Dueling Discourses:

An Examination of Administrator, Teacher, and Parent Talk

about English Language Learners

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband and sons. Jason, Ryan, and Evan have been

patient, supportive, and flexible for many years. In fact, the boys have never known me

to not have homework to work on. As the 4 year old yelled last night,

"P! H! D! P! H! D! is Dr. Mommy!"

Abstract

The purpose of this critical theory case study[1] is to examine the perceptions of English language learners and their families at "Patna Elementary" through the talk of native English speakers and native speakers of other languages. Emergent themes for native English speakers are organized by level of equity awareness, and emergent themes for native speakers of other languages include the impact of cultural capital. This study uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the discoursal patterns of native English speakers. The study found, among other things, that educators who were highly focused on equity were aware of the diversity of lived experiences of EL families, were metacognitive about equity, and used significance-building techniques to describe their work; educators who were highly focused on equity increased the level of equity at Patna Elementary.

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[1] While the qualitative case study was the basic approach to this work, because of concerns due to confidentiality and anonymity, the thick and rich description that typically accompanies the case study approach in any full rendering has been removed from the dissertation version of this research. These omissions make the phrase "cluster sample" a useful alternative description.

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PROLOGUE

I met my first class of 5th graders in the fall of 1999; of my thirty-five students, nine

spoke languages other than English at home, and only two of the nine spoke the same

home language. I fell in love with the uniqueness of our classroom community, and we

all benefitted from the diverse experiences we brought to our studies. We learned that

many religions have prayer beads, not just Roman Catholics with rosaries. Some

students shared stories of visiting relatives down the block while others described trips

that took them across oceans. School vacations became opportunities to learn that

different countries and schools have vacations on and around different religious holidays.

Students born and raised in Minnesota learned that while they might have never ventured

over the county line, some of their classmates had already lived in three countries by their

eleventh birthdays.

Despite all of this learning in our multicultural-aware classroom, my closest parent

relationships were with native-English speakers; all of our field trip chaperones were

native-English speakers; and all of our parent volunteers were native-English speakers. I

wanted to know why. It wasn't lack of interest, because the non-native English speakers

consistently showed up for conferences and held high expectations for the learning of

their children.

In general, it seems that when families and school personnel from different cultures

interact, cultural differences sometimes become apparent. One English Language

Learner/English Learner (ELL/EL) teacher in the United recounted to me a conversation

with a non-native English speaking parent, "The mother told me to *tell* the bus driver to

change the route in the middle of the term. She was used to being able to tell people of a

lower caste what to do." Over the next 15 years of teaching and researching, I started to

see the links between these various anecdotes: each story is an example of a different way

of enacting the Discourses of school (Gee, 2011b).

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Though previous research has identified how majority culture teachers and administrators can be successful in schools with large numbers of non-majority culture students (Chenoweth, 2007; Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Freeman & Hamayan, 2006; Howard, 2007; Kalyanpur & Harry, 1999; Lawson, 2003; Stagg-Peterson & Ladky, 2007; A. Walker & Dimmock, 2005), most research focusing on the subset of English Language Learners/English Learners (ELL/EL) is directly tied to classroom pedagogy. The population of foreign-born children and children of foreign-born parents in the United States has grown dramatically over the past twenty years (Fortuny, Hernandez, & Chaudry, 2010). This demographic change means that many schools are now serving a more heterogeneous group of families than they did twenty or thirty years ago. The faces of the powerful in schools, however, do not reflect the increasing diversity of the student and parent population (Battle & Gruber, 2009). To be sure, although a significant body of research focuses on best teaching practices for ELL/ELs (Carlo, August, & McLaughlin, 2004; Helman & Burns, 2008; Honigsfeld, 2009; Kamps et al., 2007; Yoon, 2007) and other research on best practices for school administrators in buildings with ELLs (Brooks, Adams, & Morita-Mullaney, 2010; Gil & Woodruff, 2011; Maxwell, 2012; A. Walker & Dimmock, 2005) exists, there is little research exploring how building-level administrators and teachers describe and enact their relationships with ELL/EL families.

Purpose and Questions

In order to address the gap in the literature, the purpose of this qualitative case study is to explore administrator, teacher, and parent talk about English Language Learners/English Learners (ELL/EL). The following two research questions guide this study:

1. How can we come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL students and families through native English speakers' talk?

2. How can we come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL students and families through emergent English speakers' talk?

Terms

Classroom Teacher: In this study, a classroom teacher refers to a teacher who teaches the same group of children for the majority of the day in one classroom.

Context: In this study, the word context refers to the background information about the setting and participants that the researcher has deemed relevant to understanding 1) the setting as a whole; and 2) each communication event under study.

Critical Discourse Analysis: Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used to examine discourse through a critical theory lens in order to identify the articulation and enactment of asymmetrical power relationships.

Culture: In this study, culture is defined to include the key aspects of an organization or group that are invisible to most members; for participants, their culture is the commonsense or natural order of things. Generally, culture is not simply artifacts but goes much deeper to include habits, traditions, responses, symbols, and place.

Discourse: For the purposes of this study, discourse with a small 'd' refers to language in use (oral, written, or mental), and Discourse with a big 'D' refers to "a characteristic way of saying, doing, and being" (Gee, 2011b, p. 31).

English Language Learner/English Learner (ELL/EL): Many different labels are used to describe individuals for whom English is not their primary or first language. For example, an acronym commonly used among the general public is ESL – English as a Second Language. Some schools refer to individuals who speak languages other than English as being culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD). The Office of Head Start uses the designation Dual Language Learner to describe children who "acquire two or more languages simultaneously" (National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, 2011). Educators often use the phrase limited English proficient (LEP) to note that while individuals may know a great deal of English, proficiency may not have been attained. To incorporate two of the most common terms used in practice, this study frequently uses ELL/EL to refer to all individuals who are learning English as a language other than their first home language. Two terms (ELL/EL and emergent English speaker) are used throughout this paper to refer to individuals who speak English but are not native speakers.

ELL/EL Teacher: As used in this study, ELL/EL teacher is a teacher whose teaching time is dedicated to the teaching of ELL/ELs. It does not refer to a classroom teacher who has ELL/ELs.

Emergent Bilinguals: This assets-focused descriptor for individuals learning English is beginning to appear in the literature (Garcia, 2009), but since study participants did not use it, it is not used in the write up of this study.

Emergent English Speaker: This phrase is a hybrid of the phrases "English learner" and "emergent bilingual." Two terms (ELL/EL and emergent English speaker) are used throughout this paper to refer to individuals who speak English but are not native speakers.

Equality: Equality is used to describe situations or programs focused on treating all people in the same way. Treating people equally is the principle of equality.

Equity: Equity is used to describe situations or programs where the goal is to give people or groups what they need individually, though this may not result in everyone having the same resources.

Family Engagement: For the purposes of this study, family engagement refers to the act of schools working with all adults involved in the educational world of a child. Those who use the term parent engagement acknowledge that educationally relevant behaviors and actions by these adults include, yet also go beyond, those encompassed by the term "parent involvement."

Flipped: Flipped refers to classrooms where the traditional sites for instruction and independent practice are flipped through the use of technology. Generally, instruction in flipped classrooms is conducted via online movies that students watch at home or independently in the classroom. The majority of class time is devoted to independent practice of the type that is traditionally considered homework. Flipping

allows students to view lectures multiple times and access the expertise of the teacher while beginning independent practice.

Intercultural: Intercultural is used to describe interactions or awareness between members of different cultures. In this study, intercultural generally refers to skills used by individuals when they are interacting interculturally.

Leadership: For the purposes of this study, leadership refers to building-level administrators of K-12 public schools.

Multicultural: An adjective used to describe a setting with a participant mix from many cultural backgrounds. Schools, churches, cities, and countries can be multicultural. For the purposes of this study, multicultural generally describes a setting or organization.

Parent Involvement: For the purposes of this study, parent involvement refers to a traditional set of behaviors exhibited by some parents when interacting with schools; including activities such as volunteering and attending school events.

Specialist: As used in this study, a specialist is a teacher who specializes in one subject area such as art, music, or physical education. It also refers to teachers who work with targeted populations through special education.

Super-diversity: Coined by Vertovec in 2007, neighborhoods (or schools) which are super-diverse are not simply diverse ethnically, but also have members originating from variety of countries, speaking a variety of languages, practicing a variety of religions, immigrating (or ancestors immigrating) for various reasons, and having a variety of immigration statuses (ie. student, refugee, temporary worker, illegal, etc.) (Vertovec, 2007).

Background

The number of foreign-born residents in the United States has risen over the past few decades. As of 2005, 20% of the K-12 school population either lived with foreign-born parents or had themselves been born in another country (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011). As shown in Figure 1.1 (p. 8), the number of children age 0-8 years old with at least one foreign-born parent in the United States more than doubled from 1990 to 2008 and by 2008 represented 24% of children in this age group (4.3 million to 8.7 million) (Fortuny et al., 2010; National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, 2011).

Figure 1.1

Children Age 0-8 with Immigrant Parents: United States
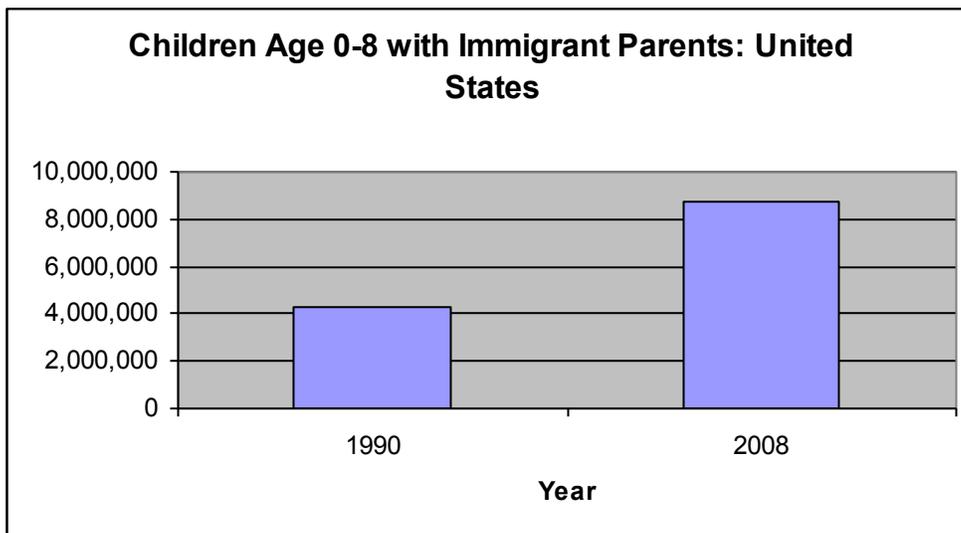
During this same period, the number of children age 0-8 with two native-born parents declined by approximately 500,000 (Fortuny et al., 2010). In the Midwestern state studied (Figure 1.2, p. 9), the number of immigrant children increased 236% between 1990 and 2008 (Fortuny et al., 2010), and by 2011, 7.7% of this state's students were ELL/ELs (Midwest Department of Education, 2012). Though the majority of immigrants live in six states (CA, TX, NY, FL, IL, and NJ), the percentage of young children of

immigrants living in these states has fallen from 73% of the young children of immigrant

population in 1990, to 63% of the same group in 2008 (Fortuny et al., 2010). In other

words, immigrant populations are spreading across the United States.

Figure 1.2
     English fluency levels within the immigrant population vary dramatically.
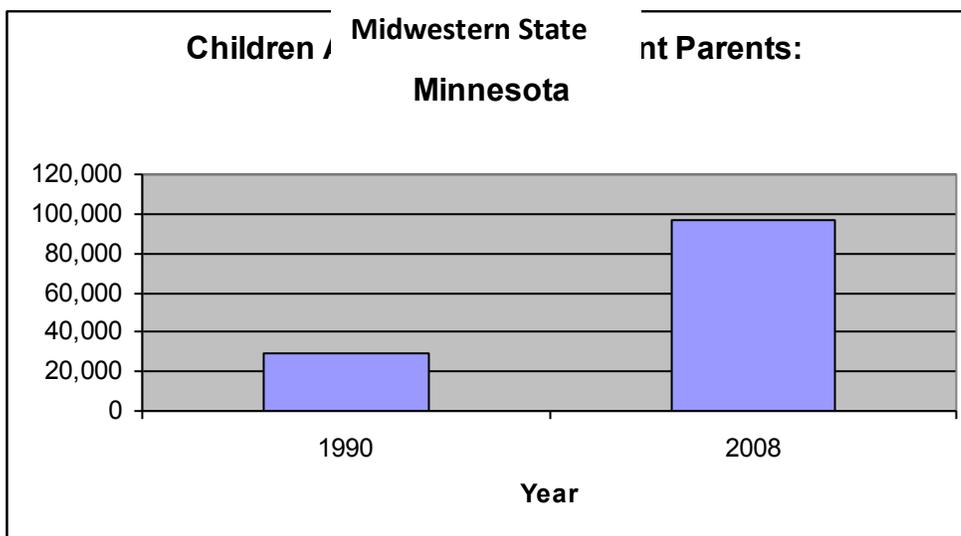
According to the 2010 American Community Survey, 20.1% of Americans over the age

of five spoke a language other than English at home (United States Census Bureau,

2011). Though many adults who are foreign-born are fluent in English, approximately

60% of children with at least one foreign-born parent had at least one ELL/EL parent.

This 60% statistic hides significant differences in adult English fluency between

immigrants from different countries (Figure 1.3, p. 10). For example, 81% of children of

Mexican immigrants had at least one ELL/EL parent. The comparable statistics were

78% and 66% for children of Somali and Vietnamese immigrants, respectively. Of the

group of children of immigrants between zero and eight years, 34% were classified as

linguistically isolated because no person above the age of 14 living in the home was

English proficient (Fortuny et al., 2010).

Figure 1.3

Percent of Children of Immigrants with at least one ELL Parent

Birth Country of Parent

(bar chart: Overall ≈60, Mexico ≈81, Somalia ≈78, Vietnam ≈66; y-axis 0 to 100)
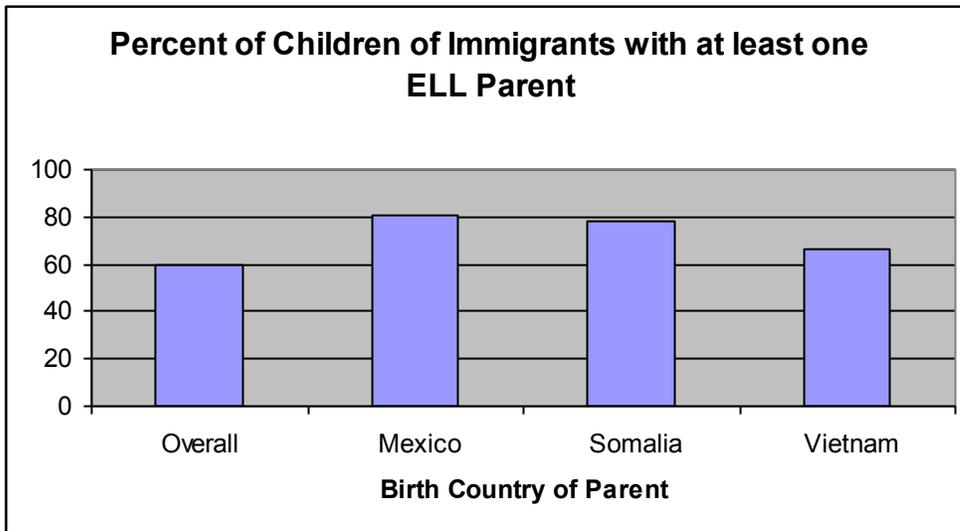
Educational attainment statistics differentiate between foreign born and native

residents of the United States and, at once, reveal great diversity within the immigrant

population. In 2006, approximately 60% native-born residents completed high school,

but not college, while only 40% of foreign-born residents reached this same level of

schooling (Fry & Hakimzadeh, 2006). For example, Mexicans living in the United

States but born in Mexico completed an average of eight-and-a-half years of schooling

compared to an average of twelve years of schooling for Mexican-Americans born in the

United States, and over 13 years of schooling for native-born whites (Landale, Thomas,

& Van Hook, 2011). Fortuny, et. al's (2010) study indicated that 1) 21% of Mexican

immigrant children had parents who did not complete a ninth grade education; and 2)

36% of Somali immigrant children had parents who did not complete the ninth grade.

Since children born in the United States are United States citizens, approximately 93% of young children in this group of immigrants became citizens at birth. However, in 2010, out of *all* young children of immigrants, only 53% had one or more parents who were United States citizens (Fortuny et al., 2010). The percent of immigrant children with at least one parent with citizenship ranged from below 36% of immigrant children overall, to a high of 83% of Southeast Asian immigrant children, in particular[2] (Fortuny et al., 2010).

As of 2011, nearly 33% of young children of immigrants had at least one undocumented parent (Landale et al., 2011). Landale, et al.'s (2011) study findings drew attention to the relationship between ELL/EL parents and schools because parents who were undocumented were unlikely to seek assistance from schools (Landale et al., 2011; Waterman & Harry, 2008). Even documented immigrant parents have been found hesitant to ask much from schools because they fear government (Matthews & Ewen, 2006).   Certainly, if formal schools are unfamiliar or intimidating settings for some parents, these parents are unlikely to fluidly participate in the traditional discourses enacted in school settings.

Beyond the common experience of learning English, there is no single defining fact that both unites ELL/ELs into a group and differentiates them from native English speakers. The above paragraphs, however, indicate that, in comparison to the population of native English-speakers, ELL/EL adults, on average, have fewer years of formal

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[2]As a group, Southeast Asians have a high rate of adult citizenship. This is largely due to the United States government's pattern of granting citizenships to refugees and the fact that a large number of Southeast Asian immigrants are refugees after the Vietnam War (Fortuny, et al., 2010).

education and are less comfortable in schools. These two facts indicate that schools, and,

therefore, building administrators, who are interested in academic success for all students,

may need to interact with ELL/EL parents in nuanced ways that differ somewhat from

their traditional communication practices.

Significance

This study is significant for multiple reasons. First, the study has academic

significance because it builds on and expands current theory such as a) Joyce Epstein's

(Epstein, 1994; Epstein, 2001; Epstein & Salinas, 2004; Epstein, 2005; Epstein &

Sheldon, 2006; Sheldon & Epstein, 2002) descriptions of parent involvement and b)

critical theories related to the harm caused by deficit models (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

Second, this study adds the unique approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) when

using emergent thematic data analysis. Third, the study has practical significance

because of its potential to support *discourse in practice* changes in public schools.

Finally, the study has moral significance because it may positively impact the lives of

ELL/EL families at the focus school and beyond.

As Crotty wrote, critical research "seeks to bring about change" (Crotty, 1998, p.

13). By illuminating the ways administrators and teachers currently enact Discourses

about English language learners, this study may identify potential changes in these

Discourses.[3]

Delimitations

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[3] When this study specifically references Gee's definition of the concept of discourse, capital D is used. He defines Discourse as: "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (2011b, p. 201).

This study has several delimitations. First, the study is a single-case case study[4] and research is conducted only in one school site. As the culture of each school is unique, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to other school settings. Second, the timeline for the study is limited to one school year. Because school culture changes over time, the study's findings would have been different if research had been conducted over several years or at different times in the school's history or future.

Third, the study's narrow focus on the language/discourse used, when administrators and teachers talk about ELL/EL students and families, delimits the research. Without a doubt, the relationship between ELL/EL families and their schools is established by more than talk. Other studies might analyze different elements of this relationship.

Limitations

As this research is a qualitative case study in the critical theory tradition, no statistically significant conclusions are drawn. Instead, the setting, methods, and data is described in rich detail so the reader can form her own understanding of the usefulness of these findings for other settings.

In addition, this case study is a snapshot of one building during one school year. Additional findings and theories could be uncovered by other studies if similar questions were explored through longitudinal or multi-site case studies.

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[4] While the qualitative case study was the basic approach to this work, because of concerns due to confidentiality and anonymity, the thick and rich description that typically accompanies the case study approach in any full rendering has been removed from the dissertation version of this research. These omissions make the phrase "cluster sample" a useful alternative description.

Another limitation to this study was the lack of the necessary funding to hire interpreters. Participants who were not fluent English speakers were only interviewed once because the researcher was only able to use district-provided interpreters at a single event. If there had been funding for interpreters at multiple points over the course of the study, the findings about emergent multilingual families would be more thorough and member-checking interviews would have been conducted with all participants.

Finally, one methodological tool used in this study is critical discourse analysis (CDA). Critical discourse analysis, for reasons described fully in Chapter 4, is not applied to the speech of emergent English speakers. Instead, it is only applied to the speech of native English speakers.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter includes a review of literature related to multicultural schools in four large sections: 1) Relevant Theories: Discussing Leadership; 2) Intercultural Leadership: Building the Framework; 3) Critical Discourse: Informing the Framework; and 4) Conceptual Framework: Grounding the Study.

Relevant Theories: Discussing Leadership

The theories put forth by four scholars in the field of contemporary leadership theory are most relevant for this study. They are: 1) Weick's (1993) theory of sensemaking; 2) Heifetz's (1994) theory of adaptive leadership; 3) Hofstede's (1983; 2005) work on cultures; and 4) Marzano, Walters, and McNulty's (2005) research on the effects of school administrator actions – research that complements and unifies the first three theories. The work of these four scholars is described and summarized in the following five subsections: 1) Weick; 2) Heifetz; 3) Hofstede and Hofstede; 4) Marzano, Walters, and McNulty; and 5) Usefulness of Theories Above.

Weick

Karl Weick's article, *The Collapse of Sensemaking in Organizations: The Mann Gulch Disaster* (1993), reminded leaders that they need to help employees and others make sense of what is happening in the setting or event. Certainly, in schools with increasing numbers of ELL/EL students, some teachers need administrators to help them make sense of behaviors and assumptions about schooling that are different from their own assumptions (which are likely the assumptions shared by the dominant culture). As understanding wans in such schools, the importance of structure is greater. If the

administration does not take on this new responsibility, sensemaking collapses and the

school organization can become dysfunctional.

Heifetz

In Heifetz's (e.g. 1994) books about leadership, he described leadership as an

activity that he termed *adaptive work* or

> the learning required to address conflicts in the values people hold, or to diminish the
>
> gap between the values people stand for and the reality they face. Adaptive work
>
> requires a change in values, beliefs, or behavior. The exposure and orchestration of
>
> conflict - internal contradictions - within individuals and constituencies provide the
>
> leverage for mobilizing people to learn new ways. (Heifetz, 1994, p. 22)

In a school where the demographics of the student body are becoming less

homogeneous, the administrator's job is to facilitate this adaptive work. For example,

teachers may be excited about having students who speak multiple languages, yet may be

unaware of how the cultural norms of their new students differ from the dominant

culture's norms. In addition, teachers may believe that all of their students deserve a high

quality education and are capable of learning, but administrators will likely need to bring

in coaches or other resources to help teachers meet their teaching and learning goals

(Heifetz, 1994).

Hofstede and Hofstede

Geert and Gert Jan Hofstede's (1983) work explored the implications of national

cultures for multinational and multicultural organizations. They identified four

dimensions of culture that were especially salient for organizations: individualism vs.

collectivism, large or small power distance, strong or weak uncertainty avoidance, and

masculinity vs. femininity. Each dimension identifies different solutions that cultures use

to solve the same problem (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). For example, each culture has

to manage the fact that people and groups are unequal. Some cultures play down

differences in physical and intellectual power (weak power distance), and other cultures

have historically encouraged differentiation to a point where there are stark differences in

power between groups (strong power distance) (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005).

Marzano, Walters, and McNulty

When Marzano and his colleagues conducted a meta-analysis of the role of

school principals they identified 21 administrative behaviors (Marzano et al., 2005). They

found that the average correlation between their 21 administrative behaviors and student

academic achievement was .25 (Marzano et al., 2005, p. 41). The two administrative

responsibilities most highly correlated with student academic achievement were having

situational awareness (average r of .33) and being flexible (average r of .28).

Usefulness of Theories Above

There are pieces of the above leadership theories that are not directly pertinent to

this study. For example, though Hofstede's work (Hofstede, 1983; Hofstede &

Hofstede, 2005) is definitely relevant for serving ELL/EL families, it is most useful when

comparing two cultures to identify possible causes of harmony or friction. If there is

much heterogeneity within the ELL/EL population at the focus school, the briefly

reviewed literature, above, may be difficult to apply beyond examining where the

majority culture falls on each continuum. In addition, as noted above, Marzano et. al.

(2005) noted 21 administrative behaviors, but most of them are not directly relevant for

ELL/EL students and families or for teachers who work with these populations.

Intercultural Leadership: Building a Framework

This portion of the review of the literature focuses on the role of the building-

level administrator in multicultural schools. The section builds upon the literature

reviewed in the previous section by specifying the ways that building administrators can

enact intercultural leadership. In so doing, this large section focuses on various practices

that enable school leaders and others to enact multicultural leadership and is divided into

three sub-sections: 1) Priorities of Intercultural Leadership; 2) Forms of Multiculturalism;

and 3) Usefulness of Theories Above.

Priorities of Intercultural Leadership

This section is organized around the six priorities that Walker and Dimmock

(2005) listed as being visible in the work of successful administrators of schools whose

students are from non-dominant cultures. Walker and Dimmock (2005) defined priority

as, "the values, beliefs, and principles that the principals sought to embed in the life and

operation of their schools. These priorities represented the nonnegotiable or fundamental

ideologies that guided their attempts to address social justice issues in their schools" (pp.

293-294). Though these priorities are not specifically for ELL/EL students, they are

applicable to this sub-group because many of the priorities are listed, in other literature,

as best-practices for ELL/ELs (Aleman, F., & Perez, 2009; Brooks et al., 2010; Delgado-

Gaitan, 1991; Perez, 1994). Each of the six priorities are identified and discussed in the

following six subsections: 1) Understand community, 2) Hire multicultural staff, 3)

Improve student learning, 4) Nurture inclusive culture, 5) Welcome community members, and 6) Establish multicultural justice and equality.

Understand community.

