To transition over to a

> student-centered type of instruction like we have here can be difficult for some students (Interview, October 17, 2014).

While Ms. Franklin did not assume that all students would be acquainted with her style of teaching, she did assume that language and literacy practices comprise a specific way of doing school. In our interviews, she noted that while she wanted to respect students' languages and self-expression, she also wanted to ensure a safe community where students felt respected and comfortable to share, as well as prepare them for "professional" communication in "the real world" (Interview 2, March 20, 2015). During our first interview, she noted:

> Basically, I try to, like, really tap into like their language and their way of, like, speaking. I don't, in the beginning, as I'm sure you have heard and witnessed, you know, I don't come down [on] them too much on them to like swearing and things like that. Definitely if they're saying, like, making fun of somebody, then I'll say something, but if they're like trying to explain themselves, and they like cuss in the way of explaining themselves, I don't try to comment, but as we move through the course, we'll be building in protocols for how to speak to one another, so starting the next unit, they're going to start having to use a protocol like before they even say their opinion, they have to respond to the person before, and say I agree or I disagree to just kind of build up that professional, you know, speaking (Interview, October 17, 2014).

Ms. Franklin noted that she tried to harness students' language abilities, and I observed this in the ways she appropriated student language. For example, describing students' writing during one class session, she said, "I know you guys are struggling with your

personal statements" and that some were "not looking gucc" (Fieldnotes, October 23, 2014). Ms. Franklin used the popular phrase students used, shortened from the luxury retail brand, Gucci, to describe their essays. During another class period, a student scoffed at Ms. Franklin's use of this term (described later in this chapter), which reflected the ephemeral nature of youth language, and perhaps Ms. Franklin's continued attempts to appropriate fresh coinages. However, her appropriation of student language was largely relegated to popular American slang words or phrases like this, and did not include musical expression, different Caribbean phrases, textspeak, or the larger discourse structures students engaged in, such as rapping or "freestyling" (for an inventory of students' language practices, see Appendix H).

I also occasionally observed Ms. Franklin encouraging students to select tasks based on their language practices. During a session on logical fallacies, in which students had to choose from a bank of logical fallacies to research and present to the class, Ms. Franklin encouraged one student with a reputation for rapping and singing to "the fallacy of rhyme-and-reason" because it dealt with rhyme (Fieldnotes, October 10, 2014). However, these efforts, too, were limited, emphasizing the surface-level aspects of students' language practices as they linked to traditional school activities.

The structure of the discussion in this transcript seemed to reflect the teacher's dueling desires to create a space for students to express themselves, but do so in a way that prepared students for more formal academic settings that she imagined for them. Whether students shared those aspirations is debatable, as will be discussed later.

The structure of the discussion presented in this transcript, which allowed students to prepare their oral responses by reading and writing about it, appeared to be a way of

integrating a more structured approach to the conversation. However, through this structure, speaking became an activity done as a means of reciting what students had written, not as a means of processing the text or rehearsing ideas, and it potentially served to shut down the dialogue rather than give students practice to engage in academic discussion. Further, students' lack of engagement in the discussion may have also been a reflection of the literacy-based initial activity (reading a passage, as opposed to watching a video). If students were unable to comprehend the passage, for instance, they may have been less inclined to speak.

Explanation.

Social determinants. In the interviews described above, Ms. Franklin touched upon her perception of the societal factors that shaped her discourse—namely, her desire to prepare students for the "real world" (Interview 2, March 20, 2015). This desire was echoed by district vision, published on the district website, to "ensure that every child graduates from high school prepared for college, a career, and a future as a productive, critically thinking adult." The district also endorsed the Common Core State Standards, which similarly emphasized student preparation for "critical-thinking, problem-solving, and analytical skills that are required for success in college, career, and life" (Common Core website, May 10, 2015). Ms. Franklin's discussion activity in this transcript reflects the priority to prepare students for this conceptualization of the future by emphasizing "professional speaking" skills.

Ideologies. The instructional emphasis, endorsed at national and district levels, centered on students' post-graduate futures, which were figured as largely college- and career-driven, with the exception of the ambiguous preparation for "life" noted in the

Common Core. Preparing students for post-graduate futures may appear to be a given and natural goal of education. However, how students' futures were figured were ideologically driven by the emphasis on college and career readiness, which assumed that these futures align with students' goals, or could be attained by the students with appropriate educational preparation. As noted in the Chapter 2, more than half of students who completed Gardenside did not plan to attend two-year or four-year colleges.

Further, the Common Core, like other state and national policies, did not prioritize multilingualism as a goal for students' futures, and as such, conceptualized students' future careers and college experiences in English-speaking contexts. At Gardenside, however, students frequently spoke about returning to the Caribbean after their education, or spending extended periods of time outside of the United States with their families who remained in other countries (Fieldnotes, September 29, 2024). Such futures for which students may need to depend on their multilingual resources were not included within the college and career readiness discourse, or the monolingual "professional speaking" discourse drawn upon in this transcript.

Effects. Ms. Franklin's emphasis on discussion as a civilized structure to prepare students for "professional speaking" reflected the ideology that positioned school as a preparatory space for a narrow vision of students' imagined futures that may not have aligned with the realities they would face. It could be argued that Ms. Franklin drew upon this discourse for liberational purposes: by preparing students with the skills necessary for college and career paths, she enabled students to enter into these futures, which may not have been possible otherwise. Alternatively, given the specific student population at

Gardenside, it can be argued that the ideology of schools as preparation for college and career readiness ignored other realities that students may face.

Given Ms. Franklin's goals to prepare students for academic discussion, one alternative to the structured whole-group discussion from Transcript 2 may have been to provide students practice with the norms of the discussion within small groups before beginning a whole-group discussion. For example, in addition to the one-person-at-a-time rule, perhaps Ms. Franklin could have supplied students with commons sentence starters for agreeing, disagreeing, or making statements supported by evidence. Another alternative would have been to arrange for a simulation (perhaps by arranging a fishbowl-discussion of a small group of students discussing the topic) that students could view first before engaging in the discussion themselves as a whole-group. This way, students might have felt more comfortable with the format of the academic discussion and felt more prepared to engage. In order to draw upon students' full linguistic repertoires as students engaged in the topic, students could practice discussing topics for a variety of audiences. For example, students could have been asked to simulate a discussion about a topic as if they were speaking to their parents or peers, versus a discussion about the same topic they might host with the school Principal or a local government official.

Summary of Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School

In summary, whereas Transcript 1 reveals an assumption that students understand that the alluded academic behaviors involved literacy; Transcript 2 shows an assumption that language and literacy behaviors need to be conducted in specific ways. The former is potentially problematic if students struggle with or resist engaging with texts; the latter is

potentially problematic for narrowing the ways students can engage with language and literacy practices, and the reasons students might (or might not) be invested in doing so.

Or, to put it more plainly, the teachers often viewed language and literacy practices as part of normal school behaviors. Thus, if students were not engaging with the activities as directed, within this figured world, they would be positioned as either unaware of the general directions for what to do or as disrespectfully disengaged. However, given the language and literacy backgrounds of students, it was possible students were not able to engage with the literacy activities--such as not being able to read the Do Now assignment--or their disengagement stemmed from a difference of students' language use and school language use--such as the use of structured versus informal discussion.

Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding

While the figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School assumed that language and literacy practices were embedded, and often hidden, within academic activities, the figured worlds of Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding revealed assumptions about how teachers assumed students understood their discourse, as well as how students could engage in such practices. Specifically, this world figured students as literate and proficient, monolingual speakers of "English," which is supposedly the same language their teachers speak. Within this figured world, certain domains of language were easier to engage in than others: Reading and listening were activities that students can "just" do (and as a result, it's their responsibility to do so); whereas, writing (other than for functional purposes) may be more difficult and requires some explicit instruction and time in-class to do it.

"If You're Confused, You're Asking Questions:" Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding in Science

In the following transcript, Ms. Moffa introduced an animated clip to explain a concept related to cells, the topic of the unit. This lesson followed previous instruction about cells including "note-taking" days during which students filled out cloze worksheets as the teacher presented a Powerpoint on the topic.

Transcript 3

1. I'm gonna play it's it's a little bit kiddish but it's going to get the point across?
2. very clear.
3. so pay attention to the video it's a Brainpop video.
4. at the end of the video you guys are going to answer these questions.
5. okay?
6. then what we're going to do for those that can behave.
7. I'm gonna give you um the iPads and you guys are gonna explore virtual cells.
8. so you'll be able to (*inaudible).*
9. not if we don't get to it.
10. not if we don't get to it.
11. so STUDENT1 hood.
12. STUDENT1 hood?
13. and the sweater.
14. 'k so pay attention to the video?
15. it's gonna give you all the information we are gonna be taking a quiz on this soon so make sure that if you're confused you're asking questions aright?
16. but this pretty much breaks down what you're gonna need to know.
17. (0.24) [*Pause as teacher sets up the video.]*
18. aright.
19. GUYS we're gonna start.
20. sh sh sh sh sh sh sh sh sh.
21. you can't hear it if you're talking STUDENT1.
22. [*Video begins to play.]*
23. sh.
24. just listen.

Orientation. Following this portion of the lesson, students received iPads to explore 3D virtual cells through an online app. Ms. Moffa typically presented new material in several formats, often brief clips of films, labs, worksheets, notes, or

demonstrations. During our interviews, Ms. Moffa noted that she found it important to present concepts in multiple ways so that students could better visualize what they were learning, without relying solely on their literacy skills. In this way, Ms. Moffa's figured world of language and literacy acknowledged that students might struggle with reading and need material presented in a variety of ways. However, as the transcript will show, subtler assumptions about students' understanding pervaded teacher discourse.

Description.

Vocabulary. As in Transcript 1, the experiential value of the vocabulary throughout the transcript largely conflates academic behaviors with literacy behavior. Again, Ms. Moffa reminded students to "pay attention" (line 3, 14) to the video. Doing so assumed that if students had chosen "pay attention," which I interpret to mean "watch and listen to" the video, they would have automatically understood the clip. Ms. Franklin also noted that students would "answer these questions" (line 14) after viewing the clip, which would "give you all the information" (line 15) and "pretty much breaks down" (line 16) the information needed for the quiz. Within this figured world, students were positioned as receivers of information whose responsibility was to listen and absorb the information that was already broken down for them through the clip. Students were only positioned as active learners if they're confused, in which case, Ms. Moffa directed them to "make sure you're asking questions" (line 15). However, this agency is a bit negated as the teacher stated that "you can't hear [the film clip] if you're talking" (line 21), and the emphasis to "just listen" (line 24) at the end. As in Transcript 2, this figured world draws upon the contradictory notion of language domains as complementary, but highly

discrete: students can't listen (i.e. understand the material) if they're talking, but they need to speak (ask a question) if they don't understand.

During this transcript, Ms. Moffa also told a student "hood" (line 11), which I interpreted as a directive to take off his hood, which is was out of line with the dress code, as was his sweater (line 13). Enforcing the dress code was a recurring theme throughout the formal and informal observations at the school. Because it came up daily, Ms. Moffa was likely drawing upon students' understandings that a reference to an item of dress means to remove it. The student did not do so after the first request, however, and she repeated it.

The relational value of the vocabulary emphasizes the you/me teacher/student divide illustrated in Transcript 1. While Ms. Moffa did not refer to "we" at all in the first transcript, she used "we" five times in this transcript. However, the use of "you" revealed similar notions of student responsibility for their learning, and "we" was largely used during behavioral directives. For example, while "you guys are going to answer these questions" (line 4) and "you guys are gonna explore virtual cells" (line 7); "what we're going to do for those that can behave" (line 6) is that "we" won't be able to use the iPads if "if we don't get to it" (line 9). The exception to this is "we are gonna be taking a quiz on this soon" (line 15), which was included in the same line as "if you're confused you're asking questions aright?" and followed by another behavioral directive, "we're gonna start" (line 19). In this transcript, the use of "we" served more as a way of neutrally addressing and managing class behavior rather than potentially describing a group-based activity, like the use of "we" in Transcript 2's discussion prelude. Taking a quiz is a particularly individual exercise that was referred to with "we" (line 15) and served to

underscore the students' relation to each other in class to engage in the same activities at the same time, rather than engage with activities with each other. Students' behavior formed a kind of collaborative effort in class, meaning that one student's behavior could affect the learning for everyone—"we" won't "get to" use the iPads if "those that can behave" (line 6) choose not to.

The expressive values of the vocabulary in the transcript served to undermine or present conflicting messages about the nature of multimedia instruction. Ms. Moffa's description of the film clip as "kiddish" (line 1) positioned it as less academic or age-appropriate than the traditional way of learning about cells through notes or labwork. The activity with the iPads was also positioned as something fun that students could look forward to, but only if they "behave" first (line 6). During our second interview, Ms. Moffa noted that she was reluctant to attach an assessment to the iPad work because she wanted students to have fun with it. Within this figured world, school activities that involved less emphasis on traditional language and literacy practices are less academic even if they might be more engaging for students. Again, if the iPad activity was a less language- intensive activity, it might make more sense to prioritize this activity for students, but if students were figured as literate monolingual English speakers, it made sense that they could sit through a "kiddish" video first, take notes, take a quiz, and then have fun with the iPads, which was positioned as enrichment, rather than instructional support.

Grammar. The experiential value of the grammar in the sentences, as was typical of teacher discourse, continued to show students' agency as directions-followers through the use of positive, active declarative and imperative sentences, with the exception of

lines 9 and 10, which repeat, “not if we don’t get to it” referring to the students being able to explore cells on the iPads, which was an exploratory activity reserved for after the other language-based activities. The negative, subordinate structure of the sentence emphasized the relationship between students’ behavior and academic learning.

Subordination in line 16 also revealed the figured world of students’ Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding: While Ms. Moffa asked students to ask questions if they were confused, she followed that request with a declarative statement that the video made the topic so simple it would be understood. This subordination also cut off one of few opportunities for turn-taking in the transcript, which is the “aright?” question tag at the end of line 15, which seems to be inviting student contributions but had no wait time following it, which would have allowed students to actually reply. As with the other transcripts, this discourse aligned to teacher talk and giving directions, which tended towards fewer opportunities for interactions between teachers and students, although the teacher broke from the directions-giving to tell an individual student to correct his or her uniform (lines 11, 12). The question “okay” in line 5 also suggested a space for students to ask questions if they had them, which is different from Ms. Moffa’s directions in Transcript 1 that included no questions, even rhetorical, that students might respond to. However, again, no wait time was included in for students to raise questions they might have had. Nonetheless, while the question tags could have been an attempt to create more space for student voices, the teacher’s emphasis to “just listen” (line 24) at the end of the transcript again served to shut off dialogue.

Similarly, while the teacher was likely attempting to quell students’ side conversations during the film, the statement “you can’t hear it if you’re talking” (line 21)

revealed an understanding of language domains as discrete and interfering with one another. This conceptualization of how language works potentially shut down avenues of support for students as they engaged with the material and revealed the assumptions embedded within this discourse that students would understand the spoken discourse presented in the animated clip by listening to it, and understand the scientific concepts being explained.

Interpretation. In our interview about this transcript, I asked Ms. Moffa about the use of video and multimedia in this lesson. She said that she tried to "break it up as much as I can between like having them read, having them watch a video, um, and doing physical, hands on activities" (Interview 2, March 13, 2015). She credited her graduate education for these methods and noted that they were good for her ELL students, as well as the general education students who had "very low" reading levels" (Interview 2, March 13, 2015). She also noted that the iPads activity would be especially good for helping students "visualize" the concepts (Interview 2, March 13, 2015). From here, it seems clear that at least during planning phases of class, Ms. Moffa took care to consider the literacy requirements of the course and considered how to modify them to meet the needs of the ELL students and other students with low literacy levels. However, as the transcript shows, Ms. Moffa did not necessarily consider the listening comprehension of students. The emphasis on students' reading seemed to align with conceptualization of language as discrete domains that do not necessarily overlap. Because of this conceptualization, students were not encouraged to engage in language domains simultaneously (specifically, listening and speaking), and as such, opportunities for

language support that involved speaking (such as asking questions as they arose) were excluded.

Lack of listening comprehension may have been an issue particularly for one student in particular who struggled to understand and speak SAE in class, according to Ms. Moffa. During the clip, the student continued to talk to another student, although it's unclear what he was saying:

> "The video plays. Students generally quiet down and watch. Ms. Moffa shushes students, and when the student turns around in his chair, the teacher tells him to look forward at the clip. Another student points at the screen, and the teacher says to pay attention... He turns around and talks to another student. The teacher addresses the whole group and says they're going to watch the clip again, and then she'll collect the worksheets for a class grade. The film plays again and the student writes. The students are quiet" (Fieldnotes, November 12, 2014).

During this clip, the student disengaged from viewing the film by turning around in his chair to talk to another student, even after being redirected by Ms. Moffa. Although it's not clear exactly why he disengaged, his lack of attention to the film may have been the result of listening comprehension issues.

Explanation.

Social determinants. U.S. schools are organized by grade level, and the rise of standardized testing ensures that every student is tested at the end of year as part of a process of promotion to the next grade. Within this system, it would seem appropriate to assume that students who have arrived in the eighth grade have passed such requirements and, as a result, have the necessarily literacy skills to engage with grade-level content.

Additionally, the rise of state standards, including the Common Core, present targeted goals for what students should be able to do by the end of the school year. These standards were also built upon the assumption that by adopting these standards, schools would prepare students to enter each grade-level having mastered the requisite skills from the year before. Such institutional structure and policies made little, if any, room for students who arrived without these skills, whether due to learning ability, lack of adequate opportunity to learn, or language background. Such assumptions directly affected students in this class like Cristina, who arrived recently from the Dominican Republic without previous instruction in English.

Ideologies. Within this transcript, Ms. Moffa's figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding seemed to reflect this taken for granted assumption of students' language proficiency. Her discourse emphasized students' individual responsibility for learning, taken-for-granted notions of English proficiency, and the emphasis in planning on supporting students' understanding by lessening literacy requirements rather than supporting students' language comprehension. The continued emphasis on students' literacy, rather than a more holistic appraisal of students' language proficiencies (which includes reading and writing, as well as listening and speaking) was a common theme in the science class. This was in line with the emphasis on reading from the district and state policy-levels, which relied on English-only standardized tests to measure students' abilities for reading through multiple choice exams rather than through more robust linguistic means.

Effects. Transcript 3 presents Ms. Moffa's attempt to engage students in instructional activities where students could see and interact with scientific concepts. This

activity resisted the ideology, discussed previously, prevalent in the Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School figured world, by creatively disentangling potential language barriers from an instructional activity.

However, the ideology of standardization, drawn from the state standards, did not acknowledge that students might have had educational and language backgrounds that did not prepare them to fully understand all of the language and literacy practices presented in schools. This ideology manifested subtly in this lesson through the lack of opportunities for students to raise questions, as well as through the prioritization of a more language-intensive instructional activity over a potentially more effective and less language-intensive instructional activity. One way to modify this lesson to better meet the needs of students may have been to create space for students to ask questions during the film, or to provide resources where students could have looked up terms they didn't initially understand. For example, because the video was to be followed by an activity with the tablets, students could have accessed a pre-prepared visual glossary of terms on the tablets as they viewed the movie.

"I wish I listened:" Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding in English Class

The figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding that assumes understanding of received language also appeared in the English class. For example, following a writing workshop class session during which few students worked steadily through class on their personal statements, Ms. Franklin held a "family meeting" in which she arranged the desks to invite everyone together at one table.

Transcript 4

1. I kno_w?
2. that you guys have it in you to be the best that you can be.
3. you know there's always a time to play around and stuff but when we're in class we gotta be serious because our our time is really really short.
4. you only see TEACHER1 twice a week or TEACHER2 twice a week and then that's ↑ it.
5. and you're gonna wish you guys are you guys are gonna hear the alumni say 'I w_ish I listened I w_ish I listened I w_ish I did my homework I wish I wish I wish.'
6. I don't want you guys to go through that same (.) path.
7. (…)
8. okay?
9. so.
10. today.
11. (.)
12. um your I wrote your names on the board.
13. I'm sorry.
14. people who are reading?
15. sit at this table make sure you have a book I can give you a book.
16. um o_r if you want to quietly take out something else to do you're more than welcome to do that but you need to use this time.
17. if you want to check your grades I'll check your grades for you *(inaudible)*
18. you should be working?
19. people who are not done with their personal statements you should be at a computer or on this table 'k?
20. *[inaudible to a student]*
21. so today's a working period.

Orientation. The students worked on writing their personal statements for roughly three weeks through writing-workshop style instruction, which entailed less formal instruction on the part of the teacher and more class time for students to write their papers, conference with the teacher, and peer review others' papers. The personal statement was a personal narrative about a significant life event, similar to a typical college application essay. During several observations during this period, I saw students struggle with a variety of aspects with the project, including a lack of familiarity with word processing and typing. Given the general lack of access within and outside of school (according to teacher interviews) to computers, it is not surprising that students'

developing technology skills may have interfered with their progress on their statements, and led to frustration and opting out of the assignment.

During the "family meeting," a term that Ms. Franklin used, she explained her concerns about students' behavior in class and perceived lack of effort in school overall. She shared experiences of her own struggles in school and through this transcript, she discussed how alumni have expressed regret at not working harder during their high school years. At the end of the family meeting, Ms. Franklin explained students' tasks for this class session and behavioral expectations. The following sections will show how Ms. Franklin assumed students' understandings of the writing processes and framed her response to students as caring, rather than instructional.

Description.

Vocabulary. The experiential value of this discourse is reminiscent of the Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School figured world in which the teacher referred to general school behaviors, such as being "serious" and not "play[ing] around" (line 3). However, this transcript in particular also revealed an assumption that students understood key language and literacy practices for being successful in school—in this case, writing their personal statements--and were simply choosing not to do so.

In line 1, Ms. Franklin's assertion that students have the ability to "be the best that you can be," paired with her emphasis on being "serious" in class (line 3), and the labeling this class session a "working period" (line 21) placed a strong emphasis on students' academic behaviors in class. Ms. Franklin's emphasis on alumni's "wishes" to have done better in school (line 5) also centered on student-driven behaviors of listening and doing homework. Ms. Franklin also engaged the metaphor of students choosing a

"path," that previous alumni have—that of not listening and not working in high school while they could have. This metaphor also emphasized students' control through choice of behaviors that led to their future. This metaphor assumed that students' subsequent failures or successes rested within them, and as such, assumed that students already had the skills they needed, including the language and literacy resources, in order to accomplish school tasks.

The metaphor of the "family meeting" also connoted the deep concern and care I saw repeatedly within the English class. Ms. Franklin frequently referred to students as like a family during classroom discourse, as well as through our interviews (Interview 2, March 20, 2015). She frequently brought in home baked cookies and snacks, and when she announced that she wouldn't be at school because of a training, students were appalled—one said, "I need you here every day to motivate me!" (Fieldnotes, October 22, 2014). Ms. Franklin regularly engaged in one-on-one talks with students and frequently communicated with students' families. What was problematic about assumptions that students understood and were academically prepared to engage in the assigned academic tasks, however, was the belief that students' success depended upon strong relationships within class when it was not fully clear that students had the skills to engage in the material or interests to do so. Through this general assumption of students' comprehension of course activities, Ms. Franklin's figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding manifested.

Grammar. The experiential value of the grammar in the transcript aligned with the previous transcripts, maintaining active, positive sentences throughout. The relational value of the grammar of this transcript revealed a more distinct you/me teacher/student

relationship that was perhaps at odds with the "family" message of the meeting—in fact, first-person plural pronouns were only used in line 3: "there's always a time to play around and stuff but when we're in class we gotta be serious because our our time is really really short." The remainder of the pronouns described students' educational current situation, "you only see" your teacher "twice a week" (line 4); students' hypothetical future selves, "you're gonna wish" (line 5); the teacher's wishes for students, "I don't want you guys to go through that same path" (line 6), and the teacher's actions (line 12), followed by directives for students (lines 16, 17, 18, 19). The emphasis on "you" at the expense of "we" seemed to underscore the teacher's figured world of students as understanding what they need to do in the course, but not taking the initiative to complete their assigned tasks.

While Ms. Franklin emphasized students' responsibility, through her voicing of previous alumni's "wishes" (line 5) she aligned herself with students. Two of the remaining "I" pronouns emphasized Ms. Franklin's willingness to support students' work: "I can give you a book," (line 15); "I'll check your grade for you" (line 17). However, these lines both positioned students as receivers—in line 15, students were receivers of the teacher's action; in line 17, students were positioned as receivers of the teacher's checking their grade, which were posted through an online program available to students outside of school that they were supposed to check on their own. Both of these instances seemed to undercut Ms. Franklin' emphasis on students taking responsibility. The imperatives used throughout the transcript also positioned students in the contradictory position of being told what to do and also told to take responsibility for their learning, as in Transcript 3. This positioned students as agentive directions-

followers: “make sure you have a book” (line 15); “you need to use this time,” (line 16); “you should be working” (line 18).

Textual structure. Teachers’ assumptions of students’ skills are also particularly salient in these two transcripts because there are few questions or opportunities to investigate why students were behaving or performing academically they way they were. Like Transcript 3, Transcript 4 was an example of teacher-talk and directions-giving, and included a commentary on students’ behavior. Again, the lack of interrogatives may have signaled a lack of authentic entry points for students to show agency through conversational turn-taking. Within this transcript, space was not given to interrogate why students were not working in class or to give students a voice in the process. The only questions were short tags without wait time, such as “alright?” in line 15 of the science transcript and “okay?” in line 8 of the English transcript. The lack of turn-taking emphasized the teachers’ assumptions of students’ understanding at the expense of assessing the students’ real-time understandings. It was assumed that students could understand what they should do, and needed to be reminded of the consequences if they did not complete their work.

Interpretation. During our first interview, I asked Ms. Franklin to “tell me about your experiences teaching students who speak languages other than English? Or students who speak multiple languages.” She answered that while she recently had more ELLs in her classes, currently, “I don’t have any ELLs, everybody’s primary language is, I mean there’s that one girl…who speaks Spanish and English, but there’s no one identified as an ELL” (Interview 1, October 17, 2014). It is noteworthy that I did not use the term ELL in our interview, and I also gave a professional development at the beginning of the school

year, which Ms. Franklin attended, that discussed the differences between students who were multilingual and students who were ELLs, as well as the languages present among students, which I gathered through an informal survey of students during lunch. During that presentation, I emphasized that many of the students who were not technically classified as ELL were plurilingual, and many spoke Anglophone creoles and dialects of English that would not be recognized by official school documents, such as the district's required Home Language Survey, which is administered to any student who speaks a language other than English.

I tried to craft the interview to discuss language issues beyond students who were technically classified as ELLs, and it's interesting that Ms. Franklin narrowed in solely on a discussion of ELLs, even though students regularly employed AAE and CEE dialects in class, perhaps in part because of Ms. Franklin's nonjudgmental attitude towards language variation. This led me to believe that for Ms. Franklin, the students in her English class could be expected to understand SAE and that this was not a problem for them.

During our second interview, I asked her about what she thought students were expected to know in these transcripts, and she said, "I assume that my students can read at a certain level" (March 20, 2014), but did not elaborate on that. Again, like Ms. Moffa, students' language abilities tended to be summed up by their reading levels, even though this omitted their speaking and listening skills. In addition to the language and literacy understanding, Ms. Franklin appeared to figure students as technologically literate, which did not appear to be the case during the writing workshops, in which I observed students

struggling to navigate basic aspects of word processing, such as fluent typing (Fieldnotes, September 24, 2014).

At a larger level, however, the personal statement assignment assumed students' understanding of what such a text is and its usefulness for applying to college. These assumptions figured students as college-going students and drew upon the "college career readiness" discourse previously discussed. This was problematic based on my observations with students. For example, during one of my first days in the class, I noted the followed fieldnotes:

> "Ms. Franklin introduces me to the students, notes that I'm a doctoral student and asks the students what degree that correlates to and they answer a doctorate. The teacher explains the order of degrees: Associates, Bachelors, Masters, Doctorate. Ms. Franklin says that many people go straight to getting a Bachelors degree, and a student asks, 'you can skip your associate's?' The teacher says that most people do and get Bachelors" (Fieldnotes, September 23, 2014).