One priority noted by Walker and Dimmock (2005) is "insisting that staff members demonstrate a willingness to understand the cultures and background realities of their students and school community" (p. 295). Administrators, who insist that staff members demonstrate a willingness to understand the cultures and backgrounds of the school community, first guide staff members to understand that their view of what is normal or correct is, in fact, culturally-based (Walker & Dimmock, 2005). Successful administrators must be aware of the influence of dominant cultural norms (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Freeman & Hamayan, 2006; Quintanar & Warren, 2008). Some research indicates that administrators who are aware of these norms consistently demonstrate the *situational* awareness discussed earlier (Marzano, et al., 2005). As Theoharis (2008) wrote, administrators focused on changing the culture of a school to focus on equity and understanding, "advocate, lead, and keep at the center of their practice and vision issues of race, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation, and other historically and currently marginalizing conditions in the United States" (2008, p. 308).

Keeping these topics at the center of administrative practice requires support for these topical discussions, both formally and informally (Fawcett, 2004; Jean-Marie, 2008; Weick, 1993). This important priority supports the outcomes sought in at least two other priorities: welcoming community members and improving student learning.

Some scholars reported that the achievement of ELL/EL students is attributable to the degree to which their teachers are culturally aware and prepared to teach ELL/EL students (Stufft & Brogadir, 2011). Further, Stagg-Peterson and Heywood (2007) noted that schools showing an interest in the cultural lives of their students were more welcoming for parent participants.

In other research that supports the understanding of community, Hofstede and Hofstede's (2005) theories can be used as a guide to help administrators increase their situational awareness. By using their four dichotomies (individualism vs. collectivism, large vs. small power distance, strong vs. weak uncertainty avoidance, and femininity vs. masculinity) as a way of thinking about aspects of culture, administrators can ask relevant questions to build understanding of the similarities and differences between and among the community groups of individuals in their schools.

Going further, Walker and Dimmock's (2005) first priority, to understand the school community, can also be viewed as a *sensemaking* process (Weick, 1993) because focusing on this priority involves understanding the similarities and differences between norms in the community and norms in the school, especially norms that appear incompatible (Johnson, 2003).

Indeed, Perez (1994) noted that successful school administrators were consistently curious about their school's current situation. For example, successful administrators asked themselves pertinent questions such as: Are school functions respectful of diets and holidays of families from non-dominant cultures? Can teachers and administrators greet families in their native languages? What do families understand about education at the

school? What do families understand about education in the United States? Finally,

Perez asked: If non-majority culture parents are less present at school functions, "what is

it that we have within our institution that's keeping people away?" (Perez, 1994).

Hire multicultural staff.

The second priority is "recruiting and retaining staff members with cultural and

ethnic backgrounds similar to those present in the school community" (Walker &

Dimmock, 2005, p. 296). Local, state, and national statistics show that there is a

pervasive gap between the percentage of students of color and the percentage of teachers

of color, with students of color representing a significantly higher percentage of the

student body than teachers of color represent on the licensed faculty (National

Collaborative on Diversity in the Teaching Force, 2004; National Education Association,

1998). Some studies have shown that students of color demonstrate higher academic,

personal, and social performance when taught by teachers from their own ethnic groups,

though the data is not conclusive (Gursky, 2002; National Collaborative on Diversity in

the Teaching Force, 2004; Zirkel, 2002).

Teachers with backgrounds similar to their students can act as cultural translators

for the school and community (Branch, 2001; Irvine, 2003; Nieto, 1999), thereby taking

on the role of leaders in sensemaking; Weick described sensemaking as the act of helping

members of an organization make sense of behaviors and events in organizations

experiencing change (Weick, 1993). An effective strategy for increasing the

representation of ELL/ELs in the teaching ranks is to identify and encourage potential

teachers who currently fill other roles in the school or community. For example, some

large districts have established programs where paraprofessionals (who often are from the

same ethnic groups as the students) form a cohort that works together to earn teaching

licenses. Since these teachers are from the community, they are likely to stay in the

community once they become teachers (Irizarry, 2007; Lau, Dandy, & Hoffman, 2007;

Sakash & Chou, 2007; Valenciana, Weisman, & Flores, 2006).

Improve student learning.

Before delving into the details of Walker and Dimmock's third priority,

"improving learning and teaching to address disadvantage" (Walker & Dimmock, 2005,

p. 298), I draw attention to their decision to modify common usage's "teaching and

learning" to "learning and teaching." Though they are not the only individuals to use this

altered phrase, it does emphasize students' learning, not teachers' teaching, as the end

goal. This priority is a statement of the administrative leader's responsibilities as an

instructional leader. The prioritization of student learning exemplifies the values behind

Alan Blankstein's *Failure is Not an Option* (2004) and is an example of Heifetz's theory

that the job of a leader is to help people adapt their knowledge and skills to meet the

current challenges of their work (Heifetz, 1994).

Certainly, in some studies, school leaders who successfully served large numbers

of non-majority culture students held expectations high by using data and implementing

culturally responsive curriculum and interventions (Aleman et al., 2009; Chenoweth,

2007). Other schools, that were successful in helping ELL/ELs achieve at high academic

levels, used data to mark small achievements and then celebrated these steps (Aleman, et

al., 2009). As Aleman, et al. (2009), stated, "Goals are not merely an annual

conversation, tacked onto a meeting agenda. Principals use data to bring the goals to life

every day" (Aleman, et al., 2009, p. 68). These schools emphasized student

understanding at deep, not superficial, levels (Aleman, et al., 2009). Some research

reveals a correlation between a collective commitment to student achievement and

increased academic achievement (Blankstein, 2004).

Nurture inclusive culture.

A fourth priority for administrators is "to build an inclusive school culture"

(Walker & Dimmock, 2005, p. 298) — a priority at the heart of administrative work with

families. Described below are two commonly interwoven strategies: to foster a

welcoming climate in the building and to communicate with families and the community

in new ways (Christenson & Sheridan, 2001; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Quintanar &

Warren, 2008).

Changing school climate. A more welcoming school climate was found to

encourage family engagement because parents knew that they were welcome at the

school (Epstein, 2001; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Stagg-Peterson & Ladky, 2007;

Theoharis, 2008; Walker & Dimmock, 2005). Christenson noted, "a positive, open

climate appears to be a prerequisite to meaningful and effective parent involvement

activities and actions" (Christenson & Sheridan, 2001, p. 103). Some schools that have

been effective with ELL/EL students have created a positive climate through use of the

family metaphor: in these schools students are part of a big family and both students and

families perceive that the staff cares for the children (Aleman et al., 2009). Agreeing

with parents who said that the main duties of the principal included greeting students and

parents and being visible around campus (Quintanar & Warren, 2008), Auerbach (2007)

wrote that urban administrators in her study "agreed that their most important role in

parent engagement was largely symbolic, showing support for parents by being visible

and accessible on campus and in the community" (2007, p. 717). Certainly, changing the

school norms to reflect the community norms is an important foundation for increased

academic success (Bowman, 1994; Christenson & Sheridan, 2001).

    Tailoring communication plan. Though positive, pointed, and frequent

communication is useful for all families, a few communication strategies can be tailored

for the ELL/EL community. Some administrators hire formal home-school liaisons to

connect families to the schools and other community organizations; these individuals are

often parents who know about the neighborhood, community, and schools, and they often

share a language and cultural background with the parents (Smith & Elish-Piper, 2002).

Administrators also become knowledgeable about language issues by asking questions

such as: 1) Which languages are visible or invisible in their school or district? 2) If

English is the only language used in formal communication, is it sufficient to

communicate with all parents? 3) How are policies and academic standing

communicated? 4) What other formal information is traditionally printed in English?

And 5) What is the influence of language on parent meetings, conferences, and

workshops (Freeman & Hamayan, 2006; Hamayan & Weinstein, 2006; Meyers, 2006;

Stagg-Peterson & Ladky, 2007; Stufft & Brogadir, 2011)? As the sheer volume of

written materials sent home may be overwhelming for families struggling to read English

(Smith & Elish-Piper, 2002), principals may consider ways non-written communication methods benefit ELL/EL families.

Welcome community members.

The fifth priority is to encourage school administrators and teachers to participate in and welcome the community into the school (Walker & Dimmock, 2005, p. 296). To further explain, this section has two sub-parts: 1) Benefits, and 2) Challenges.

Benefits. Academic success is correlated with family engagement in schools (Harvard Family Research Project, 2006; Hill & Craft, 2003; Nye, Turner, & Schwartz, 2006). For example, a 2006 meta-analysis found that academic performance in reading and math was approximately half of a standard deviation higher for students whose parents participated in learning activities at home than for control-group students (Nye, et al., 2006). Also referring to a broad set of studies, Epstein (2005) noted that family involvement had an impact through high school, with students from involved families showing "higher achievement, better attendance, more course credits earned, more responsible preparation for class, and other indicators of success in school" (2005, p. 2). Furthermore, when students perceived that their parents placed a great deal of value on academic achievement, students "placed a higher priority on their academic ability, effort and grades" (Harvard Family Research Project, 2006, p. 5).

Some scholars have advanced that purposeful behavior by school staff is necessary to create positive connections between teachers and families; this is especially necessary in schools with large numbers of non-majority culture families (Boethel, 2003; Epstein & Dauber, 1991; McCoach et al., 2010). For example, standardized test scores

increase more in urban schools with formal parent-engagement programs than in schools

without those programs,

> when school-based programs make an effort to accommodate parents'
>
> English reading skills; communicate with parents who do not attend
>
> meetings; encourage parent input, volunteerism, and offer interactive
>
> homework; ensure that school leadership and parent committees represent
>
> the ethnic and racial composition of the population; and help school,
>
> families, students, and community share resources. (Harvard Family
>
> Research Project, 2006, p. 3)

Some research (Haynes, 1998; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Sheldon, 2005)

suggests that building administrators have a role in creating connections between families

and schools. Schools with strong administrative commitment to parent involvement

programs experienced more successful implementation and outcomes than those without

strong administrative leadership (Haynes, 1998; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). Further

evidence of the power of administrative support for family engagement is provided by

Sheldon (2005), who found a negative relationship between principal turnover rates and

the quality of the parent involvement program.

When considering teachers as well as administrators, Epstein (2001) noted that

the greater the discrepancy between teacher reports of their own interest in parent

involvement and teacher reports of principal support for parent involvement, the less

parent involvement. In schools with large discrepancies between teacher reports of their

own interest in parent involvement and principal support for parent involvement, there

are fewer parent workshops, fewer parent volunteers, fewer opportunities for parents to

participate in decision-making, and fewer examples of outreach to involve parents in

learning at home (Epstein & Dauber, 1991). Large discrepancies, and, therefore, low

levels of involvement, often occurred in schools with more disadvantaged students

(Epstein, 2001; Epstein & Dauber, 1991).

One set of studies (Boethel, 2003; Epstein & Dauber, 1991; McCoach, et al.,

2010) has shown that parent perceptions of parent involvement are correlated with a

variety of outcomes. For example, a Connecticut study found that "parental involvement

and parental perceptions were key variables that helped to explain differences of over-

and under-achieving schools" (McCoach et al., 2010, p. 427). Families often perceived

their level of involvement as higher than teachers perceived the level of parent

involvement; this gap widened in schools with large minority populations or with many

students far below the academic average (Boethel, 2003; Epstein & Dauber, 1991).

Differences between families and teachers in their perception of parent

involvement may be related to variations in definitions of parent involvement. A fairly

traditional view of "parent involvement" notes that involved parents can be found selling

carnival tickets, chaperoning field trips, helping to grade papers, or running parties. In a

traditional enactment of parent involvement, schools send or share information with

parents and parents volunteer in schools. An example of teachers who hold this view is

found in Lawson's study (2003) of community members in a diverse, low-income school

where teachers were found to define parent involvement as tasks that involve the parents

helping the school. In schools with traditional visions of parent involvement, educators

often complained that parents were not as involved as teachers and schools would like; this was especially true in schools with high numbers of non-majority-culture families (Boethel, 2003; Christenson & Sheridan, 2001; Kellaghan, Sloane, Alvarez, & Bloom, 1993).

For the last twenty-plus years, numerous researchers have advocated for a more broad definition of family involvement (Auerbach, 2007; Barnard, 2004; Christenson & Sheridan, 2001; Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Epstein & Dauber, 1991; Epstein, 2001; Epstein & Salinas, 2004; Epstein, 2005; Epstein & Sheldon, 2006). Joyce Epstein, Director of the Center on School, Families, and Community Partnerships and the National Network of Partnership Schools at Johns Hopkins University, is the clear leader in this field of study. Of the various definitions and descriptions of parent involvement, the most often cited were her publications on the six types of parental involvement (Epstein, 1994; Epstein & Dauber, 1991; Epstein & Salinas, 2004). These types of parental involvement include tasks that may be beneficial to students, though less visible to school staff than traditional types of involvement:

1. Basic obligations of families (health and safety, preparing children for school, providing positive home conditions for learning and behavior)
2. Basic obligations of schools (communication)
3. Involvement at school (volunteering, attending events)
4. Involvement in learning activities at home (including ideas suggested by teachers for parents to assist their own children)
5. Involvement in decision-making (PTA, site council)

6. Collaboration with the community (Epstein & Salinas, 2004)

An additional expansion of the understanding of "parent involvement" involves replacing the word "parent" with the word "families" (Auerbach, 2007; Christenson & Sheridan, 2001). Living arrangements for young children of immigrants were quite varied and often included extended family members living in one home. For example, 32.1% of Hispanic children born in the United States to two foreign-born parents lived with other adult family members in addition to or instead of their parents.

For Asian immigrants, this group represented 31.2% of the population, and 37% of Southeast Asian children (Landale et al., 2011). Eighty-four percent of the children of immigrants were raised in two-parent homes; the comparable statistic for children of native-born parents was only 71% (Fortuny et al., 2010; Landale et al., 2011). ELL/EL families, therefore, may utilize a wider network of family members and caregivers to support their children socially and academically than do native-speaking families. Limiting the label to "parent" involvement missed the involvement of other important adults in the lives of students and kept families from defining for themselves who the important adults were in the educational life of their children (Christenson & Sheridan, 2001).

Combining these two shifts in understanding, many researchers have encouraged schools to strive for maximization and understanding of "family engagement" instead of simply increasing "parent involvement" (Auerbach, 2007; Nye et al., 2006). Enacting the concept of engagement also puts the focus on the schools to work in collaboration with the parents rather than focusing on the parents to become involved with the schools. As

one superintendent noted, "the best performing schools are the schools that engage

parents on a consistent basis, that know the difference between engagement and

involvement" (Auerbach, 2007, p. 712).

   Challenges.   Though the concept of family engagement has been portrayed as a

significant step forward (Auerbach, 2007; Nye, et al., 2006), not all scholars agree that

this concept includes all families (Moreno & Valencia, 2011). Moreno and Valencia's

(2011) summary of related research noted that Epstein's (ie. 2001, 2005) categories did

not necessarily fully encompass the education-related behaviors of the families of low

SES children of color. For example, one study showed that Mexican-American parents

focused on qualities and values such as integrity, and they then helped their children

apply the concept of integrity to school through storytelling (Moreno & Valencia, 2011).

The storytelling processes, used to transmit and connect these values, do not fall into any

of Epstein's categories.

   ELL/EL families may also lack knowledge about the educational process in the

United States (Boethel, 2003). Some practices common in the interactions between

native-speaking families and schools, such as actively partnering with schools, are not

readily found in ELL/EL families because these actions are not a part of the Discourse[5] of

school for some ELL/EL families (Boethel, 2003; Hori, 2006; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009).

When discussing cultural capital and ELL/EL families, Stagg-Peterson and Heywood

(2007) wrote, "even highly educated minority-language parents work multiple jobs to

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[5] When this study specifically references Gee's definition of the concept of discourse, capital D is used. He
defines Discourse as: "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking,
believing, valuing and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially
recognizable identity" (2011b, p. 201).

support their families. They are actively involved in their children's lives, it just doesn't

look like we would expect it to look" (Stagg-Peterson & Heywood, 2007).

Establish multicultural justice and equality.

The final priority is the requirement that staff members value social justice and

equality. Though Walker and Dimmock (2005, p. 294) use the word "equality" in this

priority, their meaning more closely aligns with the concept of equity. In addition, in

other publications, they use phrases such as "equity and justice" in similar contexts

(Dimmock & Walker, 2005). As such, when appropriate in this section, the word equity

replaces equality. In some ways, this priority may be one of the most challenging to

implement. Administrators in most schools cannot hire and fire teachers at will, so they

cannot simply hire staff of like-minded individuals; instead, administrators must work

with educators to build a shared vision that reflects social justice and equity. Peterson

and Deal's (2009) *Shaping School Culture Fieldbook* has many suggestions for how

administrators can shape the culture in their schools, but it is not specifically focused on

building equity in schools.

Forms of Multiculturalism

McLaren's (1994) descriptions, of the four forms of multiculturalism, introduce

language that can be used to categorize and compare the discourses enacted by

administrators, teachers, and families. These four forms are discussed below in sub-

sections and include: 1) Conservative; 2) Liberal; 3) Left-liberal; and 4) Critical.

Conservative.

Conservative multiculturalists attempt to distance themselves from racism, but they "charge unsuccessful minorities with having 'culturally deprived backgrounds' and a 'lack of strong family-oriented values'" (McLaren, 1994, p. 48). Those who follow this type of multiculturalism oppose programs such as bilingual education, do not acknowledge that whiteness is a form of ethnicity, and generally do not seek to question the norms that are imposed by the white, middle-class majority (McLaren, 1994).

Deficit thinking falls into McLaren's conservative multiculturalism category (McLaren, 1994) and has been a prevalent mental model for explaining why certain groups of students historically struggle in school (Valencia, 2011). According to Valencia (2011), versions of deficit thinking can be traced back to the 1600s. Deficit thinking places blame for school failure on "the students' lack of readiness to learn in the classroom, the parents' lack of interest in their education, and the families' overall lifestyle" (Valencia, 2011; Walker, 2011, p. 578). Two examples of deficit thinking are common in modern education: the concept of the culture of poverty and of the idea of being "at-risk" (Valencia, 2011). Even teachers who were successful in the education of non-majority culture students exhibited some traits of deficit thinking (K. L. Walker, 2011).

Texts grounded in the deficit perspective are available and common in teacher preparation and professional development. For example, according to Google Scholar, Ruby Payne's *A Framework for Understanding Poverty* (2003) has been cited 923 times

in published work (Google Scholar, 2012), and it was the 37th top selling educational

psychology book on Amazon.com in the fall of 2012 (Amazon.com, 2012).

Payne's book, a guide for teachers working with students living below the poverty

line, is an example of the use of a deficit model to explain that families living in poverty

share certain characteristics. Texts using the deficit model explain that students from

certain cultures (including the culture of poverty) exhibit common characteristics such as

a lack of interest in education and low student achievement (Valencia, 2011). However,

in recent history, there has been a great deal of variation in student achievement and

parent involvement across socioeconomic status (SES) (Christenson & Sheridan, 2001;

Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Moreno & Valencia, 2011). As described by Valencia

(2011), the at-risk model of deficit thinking "pathologized and marginalized" students

from non-majority culture families (Valencia, 2011, p. 8).

Some descriptions of the achievement gap are manifestations of deficit thinking.

Ladson-Billings noted that the achievement gap discourse leaves out other gaps including

the spending gap, the wealth gap, and the health gap when she wrote, "the achievement

gap discourse keeps us locked in the deficit paradigm" (2007, p. 316). Ladson-Billings

also listed explanations often given by educators and others for the school failure of poor

students of color. This list includes the above-noted assumptions held by the deficit

model (ie. parents are not involved and students are not successful) and adds other deficit

model assumptions including that children enter school unprepared and without enough

experiences (Ladson-Billings, 2007). She then explained the potential consequences for

student learning that may result when their teachers hold each of these assumptions

(Ladson-Billings, 2007).

Liberal.

Liberal multiculturalists believe that everyone is intellectually the same, and,

therefore, they seek to minimize difference. Adherents of liberal multiculturalism base

their beliefs on the foundation of "intellectual 'sameness' among the races" (McLaren,

1994, p. 51). They believe that the inequities today are the result of social and economic

policies that keep competition from being fair. The solution to inequity, therefore, is to

reform the existing structures. From a critical perspective, liberal multiculturalism is

flawed because it places majority-culture norms at the center of defining 'sameness.'

Teachers who approach their craft from this perspective offer statements such as, "I don't

see my students as Hispanic or African-American or Caucasian. I just see them as

students" (personal conversation, 2006).

Left-Liberal.

Unlike the emphasis on sameness in liberal multiculturalism, left-liberal

multiculturalism emphasizes cultural differences. Left-liberal multiculturalists tend to

"exoticise" differences and "essentialize cultural differences" (McLaren, 1994, p. 52);

they see value in different cultures and emphasize the lived experiences of individuals.

For example, left-liberal multiculturalism would note that teachers who live and

teach in the inner-city have more authentic voices when speaking about inner-city

education than do others. Educators who value diversity and difference enact left-liberal

multiculturalism. As stated by two ELL/EL educators, "we do not need to compensate

for the fact that ELL/ELs are coming with lower than necessary skills in English; rather,

we need to enrich their lives by adding English" (Hamayan & Freeman, 2006, p. 36).

McLaren (1994) faulted this viewpoint for being focused on individual experience to the

detriment of academic thought. He noted that the legitimacy given to those speaking

from experience "has often resulted in a reverse form of academic elitism" (McLaren,

1994, p. 52).

Critical.

Critical and resistance multiculturalism "stresses the central task of transforming

the social, cultural, and institutional relations in which meanings are generated"

(McLaren, 1994, p. 53). Recognizing that "differences are historical and cultural

constructions" (McLaren, 1994, p. 57), critical multiculturalism encourages an equitable

and democratic education (Valencia, 2011).

Administrators who are dedicated to this type of change, "clearly articulated their

commitment to attacking ingrained social inequalities, particularly racism and poverty,

because of their inexorable link to student achievement" (Walker & Dimmock, 2005, p.

293). The challenge for leaders, therefore, is to "mold a multicultural community together

as a harmonious group on the one hand, and yet to recognize, celebrate, and respect

cultural diversity and richness on the other" (Dimmock & Walker, 2005, p. 188).

Educators can strive for what Ladson-Billings describes as *culturally relevant pedagogy*:

"a theoretical model that not only addresses student achievement but also helps students

to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that

challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 469).

Usefulness of Theories Above

Some pieces from this section are more relevant than others for the focus of this dissertation. Walker and Dimmock's (2005) list of priorities focused on by successful administrators in multicultural schools serves as an excellent organizing framework. McLaren's (1994) forms of multiculturalism offer lenses through which to view the behaviors of individuals in multicultural settings. However, whether or not Epstein's types of parent involvement (ie. 2005) are applicable to this study is not certain. If Moreno and Valencia (2011) are correct, Epstein's categories may not be applicable to the ELL/EL families at the focus school.

<div align="center">

Critical Discourse: Informing the Framework

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This section tracks the evolution of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) over the past century by discussing primary theories from leading scholars in the field of critical linguistics, including: 1) Bakhtin; 2) Foucault; 3) Fairclough; and 4) Gee, and concludes with a summary.

Bakhtin

Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin wrote in the early to mid-twentieth century. For Bahktin (1986) all discourse is a dialogue because all communication refers to earlier words, concepts, and knowledge. Further, references used in conversation indirectly offer nuance and correlations that help give meaning to a conversation. Bakhtin noted that when conjoining communication with the conditions of that communication, the style

of the communication is created. As Bakhtin (1986) noted, communication style is

"inseparably linked to particular thematic unities and…to particular compositional

unities" (1986, p. 64). The idea, that various settings and genres have different

discourses, allows us to quickly recognize whether the television show we have turned on

is a sitcom, a documentary, or a news program—even without seeing the images.

      Wetherell et. al. (2001) called these negotiations "communicative ecologies" (p.

20). The words we choose and style we use to communicate also reflects the

person/people with whom we are communicating. As relates to shared understandings

during communication, when a style is transferred from one genre to another, either the

second genre adapts and changes or the first genre is violated (Bakhtin, 1986). For

example, if a high school student speaks to a school principal as he would a peer, the

principal either relaxes her expected discourse style (adaptation) or ends the conversation

(because the norms of the discourse have been violated). In a related vein, Bakhtin

(1986) noted that lack of social ability is "entirely a matter of the inability to command a

repertoire of genres of social conversation…" (p. 80). If a speaker deviates from the

expected script in a given genre, he or she is either looked down upon or thought of as

being unusual. This may include specific words or phrases, or the guidance may

delineate the roles various participants may play in the communication (Bakhtin, 1986).

      Bakhtin (1986) connects the style differences between groups to power struggles

between groups. After noting that each group (economic, cultural, generational,

professional, etc.) had its own conventions (Maybin, 2001), he posited that language

choices, therefore, were always mediated by social standing. The above example of the

student and principal can also be analyzed through this construct. Language serves as a

symbol and an expression of the struggle between different groups. He believed that

language "refracted" reality through the lens of social struggle (Maybin, 2001).

Foucault

Writing in the mid-to-late twentieth century, French philosopher Michel Foucault

used the term *discourse* to refer to the language used to talk about a particular topic at a

particular time. Foucault argued against the previously-held notion that people

understood and identified with their own speech. He argued, instead, that societal

conventions of discourse frame and limit our texts. Our communication only makes

sense within a certain subject position in a certain discourse, so our individual thoughts

and statements are mediated first by society (Hall, 2001).

For Foucault, discourse, knowledge, and truth are all permanently linked to

particular historical contexts (Hall, 2001). A given historical context could be limited to

a certain group, or be spread across a large area. Within these contexts, a discourse

would be fairly consistent across a range of texts and a range of locations (Hall, 2001).

Related to this concept, Foucault (Hall, 2001) used the term episteme to refer to the state

of knowledge about a topic at a given time (Hall, 2001). For example, our current

knowledge about Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) (our episteme)

influences the discourse about ADHD; both the episteme and the discourse around this

topic vary from community to community (Bussing, Schoenberg, & Perwien, 1998).

For Foucault (Hall, 2001), knowledge (and thereby language) and power are

tightly coupled because applied knowledge has the power to become true. For example,

"knowledge" about how certain children learn impacts how we teach them, which

impacts what they know. Power does not need to come from a formal leader to operate in

society. Power does not just repress the less powerful directly, it also produces

knowledge and influences discourses which can influence the lives of the less powerful

(Hall, 2001).