The student's question about being able to skip the Associate's degree, for which local colleges did not require personal statements or essays to apply, highlights a potential mismatch between the Ms. Franklin's assumptions about students' general knowledge or goals about college and students' realities. Ms. Franklin's assertion that "most people" get Bachelors degrees revealed a figured world about the prevalence of college education that was likely not true for the students in the class. If students planned to earn an Associates degree, it may have made little sense to them to complete a personal essay.

During another class session, Ms. Franklin noted her concern about students' lack of investment in preparing for the following year after high school. She expressed that

this year should be “an exciting time” (Fieldnotes, December 1, 2014). She described the potential excitement of selecting courses for the fall, explaining, “that this year should be like getting the spring catalog to Gucci and being able to pick out what ever you want. While one student scoffs at the brand, another student says, ‘you give me the catalog but you don’t pay for it’” (Fieldnotes, December 1, 2014). While the previous example showed how students were positioned as knowledgeable about the college process, this example showed that Ms. Franklin positioned students as excited and financially able to attend college, which one student sharply showed was not the case for everyone at this school in which over 80% qualified for free or reduced lunch.

Explanation.

Social determinants. The social determinants behind Transcript 4 largely mirror those of the other transcripts. The lack of support for recognizing and supporting students’ non-SAE resources influenced Ms. Franklin’s figured world of language and literacy as something all students in U.S. schools should be able to do and understand. This, in turn, obscured the fact that students may have disengaged with the assignment in part due to issues with language and literacy comprehension in SAE. Further, the emphasis on “college and career readiness” within the Common Core discourses positioned students as willing and interested in these futures, which as students showed, was not necessarily the case.

Ideologies. It is not surprising that Ms. Franklin immediately assumed I was referring to ELLs when I began to discuss “students who speak multiple languages” (Interview 1, October 20, 2014). First, they both knew I was interested particularly in the experiences of ELL students in schools, and may have simply inferred that when I spoke

of students with "multiple languages," I was referring to ELLs. Second, aside from the one 45-minute professional development session I led during the summer in-service, both Ms. Franklin and her colleague Ms. Moffa remarked that they were not well trained to work with students from other language backgrounds. Third, there were no procedures in place to identify students' language backgrounds other than the official home language surveys from the district, which did not recognize AAE or CCE; thus, it may not have occurred to Ms. Moffa or Ms. Franklin that I might be referring to a wider population than students who had been specifically classified as ELLs.

Additionally, at the secondary level, many students who may have been identified as ELL at one point but later exited were no longer classified, and such histories were not required to be disclosed to teachers. Unless teachers investigated students' language backgrounds independently, it was very likely teachers would never know unless students broached the topic. I infer that such conversations would have been relatively unlikely to occur due to the English-only peer pressure I witnessed in the classroom as students in the English class socialized each other to "speak English" (Fieldnotes, October 14, 2014) and often teased and specifically discouraged CCE. While Gardenside made efforts to respect students' cultural heritage, which included offering a Caribbean drumming class that performed at the school talent show, students' language background were rarely if ever acknowledged by the district, school, or teachers.

Even though Gardenside was located in a linguistically diverse area, and the school's progress report showed largely failing scores on standardized exams, I could find no recommendations from the district documents focused on what Gardenside administration or teachers could do to support students' languages. No mentions were

made of how teachers might acknowledge or tap into students' diverse language resources. In short, students' non-SAE resources were a blindspot at Gardenside, and within the district as a whole.

Effects. Subsequently, the teacher's figured worlds of language and literacy continued to conceptualize students as monolingual English speakers who understood and used the same dialect that teachers used in class. This assumption was rarely if ever questioned in my observations for any student who was not technically classified as an ELL according to the official school documents. This transcript was an example of the many daily instances in which the casual assumption of students' understanding manifested in daily instruction.

One alternative to this lecture as a means of helping students participate in the personal essays would have been to investigate the reasons behind students' resistance to the assignment. Similar to Transcript 1, in Transcript 4 the teacher discourse relies on assumptions about the reasons for students' behavior. In Transcript 1, Ms. Moffa assumes that students do not understand what to do. In Transcript 4, Ms. Franklin assumes that students are not taking the assignment seriously. In both cases, the teachers could have conducted informal teacher research to identify the core reasons for students' lack of engagement. This could have been done through informal discussions with students, perhaps outside of class time, or more systematic observations of students and their progress with the assignments.

Summary of Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding

Both transcripts presented in this section assumed students' general understanding of classroom language and literacy practices and placed the responsibility for students'

success solely upon students. It is clear from the fieldnotes that teachers took great pains to design varied and engaging instruction for students that aligned to many best practices and current popular discourses; however, the figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding present in teacher discourses potentially shut out other possibilities for students' lack of success in school and camouflaged students' potential misunderstandings as non-language-related behavioral concerns.

As these examples show, the national policies and the state curricula enforced SAE as the default language of the classroom space. In response to this, teachers may have figured the classroom space as one where SAE was spoken at the expense of other languages or language practices, in spite of students' linguistic resources. It is clear from these examples, however, that Ms. Moffa and Ms. Franklin were also figuring students as SAE speakers, in spite of their language realities. We see this in the science class as Ms. Moffa assumed that students would be able to understand the videos by listening, and we see this in the English class as Ms. Franklin assumed that students would know how to engage and were invested in engaging in a collegiate-style essay in academic English. In both cases, teachers figured the classroom as SAE spaces, by emphasizing school-sanctioned SAE practices through instruction. It is also clear that teachers were also figuring students as SAE speakers through the given assumptions that students understood the interactions that occurred in the classroom in SAE.

Language and Literacy Practices as Content-Area Practice

While the earlier discussions of the figured worlds of Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School and Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding showed that language and literacy behaviors were largely assumed to be understood

school behaviors, there were also many instances in which teachers explicitly described what language and literacy practices should look like within their respective disciplines. While language and literacy practices were embedded in many general aspects of the classroom, such as the Do Now, as explained in Transcript 1, the teachers largely did not conflate content-area literacy practices with general academic behaviors, nor did they tend to assume students' existing understanding of science- and English-specific writing.

"You Guys Have to be More Specific:" Language as Content-Area Practice in Science

In the following transcript, Ms. Moffa explained how students should write about and present the findings from a recent lab on diffusion.

Transcript 5

1. you guys have to be more specific.
2. [*teacher writes on the board and reads aloud what she is writing]*
3. <"after?
4. conducting?
5. (…)
6. the_ experiment.
7. (…..)
8. we_?
9. saw.>
10. >or we could say observed *(inaudible)*<
11. <we observed (..) that (..) the weight?
12. o_f the e_gg in water (..) increased.
13. a_nd the we_ight of the (0.16) [*the teacher trails off and writes the rest on the whiteboard]* decreases.
14. I predicted (…) the opposite." >
15. 'k.
16. when you make a comparison guys.
17. STUDENT1 and STUDENT2 stop talking.
18. when you make a comparison.
19. I need to know what you're comparing.
20. so if you only retell me the results but you don't tell me about your prediction then I don't know how you're what you're comparing alright?
21. does that make sense?
22. do not use the word "it."

23. do not use the word uh “the stuff.”
24. ‘k what is the stuff you’re talking about?
25. what is the “it” you’re talking about?
26. are you talking about the egg?
27. are you talking about the water?
28. are you talking about the corn syrup?
29. you need to tell me.
30. so [*reading from the white board example]* "my predictions were incorrect.
31. I know this because after conducting the experiment we observed the weight of the egg in water increased and the weight of the egg in the corn syrup decreased.
32. I predicted the opposite.”
33. that’s it.
34. took me maybe a minute to write, and I got a complete full answer you will get full credit for that.
35. K?
36. do we understand how this works?

Orientation. She began the lesson by addressing a recurring issue in students’ assignments: the need to use more discipline-specific vocabulary in their writing. As she explained this process she wrote what she said on the white board at the front of the room. After modeling what this looks like, she reiterated to students not to use vague terms such as “stuff” and “it.” She also underscored that writing with specificity is not necessarily more time-consuming and ended the lesson by asking if everyone understood.

Description.

Vocabulary. In keeping with the objective of the mini-lesson to use more precise wording in students’ writing, the experiential value of Ms. Moffa’s vocabulary in this transcript drew more heavily upon the discourse of science. For example, unlike the other transcripts, she used such terms as *conduct* (line 4), *experiment* (line 6), *observed* (line 11), *weight*, (line 11), *increased* (line 12), *decreased* (line 13), *comparison* (line 16), and *prediction* (line 20).

Grammar. At the sentence-level, Ms. Moffa's discourse followed more formal academic structures than other transcripts. For example, Ms. Moffa modeled how to write sentences that employed subordinate clauses for the conclusions, such as "As conducting the experiment…" (line 4-6), in addition "I know this because…" (line 31).

Outside of the mini-lesson modeling writing, Ms. Moffa continued to engage in the typical combination of simple non-negative sentences, with the exception of including more rhetorical questions, and negative imperatives. The directives in this transcript suggest the same or slightly increased urgency as in Transcripts 1 and 3. For example, Ms. Moffa noted, "you guys have to be more specific" (line 1). The use of "have to" in this directive is slightly unusual, compared to previous directives, which relied on the future tense "you guys are gonna explore virtual cells" (transcript 3, line 7), reminders, "make sure you…" (transcript 3, line 15), or the similar use of "need to" (transcript 1, line 6; transcript 3, line 16; transcript 5, line 29). Using verbs of obligation (need, have) underscore the importance for students to take up these practices, and potentially also narrow the choices students have for written communication.

After explaining how to write the sentence, Ms. Moffa clarified with non-examples, using negative imperatives, "do not use the word 'it.' Do not use the word uh 'the stuff.'" (lines 22-23). Here Ms. Moffa again emphasized the importance of using discipline-specific terms by using relatively forceful imperatives for what students should have done. These are followed by a series of rhetorical questions that showed the thought process of the teacher-as-reader (lines 25-29). She followed these with a re-reading of the completed model sentence and then posed an interrogative "K? do we understand how this works?" (lines 35-36).

There was also the increased use of "we" (lines 8, 10, 11, 31, 36) in contrast to Transcript 1, which emphasized the division between you (students) and I (teacher). This use of "we" in line 8 may reflect the fact that the labs that students were writing about in this exercise were done in collaborative groups, so a plural pronoun is more accurate as the students worked together to observe and collect data. Further, the teacher's quick aside in line 10 "or we could say observed" likely is a reference to a whole-group discussion earlier in class where the class debated whether to use the term "saw" or "observed." This aside appears to reference the inclusive "we" of the teacher taking up a student's idea for writing from earlier, making the modeling more collaborative, although the teacher is the one at the board writing. At the end of the explanation, Ms. Moffa asked, "do we understand?" (line 36). This appeared to signal greater ownership of responsibility on the teacher's part to make sure students understood the specific content-area language practices: whereas other instances of discourse centered about students' agency as learners, here, as well as in other instances captured in the fieldnotes, the teacher included herself in the "we" of the classroom, showing that the onus for understanding is shared by the students and the teacher.

Textual structure. The decidedly more content-area-specific vocabulary and grammar employed within this transcript, in comparison with the other science transcripts, is likely an artifact of the larger discourse structure here, which was not teacher-talk to give directions, but rather teacher-talk to give content instruction. One aspect that reflects this difference from the earlier transcripts is how Transcript 5 created space for students to express their understanding through more ambiguous question tags (transcript 3, line 15), but in line 36, the teacher explicitly asks, "Do we understand how

this works?" This seems to suggest fewer assumptions of students' understanding on the teacher's part and more room for students to express what they know or struggle with. At the same time, no wait time was given for students to answer.

Interpretation. During our interviews Ms. Moffa expressed concerns about the eighth graders' content knowledge, in addition to their literacy issues, in part due to concerns about the nature of students' previous science instruction (Interview 1, October 20, 2014). In reference to this particular transcript, she had noted in students' work earlier in the year, "what we see is that they don't use academic vocabulary in their writing, so they'll use words like "it," or "that," or "the thing," …so I've been on them for this all year making sure they use the vocabulary" (Interview 2, March 13, 2015). While she noted that she would like to do more writing activities in general in class (Interview 2, March 13, 2015), Ms. Moffa clearly emphasized students' integration of vocabulary and transmission of science vocabulary as the major concern for students' writing.

For this particular lesson, she described how she gave students a template for the lab report, but "when they would hand me back the lab reports, there'd be missing more than half of that information," so she decided to cover the writing explicitly in class (Interview 2, March 13, 2015). "Because I never want to blame when I'm asking them--my focus is writing--I don't want the reading to prohibit them" (Interview 2, March 13, 2015). Again, Ms. Moffa's conceptualization of language as discrete domains of reading and writing are presented. She added that after modeling an activity in class, "They understand how to do this, and then I can say this is the expectation: If you didn't meet it, you really don't have an excuse, because if you have a question, then you should have asked me" (Interview 2, March 13, 2015). These comments suggested an intersection

between the teacher's figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding (if they watched the modeling, they should understand), and Language and Literacy Practices as Content-Area Practice (students need specific instruction in content-area literacy practices).

Explanation.

Social determinants. The typical structure of secondary schools in the U.S. is organized around defined disciplines, through the sorting of students into discipline-named courses science, math, English, and through the high-stakes testing according to content-area exams. As students progress through the grades, they take end-of-course tests to measure whether they have mastered the content and skills for the course. Within this framework, it is reasonable that an eighth grade science teacher would not expect students to enter the course already knowing content from the disciplines, such as the nature of cell division. It is also noteworthy that in the school district official scope and sequence of science standards for eighth grade, which Ms. Moffa referenced in our first interview (Interview 1, October 20, 2014) as a guide for creating her curriculum, there is no mention of the terms "reading," "writing," "language," or "literacy." There are many references to "making predictions," "drawing conclusions," and "communicating results."

Ideologies. The content-area models (the unit and standards) that Ms. Moffa drew from did not specifically reference general language and literacy practices, and instead conceptualized them as embedded within the content-area practices as a whole. As such, within the figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Content-Area Practice, students were not expected to already know how to employ these content-area practices,

which may have included vocabulary and sentence structure. As a result, Ms. Moffa engaged in explicit writing instruction to model what this looked like in science and included more frequent checks for understanding through varied questions.

Effects. By conceptualizing language and literacy practices as a necessary, albeit taken for granted, aspect of content-area practices that students needed to be able to master, Ms. Moffa emphasized writing instruction. That is, within Ms. Moffa's figured world, it is noteworthy that although language and literacy practices are conceptualized as implicit within scientific disciplines, Ms. Moffa nonetheless taught an explicit writing lesson about how to write the lab report.

"When You Do Your Reading You're Collecting Research:" Language and Literacy Practices as Content Area Practice in English

During a unit centered on the skill of "finding credible evidence," students engaged in a variety of activities to conduct research. In this transcript, Ms. Franklin explained a worksheet that listed the expectations for students' upcoming research assignment, as well as a graphic organizer for where students would take notes on what they had read.

Transcript 6

1. so.
2. take a loo_k so take a look at this worksheet I gave you you're gonna need to hold on to this worksheet throughout this unit?
3. because we're gonna be using it?
4. um when you a_re doing a reading which we'll be doing a lot of.
5. either reading or (*inaudible*).
6. you see where it says finding details?
7. yeah that's on the back you're gonna have a place where you're gonna write down details.
8. that's what you need to do.
9. when you do your reading you're collecting research.
10. you're not coming up with a claim first and then finding the research.

11. you're collecting your research first.
12. 'k?
13. you're not gonna you're not gonna sa_y (5) you're not gonna sa_y 'Honda is the best car,' and then go try to find sh this is *very important.*
14. you're not gonna say, [*bell rings]=*
    1. ['Honda is the best car and then go try to find the research to support it.
15. first you're gonna do your research and then come to a conclusion.
16. so when you do your research you're going to find the details.
17. 'k?
18. and findings details means you're findings interesting details that are related and that stand out from the reading to you.
19. 'k these are things like pay attention the examples include, statistics.
20. 'k guys hardcore data that can back up your claim.
21. examples.
22. descriptions.
23. events.
24. words that are repeated often.
25. strong language like swearing we talked about that yesterday.
26. k.
27. these are all details that you guys are gonna need to pay attention to as you're doing this reading.

Orientation. The research project Ms. Franklin explained here was the culminating activity of the weeks-long unit (the same "Milestones" unit referred to previously), that centered on identifying credible sources. Ms. Franklin created this unit, although it was informed by the school-wide focus on the Common Core strategy of finding credible evidence.

Description.

Vocabulary. Similar to Transcript 6, the experiential value of the vocabulary in this transcript draws upon the content area vocabulary of English through the terms *finding details* (line 6), *collecting research* (line 9), *claim* (line 10), *conclusion* (line 15), *statistics* (line 19), *data* (line 20), and *examples* (line 21). It is also perhaps telling that the terms given within this transcript tended to draw upon scientific discourse of research

through the emphasis on data and "collecting" research (line 9). The rewording in lines 12-14 of explaining what not to do in the research process, through the example of assessing cars, also drew upon assumed students' background knowledge of cars (at least one student in the class repeatedly talked about cars, as he celebrated getting his license earlier in the semester).

The experiential value of the vocabulary prioritized the research process over the specific language practices embedded within the project that students may also have needed support with. For example, there are not mentions of rhetorical devices (other than *claim*), persuasive techniques, or argumentative structure that may be included within a more traditional senior English class unit on research essays. This perhaps speaks to Ms. Franklin's identity as a science teacher, but it could also be an artifact of the unit's emphasis on finding credible evidence, rather than on other aspects of argumentative research writing. Throughout this transcript, which is the sole introductory lesson to this project, Ms. Franklin emphasized the research process and the importance of finding credible evidence, which would be the emphasis throughout the unit. The experiential vocabulary, then, revealed how even regarding a writing-based project within an English class, literacy practices were figured as embedded within the content-area practice, which were perceived as what should be taught and learned, rather the content-area practices embedded within the writing process.

This revealed how Ms. Franklin conceptualized literacy practices perhaps as in service to content-area demands, rather than a complementary aspect of them. This appeared to be emphasized as she said, "when you do your reading you're collecting research" (line 9). Similar to the figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as

Doing School, reading itself was not the practice being highlighted—it was figured as a way of "doing research." What it meant precisely to read in order to find "interesting details" related to the claim was not discussed here, or at all during my observations. This seemed to suggest that while Ms. Franklin did not take for granted that students knew what the research process was (as she enumerated it within this transcripts), she did assume that students were competent readers and understood how to read to gather information.

Grammar. As was typical, Ms. Franklin continued to predominantly use active, positive sentences in her directions and explanations in this transcript. The notable exceptions were the negative sentences used to illustrate what students should not do: "you're not coming up with a claim first and then finding the research" (line 10), which is reworded in the car example in lines 13 and 14. The use of negatives makes the non-examples stand out, and highlights what students should avoid before Ms. Franklin reiterated what students should do, which she also stressed vocally on the sequential connector *then*: "first you're gonna do your research and <u>then</u> come to a conclusion" (line 15). While Ms. Franklin also reworded what it meant to find details in line 18, she did not include the same emphasis by including non-examples and vocal stress that she did with the research process. Again, this appeared to show the instructional priority of teaching the content-area practice over the language practice.

The relational value of the grammar in this transcript emphasized the classroom as a group through the pronoun "we" less than Ms. Franklin's other transcripts, and emphasized students as "you" more. While she used fewer imperative sentences—just once in line 2—she framed the directions to students using the future tense, and

declarative present-tense sentences, such as "you're collecting your research first" (line 11), and "first you're gonna do your research" (line 15), respectively. Presenting the research project in this way assumed that students would take up these directions, and closed off other possibilities for students to conduct the research in other ways. Within this figured world of Language and Literacy Practices as Content-Area Practice, there was one way to conduct research, and that included reading first to collect data, followed by assessing the data and drawing conclusions.

Textual Structure. Similar to Transcript 5, the larger scale structure of this transcript included teacher-talk to give directions, as Ms. Franklin explained an upcoming assignment, but also teacher-talk to give instruction, as she explained what the research process was. Again, few opportunities were given for students to take the floor during the teacher talk or express misunderstanding other than brief questions from the teacher, such as "k?" in line 12 and 17.

Interpretation. In our second interview, Ms. Franklin explained why she made finding credible evidence a key focus in the unit:

> The whole kind of course was kind of focused on like finding credible sources like identifying what is a credible source cause a lot of times they go to Wikipedia, or they like "I heard it on Facebook," or like, they even go to sources that look credible but they're not. So identify what is credible sources, like understanding what it is that they're reading, and being able to pull evidence from the reading to support their thesis. That was the whole kind of overarching goal (Interview 2, March 20, 2015).

Facebook as a source of information arose periodically in students' discussion. For example, during one class session in which Ms. Franklin led a discussion about what it means to be an "expert," students discussed the current event of the recent Ebola outbreak, and whether it had spread to a local neighborhood:

> "The teacher asks where the students get their news information, and they list several social media platforms, including Facebook, Instagram, Twitter. Some students tease the other student about what possible news they might get from Instagram [a popular photo-sharing site with little space for written text]" (October 20, 2014).

Later in the class discussion, Ms. Franklin asked students how to evaluate what they saw posted on the Internet, and on student said that when something was posted multiple times on the Facebook, it was usually true. The students also discussed how certain techniques could make news items seem legitimate, such as screen shots. During this discussion, students showed a general familiarity with social networking sites, as well as a burgeoning awareness of how to gauge the reliability of the information they found there (such as whether it was posted multiple times).

However, students also showed a certain sophistication for when and where to use information from specific platforms. In addition to the critique of Instagram, some students also showed fairly savvy awareness of Wikipedia, a popular online encyclopedia able to be edited by anyone on the Internet. After a longer discussion about the pros and cons of whether to use information from Wikipedia, and leading students to the conclusion that it could not ultimately be trusted as the final source of information, Ms. Franklin asked whether students should use it as a source for an English class essay. One

student quickly answered, “Hell yeah! You can find information so easily!” (Fieldnotes, October 23, 2014). Here, the student was not arguing that the information was verifiable or accurate, but simply convenient, and that this was a superior characteristic. During this conversation, it appeared that many students had a beginning skillset for evaluating evidence, which did need support, as Ms. Franklin noted in her interview. However, student responses also showed that students were able to weigh the merits of a source with the practical concerns of research, siding on the side of Wikipedia, for example, for its ease of use, in spite of the risks of unreliable information, which students seemed somewhat aware of.

Ms. Franklin explained that her observation of students’ behavior citing unreliable sources was her motivator behind emphasizing data collection during the research process in this unit. She continued to explain its importance during the same interview:

> It’s fine to have your own opinion, right, like everyone has their own opinion, but when you’re at a college-level class or when you’re out in the real world, you know, being able to support your opinion with valuable evidence…is what really makes the difference between people taking you seriously or not taking you seriously (Interview 2, March 20, 2015).

Similar to her emphasis on the importance of “professional speaking” in Transcript 1, Ms. Franklin underscored the importance of students mastering the skills from her class for their future academic and professional experiences “out in the real world.” Here, this revealed how within Ms. Franklin’s figured world, language and literacy adhered to content-area and/or professional definitions of what “valuable evidence” was, and that

when students engaged in debates outside of her classroom, they would be judged according to these norms.

Explanation.

Social determinants. Many of the same social determinants described in previous sections are present within this transcript: the grade-level and content-area divisions of classrooms created assumptions about what students should be expected to know and do, and the rise of the English-dominant Common Core standards influenced the curriculum to include argumentative writing standards, including finding evidence. However, one institutional element present within the English classroom that did not affect the science classroom was the staff shortage to which the school responded by assigning Ms. Franklin to teach English, a course in which she was not certified to teach.

The classroom event in Transcript 6 was an example of what commonly occurred during instruction in the English class in particular: Ms. Franklin explained what students had to do to create discipline-specific texts, but stopped short of explaining *how* they should do so. Perhaps this was because Ms. Franklin, who identified as a "science teacher" (Interview 1, October 17, 2014) who was asked to teach English as part of a staff shortage, did not feel as confident in this area. As a result of the small-school structure of the institution, both Ms. Moffa and Ms. Franklin taught three or four different courses during the school year--for Ms. Franklin this included teaching courses in two disciplines, English and science--in addition to afterschool work monitoring students who worked on credit recovery and advisory duties during the day.

Additionally, according to our first interview (October 17, 2014), while the science teachers shared curricula and collaborated to update it each year, the English

team was still continuing to build up the curriculum. Ms. Franklin was able to use some of her lessons from the previous year teaching English, but she expressed a need for more support in this area. As a result of the policy that broke the formerly large high school into small schools, the staff was necessarily reduced, creating a need for teachers to lead a greater number of different courses, including subjects outside of their primary expertise. This could have been a contributing factor to Ms. Franklin's assumptions about students' abilities and her presentation of the material in the English discipline.

Ideologies. Again, similar to the previous sections, Ms. Franklin's emphasis on the importance of the skills presented in the lesson for being taken "seriously" in the "real world" echo the ideologies from the "career and college readiness" discourses. Given Ms. Franklin's relative lack of expertise in English, alternative discourses, and thus, alternative ideologies, present within the English field at large were not drawn upon.

Effects. Similar to Transcript 5, Transcript 6 conceptualized language and literacy as embedded within content-area practices. However, in contrast to Transcript 5, this classroom event did not include a minilesson for the specific processes for engaging the literacy skills (reading to find important details) necessary for the content-area practice (engaging in research). This may have been a product of Ms. Franklin's lack of familiarity with this content-area practice, as she taught outside of her discipline. The lack of content-area familiarity may have led to missed opportunities for addressing students' core literacy needs.

Summary of Language and Literacy Practice as Content-Area Practice

As shown in the previous two figured worlds, language and literacy practices were construed as normal school behaviors, and students were generally positioned as

SAE speakers. In general, teachers' instruction assumed that students arrived in the classroom with roughly grade-level reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills. However, perhaps due to the emphasis on content-area-specific skills at the secondary level, teachers did not assume that students arrived in class with content-area knowledge. This assumption allowed teachers windows of opportunities to explicitly and implicitly teach language and literacy practices, such as writing a conclusion, or reading for research. In contrast, I rarely saw Ms. Moffa or Ms. Franklin create the space to address students' language and literacy needs unrelated to content-area knowledge gaps. These windows of opportunities showed how Ms. Moffa and Ms. Franklin were able to create space to address students' language and literacy needs within the content-areas, and were arguably made possible by the teacher's figured worlds that positioned language and literacy in the content areas as specialized skills that students should not be expected to know before explicit instruction. Conversely, the other figured worlds positioned language and literacy as understood ways of doing school, and because students were expected to use and understand language and literacy according to school norms, they were not instructed how to do so.