Fairclough

Contemporary linguist Norman Fairclough focused on the intersection of power

and linguistics. As he wrote on page one of his book *Language and Power* (2001)*,* "the

point is that sociolinguistic conventions have a dual relation to power: on the one hand

they incorporate differences of power, on the other hand they arise out of – and give rise

to – particular relations of power" (p. 1). In Fairclough's view, the power of the elite (the

capitalists) came from their ability to use government to control the working class. The

elite also control the middle classes who work for the capitalists. He wrote, "Where

types of practice, and in many cases types of discourse, function in this way to sustain

unequal power relations, I shall say they are functioning ideologically" (Fairclough,

2001, p. 27). He continued and defined ideological power as the power to make your

practices so universal within a society that they appear common sense (Fairclough, 2001).

"Ideologies are closely linked to language, because using language is the commonest

form of social behavior, and the form of social behavior where we rely most on

'common-sense' assumptions" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 2).

Power is either overt ("power in" discourse) or behind the scenes ("power behind"

discourse). The "power behind" type of power controls entire social orders – it sets the

conditions for what is acceptable behavior in a given context. As Fairclough wrote, if

there are "systematic constraints on the contents of discourse and on the social

relationships enacted in it and the social identities enacting them, these can be expected

to have long-term effects on the knowledge and beliefs, social relationships, and social

identities of an institution or society" (2001, p. 62). For example, simply a phrase of

encouragement such as "very good, keep going" would be viewed as normal when

spoken by someone in a position of authority (ie. a teacher to a student) but as

insubordination when spoken by a subordinate to someone with formal power (ie. a

defendant to a judge).

Fairclough noted that "politeness is based upon recognition of differences of

power, degrees of social distance, and so forth, and oriented to reproducing them without

change" (2001, p. 55). For example, teachers expect respectful students, but teachers do

not always feel obligated to offer respect to their students. The official dialect of a

country reflects the language used by those in power. People with less power often speak

other dialects that have equivalent rules and structures, but these dialects are generally

seen as incorrect deviations from the standard dialect. In response to this, some

individuals fully adapt to the mainstream dialect, others code-switch, and others use the

other dialects as types of "anti-languages" (Fairclough, 2001).

Fairclough's (2001) conception of discourse also involves the idea of subject

position (ie. being a "student" or a "teacher"). When individuals enact a discourse by

taking on a subject position they either are reproducing and reinforcing the social

structure or are acting to change it. Most of the time we reproduce the existing structure

by acting the way discourse guides us (Fairclough, 2001). There are occasions, however, when the existing structure is upended and the social order changes. Some changes to discourse happen when new participants enter a given setting and do not act according to the expected norms.

Other changes happen when discourses mix or when individuals choose to resist the current system. Discourse changes can happen gradually (ie. gay rights is a dramatically more mainstream topic than it was 40 years ago) or quite suddenly (as in the case of the recent changes in leadership in the Middle East). Even casual observers of the Arab Spring noted that the speed of the spread of the messages was enabled by new technologies such as Facebook and Twitter. This type of communication-based change is exactly what Fairclough predicted when he wrote that communication was the power of the non-elite (2001, p. 62).

Fairclough defined interdiscursivity as the presence or trace of one discourse within another. In one study, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used to describe the learning that took place when K-12 teachers and college professors interacted in a book club (Lewis & Ketter, 2004). Lewis and Ketter noted that the type of hybrid language that evolves when the language of one discourse is found in others, "opens spaces for learning as we have defined it – the appropriation and reconstruction of discourses within one's social world. Fixed practices are most likely to be interrupted when more dialogic conversations occur, resulting in subtle shifts in the social identities of the participants" (Lewis & Ketter, 2004, p. 132). Additionally, it is when one discourse is found in another that new meanings are created and internalized (Lewis & Ketter, 2004).

Gee

James Paul Gee is a contemporary linguist who focuses on topics related to

discourse and discourse analysis. In his 2011 book, *An Introduction to Discourse*

Analysis, Gee explains that Discourse encompasses movement, dress, language, and other

markers[6]. For example, for gang membership, one needs to look, act, and speak the part.

If any of these markers is missing, one is not viewed as a part of the community. If one

enacts the discourse well, s/he has "pulled off" an identity within that discourse.

Discourses may change or be created over time, or what was once a hybrid of two

Discourses may become common enough that it becomes its own Discourse. For

example, in the middle class United States in the 1930s there was no Discourse of

"working mother," but there is a "working mother" Discourse today (Gee, 2011b).

Purpose and context are of vital importance to Gee's definition of discourse. He

defined context as including "the physical setting in which a communication takes place

and everything in it; the bodies, eye gaze, gestures, and movements of those present;

what has previously been said and done by those involved in the communication; any

shared knowledge those involved have, including shared cultural knowledge" (Gee,

2011b). Most often, we only use the relevant parts of context when we are actually trying

to figure out what the speaker/writer is trying to say. Gee used the term "reflexivity" to

express that context and language shape each other (Gee, 2011b).

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[6] When this study specifically references Gee's definition of the concept of discourse, capital D is used. He defines Discourse as: "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (2011b, p. 201).

Gee's (2011b) belief that language both reflects and creates context (and,

therefore, reality) has implications for power. For example, a strike becomes a strike

when a baseball umpire declares it one, not just because a pitcher thinks he threw a strike

(Gee, 2011b). There is power in the ability of a priest to create marriages with an action

and words. People also create figured worlds. Gee described figured worlds as

"simplified, often unconscious, and taken-for-granted theories or stories about how the

world works that we use to get on efficiently with our daily lives" (Gee, 2011b).

Usefulness of Theories Above

The theories of the four linguists presented above are multi-faceted and have been

simplified for the purposes of this literature review. The parts of their theories, that are

most relevant to this analysis, focus on the purpose and context of communication, the

power associated with discourses, and the hybridization of discourse. Other elements of

their theories are outside the scope of this study. For example, this current study's

analysis uses Bakhtin's description of style without getting into the details of his theories

of speech genres (Bakhtin, 1986). Though Gee's Tools for Discourse Analysis (Gee,

2011a) are used in this study, his seven tools for building reality (Gee, 2011b) are not a

central part of this research.

<div align="center">

Conceptual Framework: Grounding the Study

</div>

Four theories from the review of the literature work together to form the

conceptual framework for this study - Modern leadership theory, Walker and Dimmock's

(2005) six priorities for intercultural educators, McLaren's (1994) four types of

multiculturalism, and critical discourse analysis (CDA). As depicted by its placement in

the center of Figure 2.1 (see p. 45), the focus of this study is discourse about English

Language Learners.

Represented by the bolded word "Leadership" on Figure 2.1, four concepts from

modern leadership theory are foundational to this study: a) sensemaking; b) adaptive

work; c) situational awareness; and d) flexibility. Marzano's 2005 definitions of

situational awareness and flexibility are linked to Heifetz's (1994) adaptive work and

Weick's (1993) sensemaking. Situational awareness involves predicting what could go

wrong in the future (Marzano, et al., 2005), and is related to predicting the needs of

educators in adaptive work. Knowing that adaptive work is necessary requires that

leaders are "aware of the details and undercurrents in the running of the school"

(Marzano, et al., 2005, p. 61). Flexibility involves adapting one's leadership style to the

needs of the present situation (ie. increasing or decreasing structure to enable

sensemaking) and "being comfortable with making major changes in how things are

done" (adaptive work) (Marzano, et al., 2005, p. 49).

When looked at as a whole, the theories described above have one major thread

running through them. Weick (1993), Heifetz (1994), Hofstede (1983, 2005), and

Marzano, Walters, and McNulty (2005) all advance that leaders should actively engage

community members in order to understand change and cultural differences. When

applied to the setting of a multicultural school, the overarching message of these theories

is that the building administrator's job is to work with the entire school community. This

aspect of school leadership is profoundly important when the cultural backgrounds of the

teachers differ from the cultural backgrounds of the larger community.

Figure 2.1   Conceptual Framework

McLaren's Four Forms of
Multiculturalism (1994)

Conservative   Liberal   Left Liberal   Critical

**CDA:
Foucault**
*(Maybin
2001)*

**CDA:
Gee**
(2011)

Priorities of Multicultural
Leadership (Walker and Dimmock,
2005)

Equity   Welcome

Discourse:
English
Language
Learners

Community   Culture

Staff   Learning

**CDA:
Bakhtin**
(1986)

**CDA:
Fairclough**
(2001)
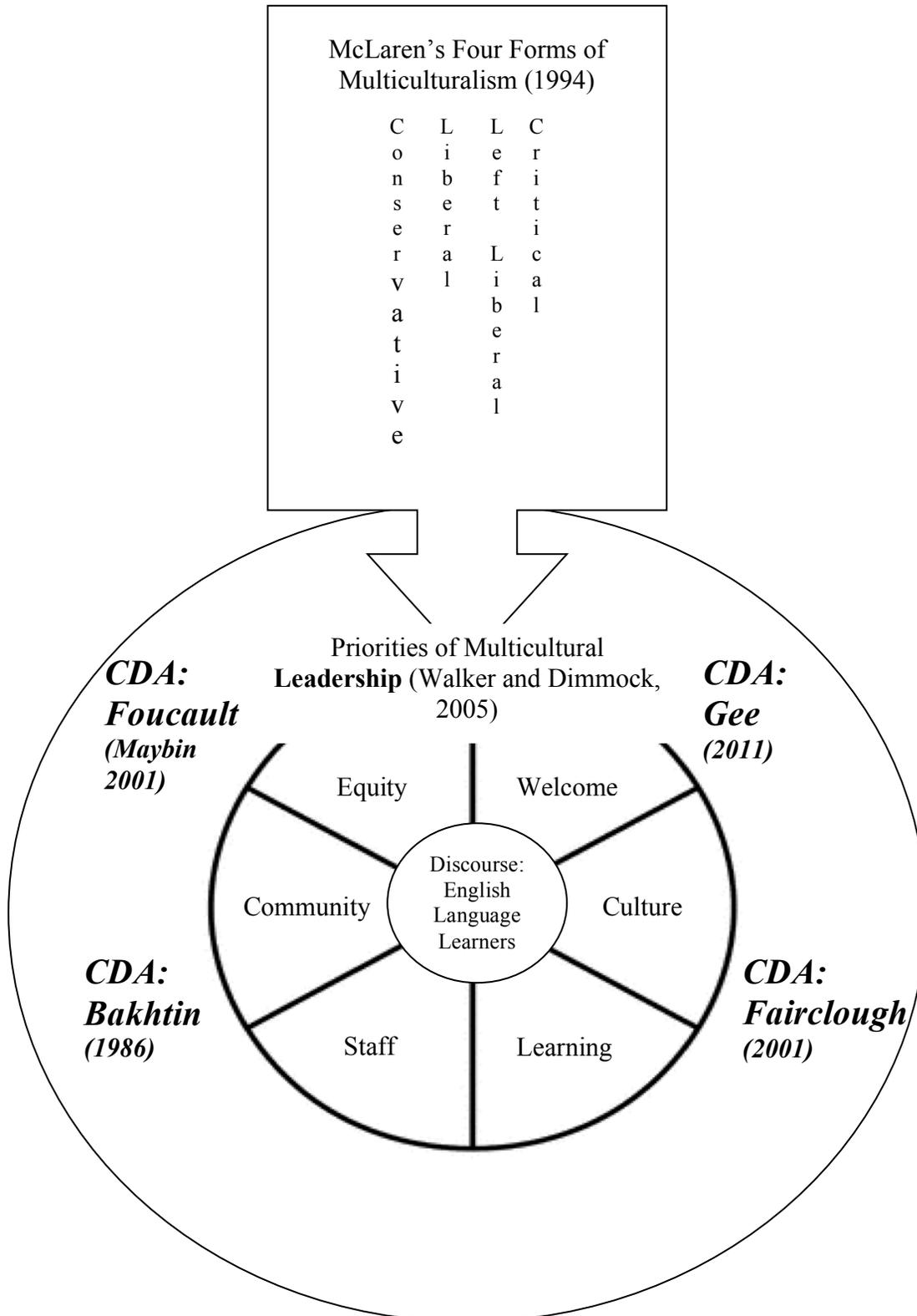
Immediately surrounding the center circle in Figure 2.1 are the six priorities of successful leaders of multicultural schools: a) understand community; b) hire multicultural staff; c) improve student learning; d) nurture inclusive culture; e) welcome community members; and f) establish multicultural justice and equality (Walker & Dimmock, 2005). Walker and Dimmock's priorities are at the center of this study because the research questions focus on the talk of administrators and teachers as they are doing the work of teaching in a multicultural school. The priorities serve as a guide for identifying the types of work teachers and administrators are engaging in.

The four forms of multiculturalism (conservative, liberal, left-liberal, and critical) (McLaren, 1994) are depicted in Figure 2.1 as being four parts of an arrow feeding into the work of teachers and administrators in multicultural schools. The discourses enacted by participants in schools are colored, in part, by how they view multiculturalism. McLaren's descriptions of the four types of multiculturalism both guide the discourses of the participants and provide a lens through which to examine the discourses.

This study's exploration of what administrator, teacher, and parent talk reveals about their perceptions of English language learners is grounded in the theory of CDA. As a theory, CDA gives attention to, among other things, context, the interrelationship of knowledge and power, and the process of hybridization of discourses (Bakhtin, 1986; Fairclough, 2001; Gee, 2011b; Maybin, 2001). First, context is vitally important to understanding communication. Bakhtin's theory that the purpose and context of communication combine to create the style of communication (Maybin, 2001), aligns well with Gee's understanding of discourse. As Gee wrote, "to understand anything fully

you need to know *who* is saying it and *what* the person saying it is trying to do" (2011b, p. 2). Second, power produces knowledge. For Foucault, knowledge is produced by those with power; what the powerful "know" becomes true (cited in Hall, 2001). Closely related to this is Fairclough's (2001) conceptualization of ideological power: when a group has ideological power, they have the ability to make practices appear common-sense behavior. Third, new discourses or Discourses (Gee, 2011b), are often hybridizations of other extant discourses (Fairclough, 2001; Gee, 2011b).

CHAPTER 3: METHODS AND DESIGN

The purpose of this qualitative case study[7] was to explore administrator, teacher, and parent talk about English language learners/English Learners (ELL/EL). The following two research questions guided this study:

1. How can we come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL students and families through native English speakers' talk?

2. How can we come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL students and families through emergent English speakers' talk?

Chapter 3 is divided into two major sections: 1) Methods and 2) Design. The design section describes the process used in conducting the present study.

Methods

Generally, qualitative research focuses on how people experience their lives and how they interpret these experiences. The methods section describes key elements of qualitative research and focuses on the interpretive and radical sociological paradigms in two subsections: 1) Traditional and 2) Radical.

Traditional

Traditional qualitative research is situated within the interpretive paradigm. The ontological basis of the related paradigms of interpretivism and constructivism is that reality is a local phenomenon (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Epistemologically, knowledge is transactional, subjective, and situation-specific (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Schwandt,

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[7] While the qualitative case study was the basic approach to this work, because of concerns due to confidentiality and anonymity, the thick and rich description that typically accompanies the case study approach in any full rendering has been removed from the dissertation version of this research. These omissions make the phrase "cluster sample" a useful alternative description.

2000). Rossman and Rallis (1998: cited in Marshall & Rossman, 1999), iterated four

features of qualitative research and four features of qualitative researchers. To begin,

they described qualitative research as: 1) naturalistic; 2) using multiple methods; 3)

emergent; and 4) interpretive. In addition, they noted that qualitative researchers view

social phenomenon holistically, systematically reflect on their role in the inquiry, are

sensitive to personal biography and how it shapes the study, and use complex reasoning

(Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 2). Marshall and Rossman wrote, "qualitative

researchers are intrigued with the complexity of social interactions as expressed in daily

life and with the meanings the participants themselves attribute to these interactions"

(Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 2). Qualitative research often strives for enough detail

(ie. Geertz's "thick description" (1973)) so readers can decide for themselves whether or

not findings apply to their settings (Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Merriam, 2009; Rubin

& Rubin, 2005).

Radical

Moving to a deeper level of description, radical qualitative research methods

make up a sub-group of qualitative research. These radical methods are grounded in

critical theory, critical race theory, critical ethnography, and feminist theory. Critical

theory posits that our larger reality and our daily experiences are shaped by asymmetrical

relations of power (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). In addition,

critical theory seeks to understand the relationship between societal structures and power

(Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Merriam, 2009). Crotty described critical research as:

a contrast between a research that seeks merely to understand and research

that challenges…between a research that reads the situation in terms of

interaction and community and a research that reads it in terms of conflict

and oppression…between a research that accepts the status quo and a

research that seeks to bring about change. (Crotty, 1998, p. 113)

Because they believe that the current social system leads to asymmetrical

relationships, a central goal of critical theorists is to confront injustice through a

combination of research and action (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000; Lincoln & Guba,

2000; Merriam, 2009). As such, researchers working through the lens of critical theory

are openly ideological and acknowledge that the values of the investigator impact the

inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). The critical theory perspective is appropriate for this

research because the relationship being investigated has an inherent power differential,

and critical theory posits that reality is shaped by asymmetrical power relationships.

Design

The design section includes five topics: 1) Case Study[8] Approach; 2) Site

Selection and Criteria; 3) Participant Description and Selection; 4) Data Collection; 5)

Data Handling; and 6) Summary.

Case Study Approach

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[8] While the qualitative case study was the basic approach to this work, because of concerns due to confidentiality and anonymity, the thick and rich description that typically accompanies the case study approach in any full rendering has been removed from the dissertation version of this research. These omissions make the phrase "cluster sample" a useful alternative description.

The specific qualitative design approach used in this study was the case study. Yin's three criteria for choosing case study as the research design (2009) were met in this study. As Yin states, case studies are appropriate methods "when (a) 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, (b) the investigator has little control over events, and (c) the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context" (2009, p. 2).

Case studies may either focus on a single case or include multiple cases. In this research a single-case design was utilized. Yin (2009) identified five reasons for conducting single-case research: the case is a) a critical case in testing a theory; b) unique or extreme; c) representative or typical; d) revelatory; or e) longitudinal. As Patton wrote, "while one cannot generalize from single cases…one can learn from them – and learn a great deal" (Patton, 2002, p. 46).

The site for a single-case study, therefore, is chosen purposefully and not through random sampling (Merriam, 2009). An assumption underlying purposeful sampling is that, "the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (Merriam, 2009, p. 77). And while case studies are often conducted through the lens of the interpretive paradigm, for this study, the case study was grounded in radical theories. Such theories may employ the use of critical discourse analysis in order to discern the nature of the power relationships between and across administrators, teachers, and parents of ELL/EL students.

Site Selection and Criteria

The site (Patna Elementary School)[9] selected for this study was chosen because it met three requirements: a) it is an elementary school; b) it has a large population of both ELL/EL and English-speaking families; and c) it is information-rich (Patton, 2002) because the diversity of languages spoken allowed for the enactment of a variety of discourses. Beyond meeting these mandatory requirements, the school chosen for this case study was chosen because it is demographically unique.

In the upper Midwestern state where Patna is located, ELL/ELs represented under 8% of the student population in 2013 (Midwest Department of Education, 2012). Patna is located in Wellington, a suburb of a major Midwestern town. In Wellington, ELL/ELs comprised approximately 4% of the student population in 2013. At Patna Elementary School, however, ELL/ELs comprised close to 20% of the student population in 2013 (Department of Education, 2012). Patna, therefore, is demographically unique in the district and somewhat unique in the state as a whole.

Participant Description and Selection

A cross-section of members of the school community was selected to participate in this study (Table 3.1). Teachers, the building administrator, and parents comprised the participant population. All three ELL/EL teachers as well as two teachers from primary grades, two from secondary grades, and one specialist participated. Nine parents participated: seven ELL/EL parents and two native English-speaking parents.

Criteria for selection for all participants were that the participants were a) willing to participate; and b) a match for one of the positions described above. Teacher and

---

[9] Pseudonyms are used throughout this study in place of the names of states, cities, schools, streets, and individual parents or educators.

parent recruitment is described in the following paragraphs. When s/he gave permission

for the building to participate in this study, the building administrator also agreed to

participate in two private interviews.

Teachers were notified of the study via the principal's weekly email to staff.

Additionally, the three ELL/EL teachers were emailed individually and all agreed to

Table 3.1   Participants

Participant	(n)	Unstructured Observation	Structured Observation	Initial Interview	Member-Checking Interview	Artifacts/ Documents
Building Administrator	1	X	X	X	X	X
ELL/EL Teachers	3	X	X	X	X	X
Classroom Teachers	4	X	X	X	X	X
Specialists	1	X	X	X	X	X
ELL/EL Parents	7	X	X	X		X
Non-ELL/EL Parents	2	X	X	X	X	X
Community Members			X			
Totals	**18**	**All Participants**	**All Participants**	**18**	**9**	**All Participants**

participate. One special education teacher responded to the principal's weekly email by

volunteering to participate. One intermediate grade teacher had an informal conversation

with the researcher at spring conferences about the study and agreed to participate. As no

other classroom teachers volunteered to participate, the building administrator suggested the names of other classroom teachers who s/he thought might be willing to participate. From this list, the researcher contacted three teachers who together comprised the desired distribution for elementary and intermediate teachers.

Three days after the Institutional Review Board (IRB) granted permission for this study, parent-teacher conferences were held at Patna. Wellington's district office, the building administrator, and the ELL/EL teachers agreed to let interviews be conducted using the interpreters who were in the building for conferences. The interpreters were all native speakers of the language they interpreted into: one spoke Russian, one spoke Somali, and two spoke Spanish.

Interpreted conferences were held in the school gym. Tables were set up around the gym, and one interpreter was assigned to each table. Before conferences started, the researcher introduced herself to each interpreter and explained that she would like to interview parents if there was any extra time before or after the scheduled conferences. All interpreters agreed to assist in this process.

Throughout the evening, parents and teachers sat down at the assigned tables. When a parent and interpreter were free, the researcher approached the table and explained the study to the parent (see Appendix B). Of six parents approached, five agreed to participate, and four of the five agreed to participate in recorded interviews. Primary languages for these parents included: Somali [n = 2], Spanish [n = 2], Uzbek [n = 1, though the interview was conducted in Russian]. With the exception of one Spanish-speaking father, all of the parents interviewed were mothers.

ELL/EL parents who do not use interpreters were invited to participate in the study through the weekly school newsletter for parents. Two parents contacted the researcher based on this newsletter announcement, but only one chose to participate: a mother from South Korea.

After learning more about the demographic makeup of the school, the researcher realized that a significant portion of the ELL/EL community had not been represented in parent interviews: the Southeast Asian (mainly Indian) community. These families did not utilize interpreters, nor did they respond to the newsletter announcement. As such, the researcher asked an ELL/EL teacher to identify parents who she felt would be interested in participating. She identified nine families that would be good candidates. The researcher emailed seven of the nine families, but only heard back from one family willing to participate. The final interviewee was a mother from India who spoke near-fluent conversational English.

No native English parents volunteered after the parent newsletter announcement was posted. As a result, the researcher contacted the current and most recent past Parent Teacher Organization (PTO) presidents. Both were willing to participate, and both were white, English-speaking mothers.

Data Collection

One of the fundamental tasks faced during data collection was establishing trustworthiness. To establish trustworthiness, the researcher first chose methods for data

collection that related to the questions being explored (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). An

additional source of trustworthiness in this study was the triangulation of data sources

(Merriam, 2009). Data collection from three sources created triangulation of the data and

took place through: 1) Observations; 2) Interviews; and 3) Artifacts (see Table 3.1).

Observations.

Two types of observations occurred during the study, unstructured and structured.

The differences between unstructured and structured observations lie mainly in their

purpose: the unstructured observation was used to learn more about the context of the

case; structured observations were conducted with specific questions in mind (Gee,

2011a; Merriam, 2009). As is typical, according to Marshall and Rossman (1999), the

unstructured observation was conducted at the start of the research period, and the

structured observations were conducted during later stages of data collection. The

following subsections describe both types: 1) Unstructured and 2) Structured.

Unstructured. The unstructured observation was conducted for the purpose

described by Jorgensen (1989): to become familiar with the setting and participants so

later observations and data collection could be more refined (1989, cited in: Fitzpatrick,

Sanders, & Worthen, 2004, p. 337). The unstructured observation was conducted at the

same time as the ELL/EL parent interpreted interviews. Though approximately 45

minutes of interviews were conducted, the researcher was present in the gymnasium and

hallways for three and one-half hours. The researcher took notes regarding a number of

elements suggested in Merriam (2009, p. 120-121):

- Physical setting (What was there? How was space allocated? What is the purpose of

  the space?)

- Participants (Who was there? What were their roles?)

- Activities taking place (What happened?)

- Interactions between participants (Who initiated or controlled the interactions?

  Describe the nonverbal communication.) (Merriam, 2009, p. 120-121).

    Structured. Three structured observations were conducted at Patna. Two were

multi-grade team meetings and the third was an evening school-wide function for

families (the Read-a-Thon Wrap Up Party). When observing the team meetings, the

interviewer listened for comments regarding ELL/EL families, cooperation with ELL/EL

teachers, and body language during these parts of the conversation. At the Read-a-Thon

Wrap Up party, the researcher focused on observing interactions within and between

various groups including white, non-white, ELL/EL parents, and building and district

staff members.

    In addition, an off-site structured observation was conducted. After learning from

the principal that there was a fence surrounding the park between the neighboring

apartments and the school's immediate neighborhood, the researcher discovered that the

city was proposing creating a bike and walking path between the apartment area and the

local neighborhood. She attended and audio-recorded the city council hearing to get a

sense of the community's feelings regarding this project and the residents of the

apartments .

    Interviews.

Prior to interviewing study participants, the researcher participated in a bracketed interview in order to bring assumptions about the research, setting, and participants to the surface. This educational process was used to support the upcoming complex analysis grounded in radical interventionist and traditional equality-focused approaches.