Summary

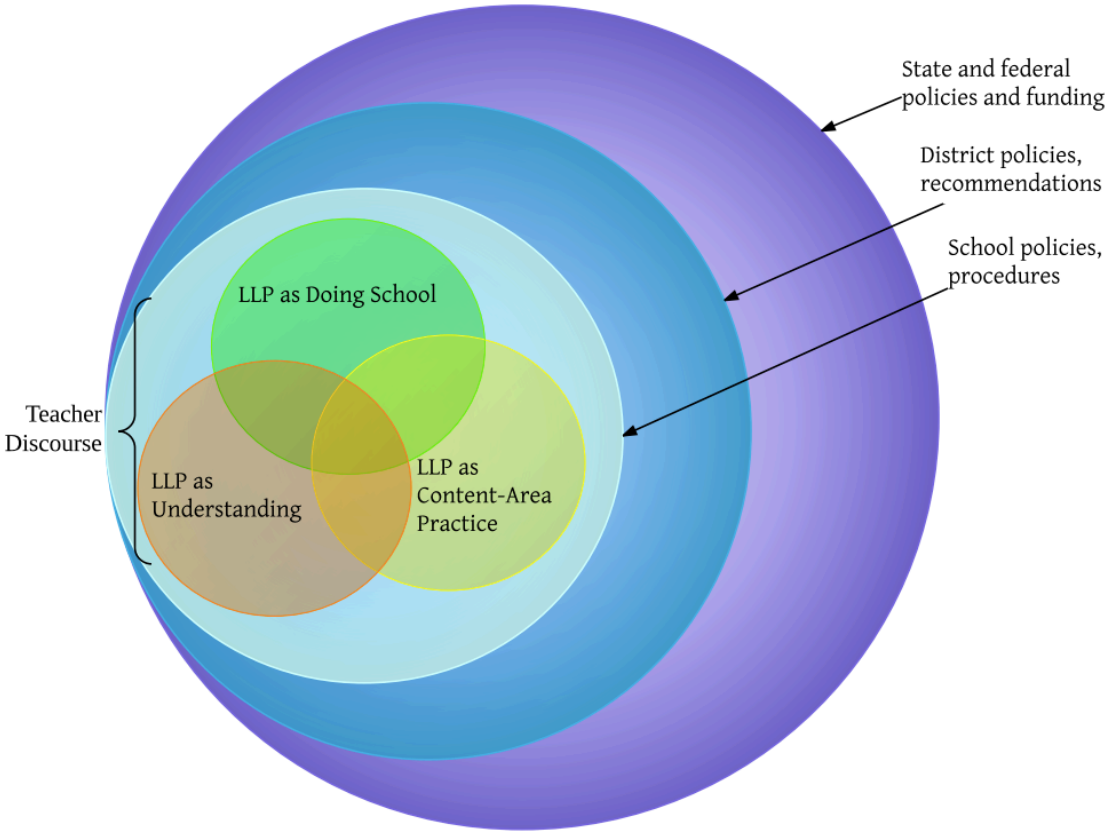
The findings presented here show how the teachers' figured worlds of language and literacy are revealed through their classroom discourse and may be shaped by the macrostructures surrounding the classrooms. In summary, in spite of teaching linguistically and culturally diverse students within a historically linguistically and culturally diverse neighborhood, the teachers' figured worlds of language and literacy continued to figure students as monolingual English-speaking students who understood

and spoke the same dialects of English that the teachers used. Within these figured worlds, it is perhaps easy to overlook students' linguistic differences because language and literacy practices were often conflated with general academic and school behaviors (such as entering a classroom, or entering into a discussion), or embedded within larger content-area practices (using vocabulary correctly in a lab report or engaging in a research process). Perhaps as a result, it is assumed that within these figured worlds students could and did understand the language they encountered in class, and it was their responsibility to seek help if they did not understand (asking questions during a film) or behaving appropriately in order to complete their assignments (working on personal statements during a writing workshop).

The final chapter will discuss how these findings converge and diverge with the current research, as well as implications for teaching and research.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

The following shows how the findings presented in the previous chapter are supported by the current research or extend the research base for serving linguistically diverse students in U.S. public schools. As previously shown in chapter 4, Figure 5 below shows how the teachers' discourse revealed three primary figured worlds of language and literacy. Similar to other models of learning experienced in school that show the influences of the sociocultural context, such as Snow's (2002) model of reading comprehension, Figure 5 illustrates how these discourses were situated within and influenced by the larger macrostructures of the institutional environment, as well as the district, state, and national policies.



The three figured worlds of language and literacy practices included the following: Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School, which assumed that literacy practices were school behaviors; Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding, which assumed that students were able to understand and engage with the language and literacy practices present in the classroom; and Language and Literacy Practices as Content Area Practice, which conceptualized language and literacy practices as embedded within content-area practices that may need to be explicitly taught to students.

The macrostructures affecting the teachers' discourse at Gardenside included district- and school-based policies, such as the relatively standardized Do Now procedures, as well as state policies adopting the Common Core State Standards, which emphasized college-and-career readiness discourses that did not always map onto student experiences. Further, the national educational policies of the No Child Left Behind affected the funding of Gardenside based on students' scores on tests that emphasized students' SAE literacy skills. These policies also affected which students were classified as ELLs and received extra learning services: Spanish-speaking Cristina had a translator paraprofessional work with her during science class while other students who spoke CCE were not classified as ELL, and had no official language services.

Taken together, these macrostructures served to influence instructional priorities (such as emphasizing reading and writing activities), and to calibrate teachers' assumptions about students: students should be willing and interested to prepare for college and career, and students should come into the course with SAE language and literacy skills appropriate for mastering grade-level content. In many ways these structures set the teachers up to create figured worlds of how language and literacy

should look and be done in school that opposed the realities of their classrooms, where many students struggled with grade-level language and literacy skills, but had many other language and literacy skills that could have been harnessed. In this way, it could be argued that Ms. Moffa and Ms. Franklin were teaching to a false image of their students that may have hampered more effective teaching that could respond to students' genuine learning needs.

Ideology in the Classroom: Insights from Critical Discourse Analysis

While neither Ms. Moffa nor Ms. Franklin explicitly broached the topics of English-only instruction, monolingualism, or language ideologies in their classrooms, assumptions of monolingualism permeated both teachers' classroom discourse. These language ideologies are far from new in the realm of education. Dating to antiquity, schools have historically been spaces where the lingua franca of the "learned" community has been spoken and transmitted to students. As Clarke (2007) and Moita-Lopes (2006) illustrated, ideologies may be present within classroom spaces whether or not they are explicitly discussed due to the overarching cultural models within which the school was located.

Or, as Gebhard (2005) found, such values can be the artifacts of policies set in place within schools. As Gardenside was beholden to a series of state and federal policies which have been criticized for ignoring the multilingual and multidialectal reality of students (Menken, 2008), it makes sense that teachers' discourse tended to omit discussion of students' multilingual realities as well. While teachers did have agency to create curricula and attend to students' unique language needs while meeting state and national levels, their training and ongoing instructional support did not empower teachers

to do so. Moreover, the small-school structure meant that teachers taught three and four separate classes, which greatly increased their planning load, and left little time for teachers to more comprehensively reimagine what could be possible within their curricula.

Teacher Discourse to Expand and Contract Opportunities for Students to Engage with Language and Literacy: What Figured Worlds Reveal

The findings from this study also confirm current research that considers how teacher discourse can shape the ways in which students are able to participate and contribute to class. While this study was concerned specifically with teacher talk, rather than more interactive instances of teacher-student communications, findings aligned with research on conversational moves (Godley & Loretto, 2013), activity structures (Dagenais & Toohey, 2006), and vocabulary (Wagner & Herbel-Eisenmann, 2007) to show how teacher's discourse served at times to close off or create space for student voices.

While certain moves, such as Ms. Moffa's increased use of question tags, could be argued to have served to create more opportunities to assess student understanding and give opportunities to contribute in some instances more than others, conversation moves alone were not necessarily enough to spur student participation. The data suggest that perhaps instructional activities that appeared to align closer to students' normal communicative practices – such as class discussions, examined in Transcript 2--were needed to engage students.

By examining teachers' figured worlds, one can better understand what influenced teacher discourse and how these figured worlds may have influenced students'

participation in class. For instance, this study shows how teachers' figured worlds manifested through the organization of instructional activities, such as Ms. Franklin's structuring of classroom discussion based on her views of what it means to speak professionally. While Ms. Franklin included questions and opportunities to give students the floor to express themselves, students did not immediately take these up. I assert that this structure served to narrow the means through which students could contribute to class, similar to research that shows how participation structures can inhibit student performance (Dagenais & Toohey, 2006). Further, findings confirmed other research that showed how teachers' assumptions of students' understandings could serve to narrow opportunities for academic dialogue (Wagner & Herbel-Eisenmann, 2007).

These transcripts also revealed how Ms. Moffa and Ms. Franklin viewed language and literacy as embedded within content-area practices. This finding can extend the work done by researchers who have examined how teachers construct the figured worlds of their disciplines and recruit students into them (Jurow, 2005; Kangas et al., 2013; Tan and Barton, 2010). Previous studies have considered how students are successfully recruited into content-area figured worlds, but have not considered how teachers' figured worlds of language and literacy, as they relate to content-area practices, may mediate students' recruitment into these worlds. How teachers in the content areas figure language and literacy practices within their courses could have significant potential for how students engage with these content-area practices, as well as how students construct their identities within these worlds. As Tan & Barton (2007) illustrated, a student who self-identified as a poor student overall was able to reimagine herself as a strong science student.

Implications

Unbundling Language and Literacy Practices

A common theme among the figured worlds was that teacher discourse often did not explicitly acknowledge the language and literacy demands of the classroom. Whether teachers conflated language and literacy practice with general academic behaviors, or referenced them within larger content-area discourse, Ms. Moffa and Ms. Franklin did not often include instruction about reading, writing, listening, or speaking in class, even though these were essential skills students needed to be successful. One explanation for this lack of attention is that teachers did not recognize the many types of linguistic skills students needed to engage in the quotidian routines of their classrooms, as was illustrated in the discussion of the Do Now procedure in Transcript 1. Upon reflection, however, Ms. Moffa did identify that students' literacy may have played a role in students' behavior. In this way, she conceptualized language and behavior as related, but not necessarily identical. Learning to disentangle academic behaviors from literacy behaviors may be a way that teachers can consider how students' linguistic development may be influencing their academic achievement.

When language and literacy skills were presented in class, they tended to be in the service of content-area aims, such as writing a lab report (Transcript 5) or collecting evidence for a research paper (Transcript 6). In both of these transcripts, the teachers did explicitly outline how students should engage with the language and literacy practices within their disciplines. In this way, they created space to linguistically support students. While some literacy practices became invisible in this process, such as assuming that students can read to find relevant details, these classroom events raise several

possibilities for how teachers can recognize linguistic development as a crucial part of their disciplines so that they don't feel the pressure, as Ms. Moffa, put it, to "find the balance" (Interview 1, October 20, 2014) of supporting students' language skills and content knowledge. Further, these findings also show that it was not necessarily problematic that Ms. Moffa did not explicitly refer to the language and literacy practices as "literacy" during the writing mini-lesson because she was able to present such instruction within a meaningful and effective lesson that responded to students' needs.

Further, because teachers led discipline-specific courses in a secondary school and had to follow content-driven standards, the findings also raise the implications that perhaps the core responsibilities of instructors should be reevaluated: should the primary concern be to teach grade-level, content-area work, or to teach students according to their individual needs for engaging in language and literacy practices? The findings suggest the latter, and if that is so, another implication is to consider restructuring school time or creating more flexible standards that create space for students with differing language and literacy needs. For example, instead of mastery-based standards that require all students to demonstrate understanding of the same set of skills (such as the current policies required under NCLB and the Common Core), policy-makers could opt for growth-based metrics that measure students' skills at the beginning and end of the school years to show their cumulative learning. In this way, students and schools would be evaluated according to students' learning rather than penalizing students who are not able pass a static set of standards. Within individual schools, classrooms could adopt similar measures for grading and assessment purposes as a means of more clearly identifying students' areas of strength and development.

When we discussed students' language and literacy practices, Ms. Moffa and Ms. Franklin often focused on students' literacy skills, specifically their abilities to read on grade-level. They emphasized speaking and listening less, and virtually never acknowledged students' non-SAE language resources. The concern about students' English reading – while understandable because of standardized testing demands – positioned students as English-deficient, rather than emerging bilinguals or bidialectal, and also conceptualized language domains as separate skills, rather than skills to be developed and employed in tandem. One implication of this for educators and policy-makers is to consider how teachers can move away from the emphasis solely on English literacy to consider how students' holistic language skills, including non-SAE resources, can be acknowledged and employed in class. By unbundling students' many linguistic resources from the singular concern of "reading levels," teachers could begin to focus upon students' multiple funds of knowledge (Moll & Gonzalez, 1992). One practical application of this might be to move from evaluating schools based on policies requiring literacy-based measures of achievement to more holistic learning assessments, such as portfolios that allow students to demonstrate learning through a variety of means, including presentations which harness their oral language abilities.

Supporting Language without Narrowing Students' Options

In response to Ms. Moffa's concerns about students' literacy levels, and Ms. Franklin's concerns about students' ability to engage in academic and professional speaking practices, both teachers modified their curricula in ways to meet students' needs. Ms. Moffa explicitly modeled how students should write so she wouldn't

inadvertently "blame" students (Interview 2, March 13, 2015) by assessing their literacy instead of their content knowledge. Ms. Franklin structured an academic debate so that students could practice engaging in what she considered a "civilized discussion" (Transcript 2). While the teachers were tailoring their instruction to respond to their perception of students' needs, one implication from this is that such modifications might be overly narrowing the means through which students can participate and express themselves in school. For example, how might students have responded if the English discussion had included varied means for students to express themselves rather than writing first, and then speaking? The findings suggest that schools must create ways to acknowledge the various language and literacy demands expected of students in instructional activities and support students in these areas, rather than avoiding these demanding practices in ways that potentially narrow students' expression. For example, in the case of the common Do Now classroom procedure, teachers can critically analyze the amount and type of literacy students are being asked to engage in. Then, based on students' experiences with the Do Now, teachers can provide additional support, such as inviting students to draw from their existing linguistic resources, such as discussing questions orally, using modified language, glossaries, or providing additional help by working with a partner.

Political Implications

It is impossible to analyze teacher discourse divorced from the current political and social contexts surrounding the classroom. The implications given above for teachers for supporting students' multilingual resources can be echoed for policy-makers. English-only standardized tests and official school documents, such as the Home Language

Survey discussed in chapter 4, that fail to acknowledge the wide variety of students' diverse language backgrounds continue to marginalize and officially erase the linguistic resources students bring to school.

As a result, students are positioned as deficient English speakers, rather than emergent bilingual or bidialectal. Schools that serve such students are rated as failing and risk being closed. The implications here suggest revising or rejecting assessment measures that set students up to fail by ignoring their multilingual and multidialectal resources. However, this project is not the first to suggest such changes: Given the quantity of research that already exists to support these political revisions, one implication is to consider why such change has not already occurred, potentially by examining the figured worlds of policy makers regarding language, literacy, and multilingual students. Studies that consider how policy makers conceive of literacy, schools, and students could reveal a mismatch between their expectations of typical students and the realities of the classroom. Such studies might also explore why such policies that do not reflect or meet the needs of students are continually adopted and reproduced.

Recommendations for future study

This study was not able to explore students' experiences and perspectives about teacher discourse. As such, a number of questions remain to be considered. First, it is unclear whether teacher's figured worlds of language and literacy aligned with students' figured worlds. As landmark studies (Delpit 1995; Heath 1983), as well as recent studies (Fiano, 2014, Schaenen, 2010) have illustrated, how students are able to apply their native language resources at school can depend on how well schools acknowledge and

can build upon students' funds of knowledge (Moll & Gonzalez, 1992). Picking up on research (Rubin, 2007) that considers conflicting ideas about how students and teachers figure success in school, further exploration could illuminate how students' perceptions, attitudes, and motivations influenced their engagement.

Second, while the findings from this study revealed some insights about teacher identity in the classroom, such as how identifying as a science teacher might influence a teacher's development of an English curriculum, further exploration into teacher identities across time would be helpful to consider how teachers' figured worlds evolve. One potential area of study could involve using participatory action research or teacher inquiry projects that might allow teachers to investigate their own figured worlds of language and literacy. In this way, teachers could identify assumptions within their instruction that may or may not map onto their student populations.

Further, exploring how students' identities may or may not conflict with how they are figured in teacher's notions of language and literacy is also a compelling area of study. As the current research has considered how participants evaluate and take up discourses to construct their identities (Goulah, 2009), specifically considering how students and teachers figure their identities amid English-only ideologies could illuminate potentially hidden barriers to student success. Utilizing critical race theory could be particularly useful for understanding these crucial dimensions of the language learning experience, especially regarding peer-to-peer socialization and positioning (Ryu, 2015) within a linguistically diverse setting, such as Gardenside.

Conclusion

In summary, Ms. Moffa and Ms. Franklin figured language and literacy practices as academic and content-area practices that students should be able to engage in at grade-level. While during our interviews they expressed concern and awareness of some students' language needs, these cases were considered exceptional (such as the few students who were officially designated as ELL), and their classroom discourse often made no provisions for students' language and literacy development.

As the teachers' discourses largely drew upon that of standardized testing that emphasized English proficiency at the expense of students' non-SAE resources, it is also important to ask what these assessment practices mean for students from diverse language backgrounds. What happens when language is used as a judge of a students' academic ability? What happens when funding for schools is based on students' academic ability as measured by language? What happens when schools that are doing poorly are those filled with students who speak dialects that have been historically discriminated against? Suddenly, it seems the phenomenon under study is no longer language and literacy use, but the reproduction of social and economic inequality.

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Appendix

A. Observation Protocol

B. Interview Protocols

C. Pattern Codes

D. Transcription Conventions

E. CDA Coding Results

F. CDA Analysis Organizer

G. Student work

H. Student Language Use

Appendix A

Observation Protocol

The following is the Observation Protocol to be used for data collection.

Date:
Times observed:
Teacher, subject/ period observed:
Focal students observed:

Summary of observation: *Write 1-3 sentences summarizing the observations here.*

Detailed observations: *Include the running record of the observation here. Pay close attention to students' language use. Note code-switching, social talk, academic dialogue, and written communication. Note the instructional activity, student behavior, dialogue, and interactions. Note the time periodically. Analytical memos are noted with brackets.*

Map of space: *Include a map of the spaces observed here or attached to the notes. Include names and locations of students with times when possible.)*

Pertinent artifacts: *Make a note if student work documents are attached.*

Your roles in the field today: *Make a note of what tasks you performed as a researcher (taking notes, recording students, etc.), a classroom helper (making copies), a tutor, etc. Make a note of any ways in which these roles privileged certain insider or outsider information collected.*

Post-observation reflections: *Reflect on methodological issues, items to be clarified, and analytical commentaries.*

Appendix B

Interview Protocols

Semi-structured Student Interview

Purpose: The Student Semi-structured Interview is a brief, semi-structured interview designed to learn about the student's educational and linguistic background.

Context: The interview should take place in a neutral area that the participant feels comfortable in.

Duration: Flexible, 15-30 min

Materials needed

- Voice recorder

Procedure

I. Greeting

- Researcher establishes rapport with participant
- Researcher confirms consent for voice recording and asks if participant has questions
- Researcher reminds participant that they can ask to stop at any point if they so choose

II. Demographic information

- How old are you?
- What grade are you in?
- How many years did you attend school in the U.S.?
- How many years did you attend school outside of the U.S.?

III. Timeline (as adapted from Kibler, 2009)

Students will be asked to draw a timeline of important events from their lives and invited to explain them.

IV. Language use

- What languages do you speak?
- When did you learn each language?
- What languages do you speak at school?
- What languages do you speak at home and with family?
- What language do you speak with your friends?
- When you take notes in class, do you write in English, another language, or both?

IV. Closing

- Researcher asks if the participant wants to add anything or if he or she has any questions

- Researcher thanks participant

After the interview: Whenever possible the observer writes up the field notes from the observations within 24 hours and uploads audio recording to a secure space

Semi-structured Teacher Interview 1

Purpose: The Teacher Semi-structured Interview 1 is a brief, semi-structured interview designed to learn about the teacher's educational and linguistic background.

Context: The interview should take place in a neutral area that the participant feels comfortable in.

Duration: Flexible, 15-30 min

Materials needed

- Voice recorder

Procedure

I. Greeting

- Researcher establishes rapport with participant
- Researcher confirms consent for voice recording and asks if participant has questions
- Researcher reminds participant that they can ask to stop at any point if they so choose

II. Educational history

- What grade and subject do you teach?
- How long have you been teaching?
- How long have you been teaching here?
- What have been your experiences teaching students who speak multiple languages and students who are learning English?
- Have you had any pre- or in-service coursework, workshops, or training in working with students who speak multiple languages and students who are learning English? If so, please describe.

III. Language use

- What languages do you speak, understand, read, or write? How did you learn them?
- What languages do you speak at school with students? Other teachers or administrators? Family and community members? Why?

IV. Closing

- Researcher asks if the participant wants to add anything or if he or she has any questions
- Researcher thanks participant

After the interview: Whenever possible the observer writes up the field notes from the observations within 24 hours and uploads audio recording to a secure space

Semi-structured Follow-up Interview

Purpose: The semi-structured follow-up interview is a brief, interview designed to follow-up with teacher and student participants about literacy events that have been observed, or to clarify or expand information gleaned from previous interviews or students work documents.

Context: The interview should take place in a neutral area that the participant feels comfortable in.

Duration: Flexible, 15-30 min

Materials needed

- Voice recorder

Procedure

I. Greeting

- Researcher establishes rapport with participant
- Researcher confirms consent for voice recording and asks if participant has questions
- Researcher reminds participant that they can ask to stop at any point if they so choose

II. Questions

I have prepared several transcripts from the courses I observed that I would like to hear your perspective about. I'm going to ask you to read through each one and then discuss it with me. We'll spend a couple minutes on each one.

A) What do you see in this transcript about how language or literacy is used? What do you think it says about teaching, this school, policy, or the students?

B) Reading this transcript, what do you think is assumed about what students know and can do?

Follow questions: For specific transcripts:

1. During this lesson, students engage in a range of language and literacy practices: reading the articles, writing responses, engaging in speaking and listening during the debate. I'd like to hear a little about how you planned that lesson and why you structured it this way.

I also noticed that you used the term "civilized" meaning one person talking at a time. What does civilized debate look like to you?

2. Much of the second unit revolved around students finding credible evidence for sources. Why was that a focus?

3. In this example, you explain the research process for students. Can you tell me what students' experiences with research were before this?

4. I noticed in this excerpt that you mentioned reading as a common "wish" from alumni. Can you talk to me a little about how students engage in reading?

5. In this example, you mention a time for playing around and a time for being serious. What does that mean to you? What do you think it means to students?

IV. Closing

- Researcher asks if the participant wants to add anything or if he or she has any questions
- Researcher thanks participant

After the interview: Whenever possible the observer writes up the field notes from the observations within 24 hours and uploads audio recording to a secure space

Prompts

Probes will be used throughout all the interviews as needed to clarify or expand upon responses. Probes may include the following:

Sample probes

- Clarification
  - Could you repeat that?
  - I'm hearing you say… Is that accurate?
  - What do you mean by that?
  - Who/ what/ when/ where/ why/ how?
- Expansion
  - Can you say more about that?
  - Tell me about that.
  - What was that like?
  - Can you give me a specific example of that?
  - Can you be more detailed?
  - What was next?

Transcript 1
November 5
The teacher explains the upcoming activity for class regarding students' reading and debate of abortion rights.

Okay, so while you guys are finishing up your thoughts, I'm gonna pass out the listening log, which is the thing I'm gonna collect. (I'm giving it back from the) last class. So, we're gonna talk in a civilized manner, which means that we're gonna, one person at a time is gonna speak [*Teacher passes back listening logs, and asks a student to pass down some papers],* and you guys are gonna fill out the listening log, and then we're gonna do a couple more quotes about the father and the baby. I'm only collecting your listening log. I'm only collecting your listening log at the end of the period. *[A few students talk among themselves—inaudible on recording]* Shh, alright, so, let's- let's have- we're gonna discuss for about three minutes. We're not gonna spend a lot of time on this. We're just gonna discuss for three minutes. Make sure your name is on the listening log. Make sure your name is on the (*student talks)* on listening log.
[*The teacher explains what students should write and previews the topics of the discussion.]*
So let's start back with the pro-choice quotes. Who would like to open the discussion? What—what do you guys think about what was said, what Susan and Betsy, and Howard say [*these names are writers or characters in the articles students read previously]*. Do you guys have any responses? And remember for people who are not talking, the only people are listening and they're writing. 'K, listening and writing. Who would like to open the discussion? Who would like to open the discussion? STUDENT2, would you like to open the discussion? What was your response?

Transcript 2
December 8, 10:44
The teacher talks with a group of students who are working on their independent research projects, which involves identifying web sources.

The most important thing is I want you to practice finding credible evidence. That's the most important thing. When you guys write your research papers in this class you're gonna have to cite good evidence.

Transcript 3
October 22
After reviewing the previous day's work regarding perceptions and biases, the teacher explains the directions for the upcoming reading activity related to the nonfiction text, Freakonomics.

So take a look at this worksheet I gave you. You're gonna need to hold on to this worksheet throughout this unit, because we're gonna be using it. When you are doing a reading, which we'll be doing a lot of, you're reading or (*inaudible*), you see where it says finding details? Yeah, that—you're gonna--on the back you're gonna have a place where you're gonna write down details. That's what you need to do. When you do your

reading, you're collecting research. You're not coming up with a claim first and then finding the research; you're collecting your research first, 'k? You're not gonna—you're not gonna say, you're not gonna say, 'Honda is the best car,' and then go try to find—sh- this is very important—you're not gonna say, [*bell rings]* 'Honda is the best car and then go try to find the research to support it. First, you're gonna do your research and then come to a conclusion. So when you do your research you're going to find the details, 'k? And findings details means you're findings interesting details that are related and that stand out from the reading to you. 'K, these are things like--pay attention--the examples include, statistics, 'k guys, hardcore data that can back up your claim. Examples, descriptions, events, words that are repeated often, strong language like swearing—we talked about that yesterday. 'K, these are all details that you guys are gonna need to pay attention to as you're doing this reading.

Transcript 4
November 25
The teacher explains that a group of alumni are coming to the school to talk to seniors and give them advice about college. The teacher invites students to write down a question for the alumni.

So try to think of a question you would like to ask them, okay? What is college like? What do you wish you learned at Gardenside? A student remarked a couple years ago that they wished they had read more books when they were here because then when they got to their college English class all these kids that that they were in class with had read all these books and they hadn't read anything when they were here at Gardenside, and they thought- they thought that's stupid. So, things like that, what are some things that you want to know about them? They—you are gonna be them in just a year. So, this is a time that maybe you know, you learn from them.

Transcript 5
October 7
At the beginning of a writing workshop day in which students work on their personal statements, the teacher begins class with a "family meeting" to discuss her concern about students' recent behavior.

I know that you guys have it in you to be the best that you can be. You know there's always a time to play around and stuff, but when we're in class, we gotta be serious, because our time is really, really short. You only see TEACHER1 twice a week or TEACHER2 twice a week and then that's it. And you're gonna wish—you guys are-- you guys are gonna hear the alumni say, 'I wish I listened, I wish I listened, I wish I did my homework, I wish, I wish, I wish.' I don't want you guys to go through that same path. Okay? So, today, your--I wrote your names on the boards, I'm sorry. People who are reading, sit at this table, make sure you have a book--I can give you a book. Or, if you want to quietly take out something else to do, you're more than welcome to do that, but you need to use this time. If you want to check your grades, I'll check your grades for you *(inaudible)* you should be working. People who are not done with their personal statements, you should be at a computer or on this table, 'k?

Semi-structured Follow-up Interview

Purpose: The semi-structured follow-up interview is a brief, semi-structured interview designed to follow-up with teacher and student participants about literacy events that have been observed, or to clarify or expand information gleaned from previous interviews or students work documents. Questions written in this protocol will necessarily be vague, as specific questions will be written as they arise from the data.

Context: The interview should take place in a neutral area that the participant feels comfortable in.

Duration: Flexible, 15-30 min

Materials needed

- Voice recorder

Procedure

I. Greeting

- Researcher establishes rapport with participant
- Researcher confirms consent for voice recording and asks if participant has questions
- Researcher reminds participant that they can ask to stop at any point if they so choose

II. Questions

Participants will be asked to read a short transcript from a pre-selected, audio-recorded classroom interaction in which they participated or were present. The researcher will pose a question to the participant about their perspectives on the event and/or what the participant intended. For example, "What do you think was happening here? What is your reaction to it?" Other questions may include the following:

a) What roles do you think (Haitian Creole/ English/ Arabic, etc.) was playing in this interaction?

b) Why do you think you (and other) were using language this way?

c) What does this example say about you? Your peers? Your teacher? Your school? Your community?

I have prepared several transcripts from the courses I observed that I would like to hear your perspective about. I'm going to ask you to read through each one and then discuss it with me. We'll spend a couple minutes on each one.

A) What do you see in this transcript about how language or literacy is used? What do you think it says about teaching, this school, policy, or the students?

B) Read this transcript, what do you think is assumed about what students know and can do?

Follow questions: For specific transcripts:

1. I noticed in this recording you emphasized certain words and gave specific hints. Why did you emphasize those words?

2. I noticed that you used videos as an alternative method to introducing new material in class. Do you find that useful and why?

3. Who do you think is the role of teacher language and directions in class?

4. I noticed in my observations that students needed reminding about how to come into class. You have a poster on the wall and have explained it, like in this instance several times. Why do you think students didn't follow the procedure each day? I'm curious about how you designed this entrance procedure.