As explained by Michael Patton, "the purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective" (Patton, 2002, p. 341). Though this research was not a phenomenological study, phenomenological interviews, described by Marshall and Rossman (1999), informed the way the interviews were conducted. All interviews were recorded on the researcher's iPhone using the iTalk application. During the data collection period, the researcher conducted two types of semi-structured interviews with parents, teachers, and the building administrator. They are discussed in two subsections: 1) Initial and 2) Member-checking.

Initial. Eighteen initial interviews were conducted over a three- month period from March through May. Initial interviews were conducted with four groups: ELL/EL parents through interpreters, ELL/EL parents without interpreters, school staff, and non-ELL/EL parents. The interview protocols (see Appendix A) invited participants to describe past experiences at the focus school. The questions asked were open-ended in order to invite detailed responses and stories that allow the voices of the participants to come through. Leading questions, those that invite yes/no responses, and questions that are actually multiple questions were avoided (Merriam, 2009, p. 100).

As noted in the description of participants, five ELL/EL parents were interviewed while they were at Patna for spring conferences with teachers. These interviews were

conducted by the researcher with the help of interpreters in Russian, Somali, and Spanish.

The Somali and Spanish interpreters were non-district employees hired by Patna. The

Russian interpreter was an ELL/EL teacher from another elementary building.

Four interviewees permitted audio-recordings of the interview. The fifth

preferred only written notes. Since there are no literal recordings of her words, and

because her descriptions of Patna are quite similar to those of the other ELL/EL parents

who used interpreters, no actual quotes from this mother are included in the findings or

discussion sections of this paper.

Two interviews were conducted at the homes of ELL/EL parents who did not

need interpreters. Both mothers lived in the same apartment complex a few blocks from

the school, though there were no indications that they were friends. These interviews

both lasted more than 40 minutes and were audio-recorded.

Most of the eleven participating Patna staff members were interviewed at school,

though one ELL/EL teacher and the specialist were interviewed in their homes outside of

school hours. Two ELL/EL teachers were interviewed together approximately one and

one-half weeks after the first was interviewed at her home. All other interviews were

individual, and all were audio-recorded.

The non-ELL/EL parents were interviewed at their homes or at Patna during the

school day. Both mothers were interviewed twice and all four interviews were audio-

recorded.

Member-checking. Throughout the process of analysis described below,

member-check interview protocols were developed (Appendix D). Interview questions

were grounded in the present experiences of the participants and focused on having

participants examine the accuracy of the analysis of the first part of the data collected

(Merriam, 2009; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Specifically, member-checking protocols were

developed to follow-up on threads from individual interviews and to gain insight into two

topics mentioned in numerous initial interviews: resources and use of the word

'diversity.' Unfortunately, only Patna staff members and non-ELL/EL parents

participated in member-check interviews. Though, ideally, the ELL/EL parents would

also have participated in member-checking interviews, financing interviews in three

different languages was outside of the study's budget. Additionally, one English-

speaking ELL/EL parent moved out of the country a few months after her initial

interview.

Artifacts.

Because discourse is not limited to oral communication, a third source of data was

documents and artifacts (Gee, 2011a). In this case, documents included: a) teacher

newsletters and websites for parents; b) parent newsletters produced by the PTO; c)

parent flyers produced by the PTO; d) posters; e) decorations; and f) setting descriptions

produced by the researcher. Beyond the value of triangulation (which establishes

trustworthiness), an additional benefit of collecting documents and noting artifacts was

that this activity did not disrupt the routine of the school (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Data Handling

High-quality studies are those conducted in ways that allow for confirmation by

other researchers (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Though the same

qualitative study cannot actually be replicated, data in this study strove to maintain the organization necessary to enable other researchers to conduct the same analysis. Three major data handling stages are discussed in this section: 1) Organization; 2) Transcription; and 3) Coding.

Organization.

Systematic organization of notes, documents, transcripts and other pieces of data took place during the entire data collection process. Since the majority of the data in this study came from interviews, data was generally stored in file folders (physical and on the computer) identified by the initials of the participant. Data in each folder included interview notes, transcriptions, and data analysis documents. Data from observations was stored in file folders identified by the name of the event. Typed documents had a consistent header noting the date, participants, and location of data collection. These files were backed-up on an external hard drive accessible only to the researcher.

Analysis.

Before describing how the study data were analyzed, this section briefly describes critical discourse as an analytic approach. In general, critical discourse analysis illuminates the influence of power (Kress, 2001). Gee (2011b) wrote of critical discourse analysts:

> their goal is not just to describe how language works or even to offer deep
>
> explanations, though they do want to do this. They also want to speak to
>
> and, perhaps, intervene in, social or political issues, problems, and
>
> controversies in the world…My view … is that all discourse analysis

needs to be critical, not because discourse analysts are or need to be

political, but because language itself is, as we have discussed above,

political. (Gee, 2011b, p. 9)

Researchers who use CDA believe that control over the dominant discourses influences

the distribution of resources such as power, money, and privilege, and those who enact

these discourses well are the dominant groups or individuals (Rogers, 2004).

This study used Gee's description of CDA (2011b) as a frame for defining

Discourse and his *How to do Discourse Analysis: A Toolkit* (2011a) as a guide for

conducting the data analysis. This book lists 27 tools that discourse analysts may use in

their work. Each tool is essentially a set of related questions designed to analyze the

discursive elements at work in a given example of communication. Of Gee's 27 tools

(2011a, *Appendix 2*), 7 were used most frequently during analysis:

1) The Intonation Tool: How does the intonation contour contribute to the meaning
   of an utterance?

2) The Stanza Tool: Where do stanzas break? Knowing this helps in interpretation
   and presentation.

3) The Significance Building Tool: How are words and grammar choices used to
   build or lessen the importance of topics?

4) The Identities Building Tool: What socially recognizable identities is the speaker
   trying to enact? How is the speaker positioning other participants?

5) The Cohesion Tool: What is the speaker trying to achieve through the use of
   cohesive devices?

6) The Figured Worlds Tool: What figured words are assumed by the participants? "What participants, activities, ways of interacting, forms of language, people, objects, environments, and institutions, as well as values, are in these figured worlds?" (Gee, 2011a, p. 201).

7) The Big "D" Discourse Tool: How are the participants enacting socially recognizable identities? (Gee, 2011a, Appendix 2).

The remainder of the analysis section is comprised of a description of the two major data analysis processes in two subsections: 1) Transcription; and 2) Coding.

Transcription. All interviews were transcribed word-for-word by the researcher. The researcher used a foot pedal playback device and the Express Scribe software program. This software allowed the researcher to slow down the interview playback to allow for increased typing accuracy. Interpreted interviews were transcribed within a week of the interview, and the other interviews were all transcribed within a month of the interview. The transcribing process was complete at this point for interviews conducted with interpreters because conducting discourse analysis on interpreted conversations may not have led to valid findings.

Transcription of non-interpreted interviews was more complex and started the process of discourse analysis used by Gee. Gee uses the concept of lines and macro-lines to explain how speech can be broken down into units of meaning that are similar to written language's phrases and sentences (Gee, 2011 b, p. 142). Lines are small spurts of speech that have single pieces of salient information, and lines work together to form macro-lines: complete thoughts (Gee, 2011 b, p. 134).

To help facilitate future analysis, transcripts from non-interpreted interviews were segmented into lines and then into macro-lines. To do this, the researcher listened to each interview a second time and started a new physical line after each new piece of information. The researcher listened for small breaks between "spurts" to help identify the lines (Gee, 2011a, p. 22). The researcher then read the transcript in order to identify macro-lines. These macro-lines are somewhat like stanzas in poetry in that they include lines about "one important event, happening, or state of affairs at one time and place, or it focuses on a specific character, theme, image, topic, or perspective" (Gee, 2011 a, p. 74). The researcher then added blank lines between macro-lines.

The final step in transcription was numbering the macro-lines so as to easily identify, categorize, and later find specific utterances. Numbering of macro-lines started at one on each new page. These processes of identifying lines and macro-lines also accomplished the act of reading each interview with the lens of Gee's first two tools mentioned earlier: the intonation tool (lines) and the stanza tool (macro-lines).

Coding. *ELL/EL parents.* After transcribing the interpreted interviews, the researcher identified each parent statement by topic and tone. The researcher then began the process of constant comparison. After the first interview was coded, a master list of codes was started. After each subsequent interview was coded, additional codes were added to the master list and previously read interviews were re-read to see if the new codes more accurately reflected the interviews' content.

The researcher then used these codes to create topical headings and sub-headings. Quotes from each recorded interview were pasted into this document to reflect the range

of statements about each topic (Sample of Quotes: Native Speakers of Other Languages,

Appendix E). The final list of topics and parent statements, therefore, reflects statements

made in both interpreted and non-interpreted interview settings.

Non-ELL/EL participants.

After each transcript for non-ELL/EL participants was transcribed and broken into

lines and macro-lines, they were read five times: each reading focused on one of Gee's

tools described earlier. The five tools used at this point were the: a) Significance Building

Tool; b) Identities Building Tool; c) Cohesion Tool; d) Figured Worlds Tool; and e) Big

"D" Discourse Tool. Though the above list is presented in the order used by Gee, as per

Gee's suggestion, analysis started at the end of his list of tools. He writes about the tools,

> they are all meant to apply at once to any data that is being analyzed. For some
>
> data, some tools yield more illuminating information than for other data…A
>
> discourse analysis, in my view, would start with the tools in Unit 4 (they are about
>
> 'the big picture,' including things that go beyond language). (Gee, 2011a, x).

For the three tools described below ("Big 'D' Discourse," "Figured Worlds," and

"Identity Building"), all phrases in the interviews were coded. For the other two tools

("Cohesion" and "Significance Building"), attention was focused on specific sections of

the interviews that coding from the first three tools identified as directly pertaining to

ELL/EL students and families or related topics. The highlighted sections represented

roughly half of each interview transcript, though this varied from interview to interview.

Each highlighted section was broken into groups of macro-lines that together told a story.

These stories were analyzed one at a time using the "Cohesion" and "Significance

Building" tools.

     When reading interviews through the "Big 'D' Discourse" lens, the definition of

discourse as "a characteristic way of saying, doing, and being" (Gee, 2011b, p. 31) was

used. The researcher noted each time a reference was made to seeing, doing or being an

entity or activity. Examples of codes from this section included words and phrases such

as community, Indian, free and reduced lunch, Somali, ELL/EL teacher, parent, and

family.

     For the "Figured Worlds" lens, notes were made each time an interviewee used a

phrase that indicated they were assuming typical stories or assumptions about the world

around them. Codes for figured worlds overlapped with but were not exclusively the

same as for the "Big 'D' Discourse" lens. They included terms such as teachers, family

values, educational system, community, Wellington[10], and diversity.

     Using the "Cohesion Tool" was the most time-consuming and one of the most

interesting of the tools used by the researcher. As noted above, this tool was applied to

groups of macro-lines referred to here as stories. The process of using this tool was

broken down into seven sub-steps of identification, six of which were suggested in Gee:

a) pronouns; b) determiners and quantifiers; c) substitute phrases; d) ellipsis; e) cohesion;

f) conjunctions; and g) overall observations (Gee, 2011a, 129). This level of detail

allowed the researcher to analyze the speech patterns of individual interviewees. Though

---

[10] Patna Elementary is located in the city of Wellington.

not listed by Gee as an aspect of analyzing cohesion, overall observations about each

story were noted. These observations included comments such as:

- "'once upon a time' – connecting to fairy tale dialogue, but telling a story

  of teasing"

- "Uses a lot of repetition for emphasis"

- "When asked if there is a shared meaning of diverse/diversity, 'no' x3,

  'there isn't' x2, and 'I don't know that' x2"

The "Identities Building" lens was used to identify when speakers were taking on

recognizable identities. These identities included roles such as primary teacher, Patna

staff member, ELL/EL teacher, and parent.

The final tool used was "Significance Building." This tool made use of the stories

described earlier. For each story with multiple clauses, it was determined which clauses,

if any, were "foregrounded" or "backgrounded". Foregrounded information is

understood by listeners to be new or important information. Backgrounded information,

in contrast, is presented as if it is a given. For example, one teacher who was very aware

of his own knowledge of culture stated: "And that's really what you want people leaving

[professional development] with. You know? *Because everybody's on their journey.*"

Here, the backgrounded clause is italicized. Backgrounding the idea that everybody is on

a journey implies that for this teacher, it is a given that all teachers are on their own

journeys through cultural learning.

Backgrounded clauses were identified because they were introduced with

subjunctive or relative conjunctions including as, since, because, while, which, that,

whose, and others. As with the "Cohesion Building" tool, the "Significance Building"

tool helped illuminate patterns in the speech of individuals who consistently

foregrounded or backgrounded certain types of information.

After all non-ELL/EL parent interviews were coded using Gee's tools, an Excel

workbook was created to synthesize the comments of multiple individuals by topic

(Sample of Quotes: Native English Speakers, Appendix F). Each worksheet was given a

category title such as "apartments," "Patna Teachers," or "Resources." On each

worksheet, each line identified the speaker, location in the data, and a single quote.

Though the researcher started by using the notes taken when analyzing for Gee's

tools, this did not seem systematic enough to catch any quotes that might have been

missed in the original analysis. As such, each interview was re-read in order to identify

statements by topic for each interviewee. These statements were then copied into the

workbook using "/" to indicate line breaks and "//" to indicate macro-line breaks. As the

researcher was still trying to identify relevant details and topics through constant

comparison, some quotes were placed onto multiple worksheets in the workbook.

After the synthesis worksheets were complete, the researcher did what Yin

suggested and played with the data (Yin, 2009, p. 129) in order to find the process and

organizational scheme that would best facilitate answering the central questions posed in

this investigation:

1) How can we come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL students and families

through native English speakers' talk?

2) How can we come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL students and families

through emergent English speakers' talk?

First, an organizational scheme with comments sorted first by topic was

contemplated but abandoned because it did not separate out conversation and idea threads

on an individual basis. Second, the data was sorted by participant category using the

categories listed in the table on page 53. As the individuals within these groups often had

more in common with people in other groups than within their own groups, this

organizational scheme was not appropriate.

Third, data was organized into three categories based on the privilege level of the

participant (highly privileged, semi-privileged, and not privileged), but this hierarchical

ranking of participants was counter to the goals of critical theory and is highly deficit-

focused. As such, this sorting scheme was quickly abandoned.

In the end, the participants were organized into two groups: native English

speakers and ELLs/ELs. Though the native English speakers shared some common

features, this study sought to be more idiographic than analysis at this level allowed. As

a result, the native English-speaking group was first split into three sub-groups defined by

level of engagement in equity-focused work: a) purposeful; b) aware; and c) inconsistent.

This system, however, was too rigid and created challenges for masking the identity of

participants. Therefore, the native English speakers' section was written as a series of

anecdotes spread out over a spectrum from actively equity-focused on one end to

furthering the status quo on the other. The comments of individual participants often

appeared on different places on the spectrum. The comments of ELLs/ELs were first

organized by whether they were positive or negative descriptions of their experiences at Patna and then by topic.

After the scheme for organizing the interview data was established, the artifacts were grouped accordingly. Letters from the principal found in school-wide newsletters were analyzed alongside interview data with the building administrator. Letters sent from the ELL/EL department were examined with ELL/EL teacher interview data. Classroom newsletters were analyzed alongside participating teachers' interview data. Weekly newsletters and other invitations from the PTO were analyzed when considering the interviews with the PTO president from 2012-2013.

After Chapter 4 (Findings, Analysis, and Discussion) was drafted, the researcher took a fresh lens to the findings. Each finding was analyzed to see which of four categories it represented: 1) Literature Supported; 2) Literature Enhanced; 3) Literature Extended; or 4) New Learning. At this point, additional research was conducted around the topic of cultural capital as the language of this theory was directly applicable to the study.

Throughout this process of constant comparison, the researcher kept notes regarding areas for future research. These notes were supplemented by a process of reading each of the above four categories and analyzing what other holes in the literature were suggested by the findings from this study.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

As mentioned in Chapter 3, a significant portion of the data analysis process was the sifting and sorting of data. The presentation of findings in this chapter is organized by the type of analysis conducted. Chapter 4 is divided into three main subsections: 1) Context Analysis; 2) Emergent Thematic Analysis; and 3) Critical Discourse Analysis.

Context Analysis

To ground the findings and analysis of the current study, this section begins with brief description of the demographics of Wellington and is followed by a description of one neighborhood issue. Patna Elementary is located in the town of Wellington, a suburb of a large Midwestern town. As of 2012, Wellington's residents were nearly 90% white, more than 60% of residents over the age of 25 had earned a bachelor's degree, and more than 95% of the population lived above the poverty line (United States Census Bureau, 2013). Patna is located in a neighborhood of single-family homes. A second neighborhood, located a few blocks from the school, is comprised of townhomes and apartment buildings. Patna's attendance boundaries encompass both of these neighborhoods.

After learning from the principal that a fence served as a barricade between nearby apartments and Patna Elementary's immediate neighborhood, the researcher discovered that the city was considering creating a bike and walking path between the apartment neighborhood and the single-family homes neighborhood. She attended and audio-recorded a city council hearing about this path to learn about the community's feelings regarding this project and apartment residents. As members of the Wellington

community at-large were not part of the proposed research, no interviews were conducted

with participants at the city council hearing. All data is from a local newspaper's account

of the hearing or from the researcher's observations and audio-recording of this event.

The city council hearing took place in the city council chambers on a weekday

evening in May of 2012. Out of approximately 30 people in the audience, only two were

visibly not from the majority-culture community, and neither appeared to attend the

meeting for the purpose of the public hearing regarding the path. During the hearing, ten

individuals spoke about the project: six opposed the project and four supported it. All

individuals who spoke to the council were white, and all six individuals who opposed the

project were local homeowners. Prior to the meeting, two emails supporting the path and

14 emails opposing the path were sent to the city council (Kaczke, 2013). The discourses

that ensued throughout the hearing were the competing discourses of division and

community.

Path opponents used the discourse of division. Numerous comments opposing the

path used language to build (Gee, 2011b) two distinct neighborhoods through comments

such as, "we were never really reached out to like the neighborhood on the other side of

the park was" and, "it's not really a destination place." One speaker stated,

I guess the biggest concern that I have, unlike the trail that connects

Willow Lane to Mountain Avenue[11], it's single-family residential, excuse

me, with single-family residential, this…was originally designed as a

buffer, this park, I think I'm safe in saying, from the city. It has served

---

[11] Pseudonyms

our neighborhood very well as a buffer. And to be connecting single

family to multi-family…[12].

Later, a parent from Patna spoke against the path. She, too, used language to create a

division between the two neighborhoods: "this path has support from at least *one*

neighborhood. I'm assuming it's the neighborhood where the Do Town even was hosted.

Again, our neighborhood, as far as I know, did not have any notice of that, and weren't

given the option to sign the petition or not."[13] A third resident stated, "we chose to live in

a very quiet neighborhood and we don't invite a lot of foot and bike traffic into it. I know

it's not our choice entirely, but it's certainly our preference." One objection to the path

did not build division: other opponents to the path highlighted the need to protect children

from balls from the municipal golf course adjoining the path.

Path supporters used the discourse of community. The first speaker at the hearing

noted that there was already a path connecting two other neighborhood segments. He

continued, "I think it's a great idea to finally connect two very quiet streets to each other

and provide some access to those areas…neighbors are able to meet other neighbors."

The second speaker, from a nearby neighborhood populated largely by retired

individuals, noted, "I think these pathways and bikeways are not only great for this

population we've got there, our neighbors in Meadowview, it's also great for people in

the other neighborhoods who are, like me, out exploring and want to see some new areas

and new neighborhoods. And it gets people together." At the above-mentioned point in

the hearing when a path opponent noted the fence's usefulness as a buffer between multi-

---

[12] Speaker was cut off by a time limit. Italics indicate speaker's emphasis.
[13] Italics indicate speaker's emphasis.

family and single-family residences, the researcher moved from observer to critical-

theory activist. The researcher told the city council,

> I know that there should be buffers against commercial space, but I'm
>
> very nervous about the comment of a buffer against multifamily housing.
>
> That, to me, speaks to one of the issues that we as a community have a
>
> history of, which is our very segregated housing where we have almost all
>
> of our apartments in very specific areas…I really want to make sure that
>
> the considerations you are taking are safety considerations, and not
>
> considerations that, if you go back to the core, are socio-economic
>
> considerations.

Though these comments were not planned, they fit with the role of the critical researcher

as actively promoting equity and justice. Two speakers later, a community organizer

from a state-funded community-health improvement group spoke about the bike path's

history. S/he noted that a statewide health improvement task group held a focus group

with apartment residents where the concept of a bike path and playground were raised.

S/he also explained the event at which the petition was circulated: s/he noted that this

neighborhood was targeted for an event because the families who live in the apartments

often have voices that "are not heard." Each speaker who supported the path focused on

benefits for students or for increased community interactions.

When the public hearing closed, multiple city council members spoke about the

project. The first speaker noted that other park paths had been approved without public

hearings and asked for city staff to clarify the policy. After clarification that hearings for

paths are not required, s/he went on to describe the benefits of the path for families on

each side of the path; s/he used the language of "west of the path" and "east of the path"

instead of single family vs. multi-family homes. A second council member described the

neighborhood with the apartments as "

> the most dense and diverse neighborhood in Wellington…with a
>
> neighborhood park that has no amenities, and that's not …it's not a right
>
> situation for the families and the children that live there…to me this
>
> project is about...it's not about maintaining a buffer; it's about removing a
>
> barrier that exists right now.

The mayor talked about the theory that national security is enhanced by the creation of

vibrant and walkable communities. "I came to this meeting tonight kinda torn about what

to do here…when I [did a site visit and] looked across Meadowview, I thought, 'this

should occur.'" When s/he received emails and calls prior to the meeting, however, s/he

contemplated whether the path was safe and whether adequate notice had been given to

residents. Learning that paths are almost always built without hearings helped her/him

feel comfortable with the notice given, and by the time the hearing was over s/he decided,

"I think it will be very, very good for our community." In the end it passed the council

unanimously

The speech of both supporters and opponents demonstrated some knowledge of

the demographic differences between the typical apartment resident and the typical

single-family home resident. Their reactions to a potential connection between these two

neighborhoods, however, were dramatically different. It is the researcher's opinion that

the individuals who opposed the path did so out of barely masked racism and classism.

Fears about need for an increased police presence and a "buffer" indicate that at least a

few single-family home residents believe apartment residents are less law-abiding than

are the single-family home residents. This perception, though not voiced by the

individuals interviewed for this research, is clearly in existence in the neighborhood. The

fact that path supporters' voices were heard by council members indicates that the city

leaders are heading in the direction of equity, but may need increased support and

education to truly become forces for equity. With regard to Patna, an undercurrent of

classism and racism in the neighborhood will likely provide further challenges if the

school continues on its journey toward greater equity.

　　　　After conducting a discourse analysis of the city council hearing, the researcher

sought additional literature to supplement her analysis. Critical geography is an

appropriate analytical tool to use in this situation because it is the application of critical

theory to geography. As defined by the Association of American Geographers,

"geography asks the big questions — Where? How? Why? What if? — and gives you the

perspective to answer them with advanced technology and a solid knowledge of the

world in which we all live" (Association of American Geographers, 2014).

　　　　The Socialist and Critical Geography knowledge community of the Association of

American Geographers defines their mission within the community of geographers as, "to

promote critical analysis of geographic phenomena, cognizant of geographic research on

the well-being of social classes; to investigate the issue of radical change toward a more

collective society; and to discover the impact of economic growth upon environmental

quality and upon social equity" (Association of American Geographers, 2013).   In this case, critical geography encouraged the researcher to ask questions about who lives where and why. It also suggested investigating the effects of natural and man-made structures and advocating for radical changes to make Wellington more inclusive.

Geographic features within attendance boundaries can indicate divisions and potential inequities within school communities, and critical researchers and critical educators have a responsibility and the power to enact change to increase equity. The fence between two of Patna's neighborhoods was both a symbolic and physical boundary between majority-culture and non-majority-culture families. There were few connections between these families at school and even fewer in the community outside of Patna's walls. The proposed construction of this path brought unspoken community divisions to the surface: as some opponents of the path spoke from a discourse of protectionism (fear of crime), it indicates that they viewed the residents of the apartments as dramatically different from themselves. In reality, an increasing number of apartment residents speak English fluently, are well-educated, and live above the poverty line. This description is not meant to excuse racist or classist fears of those who are significantly different than the majority culture, but to note that, in this case, the classist fears are not even based on the demographic reality of a large number of apartment residents. By speaking out, the researcher increased awareness of these unspoken divisions and helped influence the vote of the city council.

Emergent Thematic Analysis

As described in Chapter 3, a thematic analysis was conducted of data gathered during this study. As the research questions distinguished between the speech of emergent English speakers and that of native English speakers, this section is divided into two sub-sections: 1) Native English Speakers; and 2) Native Speakers of Other Languages. Participants with first languages other than English are identified as English Language Learners/English Learners (ELL/ELs). Quotes used throughout the findings section are presented with line and stanza breaks as described by Gee (2011a). Each quote is followed by a citation noting the interview number (1 refers to the initial interview and 2 refers to the member-check interview), page number of transcript, and stanza number.

Native English Speakers

Participants in this category are teachers, non-ELL/EL parents, and the building administrator. Though they share many characteristics, these participants exhibited significant within-group variation regarding the central research question that applies to them: *How can we come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL students and families through native English speakers' talk?* The native English speakers' talk allowed the researcher to visualize the participants as points on the spectrum of equity awareness. This spectrum ranged from a) actively equity-focused actions and language on one end, through b) actions and language that demonstrated awareness without actions, and to c) moments of racism, classism, or other forms of bias against those who were not members of the majority culture. None of the participants were consistently biased against non-majority culture individuals or groups. The opinions and actions described in this section

are divided into three areas on the spectrum: 1) Equity: intentional focus; 2) Equity: awareness; and 3) Equity: unawareness.

Equity: intentional focus.

Three native English speakers consistently demonstrated equity-focused sentiments, and many other participants had moments where they were purposefully equity-focused. Behavior that falls on the equity-focused end of the spectrum is described in the following two sections: 1) Opinions; and 2) Actions

Opinions. In describing their life and work at Patna, many participants made observations that were classified in this research as equity-focused. Overall, equity-focused observations indicate a deep understanding of concepts related to equity. Here, the observations are divided into five categories: 1) Valuing community diversity; 2) Understanding lived experience; 3) Identifying normative behavior; 4) Applying equitable pedagogy; and 5) Questioning Patna's progress.