5. In this example, you modeled for students how to write the findings section of the lab report. Tell me about how you decided to model this aspect of writing for them.

IV. Closing

- Researcher asks if the participant wants to add anything or if he or she has any questions
- Researcher thanks participant

After the interview: Whenever possible the observer writes up the field notes from the observations within 24 hours and uploads audio recording to a secure space

Prompts

Probes will be used throughout all the interviews as needed to clarify or expand upon responses. Probes may include the following:

Sample probes

- Clarification
    - Could you repeat that?
    - I'm hearing you say… Is that accurate?
    - What do you mean by that?
    - Who/ what/ when/ where/ why/ how?
- Expansion
    - Can you say more about that?
    - Tell me about that.
    - What was that like?
    - Can you give me a specific example of that?
    - Can you be more detailed?
    - What was next?

Transcript 1
November 12
This is an excerpt of vocabulary quiz during science class during which the teacher reads off definitions of terms and students write the word. The words are posted on the white board, as well as on the quiz sheet itself for select students with differentiated quizzes.

Again for those of you who do not have a word box, the words are on the board. *(A student says she doesn't have a word box.)* So what'd I just say? The words are on the board. Okay. "A widely accepted explanation of the relationship between cells and living things. A widely accepted explanation--that should be the key word there--of the relationships *(inaudible)* between cells and living things." Sh, sh…. [*Teacher talks to individual students, inaudible.]* "A living organism made of *only one* cell." *One* cell. Sh. sh. "A living organism made of only one cell." Now remember spelling counts—okay? The words are actually written for you on the board, so if you don't know how to spell it, please just look at the board. No reason to spell it incorrectly.

Transcript 2
November 12
During this clip, a short animated clip of cells is introduced.

I'm gonna play--it's a little bit kiddish, but it's going to get the point across very clear, so pay attention to the video, it's a Brainpop video. At the end of the video you guys are going to answer these questions. Okay? Then what we're going to do for those that can behave. I'm gonna give you the iPads and you guys are gonna explore virtual cells. So you'll be able to (*inaudible).* Not if we don't get to it, not if we don't get to it. So STUDENT1, hood. STUDENT1, hood and the sweater. 'K, so pay attention to the video, it's gonna give you all the information. We are gonna be taking a quiz on this soon, so make sure that if you're confused you're asking questions aright, but this breaks down what you're gonna need to know. (*Pause as teacher sets up the video.)* Aright guys we're gonna start. Sh sh sh sh sh. You can't hear it if you're talking, STUDENT1 [*Video begins to play.]* Sh. Just listen.

Transcript 3
November 12
The teacher gives directions about how to use the iPads for a specific activity exploring 3D models of cells.

Now listen carefully as I'm gonna show you how you do this. Unfortunately, there's only nine of them, so there is not enough for everyone to have one, so you guys will have to share, alright? How this works--no one touch it yet, just look up here. How this works is you have three options: you have an animal cell, which is—okay, think *pro*karyote*,* think *pro no,* k? Prokaryote have *no* nucleus. Okay? Pro no, no pro. So, a prokaryote would be a bacteria. Then you have a plant cell and an animal cell. So I'm gonna click the bacteria cell first. So I click the bacteria, and this comes up, okay? Now, I can move it around with my finger, and then if I want to know what the different things inside are? It's weird because I'm gonna take the one away from your group--you're not even listening to how

to use it. ‘K, I want to know what this thing is inside. I click it, and on the bottom it’s gonna tell me this is the nucleoid. It’s the region of the bacteria and the DNA. ‘K, now to zoom back out you can click again. ‘K, so when you click it zooms into whatever you’re clicking on, and then if you want to move it you can move it, ‘k? You have the same thing with the plant cell. You can move it around and back, and then the same thing with the animal cell--move it around, ‘k? Click on all the things. Look at the similarities and differences, and then we’re gonna talk about it.

Transcript 4
October 23
Students have arrived in class and the teacher circulates asking several students if they have their Do Now out, and many do not.

Guys, does everyone-STUDENT1 and STUDENT2. STUDENT3. ‘K. You guys need to pay attention when you come in to what you’re picking up. Alright? The first box is the Do Now. The second is your classwork. The third’s the exit slip and the bottom is homework. Please don’t come in and ask me what’s what. It’s--you need to use your eyes--it’s labeled. So if you’re doing your homework right now, you’re doing the wrong thing. Not only that, but then I write which words you’re supposed to be doing for your Do Now. [*To one student, the teacher says “That is your homework.” Another student asks which worksheet is the homework and the teacher says, “*I said it twenty times that’s your Do Now.”]

Transcript 5
December 8
The teacher explains how students should write about and present the findings from a recent lab. She is modeling what to write on the white board as she verbally explains what she’s writing.

You guys have to be more specific: [*teacher writes on the board and reads aloud what she is writing]* “after conducting the experiment we saw--or we could say observed *(inaudible)*--we observed that the weight of the egg in water increased and the weight of the [*the teacher trails off and writes the rest on the whiteboard]* decreases. I predicted the opposite.” ‘K when you make a comparison, guys--STUDENT1 and STUDENT2--stop talking. When you make a comparison, I need to know what you’re comparing so if you only retell me the results, but you don’t tell me about your prediction then I don’t know how you’re- what you’re comparing, alright? Does that make sense? Do not use the word “it.” Do not use the word “the stuff.” ‘K, what is the stuff you’re talking about? What is the “it” you’re talking about? Are you talking about the egg, are you talking about the water? Are you talking about the corn syrup? You need to tell me. So, [*reading from the white board example]* "my predictions were incorrect. I know this because after conducting the experiment, we observed the weight of the egg in water increased, and the weight of the egg in the corn syrup decreased. I predicted the opposite.” That’s it. Took me maybe a minute to write, and I got a complete full answer. You will get full credit for that. K, do we understand how this works?

Prompts

Probes will be used throughout all the interviews as needed to clarify or expand upon responses. Probes may include the following:

Sample probes

- Clarification
    - Could you repeat that?
    - I'm hearing you say… Is that accurate?
    - What do you mean by that?
    - Who/ what/ when/ where/ why/ how?
- Expansion
    - Can you say more about that?
    - Tell me about that.
    - What was that like?
    - Can you give me a specific example of that?
    - Can you be more detailed?
    - What was next?

Appendix C

Pattern Codes

Short code	*Description*	*Example science class*	*Example English class*
		Listening	
Academic	Literacy activities are school/academic activities	"She reiterates the behaviors that are necessary in class: Write your homework down, listen to what we said in class, read the Do Now" (Science, September 24)	Students use Listening Logs to document that they are listening to their peers in class (English, November 5)
Easier	Listening is easier than other language practices. For example, when students are not ready to complete a task, they can listen	"The teacher tells two L2 students not to worry about this right now, just listen" (Science, October 22)	“Ms. Franklin leaves and another comes in, and Ms. Franklin says that the students are just listening to a podcast. " (English, November 6)
Presence	Listening is a way of a teacher showing her presence.	"The teacher says, “Why do I hear people talking?” She continues to explain, and then turns to a table, and says, “I hear you, I’m right here" (Science, October 23)	"The teacher tells the students on the couch who are singing along to the music, You guys realize we’re in the same room and I can hear you?" (English, December 4)

Procedural	The teacher references listening as a procedural aside	Not present in data	"The teacher says that they're going to listen to a podcast about abortion. The teacher plays the podcast and includes two Irish speakers disagreeing about either the Texas sonogram law or something similar" (English, November 6)
Silent	Listening is a silent activity (reminding students to listen can also be a way of telling them to stop talking or pay attention)	"The teacher is saying, If you're talking while I'm talking, you're not listening" (Science, December 3)	"The teacher explains a paper she gives the students as a guide for close reading texts. As she talks, the students continue to talk, and she says that she "is talking, so that means you need to listen" (English, November 5)
Teacher agency	When the teacher does not respond, it is not because she is not listening—she is choosing not to respond (perhaps for a reason other than those assumed for students)	"The students get increasingly talkative, and the teacher says to a student who's calling her, "I hear you, you have to wait" (Science, October 28)	English teacher ignores students, but doesn't acknowledge it (Fieldnotes, November 19)

Understanding	Listening is a way of understanding. If students do not understand or are not doing what they were asked, it is because they're not listening. Corollary: Listening is a students' responsibility that they can control (unless they're acting like children)	"The teacher asks four students how to say the unit of density, and then says, "this is how I know we're aren't listening. Four people just said it, but none did it right necessarily" (Science, October 23)	"The teacher says that students need to sit at their desks. The teacher says you're not listening to mommy" (English, October 22)
		Reading	
Procedural	Teacher reference to reading while giving directions or describing an activity or clarifying an activity	Not present in the data	"The teacher tells the students to read the article" (English, October 20)
Academic	Reading is an academic, serious school activity	"She reiterates the behaviors that are necessary in class: Write your homework down, listen to what we said in class, read the Do Now" (Science, September 24)	"The teacher says, "Guys, guys, you are reading, stop acting like this" (English, October 22)
Content-Area reading	While students should be expected to read on their own, certain content-area specific skills might need to be taught, such as reading graphs in science or close-reading in English.	"She says, "Any time you see the words *depending on*…will be the thing that's changing." She tells them to look for these key words to help identify the different variables" (Science, September 22)	"The teacher says what you're doing is you're learning to read the text very closely" (English, November 6).

Preparation	Reading is "just reading"--easier (than writing); preparation for speaking (via discussion and debate)	*Not present in the data*	"Ms. Franklin asks if the student wants to help with the forensics class because the other students are just reading the packet today" (English, November 25)
Silent	Reading is a silent, independent activity. Asking whether students are reading might be a way to suggest to them to stop talking and get to work	*Not present in the data*	"The teacher says, Guys, it's a silent reading period" (English, November 17)
Student responsibility	Students know how to read and they can do that at home. Reading is a student's responsibility.	"She says I'm gonna call on you randomly, if you cannot pick up where I leave off in the reading, you're getting a zero for today's classwork" (Science, November 19)	"The teacher summarizes what alumni have said in the past, such as wishing they had read more books in high school" (English, November 25)
		Speaking	
Consequence	Speaking used as a consequence: Calling students' names, phone calls home, "conversations with parents," and "talking after class" are forms of consequences for talking in class	"She continues reviewing the behavioral expectations: This is my warning to you. You need to behave responsibly. I'm starting calling home and talking to your parents" (Science, September 24)	"The teacher talks to a student and says that she just talked to his mother. She says she's not asking for a miracle, but just asking him to participate in class" (English, November 5)

Academic	Speaking is sometimes done for academic purposes: Some talking in class is acceptable and teacher-sanctioned. For example, during scholarly and orderly debate and discussion	"To one table, she says not to just copy, she wants to see them talking" (Science, October 9)	"The teacher says she's passing out the listening logs and that they're all going to talk in a civilized manner which means one person at a time can speak" (English, November 5)
No talking	Students should not talk in class unless explicitly sanctioned to do so by the teacher. The teacher controls the norms for student talk. If students do talk when the teacher does not sanction it, it is because they are acting lazy, like children, do not know what to do, or are acting "crazy"	"She stands at the front of the room and says aright, guys please. Stop talking. This is crazy" (Science, September 29)	"The teacher asks if they want to do this together, and she says all the side conversation has to stop" (English, October 20)
Procedural	Teacher reference to talking while giving directions or describing an activity or clarifying an activity	"The teacher asks four students how to say the unit of density" (Science, October 23)	"The teacher explains that they're going to talk about the stereotypes we have about different groups" (English, October 14)
Social	Talking is a social activity. Reading, writing, and listening are school activities	She says that this is an open-note test, but the resources they use on the test "is not the people at your table" (Science, December 16)	"I really want you to get credit today. She says there's plenty of time to socialize at lunch" (English, November 24)

Writing	Talking about writing can be helpful	*Not present in the data*	“The teacher calls over a student and says, C’mon over let’s talk about your essay” (English, September 30, 2014)
		Writing	
Silent	Writing is a silent activity (reminding students to listen can also be a way of telling them to stop talking or pay attention)	"The teacher writes on the white board, and says, I should not be talking, I should label my axis" (Science, December 8)	"The teacher says Guys, guys, you’re writing. I shouldn’t have to keep telling you" (English, November 19)
Academic	Writing is an academic activity that is an understood part of being in school	"She repeats what the entrance procedure is: “You come in, and you start your Do Now… if you have nothing on your desk, that’s a problem…This is the third week of school…your planner should be out and you should be copying down your homework” (Science, September 23)	"The teacher says it’s the quality not the quantity" (English, November 17)
Collaborative	Process writing is collaborative	*Not present in the data*	"On the board, the Do Now is “have you peer-edited someone’s essay?" (English, September 30)

Content-area writing	Certain content-area specific skills might need to be taught	"She starts discussing how students should write their results and she explains that it needs to be more than just a sentence" (Science, September 30)	"The teacher says the most important thing is to identify credible evidence. She repeats to another table the importance of citing credible sources for the research paper in the spring" (English, December 8)
Functional	Writing is functional: Copying homework, filling out notes to pay attention, writing things in order to remember it or keep track of it, typing up rough drafts, filling out worksheets	"The teacher circulates and points to the worksheet and says, Shh write this down" (Science, September 23)	"The teacher says I hope you guys are writing this down because I'm taking this for a grade" (English, October 20)
Hard	Writing is hard and students struggle with writing. Students may need in-class time for writing instruction	"The teacher announces "quick English lesson" and discusses the difference between affect and effect" (Science, September 30)	"The teacher explains that students will work on their personal statements today. She says, "I know you guys are struggling with your personal statements" (English, September 23)
Preparation	Writing is preparation for talking	*Not present in the data*	"The teacher says to write down the first question, and then we'll talk about it. The students write silently" (English, November 10)