Valuing community diversity. Many members of the Patna community described working in diverse environments in positive terms, but the comment that follows takes this positivity a step further by noting that the diversity is inspiring. As one teacher stated,

> I love the
>
> challenge
>
> of
>
> the diversity of the kids…

> There was always a mix,
>
> and I found the challenge of that
>
> inspiring.
>
> Really inspiring. (1, 1, 8)

This teacher used repetition of words and concepts in this excerpt to build significance around the idea of enjoying teaching in diverse schools. This teacher did not, however, use rose-colored glasses to describe teaching in a diverse school. Repeating both "challenge" and "inspiring" helps this teacher paint a realistic view of life as a teacher at Patna.

Understanding lived experience. Educators looking through an equity-focused lens frequently displayed an understanding of the diversity of the lived experiences of the families at Patna. One educator's descriptions of the three main ethnic groups demonstrated an understanding that distinguished among the lived experiences of ELL/EL families. This educator was comfortable discussing the continuities and distinctions within and between the immigrant communities at Patna. These distinctions were evidence of knowledge related to economic and political situations in the families' home countries. The teacher was able to differentiate between push vs. pull factors for immigration and did not assume that all families chose to move here. These understandings demonstrated that the teacher had a broad knowledge of the non-school-based discourses about immigration and world events. For example, the teacher described most Indian families as highly educated and often only here for a few years in order to advance their careers:

So they have different…

they have access to

different resources

and they have

different…

and their background and experiences are different.

They're not displaced.

They've chosen to come here.

I think that's a

big

distinction. (1, 3, 8)

This teacher then noted that many of the Mexican families were also here for job

opportunities, but that the Somali families were here because they were fleeing the war.

When describing a difference between the other two groups, the teacher noted that it is

highly unlikely that Somali immigrants will return to Somalia. From a discourse

perspective, the teacher used modifiers throughout the larger speech that indicated that

the lived experience of each family is unique. For example, the teacher used words

including probably, may be, if, might, and some.

One teacher contemplated the lived experiences of ELL/EL families on both the macro and micro-levels. For example, when describing trying to convince parents to accept special education services, s/he said:

There is a big trust level,

you know?

And I think about that.

I think about

me going to a foreign country

where I don't really speak the language,

and signing off on something for my child

but you're not quite sure

how that's going to look. (1, 12, 2)

The quote above reveals that the educator could imagine the fears and hesitations parents might have about enrolling their children in special education services. Simply trying to visualize how s/he would feel if s/he was in their shoes, s/he was uncovering his/her own empathy and understanding of the lived experiences of these families.

On a micro-level, the teacher also described multiple unique interactions with students and families who experience the intersection of ELL/EL and special education. Three stories about families from the same country demonstrate how the teacher used perspective-taking to view each family as distinct. For example, s/he related how one family hesitated to accept special education services because they knew their child would not receive the same level of service when they returned to their home country.

They

Were concerned about the services they would get there

And would he even qualify for an aide there

So

They were wanting

Perhaps

Not to aid him here

Because he'd have to get used to not having one

When he went back to India. (1, 8, 3)

Other parents from the same country were faced with the same conundrum, but they instead asked for assistance in getting visa extensions. The teacher helped the family find an immigration attorney. A third family, from the same country, had a different lens on special education services: they did not want their daughter to wear hearing aids because it would brand her as imperfect. When the teachers realized that grades were important to this family, they explained that she would do better academically if she had hearing aids, and the parents decided to allow services. These various interactions have given the teacher a window on how cultures are diverse and on how simply knowing the ethnic background of a family is not necessarily a predictor of future behavior.

Some members of the Patna community expressed a desire to engage more parents in volunteering at the school. One parent indicated that s/he understood some of the reasons ELL/EL parents did not volunteer as soon as their children became Patna Elementary attendees. For example,

Perhaps

they

don't

sit in on a shift at Winter Carnival

because they're afraid of

the language barrier and being able to understand

whatever it is

The responsibility of it they want to do.

But they want to help out at school.

They want to be involved in their children's lives

as most parents

obviously do. (1, 14, 2)

The quote above highlights that this parent understands that ELL/EL parents seek

involvement in their children's lives. This understanding is an assumption s/he holds for

most parents, and s/he includes ELL/EL parents in that group. His/her use of the word

"perhaps" indicates that s/he has thought about this topic, but does not purport to have

expertise.

Identifying normative behavior. In conversations with educators and parents at

Patna, one common theme indicated that many study participants were aware that many

aspects of society are normed on white middle-class norms. For example, when

participants were asked whether the word *diverse* could be used to describe Patna,

participants indicated an awareness of societal norming. Multiple teachers noted that the

word diverse is often used as a code word to mean non-white students, but that their own, personal definition of diversity was broader than simply noting the existence of non-white students.

Other educators alluded to norms when discussing the processes for student assessment. When discussing how ELL/EL students were treated throughout the standardized assessment processes, one participant asked why ELL/EL students had to have their test scores compared to non-ELL/EL peers' test scores in such a short time frame (about one year), and why these students cannot be given academic credit for speaking multiple languages,

> But we are just so locked in to…
>
> unless you're speaking English.
>
> Whereas,
>
> we should be
>
> we should be growing both at the same time.
>
> So we're creating stronger bilingual students,
>
> because isn't that what the world wants? (1, 20, 4)

In this stanza, this educator uses "we" repeatedly which can be viewed as setting up an "us" vs. "them" mentality, an acknowledgement that the educator is a member of the majority-culture education establishment, or part of his/her pattern of using "we" when s/he refers to things s/he did not do purely independently. As this educator does not typically use binary categories, it is unlikely that the educator is structuring an "us" vs. "them" argument.

Instead, the educator was acknowledging her/his part in the larger teaching establishment, a group that should take responsibility for a) the current assessment of ELL/ELs as well as b) making changes.

One educator cautioned that the normative use of white middle class expectations of family life/resources casts non-majority family/cultural differences as deficits. For example, non-majority culture parents may volunteer or participate in school functions less than majority culture parents because, in addition to transportation or language barriers,

> many of them
>
> are
>
> working multiple jobs
>
> so,
>
> time that they have to spend with their
>
> families
>
> is a precious resource. (2,2, 1)

An analysis of this excerpt revealed a number of things about this educator's philosophy regarding equity. First, instead of using an article that states or implies "all," this educator used the word "many" as a tool to acknowledge that the educator was not speaking to the experience of all ELL/EL families. Second, the educator used a broad definition of resources that includes time spent with family. Third, the educator built up the significance of this example by describing time as a "precious" resource. Finally, on

a macro-level, the larger narrative that surrounded this excerpt, acknowledges the power

of societal norms and the possible push back.

Applying equitable pedagogy. During most parent-teacher conferences, a power

difference exists between parents and teachers. Potentially, for ELL/EL families, this

differential is even greater because these families often require an interpreter to speak

with teachers. At Patna, all teachers conducting parent-teacher conferences were

observed speaking directly to the parents and looking at the parents instead of speaking to

the interpreter. This practice was one tool that Patna teachers used to help treat all

families equally.

When thinking about classroom practices along with other school-wide practices,

one teacher recounted the pros and cons of a pull-out ELL/EL model where the students

are serviced by ELL/EL teachers in a separate ELL/EL classroom for a certain time each

day. This teacher knew that the ELL/EL students had needs that were best met in an

ELL/EL-focused setting and, at the same time, worried that having students pulled out

each day weakened the classroom community:

> Is this really best for kids that are just learning language,
>
> to leave a classroom where it's so language rich,
>
> and do you really want to be doing that?
>
> Because you're trying to build
>
> a classroom culture where kids are friends
>
> and they're accepting,
>
> and it's really hard when they're out of the room,

right? (1, 13, 6)

This discourse reveals a pattern in this educator's speech. When the educator discussed

general educational tenets, s/he often spoke in language that avoided using "I" or even

"we" as the actors. These practices are the subjects in many of particular sentences

and/or independent clauses (ie. "this" in line 1 and "it's" in line 7).

Questioning Patna's progress. Some of the educators—strongly focused on

equity in their teaching lives—believed that Patna is making progress toward equity, but

wanted to note that the school still has much work to do. One educator was not fully

convinced that equitable teaching was spreading at Patna:

I think it's getting better.

I think it's getting better.

I do sense it's getting better. (1, 14, 3)

The repetition of the same phrase three times seems an attempt to create the belief (in

her/himself) that equity is increasing at Patna. Additionally, using modifiers, like "I

think" and "I do sense," clearly make any subsequent statement less convincing.

As a second example, other than the administrator, the educator quoted below was

the only participant who inquired about other participants' perceptions. As s/he stated,

I would like to know if I'm…

if my perception

is

along the lines of other people. (1, 18, 9)

The question above indicates uncertainty about whether the teacher's views aligned or misaligned with the larger Patna community.

One teacher noted systemic inequity in the building. S/he described cases in which children of color were put in lower math and reading groups because of behavior issues rather than because of difficulty with the content. This educator also noted that some students of color, not necessarily ELL/EL students, appeared to develop negative self-prophecies by the time they moved into the upper grades:

They're

behavior problems

kind of because

that's…

They act according to what

has been expected of them.

And I don't want to say this to be negative towards anyone,

but

somewhere along the line

that happened. (1, 10, 6)

The main clause in the first sentence states that some students of color are behavior problems, but the cause of these behavior problems (fulfillment of expectations set by the community) was in the subordinate clause. In other words, the cause is provided as background information.

One educator described being pleased that, at the time of the study, Patna used

sheltered instruction and had an equity team,

I get the sense here that

This building

we're always learning

and

that's where I want to work:

at a place where we're always learning.

We're always learning.

We're maybe not doing the

exactly the right thing

but we're always looking for that exactly right thing. (1, 12, 6)

The vast majority of the above teacher's comments, about the ongoing adult learning,

were positive comments such as the one above. This educator's language emphasized the

trend of adult learning by repeating "always learning" three times and adding "always

looking" near the end. The educator's speech also helped to build community by

repeating "we" when identifying the staff. However, the educator did note that there was

room for professional growth in the areas of misunderstanding or misapplying culture,

I've noticed it

 in discussions with other people.

That there's some generalizations made about

About certain,

um,

cultures

that are represented in our school. (1, 7, 2)

In both this stanza and another when the educator was also describing cultural

misunderstandings, the educator moved to a vague subject that does not specify who is

doing the cultural generalizing. Instead of "we" the description of *cultural*

generalizations indicated that these generalizations exist. The lack of negative authorship

aligns with the teacher's consistently positive and professional-growth-focused outlook.

For example, when describing cultural misunderstandings, the educator stated,

And that's not a blame thing.

That's just a misinformation thing.

That's a growth piece.

That's a staff development piece in my mind. (1, 6, 7)

Repeating the word "that" helps solidify that the subject is not the misinformed teacher,

but the practice of acting in a misinformed way.

Actions. Some members of the Patna Elementary community took actions that

are examples of equity-focused education. These actions ranged from being actively

aware of the choices made to the striving for change in the larger system of education.

For the purposes of analysis and discussion, these actions are grouped into four thematic

categories: 1) Personal; 2) Pedagogic; 3) Cultural; and 4) Systemic.

Personal. The native English speaking parents interviewed, for the study, bought

homes in the Patna neighborhood in order to expose their children to a more

heterogeneous population than found in other Wellington schools; these parents also

worked to make the school more equitable. One described the reasons behind his/her

move to Patna's attendance area as,

> I felt that exposing my children to
>
> everything was going to
>
> help
>
> them in a globally dynamic world as they grow.
>
> You know.
>
> So that they
>
> understand differences
>
> among people. (1, 3, 3)

Though this explanation focused on the value of Patna's diversity for the speaker's own

children, it was included under the theme of equity-focused action because a part of

practicing equity is the ability to see and value differences between people. This quote

also illustrated that the speaker was aware of global interconnectedness and valued

intercultural skills. Again, the underlying theme (the ability to understand differences)

was subordinate to the parents' rationale for their decision (exposing children to a diverse

community).

The Parent-Teacher Organization (PTO) was purposeful in how it chose to

communicate with Patna parents. The PTO utilized email, personal contacts, and

Facebook on a regular basis. For example, the organization created and distributed a

Spanish translation of a packet of parent information about a school-wide literacy event.

In attendance at this event was a Spanish-speaking father who, earlier in the study, had

lamented the lack of translated documents, and explained that he cautions his son that

some school events are only for non-immigrant families. To address this unintentional

exclusionary practice and include more ELL/EL families in a different school event, the

PTO worked with the ELL/EL teachers to have them explain and promote the event in

their small groups.

Some non-ELL/EL parents were more comfortable interacting with ELL/EL

families than were other non-ELL/EL parents. For example, at the literacy event

referenced in the above paragraph, approximately 200 parents were milling around during

an unstructured social time. Other than conversations including one non-white family

that appeared well-known, the researcher only observed four conversations between

white and non-white families. One conversation included a district administrator who

was also a parent, and at least one included a parent who described having a goal of,

> making an
>
> effort to go
>
> to family events
>
> that
>
> where everybody is and connect with
>
> my children's friends' families
>
> so that they feel
>
> welcomed,
>
> and that they feel

included. (1, 5, 3)

The quote above showed the parent's desire to create more community at Patna

Elementary. Interestingly, s/he used the word "everybody" early in the sentence, and

then used the pronoun "they" to specifically refer to the families of his/her children's

friends (she was referring to ELL/EL families). Switching to "they" set up the ELL/EL

families as part of a set that is both part of "everybody" and also a distinct "other."

Pedagogic.   Equity-focused native English speakers ordered their teaching

practices in ways that promoted equity, and they noticed when other classrooms or

processes did not promote equity. The following four anecdotes (focused on equity in

pedagogy) are presented with the *most-equity focused* one first.

Though home visits are common in many districts, they were not common in

Wellington[14]. At Patna Elementary, however, one teacher visited the home of each

student before the start of the school year. Home visits helped her/him develop

relationships with parents. As s/he explained about these visits,

I'll be honest with you, Maggie

there's been so many rich

rich

rich conversations

with those home visits and conferences with families of color.

Especially bilingual

parents that have clearly had another lived experience.

---

[14] Patna Elementary is located in the city of Wellington.

> And that's fascinating to me,
>
> maybe a little bit more so than anything else
>
> But
>
> it really helps you ground the work that you are doing as an educator.
>
> I'll tell you that. (1, 10, 10)

From a linguistic perspective, this participant used multiple devices for emphasizing that s/he recognized the benefits of home visits. First, s/he started his/her response with the phrase "I'll be honest with you." Presumably, everything else the teacher said was also honest, so the phrase drew attention to the strength of her/his beliefs. Similarly, s/he finished his statement with the capstone, "I'll tell you that." Again, this phrase was unnecessary for listener comprehension. This participant routinely used modifiers such as "rich," "clearly," "fascinating," and "really" to add to the positive tone of his/her comments. In addition, the teacher used the word "rich" three times to draw attention to the quality of the conversations s/he had with parents. Instead of leaving the description of home visits that were the richest as a subordinate phrase ("with families of color"), the teacher restated this element as a separate sentence: "Especially bilingual parents that have clearly had another lived experience." This restatement foregrounded the idea that s/he placed significant value on conversations with ELL/EL families. The same teacher easily used the Discourse of equity when talking about lived experiences.

One primary educator promoted equity by balancing awareness of individual differences while building a classroom community. Fundamentally, this teacher focused on each student as an individual or as part of a family, and considered culture secondarily

to the immediate world of each student. Understanding the lives of individual students in

this way grounded the work of teaching. The teacher also noted that when culture is the

starting point of understanding individual students, there is a risk of assuming that all

families from the same culture have the same traits,

> I'm more on the
>
> let's deal with that kid's reality first.
>
>
> And if there's things that you think I need to learn about
>
> your family in the context of culture /
>
> that's just fine.
>
>
> But if they're things I just need to learn about your family
>
> that's great, too. (1, 8, 5)

For this teacher, the connection with families was vitally important. Clearly, when the

teacher demonstrated conversations with families (second stanza), the use of "I" and

"you/your" illustrates his/her desire for a connection between home and school. Family

was placed (by the respondent) as a partner, not merely a participant, when s/he noted

that the family might have things "you think I need to learn about / your family." The

Discourse of equity was also evident in the phrase "that kid's reality."

Related to celebrating differences, an intermediate teacher described a

conversation that took place in a classroom where students, from around the world,

compared their experiences of shopping for groceries. The teacher ended the story with,

And it was fascinating!

And they are

Empowered.

And they feel good about themselves to be able to share

These experiences. (1, 8, 2)

Using "and" multiple times for wrap up added excitement to the teacher's description of the event.

Conversations with one teacher indicated that s/he was using a critical lens to teach students rather than duplicate what s/he was exposed to as a student. For example, s/he used a critical perspective to point out that teachers who say things like, "I don't see color, I just see students" were ignoring large parts of each student's life. The same teacher also acknowledged that, "sometimes you don't know what you don't know" (1, 12, 4), and such a realization should remind teachers to pay more attention to their own behaviors.

Cultural. Multiple equity-focused educators in this study took actions to change the culture at Patna into one that is more inclusive and welcoming for its super-diverse population (Vertovec, 2007). This subsection describes Patna's administrator's and Equity Team's efforts to change the culture at Patna.

The administrator's dedication to equity was noted by teachers and the PTO president and was verified by changes that have taken place since s/he arrived during the summer of 2007. Furthermore, the PTO president noted that the administrator kept

inclusion and equity at the forefront of her/his decision-making process and challenged

those around him to do the same. S/he recounted a frequent event at meetings,

It's the first question that really does come out of his/her

mouth when anybody

brings up a new idea

or suggestion.

'How can we

How can we include?

How can we include?

Always. (1, 15, 5)

The speaker used multiple devices to convey that the administrator is consistently

focused on equity. S/he used the word "first" to situate his comment as her/his consistent

first reaction. The adverb "really" was used to help prove her/his point that this truly

frequently happened. In line 2, s/he reinforced that this question was asked by stating

that when "anybody" raised an idea, this response was a consistent reply. The fact that

three of his/her eight lines of speech were repetitions of the administrator's question

made the listener feel like they, too, heard the question multiple times. Finally, the short

one word line, "always" after each comment made the description of events sound like

the final word on the issue.

In the spring of 2013, the equity team (a group of teachers who worked towards

increased equity) was in the planning phase of introducing Courageous Conversations

(Singleton & Linton, 2006) to the Patna community. Though some members of the Patna

community had learned about Courageous Conversations through off-site workshops and independent reading, this was the first school-wide focus on these materials. The teachers were excited to bring this program to Patna, yet they were also aware of the challenges associated with having such conversations. As one teacher described it, these conversations could allow everyone to put

> Their cards on the table.
>
> And a chance to really be brave
>
> About facing your own
>
> Ignoracies about things
>
> Or facing
>
> Facing your own realities about it in maybe in an uncomfortable situation. (2, 9, 4)

This quote mixed the idea of opportunity ("a chance") with ideas that are not often associated with opportunity because they are not universally positive concepts: being brave, facing your own lack of knowledge, and being in an uncomfortable situation. This unusual combination of ideas in one sentence indicated that this teacher valued situations that forced confrontation with issues of inequity. This teacher believed that others would view Courageous Conversations (Singleton & Linton, 2006) as a positive experience, while acknowledging that responses would not be uniform,

> I think you really learn about how to be better at what you do.
>
> You know.

And that's really what you want people leaving with.

You know,

because everybody's on their journey.

Not everybody's going to be in the same place,

but…

if you can walk away being a better teacher,

and being a better communicator and…

being

I mean,

that's a win-win for everybody. (2,10, 5)

This teacher's use of hedging words ("I think", twice, and "if", once) in these statements indicated that while the teacher wanted to believe that all teachers would appreciate and learn from this experience, s/he was not fully confident that others were going to welcome this program enthusiastically.

Another teacher's expectations for these conversations were slightly less positive because while s/he saw the same challenges and positive outcomes as the first teacher, s/he lacked the same excitement about the conversation itself. When describing having one-on-one conversations about equity the second teacher stated,

For me,

 I…

that's difficult,

I think.

I think it's difficult to talk about.

But it's

It's needed. (2, 3, 10)

In contrast to the positive words used by the first equity team teacher, this teacher's

repetition of the word "difficult" indicates more concern with the challenges of the

conversations. This teacher later stated,

It will be interesting.

But I think it's a good –

it's needed.

Especially given our population. (2, 4, 7)

Again, though words such as "good" and "interesting" were positive, this teacher's tone

was less optimistic than that of the other Equity Team member.

Systemic. The highly equity-focused educators in this study strove to work

beyond the confines of their classrooms or offices to enact systemic change. Some of the

most obvious examples of systemic change to increase equity were occurring at the

district level. For example, all district website pages (including school pages) were

linked to the Google Translate system. As a result, parents who were literate in a

language other than English could view translated (in 75+ languages) school websites.

There were problems, however, with the rollout of Google Translate. For example,

though the Google Translate function worked on almost any website, on the Wellington[15]

site, it was only clearly available for use on *some* of the district pages.

Several systemic changes took place during the administrator's tenure. These

changes included the establishment of an ELL/EL summer school, a program (with

busing in place) that included ELL/EL students in before-school academic support groups

as well as the summer academic support program. These exceptional programs were not

implemented by the principal alone, but in concert with ELL/EL teachers, the equity

team, and district administration. The school administrator frequently moved from "I" to

"we" when telling stories of building-level changes.

Below is one typical stanza about program changes:

So

when I got here,

EL students received their EL service

minutes

during the language arts block,

which seemed sort of counter-intuitive to me.

I mean,

on one level it makes a lot of sense,

on another level,

if you're trying to accelerate their learning,

it doesn't make any sense

---

[15] Patna Elementary is located in the city of Wellington.

because you want them to have more exposure to the language,

and working with a

qualified teacher.

So we changed that. (1, 12, 2)

When discussing these changes, the administrator consistently identified himself/herself

as the one who started the conversation, but switched to "we" or "us" when the changes

were being made. This happened repeatedly throughout both interviews with her/him.

The second common speech pattern for the administrator was subordinating the

reasons for her/his thoughts and actions. The grammatical feature of main and

subordinate clauses helps discourse analysts examine which topics are taken for granted

by the speaker (subordinated clauses) and which topics are considered new pieces of

information by the speaker (main clauses) (Gee, 2011a, p. 92). In the above excerpt, one

main clause is

when I got here,

EL students received their EL service

minutes

during the language arts block

This statement was immediately followed by the subordinate clause: "which seemed sort

of counter-intuitive to me." The new piece of information in the main clause is a

description of the scheduling structure that s/he found inappropriate. The subordinated

clause contained the start of his/her explanation of why s/he did not think the schedule

was best for students. As the context of this statement was a conversation with a

researcher focused on equity, it was reasonable to conclude that s/he subordinated what s/he assumed was a shared opinion.

This pattern of subordinating the reasons for his/her thoughts or actions continued in subsequent stanzas. When describing other equity actions, they were usually in the main clause. Below are two examples of this pattern (M: main clause; S: subordinate clause).

Example 1: Describing helping low-income students attend school events

M: We give out wristbands to kids

S: Who qualify for free or reduced price lunch (1, 11,2)

Example 2: ELL/EL parents need invitations to participate in PTO

M: You need to talk to them

S: Because they don't get it, or

   It doesn't feel comfortable (1, 14, 5)

Two threads are apparent in these two examples. First, the administrator consistently explains reasons for her/his actions without being asked. Second, as his/her reasons were found in subordinate clauses, s/he assumed that her/his reasons were non-controversial and were not new information for the listener.

Systemic changes also took place beyond the administrator's actions. For example, two intermediate teachers changed the processes to gain membership in the student leadership team. The traditional application for the student leadership team asked applicants to write a paragraph explaining why they were qualified for the team. This process virtually eliminated students who did not have high-level English writing skills.

With the leadership team

We've tried

really hard

to

find a way

to look at leadership skills.

Not…

We started off

having kids write essays.

Well,

found

you know what?

That's not really a good… (1, 9, 2)

The teacher explained that they moved to an assessment of leadership skills based on

student behavior on specifically-designed group tasks. This teacher assumed that the

researcher could follow her logic about the misaligned assessment when she paused after

"that's not really a good. . ." and did not add "assessment of leadership skill." Other than

using "really" and "great" twice, the language used in this story is direct and without

significant modifiers to add emphasis.

One teacher continually returned to the theme that assumptions and standards,

used when working with majority culture families, were not appropriate for ELL/EL

families. S/he explained the general necessity for informed perspectives in the excerpt

below:

> And so for us to step back
>
> and look at the cultural piece
>
> which we always try to do
>
> but sometimes you just don't know
>
> where parents are coming from
>
> And us
>
> as educators
>
> knowing we need to fight for getting this child what she needs. (1, 7, 11)

This excerpt shows that the teacher was aware that parents may be "coming from" a

different vantage point than teachers ("us"). The final word of this quote, "needs," is a

fairly loaded word because, when cultural difference comes into play at school, members

of different cultures were likely to define "needs" in dramatically different ways. The

same teacher went on to demonstrate awareness of how cultural norms were intimately

tied to special education processes by describing challenges faced over the years: a) state

and federal regulations that imposed barriers to service for ELL/EL students; b)

assessments that were inappropriate for students who did not have fully developed first

languages; c) students who only qualified for speech-language services due to difficulty

producing unfamiliar sounds (not found in their first language); and d) assessments that

were not normed for bilingual children. The school's educators have moved toward

meeting these challenges by increasing their awareness and by using interpreters and translated documents to communicate with families.

Equity: awareness.

A number of native English-speaking study participants demonstrated awareness of/or interest in equity-focused topics without presenting evidence of subsequent substantive equity-focused actions. Examples of demonstrated awareness are organized into the following categories: 1) Appreciation of diversity; 2) Identification of difference; and 3) Frustration with oversimplification.

Appreciation of diversity. Teachers who were aware of equity, but were not consistently equity-focused, frequently stated that they enjoyed the diversity at Patna Elementary. As such, they generally described Patna and its diverse population in either neutral or positive terms. For example, one teacher said that Patna had always been an *accepting* environment. A second teacher described liking Patna because it was "a little snapshot of the world" (23, 2). A third teacher described Patna as being "real world" because "the world is made of such a mix of people" (1, 1). One educator's appreciation was genuinely effusive.