Procedural	Teacher reference to writing while giving directions or describing an activity or clarifying an activity	"A student asks where to write down their notes and the teacher says to look at your sheet at the top of the page" (Science, October 21)	"The teacher says, Guys the bell gonna ring. Keep writing tonight and tomorrow we'll see" (English, September 23)
Process	Writing is a process that can be broken into steps; typing is done at the end of the process (also includes references to workshop and writing conference)	*Not present in the data*	"The teacher asks if anyone wants to conference, and she sets a chair up by her desk" (English, September 23)
Spelling	References to spelling,	"The teacher says that students need to spell the words correctly" (Science, November 12)	"A student says she doesn't know which affect to use the A or the E and the teacher says she can use either and check it later" (English, November 12)
Student responsibility	Students know how to write, and it is their responsibility to do so in class	"This is the third week of school…your planner should be out and you should be copying down your homework." (Science, September 23)	"The teacher says, Ok, there are three questions. You know what should be out" (English, November 6)

Appendix D

Transcription Conventions

Adapted from (Jefferson, 1984)

[	Beginning of overlapping utterances
]	End of overlapping utterances, placed in both lines
=	Latching of speakers' utterances
wo_rd	Lengthened segment or syllable
.	Stopping fall in tone; not necessarily the end of a sentence
?	Rising intonation; not necessarily a question
,	Continuing intonation without continuing to speak or being interrupted
!	Animated tone, not necessarily an exclamation
-	Truncated word or momentary pauses (often used with word-by-word reading)
(.)	Brief pause
(0.0)	Momentary pauses between utterances
↑	Rising pitch
↓	Falling pitch
mine	Emphasis marked by underlining
CAPS	Utterance or part thereof spoken louder than surrounding talk
° °	Passage of talk that is quieter than surrounding talk
> <	Utterance delivered at pace quicker than surrounding talk
< >	Utterance delivered at pace slower than surrounding talk
" "	Indicates reading something aloud
( )	Unintelligible speech/ transcription doubt
italics	Spoken in non-SAE languages
('did')	Translation of non-SAE language, located beneath original utterance
(( ))	Non-lexical phenomena/ transcribers' descriptions
(h)	Breathiness
@	Laughter
sh	Shushing: each "h" signally how long the shushing is sustained

Appendix E

CDA Coding Results

Nvivo CDA codes of transcripts	Transcript 1	Transcript 2	Transcript 3	Transcript 4	Transcript 5	Transcript 6
	23-Oct	5-Nov	12-Nov	7-Oct	8-Dec	22-Oct
Declarative	4	10	8	9	9	14
Imperative	1	8	6	4	5	2
Interrogative	1	9	2	1	9	3
Negative sentence	2	1	2	0	2	3
Passive sentence	1	0	0	0	0	0
Nominalization	2	1	0	0	0	2
Pronoun: “you guys”	2	2	3	3	1	2
First-person singular pronoun	2	6	2	15	9	1
Third person plural pronoun	0	1	1	0	0	0
First person plural pronoun	0	9	5	3	5	3
Second-person plural	9	15	10	20	16	25
Pronoun: everybody/anybody	1	2	0	0	0	0
Coordinating conjunction	1	3	5	3	3	1
Sequential connector	0	0	1	0	0	4
Subordinate coordinator	1	1	4	3	3	4
Explicit opportunity for student turn-taking	0	9	0	0	3	0
Euphemism	0	0	0	1	0	0
Ideologically contested term	0	1	0	0	0	0
Marked formal/ informal verbage	0	0	0	0	0	0
Metaphor	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rewording/overwording	0	3	0	0	0	0

Appendix F

CDA Analysis Organizer

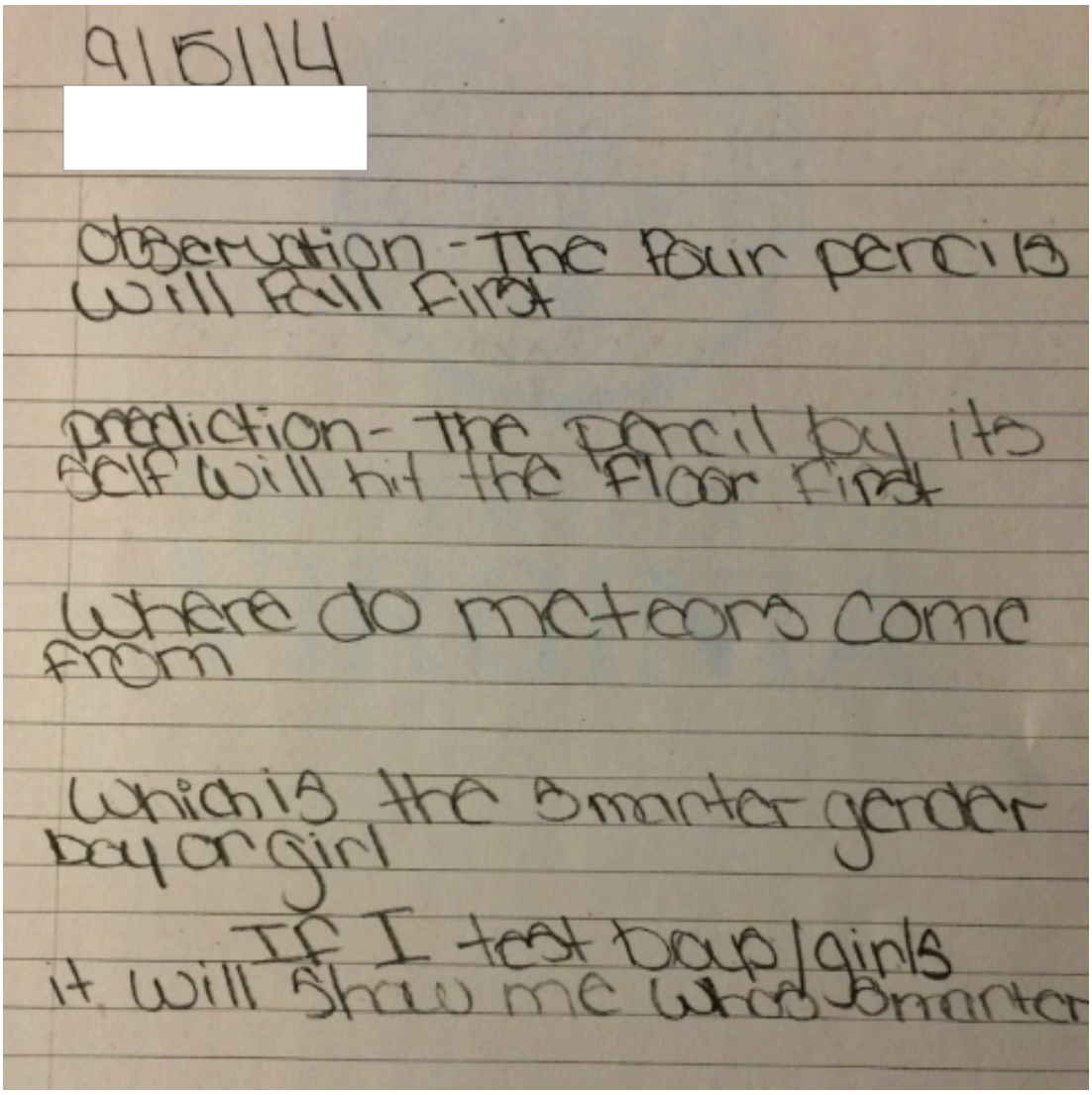
Fairlcough's processes for CDA		Language and Literacy Practices as Doing School Transcripts		Language and Literacy Practices as Understanding		Language and Literacy Practices as Content-Area Work	
		1	2	3	4	5	6
		Description					
Vocabulary	"What *experiential* values do words have? ...What classification schemes are drawn upon? Are there words which are ideologically contested? Is there *rewording or overwording?* What ideologically significant meaning relations (synonym, hyponymy, antonym) are there between words?"Vocab))						
	"What *relational* values do words have? Are there euphemistic expressions? Are there markedly formal or informal words?"						
	"What *expressive* values do words have?"						

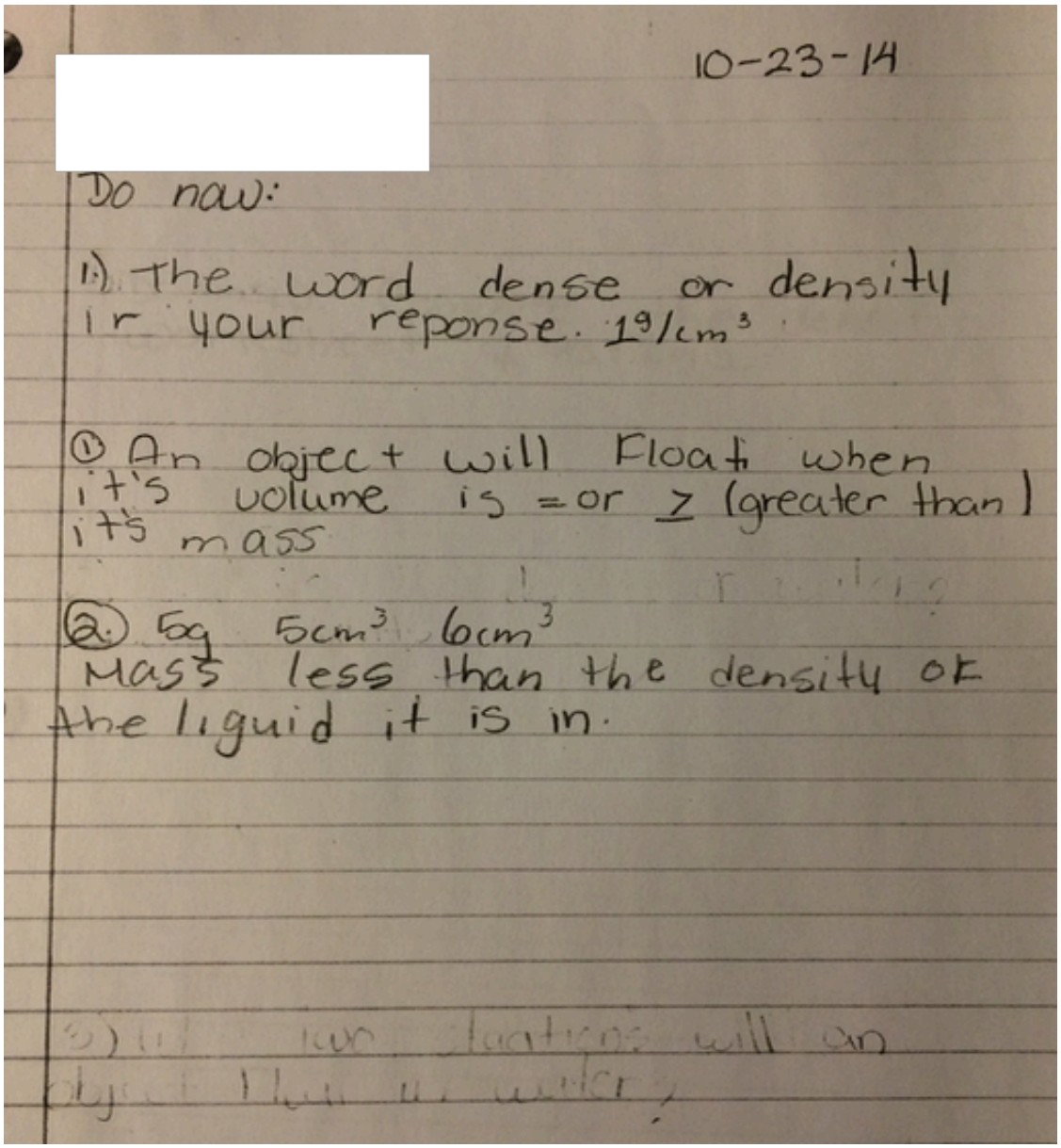
	"What metaphors are used?"
Grammar	"What *experiential* values do grammatical features have? What types of *process* and *participant* predominate? Is agency unclear? Are processes what they seem? Are *nominalizations* used? Are sentences active or passive? Are sentences positive or negative?"
	"What relational values do grammatical features have? What *modes* (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used? Are there important features of *relation modality?* Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how?"
	"What expressive values do grammatical features have? Are there important features of *expressive modality?"*

Textual structures	"How are (simple) sentences linked together? What logical connectors are used? Are complex sentences characterized by cooridination or subordination? What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?"	
	"What interactional conventions are used? Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?"	
	"What larger scale structures does the text have?"	

Appendix G

Student Work Samples of Do Nows





10-23-14

Do now:

1.) The word dense or density ir your reponse. 1g/cm³

① An object will Float when it's volume is =or > (greater than) it's mass

② 5g 5cm³ 6cm³
Mass less than the density of the liguid it is in.

3) [illegible]

Appendix H

Student Language Use

This document briefly summarizes the variety of students' languages and language uses I observed at Gardenside multiple times. While I rarely saw students engage in recreational written language activities outside of classroom activities, which may have included note-writing, graffiti "tagging" or texting (cell phones were banned from the school), I frequently saw students engage in a variety of oral language activities. An example captured in the fieldnotes is provided for each:

Language/ Language usages	*Example from fieldnotes*
Non-English languages used in class	Two students speaking to each other in Haitian Creole during a science lab (October 14, 2014).
Metalinguistic talk about language use	Students discuss how they can't understand a podcast featuring speakers with British accents because of their accents (November 6, 2014).
Textspeak	A student says, "I was like LMFAOOOO" (October 6, 2014).
Religious rhetoric/ hymns	A student sings phrases from "We're Marching to Zion," (October 6, 2014).
Popular youth language	A student explains to me what it means to be "brolic" (or very muscular) (October 16, 2014).
Code-switching between CCE and SAE	"One student coaches another to 'speak English, and then translate to Patois'" regarding a school assignment (December 10, 2014).
Stand-up comedy	Before a parent dinner celebrating the senior class, a student entertains the crowd using stand-up comedy. She calls herself "the Entertainer" similar to how famous comedian Cedric the Entertainer refers to himself (October 2, 2014).
American Sign Language	A student signs back and forth with a paraprofessional (November 19, 2014).
Rapping	Several boys tap a beat on their desk and take turns rapping (October 8, 2014).
Singing	In the middle of class, a student bursts out singing the Wilson Phillips song, "Hold on" (October 9, 2014).

AAE	Students chitchat at the end of class about a variety of topics. Discussing a newly released set of smartphone emojis, one students says, "Someone says ‘yo that emoji be like...’" (September 30, 2014).
Wordplay	Upset after being reprimanded by the principal, a student complains to the teacher that he doesn't know "how to principalize" (October 20, 2014).