I think it's [working at Patna] a joy.

I think it is

a privilege

to be exposed to the cultures.

I think it

certainly broadens my world

in a way that I

when I went to college a million years ago

did not think

that I would be doing this.

That I would be dealing with

such a vast population

from so many countries.

And I'm in Wellington. (1, 25, 7)

This excerpt shows that this teacher associated multiple positive words with the

experience of working with ELL/EL students and families (joy, privilege, broadens).

This teacher's repetition of "I think" at the beginning of each of these positive phrases

served to do what Gee (2011a) refers to as *building significance*. In this case, the teacher

responded to the researcher by asking, "So, what did I not ask you that I should know

about working with ELL/EL students and families at Patna?" (1, 25, 6). The same

participant built significance around the idea of enjoying teaching at Patna due to the

diverse student body. In contrast, the phrase "dealing with" had a negative connotation

unlike the rest of the phrases. This negative phrasing was not common in this teacher's

speech patterns.

One parent noted that this appreciation of Patna's diversity was not consistently

held throughout the Wellington[16] community. The parent described multiple interactions

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[16] Patna Elementary is located in the city of Wellington.

with other district residents whom s/he described as having "more of an elitist" mindset.

S/he described the parents who loved Patna and her/his view of elitist parents,

> Thank goodness those people don't live in our neighborhood.

> We're glad they chose a different neighborhood. (1, 3, 5)

The teachers and parents who described appreciating Patna's diversity occasionally

recounted stories of being "cheerleaders" for Patna's diversity while in the community;

taking the stance of "cheerleader" indicated action taken, but was not necessarily equity-

focused.

> ***Identification of difference.*** Sometimes *equity awareness* was demonstrated

through observations of nuanced differences between people and groups in Patna's

community. For example, one teacher expressed remorse about the fact that only a few

of the staff members at Patna were from non-white backgrounds. At the time of the

interview, one Asian-American teacher had recently moved to a district-wide coaching

position, and the second Asian-American teacher was planning to transfer to a different

district at the end of the year. Their departures meant that only one teacher was non-

white, and s/he was not a classroom teacher. In addition, though these teachers were not

white, they were not from the three largest non-white ethnic groups represented at the

school. The teacher noted,

> But I don't know if they're

> Helping bridge our gap that we need to.

> I think we need more of that. (1, 29, 2)

These comments revealed that the teacher recognized that non-majority educators (who are not members of the ethnic student groups) cannot speak for or act as liaisons for other non-majority, ethnic groups.

When the same teacher stated that Patna needs more staff members who could "bridge the gap" with families, the researcher became an advocate. When Gee (2011b) wrote, about those researching through the lens of critical theory, he stated "They also want to speak to and, perhaps, intervene in, social or political issues, problems, and controversies in the world" (Gee, 2011b, p. 9). This study's researcher shared relevant research studies with participants. The relevant research articulated one way to increase the number of teachers from underrepresented groups. In this particular approach, educators invite community members from underrepresented groups to work in the schools as paraprofessionals and later encourage them, through cohorts and other support, to obtain their teaching licenses. The teacher responded positively to this idea,

That's interesting.

That's something that we could do. (1, 31, 3)

Clearly, the teacher views this idea positively, but it was not clear whether the teacher was going to take steps to enact the idea.

The administrator also described the benefits of having staff members who were aware of cultural differences:

Having staff

who

have worked with

folks from different backgrounds

and speak different languages

and maybe have different customs.

There's a

level of non-judgment there,

or a level of trying to understand and help. (1, 9, 5)

When asked if s/he actively recruited staff members with broad backgrounds, s/he

replied,

That weighs into the hiring process.

It's not the

beginning and the end,

because

if you're good interpersonally,

you're going to figure it out. (1, 9, 7)

For this administrator, valuing an interculturally-skilled staff was not the same as hiring a

multicultural staff.

Another teacher demonstrated an awareness of difference within the ELL/EL

community by being explicit about visualizing families who have certain traits in

common when speaking to the researcher about ELL/EL families.

And I guess,

when I'm kind of answering questions,

I do

probably think more of the

 …the more…

not the…

the group that doesn't have the resources

and the language

like the Indian families do. (1, 9, 10)

This teacher identified numerous characteristics that s/he observed in most Indian

families: a) only one parent works because only one is eligible for a visa; b) they speak

English well enough to communicate socially; c) they are in America for career

advancement; d) the children are in ELL/EL, but are also in enriched math courses and

attend community education classes; e) there are only one or two children in the family.

As this teacher stated,

I do think there's kind of two different

groups

in the ESL program.

I do feel there's kind of that

Indian group that's interesting and

probably not

in a lot of schools.

So we're dealing with this really high expectation group of ESL parents

And then you have another group

that some of them haven't been in

formal education

let alone American education. (1, 19, 3)

This teacher later applied these observations to the classroom by stating, "So you kind of

have to handle the different groups in a different way" (1, 20, 5). Though making such

observations may cause teachers to form improper assumptions about individual students,

this teacher is a step closer to understanding the daily reality of individual students than

are teachers (discussed below) who did not acknowledge within-group diversity in the

ELL/EL population.

One PTO past president identified that in addition to the language differences, the

ELL/EL community was fairly transient, a fact that created a significant barrier between

the ELL/EL and native English speaking parents. Indeed, this transiency may have

created the lack of ELL/EL family representation on the PTO. As the past president

stated,

Some of our more ethnic families,

there's a lot of turnover.

They return to their home countries.

There's

sometimes there's

a different

country that is represented in large amounts one year and not the next year,

so

that's a challenge

too,

with anybody. (1, 5, 5)

Who's going to be here for a few years?

Who's going to be here to tell the next person

what the job is, and what the responsibilities are? (1, 6, 3)

By the fall of 2013 the PTO had moved to shrink the transiency barrier in the following

way: though many of the executive board positions remain multi-year roles (with one

year as an assistant and a second year as the leader), in 2013 there was an outreach

coordinator who served a one-year term. The job of the outreach coordinator was to

contemplate ways to involve all families for all events. The language used in the above

excerpt indicated that this parent thought about these issues, but is not quite as versed in

equity-focused discourse as the professional educators are.

For example, using a phrase such as "ethnic families" is an example of white

privilege: it indicates that s/he did not consider his/her own heritage "ethnic." A second

reason this example is located in the aware section rather than the equity-focused section

is that while this new role brought ELL/EL families to the PTO, it appeared that the new

participants were affluent ELL/EL families, not a cross-section of the ELL/EL families.

A final example of understanding difference came from another educator. S/he

compared the relative social position of majority and non-majority culture families

through a description of the physical geography of the neighborhood. In this explanation

of why ELL/EL families and non-ELL/EL families did not interact much, unknowingly,

the educator drew on critical geography:

> White middle class families live here
>
> and families of color live there.
>
> And there's no sidewalk
>
> to get there.
>
> No way to get from there to here.
>
> No reason
>
> really
>
> to go down there.
>
> No reason to go up here.
>
> So they would mix at our community events at school. (1, 17, 6)

In fact, at the time of this interview, there was no sidewalk, *and* there were fences

separating these neighborhoods—unless you walked or drove along a major street. (A

more detailed description of this situation is included starting on page 71.)

In contrast to statements that demonstrated an understanding of the diversity

within the ELL/EL population, the narrative above posited that families of color and

white middle-class families were a binary set. It neither described diversity within these

groups, nor mentioned white families that were not middle class or differentiated the

economic status for the families of color.   Instead, this statement focused primarily on

distinguishing families that were white and middle class from those who were not white.

This divide was heightened through two other syntactic devices. First, the word "no" was

repeated four times. Second, the word "here" was used to describe the school's

neighborhood, and the word "there" was used to describe the neighborhood where the

families of color live. This lack of allowing for within-group difference is unusual for

this educator, though it was largely supported during observations.

     Frustration with oversimplification. Some participants were frustrated by the

oversimplification of complex topics related to diversity. For example, one classroom

teacher did not like using the word diversie to describe Patna, because she thought the

term was a "kinda tired" description since "diversity can be many things" (2, 4, 6). In a

related vein, a parent said,

> I hate the term diversity
>
> cause I feel like it so oversimplifies
>
> and is so overused
>
> but it truly
>
> is
>
> you know
>
> if it weren't so overused
>
> it would be a great descriptive for our school. (1, 3, 4)

This parent's repetition of "so" and the prefix "over" serve to emphasize his/her point

that "diversity" was a word with many connotations that go beyond a dictionary

definition.

     Another teacher's language revealed the struggle to balance the sometimes-

competing values of equality and equity. For example, s/he described an internal

discourse surrounding the responsibilities of immigrants and the responsibilities of members of the majority-culture: to what degree should the education culture of the United States change versus to what degree immigrants need to accept the educational culture of the United States? S/he explained,

And I go between,

"well,

you're in the United States.

You're in our educational system.

These are

The rules.

This is what we teach.

These are our core…

This is our core curriculum.

These are our standards

educational standards.

But then it's like,

oh,

I don't know.

My father was an English language learner.

His family immigrated from Europe.

And,

the way they did it,

they just repeated.

He

repeated

several grades because he couldn't…

It wasn't that he wasn't smart.

And his parents,

my grandmother never spoke English.

Even though she had been here 30-40 years.

So I think we're much better than that.

We've come a long way.

But we have a long way to go

too. (1, 24, 5)

This teacher had a personal knowledge of the competing discourses surrounding

assimilation. On one hand, s/he wanted to tell immigrant families to adapt to American

standards; on the other hand, her/his personal story helped him/her acknowledge that

assimilation is not an easy or fast process.

Equity: unawareness.

Though none of the participants in this study would be considered racist or took

purposeful actions to undermine ELL/EL families, some of their opinions and actions

revealed biases. Each of the opinions and actions described in this section has at least

one of the following characteristics that are used to organize this section: 1)

Unintentional reinforcement of norms; 2) Negative expression of experiences; and 3)

Uncomfortable dialogue about race.

　　　　Unintentional reinforcement of norms. Patna Elementary's website noted that

people may notice "the large display of international flags in the front hallway. These

flags reflect the heritage of our student population. Patna staff and parents work together

to celebrate the many different cultures represented by our students" (Wellington Public

Schools, 2013). These flags, however, were identified only in English. This is a classic

example of an unintentional reinforcement of norms. In a similar vein, the overarching

code of conduct for the school ("Patna Pride") was posted all around the school. The

signs were all in English. One way that the school could recognize the skills of the

multilingual students is to ask them to make "Patna Pride" signs in other languages or to

have formal translations posted in key areas.

　　　　Another unintentional reinforcement of norms took place in the same hallway,

where the flags are displayed. Due to security concerns, at school events, all parents

funneled through the front doors into the main hallway. Though the researcher observed

a parent whose job was ostensibly to greet visitors, this parent only greeted those who

came to her/his table. As a result, for parents who were new to the school or who did not

know a lot of other parents, entering an event might feel a bit like walking a gauntlet.

Over the course of one school event, the researcher only observed one non-white parent

talking to other parents in this hallway. The lack of formal welcome, combined with the

hallway set-up, reinforced an in-group and an out-group.

The school website (artifact), beyond the mention of the flags, did not allude to

Patna being a super-diverse school (Vertovec, 2007). In fact, "school highlights" are as

follows:

• Neighborhood School

• All-day Kindergarten

• Service Learning

• Gifted Education

• School Patrol

• Art Adventure

• Patna KIDS Club (Wellington Public Schools, 2013)

Neglecting to mention the diversity of the school is noteworthy. Indeed, this list of

highlights neither indicated that Patna had a large magnet program for special education

students nor that a multitude of cultures was represented in their community. The focus

on traditional middle class suburban norms (service learning, gifted education, school

patrol) is another example of norm reinforcement.

Interviews revealed that a number of teachers unintentionally reinforced white

middle-class norms and the status-quo or held lowered expectations for ELL/EL students.

For example, the language of some teachers demonstrated that they appreciated the

diversity within Patna, but the groups that they visualize as being "diverse" are those

different than majority culture families. One said of Patna,

It's just

always been

an accepting

environment.

And you know

Let's just

No one bats an eye

at

all of the

the different names

and the kids wearing hijabs.

And we've had

the Indian

Sikh boys with their turbans.

And it's just like,

'it's Patna.' (1, 38, 6)

This teacher viewed Patna's accepting community as a positive. The characteristics

listed above that "no one bats an eye at", however, are all different than the white middle-

class norm; the norm was not considered a variation in name or dress.

In a similar normative vein, one teacher described a "standout" (1, 2, 9) moment:

An ELL/EL student was identified for the gifted and talented program. This teacher

celebrated this event because it would help both ELL/EL and non-ELL/EL students avoid

seeing all ELL/EL students as a single group, and instead allow them to see ELL/EL

students as being part of multiple groups such as the group of gifted students and the

group of Student Leadership Team members. This teacher said,

> So I think it's good for them to see
>
> that
>
> oh
>
> there's a kid of color in that group.
>
>
> I can't just assume that that's just like an
>
> ESL kid
>
> but that ESL kids
>
> can be more than just like ESL kids.
>
> They can be a gifted and talented kid.
>
> They can be a leadership
>
> you know
>
> kid.
>
> And see them in different areas. (1, 8, 3)

This connection and excitement revealed that this teacher most likely understood and

valued the equity-focused initiatives at Patna (such as Young Scholars). This teacher's

use of "just like ESL kids," however, may indicate that "ESL kids" comprised a distinct

"other" that was not as highly regarded as other groups of kids.

A support teacher expressed a vision of ELL/EL students that crossed the line from demonstrating support and understanding to having lower expectations than do the classroom teachers. At one point the teacher stated,

And so we're constantly

educating the classroom teachers

of

"they're doing

they're doing really well.

Don't worry."

So it's kind of

Helping the classroom teacher just

Accept where their students are

And realize that they

They're doing amazing things with their language. (1, 6, 3)

In a school where there are few ELL/EL students, and teachers are unsure of how ELLs/ELs progress, this statement would seem quite reasonable. In the study school context, however (where there were significant numbers of ELL/EL students and experienced teachers and where the administrator was confident that most teachers were doing a good job with the ELL/EL population) this anecdote implied that the classroom teachers may have higher expectations or a greater sense of urgency, than this support teacher, for the success of ELL/EL students.

Another category of unintentional reinforcement of bias was choosing to not take action to change inequities. For example, one teacher noted that people of European descent often write the history books, and that these books sometimes have discrepancies or inaccuracies. This teacher's response was,

it sometimes makes it really difficult

you know

because

our hands are tied

to what

our district says we have to do.

What we present. (2, 15, 2)

Instead of trying to influence "the district" by joining a curriculum committee or speaking with the director of instruction, this teacher believed teachers have no power to influence change. This teacher also included colleagues in this assessment by stating that "our" hands were tied.

When thinking about how Patna staff work with ELL/EL parents, one teacher wished for better connections with the parents, but did not show a consistent interest in building this connection. This teacher wondered whether they received the necessary information and acknowledged that some parents said they understood even when they did not. S/he further stated that many parents could not read the information sent home and added that a lot of the parents would like things translated, "but we just don't do that"

(1, 19, 4). When asked if the lack of translation was due to logistical or financial reasons,

the teacher responded,

> Well
>
> that too.
>
> And it's a philosophy
>
> of
>
> you know
>
> there must be other parts in your life
>
> that you have to have someone read it to you
>
> or translate it for you. (1, 19, 6)

This explanation was wholly unsatisfactory from an equity standpoint because it

reinforced the status quo of who has access to information and, therefore, access to

power.

A second example of norm reinforcement through communication practices was

the readability of information available to parents. As discussed earlier in the equity-

focused section, Google Translate could be used to translate most pages on the

Wellington website. However, the readability in English on these pages was quite

inconsistent. Though there are many methods used for determining the readability of

written materials, a fast resource that is the Flesch-Kincaid grade level assessment

provided through Microsoft Word. The researcher used the Flesch-Kincaid tool to

determine the readability of some written resources available to Patna parents. While

first and second grade classroom newsletters were written using language between the 3rd

and 7th grade reading levels, the ELL/EL program description on the Patna ESL website

was written at the 12th grade reading level. Flesch-Kincaid assessed the readability of

the "About Patna" section of Patna's website at the 10th grade level.

These findings are presented as an approximation, not as the results of a thorough

quantitative analysis. These findings may indicate that some portions of Patna's

communication with families favored those with high levels of academic English fluency,

and that some of the ELL/EL materials were the most difficult materials provided to

parents. When the ELL/EL teachers were informed of this quick examination of

readability, they removed some of the materials written at the highest levels of English.

Another anecdote focuses on homework at Patna. By design, all homework at

Patna was review assignments, but occasionally larger projects were acceptable. One

teacher noted that when they do send projects home, the ELL/EL families were unlikely

to complete them. The specific example given of a project that did not get completed by

ELL/EL families was a heritage basket.

Our heritage basket is one example that

unless the kid's really with it and can go home and kind of

steer the parent or do it themselves,

it usually doesn't come back. (2, 3, 8)

This basket was a collection of items that each student put together to represent the

cultural influences in his or her family. If positively and purposefully presented to

students and parents (ie. phone calls, simply written instructions, online pictures or

movies of samples, explained at conferences), this activity might have been a perfect

match for the knowledge set of ELL/EL families. As currently constructed, this

assignment reinforced the normative view of ELL/EL families as ones that did not

complete homework.

Negative expressions of experiences. Some teachers were negative when

describing experiences working with diverse and super-diverse populations (Vertovec,

2007). For example, one teacher described her/his "student teaching experience" as

having been "stringent" (1, 5, 10) because as a pre-teacher s/he "had no choice" (1, 6,1)

but to do it in an urban setting. This language clearly indicates that the teacher was not

working at Patna in order to work with non-majority culture families.

Some teachers were negative when discussing the educational choices made by

Indian families. Though one acknowledged that the Indian students in America will

return to India and then face a great deal of competition for top jobs, and was aware that

India is "a different world" (1, 21, 6), the comments indicated a negative view of parental

choices. Another teacher described Indian parents as "pushy" regarding enrichment

programming (1, 9, 5). Another said Indian parents "sometimes are pushing the wrong

areas" (1, 20, 4) and put their children in too many programs. (1, 21, 5)

Uncomfortable discussion of race. A number of teachers struggled to

comfortably discuss issues of race. They struggled with the balance between being aware

of cultural norms and not wanting to stereotype families. Others were not sure how to

approach issues of race, culture, and class, so they avoided these conversations.

One teacher, earlier credited with identifying the mistaken notion of "I don't see

color, I just see students", never indicated that there was any within group diversity

among the ELL/EL population. When made aware of other teachers who had noted there

might be two groups of ELL/EL students at Patna, the teacher responded, "I don't see it

that way" (2, 9, 3). Instead, this teacher noted that all students are individuals, and,

especially given the current economic challenges, it is important to not make assumptions

about any students,

> one of my mantras is…
>
> um,
>
> our differences is what makes us special.
>
> I always have a sign up to say that.
>
> And I think that's one of the things that
>
> diversity means to me,
>
> is that each one of us
>
> is different. (2, 5, 3)

Purposefully equity-focused educators would agree that putting all students into groups

by culture was not ideal, but neither is an inability to see that there is within group

diversity in the ELL/EL population that is different than the difference that each

individual has from each other individual.

> Another teacher, who did not reference diversity within the ELL/EL community

until prodded, frequently used the phrase families from "the apartments" when discussing

the ELL/EL population. Describing these families, the teacher noted,

> you know…
>
> just kids that live in the apartments

aren't as advantaged always

as the kids that live in

homes. (1, 23, 2)

This teacher neither stated that all families who lived in the apartments are less

advantaged than those who lived in homes, nor that the families who lived in the

apartments were an exact overlap with the ELL/EL families. However, the teacher used

the phrase "the apartments" six times, each time in reference to families in the apartments

having different resources and experiences than other families, and these comments were

all in response to questions about what the school does well to work with the ELL/EL

community. For example,

And I thought,

we want those kids in the apartments

to get out of the apartment

and be exposed to something

other than

just…

a lot of our families go to the Mall of America

or Chuck E. Cheese because it's inexpensive. (1, 31, 3)

When a similar topic was addressed on another day, however, it came out that a set of

experiences designed to get families from "the apartments" to have new experiences was

only for free and reduced price lunch families, and, to the best of the teachers'

knowledge, none of the Indian families (many of whom live in "the apartments") were in this group. This teacher stated about Indian families,

> I guess we do think of them as being in their own group.

> And they have much more access. (1, 6, 3)

From a discourse perspective, this teacher's original unstated definition of ELL/EL as being exclusively free and reduced price lunch families is important. Though a significant portion of the ELL/EL population was comprised of Indian families who were not eligible for free or reduced price lunch, when the teacher participated in conversation about ELL/EL families as a whole, the teacher did not include this group in his/her vision of "ELL/EL."

> Another teacher who participated in the above conversation added,

> I know some of our families,

> the mothers don't fit that,

> what the teachers are saying.

> You know.

> That sometimes they do have

> a difficult time

> with English.

> They aren't as well-educated,

> so I think that's kind of a little bit of a stereotype.

> But,

> I think,

overall

it's kind of true. (2, 6, 8)

This teacher then went on to give two examples of how Indian families were different

from some of the other ELL/EL families: a) they did not want a parenting group (vs.

Somali parents had a group in the past); b) they traveled around the region and country

(vs. other groups who only go to the Mall of America). At this point in the conversation,

a teacher who previously had not identified differences within the ELL/EL community

noted that a lot of the Indian families were educated, they were not struggling financially,

and they did not consider themselves immigrants because they were not planning to stay

in the United States. The fact that these three teachers hesitated to differentiate between

Indian and non-Indian students, yet soon were able to identify many differences between

them indicates that there was likely little to no direct conversation at Patna about the

within-group diversity in the ELL/EL community.

Another teacher struggled with how to confront issues of race with elementary

age students; this struggle impacted the teacher's interactions with students. For

example, when describing how some African students refer to themselves as African-

Americans while others refer to themselves by country of origin (ie. Somali), this teacher

expressed uncertainty about how to discuss self-identification with students,

And sometimes I will

Because of these children being young

Sometimes

I just won't refer to them as anything.

And again

That could be

Just because I'm not sure how to address it with them

So that's something I'm personally working on. (2, 14, 3)

One of the most positive pieces about this anecdote is that the teacher recognized personal discomfort with this conversation, and knew that avoidance was not the solution. Unfortunately, the teacher was not sure how to gain these intercultural communication skills. The Equity Team's professional development plans, described earlier, may help this teacher reach a higher level in intercultural communication, but the teacher may remain limited by the view that students have a difficult time seeing things in "the grey area." (2, 17, 9)

Native Speakers of Other Languages

As noted in Chapter 3, the researcher conducted a topic-based, not discourse-based, analysis of the interviews with ELL/EL families. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was not used because meaning, word choice, and intonation may get lost in translation.   Most comments made by ELL/EL parents were positive, though there were a few areas where ELL/EL parents believed Patna should change; patterns in positive and negative comments revealed within group diversity related to access to cultural capital. This section is organized into three sub-sections: 1) Positive perceptions; 2) Negative perceptions; and 3) Cultural capital.

Positive perceptions.

Numerous ELL/EL parents described having positive emotional connections to Patna. One parent said that she "feels great for a month" after leaving the school. Another described Patna as a "dream school" and a third said, "There is no other school I would rather have my children at" and "I'm happy here just like I'm happy being at my house." Parents reported that they and their children were happy at Patna. One described, "even if I float the idea that we're going to move somewhere else, my children will not want to hear it. They say, 'until we finish Patna, you're not moving!'" Parents felt respected even when teachers had to convey problems or challenges, "The way they tell you, it doesn't hurt our feelings…they say it in a way that we don't feel like, oh my God, that's so harsh on us!"

Most ELL/EL parents were satisfied with the non-academic services provided at Patna. One mother, who recognized the super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) at Patna noted, "the system at Patna is really excellent for…uh…for foreigners like us. And how can it be, actually…They were so various: Japanese, Somali, Mexican, and me, Korean. I cannot tell how many." Many parents were satisfied with communication from the school, provision of interpreters, and assistance with transportation for school events. One Spanish-speaking parent noted that s/he wanted me to give special thanks to the principal (a fluent Spanish speaker) because s/he had called home to ask how the child was doing at school.

Most parents thought highly of the academic program at Patna because their students were learning and were provided with academic support when necessary. For

example, one parent said, "if it's any kind of academic help, they receive the help they

need." In addition, teachers were also held in high esteem by the ELL/EL parents. For

example, a few parents described teachers as calm and patient, "If we want to talk, they

give us more time to talk. Yeah. They don't say, 'time's over. Other parents are

waiting.' They just talk. They give us time to talk about our son." Other parents

described relationships, "The teachers are very close with the kids. Not like other

teachers in other schools that are away from kids. That's what I like." One parent who

was only at Patna for a year noted, "Mr. Johnson – he is a really wonderful teacher I've

ever met. And, I and Brian would miss him, surely, after we come back to our country."

Negative perceptions.

Though most comments were positive, there are areas where ELL/EL parents

were not fully satisfied. Some parents sought greater academic rigor; others observed

teacher traits that did not fit with the parents' cultural background; one parent noted a

lack of multilingual communication; numerous parents felt isolated from the larger Patna

community.

While many parents were satisfied with the academic rigor at Patna, this pattern

did not hold in the Indian parent community. One Indian parent stated that she and her

friends were not satisfied with the academic challenge at Patna, "So we teach math, and,

most of the Indian ladies send to Kumon or some institutions. Because they give very

less homework. In India there is a lot of homework….here, a lot of change, so we are

not satisfied, so in the house, we'll teach them Kumon reading, or whatever."

Some parents expressed opinions about teachers that may reflect cultural differences between countries. A parent from a country with greater power distance (Hofstede, 1983) wanted the teachers to act more strictly. Another parent, from a highly collectivist country (Hofstede, 1983), noted that classroom teachers sometimes worried about his son's progress though he was proud of his son's accomplishments. The teacher's concern led him/her to feel confident about instruction at Patna and also made her/him a bit nervous because s/he did not think there was any cause for concern, "One of the things that makes me happy, and sometimes makes me wonder you know, how teachers, sometimes they seem to…they really worry about the kid. And it worries me. At the same time, I say, 'why are you…' It looks like they're really worried. And, so, that's nice, and that's what we like."

Lack of multilingual communication procedures combined with highly diverse parent backgrounds to create frustration and isolation.   One parent stated, "All of the mail is in English (laughing as s/he points to flyer on table in English). At the other school where my kid used to go, one side was English, and the other side was Spanish." Even parents who did not struggle to communicate with school personnel described feeling isolated from other parents:

- "There was one parent that I used to have contact with. But it was difficult because she's English speaker, and I'm not. My daughter was the one who interpreted for me. But, I haven't had an interaction with other parents. I don't."

- "It might be me the problem, and it might be the school. Here's less Hispanic people, and it's harder to…Yeah. Sometimes it seems like we live in our own bubble, you know."

- "For example, my Indian friends, living here. Lots of them don't have any problem speaking in English in their ordinary life. And, but…for me, actually, sometimes I feel very difficulty because they have their own accent…Yeah, so I think that they think that they're still using American English, but for me, it's always Indian English. And I feel difficulty understanding them."

- "On Friday something, they did a Winter Carnival. And, you know, he told me that they were going to have that on Friday. And I was like, "that's more [Midwestern State] and people from here."

The relationships formed between Indian mothers and native English speaking mothers were an exception to the pattern of isolation: though these relationships may not have been close friendships, they did exist. One Indian mother described her Indian friends' interactions with majority-culture parents: "they mingle with the other moms. I hear, 'oh, I let my daughter go to some American house. They had a birthday party!' or 'they had a playdate.'"

Cultural capital.

Though this study chose Patna as a site because Patna has a great deal of economic and linguistic diversity, the literature review did not examine cultural capital. As the findings pointed to cultural capital's relevance to the lived experiences and perceptions of ELL/EL families at Patna, this section briefly summarizes Bourdieu and

Lareau's research before analyzing how cultural capital facilitates an understanding of

perceptions of ELL/EL families.

In 1986, Pierre Bourdieu described the concept of cultural capital. Just like

economic resources can be stored for future use or future generations, so can cultural

assets. In this article, he noted that cultural capital is a way to "explain the unequal

scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by

relating academic success, i.e., the specific profits which children from the different

classes and class fractions can obtain in the academic market, to the distribution of

cultural capital between the classes and class fractions" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47). Cultural

capital can be transferred within the family, but this transmission is indirect because

cultural capital cannot be physically transferred to another person in the same way

financial capital can be transferred. The invisibility of these transactions encourages

some people to view skills and knowledge that came from cultural capital transactions as

"legitimate" competencies (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 49).

In the introduction to her 1987 article, Lareau noted that a great deal of attention

had been paid to differences in class-based educational outcomes, but very little attention

had been paid to the processes that create these differing outcomes (Lareau, 1987). She

wrote, "the standards of schools are not neutral; their requests for parental involvement

may be laden with the social and cultural experiences of intellectual and economic elites"

(Lareau, 1987, p. 74). Her study examining the parent-school relationships in a working-

class school and a professional-class school found that the amount and type of parental

involvement was tied "to the class position of the parents and to the social and cultural

resources that social class yields in American society" (Lareau, 1987, p. 81).

This study extends Bourdieu and Lareau's work with cultural capital by

describing three types of cultural capital that were found in varying degrees in the

ELL/EL community at Patna: 1) English fluency; 2) Academic competition; and 3)

American norms. In this study, two ELL/EL participants had significant amounts of

cultural capital in each area and also had different interactions with the school than did

the other ELL/EL parents. Each section describes access to the cultural capital and notes

ways families' beliefs and actions differed depending on their amount of cultural capital.

English fluency. The level of spoken and written English fluency attained by

parents influenced daily life for Patna's ELL/EL families. Most ELL/EL participants

used an interpreter to communicate with the researcher, but two ELL/EL parents had

enough fluency to conduct the interview in English. The English-fluent parents described

challenges with understanding various English accents, but did not encounter language

barriers. In contrast, parents who conducted the interview through interpreters faced

barriers. As one participant noted, "all of the mail is in English (laughing as he points to

flyer on table in English). At the other school where my kid used to go, one side was

English, and the other side was Spanish." Lack of a shared language is also a social

challenge for ELL/EL families: "there was one parent that I used to have contact with.

But it was difficult because she's English speaker, and I'm not. My daughter was the one

who interpreted for me." A parent who is not fluent in English shared, "another thing

that we tell my kid is that we're going to help you as much as we can, but there's going to

be a time when we won't be able to because books are in English." The language hurdles

described above were not present for Patna community members who had access to the

cultural capital of English fluency. As a result, it is not the ELL/EL designation, but the

level of English fluency that impacted ELL/EL parent perceptions of and interactions

with majority-culture families and educators.

    Academic competition. Patna is in a school district that is nationally-ranked for

academic quality and standards: even highly educated parents who have grown up in

other Midwestern suburbs often struggled to understand how things were done in

Wellington. As a result, families lacking the experience in a competitive academic

environment faced a steep learning curve. Parents with minimal cultural capital in this

area were either highly satisfied with Patna's teaching or thought teachers were too

worried about academic success. As described earlier, one parent with little formal

education described teachers acting more concerned about the academic process of

her/his child than s/he was.

    In contrast, the parents who come from academically competitive backgrounds,

often questioned and supplemented Patna's instruction. One parent described how a

discussion with a teacher helped him/her understand the purpose of the pre-teaching

portion of the ELL/EL curriculum.

    At first I thought that it's kind of cheating (laughs). You know? So at

    first I thought that it's not honest with my student…Now I've found that

    they're really right. What's really important is encouragement students,

    and let them continue their study.

Other parents with competitive academic backgrounds chose to supplement Patna's

curriculum with outside education because they believed the academics were not intense

enough. The cultural capital possessed by these mothers (both are college graduates and

one is a college professor) allowed them to access the benefits of Patna's ELL/EL-

focused community while also enhancing their children's education through asking

pointed questions or through supplemental instruction outside of the school day.

    American norms. The third type of education-related cultural capital was

knowledge of middle-class American norms and involvement in the majority culture

community. Majority culture parents often build relationships with each other through

middle-class normed social groups such as t-ball/soccer, girl/boy scouts, school carnivals,

parenting classes (quite popular in this community), church, and neighborhood groups.

One parent who lacked this source of cultural capital recounted, "I haven't had an

interaction with other parents. I don't." Another parent said, "It might be me the

problem, and it might be the school. Here's less Hispanic people, and it's harder

to…Yeah. Sometimes it seems like we live in our own bubble, you know. But, besides

that, we are really happy living in this area." One parent described telling her/his son that

the school carnival was "more [Midwestern State] and people from here."

    In contrast, the two ELL/EL participants with significant knowledge of American

norms related different experiences. One parent described talking to other parents

including ELL/EL families as well as majority-culture families. As informal parent

networks can be sources of information about academics, parenting ideas, and

community events (Lareau, 1987), a difference in access to majority-culture Wellington

activities and families indirectly influences the academic life of children whose parents do not have this cultural capital.

Critical Discourse Analysis

In addition to conducting a thematic analysis, this study used radical qualitative research methods to conduct a critical discourse analysis (CDA). As was the previous section, this section will be divided into two sub-sections based on the language background of the participant: 1) Native English Speakers; and 2) Native Speakers of Other Languages.

Native English Speakers

A central goal of this research is to identify how one can come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL families through the speech of native English speakers. As such, the critical analysis of the discourse of native English speakers focused on patterns found in the discourse of native English speakers. This section is divided into three sub-sections describing on these patterns: 1) Identified; 2) Contrasted; 3) Oscillating.

Identified.

This section will identify the speech patterns identified through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that are commonly found in the speech of those who were 1) Focused on equity; 2) Aware of equity; and 3) Unaware of equity.

Focused on equity. Educators who were consistently focused on equity had a number of discoursal patterns in common with each other. Educators focused on equity used multiple techniques to express an awareness of equity; the three techniques noted below were each used by all of the most equity-minded teachers.

First, educators focused on equity frequently used modifiers such as "many,

"maybe," or "perhaps" to indicate that they understood that there was a great deal of

within-group diversity in the ELL/EL community. One described the Indian families as,

They might have a level of English.

They might be speaking a 2nd or 3rd language,

but they do have

a level of English that allows them to operate in society.

So,

usually one of the parents

is proficient enough that we can…

you know,

communicate pretty easily.

But at home they might be speaking Tulu…

or Hindi or whatever. (1, 10, 5)

The quote above used "might" twice and "usually" once to help explain that there was

not a universal level of English fluency for Indian parents.

Second, equity-focused teachers also exhibited metacognition by describing how

they learn about and think about ELL/EL families. One teacher described,

Everybody's got goals for their lives,

and everybody's got goals,

especially for their kids.

But I think it's a *very* different conversation

learning about people's backgrounds,

and having,

the most valuable piece I ask,

for me,

is 'what are your dreams for your child?' (1, 10, 6)

This quote included at least three conclusions drawn from the speaker's personal

experience: everyone has goals, learning about goals is different than learning about

background, and asking about dreams is the most valuable question to ask.

Third, equity-minded educators also used significance building techniques of

repetition or adding a supportive statement in place of repetition to indicate that they how

strongly they felt about their work at Patna. One described the benefits of deep

conversations with parents as,

It really helps you ground the work that you are doing

as an educator,

I'll tell you that. (1, 11, 2)

The "I'll tell you that," served to reinforce the point made in the first half of the sentence

without actual repetition.

Aware of equity. The speech of participants who were aware of equity-related

topics was less identifiable by specific patterns. Instead, the speech of these participants

was identified by an absence of the patterns demonstrated by those who were equity-

focused or unaware of equity.

Unaware of equity. Educators who were unaware of inequities also had distinctive discoursal patterns. In addition to the absence of the techniques described above, the speech of educators who were frequently unaware of issues of inequity at Patna often revealed that they used a white-middle class world as the normative world from which all other experiences deviated. When describing enrichment activities chosen by Indian families, one teacher noted,

> They
>
> I feel,
>
> Like sometimes are pushing the wrong areas.
>
> Like they send their kids to Kumon
>
> Or whatever…
>
> And what those kids really need is just the…
>
> The more social…
>
> The social language. (1, 20, 4)

This educator somewhat hedges her/his observation with the words "I feel" and "sometimes." However, using "wrong" to describe the parenting choices of the Indian families is a strident word choice that is inherently loaded with a lack of intercultural perspective and understanding. These lines are part of a longer conversation with a second educator with a similar belief structure. Later, the second educator noted,

> It's a different world.
>
> And I keep having to think,
>
> 'It's a different world.

That's how they do it.'" (1, 21, 7)

Despite an understanding that the Indian families came from a "different world," there was no acknowledgement that the lived experiences of Indian parents lead them to make choices that are as culturally-rooted and as valid as the educators' choices. Other educators who did not easily see inequities at Patna made similar statements positioning their lived experiences as white educators as the normative experience.

Contrasted.

This section analyzes discourse patterns in a way that demonstrates the contrast between equity focused educators and those who are less focused on equity. In each of the three topically-organized sub-sections, multiple participants' discourses are analyzed. Participants are identified within each sub-section as Teacher 1, Teacher 2, Teacher 3, or Teacher 4. These numbers do not serve as pseudonyms: Teacher 1, for example, may represent a different teacher in each sub-section. The sub-sections are: 1) Teacher education; 2) Pedagogical choices; and 3) Indian families.

Teacher education. A teacher who was frequently unaware of inequities at Patna (Teacher 1) and an equity-focused teacher (Teacher 2) each described their experiences student teaching in schools with large numbers of non-majority culture students. Teacher 1 described the experience negatively, while Teacher 2 described the experience negatively.

Teacher 1

They're so stringent.

Because they make you do,

like urban,

urban student teaching experience.

And

I did volunteer at an urban school because you have to have like 100 hours of

volunteering

before they accept you.

And so,

I was living on campus,

so I kind of had no choice but to go to the

urban close schools. (1, 5, 10)

Teacher 2: Excerpt 1

there was always a mix,

and I found the challenge of that…

inspiring.

Really inspiring… (1, 2, 3)

Teacher 2: Excerpt 2

that was…

um…

a big portion

of teaching in an inner-city.

 So,

we had,

we had all sorts of multicultural…

looking at things through a multicultural lens,

um…

learning about different literature,

to…

um…

work with all kids

and make sure that all kids are represented.

So,

from the get-go,

my

my education was geared towards that. (1, 3, 6)

The figured worlds (Gee, 2011b) of "teacher education" built by the two teachers were

different. The words used in Teacher 1's description were clearly negative (stringent,

make you do, have to have, had no choice) and set urban student teaching as different

from the norm. In addition, Teacher 1 focused on his/her experience, but students were

not mentioned. By contrast, Teacher 2's comments were neutral to positive (inspiring,

looking, learning, geared towards) and used repetition to build significance. Teacher 2 described multicultural education's benefits for students (learning about different literature, / to… / um… / work with all kids / and make sure that all kids are represented) and for her/himself (inspiring).

Applying Gee's Cohesion Building Tool (2011a) to these two narratives is informative. Teacher 1 used the word "they" three times to describe who made ("make") him/her do student teaching; s/he was acted upon involuntarily. Teacher 2, by contrast, used "we" to describe the teachers who were given multicultural training in order to work with all kids; s/he was a willing participant.

Pedagogical choices.   Three teachers discussed how leveled instruction is used at Patna. Teacher 1 was generally unaware of inequities at Patna, while Teachers 2 and 3 were both equity-focused. Teacher 1, when describing the leveled groups for reading and math, noted that the ELL/EL students appreciate teachers placing them in groups together. Teacher 2, by contrast, described frustration with leveled groups. Teacher 3 expressed concern about pull-out instruction's[17] impact on classroom community.

Teacher 1

I think there's a little bit of a comfort,

though,

that they spend an hour,

the whole beginning part of the morning

together.

---

[17] In pull-out instructional models, students in programs such as special education or ELL/EL are serviced in small groups outside of their homeroom.

And then,

they might end up being

similarly skilled,

too,

so they end up in groups,

just,

as we make groups. (1, 12, 8)

Teacher 2

academically….

umm….

I've seen…

I've seen kids be put in classes that…

they probably shouldn't be in.

Lower classes because

of behavior problems,

but they're mainly the kids of color. (1, 12, 5)

Teacher 3

But my main concern in the fall was,

"is this really best for kids that are just learning language,

 to leave a classroom where it's so language rich,

and do you really want to be doing that?

Because you're trying to build

a classroom culture where kids are friends

and they're accepting,

and it's really hard when they're out of the room,

right? (1, 13, 6)

Teacher 1's comments were made while discussing the degree to which ELL/EL and

non-ELL/EL students interact with each other. S/he viewed pull-out classrooms

positively and did not view minimal interaction (the status quo) negatively. This teacher

explained that ELL/EL students appreciated learning in their EL pull-out together in the

morning and later in leveled reading and math groups because these groupings offered "a

little bit of comfort." Interestingly, s/he used the modifier "might" to explain that

ELL/EL students might have similar skills; students having similar academic strengths

and needs is usually the organizing principle for small-group instruction. There was no

modifier used in the second part of the sentence: ELL/EL students are grouped together.

Teacher 2's language expressed frustration with tracked classes, and uses the modifier

"probably" to note that ELL/EL students are "probably" put in classes they should not be

in. Teacher 3 built significance around her/his negative opinion of pull-outs through the

repeated rhetorical questioning. Teacher 1 did not have concerns about Patna's ELL/EL

organization while the critical teachers (2 and 3) both expressed discomfort about Patna's

segregated learning arrangements.

Indian families. Multiple teachers discussed whether or not Indian ELL/EL

families were distinct from other ELL/EL families. Three, Teachers 1, 2, and 3,

commonly approached topics with a lack of awareness of inequities. A fourth (Teacher

4) usually expressed awareness of inequities. Teacher 1 did not see a distinction between

Indian families and other families. Teacher 2 viewed the Indian families as having the

wrong values. Teacher 3 viewed the Indian families as pushy. Teacher 4 analyzed why

Indian families often displayed characteristics different from other ELL/EL families.

<u>Teacher 1</u>

I don't

I don't know.

I just don't.

I don't see that separation.

Because,

I think,

like I said before,

just with the economy of the world right now,

I just think that

every child,

 that's the one part that I do kind of look at them as being the same,

it doesn't matter what your culture is,

or it doesn't matter where you came from,

you still might have

different needs. (1, 10, 2)

Teacher 2

they,

I feel,

like sometimes are pushing the wrong areas.

Like they send their kids to Kumon

or whatever. (1, 20, 4)

Teacher 3

With the Indian families,

it seems like they kinda have their own agenda.

Like they want to make sure that their kids

are competitive with other kids,

and very test-focused,

very scores-focused.

That's a big deal.

And,

even, just kind of

pushy,

as far as

the enrichment,

or the

the gifted programs. (1, 9, 5)

Teacher 4

And that comes from their,

their

of course,

what they're going back to.

…

And if their test scores are not high enough

to get them into the

university track or something like that.

I mean,

 it's huge!

They say,

'well,

you know.

There's a billion of us'

or whatever.

And they said,

'you know,

that group is

will be ahead of me.

And so

it's really

super-important

for them." (2, 10, 6)

Teacher 1 shared his/her thoughts after learning that some Patna teachers

described two categories of ELL/EL families: Indian and non-Indian. This teacher

repeated the word "don't" four times to explain not making this distinction; this repetition

increased the focus on her/his conclusion that s/he sees each student as an individual

("every child…still might have…different needs"). This conclusion fits the color-blind

teacher discourse that Teacher 1, in fact, earlier rejected. This teacher's conclusion notes

that every child should be seen as an individual due to the economic challenges leading

up to 2013. In essence, her/his comments identify existing in multiple cultures as a less

significant influence on the lived experience and educational needs of students than

experiencing economic challenges.

Unlike Teacher 1, Teacher 2 noted that there were differences between the Indian

families and other ELL/EL families. This teacher's discourse reflected the conflict

between the teacher's personal values and Indian families' values. The phrase "pushing

the wrong areas" did not indicate a willingness to explore cultural reasons for difference.

This quote was used earlier to explain how some teachers who are unaware of inequities place value judgments on families who differed from the white, middle-class norm.

In addition to serving as a second example of norming on the standards of white, middle class families, Teacher 3's comments ("have their own agenda" and "kind of pushy") reflect a phenomenon labeled by researcher John Diamond as "opportunity prying" (personal communication, 2014). He uses this phrase to describe how some majority culture members view attempts by non-majority culture individuals to enter into classes and activities traditionally only populated by majority culture members. In Wellington[18], many white families shared the "agenda" of making sure their children were in talent development programs, so identifying an ELL/EL family trying to enter talent development as Indian families' "own agenda" is a clear example of viewing minority action as opportunity prying. While it is possible that the same teacher could describe majority culture members of the as pushy in the same situation, in this study, no white parents were described in this way by any participants. On a more equity-focused note, Teacher 3 later acknowledged why Indian parents advocate strongly for their children,

> just from my understanding
>
> it has to do with going back
>
> and making sure
>
> that they're keeping up with
>
> students in the same grade back in India. (1, 9, 8)

---

[18] Patna Elementary is located in the city of Wellington.

This knowledge, however did not translate into a full understanding of the Indian

families' lived experience: instead, it is cognitive understanding that has not been

internalized into Teacher 3's core beliefs.

Teacher 4 described the reasons Indian families have their children attend

enrichment programs in a way that demonstrated an understanding of Indian society's

structural reality. The excerpt does not, however, build the case that Teacher 4 is an

equity-focused educator: This teacher's remark, "'a billion of us' or whatever," is an

example of American discourse about India as a hugely populous, yet abstract, country

that cannot be fully understood.

Oscillating.

Though most participants in this study were fairly consistently either equity-

focused or unaware of equity issues, there were individuals who demonstrated opinions

or behaviors that spanned more than one of McLaren's (1994) types of multiculturalism.

In this case study, two teachers acted from a strong sense of social justice, but without the

critical theory understandings that lead to a consistent focus on equity. One, Teacher A-Z

is described in the following paragraphs.

 As McLaren's four types of multiculturalism organize the analysis of Teacher A-

Z, this paragraph briefly summarizes these types. Conservative multiculturalism is not

synonymous with racism. Instead, conservative multiculturalists may blame the lack of

upward mobility for certain groups on what conservative multiculturalists view as

deprived upbringings. Liberals, McLaren's second type of multiculturalists, tend to gloss

over differences and conclude that everyone is the same. Educators in McLaren's third

category, left-liberal, tend to essentialize individuals by assuming that traits common to a

group are possessed by all members.   Critical multiculturalists, McLaren's fourth group,

apply a radically critical lens to societal structures and attempt to change the power

structures in society.

Teacher A-Z is an excellent example of non-critical individuals who are able to

help an organization move towards equitable education. In an informal conversation

about these categories, in fact, Teacher A-Z chuckled and noted that though s/he devotes

extensive time and energy to increasing educational access for ELL/EL students and

students living below the poverty line, s/he would not consider her/himself a critical

multiculturalist. This section is organized into four subsections: 1) Conservative; 2)

Liberal; 3) Left-liberal; and 4) Critical.

Conservative.   Teacher A-Z used the phrase "the apartments" repeatedly without

defining exactly what "the apartments" means. By examining these comments in context,

it appears that this teacher used "the apartments" as a substitute for a specific category of

families: those living in the apartments who have incomes below the poverty line and

who may or may not speak English as their first language. When Teacher A-Z used the

phrase "the apartments" s/he actually referred to a sub-set of apartment residents.

just kids that live in the apartments

aren't as advantaged always

as the kids that live in

homes. (1, 23, 2)

Notice "the" precedes apartments but no "homes." This difference indicates that the

apartment residents are more homogenous in the educator's eyes than are the residents of

single-family homes. In reality, many middle-class Indian families also live in the

apartments. Later, this teacher described the Indian families as living above the poverty

line and exposing their children to many new experiences. This teacher did not

acknowledge overgeneralizing "the apartments" or the societal structures that lead to the

different apartment residents' lived experiences.

    Liberal. In the following example (also used earlier when discussing norming),

the educator notes that everyone is different, but that nobody cares about the differences.

    it's just

    always been

    an accepting

    environment,

    and you know,

    let's just…

    no one bats an eye

    at

    all of the

    the different names

    and the kids wearing hijabs.

    And we've had

    the Indian

Sikh boys with their turbans,

and it's just like,

"It's Patna." (1, 38, 6)

The differences noted do not include white norms, so this list includes the ways some

Patna students differ from the norm, but it does not inclusively list all Patna students'

cultural or linguistic identifiers.

Left-liberal. Individuals looking at the world through the left-liberal lens may

essentialize differences: they may assume that *all* group members share a common

characteristic.

we want those kids in the apartments

to get out of the apartment

and be exposed to something

other than

just…

a lot of our families go to the Mall of America

or Chuck E. Cheese because it's inexpensive. (1, 31,3)

In this example, Teacher A-Z essentialized that "kids in the apartments" come from

families who seek out inexpensive entertainment. S/he recognized the socioeconomic

reasons for some apartment residents' actions, but essentialized this into a working

definition of apartment residents that did not acknowledge within-group diversity.

Critical. Despite having nearly as many mentions in this study's interviews as the principal, Teacher A-Z cannot be viewed as a critical multiculturalist. Though this teacher was credited with increasing the educational equity at Patna by fighting for funding for summer school and transportation, as shown in the excerpts above, Teacher A-Z often acted from a deficit model orientation.

Native Speakers of Other Languages

The two guiding research questions for this study ask how we can come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL students and families through the talk of a) native English speakers and b) emergent English speakers. In the second major section of this chapter (Emergent Thematic Analysis), a thematic analysis of the speech of both of these groups was described. The current major section (Critical Discourse Analysis) began with a discourse analysis of the speech of native English speakers. This section will not, however, conclude with a discourse analysis of the speech of emergent English speakers.

Among other processes, critical discourse analysis (CDA) involves examining word choice, intonation, and speech patterns. An analysis of this sort is not appropriate for speech that is translated by an interpreter or for speech that is translated internally by an emergent English speaker. For example, in this study, CDA involved looking for phrases that were used as substitutes for other phrases. If interpreters choose near-synonyms with slightly different nuance than the speaker intended, analysis of substitute phrases would not be valid. Also, this study identified repeated words or phrases because repetition can be a discourse tool used to build a statement's significance. The near-fluent parents who conducted their interviews in English may have repeated words or

phrases while internally translating their next word or phrase, not to emphasize a point. Due to the potential lack of validity when using CDA with native speakers of other languages, discourse analysis was only conducted on the transcripts of native English speakers.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This qualitative study used case study[19] methods and the tools of Critical

Discourse Analysis (CDA) to explore administrator, teacher and parent talk about English

Language Learners/English Learners (ELL/EL). Specifically, this study sought to answer

the following two central questions:

1.   How can we come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL students and

families through native English speakers' talk?

2.   How can we come to understand perceptions of ELL/EL students and

families through emergent English speakers' talk?

Research was conducted at Patna Elementary School, a highly diverse suburban

elementary school in the Wellington School District. A context analysis was conducted

using both census data and data collected through participation in a city council hearing.

Interviews constituted the primary data source and were conducted with eighteen

members of the Patna community including ELL/EL parents, non-ELL/EL parents,

teachers, and the building administrator. All interviews were transcribed, broken into

lines and macro-lines (essentially phrases and sentences), and coded by topic. Six of

Gee's tools for discourse analysis were used to analyze interviews conducted with native

English speakers: stanzas, significance building, identity building, building cohesion,

building figured worlds, and the big "D" Discourse tool. In order to iterate the study

[19] While the qualitative case study was the basic approach to this work, because of concerns due to confidentiality and anonymity, the thick and rich description that typically accompanies the case study approach in any full rendering has been removed from the dissertation version of this research. These omissions make the phrase "cluster sample" a useful alternative description.

conclusions, this chapter is organized into two main sections: 1) Research Questions

Answered and 2) Conclusions.

Research Questions Answered

*Research Question #1:*The talk of native English speakers indicated that there was

a great deal of diversity in perceptions of ELL/EL families in the Patna community. The

tool of Critical Discourse Analysis allowed the researcher to identify speech patterns that

were associated with a focus on equity and other patterns that were associated with less

awareness of equity. Educators who were unaware of inequities tended to demonstrate

less awareness of the diversity of lived experiences of Patna ELL/EL families than did

educators who were focused on equity. Educators who demonstrated deep

understandings of equity often took steps to actively make Patna more equitable.

Research Question #2: The talk of emergent speakers of English indicated that

there was a great deal of diversity within the ELL/EL community at Patna. The greater

the amount of cultural capital held by ELL/EL families, the greater their social interaction

with other ELL/EL families and with native English speaking families. Families with

greater amounts of cultural capital also tended to be more open with their criticisms of

Patna.

Conclusions

The conclusions from this research, that answer and go beyond the two research

questions, are organized into four sections: 1) Literature Supported; 2) Literature

Enhanced; 3) Literature Extended; and 4) New Learning.

Literature Supported

1.   Teachers believe the school became more equity-focused than under the previous

administrator; Patna's administrator exemplified Walker and Dimmock's six roles for

leaders of multicultural schools (2005) and exhibited sensemaking (Weick, 1993) and

adaptive work (Heifetz, 1994).

Members of the Patna community believed that their school was becoming more

equity focused, and that administrative leadership was key to these improvements in

equity. As described in Chapter 4, the Patna administrator demonstrated the ability to: a)

understand community; b) hire multicultural staff; c) improve student learning; d) nurture

an inclusive culture; e) welcome community members; and f) establish multicultural

justice and equality. The administrator was able to describe Patna's population changes

over time, identify the different needs of various populations and how s/he and the staff

changed their outreach and support accordingly, and describe the limited intercultural

community that existed in Wellington.

Though hiring multicultural staff members was not an administrative focus, the

principal worked to hire staff members who had working experience with non-majority

culture families. In addition, the administrator improved student learning by starting a

summer school program for ELL/EL students, obtaining busing for summer school and

before-school programming, moving ELL/EL pull-out programs to time-blocks that were

added to in-class language arts time, and a change that allowed more ELL/EL students to

attend before-school academic support. The administrator also nurtured an inclusive

culture by maintaining a focus on the inclusion of all families in the life of the school.

The fifth of Walker and Dimmock's roles is to welcome community members; EL

parents expressed feeling welcomed by the building as whole and by the administrator personally. Multiple teachers and parents noted that the administrator was focused on multicultural justice and equity; they described that s/he built inclusion, a welcoming community, and social justice through school social events.

Literature Enhanced

2.   *Identification of educators' level of awareness of equity helps organize and label the perceptions educators have of ELL/EL students and families.*

Though it was not explored in the literature review, the concept that awareness of issues of equity influences perception enhances the wealth of literature on topics such as white privilege (McIntosh, 2004) and equity (Singleton & Linton, 2006).

3.   *Using McLaren's types of multiculturalists, to categorize educators, facilitated the identification of the perceptions of ELL/EL students and families held by those educators.*

This study enhances the work of Peter McLaren (1994). McLaren's original essay identifying types of multiculturalists did not focus on educators. This study, therefore, enhanced his research by applying the categorizations to educators at the school.

Literature Extended

4.   *Cultural capital influenced the lived experience of ELL/EL families at Patna and influenced the perceptions others had of them.*

Patna families had differing levels of access to resources, and this access

influenced their experiences at school. This finding reflects the theory of cultural capital

first described by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986) and later used by Lareau (1987).

5.   *One individual can exhibit inconsistent patterns of understandings of equity and*

multiculturalism.

This study extends the research of McLaren (1994) because, instead of applying

his categories of multiculturalism to individuals, it first isolated speech events and

identified them as exemplars of one of his types of multiculturalism (conservative,

liberal, left-liberal, and critical) (McLaren, 1994). This approach highlights a limitation

of McLaren's original categorization: some individuals cannot be easily identified in a

single category. Teacher A-Z's identification by other staff and community members as

an educator who has improved equity at Patna reveals that effective educators in highly

diverse schools do not always need to approach education from a critical theory

perspective. McLaren's categories (1994) are informative, but a school staff filled with

individuals who consider themselves critical multiculturalists may not be necessary for

the improvement of equity in schools, unless the school is *already* highly equity-focused.

In other words, despite Teacher A-Z not being a critical multiculturalist, s/he helped

move Patna Elementary towards greater equity.

New Learning

6.   *This study opens a new field of study by using Critical Discourse Analysis to*

examine perceptions of ELL/EL families.

This study is unique because there is a dearth of studies that use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to look at community relationships in elementary schools.

7.   *Critical geography, when combined with CDA, has the potential to reveal a great deal about the perceptions of ELL/EL families.*

Though this study did not fully use the tools of critical geography, when findings indicated that geography influenced how community members perceived the ELL/EL community, the researcher sought a third way to conduct data analysis and consequently discovered critical geography. Combining critical geography and CDA may be informative in future case studies examining school boundary changes within and between school districts.

8. *Concepts of CDA (Gee, 2011) can be used at the building level to identify educators who are likely to be equity-focused.*

This research shows that there are clear contrasts between a) the discourse of educators who are dedicated to equity, and b) the discourse of those who are unaware of inequities. Administrators could use an awareness of these discoursal differences when hiring or meeting new educators.

Implications

In order to move from conclusions to the application of these findings, it is useful to ask, "so what?" When answering this question, four categories of implications emerged: 1) For Patna Elementary School; 2) For Administrators; 3) For Educational Leadership Preparation; and 4) For Future Research.

For Patna Elementary School

Though this study did not include a plan for assessing the impact of participation

in the study itself, it is possible that participation in the study led to educators having a

heightened self-awareness of their interactions with ELL/EL families. Ideally,

participating teachers and administrators recognized the ways their traditional

Discourses[20] create or maintain asymmetrical power relationships, and they, therefore,

now seek to change their behaviors and/or assumptions.

Beyond the above hypothetical implications, the conclusions from this study

indicate both large and small steps that can be taken to increase engagement with

ELL/EL families, improve academic achievement, and increase equity at Patna. Below,

these steps are iterated and organized under each of Walker and Dimmock's (2005) roles

for leaders in multicultural schools.

1.   *Understand Community*: To move teachers further along the continuum of

understanding the lived realities of their students, the administrator could include

conversations about the diverse experiences of Patna families during professional

development programs. The inclusion of a discussion of within-group diversity of the

ELL/EL community is one way the administrator can help staff members through the

process of sensemaking (Weick, 1993). Though important to remember that members of

a cultural group do not necessarily share the same characteristics, sensemaking-focused

professional development can highlight new categories for questions to ask about school

and home. Working with the staff to explore the concept of multiple streams of

---

[20] When this study specifically references Gee's definition of the concept of discourse, capital D is used.
He defines Discourse as: "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of
thinking, believing, valuing and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of
socially recognizable identity" (2011b, p. 201).

migration (ie. voluntary vs. involuntary migration; (Ogbu & Simons, 1998)) and qualities

of super-diverse environments (Vertovec, 2007) could help teachers identify elements in

the backgrounds of their students that are useful in instruction or other interactions (ie.

How does parent education-level influence homework routines?).

2.   *Hire Multicultural Staff*: Hiring staff members who are not from the majority

culture is not as simple as changing the job description or increasing the understanding of

interview committees and human resources teams. Instead, research has shown that there

simply are not enough non-majority culture individuals becoming teachers to meet the

demand. To address this challenge directly, Patna can follow the paths of other schools

and districts that have built a pipeline of non-majority culture teachers: encourage parents

and community members to apply for positions at the school that do not require teaching

licenses (Irizarry, 2007; Lau et al., 2007; Sakash & Chou, 2007; Valenciana et al., 2006).

Over time, and with district support, these individuals could be grouped into a cohort that

goes through the licensure process together. Parents who are involved in the school and

live in the community are likely to stay and teach if they obtain teaching licenses.

3.   *Improve Student Learning*: Patna educators could examine the prevalence,

organization, and implementation of small groups. There are two types of small groups

used at Patna that are ripe for programmatic discussion: 1) pull-out ELL/EL programs

and 2) tracked math and reading groups. Though discussing research on this topic is

beyond the scope of this study, a great deal of academic research exists about how pull-

outs and tracking improves or hinders academic success for ELL/EL students—

depending on how such programs are implemented (Broussard & Joseph, 1998; Lleras &

Rangel, 2009). The administrator can bring this data to the equity team, the site council,

or the staff development committee.

In addition, the administrator can push staff members' understanding of *white*

privilege to include educational concepts such as opportunity hoarding (Tilly, 1998) (ie.

supporting assignment of the best teachers to AP courses) and opportunity prying (ie.

faulting ELL/EL families for activities that would not be commented on when done by

powerful majority-culture families) (John Diamond, personal communication, 2014).

4.   *Nurture an Inclusive Culture*: Educators can initiate proactive communication

with all groups about how to increase inclusion. To do this, the administrator can take

time to build relationships with members of the different cultural and linguistic groups.

Each group is likely to have school elements with which they are more or less

comfortable. While there is significant variation from family to family, developing key

informants from each community is a start. Though the PTO and teachers (in the study

setting) were excited about the increasing diversity of PTO participants and classroom

volunteers, the individuals mentioned as new participants do not reflect the same

diversity as the ELL/EL program in general, so truly investigating the needs and wants of

families might increase family engagement in the life of the school.

5.   *Welcome Community Members*: Educators can consistently offer school carnival

tickets to free and reduced price lunch families (through the social worker). Offering

these tickets to free and reduced price lunch families increases the social justice of the

carnival. Higher income ELL/EL families who can afford to purchase their own tickets,

may or may not do so depending on how welcome they feel at school events, so offering

tickets to ELL/EL families regardless of financial status may serve to welcome more community members. Additionally, as noted in the body of this paper, parents walk down a fairly long central corridor to get from the door to some events; making this walk welcoming to newcomers can make it feel less like 'walking a gauntlet'.

6.   *Establish Multicultural Justice and Equity*: Educators can increase the thoughtfulness of multilingual communication. The availability of translated materials at Patna is inconsistent. Some PTO and building mailings are translated into Spanish, but others are not. Some district and building pages have the Google Translate bar built in, but others do not. Though they are not as accurate as human translators, Google Translate and Microsoft Word can translate documents to a level that at least shows families that the school is trying to communicate—and hopefully, covey basic ideas. In addition, high school students may be willing to translate documents for community service credits, and some parents may be willing to translate documents on a volunteer basis

Interpreted conferences at Patna run smoothly, and teachers understand how to work with interpreters respectfully (ie. look at the parent when talking, not the interpreter). Large group parent meetings, however, have a history of inconsistent interpretation that clearly makes ELL/EL parents feel like an "other" (ie. after meeting starts, having parents who need interpreter services get up and move to another location in the room). Educators can greet parents at the door and inform them about the availability of interpreters in certain areas of the room.

For Administrators

Following below is a four-step process that administrators can use to gauge equity beliefs without directly using words such as 'equity or culture' in question stems. Ideally, these steps are used as part of interview processes, but they can also be used by administrators who are trying to gauge the level of commitment to equity at any school.

1.   Use the interview process to assess if teacher candidates *want* to teach at a diverse school because of its diversity or are *willing* to teach there despite its diversity.

One approach is to include a one-to-one building tour with the principal as part of the interview process for each teaching candidate. While this takes an additional 30-45 minutes of time, the investment of time can determine whether candidates have deep understandings of diverse lived experiences and, at once, provide administrators with a deeper understanding of applicants.

2.   Start a conversation around topics that are related to equity, but are not directly discussing equity. For example, ask teachers to describe their experiences as teaching candidates or to explain why they decided to go into the field of education. During this study, this topic elicited dramatically different answers from educators—depending on their level of equity awareness. Another topic that elicited comments ranging from *equity-focused* to *unaware of equity* was a discussion with participants about the best ELL/EL service model.

3.   If possible record some conversations (with the knowledge of participants). Later, replay these conversations and listen for the use of rhetorical devices that build significance (ie. repetition, intonation, or restated conclusions). For conversations that

are not recorded, immediately afterward, consider what figured worlds or current

situations/beliefs the speaker referenced. For example, when the speaker says the name

of a group, what does s/he mean? What is the stated definition of that group? Does

his/her intended definition match the standard definition? What other educational or

societal topics are referenced in her/his speech?

4.   Analyze recorded conversations to find the discoursal patterns. Consider whether

the speaker demonstrates a knowledge of the wide variety of lived experiences of

ELL/EL families through the use of modifiers such as "many," "perhaps," or "maybe," or

whether the speaker speak in absolute terms? Can the speaker demonstrate an

understanding of other people through use of multiple perspectives?

For Educational Leadership Preparation

        Beyond the above four-step process for administrators to use to identify teachers

who are likely to be equity-focused, there are at least four other lessons for educational

leadership preparation programs that can be gleaned from this study.

1.   While it is necessary to expose future leaders to concepts such as *white privilege*,

this study indicates that educators who were truly equity focused had knowledge that

went deeper than privilege. Specifically, administrative leadership programs should

include work across classes in critical theory. Practice using critical theory could help

aspiring educational leaders identify issues and topics more thoroughly. Critical theory

encourages people to look for ways that the system is or is not serving all members of the

community and also supports leaders as they take active role in changing these systems.

If previous or current building or district administrators had been exposed to the lens of

critical geography, for example, the change in Wellington might have occurred many years sooner. As it happened, the request came from parents with the support of a state-funded group, not from district or building administration.

2.   In a related vein, future administrators would benefit from exposure to the concepts of cultural capital. The most equity-focused educators respected and valued the assets their students brought to school. They were also aware that some students lacked other assets due to an absence of sufficient cultural capital. Educators who lacked a deep understanding of cultural capital were more likely to group all EL parents together or to focus on deficits rather than assets.

3.   When administrators learn about scheduling middle and high schools and assigning elementary classroom teachers, leadership preparation programs should include coursework that exposes students to research on the effects of tracking on non-majority culture students. Ability-grouped classrooms at the elementary level and AP courses in secondary grades tend to segregate (by ethnicity and class) schools that are highly diverse. Critically-aware administrators can fight the tendency of majority-culture parents to opportunity hoard.

4.   In coursework on the topic of human resources, administrators should be exposed to current best practices for diversifying the faculty. Though a diverse teaching staff does not guarantee an equity-focused faculty, it is a step in the right direction.

For Future Research

This study leaves a number of topics unexplored. Seven of the most thought-provoking are noted below.

1.   This study frequently referenced Walker and Dimmock's list of actions that are

        taken by high-quality leaders in multi-cultural schools. A related study could

        examine which of these actions, if any, are most important for academic success

        or intercultural interaction.

2.   As noted in the definitions section of Chapter 1, many labels are used to describe

        and define English language learning students and families. Critical discourse

        could be used to examine the denotations and connotations of the various terms as

        used by different individuals and groups. For example, to a critical

        multiculturalist, the connotations of "English as a Second Language learner" and

        "emerging bilingual" are vastly different.

3.   What are the perceptions of schools within districts?

4.   Patna's administrator noted that the dominant EL group changed from Chinese

        families, to Somali families, and recently to East Asian families. These rapid

        changes raise questions about sensemaking and adaptability. For example: How

        do schools adapt when their population changes from one dominant EL group to

        another?

5.   A study might explore the question: How does migration history impact

        educational cultural-capital?

6.   A critical theory-based study focused on cross-cultural community building could

        lay bare the gap between perceptions and reality for the different populations in

        diverse schools.

7.   A study could explore the same relationships as those in this study, but focus

primarily on actions rather than on discourse. Detailed observations of how

ELL/EL families interact with teachers and administrators could be conducted.

8.   A longitudinal study of discourse/Discourse[21] at Patna or a similar school could

reveal the transmission patterns of theories about ELL/EL families from building

administrators to teachers or vice versa.

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[21] When this study specifically references Gee's definition of the concept of discourse, capital D is used. He defines Discourse as: "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (2011b, p. 201).

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Appendix A

Guiding Interview Questions – Initial Interviews

All interviews will include the same two questions/primary phrases.

1. Talk to me about the English language learners (ELLs) at (name of school).

2. Talk to me about the families of English language learners at (name of school).

Potential Probes: Staff Members

- Talk to me about a memorable interaction you had with an ELL
  student/family.

- Talk to me about a memorable interaction you had with an English-speaking
  student/family.

Potential Probes: Parents

- Talk to me about a memorable interaction you had with a staff member at
  (school name).

- Talk to me about a memorable interaction you had with another parent at
  (school name).

- Talk to me about how the school or individuals at the school work with
  families.

- Talk to me about how the school or individuals at the school work with ELL
  families.

Appendix B
INFORMATION SHEET FOR RESEARCH

English Language Learners and Schools

You are invited to be in a research study about communication between and about English Language Learners and schools. You were selected as a possible participant because you work at or are parents of children who attend a school with a large number of ELL students. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to take part in this study.

This study is being conducted by Margaret (Maggie) Vecchio-Smith, University of Minnesota, Department of Organizational Leadership and Policy Development.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, you will participate in one or two individual interviews.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept confidential. In any sort of report published, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and separately from the data, and only researchers will have access to the records. Interviews will be audio-recorded, but the recording will be deleted after a transcript has been created.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate, you are free to refuse answers to any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is Margaret Vecchio-Smith. You may ask her any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you are encouraged to contact Margaret or her advisor, Cryss Brunner. Margaret: 612-708-2008, smit0994@umn.edu. Cryss: 612-624-8527, brunner@umn.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, you are encouraged to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D 528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, MN 55455. (612) 625-1650.

You will be given a copy of this information for your records.

Name (Printed)	Signature	Date

Appendix C

Recruitment Scripts

Teachers

(To be said to teachers at a staff meeting and sent via email)

Good morning everyone! For those of you who do not know me, my name is Maggie

Vecchio-Smith. I spent a bit of time here a few years ago when I was working on my

administrative license. I'll be around again this spring, though I will generally be here

during non-school hours. I'm finishing up my doctorate at the U, and I am looking at

schools, like Patna, that are suburban and have a significant, though not majority

population of students who are ELLs. Specifically, I am curious about the relationships

between the educators, families, and administrators in schools with these demographics.

I'll be around during staff meetings, team meetings, and may be shadowing the

administrator and the ELL teachers before and after school for a few months. I'd also

like to interview a few of you about your work here with our ELL families. The

interviews can be conducted before or after school or during your lunch or prep time, and

I'll need to meet with you twice. This same message will be emailed to you later this

morning. If you are interested in participating, either speak to me after this meeting or

reply to the email.

ELL Parents

(To be said in person or via email as recommended by the ELL teachers)

Hello _____. Mrs. XXX (teacher name) suggested that you might be able to

talk to me for a few minutes about being a parent here at Patna. I am a student at the

University of Minnesota. I am studying schools with many families who do not always

speak English at home. I would love for you to tell me about being a parent at Patna. I

can meet with you at your home or at school.

All Parents

(To be included in the school bulletin for parents)

Dear Parents: My name is Maggie Vecchio-Smith, and in addition to being a Wellington

parent and former teacher in Wellington, I am a student at the University of Minnesota. I

am studying schools that have a mix of families who do not speak English at home and

families who do speak English at home. I would love to interview a few Patna parents as

part of my research. I can meet with you at your home or at school, and I can provide

childcare. Please email me at smit0994@umn.edu or call/text (612) 708-2008.

Appendix D

Second Round Interview Questions

Principal

As I talked with various members of the Patna community, the word resources was used frequently. Can you talk to me about the concept of resources and the ELL community at Patna?

The words diverse and diversity have different meanings for different people and groups. What do these words mean for you? Do you think other members of the Patna community use these words or don't use these words in the same way?

In some interviews, the topic of Indian and Southeast Asian families being different from other groups of ELL students who attend or have attended Patna was discussed. Do you think there is a distinction? If so, how does it manifest itself in your work? If not, why do you think others perceive a difference?

Equity training came up in a few interviews – are you asking teachers to attend some sort of training this year?

You mentioned that you were frustrated by ELL students having to take standardized tests after having only been in the country a short time, are you frustrated with MAPs, MCAs, or another type of test?

Can you tell me a little bit about Family Fun Night? Who coordinated it? Who was invited? How did it go?

Can you tell me a little bit about the IMPACT Saturday School program and its connection to Patna students?

Teacher

As I talked with various members of the Patna community, the word resources was used frequently. Can you talk to me about the concept of resources and the ELL community at Patna?

The words diverse and diversity have different meanings for different people and groups. What do these words mean for you? Do you think other members of the Patna community use these words or don't use these words in the same way?

In some interviews, the topic of Indian and Southeast Asian families being different from other groups of ELL students who attend or have attended Patna was discussed. Do you

think there is a distinction? If so, how does it manifest itself in your work? If not, why

do you think others perceive a difference?

You mentioned the equity team is having a back to school potluck – which families will

be invited to this?

You mentioned that some students have a negative self-prophecy. Can you tell me more

about which students seem to have this as a challenge?

ELL

As I talked with various members of the Patna community, the word resources was used

frequently. Can you talk to me about the concept of resources and the ELL community at

Patna?

The words diverse and diversity have different meanings for different people and groups.

What do these words mean for you? Do you think other members of the Patna

community use these words or don't use these words in the same way?

In some interviews, the topic of Indian and Southeast Asian families being different from

other groups of ELL students who attend or have attended Patna was discussed. Do you

think there is a distinction? If so, how does it manifest itself in your work? If not, why

do you think others perceive a difference?

1 – when I talked to you back in February, it was before the field trips provided by the grant. How did they go?

At our first interview it was mentioned both that the district isn't really comfortable with Patna's population, but that they also do well with Patna's population. I don't think these statements are contradictory, but can you tell me more about this?

2, you mentioned that Somali culture is very oral, and parents prefer information to be conveyed orally. To what degree is that possible?

Teacher

As I talked with various members of the Patna community, the word resources was used frequently. Can you talk to me about the concept of resources and the ELL community at Patna?

The words diverse and diversity have different meanings for different people and groups. What do these words mean for you? Do you think other members of the Patna community use these words or don't use these words in the same way?

In some interviews, the topic of Indian and Southeast Asian families being different from other groups of ELL students who attend or have attended Patna was discussed. Do you

think there is a distinction? If so, how does it manifest itself in your work? If not, why

do you think others perceive a difference?

When you told the story about the Somali boy who is in GT and on the leadership team,

you mentioned that you hope they see him in those roles. Who do you hope sees him and

why?

Teacher

As I talked with various members of the Patna community, the word resources was used

frequently. Can you talk to me about the concept of resources and the ELL community at

Patna?

The words diverse and diversity have different meanings for different people and groups.

What do these words mean for you? Do you think other members of the Patna

community use these words or don't use these words in the same way?

In some interviews, the topic of Indian and Southeast Asian families being different from

other groups of ELL students who attend or have attended Patna was discussed. Do you

think there is a distinction? If so, how does it manifest itself in your work? If not, why

do you think others perceive a difference?

Teacher

As I talked with various members of the Patna community, the word resources was used

frequently. Can you talk to me about the concept of resources and the ELL community at

Patna?

The words diverse and diversity have different meanings for different people and groups.

What do these words mean for you? Do you think other members of the Patna

community use these words or don't use these words in the same way?

In some interviews, the topic of Indian and Southeast Asian families being different from

other groups of ELL students who attend or have attended Patna was discussed. Do you

think there is a distinction? If so, how does it manifest itself in your work? If not, why

do you think others perceive a difference?

Specialist

As I talked with various members of the Patna community, the word resources was used

frequently. Can you talk to me about the concept of resources and the ELL community at

Patna?

The words diverse and diversity have different meanings for different people and groups.

What do these words mean for you? Do you think other members of the Patna

community use these words or don't use these words in the same way?

In some interviews, the topic of Indian and Southeast Asian families being different from other groups of ELL students who attend or have attended Patna was discussed. Do you think there is a distinction? If so, how does it manifest itself in your work? If not, why do you think others perceive a difference?

Non-ELL parents

(1– You mentioned new initiatives to work with the international parent group – can you tell me more about this?)

As I talked with various members of the Patna community, the word resources was used frequently. Can you talk to me about the concept of resources and the ELL community at Patna?

The words diverse and diversity have different meanings for different people and groups. What do these words mean for you? Do you think other members of the Patna community use these words or don't use these words in the same way?

In some interviews, the topic of Indian and Southeast Asian families being different from other groups of ELL students who attend or have attended Patna was discussed. Do you think there is a distinction? If so, how does it manifest itself in your work? If not, why do you think others perceive a difference?

Appendix E

Sample of Quotes: Native Speakers of Other Languages

- Parents feel respected

  - "When we come as parents, we are respected by the teachers, by the principal."

  - "They respect very nice."

  - "The way they tell you, it doesn't hurt our feelings…they say it in a way that we don't feel like, oh my God, that's so harsh on us!"

- Parents described being pleased with availability of interpreters

  - "I can say it's been easy because they always have requested an interpreter for me. And also they always have told me that if I have any problems I can always contact the interpreter at any time."

- Parents feel there is communication

  - "The school is frequently in touch. Every two or three weeks they're in touch. If there is a problem – if there's a conference we need to attend or if there's a reason we need to talk to the parents, for example, if my car breaks down, they respect me so much that they send me transportation for someone to bring me here."

  - "And congratulate even the principal because he has taken time to call us at home asking how Cesar is doing."

Appendix F

Sample of Quotes: Native English Speakers

H2	7	6	"Because this is not a fundraiser - it's an event"
B2	4	9	"well, / they're definitely all very diverse / within ELL"
N2	6	3	"Like / you can't just say / we're diverse / because / a white school can be diverse."
H2	14	1	"We did not translate our flyer / Maybe we should have for international night"
B	7	5	"But I do think it prevents / the kinds of interactions / that / you know / I guess it's / two-fold."
S	23	1	"we have a lot of things / in place, / I guess… / because / a lot of our families… / live in the apartments"
C	26	2	"he's an advocate for parents."
N2	3	10	"for me / I / that's difficult. / I think / I think it's difficult to talk about./ but it's / it's needed."
LH2	14	6	"It's like / we need more people of color / in our newsletter / let's go to Patna"